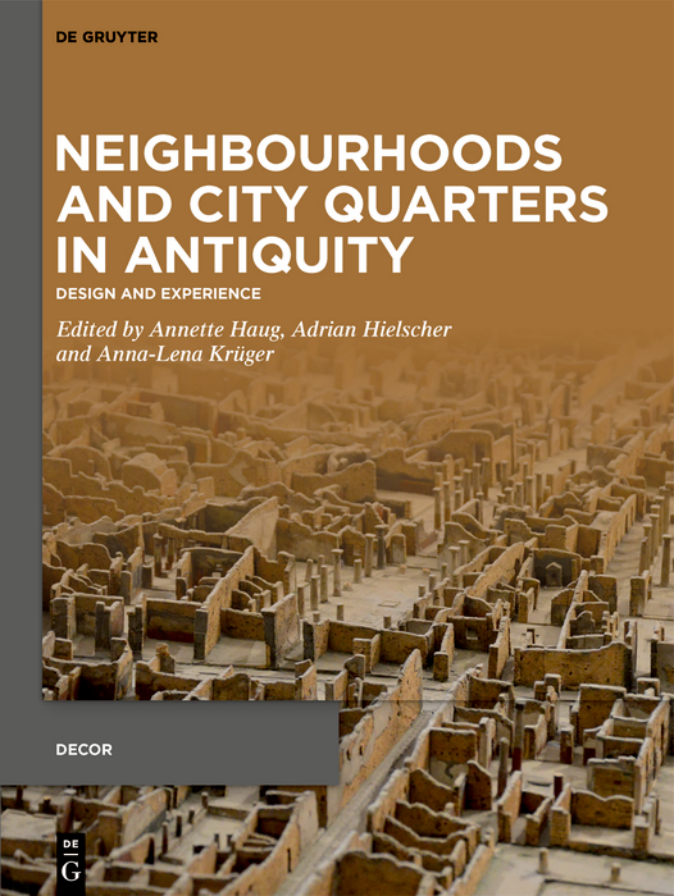# NEIGHBOURHOODS AND CITY QUARTERS IN ANTIQUITY

DESIGN AND EXPERIENCE

Edited by Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher
and Anna-Lena Krüger

Neighbourhoods and City Quarters in Antiquity

Decor

Decorative Principles in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy

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Annette Haug

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Volume 7

Neighbourhoods and City Quarters in Antiquity

Design and Experience

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DE GRUYTER

Preface

For at least the last 12,000 years, humans have produced urbanity and vice versa: living in cities has shaped human cultures and societies, as well as ecosystems. The creation, population, administrative organisation and differentiation of urban space is one of mankind's greatest achievements. Such complex urban agglomerations come into existence by human activities, or in other words: Urbanity is socially produced. Such an 'urban design' becomes effective both on a physical (material) and on a social level. And both facets have an immediate effect on the possibilities of action, the modes of perception and thus on the experience of cities.

These ideas have been developed in the context of the Cluster of Excellence ROOTS – Social, Environmental, and Cultural Connectivity in Past Societies (EXC 2150 ROOTS – 390870439) and its sub-cluster Urban ROOTS and within the ERC Consolidator Grant DECOR – Decorative Principles in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy (no. 681269).

The exchange between these projects led to the further development of this general perspective on the ancient city: most cities have neither been formed nor experienced as homogeneous entities. The ancient urban space is rather compartmentalised according to different factors, e. g., aesthetics, function or semantics. This puts the focus on neighbourhoods and urban districts.

This volume is the outcome of an international and interdisciplinary conference held in November 2021 in the Antikensammlung of Kiel University (CAU), organised by Christian Beck and Annette Haug. It was funded by ROOTS, while the publication was made possible with overhead funds of DECOR. We owe many thanks to the student assistants who assisted in the publication process: Marcel Deckert, Carlotta Hameister, Daniel Nieswand and Luc Wehlisch. Special thanks go to Rubymaya Jaeck-Woodgate who provided proofreading and to Katrin Göttsch and Philipp Sesterhenn who helped with the editing of the texts. Finally, we are grateful to DeGruyter, who established the DECOR series for the publication of the ERC project results, and to Mirko Vonderstein in particular, who facilitated the production process.

Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher, Anna-Lena Krüger
Kiel, Winter 2022/2023

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Introduction

Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher and Anna-Lena Krüger

Design and Experience of Neighbourhoods and City Quarters

Interest in the city often either concerns individual buildings or the city as a whole. However, since the 1920s, a prominent strand of research has dealt with a meso-scale of urbanity: neighbourhoods, city quarters and districts[1]. In contemporary debates, these urban sub-units constitute key categories for 'Area Based Policies'[2], which aim at spatial diversification[3], the fostering of sociability, the decentralised generation and supply of energy as well as creating cities of short distances to solve traffic problems[4]. Such politically motivated approaches are only of limited help for an analysis of ancient cities. To understand their socio-spatial patterning, a systematic approach to the archaeological record is required. In this sense, the following discussion is first and foremost about the development of a research perspective on the socio-spatial division of ancient urban space.

Especially in anglophone research, the terms 'neighbourhood' and 'city quarter' are often used interchangeably. More nuanced approaches conceptualise neighbourhoods as spatially concrete, remarkable, small-scale quarters so that the difference between neighbourhood and city quarter lies mainly in their spatial scale[5]. This often implies the assumption that city quarters possess a larger degree of official organisation – districts (quarters) are sometimes called 'institutional neighbourhoods'[6]. In the following, we will introduce a slightly different distinction which is rooted in the German language (Nachbarschaft/Quartier) and has been conceptualised mainly within the German research tradition[7]. Neighbourhood here refers to the face-to-face relation between people

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1 See Clarence Arthur Perry's planning concept 'The Neighbourhood Unit', published in 1929 (Moundry 2003, 969–971; Carmona 2021, 338); Mumford (1954) with a focus on neighbourhood planning, especially in the 20th century; on neighbourhood governance, see Sampson 2004; Garrioch and Peel (2006) with a research history (focusing on early modern and modern cities).

2 Schnur (2014, 33 f.) with further bibliography.

3 See Carmona – Wunderlich 2012, 284.

4 For a historical contextualisation of sociological research, see Schnur 2012, 449–451; only rarely, also conflicts and the coexistence of hostile groups come into view, see Althaus 2018, 46 f.; Alkan – Maksudyan 2020.

5 See Sampson 2003, 975; Smith 2010, 137; similarly, Smith – Novic 2012, 4: 'A district may be defined as a residential zone that has some kind of administrative or social identity within a city. In most cases, districts are larger than neighborhoods.' See also Garrioch – Peel 2006, 667. For a discussion of manifold definitions, see Schnur 2012; 2014, 37–41; Althaus 2018, 28–70, esp. 30.

6 Smith 2010, 140; see Jacobs 1961, 117; American Planning Association 2006, 409. Such official neighbourhoods may or may not coincide with the factual action radius of specific inhabitants. See Keith 2003, 58: '[…] the neighborhood is considered a level of sociospatial patterning and is defined as the area within which local residents conducted most of their daily activities. Such as area may or may not correspond to "the neighbourhood" as identified by either the local inhabitants or the ancient administrative bureaucracy.'

7 See Althaus 2018, 30: 'Während die einen Forschungsansätze von den lokalen Strukturen ausgehen und Nachbarschaft vorerst als stadtstrukturelle Einheit und/oder räumlich verortete Gemeinschaft (bzw. community) thematisieren, fokussieren andere Studien stärker auf die AkteurInnen, das soziale Handeln und die Beziehungen von Nachbarinnen und Nachbarn in ihrem Wohnumfeld. […]. Diese Betrachtungsebenen sind jedoch nicht scharf voneinander zu trennen, sondern stellen eher Gewichtungen innerhalb eines Kontinuums dar. Denn das Charakteristische am Nachbarschaftsbegriff ist gerade, dass er diese beiden Bedeutungsdimensionen in sich vereint. Nachbarschaft bedarf zwar einer baulich-räumlichen Struktur und Anbindung, muss aber auch immer wieder aktiviert werden […]. Es handelt sich um ein relationales Konzept […], das sich sowohl auf die tatsächlichen oder potentiell möglichen sozialen Beziehungen und

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living next to each other – thus, the small-scale environment centred around a house and an individual. Neighbourhoods thus do not constitute a (collectively defined) urban territory with clear borders, but are rather constituted by individual experiences. In contrast, city quarters are areas that share certain characteristics.

The present volume's focus on cities of Classical Antiquity, and more specifically of Late Republican and Imperial Italy, provides a narrow perspective on the phenomena of socio-spatial patterning. The cities of this period and geographical area are limited in size (with the exception of Rome), their internal organisation is based on orthogonal streets and they are more or less comparable in density (e. g., in contrast to today's cities), while sharp internal boundaries (e. g., ghettos) are absent[8]. This specific character of many ancient cities may have contributed to the fact that ancient texts did not differentiate terminologically between neighbourhood and city quarter. The Latin term *vicus* designates a street as well as its adjacent buildings (row of houses), but also a territory (city quarter/district)[9]. It thus refers to face-to-face interaction of neighbours and equally to the spatial and/or administrative organisation of a city quarter.

The suggested terminological distinction between neighbourhoods and city quarters thus does not refer to a differentiation relevant to ancient urbanites. Instead, it allows for a distinction between two hermeneutic approaches: one focusing on the surroundings of a home (neighbourhoods), and one focusing on distinct characteristics of urban areas (city quarters).

In the following, the theoretical and methodological approaches to neighbourhoods and city quarters will be specified in more detail. To this end, the theoretical reorientation of urban studies, as it has become visible in recent years, will facilitate and enrich the analysis of neighbourhoods and city quarters.

Urban Studies: New Theoretical Approaches

Annette Haug

Recent urban studies refer to praxeological and phenomenological theory. This results in a new conceptualisation of the relationship between agency, perception and materiality, and more specifically of urban design and urban experience.

Urban Agency, Perception and Materiality

In a praxeological perspective, urban space along with its subspaces is considered as an assemblage that emerges from the interdependence of actors (their actions, perceptions and mental concepts) and the materially defined space (architecture and environment)[10].

Actions, perceptions and mental concepts are mutually dependent and are constitutive elements for the experience of urbanity. The city as a whole, but also city quarters and neighbourhoods are socially

Vernetzungen nahebei Wohnender bezieht, als auch auf das sich daraus bildende Bewusstsein eines über räumliche Nähe definierten Kollektivzusammenhangs […].'
8 For a cross-cultural perspective, including different forms of organisation, see contributions in Pacifico – Truex 2019a; specifically, Pacifico 2019; Pacifico – Truex 2019b.
9 Kaiser 2011, 33 f. with Latin sources.
10 See Haug 2020; Haug – Müller 2020, esp. 3; Lefebvre 1974; Harvey 1989; for a recent discussion of neighbourhood on the basis of Lefebvre, see Schnur 2012, 458–467. Galster (2001, 2112) develops ten attributes to characterise neighbourhoods which in part coincide with our categories; for neighbourhoods: Wernke 2019, 181 f.

produced. In this sense, we could speak of 'doing neighbourhoods' or 'doing quarters'[11]. It is specific **(inter-)actions**, often related to materiality, which shape the character of an area[12]. The actors can be differentiated according to their social status, age, gender, ethnicity, family composition and lifestyle (e. g., religion). Different communities within a quarter and/or neighbourhood could maintain bonds of different intensity[13]. Neighbourhoods and city quarters are thus an individually variable social experience[14].

Perception is conditioned by (culturally coded) knowledge, influenced by agency and directly related to the materially arranged space: its visual, olfactory, haptic and even thermal qualities. Perceptually distinct spaces have the potential to become atmospherically and emotionally loaded or as Matthew Carmona puts it: 'we sense place through the meaning we attach to it'[15].

Mental concepts of urban spaces arise from actions and perception. With regard to neighbourhoods and city quarters, a central category of experience is physical proximity (voluntary or forced closeness). This can imply a friendly mode of communication[16], but could also cause conflicts and social distance[17]. Urban anonymity and indifference or a blasé attitude are lifted to a certain extent[18]. Proximity thus brings familiarity – which is rooted in the notion of the *familia*: the surrounding inhabitants become an extended *familia* – they know each other. Neighbourhoods and city quarters can thus be considered as imagined communities[19].

The materially defined space is first and foremost the designed architectural space, defined by surfaces, namely building façades, and by voids, namely streets and squares. It is shaped by the specific interests and needs of the urbanites, but vice versa shapes their lives in turn. 'We shape our buildings, and afterwards our buildings shape us', as Winston Churchill once put it[20]. Indeed, social relations as well as forms of communication and interaction can be constituted, constrained and mediated by (materially defined) spaces[21]. It is not only infrastructure and prominent architecture that shape urban spaces, but also urban trivia (Belanglosigkeiten)[22] such as honorific statues, fountains, altars or benches. Last but not least, ruins, rubbish and sewage also have an impact on a city's materiality.

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11 Borrowed from Candance West and Don H. Zimmermann (1987) who have developed the notion of the social construction of gender ('doing gender'); see also Butler 1991; cf. Wernke 2019, 181. In a general praxeological perspective, practices are 'a nexus of doings and sayings' (Schatzki 1996, 89).

12 On arrangements, see Haug 2020, 2: 'The concepts dealing with "arrangements" differ greatly. Michel Foucault addresses them as dispositif, Gilles Deleuze as agencements, while Bruno Latour uses the term réseaux to refer to the network idea. All these concepts assume that social things are 'organized in configurations, where they hang together, [and] determine one another via their connections'. See Foucault 1978; Schatzki 2002, XIII; Latour 2005. On 'arrangement bundles' of spatially defined material settings and human action, see e. g., Weichhardt 2004; Christophersen 2015, 112; Nicolini 2017, 30.

13 Communities such as households can refer to a defined urban space, but this is not necessarily the case (see religious communities or *collegia*); with a focus on the spatiality of communities, see Yaeger – Canuto 2000.

14 Hallmann (1984, 18) speaks of a 'personal neighbourhood'; Warren (1981, 63) of a 'micro-neighbourhood'.

15 Carmona 2021, 196.

16 Jacobs 1961, 9–12; Dickinson (1951, 528) defines neighbourhood as the 'smallest social group outside of the family, a group characterized by the feeling of "neighbourliness", or friendship with one's neighbours. It is an intimate face-to-face group of several hundred people.'; Hawley 1968, 73; referring to Hawley: Laurence 2007, 39; Smith (2010, 140) underlines that neighbourhood relations need not involve friendship. Bunnell et al. (2012, 496 f.) focus on the emotional character of neighbourly bonds.

17 Schnur 2012, 449.

18 Simmel [1903] 1995, 116–131 esp. 117 f. for 'blasé attitude'; 'resignierende Humanität' (Bahrdt 1956); 'höfliche Nichtbeachtung' (Goffmann 1971, 56); 'urbane Kompetenz' (Lindner 2002) and 'urbane Distanziertheit' (Nassehi 2010); see also Lofland 1998, 27–41.

19 Wernke 2019, 182; Pacifico 2019, 114–116.

20 On the structural theory which considers structure as medium and result of social practices, see Giddens [1984] 2019, esp. 49–51; see Haug 2003, 19; Wernke 2019, 181 (with reference to the concept of affordance); Carmona 2021, 315.

21 Wolch – Dear 1989, 3–13.

22 Lampugnani 2019.

The specific articulation of the material space, its functional, aesthetic and semantic properties, thus organise the spatial patterning of a city as well as the use, perception and experience of neighbourhoods and city quarters.

However, it is not only the built environment, but equally the environmental setting that influences city life. Within a city, it can have a levelling, but also a differentiating effect: Everyone benefits equally from sun and rain, while topographical features (such as rivers, lakes or the sea) introduce a spatial differentiation that affects urban agency as well as perception and experience[23].

Urban Design and Experience

With regard to the analysis of socio-spatial patterns, the categories of agency and materiality have to be specified. This volume focuses on strategies of purposeful and active design of social and spatial entities as well as on their experience. Both design and experience become effective in the urban space as a whole, but in particular, they are also the dimensions that organise its socio-spatial divisions: neighbourhoods and city quarters.

Design refers to the material-physical urban space (such as architecture or installations) but equally to social relationships (such as families, friendship groups and communities) and to mental concepts (such as togetherness). Bottom-up processes (and initiatives) and top-down measures interfere on both levels: neighbourhoods and city quarters[24].

Regardless of whether or to what extent neighbourhoods and quarters are actively designed, they become categories of perception and experience. What did it really mean to people to live next to each other, and how could city quarters be experienced as areas with a distinct sensorial, social or economic character?

The volume thus relates praxeological and phenomenological perspectives. In order to address categories of design and experience, a close reading of urban settings is needed – beyond abstract, two-dimensional mapping: the third dimension needs to be taken into account.

Neighbourhoods and City Quarters as Categories of Design and Experience: Archaeological Methodology

Annette Haug

In the following, we will discuss methodological approaches to neighbourhoods and city quarters as categories of design and experience. In doing so, it will become clear that neighbourhoods and quarters differ in terms of the ways they are designed[25], while both forms of socio-spatial structuring function as categories of experience.

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23 See Isbell – Vranich 2004, 167–187 for a phenomenological approach on cities and ancient landscapes in Andean archaeology.

24 Sometimes, anglophone authors differentiate between bottom-up and top-down processes of 'neighbourhood' formation (see Smith – Novic 2012; Pacifico – Truex 2019b). However, this distinction does not coincide with the proposed distinction of neighbourhood and quarter: Neighbourhoods are significantly influenced by the overall urban design (streets, building blocks). City quarters, instead, can coincide with administrative entities. However, the formation of city quarters as areas of a distinct experience is not necessarily the result of a planned process (see below).

25 For strategies of placemaking, see Healey 2002; for an archaeological context, the burials in the *suburbium* of Rome, most recently Lätzer-Laser 2022, esp. 146 f.

Neighbourhoods

An important starting point for the understanding of the concept of neighbourhoods is the work of Martin Heidegger. Studies in Heidegger's tradition use the place of residence (home)[26] as a starting point for the individual experience of neighbourhood. The house constitutes an emotional anchor point[27] from which the inhabitants can intensify communication with, and exercise control over, their 'direct' neighbourhood. The home is the point from which spatial and social relations are actively established, but also mentally conceived[28]. In this sense, neighbourhoods considered as the 'social organisation of proximity'[29]. Or in the words of Lewis Mumford:

> 'Neighbours are simply people who live near one another. [...] This closeness makes them conscious of each other by sight, and known to each other by direct communication, by intermediate links of association, or by rumour'[30].

Consequently, neighbourhood occurs and develops where people live next to each other, communicate and interact[31]. Locality and territory constitute social relations and interdependences[32]. This makes the home, and with it the neighbourhood, a central category of action and experience.

Geographical and psychological approaches introduce the notion of a specific physical extension of neighbourhood by the definition of qualifiers to measure spatial proximity. One branch of research defines neighbourhoods as a radius surrounding the home[33]. A distinction is made between the direct living environment (within a radius of 0.5 km) and the indirect living environment (within a radius of 1.5 km). Another differentiation is based on the number of walking minutes from the place of residence – i. e., places that can be reached within 10 or 20 minutes[34]. Such approaches are valuable in that they frame the potential spatial extension of neighbourhoods. At the same time, however, they prove problematic and under-complex in that they fail to take into account how neighbourhoods arise from the interaction of concrete individuals (in their physical and mental capacities, needs and interests) within a concrete physical space (that is not a neutral surface)[35]. Thus, the radius of the neighbourhood differs in the course of the inhabitant's life cycle, but also with regard to their health status and social bonds within the city: children, the elderly or even the handicapped and sick are often confined to this immediate radius surrounding the house[36]. Equally, the term neighbourhood means something different from one area in the city to another. Visual axes and visual relationships within the urban area play an important role here, but also natural boundary markers such as rivers,

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26 For the relevance of the 'home', see Heidegger 1967, 67; Inwood 1999: 'Heim is "home, dwelling-place". It engenders Heimat, "home-(town), homeland" (cf. LH, 335/242). It also generates adjectives: heimisch once meant "belonging to the home", but is now "indigenous, native, local, etc." and also "familiar, at home" as in being or feeling "at home" in a place, a language, etc.'; see also Knox – Pinch 2010, 194; Haug 2017, 209.
27 Hamm (1973, 18) uses the term 'Wohnort' as starting point for social interactions; cf. Altmann 1993.
28 In other words, the place of residence is a nucleus that plays a crucial role in a person's life and therefore plays an essential role in his or her mental conception of urban space – his or her 'mental map' (Lynch 1960).
29 Klös 1984, 18. This idea refers to Ferdinand Tönnies (1887, 17) who distinguished three different forms of 'proximity': kinship, neighbourhood and friendship. For him, the prototypical form of neighbourhood is the village.
30 Mumford 1954, 257 f.
31 Hallmann 1984, 11; Smith 2010, 145–147; Maier – Urcioli 2020, 5. Neighbourhood designates a local community defined by spatial proximity as well as the social networks and relations which constitute neighbourhood (Schnur 2012, 452 f. with Tab. 2).
32 Norberg-Schulz 1982; Smith 2019.
33 Flade 2006, 14–19.
34 Flade 2006, 16 f.; cf. Carmona 2021, 342.
35 This insight has been developed in the discussion of our colloquium, some of the aspects are also discussed in literature. On the role of children for the establishment of neighbourhood relations, see Hamm 1973, 77. 83.
36 Pfeil 1972, 349; Blokland 2003, 38–42 describes arising changes in the use of neighbourhood during the life cycle of growing up children.

certain obstacles such as rising terrain and also the existence (or lack) of certain building complexes that may act as social nuclei and attractors.

The starting point for any analysis of neighbourhoods – understood in the sense described above – is the space surrounding the house. The specific design of this environment significantly contributes to the experience of neighbourhood. Two complementary perspectives open up here. Gerald Suttles observes that the 'elemental grouping of […] co-residents is concentrated on a "face-block"'[37], being understood as 'two sides of one street between intersection streets'[38]. Consequently, the street surrounding the 'home' provides an important space of neighbourhood interaction. A second perspective – which is of particular relevance for Greco-Roman cities – focuses on the building-block (*insula*), which can equally be conceived of as a neighbourhood's nucleus[39]. Evidently, both the street design and the building blocks refer to urban (top-down) planning processes, while the specific character of a street section emerges from the design of the adjoining façades, the offerings of the surrounding shops as well as small-scale installations (be they public or private). Bottom-up and top-down strategies go hand in hand in the design of neighbourhoods. The experience of a neighbourhood, however, emerges from small-scale physical situations and face-to face interactions: it is the individual's experience in his/her environment.

In Classical archaeology, such close readings of neighbourhood situations – *insula* blocks and single streets – constitute a very recent approach. Their focus is usually on design strategies which provide insights into the experience of neighbourhood situations.

Taking the case of Insula IX 3, Heini Ynnilä examines how different individual building units are linked to each other via combined upper floors, windows that connect rooms and commonly shared water inflow and drains[40]. Based on this analysis, she assumes that some 'units' were mutually dependent on each other and thus belonged to one property. Sharing the same facilities – such as drinking water and light – would have made it necessary to come to frequent agreements[41]. Living next to each other necessitated cooperation in daily life[42]. And indeed, such servitudes were legally regulated in the Corpus Iuris Civilis (Dig. 8). In this volume, the contributions by Tobias Busen and Steven Ellis present in-depth studies of specific *insulae* in Pompeii.

Other approaches focus on the streets – the face-block – as spaces of interaction amongst neighbours. Ray Laurence directed attention to Pompeii's urban furniture: fountains and altars[43]. Recently, research has hinted at the tension between the regular distribution of fountains and their individual design (in terms of material, technique, iconography and style)[44]. Sometimes house façades have even been set back to make space for a fountain[45], while in other cases public streets were narrowed[46]. It is thus likely that the building of fountains was the result of public-private partnerships. The same can be assumed for the regularly distributed altars: they too are characterised by an individual design but a regular distribution, so that here overarching planning and shared realisation by local partners may

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37 Suttles 1972, 55 f.; cited by Lott 2004, 19. In contrast to the approach chosen here, in Suttles's view 'such a loose network does not constitute a neighbourhood' as 'it will differ for each person and […] is unlikely to have any sharp boundaries' (Suttles 1972, 55).
38 American Planning Association 2006, 409.
39 Smith (2010, 146) has a large range of potential city plans in mind and speaks of 'spatial clusters' of residential buildings – as defined by street networks.
40 Ynnilä 2012, esp. 142–178; 2013, 83–134; Viitanen – Ynnilä 2014, 149–151; for a short discussion of this phenomenon in Insula V 1, see Touati 2008.
41 With a focus on the social control of the tenants, see Robinson 1997, 142 f.
42 On cooperation, see Wernke 2019, 180 f.
43 Laurence 2007, 45–53 with Map 3.2; 3.4; on street shrines in detail, see Van Andringa 2000.
44 Nishida 1991; Hartnett 2008; Newsome 2009, 126; Schmölder-Veit 2009, 131.
45 Ling 2005.
46 Newsome 2009, 128.

have gone hand in hand[47]. Jeremy Harnett names the benches that were placed in front of 'private' façades and included in their design as another piece of urban furniture that was the initiative of the residents[48]. As diverse as the responsibilities for the realisation of this urban equipment were, they nonetheless benefitted not only the adjacent owners, but all passers-by as well. Above all, however, they shaped the character of the surrounding neighbourhood, since altars, fountains and benches functioned as veritable nuclei of interaction. All these installations thus had consequences for the experience of small-scale urban constellations. Recently, Hartnett analysed one crossing along the Via dell'Abbondanza as an example to show how different urban furniture and façade paintings created a specific multisensory experience[49]. David Newsome has shown that such action patterns could underly transformations. He uses space syntax to analyse how 'the probable intensity of a street changes, relative to others, over time'[50]. The complete overbuilding of streets, but also their blocking for wagon traffic, had consequences not only for the flow of traffic, but for the uses of the adjacent *insulae*.

However, neighbourhoods are not only defined functionally, but also aesthetically. Manifold observations show how the visual design relates neighbouring entities. Kerbstones are often homogeneous in design over several construction units[51]. Equally, the design of sidewalks and façades could bind different units together. Along the Via dell'Abbondanza, several shops share a red socle and a white upper zone. In most of the cases, however, a coherent design indicates a single property with several entrances. In this volume, M. Taylor Lauritsen combines an analysis of the chronological changes within a Pompeian street with observations on changes in its visual design.

Last but not least, streets (and thus neighbourhoods) serve as spaces of neighbourly communication. In Pompeii this implies that the façades work as interactive media: as carriers of dipinti and graffiti. Henrik Mouritsen showed that Pompeian programmata – election advertisements – not only cluster along particularly visible axes such as the Via dell'Abbondanza[52], but also accumulate in the vicinity of a candidate's presumed home[53]. In 32 inscriptions, it is even explicitly stated that the *vicinus* supports a candidate (7 % of the cases) (CIL IV 783). As a consequence, neighbours were not only conceptualised as such, but also formed a supporting social force. Graffiti usually only mention first names. However, it must be taken into account that these texts could also refer to the residents of the surrounding houses. In this case, façades gain particular importance as a medium of communication for social cohesion in the neighbourhood.

In summary, archaeological research has already addressed many aspects of urban design, but without systematically relating these observations to the phenomenon of neighbourhood. It is the interplay of the various architectural design strategies and social behaviours that create a sense (experience) of neighbourhood[54]. Monica Smith puts it as follows:

> 'A phenomenology of neighbourhoods is agentive, in the sense that people purposefully create their [urban] landscapes through the everyday action of constructing houses, entering and exiting doorways, and using courtyards for work and play'[55].

47 From Ostia comes an inscription (CIL XIV 4710 = ILS 5395) that confirms such a networked interaction process; cf. Bruun, this volume.

48 Hartnett 2011, 138.

49 Hartnett 2017, 259–297.

50 Newsome 2009, 124.

51 Saliou 1999, 182–185 with Fig. 28.

52 Mouritsen 1988; for a new spatial analysis of the programmata, see Viitanen – Nissinen 2017.

53 E. g., the case of the candidates M. Casellius Marcellus und L. Albucius Celsus. The latter seems to have lived in the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2,1) where dipinti that mention his name cluster; see Mouritsen 1988, 52–57.

54 See for the phenomenology of urban space: Hillier 2005; Rezeanu 2018; Smith 2019, esp. 63–67; introducing phenomenology as theoretical approach on human lifeworld in general: Raab et al. 2008; Applebaum – Ferrarello 2016; Fellmann 2020.

55 Smith 2019, 63.

City Quarters and Districts

The analysis of city quarters and districts is a central aspect of urban geography and urban sociology. In modern cities, they can manifest as administrative entities (resulting from top-down processes of structuration). And indeed, epigraphic evidence also attests the existence of administrative quarters (*vici*/*regiones*) in ancient cities. For Pompeii, Ray Laurence discussed the names of *vici* which we know by electoral notices: *Forenses* (CIL IV 783), *Campanienses* (CIL IV 470; 480), *Salinienses* (CIL IV 128) and *Urbulanenses* (CIL IV 7676; 7706; 7747)[56]. In this volume, Christer Bruun evaluates the evidence for Roman Ostia. However, such administrative units cannot be linked to a specific territory. Even if the administrative units were known in their spatial extent, they probably had hardly any significance for daily actions and experiences (similar to today). Their analysis is thus of limited relevance for our understanding of the socio-spatial patterning of Greek and Roman cities.

A more fruitful approach focuses on the spatial patterns that result from the interaction of social categories with the physical space[57]. This allows for an understanding of urban quarters as categories of (social and architectural) design and experience. With regard to social categories, it is nowadays economic status, ethnic and family status, the choice of a certain lifestyle (e. g., cultural interests or membership in a religious community), specific types of behaviour (such as crime or snobbery), but also social bonds and a sense of belonging that constitute the major driving forces for residential and thus spatial patterning[58]. With regard to the physical space, it is the infrastructural development (streets, availability of water, electricity, internet), the availability of facilities (such as shopping areas, parks, schools or hospitals), the aesthetic design of private as well as public buildings, especially characteristic landmarks[59], and the relation of the built space to nature (accessibility and vistas) that are both the media and results of social processes[60]. Social, functional, semantic, cultural and aesthetic characteristics can thus distinguish one quarter from another. If such features do not cluster, city quarters fail to become areas of a distinct experience[61]. However, the manifold parameters rarely coincide in their spatial extension, so that the spatial delineation of quarters remains fluid[62].

With regard to ancient cities, many of the aforementioned parameters and urban spatial qualities are not known. Instead, archaeological analysis of city quarters has to start from a systematic investigation of the physical space. Since the 1980s, such an approach has been significantly supported by informatics. Gioacchino La Torre and shortly after him Laurence both used the tool of mapping based on databases to detect recurring functional elements within the city: altars, fountains, brothels and bars,

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56 Castrén 1975, 79; Laurence 2007, 39 f.

57 Knox – Pinch 2010, esp. 72–80.

58 Schnur 2014, 21: '[...] Quartiere konstituieren sich vor allem durch ihre Bewohner und deren Wertesysteme, deren lokale und translokale soziale Vernetzung, deren Lebenszyklen, -lagen und -stile und die damit verbundenen Wohnstandort- bzw. Umzugsentscheidungen'.

59 On landmarks, see Lynch 1960, 48. 78–83.

60 Carlini et al. 1977, 5: 'Zu den materiellen, den dauerhaften Merkmalen [eines Stadtquartiers] gehören die Lage und die Abgrenzungen innerhalb der Stadt, die Größe und Dichte, die Baustruktur verschiedener Epochen, die Art und Zahl der Bauten, die Ausbildung und Anordnung der Bautypen und des Baumaterials, das Verhältnis der Baukörper zu den Freiflächen, die Straßenführungen und -profile, die Plätze und die Schwerpunkte des Quartiers [...]. Zu den sozialen und ökonomischen Merkmalen [...] gehören die Art und Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung und ihre Lebensmöglichkeiten, die Vielfalt und Verteilung der Nutzungen und Dienstleistungen und die Eigenart und Eigenständigkeit des Quartiers innerhalb der Gesamtstadt.'; for further definitions, see Feldmann 2009, 58–61; on behaviour as a criterion, see Maier – Urcioli 2020, 8 f.

61 Blowers (1973) identifies five types of 'neighbourhoods' with a different relation between social coherence and territory. Schnur (2014, 45) even postulates: 'Wo sich keine Schwerpunkte oder Cluster ergeben, spielt der Wohnort als Lokalität in den Lebenswelten der Mehrheit der Bewohner eine so geringe Rolle, dass man nicht von einem Quartier im eigentlichen Sinne sprechen sollte.'

62 Sampson 2003, 976 f.

other businesses and street activity measured by entrances per metre along the street[63]. Although these parameters are central for an understanding of urban patterning, they are selective. Instead, a comprehensive analysis of ancient city quarters should consider all tangible material characteristics as well as the patterns of action and perception that correlate with them[64]:

(1) the physical demarcation of boundaries, e. g., the city walls but also inner-city options for creating enclosures;

(2) morphology, which is defined by (a) the street pattern, e. g., axial versus non-axial streets or dead ends; (b) the plot pattern; and (c) the building pattern[65]. Morphology thus organises the permeability, accessibility and connectivity of urban sub-spaces;

(3) the distribution of natural features (lakes, rivers, seas and mountains, etc.) and their relation to the built environment;

(4) the streets and their characteristics (paved versus unpaved, shop openings versus closed façades, water supply and water drainage as well as the distribution of altars, fountains and benches that provide action and communication nodes within the street system);

(5) the location and design of public areas/buildings (fora with adjacent buildings, temples, baths, theatres and harbours, etc.);

(6) the distribution of economic facilities (shops and workshops, bars/restaurants and brothels, etc.);

(7) the distribution of houses (with regard to size, height and decoration), but also the lack of houses in a specific area[66];

(8) the distribution of specific design elements (wall surface and pavement design, capital forms and images);

(9) the density of people (and animals) using the public space.

By relating the material characteristics of an area to specific forms of action and perception, city quarters can be understood as a medium and result of social practices[67].

However, the very heterogeneous state of archaeological preservation as well as the very partial insights into the urban texture of past cities often do not allow for an analysis of city quarters[68]. Only a few cities have been researched completely, or at least very comprehensively, so that an analysis of quarters/districts is possible. For this reason, the majority of the following contributions deal with the archaeologically well-known cities of Pompeii and Ostia. They do not include all of the parameters mentioned above, but discuss specific aspects in detail: the spatially differentiated design and equipment of streets (Eric Poehler), the distribution of green spaces (Pia Kastenmeier) and the distribution of houses with regard to size and design (Miko Flohr).

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63 La Torre 1988; Laurence 2007, 66–81 with Map 4.1–4.4 (different workshops); 2007, 86–92 with Map 5.1–5.2 (brothels); 2007, 95–101 with Map 5.3–5.4 (bars/taverns); see also: Monteix 2017, 216–224; Poehler 2017, 168–180; 2017a, 177 f.; Beard (2008, 62) confuses 'zoning' with the specific character of an area.

64 For a detailed analysis of these parameters with regard to the cityscape of Pompeii, see Haug 2023; Haug, in press.

65 For a comparative approach to urban morphologies, see Carmona 2021, 196–251 (with bibliography).

66 See Malmberg, this volume. Instead, Smith (2010, 137) considers residential areas as the starting point for the archaeological investigation of neighbourhoods.

67 In theory, we follow the definition of urban quarters given by Berding (2019, 185): '[...] das Quartier [wird] nicht in einem geschlossen-euklidischen Sinne, sondern als unumgrenztes Produkt sozialen Handels verstanden, das gesellschaftliche Strukturen widerspiegelt und soziale Interaktionen wiederum gleichermaßen beeinflusst. Demzufolge existiert das Quartier nicht per se, sondern wird durch individuelle und kollektive Aneignungsprozesse immer wieder neu hervorgebracht und ausgehandelt.' Of course, not all elements that influence the experience of neighbourhoods find material expression (such as differences in language, habitus, forms of interaction), but they often elude archaeological analysis.

68 On archaeological methodology, see also Stone 2019.

Neighbourhoods and City Quarters in Space and Time

Annette Haug

Neighbourhoods and urban quarters have so far been described as distinct categories of design and experience. In the following, two specifications will be introduced: their specific spatial relationship to each other on the one hand, and their temporal qualities on the other hand.

Spatially, the quality and size of a home, a neighbourhood, a city quarter and the city as a whole are intrinsically related. Micro-, meso- and large-scale spatial configurations permeate and shape each other. The size and structural design of a house and an *insula* had a direct influence on the quality of social relationships and on the visual appearance of the surrounding neighbourhood. The characteristics of a neighbourhood are then also defined by the city quarter where it is located – e. g., by the presence or absence of communal facilities such as baths[69]. And city quarters always look different depending on the quality and size of the respective city. Consequently, the hermeneutic separation of neighbourhoods and urban quarters must always keep in mind that the concrete urban quality of these units is determined by their interaction.

In terms of time, neighbourhoods and urban districts prove to be highly fluid concepts – even though urban studies usually presuppose a static and unchangeable situation[70]. Referring to Anthony Giddens, one can distinguish different forms of temporality: the longue durée, the lifespan of a generation and the individual temporal experience[71]. These temporal levels can be referred to different action patterns[72] that affect the design of urban space as a whole, but also to the shaping of neighbourhoods and city quarters.

From a longue durée perspective, urban spaces are shaped by institutional spatial practices (which interfere with non-institutional practices). Here, processes of neighbourhood formation and the transformation of urban 'quarters' come into view. Current urban sociology has studied such processes of fluctuation and gentrification intensively[73]. As the processes that lead to the formation and transformation of socio-spatial structures in antiquity cannot be explained by contemporary models, historical studies investigating generators of socio-spatial change are needed.

During the lifespan of a generation, human and object biographies develop in time and space and thus form urban identities. The change of social entities as well as the biographies of single architectures (and their designs) within a neighbourhood context come into view. In this perspective, it is possible to focus on the impact that new material constellations (e. g., architectures) have on the experience of socio-spatial patterns.

On a daily scale, individual spatial practices are realised in time-space routines[74]. The focus here is on the character of a city quarter or neighbourhood over the course of the day. This allows for two potential perspectives: a focus on a distinct area and its changing characteristics over the course of a

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69 In some cases, neighbourhoods can even coincide with quarters, see Mumford 1954, 256. This is especially the case when the surrounding space of a 'home' possesses a distinct character with regard to other areas of a city. Both – neighbourhood and city quarter – are then characterised by a face-to-face interaction (Smith 2010).
70 Flohr 2021, 6.
71 Giddens [1984] 2019, 34 f.
72 See Simonsen 1991, 429 Fig. 3; again: Knox – Pinch 2010, 196 f. Fig. 9.2.
73 One exemplary study was on Harlem by Schaffer – Smith (1986); see Schnur 2014, 21 f.: 'Dieses Fluidum aus Kommen, Bleiben und Gehen – in der Wohnungswirtschaft treffend "Fluktuation" genannt – und die damit verbundenen Veränderungen im "Quartier" waren […] Schwerpunkte der "Quartiersforschung"'.
74 For this praxeological perspective on routinized behaviour, see Reckwitz 2002, 249; 2008, 112; Löw 2008, 31; Lefebvre (1958, 9) speaks of 'everydayness' to characterise the routinised nature of day-to-day living.

day, or a focus on a city dweller's experience of movement, whereby space becomes tangible via the time required to cover a distance[75].

The Contributions to this Volume

Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher, Anna-Lena Krüger

The contributions to this conference volume, many of them case studies on Pompeii and Ostia, deal with the (in)formal organisation of urban space, neighbourhoods as small-scale experiences, streets – which are oscillating between axiality and being an area – and the socio-spatial patterning of urban space into quarters and districts.

Christer Bruun's discussion of *regiones, vici* and grass-root dynamics in Roman Ostia disentangles different levels of formal and informal (spatial) organisation of urban space. Districts (*regiones*) and quarters (*vici*) are local variants of formal administration of the urban space, recognisable in the epigraphical record. However, from a bottom-up perspective, this official spatial organisation is less important. Therefore, a bottom-up perspective instead focuses on places of social interaction (e. g., taverns, *insulae* and baths, etc.) or various religious identities in Ostia. His study shows how – on a conceptual level – administrative structures and neighbourhoods interfere with one another as categories of experience. Christer Bruun's contribution can thus be read as an addition to the theoretical framework outlined above.

The following four contributions approach the socio-spatial pattern of the city from a grass-roots-perspective and consider the perception and experience of neighbourhoods at different scales.

Patric-Alexander Kreuz's case study focuses on an urban area of Classical Athens excavated by Wilhelm Dörpfeld in the late 19th century. Here the streets themselves, with their simple design, lack of infrastructural amenities (such as sidewalks, fountains and altars) and a relative scarcity of shops hardly encouraged social appropriation. Instead, a *lesche* as well as enclosed, secluded small-scale sanctuaries formed the nuclei for social interaction and neighbourhood formation. However, written sources show that cult activity did not only refer to territorially organised social entities such as *phratria* and *deme*, but also to non-territorial formations – such as the *orgeones.* Spatial proximity (neighbourhood) is thus one, but not the only factor to organise social space.

The paper by **Tobias Busen** shifts the chronological and geographical focus from Classical and Hellenistic Greece to Hellenistic and Early Imperial Italy. Using the case study of Insula I 4 in Pompeii, he provides a small-scale analysis of neighbourly agreements based on an architectural survey. The *insula* shows evidence for two phenomena: the shared access (doors, corridors and staircases) to (interim) construction yards as well as agreements on the use of building site which allowed neighbouring lots to realise almost ideal room layouts in all lots. From this perspective, the neighbourhood becomes a very basic category of interaction.

With regard to the sub-elite Porta Stabia neighbourhood, **Steven Ellis** provides a critical discussion in what way archaeological excavations can contribute to the understanding of neighbourhoods. Most importantly, it is problematic to introduce sharp delineations of property units. However, the

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75 In modern times, this relation has been modified by ever faster means of transportation and translocal forms of communication (via telephone and internet). In ancient times, principal inner-city travel was by foot, mule/horse or by an animal-driven cart so that 'realms of movement and social space had considerable overlap' (Carmona 2021, 219) which further enhanced face-to-face communication. Even though there were no significant differences in speed between the various street users, the time needed for passing from one point to another constitutes a fundamental aspect of urban experience. The movement underlies three kinds of constraint – see Knox – Pinch 2010, 197 (referring to Torsten Hägerstrand): '(1) capability constraints – principally, the time available for travelling and the speed of the available mode of transportation; (2) authority constraints – laws and customs affecting travel and accessibility; and (3) coupling constraints – resulting from the limited periods during which specific projects are available for access.'

complex set of stratigraphic data from Porta Stabia allows for a chronological differentiation and the distinction of different economic strategies. Between the 2nd century B.C., when the area gained a fundamentally new layout, and its destruction in A.D. 79, the different lots, their economic use and thus also their interconnectedness significantly changed. But there are also cases showing astonishing continuities when it comes to questions of interconnectedness.

Simon Malmberg's paper focuses on a specific type of neighbourhood: the harbours of Pietra Papa and Ripetta in Rome. Instead of streets, quays function as a connection between adjacent buildings on the one side, and river crafts on the other. Public buildings, namely bath houses, form a constituent feature. Housing, by contrast, seems to take different forms: non-permanent in the area of Pietra Papa, whereas the area around the Ripetta harbour is densely built up. Social ties (and thus neighbourhood relations) must have been influenced by the interaction between temporary and permanent residents on the one hand, and the temporal-seasonal rhythms of the harbour on the other.

The following two contributions take a specific perspective on spatial patterns by looking at streets. By their very nature, streets are highly connective entities within the urban texture. On the one hand, they relate the 'neighbours' of the two sides of the street, not only in an infrastructural and social, but also in a visual sense. On the other hand, streets constitute a network that encompasses the whole city space. Their design characteristics can become a starting point for the perception of different areas of the city.

M. Taylor Lauritsen analyses the development of a single Pompeian street – the Via di Mercurio – in a diachronic perspective. He shows that its social use changed significantly between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. Within a residential, almost 'elitist' area, which dates back to the Samnite period, the street attracted more and more commercial and industrial units, especially from the late 2nd century B.C. onwards. Consequently, the neighbourhood became more and more socially diversified. This change also manifested visually – Samnite ashlar façades were joined by stuccoed façades with different surface designs. As several design features within the street referred to the commercial god Mercury, they contributed to the creation of a shared 'neighbourhood' identity.

Eric Poehler chooses a different perspective on the streets of Pompeii. While fountains and street shrines defined the social importance of the main streets as densely used axes (not areas), street morphology and street amenities contributed to a differentiation of areas within the city space. The urban space's morphology – axial and non-axial streets – creates different viewing experiences: axial streets provide a view-through, whereas in non-axial streets the view reaches only to the next corner. While the latter constitute the street network of the 'Altstadt', the former shaped urban perception in the area east of the Via Stabiana. The streets were also paved and equipped with sidewalks as well as stepping stones in the western areas of the city, while these amenities may were lacking in the city's eastern part. The design of Pompeian streets thus reveals a basic distinction between the more urbanised west and the less urbanised east. By integrating models of movement (vehicular/pedestrian) and infrastructure (wastewater) into his analysis, Eric Poehler is able to describe the production of a neighbourhood as a multifaceted process that not only draws on these physical features but also manifests itself in individual mental concepts and different modes of usage.

The final two contributions shed light on the socio-spatial patterning of a city into quarters. Although a comprehensive analysis of city quarters/districts should consider all tangible material characteristics, as outlined above, the analysis of only one or a few parameters can produce valuable insights into spatial patterns of action and perception.

Pia Kastenmeier focuses on green areas, which clustered in the southeast of Pompeii. Of particular interest are properties used for commercial horticulture (market gardens, vineyards) as well as alfresco dining facilities. She shows that at least some of the green areas were accessible to paying guests, especially the spectators of the close-by amphitheatre. The presence of nature within the city (*rus in urbe*) shapes urban perception. The atmospheric quality of this southeastern area of Pompeii is thus highly dependent on weather and season – especially as the games in the amphitheatre were only held from spring to autumn.

The final contribution by **Miko Flohr** broadens the perspective. He addresses the effect of increasing wealth inequality during the Late Republic on the differentiation of house sizes and thus also on the social-spatial pattern of cities. In the 4th and 3rd century B.C. house sizes did not differ significantly, while in the 2nd century B.C. large houses (now usually with peristyles) as well as rental apartments appeared – especially in economically successful cities such as Pompeii. This change did not lead to a strict spatial zoning, but to a tendency wherein elites clustered in the 'centre', and the poor settled mostly at the margins. Social inequality thus had an effect on the development of (socially distinct) urban quarters. In parallel, it also affected the neighbourly relationships within a quarter where rich house owners and poor (tenants) lived side by side.

The perception and experience of neighbourhood as a community's social interrelationship in antiquity is linked to various facets of everyday life. This volume aims to understand neighbourhoods and city quarters through the lens of the ancient cities' inhabitants. On a pragmatic level, neighbours living side by side in a city are obliged to interact, communicate and negotiate to shape their houses' architecture or to share facilities (Tobias Busen, Steven Ellis). Any change in the architectural or decorative design of an *insula* affected the individual's living conditions, but also the surrounding urban space – it shaped the character of a neighbourhood. The materially shaped urban space then creates a bundle with forms of social interaction – be they of a more organised and long-lasting quality, such as cult practices (Christer Bruun, Patric-Alexander Kreuz), or of a more temporary character (Simon Malmberg).

However, urban space is not only created and experienced by and within separate buildings, but also by the streets connecting them. Streets, with their layout, furniture and decoration, influenced the visual perception and limitation of a neighbourhood and could create a feeling of togetherness (M. Taylor Lauritsen, Eric Poehler, cf. contrary Patric Kreuz). All of these intrinsic dynamics of the numerous medium-scale urban spaces within a single city led to perceivable demarcation processes occurring between them. Thus, individual areas of the city stand out due to their characteristics (Pia Kastenmeier, Miko Flohr). The formation of such city quarters not only results in different forms of experience (aesthetically and socially) for a citizen, but also in the displacement of disadvantaged social groups, and social distinctions within 'elite' and 'poor' districts (Miko Flohr, cf. M. Taylor Lauritsen). In a dynamic entity like the ancient city, neighbourhoods owned different qualities depending on their location in the city, while quarters were fixed urban sub-spaces with specific characteristics.

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Christer Bruun

Regiones, *Vici* and Grassroots Dynamics at Roman Ostia

Abstract: This paper focuses on the organisation of urban space in Roman Ostia by analysing both epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Starting with a top-down perspective on urban space by means of epigraphic sources, especially regarding the *magistri vici*, districts (*regiones*) and quarters (*vici*) appear as possible forms of local organisation and administration. However, concrete evidence is surprisingly scarce and only covers the period before Ostia's expansion during the 2nd century A.D. This lack of evidence is one additional reason that a change of perspective from the top-down view to a bottom-up approach focusing on neighbourhoods is appropriate. At Ostia, places of encounter like *balnea*, *thermae* and taverns come into focus as focal points of neighbourhoods. Also, different religious identities, *collegia* and *insulae* seem to be factors when neighbourhoods are formed at the grassroots level. Here, for individual inhabitants the administrative division of urban space in districts (*regiones*) or quarters (*vici*) is of less relevance.

Introduction: The Special Nature of Roman Ostia

Ostia, Rome's harbour town, underwent a remarkable development during a period of three centuries following the founding of the Principate. Two events were of crucial importance for the town's growth: the construction of a deep-water harbour begun almost as soon as Claudius became emperor in A.D. 41, and the addition of a large and safe inner harbour basin during the latter part of the reign of the emperor Trajan, who died in A.D. 117. The harbour zone became known as Portus and was situated some three kilometres north of the walled centre of Ostia. The urban centre and the harbour were separated (or joined) by land that technically speaking constituted an island and today is known as the 'Isola Sacra'. A road connected centre and harbour zone, and so did an artificial canal, the latter was discovered by archaeologists only a few years ago. During the Principate the population of Ostia increased several times over as the town became the main harbour of the largest metropolis in the Mediterranean. By the early 2nd century, it was the largest town in Italy after Rome, with a population that can be estimated to have reached 35,000 inhabitants[1].

With a population of that size, and with rich evidence both from thousands of inscriptions and from archaeological excavations, Ostia can be expected to provide fertile ground for the study of socio-spatial patterning and related forms of interaction in the Roman world. Pompeii, which vies with Ostia for the rank of most important Roman site in Italy after Rome itself, shows us what to expect. In fact, Ostia holds out the hope of providing even more interesting and relevant insights than Pompeii, due to the fact that the town thrived for several centuries, well into the 3rd century, while the history of Pompeii came to an abrupt end in A.D. 79 Pompeii presents us with *vici*, *regiones*, neighbourhood activists (*vicini*) engaged in election campaigns, crossroads cults and more; but what about Ostia?

It is something of a paradox that the pattern which has been identified at Pompeii does not seem to be replicated, regardless of the wealth of information found at Ostia. Following a survey of the evidence, the reason(s) for this situation will be discussed. Are there some crucial gaps in the source material which condition the result, or can we take the evidence at face value and use it for conclusions about the situation in Rome's harbour town? Also, for any identifiable features it will be important to consider whether we are dealing with the results of a top-down or a bottom-up process.

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1 Meiggs (1973) is still fundamental for the history of Ostia during the Principate, but his estimate of a population of 50,000 or even 60,000 (Meiggs 1973, 533 f.) remains unconvincing; see further Bruun, in press, Chapter II. Recent work on the Isola Sacra: Keay et al. 2020.

As the harbour zone was developed, Ostia grew rapidly thanks to the influx of immigrants from other regions of Italy and from abroad. Urban newcomers tend to settle close by others who have the same geographical origin. Therefore, this development can be expected to have created districts and quarters with specific characteristics; whether this outcome can be documented is another matter.

Large Administrative Units: The *Regiones* of Ostia

The importance of the control of 'space' in the Roman world has been recognised in modern historical scholarship at least since the appearance of Claude Nicolet's seminal 'L'inventaire du monde' (1988). The long reign of Augustus was seen as a turning point and Nicolet stressed the importance of the reforms carried out by the first *princeps* in regard to the spatial division of Italy and Rome. At a certain point during his reign, eleven *regiones* numbering from I to XI were created on the territory of the Italian peninsula, while the city of Rome in 7 B.C. was divided into fourteen administrative districts likewise known as *regiones*. Each urban *regio* was still a very large administrative unit, on average comprising some 60,000 inhabitants or more, and therefore Augustus took his concern with urban space and its organisation one step further. Undoubtedly building on an earlier grassroots organisation centred on crossroads shrines (*compitalia*), a network of *vici* was created in the capital. Every *vicus* had its own local leaders, the *magistri vici.* According to the Elder Pliny, during the census of Vespasian in A.D. 73, there were 265 *vici* in Rome (Plin. HN 3, 66).

Modern maps of the ancient town divide the area inside Ostia's town walls in five *regiones*. There is an obvious reason to assume a spatial division of the area inside the walls, for administrative purposes if nothing else (and further districts would have existed at Portus and on the Isola Sacra), but we do not know where any of Ostia's ancient *regiones* were located or what their borders were. In fact, even the number of *regiones* is, strictly speaking, unknown. The modern division is conjectural, although it is practical for purposes of orientation. One single source for the division of Ostian urban space in *regiones* has determined the scholarly view thus far. In an inscription dating to A.D. 251, erected by initiative of an Isiacus (a worshipper of Isis) and honouring one D. Fabius Florus Veranus, a priest of the goddess, we find the following positions of trust (all in the dative case) held by the latter in various Ostian associations[2]:

> [...] *naviculario V (quinque) corporum lenunculariorum Ostiensium honoribus ac muneribus omnibus functo sodali corp(oris?/um?)* **V (quinque?/quintae?)** *region(um?/is?) coloniae Ostiensis* [...]
> '[...] to Fabius Veranus the shipper, member of the five associations of Ostian owners of lenunculus boats who has handled all honours and duties well, fellow of the association(s?) **of five regions/the fifth region** of the town of Ostia'.

Previous scholars have consistently interpreted the second numeral '*V*' as *quinque*, '**five**', concluding that Ostia had five regions. It makes more sense to interpret the number as an ordinal, *quintae*, '**fifth**': Fabius Veranus was a '*sodalis* of a corpus **of the fifth region**', not a '*sodalis* of the corpus **of five regions**'. The inscription merely provides a reference to the *quinta regio*, the 'fifth region', of Ostia, and leaves us in the dark about the total number of regions[3].

For comparison, a division in *regiones* is found in several other towns in Campania and Latium: Beneventum, Capua, Neapolis, Nola, Puteoli and Praeneste. The earliest reference is dated to ca. A.D. 250. In particular, Puteoli, the rich Campanian harbour town which had many features in common with Ostia, stands out. Seven *regiones* are known within the town proper, carrying names like *regio Arae Lucullianae* (AE 1977, 198); *regio Clivi Vitriari sive Vici Turari* (ILS 1224b = AE 1977, 199); and *regio*

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2 CIL XIV 352 = ILS 6149. To facilitate reading, abbreviated words have been expanded, except the crucial phrase referring to *regiones*.

3 This argument is discussed in more detail in Bruun, in press.

Vici Vestoriani et Calpurniani (CIL X 1631 = ILS 6322)[4]. Also in light of this comparative evidence, the silence of the Ostian sources is remarkable and puzzling.

Small Administrative Units: *Vici*

Several inscriptions from Puteoli, just cited in the context of the larger districts or *regiones*, contain references to named *vici*, that is to say, smaller urban/spatial units. Such *vici* would seem to constitute the physical context in which much of the social life of the Ostians played out. The city of Rome with its hundreds of *vici* was undoubtedly the model for the inner-urban division in *vici* in Italian towns during the Principate. These streets/urban quarters of Rome all carried a particular name, such as *vicus Honoris et Virtutis*, *vicus Huiusce Diei* or *vicus Fortunae Respicientis* (all in CIL VI 975; the epithets refer to temples). Most names are known thanks to a series of inscriptions erected by the annual *magistri vici*, who first took up office in 7 B.C. or shortly before.

Vici which carry distinct names are known from over twenty towns in Italy and in the provinces, especially in the west[5]. For instance, at Ariminum, five named *vici* are known, three of which were named after topographical features in Rome: *vicus Aventinus* (CIL XI 421), *vicus Cermalus* (CIL XI 419) and *vicus Velab[rus]* (CIL XI 417 = ILS 6661). At Pompeii, the epigraphic evidence has given scholars reason to postulate the presence of *vici* called *Campaniensis*, *Forensis*, *Saliniensis* and *Urbulanensis*[6].

Against this fairly substantial amount of evidence for named *vici* in Rome, Italy and elsewhere, it may again come as a surprise that we know practically nothing about Ostian *vici*, although, as we shall see, a few neighbourhood leaders (*magistri vici*) appear during the early Principate. Otherwise, the closest we get to an explicit reference is a fragmentary notice in the Fasti Ostienses (Ostia's annual chronicle engraved on marble slabs) for 1st January A.D. 115, reporting a fire in which many properties went up in flames: *K(alendis) Ianuar(iis) incendium ortum in v[ico? ---]/et praedia complura deusta sun[t]*[7]. The fire began in a location, the name of which begins with the letter 'v', but it is impossible to determine whether the text refers to, for instance, *via*, *vicus*, *ustrinum*, or villa, among a number of possible words.

Ostia belongs in the same category as some Italian towns, in which local *vici* are not specifically named in any source, but the existence of *magistri vici* or *magistri vicorum* reveals such a local quarter organisation[8].

Magistri of Ostian City Quarters

In Ostia the office of *magister vici* occurs a few times during the early Principate. Three inscriptions, one of which was discovered fairly recently, allow us to gain some insight into the organisation of districts in *vici*, which however, against expectations, seem to have been short-lived. The first and most extensive of these texts belonged to a crossroads shrine, a *compitum* (from *competere*, 'come together'). It dates to the late triumvirate or the early Augustan period and names three Ostian *magistri vici* and a fourth individual, all freedmen (CIL XIV 4710 = ILS 5395):

4 Camodeca 2018, 40–59.
5 Tarpin 2002, 326–380.
6 Laurence 2007, 40; Pesando 2016.
7 Bargagli – Grosso 1997, 40 or Vidman 1982, 48 for the text.
8 This situation applies, e. g., to Aquileia (CIL V 8211), Pisaurum (CIL XI 6367) and Spoletium (CIL XI 4815).

Po[st]umus Plotius M. f. quarto /A. Genucius A. f. iter(um) duoviri / locum dederunt compiti aedificandi / C. Cartilius C. f. Poplicola duovir VII / (5) cens(or) III compitum transtulit / D. Caecilius DD. l. Nicia medicus / L. Marcius L. l. Stephanus / P. Naevius P. l. Heraclida / mag(istri) vici maceriem / (10) et columnam de suo fecerunt / C. Cartilius C. l. Hera[cleo].

'Postumus Plotius M. f. duovir for the fourth time and A. Genucius A. f. duovir for the second time assigned the space for building a crossroads shrine. C. Cartilius C. f. Poplicola duovir for the seventh time and censor for the third time moved the crossroads shrine. The magistri vici D. Caecilius Nicia, physician, freedman of two Decimi, L. Marcius Stephanus freedman of Lucius, P. Naevius Heraclida freedman of Publius built the surrounding wall and the column with their own funds. C. Cartilius Hera[cleo], freedman of Gaius [...]'.

The structure to which the text refers has not survived, but the wording provides some clues through the mention of an enclosing wall (*maceria*) and a column. This represents one of the few ancient descriptions we have of crossroads shrines in Roman Italy. The reason for moving the crossroads shrine (*compitum*), probably soon after permission to establish it had been given, remains unknown. Likewise, unknown is where the *compitum*, after being moved, was located. Some scholars have suggested that it was located at the central intersection west of the *castrum* where the main street, the *decumanus maximus*, veers off to the southwest and the Via della Foce continues in a northwesterly direction towards the river mouth. There is no certainty, but this location seems ideal for a *compitum* at which the neighbourhood gathered for cultic events.

Thinking of the character of this neighbourhood, it is noteworthy that all three *magistri vici* declare themselves to be ex-slaves. Equally interesting is the conspicuous involvement by the highest freeborn leadership of the *colonia* (i. e., three *duoviri*, holders of Ostia's highest magistracy) in this process of establishing a meeting point for the neighbourhood. One of them was the most highly decorated local leader of his generation, C. Cartilius Poplicola, and the same family name is borne by the person named on the last line, *C. Cartilius C. l(ibertus) Hera[cleo]*, who surely was a freedman of the *duovir* Cartilius Poplicola himself. Because the text breaks off, we cannot say whether he too carried the title *magister vici*, but we now know that he did occupy that position at some point in his life.

The second example and a recent epigraphic discovery underlines the contribution by freedmen serving as *magistri vici* to Ostian urban development during the Augustan age, and C. Cartilius C. l. Heracleo, who was cited last in the *compitum* inscription, appears also in this new text. Inscribed on a block of marble, the text celebrates his donation of a *horologium* (a sundial or waterclock) to the town while holding the office of *magister vici*: *[C. Car]tilius C. l. / [He]racleo / [mag.] veici / [horo]logium / [de suo?] posuit*[9]. The stone was found in the Tempio dei Fabri Navales (III.ii.2), reused in a layer dating to the Flavian period. By then the memory of the donation of the *horologium* had evidently been obliterated; a sign of urban change in Ostia during the early Principate.

The third inscription potentially belonging to the context of the Ostian *magistri vici* can be read on a round marble altar decorated with mythological figures, found in the so-called 'Piazza dei Lari' in the immediate vicinity of the Casa di Diana (I.iii.3–4). The surviving part of the text reads: *[---] / [m] ag. d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciundum) c(urav.) / Laribus / vicin(alibus) sacr(um) // aram marmoream*[10]. The author(s) of the monument remain anonymous, and another uncertainty concerns their number; it is not clear whether we are dealing with one or more *magistri*[11]. A stylistic analysis of the altar and its decorative frieze has led to the conclusion that the ensemble predates the Augustan reform of Rome's *vici* and possibly also the Ostian instances of *magistri vici*[12]. Still, we are undoubtedly dealing with the cult of the *lares* of the quarter, although there is no trace of a *compitum* and the marble altar is not located at a crossroads.

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9 Van Haeperen 2019, 124 with earlier bibliography.
10 CIL XIV 4298.
11 Van Haeperen 2019, 122 f.
12 Pensabene (2007, 177) in his authoritative study of Ostian marble suggested 30–10 B.C., a period earlier than most previous estimates.

Magistri of the Lares Augusti in A.D. 51: Another Top-Down Initiative

In A.D. 51, well over half a century after the Ostian *compitum* referred to above was moved and refurbished by the *magistri vici* overseen by Cartilius Poplicola, a series of inscriptions containing dedications to the Lares Augusti was erected by a group of three *liberti* who called themselves *magistri primi* ('the first *magistri*'). We are dealing with a dossier of seven inscriptions considered to derive from two or three small buildings, one of them a round structure in the forum of Ostia[13].

Evidently these three freedmen were not *magistri vici*, since they state that they were acting in the first year (*anni primi*) of the office they held. It strains belief that the Ostian community could have forgotten that *magistri vici* had been in office a few decades earlier (and possibly more recently than what the now available evidence indicates), and therefore here we are dealing with a different situation. Moreover, although the city-quarter officials in Rome often venerated the Lares Augusti, they were always explicit about their own titles being *magister* (sometimes *minister*) *vici*. The three freedmen active in A.D. 51, all bearing the family name Seius, were *magistri larum augustorum* and are the only such officials known at Ostia[14]. The strong presence of these Seii makes one suspect that a member of the Ostian elite by that name, residing nearby, was involved in this organisation of the quarter. But one draws a blank when studying the names of the known magistrates and decurions of Ostia: no Seii can be found[15].

Neither is any continuation of the institution of *magistri* catering to the cult of the Lares Augusti known, regardless of the fact that the Ostian epigraphic patrimony comprises some 8,000 published inscriptions. Only seven later inscriptions mention the *lares* at Ostia (twice with the epithet *augusti* added: CIL XIV 367 = ILS 6164, 2041). Most of them belong in the private sphere and therefore do not contribute to the present investigation[16].

It seems justified to characterise the forms of spatial organisation surveyed thus far as top-down phenomena. We lack most of the information that would be necessary for a full understanding – What is the precise chronology of the various initiatives? Where in the urban fabric of Ostia could these structures be found? Which layers of the population participated? – but the information we have points to initiatives from above. In the background there is the model of Augustan Rome, we see an involvement of Ostian chief magistrates in the case of the *magistri vici*, and also the *magistri larum augustorum* seem to fit a similar top-down pattern[17].

Religious Activities and Grassroot Dynamics: Approaches to a Spatially Rooted Neighbourhood?

While the crossroads cult of the Lares Augusti does not seem to have caught on at Ostia, although it remained popular elsewhere[18], other cultic and religious activities must have constituted a form of

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13 AE 1964, 151–156 for the inscriptions. For the archaeological context, see Mar 2002, 130–133, supported by Pensabene 2007, 178.

14 The inscription CIL XIV 26 may have referred to a similar shrine, but it is incomplete, only known from a manuscript, and carries no date.

15 Meiggs 1973, 511–517; Bruun, in press, Chapter VII.

16 The other inscriptions are CIL XIV 20; 4293; 4309; 4570; IPO A 19.

17 Irrespectively of whether the emperor Claudius, whose government at the time was intensely engaged in building the harbour at Portus, was involved in the establishment of the Ostian cult of the Lares Augusti, as some have suggested.

18 See, e. g., CIL II/7 938; III 8673; XI 7726; XII 2807, mostly from the 2nd century A.D.

social activity that created bonds among inhabitants and within neighbourhoods[19]. Three inscriptions with religious connotations may provide some information about neighbourhood activity.

A marble plaque found in the harbour district Portus contains the text *Diana iobens iub. Traianensium* (CIL XIV 4 = IPO B 287). It seems that the goddess Diana 'Iobens' (?) was being venerated, apparently by the *iuv(enes) Traianenses*[20]. There is no direct evidence for who the *Traianenses* were, but a similar term occurs in a second, Greek, inscription, also from Portus, in which a *speira Traianesion* (σπείρης Τραιανησίων) is mentioned (I.Porto 8 = IG XIV 925). *Spira* is a Greek loanword frequently found in Latin, and the 'Oxford English Dictionary' gives as one of its meanings 'A sodality in some mystery cults'. This is indeed borne out by a handful of inscriptions from Rome and Italy[21]. Trajan was the emperor who had the inner harbour basin at Portus built, and conceivably some quarters of the port might have adopted an Imperial epithet such as *vicus Traianensis* or *vicus Traiani*. This may explain also the name of the *spira* of *Traianenses*. Alternatively, the *iuvenes Traianenses* adopted the name because they were involved in the Imperial cult; a purpose which would not prevent them from also venerating Diana. The second interpretation finds support in other inscriptions from Italy, which show that associations of *iuvenes* often used epithets with religious connotations. Most frequently the *iuvenes* refer to the cult of Hercules, but we also find the *iuvenes Nepesini Dianenses* at Nepet (CIL XI 3210) and the *iuvenes colleg(ii) Mart(is) Salut(aris)* at Aricia (AE 1912, 92 = ILS 9421)[22].

The third relevant Ostian inscription is a dedication to Silvanus Sanctus, also found at Portus. The author is a man who was *sacerdos Dei Liberis (!) Patris Bonadiensium* (CIL XIV 4328 = IPO B 306). Here we encounter a group called *Bonadienses*, clearly named after the goddess Bona Dea. Even more than the epithet *Traianensis*, *Bonadiensis* could be given a specific spatial or topographical meaning. An ancient sanctuary of the 'Good Goddess' may have been the most distinctive building in its neighbourhood, giving origin to the toponym 'vicus Bonae Deae'. We may further assume that the local residents, the *Bonadienses*, gathered around a shrine to Liber Pater and chose a priest (*sacerdos*). This would explain the inscription just cited. The scenario may appear persuasive, but it is difficult to find support in our knowledge of Ostian topography. Two temples of Bona Dea are known at Ostia, one inside the walls in Regio V and one outside the Porta Marina in Regio IV. Unfortunately, no cult site of Liber Pater (the Greek Dionysos) has yet been securely identified in Ostia's Regio V or anywhere inside the walls, although the existence of a cult of Liber is attested already in the 3rd/2nd century B.C.[23].

Thus, the hypothesis that there were two quarters at Ostia, perhaps called *vici* or at least comparable to such districts elsewhere in Roman towns, named *Traianensis* and *Bonadiensis*, presents itself naturally, and there is much support for this idea in previous scholarship. A closer look at the evidence and the inclusion of comparative material warns against hasty conclusions. *Traianensis* might equally well fit as the epithet of a cultic association, or even as a general reference to inhabitants of the settlement at Portus. The epithet *Bonadiensis* seems more likely to be the name of a *vicus*, and the probability increases if a city quarter of the walled town centre was intended.

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19 See Haug, this volume.

20 Other texts from Italy show that *iuvenes* ('young people') is sometimes written *iubenes*. The word '*IOBENS*' which seems to accompany the name of the goddess is enigmatic.

21 See, e. g., CIL VI 76 = ILS 3515 = AE 2009, 159; CIL X 6510 = ILS 3367.

22 See the extensive list of sources in Ginestet 1991, 214–250. Tabs. I. IVa.

23 Van Haeperen 2019, 276 f. 294 f.

Places of Encounter and the Physical Realities of Neighbourhoods

It will be useful to change perspective, from the study of epigraphic evidence of institutionalised quarters and of local associations, the former more of a top-down and the latter more of a bottom-up phenomenon, to a focus on physical realities that may constitute evidence for the social experience of neighbourhoods.

First, to start with cult sites at crossroads, a survey by Jan-Theo Bakker of the Ostian archaeological evidence some decades ago optimistically listed seven so-called *compita*, but the evidence is very uneven and basically restricted to four sites; the clearest evidence was discussed in the section above[24].

Second, the notion that human beings congregate around sources of water provides the starting point for a search for other ways in which the spatial division and neighbourhood formation of the Ostian population may have occurred. But we shall see that although this approach has produced results in some other Roman towns, due to some special local features matters do not seem to play out the same way at Ostia. To be sure, to the extent that water for household purposes was fetched from a public source, this particular location very likely became a meeting point for residents of a particular neighbourhood[25]. The fountain could be instrumental in creating a feeling of community and belonging, or in other words, of local identity[26]. In Pompeii, where the archaeological record obviously was frozen at a certain point in time, contrary to what we find in Ostia, Ray Laurence suggested that 'the establishment of public fountains may have altered the existing pattern of social activity at a local level within the city'[27]. The Pompeian fountains are often found at crossroads and most of the population lived within a radius of 80 m from one of them[28]. A similar situation can be identified at Rome, based on Frontinus' information in his *De aquaeductu urbis Romae* that almost 600 *lacus* were at the disposal of the population: most Romans would have lived within 70 m of a fountain or some other source of running water[29].

At Ostia, the physical aspect of the water-distribution network is known in some detail. After the first aqueduct was inaugurated, probably not before the reign of Gaius (A.D. 37–41), fountains distributed water inside the walled town, and Portus had its own aqueduct[30]. The 'watering holes' thus represented natural points of encounter, but the large number of wellheads found in Ostian houses shows that some inhabitants continued to use groundwater, while certain privileged households benefited from piped aqueduct water[31]. Also some high-rise buildings, known as *insulae*, had their own water supply, an important feature to which we shall return. All in all, water fountains were unlikely to be visited by all nearby inhabitants (also because social hierarchies must have determined who fetched the water), and the time spent on this errand undoubtedly varied.

Third, if we are looking for a more substantial way in which the availability of hydraulic resources created the conditions for social neighbourhood interaction, we should undoubtedly focus on the public baths. In the many *thermae* and *balnea* of Ostia and Portus local residents spent hours together

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24 Bakker 1994, 118–133. 243–250. Van Haeperen (2019, 120–125) included four entries under *compitum*.

25 See Poehler, this volume; Lauritsen, this volume.

26 Such a situation was suggested for Herculaneum by Hartnett 2008.

27 Laurence 2007, 49.

28 Laurence 2007, 49; similarly, Lamare 2020, 35–37.

29 As noted in Bruun 1991, 101–104.

30 See Ricciardi – Scrinari (1996) for a thorough archaeological survey of hydraulic features inside the walls; more precise details in Schmölder-Veit 2009, 85–105 (but it is unlikely that the first aqueduct is Augustan). Keay – Millett (2005, 278 f.) for Portus' aqueduct; its distribution network is largely unknown.

31 Private wells and well heads: Ricciardi – Scrinari 1996, 13–88. Private lead pipes: Bruun 1991, 286–293; with an update in Bruun in press, Chapter VI.

(as did many visitors during the sailing season), and social networks were surely formed and maintained[32].

Fourth, taverns of various kinds represent another type of establishment in which one can expect at least part of the clientele to have consisted of people from the immediate vicinity, and also some of Ostia's many retail outlets may have served as focal points for the neighbourhood[33].

Religious Identities and Neighbourhoods

It is impossible in only a few pages even to attempt to identify how the numerous public baths and taverns may have been instrumental in forging a particular neighbourhood identity. Furthermore, Ostia's long history and the often complicated chronology of the ancient buildings create additional challenges, if one wants to determine the situation at any particular moment. Instead, this section will focus on the archaeological evidence from another viewpoint.

As mentioned at the outset, the construction of the harbours at Portus led to a massive influx of newcomers, in addition to the arrival of more or less permanent visitors from near and afar, which any port town would experience. It stands to reason that from the mid-1st century forward and throughout the 2nd century the many thousands of immigrants would have created ethnic, linguistic and/or cultural enclaves at Ostia. How this process worked out in actual practice is, however, unknown. What one can do is to return, once more, to the religious sphere. Several deities from the Near East were worshipped[34]; one can imagine that the faithful might have settled in the vicinity of the various cult buildings (many still not identified). In particular it is worth referring to the almost twenty Mithraic 'caves' which have been identified[35]. Although this cult required initiation and women were excluded, we can imagine that for some Ostians this cultic community represented an 'ideological neighbourhood' that intersected with other neighbourhoods, spatial and social.

The synagogue was situated outside the walls almost on the beach in a locality which used to be considered peripheric. Recent excavations have shown that the zone instead was a bustling thriving part of the urban fabric during Ostia's heyday[36]. There is no proof that the Jewish population lived nearby, but it is certainly not out of the question.

Perhaps similar is the context of the cult of the Egyptian god Serapis. Thanks to the sponsorship of an Ostian benefactor, the first Temple of Serapis was inaugurated in A.D. 127. The site of the temple in Regio III and its surroundings are well-known, including the nearby baths known as the Terme della Trinacria[37]. This ancient neighbourhood, characterised as 'middle class' in modern scholarship, may well have gravitated around the temple; several worshippers are named in inscriptions which refer to Serapis[38]. Some of them may have had an Egyptian background, we cannot tell; but clearly the cult of Serapis attracted wide general interest at Ostia, as shown also by the mention of the temple in the Fasti Ostienses chronicle.

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32 Bruun 2020a for public baths and social life. Public baths at Ostia: Nielsen 1990 II, 4–6 (the catalogue with seventeen items can be expanded).

33 The survey of taverns and retail outlets by Schoevaert (2018), who uses the term 'boutiques', is the most exhaustive to date; cf. Bruun 2020b on the terminology.

34 See Van Haeperen (2019, 295–297) on the cult of Marnas, a god from Gaza.

35 Most recently on the Mithraic cult sites, Van Haeperen 2019, 150–191.

36 Van Haeperen 2019, 194–198 (general). 194 (not peripheric).

37 The date is given by the Fasti Ostienses (Bargagli – Grosso 1997, 43). For the temple and the surrounding buildings: Mar 2001.

38 Zevi 2001.

How Did the Ostians Refer to their Neighbourhood?

The final section sets out from the perspective of the individual Ostian and asks a seemingly trivial question: in what terms did inhabitants of Ostia provide their address to acquaintances? This is something of a conundrum for us since, as seen above, we do not find references to *vici* (*vicus* can mean both 'neighbourhood' and 'street') and overall, mentions of topographical landmarks are scarce in Ostian epigraphy[39]. In other towns, and specifically in Rome, we find a number of 'addresses' in epitaphs erected for craftsmen and artisans, as in *aurifex de Sacra via* ('goldsmith from Via Sacra'; AE 1991, 106). Ostia was an economic hub, which makes it all the more surprising that inscriptions providing both the profession and the 'address' of the deceased are not found[40]. To explain this paradox, some thought needs to be devoted to the Ostian *corpora* and *collegia*, legally sanctioned professional associations which at Ostia had a stronger presence than anywhere else in Italy or the Roman world in general[41]. Perhaps they provided the main grassroots social interaction that bound together most Ostians, determined their social space, and constituted building blocks for individual identities?

First, large parts of the working population of Ostia were either members of a professional association (in the case of wealthier entrepreneurs) or worked for someone who was a *corporatus* (a more common situation). Conceivably, they primarily felt a relationship with their professional community. Perhaps a strictly geographical division of the urban environment in *regiones* or *vici* was felt to be of secondary importance? Still, this scenario may raise more questions than it answers. If the principal loyalty of a large and probably dominant portion of Ostia's free population lay with the professional associations, this would likely have resulted in certain districts primarily being inhabited by members of a particular *corpus* or *collegium*. Furthermore, one can expect that this easily identifiable character of a neighbourhood would have had an impact on Ostian toponyms. It should have become common to refer to, for instance, a *vicus fabrorum navalium*, a *vicus caudicariorum* or a *vicus lenunculariorum*. Such a process explains why Cicero in Rome used the 'address' *inter falcarios* (Cic. Cat. 1, 8; Cic. Sull. 52), 'in the scythemakers' quarter (or street)', and why Livy employed the topographical reference *inter lignarios* (Liv. 35, 41), 'in the joiners' quarter'. This is what happened at Rome, where we encounter toponyms such as *vicus Sandaliarius*, *vicus Unguentarius* and *vicus Vitrarius*. But in our Ostian sources there is no sign of such a pattern.

Second, the 'corporate topography' at Ostia needs to be taken into account. Each *corpus* and *collegium* had its own 'headquarters' (*schola*), and the location of many such establishments is known. These buildings tended to cluster along the major thoroughfares of the town, along the *decumanus maximus* and the Via della Foce[42]. Therefore, the location of the *scholae* is of little help when attempting to assign a particular character to the various neighbourhoods along these main routes through the town, since it is rare that a single profession would have been able to claim a certain vicinity for itself[43]. This fact does not preclude the existence, somewhere in the town, of quarters predominantly inhabited by certain professions, but we lack concrete information in this regard and the currently known written sources do not reflect such a situation.

Another particular aspect of Ostia's built-up space is the large number of high-rise buildings today known as *insulae*, which elsewhere in Italy are only found in Rome. One wonders what effect this feature of Ostian urbanism may have had on the formation of neighbourhoods. Or, to return to the question which began this section: what effect might the *insulae* have had on Ostian 'addresses'?

A document from Syrian Antioch provides food for thought. An often cited account from A.D. 73/74 concerning the upkeep of what is called a 'fuller's canal' refers to the quarters (*plinthia*) bordering

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39 For a collection of Ostian topographical references, see Bruun, in press, Appendix 3.
40 A few epitaphs providing the profession only do occur, see Bruun, in press.
41 Meiggs 1973, 311–336.
42 Bollmann 1998, 198 f. with Fig. 92.
43 See Poehler, this volume.

the canal by the name of the real estate owner[44]. As for Ostia, one can still today view the names of what must have been the owners on the façade of two buildings: in Regio III this applies to the Casa di Annio, while in Regio IV we find the Domus del Protiro[45]. If this was how addresses commonly were registered in Ostia too, two things follow: (1) Inhabitants (usually renters)[46] may have had little interest in making a declaration in the epigraphic medium of their living or having lived in someone's high-rise building. There can be little honour in inhabiting an *insula* belonging to a wealthy investor, and the dependence on a landlord is hardly such an important part of the renter's identity that he or she is keen to display it. (2) In several cases the *insulae* are known to have had their own piped water supply. This applies, for instance, to the Insula di Bacco e Arianna, situated next to the Temple of Serapis in Regio III, and the Casa di Diana in Regio I, the 'classic' Ostian multi-storey building. Possessing an inner courtyard with a fountain, and with a capacity to accommodate many scores of inhabitants, such *insulae* conceivably constituted primary spatial and social neighbourhoods. Also, the 'upper-middle-class' environment of the Case a Giardino (Regio III), where six fountains served the complex, fits this scenario[47].

Conclusion

Rome's harbour town Ostia offers a fertile field of study, but the town's long history during the Principate and the exceptionally rich epigraphic and archaeological sources represent a particular challenge when studying neighbourhood dynamics. Some of these challenges became evident at the outset, when charting what is known about attempts from the authorities to create administrative top-down structures of urban space in the form of *regiones* and, especially, *vici*. We are poorly informed, a paradoxical situation considering the richness of the epigraphic evidence. There seems to be little continuity and few signs that such administrative structures had much impact on the lives of the Ostians.

When instead looking for grassroots dynamics and neighbourhoods created by the inhabitants' daily experiences, the many public baths, rather more than the plain water fountains on the street-corners, may have been instrumental in forging a set of neighbourhoods. Also the importance of the religious sphere must be emphasised. The presence of cultic activities in the lives of the Ostians needs to be combined with the fact that from ca. A.D. 50 onwards for some two centuries Ostia was a major magnet of immigration. Some foreign cults were demonstrably introduced, and we can expect that newcomers formed various ethnic and cultural neighbourhoods, although we lack concrete evidence for this. To give an example, the surroundings of the Temple of Serapis conceivably constituted a special community and neighbourhood. The almost twenty Mithraic 'caves' formed a local network, the effect of which was reduced by the fact that women were excluded and initiation was required. We can expect 'Mithraic neighbourhoods' to have intersected with a number of other social networks to which the worshippers belonged.

When looking for other ways in which a bottom-up organisation of the population may have occurred, the importance of professions and work cannot be overlooked, especially because the role played by professional associations, *corpora* and *collegia*, was exceptionally strong at Ostia. However, to judge from where the seats (*scholae*) of the various 'guilds' were located – all sharing in a few central locations – this approach does not allow us to characterise any particular quarters as dominated by a certain trade or profession. This may still have been the case, but we lack the evidence.

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44 Translation by Sherk 1988, 231 no. 174: '[…] (the block) of Bargates […] (the block) of Pharnakes the former gymnasiarch […] (the block) of Artas the son of Thrasydemos'.

45 Pavolini 2006, 137. 215 f.

46 Scholars generally assume that Ostia after the inauguration of the two deep-water harbours became a town where many lived on rent in high-rise buildings.

47 Ricciardi – Scrinari 1996, 114 f. 128 f.; Marinucci 2013, 70–74 (Casa di Diana).

Thinking about other ways in which the individual Ostians may have conceived of their neighbourhoods, the significance of the large high-rise buildings, the *insulae*, should not be neglected. Chances are that the communities which formed in the inner courtyards and immediately around these buildings were of primary importance for the identity of the residents. But even for the resident of an *insula*, his or her neighbourhood was not restricted to that building (and not all Ostians lived in one). Especially in a town as vibrant as Rome's port, chances are that at any time an Ostian belonged to several intersecting neighbourhoods, of geographical, cultural, professional and ethnic character.

Setting out from the definition cited in the introduction to this volume – 'Neighbourhood designates a local community defined by spatial proximity as well as the social networks and relations which constitute neighbourhood'[48] – it is easy to imagine such a situation. Stepping out of their accommodation on a holiday, a couple crosses the street in order to have a bite in their local tavern together with the other regulars. Next, the woman turns left in order to visit her favourite baker, while the man goes to the right, intending to meet his fellow Mithraists in their sanctuary. They prefer different public baths, and in this regard opinions are divided also among their neighbours in the *insula* where they live. During a working day their routines differ even more. Therefore, if we tried to mark on a map the physical 'neighbourhood' in which each life played out, it would differ between people living in the same house, and each person's 'neighbourhood' could also change from one day to the other depending on where and with whom the person communicated and interacted on any given day.

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48 See Haug, this volume (n. 31).

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**Neighbourhoods:
Small-scale Areas of Individual Experience**

Patric-Alexander Kreuz

Neighbourhood Dynamics, Neighbourhood Character and the Persistence of Shared Infrastructure: Impressions from an Urban Quarter in Athens, 5th Century B.C. to 3rd Century A.D.

Abstract: The paper seeks to approach the social dimension of ancient urban neighbourhoods by turning towards a densely built-up inner city area of Classical Athens situated in the valley between the Pnyx and the Acropolis. The area was excavated by Wilhelm Dörpfeld in yearly campaigns from 1891 to 1898 and comprises a stretch of one of the major streets of Classical Athens with adjacent architectural complexes and houses as well as side streets and public infrastructure. Yet it is an urban area only rarely considered in discussions on Classical Greek urban life. Although resulting from an old excavation with only limited documentation, the identifiable functional diversity of this built environment and its streetscape can still, in combination with a rich Athenian literary tradition, offer insights into facets of localised neighbourhood sociality and how it might have been shaped by its places. In addition, we gain an impression of the texture of an urban area of Athens and some of the factors that must have contributed not only to its daily experience as a built environment, but also to its differences in character compared to other urban quarters of the city during the Classical period. The 'Dörpfeld area' can thus add a Classical Athenian perspective to the topic of ancient neighbourhoods.

Introduction

Recent archaeological approaches to urbanity have led to an understanding of neighbourhoods that takes into account various factors and implications of 'the urban', thereby focusing less on their architectural assemblages than on their social dimensions[1]: embedded in a wider urban ambience, their locality and spatial proximity as well as their physicality and the tension between bottom-up and top-down powers form the basis for a diversity of social practices[2]. Neighbourhoods regarded as 'emplaced' and 'rooted in a shared residential area'[3] thus promote manifold forms of formal and informal sociality, shared experiences and frequent face-to-face interaction, all contributing in turn to real or imagined familiarity and, ultimately, social integration or even 'sentiments of commonality'[4]. However, the spatial boundaries of neighbourhoods are neither clearly drawn nor are they the same for all residents[5]. Not every resident had equal access to the multiple forms and locales of neighbourhood interaction (depending, e. g., on age, gender or status)[6]. At the same time, each resident was also connected by a network of localised relationships outside his/her neighbourhood, themselves composed of people from various residential areas that, for all their overlap, were not congruent.

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1 Prominently, e. g., Michael E. Smith (2010). Cf. also the different contributions in Pacifico – Truex 2019a; 2019b; Smith 2019; Stone 2019; Pacifico 2019; Wernke 2019. See also Haug, this volume.

2 As opposed to activities: Schatzki 2015.

3 Pacifico 2019, 115. 117. In this regard the understanding of 'neighborhood' is, although closely related, to be distinguished from the more open concept of 'community' as outlined prominently by Yaeger and Canuto (2000, 5 f.): A 'meaningful context of social interaction' that 'generates and is generated by supra-household interactions structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time', relying on and developing 'physical venues for the repeated, meaningful interaction'. This, however, does not imply co-residence of its members, but only requires frequent co-presence.

4 Pacifico 2019, 116.

5 Smith 2010, 140.

6 Smith 2019, 67.

Fig. 1: The Dörpfeld area during excavations as seen from the west.

Fig. 2: The Dörpfeld area during excavations as seen from the east.

Neighbourhood boundaries were therefore inevitably 'blurry' for their inhabitants[7], an aspect to keep in mind considering the random boundaries of excavated sections of a former urban tissue. Most importantly, as an urban phenomenon, neighbourhoods differ from districts, which can be understood as a 'larger zone with administrative or social significance within the city'[8]. Thus, turning to Classical Athens, neighbourhoods rank somewhere between the individual household (*oikos*) and the *deme* as the official unit of the Athenian polis. Unlike the *demes*, however, neighbourhoods were not subject to the polity's ideology or limited to the group of (male) citizens. Instead, they were highly inclusive, involving women, children, foreigners (*metoikoi*) and slaves.

With the inner-city area in the valley between the Pnyx and the Acropolis, excavated by Wilhelm Dörpfeld in the valley between the Pnyx and the Acropolis from 1891 to 1898 (Figs. 1–2), hereafter referred to as 'Dörpfeld area', I have chosen a rarely discussed site of Classical Athens in order to point out some phenomena that might contribute an Athenian perspective to this volume's discussion of ancient neighbourhoods[9]. The category of sociality, its modes and locales will repeatedly play a role here – in an urban society clearly grown well beyond face-to-face familiarity:

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7 Pacifico 2019, 118.
8 Smith 2010, 137.
9 Athens as a large city has evolved over centuries and therefore contrasts with the planned Greek city and its potential dynamics in a spatially uniform urban tissue as prominently explored by Cahill (2002) for Olynthus.

'For Athens is so large and the multitude of people living here is so great, that the city does not present to the mind an image easily grasped or sharply defined'[10].

In this regard, 'neighbourhood' proves to be a quite unwieldy concept. Contemporary Greek terms for 'neighbour' (γείτων) and 'neighbourhood' (γειτονία or γειτνίασις) address proximity by means of immediate spatial connection[11]. Neighbourhood in the extended meaning outlined above, including the state of being neighbours, becomes clearer in an oration of Lycurgus, invoking 'neighbors and [...] those who live in this area [τὰς τῶν γειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ] who know this man fled during the war [...]'[12].

Although the term τόπος used by Lycurgus is noticeably unspecific (place, spot, area), spatial proximity, familiarity and interaction with knowledge about a local individual clearly emerge as its major aspects[13]. However, turning to the material manifestations of such τόποι, our knowledge is rather limited. Only a few residential zones have been (partially) excavated and studied: Coele, the so-called 'Industrial Quarter', the northern slope of the Areopagus, the site of the Acropolis Museum (Makrygianni) and the Dörpfeld area. Yet they are all merely random sections of the former city, and vital places of local social interaction might lie immediately beyond their excavation boundaries. In pleasant contrast to this uncertainty, a rich literary tradition written by Athenians for an Athenian audience, about Athenian matters, and against the background of Athenian laws, customs and traditions offers intriguing insights into local social behaviour of the Classical period.

An Athenian Neighbourhood: The Dörpfeld Area

The Dörpfeld area covers an urban zone along an important inner-city route that led from the Agora towards the southern city quarters[14]. The area thus connected important (and nearby) sites of the Athenian polis, namely the Agora, Pnyx, Areopag and the sites of the Acropolis' southern slope. It has been attributed to the *asty-deme* Collytus, which according to our sources was a popular residential area of 5th and 4th century B.C. Athens, with its main street, the Stenopos Collytus, noted for its lively commercial traffic[15]. However, as much as this area – never built over since antiquity – invites us to study it as a neighbourhood and despite Homer Thompson's confident statement that 'here, more than anywhere else in Athens, one may savor the atmosphere of everyday life in the ancient city'[16], its remains belong to the more challenging of ancient Athens. The excavations carried out by Wilhelm Dörpfeld were only published in short annual reports in 'Athener Mitteilungen'[17] and in a brief synopsis in 'Antike Denkmäler'[18]. Only recently have the handwritten field diaries of these campaigns been made accessible online by the German Archaeological Institute, accompanied by a later typewritten transcript[19]. Just a few of the excavated buildings – the sanctuaries – were subject to more detailed

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10 Isoc. Or. 15, 172 (transl. Norlin 1980).

11 This is, e. g., evident from Pl. Leg. 843c, addressing land and boundaries: 'Wherefore every neighbor (γειτονίαν) must guard most carefully against doing any unfriendly act to his neighbor (γείτονα γείτονι), and must above all things take special care always not to encroach in the least degree on his land [...] Whosoever encroaches on his neighbor's ground, overstepping the boundaries, shall pay for the damage' (transl. Bury 1968).

12 Lycurg. 1, 19 (transl. Roisman – Edwards 2019).

13 Another term occasionally used for smaller urban areas below the level of official administrative or constitutional division is *komé*, see Lohmann 1993, 134 n. 1032: *komai* as villages or quarters (referring to Judeich 1931, 175 with sources).

14 Longo 2010a, 249 with Pl. 2.

15 Ficuciello 2008, 102–105 no. 41; Phot. 375b, 6–7; Plut. Demosthenes 11; Alcibiades 1, 39, 8; de exil. 6, 101.

16 Thompson 1966, 53.

17 Dörpfeld 1891; 1892a; 1892b; 1894a; 1894b; 1895; 1896.

18 Dörpfeld 1908.

19 Dörpfeld 1891–1898; 1972.

Fig. 3: Main map of the Dörpfeld area after the excavations.

Fig. 4: The main street as seen from the north.

Fig. 5: Sanctuary of Heracles Alexikakos, *temenos* wall along main street.

studies in the following years[20], and it was not until 1964/5 that some houses were (re-)examined by Walter Graham[21], while only one of the sanctuaries, the Bakcheion, also received attention in later studies[22]. The results of excavations and later studies were summarised recently in a chapter of the first volume of 'Topografia di Atene'[23]. Yet despite these studies our knowledge of the area remains disappointingly limited. The diaries as well as the published reports are short and show a preference for sanctuaries and hydraulic installations while only providing cursory descriptions for more mundane structures like domestic architecture, if any at all. Stratigraphic and chronological information is rare and often imprecise, small finds are usually neglected, and many aspects of the published maps of the area are difficult to interpret[24]. Several buildings and numerous walls mapped are unnamed, undated, or even remain undescribed. Exterior and interior walls are almost always indicated as continuous, leaving shop entrances or door openings unclear. Most importantly, Dörpfeld's discussion of prominent features is clearly guided by the desire to confirm his hypothesis of locating the famous Enneakrounos fountain and the ancient Agora in this area, a desire that has led to problematic identifications of some remains[25].

Against this background, the following considerations by no means aim for a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of this Athenian urban area, but rather attempt to approach it from a neighbourhood perspective. Yet what are the main features of the Dörpfeld area's built environment (Fig. 3)[26]? Its main street follows the course of the valley between Pnyx and Areopagus with a downward slope of about 5 % and a maximum width of only 4 m (Fig. 4)[27]. It never received stone paving

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20 E. g., Körte 1896; Schrader 1896; Watzinger 1901; Frickenhaus 1911.

21 Short report in Thompson 1966.

22 Schäfer 2002; Karanastassi 2008. The latter judging the value of the field diaries for architectural details and analysis of finds to be no more helpful than the published reports.

23 Longo 2010a.

24 Cf. especially the comprehensive map by Dörpfeld (1908, Pl. 38) with its distinction between 'Greek' and 'Roman' walls, hereafter referred to as 'main map'.

25 Hydraulic installations have been identified by Dörpfeld as part of the Peisistratean water infrastructure. He also located not only the Enneakrounos in the area, but, e. g., the Odeion of Agrippa at the southwest corner of the Areopagus and the Eleusinion in the southern part of the area. Although occasional side notes in the reports show that staff members of his team must have challenged some of Dörpfeld's interpretations and conclusions already during the campaigns he still held to his topographical reconstruction in the 1930s, i. e., after the first years of the American Agora excavation (cf. Dörpfeld 1937).

26 Cf. the maps Dörpfeld 1896, Pl. 14; 1908, Pl. 38.

27 Dörpfeld 1891, 445; Judeich 1931, 179.

Fig. 6: The Bakcheion during excavation.

Fig. 7: The Amyneion.

or graveling[28] and, accordingly, had to be renewed frequently: Dörpfeld states that its level rose considerably over time[29]. Wheel-ruts and occasional kerbstones ('Prellsteine') also allowed him to distinguish the main street as 'Fahrstraße' from the side streets ('Fußwege') of smaller width that led up the slopes and were unusable for wheeled transport[30]. An approximately 20 × 40 m wide open space postulated by Dörpfeld in front of his Enneakrounos (the 'Platz der Enneakrunos')[31] has already been challenged by Graham, referring to remains of Late Classical house architecture at this site. Apparently, there was no such space (and no Enneakrounos) that might have served as a place to linger and a locale of social encounter. Striking is the number of water installations in the area[32]. Numerous wells[33] filled in at different times (some of them as early as the 6th century B.C.)[34] and many cisterns (and/or vats) of domestic or commercial function and mostly unspecified date are documented[35]. Finally, a number of well-preserved conduits for water supply and drainage were identified[36]: deep under the main street the primary conduit, fed from the city's south branch passing the Acropolis hill, and further conduits under side streets and adjacent areas. According to Renate Tölle-Kastenbein, these should be dated mostly to the 4th century B.C., but at least the main conduit must have replaced an older one from the 6th century B.C.[37]. The water fed into the area was probably accessible at a fountain house of modest proportions and therefore only providing local supply (not dated earlier than 4th century B.C.)[38].

Three cult places along the main street are the most prominent features of the Dörpfeld area: the sanctuary of Heracles Alexikakos, the Amyneion and a small Archaic shrine. The wide triangular open-air precinct of the sanctuary of Heracles Alexikakos[39] was bordered on all sides by main

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28 Ficuciello 2008, 104.

29 Dörpfeld 1892a, 91.

30 Dörpfeld 1892b, 439; 1908, 1. The further course of these secondary streets in the adjacent areas is unknown. However, bends, branching alleys and also dead ends are plausible considering their steep slopes.

31 Dörpfeld 1894b, 504 f.; 1908, Pl. 38; Judeich 1931, Fig. 18.

32 Synthesis in Gräber 1905; Dörpfeld 1908, 2 Pl. 38; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 13–18. 26 f. 106 f.

33 Gräber 1905, Pl. l, 1; Judeich (1931, 189) mentions more than seventy.

34 Dörpfeld 1892b, 443 f.

35 Still Pausanias (1, 14, 1) mentions cisterns everywhere in the city.

36 Gräber 1905, Pl. 50, 1; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, Map 8.

37 Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 18. Other side channels and features are only of Imperial age: Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 26 f. 106.

38 Thompson 1966, 52; Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 181 n. 52; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 80 Figs. 130–139.

39 Dörpfeld's interpretation as the famous Dionysion en Limnais was already challenged by Frickenhaus (1911) in favour of Heracles Alexikakos. On the problem of these identifications Lalonde 2006, 106; Longo 2010h.
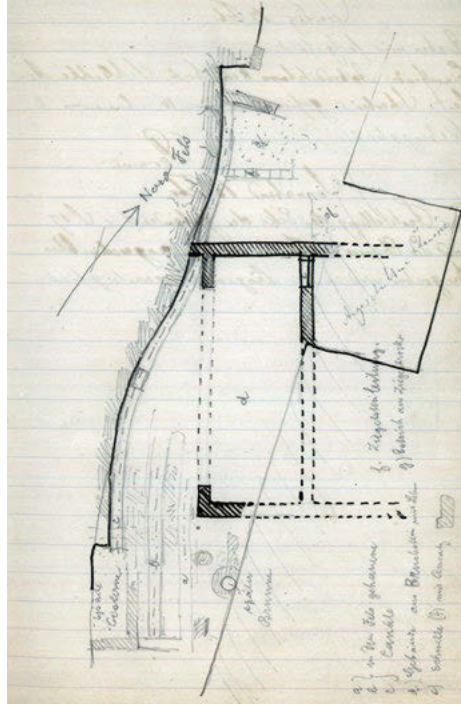
Fig. 8: The Archaic sanctuary.

Fig. 9: The *lesche*. Sketch in Dörpfeld's field diary.

and side streets and enclosed by much-repaired polygonal walls (Fig. 5)[40]. Access to the sanctuary was only possible from the south, where a wall with an entrance opening separated a *naiskos* facing south towards the street, i. e., away from the open area. The oldest phase of the sanctuary has been dated to the Archaic period[41], but it must have already fallen into disuse during the Hellenistic/Early Imperial periods, when its precinct was covered by an up to 2.5 m thick fill, in order to erect a building of unknown function with at least one large room (a hall?). A further change can be observed during the 2nd century A.D., when the building of unknown function was replaced by a basilica-like hall of 19 × 11 m, the Bakcheion (Fig. 6)[42]. This new building even extended to the east beyond the limits of the former enclosure and adjacent street into the neighbouring plot. The Bakcheion was the find spot of sculptures, altars and inscriptions, one of them proving that it was the clubhouse of the Iobakchoi[43], a Dionysiac cult association, and specifying it as *stibas*, its banqueting venue. The complex was in use until Late Roman times without indications of any use for Christian cult[44]. To the south the Amyneion (Fig. 7)[45], another open-air sanctuary in a walled precinct, again of irregular shape, was accessible from the main street via a plain recessed entrance. Here, the finds prove Archaic activity too, yet the built structures and the majority of the objects, among them numerous votive offerings, date from the 5th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. Inscriptions name Amynos,

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40 Dörpfeld 1894a, 149; 1894b, 507; 1895, 161–176. 180–206 Pl. 4; Schrader 1896; Judeich 1931, 291–296; Wycherley 1970, 291 f.; 1978, 194–196; Lalonde 2006, 106; Longo 2010d; Best 2015, 125 f. 372–374 cat. S007.

41 Longo 2010a, 252; Best 2015, 125.

42 Dörpfeld 1894a, 147–149; 1894b, 507; 1895, 176–180 Pl. 4; Schrader 1896 (finds); Schäfer 2002; Karanastassi 2008; Longo 2010d.

43 IG II² 1368.

44 Karanastassi 2008, 284.

45 Dörpfeld 1892b, 440; Körte 1896; Judeich 1931, 289–291; Wycherley 1970, 292; 1978, 196 f.; Carando – Longo 2010; Best 2015, 124 f. 370–372 cat. S006.

a hero with healing powers, as the main cult owner and according to an inscription from the late 4th century B.C. the cult was organised by an association whose members referred to themselves as *orgeones*[46]. The sanctuary was still in use during the Roman Imperial period, when it received a 2.75 m wide porch with two marble columns extending one metre into the main street. The end of the cult activity in the Amyneion is unclear, but the sanctuary was never built over. The third (and smallest) sanctuary of the area consisted of a small *naiskos* of only 2 × 2.5 m (dated by the excavators to the 6th century B.C.) and a modest round altar in a small rectangular precinct on the opposite side of the main street from the Heracles sanctuary (Fig. 8)[47]. Two boundary stones dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C. define the area as sacred, but mention no deity[48]. The sanctuary was rather short-lived and was already replaced during the 4th century B.C. by a much larger rectangular building. This building with an internal subdivision in its rear part is only known from maps, a sketchy drawing (Fig. 9) and not really helpful photographs[49]. It owes its significance to two boundary stones from the 4th century B.C. referring to it as *lesche*[50], a lounge or room for sitting and talking[51], resting or even for use as council chamber[52] or clubhouse for voluntary associations[53]. For its erection the older sanctuary was to some extent demolished, and its walls were partially reused[54]. The *lesche* was apparently not built over in later centuries, although it is unknown when the building was abandoned.

A major part of the Dörpfeld area was finally occupied by domestic architecture. The numerous walls in the main map suggest a dense former occupation, which however remains mostly incomprehensible. In the north the Houses G and H are located next to each other on the main street[55]. House G, a small house dating from the 4th century B.C. with wall sections of polygonal masonry, is known for its two mortgage inscriptions, one of them mentioning a politician from the 4th century B.C.[56] House H, built somewhat later, was a larger building extending for 31 m along the street. Better known is the so-called House of Aristodemos[57], a peristyle house with a complex building history stretching from the Late Classical to the Late Roman period[58], and characterised by its well-preserved orthostate masonry facing the street. Here too, a mortgage inscription from the 4th century B.C. was embedded in the front wall, mentioning a Late Classical owner[59]. Further to the south, the House of the Parrot's Mosaic was another building of the 4th/3rd century B.C. remodelled during the Imperial period (2nd century A.D.)[60], when its old *andron* received a new mosaic floor. Finally, a rather large house was excavated east of the main street: The House of the Greek Mosaic[61] (Fig. 10). Also built during the

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46 Inscription: Körte 1896, 298–302.

47 Dörpfeld 1892a, 91; Wycherley 1970, 291; 1978, 194 Fig. 56; Longo 2010b, Figs. 145–147; Best 2015, 126. 374 f. cat. S008.

48 IG II² 2507 (Dörpfeld: 6th century B.C.); Ritchie 1984, 155–162 Fig. 25 Pl. 29 (TA 31–32).

49 Dörpfeld 1892a, 91; 1895, 171; Wycherley 1970, 291; 1978, 251 f.; Oikonomides 1978, 31; Longo 2010b; Best 2015, 126. 258.

50 IG II² 2620; Ritchie 1984, 245–250 no. TA 50–51 Pl. 47.

51 Wycherley 1970, 291.

52 Best 2015, 126.

53 Lohmann 1993, 132 f.

54 Yet it is impossible to say 'whether the Lesche had any connection with the ancient cult': Wycherley 1970, 291.

55 Dörpfeld 1892a, 91 f.; 1894b, 503; Longo 2010c.

56 IG II² 2761 A–B (Periandros of Cholargos).

57 Dörpfeld 1894b, 503 f.; Thompson 1966, 52; Bonini 2006, 254 cat. Atene 13; Longo 2010 f.

58 According to Dörpfeld the house was built only in the 3rd century A.D. in the area of his 'Platz der Enneakrunos', replacing a Late Hellenistic/Early Imperial building (of only one row of rooms) which separated the square from the street: Dörpfeld 1894b, 504. A different history of the area was reconstructed by Walter Graham. According to him a house of unusual size (i. e., no square) was located here already since Late Classical times and underwent several reconstructions until Late Roman times: Thompson 1966, 52.

59 IG II² 2659 (an Aristodemos from the rural deme of Aphidnai). Dörpfeld (1894b, 504) relates the inscription to another, unknown building, i. e., the inscribed stone would have been used as building material for this house.

60 Dörpfeld 1894b, 505; Thompson 1966, 53 Pl. 18; Jones 1975, 80; Longo 2010g.

61 Dörpfeld 1894b, 50–58; Thompson 1966, 52; Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 180 f.; Jones 1975, 77–80; Longo 2010e.

Fig. 10: The House of
the Greek Mosaic.

(late) 4th century B.C., perhaps around 300 B.C., the most striking features of this peristyle house are two large rooms, the northwestern one an *andron* for seven *klinai*. Two neighbouring houses, one to the east (again with a peristyle?) and one to the south of the House of the Greek Mosaic, have received no further attention. Most of the admittedly only few better-known houses of the Dörpfeld area were of considerable size. Peristyles, *andrones* and mosaics indicate rather high living standards. They were all built during the 4th century B.C. and they all show signs of restructuring during the following centuries. Yet while some houses seem to have been abandoned already in Roman times, others remained in use well into the Imperial period and even underwent ambitious renovations like the House of the Parrot's Mosaic.

As a densely built-up urban environment and ensemble, the Dörpfeld area exhibits multiple facets of the Athenian urban tissue. Not a purely residential area, it comprised domestic architecture, a thoroughfare, side streets, religious sites and spaces and even a *lesche*. The formation of this built environment, however, only began during the 6th century B.C. Important early settings were the places of worship along the main street, while the prominent houses were not built before the Late Classical period. Yet an earlier residential occupation must be assumed, considering finds and especially the numerous wall remains documented in the area but not discussed by the excavators[62]. However, such an early, pre-Classical residential occupation was probably not very dense. Geometric and Archaic burials east of the main street prove that this area of Athens developed into a densely built-up quarter only from the 6th century B.C. onwards[63]. The area therefore witnessed the transformation of Athens from Iron Age clustered settlements (with burial areas) to a major urban centre of the Late Archaic and Classical Greek world.

Athenian Neighbourhoods and their Streetscapes

In these cursorily outlined features, the Dörpfeld area seems comparable to other Athenian quarters. Athenian streets, for example, were rather unimpressive[64]. The courses of the oldest streets were influenced by the location of burial areas and settlement nuclei and followed natural geographical features[65]. With only a few exceptions, these streets were narrow (around 3–4 m) while at the same

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62 Longo 2010a, 252.

63 Dörpfeld 1892b, 445 (dating some burials to the 6th century B.C.); Longo 2010a, 252. The main map Dörpfeld 1908, Pl. 38 indicates the locations of the burials.

64 On the streets of Athens Ficuciello 2008, with 202–205 on technical aspects.

65 Ficuciello 2008, 210.

time of uneven width[66]. Their paving of packed earth and gravel required frequent renewal[67]. Stone paving was rare until the Hellenistic and Roman periods and even then it was only sporadically applied. Sidewalks lining the streets were an exception[68], the outer walls of houses and public complexes abutted the streets directly. Yet Classical Athens offered more variety than this rather irregular network of streets, which seems so characteristic at first sight. The mapping of excavated street sections by Laura Ficuciello indicates orthogonal street layouts, e. g., south of the Acropolis or in the Heptachalcon in Melite in the western part of the city[69], that suggest a planning of entire urban areas already during the Classical period[70]. The urban tissue of Classical Athens was thus also characterised by contrasts, such as in the southeast of the Acropolis, where an orthogonal layout met a rather irregular one. The overall unimpressive character of Athenian streets does, however, also obscure the fact that they were already early subject of administrative control related to cleaning and waste disposal, maintenance, private appropriation of street space and the officials in charge, just to give a few examples[71]. The streets as prominent urban spaces of social interaction and thus neighbourhood experience were clearly also a regulated one.

Bordering on these streets, Athenian houses of the Classical period show a range of sizes, number of rooms and layouts. Units of two rooms without a courtyard are found in close proximity to peristyle houses. In Coele or in the 'Industrial Quarter', for example, a remarkable variety can be seen, as buildings used the available space and houses shared walls. Walls were built of adobe on a stone socle of sometimes monumental orthostates, and must have been covered with whitewash[72]. Façades were closed, and houses often opened onto the street only via a *prothyron* to further block the view of passers-by[73], in other cases entrances opened on side streets or alleys. The overall impression of residential areas is that of an 'Inselstruktur' characterised by Heide Lauter-Bufe and Hans Lauter: closed quarters, large houses next to small ones, small annexes, irregular alleys of varying width (sometimes with stairs) and narrow passages[74]. Another regular feature of Athenian neighbourhoods were shops and workshops. In the Dörpfeld area they are difficult to identify, and the published maps indicate mostly continuous façades lacking *tabernae*-like openings. In addition, shops or workshops are not explicitly discussed in the reports, although occasionally installations such as presses are mentioned. Only a building north of the sanctuary of Heracles has been interpreted as housing workshops[75]. However, areas such as Makrygianni or the 'Industrial Quarter' show that individual street side rooms, isolated from the rest of the house and with exclusive access from the street[76], may have been shops and/or workshops housing various crafts and trades[77]. Yet only the 'Industrial Quarter' shows a – temporary – concentration of workshops of related crafts interpreted as 'self-selected zoning' in this area[78]. In general, shops and workshops appear irregularly distributed and rather scattered

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66 Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 193 f.; Lauter (1982, 45), with the example of Coele, distinguishes three forms of access to urban quarters: streets for through traffic, streets of smaller width for pedestrians and alleys interrupted by steps that allowed access to houses in the interior of the quarters.

67 Judeich 1931, 178 (with Dem. Or. 3, 29; 13, 30; Aeschin. 3, 25; Aristot. Ath. pol. 54, 11); Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 193; Ficuciello 2008, 202. Young (1951, 162) mentions six layers containing sherds from the 6th to 4th century B.C. for a street in the 'Industrial Quarter'.

68 Ficuciello 2008, 203 f. Sidewalks are attested only rarely, e. g., for the rock-hewn main street in Coele: Lauter 1982, 46 f. Fig. 3.

69 Ficuciello 2008, 214–218 (south of the Acropolis). 224 (Heptachalcon) Pl. 2.

70 Ficuciello 2008, 217–219. 224.

71 Ficuciello 2008, 43 f. with sources.

72 Also emphasised by Dem. Or. 3, 29; 13, 30.

73 Morgan 2010, 46 with Aristoph. Vesp. 802.

74 Lauter-Bufe – Lauter 1971, 123; Lauter 1982, 51.

75 Dörpfeld 1894b, 506 Pl. 14 'Bau T'. The map in Travlos 1971, 275 Fig. 351 indicates three workshops here.

76 Cf. Jameson 1990, 185.

77 And were subject to frequent fluctuation: Aeschin. 1, 124; Glazebrook – Tsakirgis 2016, 169 f. Not to be neglected is also the possibility of a variety of craft production in domestic space: Morgan 2010, 103.

78 Glazebrook – Tsakirgis 2016, 6.

within their neighbourhoods, indicating a reduced range of goods and services in close proximity – and routine visits beyond the individual's own neighbourhood to nearby quarters or locations such as the Agora.

Finally, a prominent, ubiquitous feature of Athenian urban space was its cult places[79]. Nearly three dozen so-called 'roadside enclosures' or 'roadside sacred spaces' are documented within the city walls[80], and we have to assume that there were significantly more of them, considering the randomness and limitations of excavations in today's city area. In fact, the number and distribution of the known cult places suggests a former omnipresence clearly distinguishing Athens from contemporary planned cities such as Olynthus or Priene. Often these were just simple open-air enclosures with modest installations, varying considerably in size, integration into their immediate surroundings and thus also in their visibility as well as accessibility from the street. We know of smaller 'crossroads shrines' comprising just a few square metres as well as sanctuaries covering more than 500 m^2 of open space (like the one for Heracles in the Dörpfeld area). Moreover, each sanctuary belonged to a specific deity and must have had, accordingly, a specific impact on 'its' neighbourhood. Clearly, cultic diversity was a central experience in Athenian street space. Similarly, *leschai* must have been another common feature of the Athenian urban tissue. The Scholion to Hesiod mentions 360 *leschai* in the city, a number that, despite all necessary source criticism[81], suggests ubiquity and neighbourly proximity of such venues. The archaeological record is however disappointing in this respect. The only confirmed *lesche* is the one excavated by Dörpfeld, although such a function has also been proposed for the 'slight traces' of a rectangular building of 22 × 8 m excavated on the north slope of the Areopagus[82].

Thus, the Dörpfeld area shares many features with other Athenian quarters of the Classical period. Modest streetscapes were common, as were varied domestic architecture and a 'lack of zoning', i. e., houses, workshops and religious spaces existed side by side[83]. However, while the 'Industrial Quarter' is characterised by its density of workshops among residential buildings, and a residential block on the north slope of the Areopagus by its domestic architecture[84], the Dörpfeld area stands out due to its cult places and the *lesche* in close proximity to each other along the main street. By comparing the 'Industrial Quarter', the north slope of Areopagus and the Dörpfeld area, all located in proximity to each other, we can trace specific qualities of each area that also indicate a different character as neighbourhoods and, correspondingly, differing patterns and modes of formal and informal local sociality.

Forms of Athenian Sociality

Athenians knew and participated in a variety of modes and contexts of formal and informal sociality below the level of the polis with its participation in the political process and its manifold festivals. The *demes*, e. g., the primary administrative and territorial units of the Classical Athenian polis, also had their own assemblies, elections and officials[85] as well as their own localities. Some scholars even suggest a 'territorial imperative' over festivals and sanctuaries[86], like that the city *deme* of Melite must

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79 On such cult places see the recent compilation and analysis by Best (2015).

80 Wycherley 1970, 293 f.; Ficuciello 2008, 206 f.; Best 2015, 104 f. At least 24 of these known sanctuaries were established during the Classical period or were Archaic places still frequented: Best 2015, 24.

81 Schol. Hes. Op. 493–495 (transl. Oikonomides 1978, 30; Marzillo 2010, 186 f.). Bremmer (2008, 160) suggests that 'perhaps it was the combination of leschai with the tradition of 360 gené in Athens that led to the idea of 360 leschai in Athens'.

82 Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 179 n. 45.

83 Morgan 2010, 22: 'At Athens, there is no clear differentiation between industrial and residential, between commercial and religious buildings'.

84 Cf. Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 177–180; Longo – Tofi 2010, 214.

85 Whitehead 1986; Osborne 1990, 268–270; Lalonde 2006, 93–97.

86 Lalonde (2006, 112), referring, among others, to a calendar of the rural *deme* Erchia (SEG 21, 541) listing 59 sacrifices to 46 deities, with 21 of these sacrifices in the *deme*, the others in neighbouring *demes* or Athens.

have held over the small sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule[87]. However, even if the *demes* must have formed a frame of reference for communal 'belonging' and formalised social interaction, they ranged well above the level of neighbourly face-to-face familiarity. Face-to-face familiarity was, in contrast, guaranteed by a remarkable phenomenon of Athenian organised sociality: private associations of differing sizes[88]. Numerous Athenians must have participated in such associations and their social activities[89]. Cultic associations (*orgeones* or *thiasoi*) in particular became increasingly popular during the Classical period. They had full control over choosing their members (who from the 4th century B.C. also included non-citizens), and over funds and buildings[90]. Some of them owned the locations used for their cult dinners, and it has been suggested that some houses with formal dining rooms may have been buildings used by such associations[91]. These private associations connected a variety of people:

> 'The Athenians grouped themselves into permanent or semi-permanent corporations in a number of different ways. These groups were founded on a wide variety of criteria [...]. An individual Athenian might belong to a large number of such groups, and in these groups he would associate closely with a wide range of sorts and conditions of men. Memberships of these groups placed the Athenian in a wide variety of different circumstances [...]'[92].

A certain Menecles, for example, introduced his adopted son not only into *phratria* and *deme*, but also into his *orgeones*, i. e., into different but overlapping sets of relationships, different social dimensions[93] – and of different spatial ranges. With their members not restricted to a neighbourhood, such associations underline the problem of understanding Athenian sociality through the lens of territoriality, and put any implicit focus on the significance of (co-)residential locality for Athenian identities into proper perspective.

In contrast to such modes of organised sociality (and their specific temporality) stands, of course, the epitome of neighbourhood: living in spatial proximity. And here – especially in comparison to contemporary standards in Olynthus or Priene – a wide range of domestic architecture becomes apparent, including multiple-room houses with courtyard, *andron* and *prothyron*, as well as small and modest units with only one or two rooms: 'there was no such thing as a typical Athenian house, except in a very broad sense'[94].

Isocrates mentions the poor state of Athenian houses[95], and Lysias portrays the small house (*oikidion*) of one Euphiletos, comprising a bedroom, a room with *kline* and fire place, and a door to the street[96]. Also, not all inhabitants of Athens owned the houses they lived in. *Metoikoi*, for example, were prohibited from owning land or houses, and poorer citizens could not afford it[97]. Therefore, a large section of a neighbourhood's residents must have relied on rented housing. Even buildings rented out to several individuals were not unusual (frequently referred to as *synoikia*[98]), with people

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87 Threpsiades – Vanderpool 1964; Wycherley 1970, 287 f.

88 Under ten up to about a hundred members: Leiwo 1997, 116.

89 Gottesman (2014, 7), referring to the Copenhagen Associations Project <https://copenhagenassociations.saxo.ku.dk/> (29.05.2022) with its many entries for ancient Athens.

90 Leiwo 1997, 104 f. 114. Inscriptions from the Amyneion, e. g., show that its maintenance and cultic life was organised by the *orgeones* and that this association with members from various demes must have been rather wealthy, granting in one case the honour of a golden wreath worth 500 *drachmai*: Körte 1896, 301. 308.

91 Morgan (2010, 130 f.) with Osborne (1988, 287) citing an inscription mentioning as group size 'two triclinia'.

92 Osborne 1990, 275.

93 Gottesman 2014, 47 f. with Isaeus 2, 14.

94 Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 179.

95 Morgan 2010, 45 with Isoc. Or. 7, 52.

96 Lys. 1, 9.

97 Ober (2016, 90) refers to Geoffrey Krons' estimation that 'Based on recorded house costs and the Athenian census of 322 B.C. in which some 9,000 citizens (of a presumed total of ca. 31,000) owned property amounting to more than 2000 drachmas [...] at least a third, and possibly as many as three-quarters, of Athenian citizen families could afford to purchase a house'. See also Kron 2011, 131 f. with n. 18 on house prices.

98 E. g., Aeschin. 1, 124.

living in a few rooms or even only one room of the same building[99]. Yet the normality of varying forms of cohabitation besides the 'house' as a typological and family unit poses not only the archaeological challenge of identifying such forms among the remains of the dwellings of an urban neighbourhood, but also implies a certain fluctuation among that neighbourhood's inhabitants[100], and thus potential changes in its character and social profile. Athenian neighbourhood familiarity was to a certain degree fluid. However, such a 'proximity of other households not avoided or buffered by open space'[101] was, despite all efforts for privacy, highly conducive to face-to-face sociality. Its dark side included social control (and pressure to conform), gossip, nosiness and involuntary as well as unavoidable participation in the lives of others. Lysias' 'passers-by, or the neighbours who not only know of each other what is open for all to see, but even get information of what we try to keep hidden from the knowledge of anyone', the neighbours invoked by Isaeus 'who have given evidence of quarrels, serenades, and frequent scenes of disorder which the defendant's sister occasioned', or those mentioned by Lycurgus who knew that a defendant ran away during the war[102] illustrate one thing: there was hardly an escape.

In this respect, workshops were important places for neighbourhood sociality. As popular meeting places[103], they served as locales for a wide range of personal relationships and exchange, and those close to the Agora were even considered as 'notorious hang-out spots'[104]. According to Lysias, socialising in shops was completely normal, and Isocrates admits: 'that we sit around in our shops denouncing the present order and complaining that never under a democracy have we been worse governed'[105]. Moreover, this kind of socialising involved people of all social groups, the elites as well as workers and even slaves. A curse tablet pointed out by Alex Gottesman attests this intensity of shop sociality. On the tablet, Callias and his wife Thratta (perhaps an ex-slave?) were cursed, followed by the shopkeepers Phalacrus and Anthemion, Callias' brother Sosimenes and his three slaves Carpus (a textile merchant), Glycanthe and Agathon, then Cittus the ropemaker, Mania, who had a shop by the Fountain (Krene) and finally Aristandrus of Eleusis. The author 'seems to curse an entire neighborhood of shopkeepers', documenting a 'variety of statuses that overlap here: free, slave, foreign, men, and women'[106].

As additional locales of neighbourhood sociality in Athens, however, the *leschai* stand out[107]. Associated with dawdling, telling stories and talking[108], Athenian *leschai* were infamous for endless discussions and old men sitting about and droning on[109]. Later sources describe them as public sites, in which people at leisure used to sit[110], where the poor used to spend their time talking to each other, and as places for common dining and gossip[111]. At least some *leschai* were considered public infrastructure, as is confirmed by a 5th century B.C. *horos* inscription from the Piraeus[112]. The opportunities to socialise with a variety of people must have made *leschai* the venue par excellence of a (male) neighbourhood[113].

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99 Ault 2005, 144; Morgan 2010, 55 f.

100 Ault 2005, 144.

101 Jameson 1990, 183.

102 Lys. 7, 18 (transl. Lamb 1930); Isaeus 3, 13 (transl. Forster 1962); Lycurg. 1, 19.

103 Harrington 2015, 68; Gottesman 2014, 55–61.

104 Gottesman 2014, 57.

105 Gottesman 2014, 61 with Isoc. Or. 7, 15 (transl. Norlin 1980).

106 Gottesman 2014, 56 with IG III App. 87 (4th century B.C.).

107 On *leschai* in general Oehler 1925, 2133 f.; Bremmer 2008.

108 The term *lesche* even formed part of words describing talking rubbish, bragging and babble: Bremmer 2008, 156.

109 Bremmer 2008, 159. 161.

110 Harpoc. s. v., transl. Oikonomides 1978, 30.

111 Hesych. s. v., transl. Oikonomides 1978, 30.

112 IG I³ 1102. A public function of a *lesche* is also suggested by an inscription of a leasing contract from the rural deme Axione (IG II² 2492,23) mentioning it to be set up in the *lesche*: Bremmer 2008, 160.

113 *Leschai* must have provided installations conducive to such behaviour. Dörpfeld's reports (1891–1898, vol. 1, 16–20 with Figs.; 1972, 4) mention no evidence of former installations, fixtures, or other finds that might substantiate specific

Locating Sociality in the Dörpfeld Area?

Street space, shops, workshops, forms of cohabitation, club houses and *leschai* made essential contributions to different modes of neighbourhood sociality in Classical Athens. They brought together a variety of people and created common experiences across statuses[114]. It remains difficult, however, to outline the complexity of Athenian neighbourhood sociality for a specific area of the city and its built environment. Returning to the Dörpfeld area, we have to accept that, although the sanctuaries, the fountain, and the *lesche* promise insights into different contexts of everyday formal and informal social interaction, their 'close reading' as shared spaces with differing accessibility must remain unsatisfactory due to their level of preservation and documentation. The *lesche* was (probably) visited only by men and must have experienced daily peak times, while the enclosed Amyneion was frequented by its (male) *orgeones* for regular cultic duties as well as occasional banquets and festivals. Rituals at the Heracles sanctuary's *naiskos* oriented to the south must also have involved the adjacent public street space.

This street space, in turn, must have given a rather 'uninviting' impression. There is, for example, no evidence for street furniture such as small altars or benches. Dipinti, graffiti or elaborate façade designs and decorations that might hint at modes of communication or audiences in the street space are not preserved and/or recorded – with the (telling?) exception of the official *horos* and mortgage inscriptions of admittedly unknown communicative impact on the relevant street space. The main street offered only little space for either coordinated or random activities and encounters (Fig. 11). Buildings along the main street (as well as the side streets) rose directly above the roadside, and shops were not an omnipresent feature. No sidewalks mediated between streets and buildings, let alone *stoai* as places for lingering, where the random could temporarily find its place. The fountain house, a potential focal point of local daily life, is not tangible in its concrete setting, and neither is the *lesche's* relation to the adjacent street space (via a forecourt? A vestibule? A door? A porch?). Even free or 'empty spaces'[115] that might offer opportunities for random encounters, shared experiences or temporary appropriation are not clearly discernible in the area or, as in the case of the open area in front of the *naiskos* of the sanctuary of Heracles or the small free space north of the Amyneion, they defy any appraisal as potential sites of interaction. Also, although Athenian gods and heroes lived 'on ordinary streets as next door neighbors of ordinary citizens'[116], their spaces in the Dörpfeld area were enclosed by high walls. Cult activities may only have been experienced indirectly by the local residents, especially if operated by an association (like the Iobakchoi or the *orgeones* of the Amyneion). Moreover, the cults and their communities were embedded in a wider Athenian religious landscape: the *orgeones* of the Amyneion prove that the cults were not necessarily 'neighbourhood

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modes of use of the *lesche* as a neighbourly social space. Literary references and contexts from rural Attica, however, can help to approach this question. Already Hesiod's function of the *lesche* as a place to spend time during winter (Erg. 493–394) implies a hearth for warmth, while Hesych's characterisation as a place for common dining (see above, n. 111) and Harpokration's use of the term καθέζομαι (see above, n. 110) suggest benches or chairs to sit down (and installations for the preparation of food?). Such a functionality is also mirrored by three buildings in rural Attica/Greece discussed by Hans Lohmann as *leschai*: a multiple-room building at Sinterina-Pussipelia comprising a room for *klinai* (Lohmann 1993, 92 f. Figs. 10–11), a square room allowing for a setting of *klinai* and equipped with a large hearth at Ano Voula/Kalaboka (Lohmann 1993, 132 f. Fig. 18; Pls. 88,3; 89,2–3) and, again, a square room with a hearth and here even a built low platform for *klinai* at Ano Voula/Hodos Bithynias (Lohmann 1993, 133). However, all three *leschai* are interpreted by Lohmann as clubhouses of associations, i. e., venues of (self-)organised small groups in a moreover rural ambience. It must remain open if their specifying furnishing (like a fixed set of *klinai*) can also be assumed for public, i. e., 'open' *leschai* in an urban environment.

114 Gottesman 2014, 45 with Vlassopoulos 2007, 38. However, exploring, e. g., female, children or slave topographies and their specific temporalities in Athenian urban space poses a major challenge. 'People' usually implicitly addresses male people and thus neglects a major part of the inhabitants of Athens.

115 On urban 'empty spaces' as uninscribed space and zones with high degree of flexibility and temporal variability: Smith 2008.

116 Wycherley 1970, 295.

Fig. 11: The main street as seen from the south.

cults' but rather Athenian cults located in a neighbourhood. They underline the 'outside-connectivity' of neighbourhoods in a city of 'multiple and overlapping arenas'[117] of sociality. Similarly, due to the location of the Dörpfeld area between prominent public locales of the polis such as the Agora, Pnyx, or the Theatre of Dionysos, Athenians from other residential areas heading to (and returning from) these places on the occasion of religious festivals or polity-related gatherings must have been a regular occurrence in the neighbourhood.

Experiencing the Dörpfeld Area (Some Factors)

The specific qualities of Athenian neighbourhoods must have led to varied experiences of local urbanity. The famous characterisation of 3rd century B.C. Athens by Heracleides as a 'dry, poorly watered, badly laid out', aged city with mostly shabby houses[118] is surprising in its generalisation considering, e. g., the water infrastructure of the Dörpfeld area or its peristyle houses. Even the urban layout of the city was a more complex one. The orthogonal street layout of the Heptachalcon and the areas south of the Acropolis with their straight streets of same direction, regular intersections, straight walls and right-angled corners[119] meant that already from the 5th century B.C. onwards, there was clearly a different neighbourhood experience here than in the grown areas of the city[120]. The experience of the Dörpfeld area, however, must have resembled the image evoked by Heracleides to some extent. It was determined by the continuous outer walls of houses and high enclosure walls of sanctuaries rising immediately to both sides of the slightly winding street (Fig. 12)[121]. Mortgage inscriptions inscribed into

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117 Gottesman 2014, 6.

118 Gottesman 2014, 1 with Heracleides Criticus 1, 1 (transl. Gottesman 2014).

119 Jones 1975, 96.

120 Such contrasting experiences become even more apparent in view of the urban settlement realities in Attica discussed by Goette (1999). Compared to the ambitious 5th century B.C. up-to-date Hippodamian Peiraeus or the orthogonal layout of Sounion (rebuilt after Persian wars), e. g., Rhamnous was characterised by its main street winding up the hill, irregular side streets and alleys (with steps), residential architecture following the terrain and small embedded sanctuaries not distinguishable from the outside (the sanctuary of Aphrodite was furnished with marble masonry only on the inside): Goette 1999, 160–162 Figs. 1–2. In a similar way at Thorikos workshops, small sanctuaries and public buildings were embedded with houses flanking narrow streets following the slopes: Goette 1999, 162 Fig. 3.

121 To be assumed are also upper floors projecting into the street, a feature already of the early Athenian streetscape as can be inferred from Aristotle referring to an initiative of Hippias (Aristot. Oec. 2, 1347a, 4–8 and Aristot. Ath. pol. 50, 2). Supports for a projecting balcony set into the street have been suggested for House L in the 'Industrial Quarter': Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 177; Jones 1975, 75.

Fig. 12: The main street as seen from the north.

Fig. 13: Private drainage to the street: House of Aristodemos.

the prepared surface of the stones of house walls indicate that these walls, polygonal as well as plain drystone walls, were not covered with thick layers of plaster, but rather whitewashed[122]. Entrances to houses or sanctuaries were plain, and façades or enclosure walls show no evidence for additional decorative ambition (the Amyneion only received its *propylon* during the Imperial period). The local streetscape, especially of the main street, was thus characterised by blank, forbidding façades 'to be passed'. The lack of sidewalks resulted in reduced options to linger. Street space was literally the narrow street itself, which was also used by wheeled traffic and pack animals[123]. Given the high walls, significant shading can be assumed, e. g., for the north-south oriented main street during mornings and afternoons (Fig. 11). Rain meant soggy street surfaces, and domestic drainage of waste water and/ or sewage onto the street (Fig. 13)[124] must have added to the sensory properties of the street space during hot summers and humid winters. The side streets, in turn, followed diverging courses and changed directions sometimes after only a few metres, limiting the view at a short distance. However, since the further course of the Dörpfeld area's side streets is unknown[125], the question of how steps, cul-de-sacs or narrow alleys leading into inner residential zones characterised the experience of these

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122 Indicated also by Dem. Or. 3, 29; 13, 30.
123 Even farm animals are mentioned: Plutarch describes how companions of Socrates had an unpleasant encounter with a herd of dirty pigs in a street near the court-houses: Plut. Mor. 580 e–f; Gottesman 2014, 37 f.
124 As documented, e. g., for the House of the Greek Mosaic and the House of Aristodemos, where a small stretch of street cobbling must have been a private addition (Fig. 13). Add to this people relieving themselves on the street: Aristoph. Eccl. 311–375.
125 This relates especially to the southern and southeastern zones of the Dörpfeld area with its numerous remains of walls (and wells).

areas and shaped an atmosphere of seclusion must remain open[126]. Even the wide open-air enclosures of the sanctuaries (and consequently the cultic activities and festivities) were virtually sealed off from the outside by high walls.

Athenian Neighbourhood Dynamics

Most of what has been described above relates to the area during the (Late) Classical period, thus neglecting the dynamics and persistence of this contribution's title. This neglect of later periods is not only due to the unrewarding excavation publications, but also to the drop in local written sources for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which prevents insights into the local urban cosmos that are comparable to those from the Classical period. However, at least some phenomena indicate that there were complex long-term dynamics affecting Athenian urban areas quite early on, which must have also had perceptible impact on local neighbourhood experiences. In the 'Industrial Quarter', for example, some buildings and houses were abandoned as early as the late 4th century B.C. and fell into disrepair or lay desolate, with neighbouring buildings – and even parts of abandoned buildings – still in use[127]. In some parts of Athens even whole quarters underwent profound changes as early as the Classical period. The orthogonal street layout south of the Acropolis, to take one example, meant a considerable reorganisation of an area occupied by older domestic architecture[128]. In contrast to such an initiative, however, there is also evidence for developments of the opposite kind from the 4th century B.C., when some urban areas must have emptied[129]. In the Pnyx area, buildings 'fell into disrepair and it became a spot for shady encounters' as early as the 4th century B.C.[130]. Nearby Coele was abandoned as early as the late 4th century B.C. and eventually became desolate, undoubtedly caused by the construction of the Diateichisma, as this meant Coele now lay outside the city walls[131]. Such dynamics and changes over the centuries in areas close to the Dörpfeld area indicate long-term developments within the Athenian urban tissue that were influenced both by local bottom-up forces, as in the Industrial Quarter, as well as by top-down decisions by the state, as in the south of the Acropolis and in Coele, resulting in localised transformations varying from urban area to urban area. Inhabited for many centuries, the Dörpfeld area must also have been subject to such forces and dynamics of varying trajectories and impact.

First and foremost, however, obvious continuities in the Dörpfeld area prove a remarkable persistence of infrastructures and built environment. The course and materiality of the main and side streets and thus the layout of the local urban tissue remained mostly unchanged until the Imperial period. The water infrastructure was maintained and even supplemented by secondary branches[132]. The few better known houses of the area seem to perpetuate their older layout into the Imperial period despite occasional modifications: the *andron* of the House of the Parrot's Mosaic received its new mosaic during the 2nd century A.D., and the House of Aristodemos was inhabited and modified into the Late Imperial period – its façade might, like the enclosure walls of the sanctuaries, have kept the old monumental

126 The specific atmosphere and experience of proximity that can be deduced from such neighbourhoods were outlined already (and valued highly) by Heide Lauter-Bufe and Hans Lauter using the example of Coele: Lauter-Bufe – Lauter 1971, 123; Lauter 1982, 51. According to them, the 'Inselstruktur' of such areas created a special intimacy, the traffic flow on a few but easily accessible routes could not touch the actual residential areas, and the advantages of a central location was combined with those of a quiet one.
127 Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 176 on House C; Jones 1975, 93 n. 43; Longo – Tofi 2010, 216 f. On the dynamic building history of the area recently also Rodriguez-Alvarez 2014.
128 Ficuciello 2008, 217 f.
129 Jones 1975, 93.
130 Gottesman 2014, 26 referring to Aeschin. 1, 81–83.
131 Lauter 1982, 49; Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou 2008, 247 f.
132 In some houses of the area even latrines were installed (e. g., in the House of Aristodemos).

aesthetic of its lower courses present in the street space until the end. In the case of the Amyneion, moreover, the location was never built over. Yet despite such continuities, excavation reports and maps do indicate numerous, albeit mostly unqualifiable (and undatable) interventions and changes in the Dörpfeld area during antiquity. In particular, architectural modifications indicated in the main map often remain beyond judgement[133]. It is, for example, unclear whether the House of the Greek Mosaic was just abandoned or simply no longer visible in Roman times[134]. Even though the phenomenon of derelict buildings and abandoned areas observed for other urban areas may be assumed for the Dörpfeld area too, its local manifestation remains vague. Important changes also relate to permanent (= built) appropriations of and encroachment upon street space. According to the main map, the façade of the House of the Parrot's Mosaic and the Roman period *propylon* of the Amyneion attest to such an encroachment even on the main street. More affected by such initiatives were, however, the side streets (at least during the Imperial period). With its extension beyond the side street into the neighbouring property the Bakcheion indicates that at least here spatial order and built environment must have lost their binding character at some time. Other, less prominent examples include a wall of unknown date in the street overbuilt by the Bakcheion that blocked the side street at its southern end as well as a rectangular structure of unclear function behind it, a structure (also of unclear character) at the corner of this street to the south of the House of the Greek Mosaic and another rectangular structure further into the street. Even the supposedly robust sacred landscape of the Dörpfeld area reveals changes – some surprisingly early and also of a differing character in each sanctuary. The small Archaic sanctuary was already replaced at some point in the 4th century B.C. by the *lesche*, a sacred place became a more profane one. The Amyneion, on the other hand, kept its character. Its community was still active during the Imperial period, and its new marble *propylon* indicates ongoing effort. It is intriguing to compare this to the fate of the sanctuary of Heracles. Completely covered with a filling during Hellenistic or early Imperial times, it became the location of a building complex of unknown function that was in turn replaced during the 2nd century A.D. by the Bakcheion[135]. The Dörpfeld area's cult sites therefore experienced different developments and cycles of prominence over the centuries, which in turn must have impacted the religious 'profile' of this neighbourhood.

The Dörpfeld area thus presents itself as a long-living, yet quite dynamic neighbourhood. Representing only a random section of the Athenian urban tissue, it exhibits manifold efforts towards preservation and continuation as well as of occasional intervention and transformation, with developments of locales and spaces in immediate proximity to each other occasionally following different trajectories. Most of these efforts were the result of individual or group-based, i. e., bottom-up initiatives, and we might wonder how these initiatives – and their results – were perceived and negotiated by potential stakeholders in the neighbourhood (residents, associations or authorities). Yet despite such occasional changes the neighbourhood must have seemed a stable, barely changing environment to residents and passers-by, considering its nearly millennium-long history. Although we can identify encroachment here and there and may assume that once in a while buildings stood derelict or were abandoned, the experience of the neighbourhood during the Imperial period still owed a lot to the physical environment of the Classical period: a remarkable seclusion of domestic as well as religious spaces, façades and enclosure walls immediately bordering the street, patches and even longer stretches of polygonal masonry, a lack of sidewalks as well as an apparent sparseness of shops and workshops even along the main street. It was this specific physical environment that provided the long-lasting framework for local modes of sociality with different outreach, overlap, accessibility and temporality, thereby shaping individual as well as shared experiences and daily face-to-face interaction, making this urban environment a unique neighbourhood.

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133 Already stated by Young 1975, 68: 'Individual houseplans did not distinguish the remains of early and late phases with clarity'.

134 Longo 2010e.

135 Thus, the old cult place of Heracles must have been invisible when the Bakcheion was built here: Dörpfeld 1895, 163. In this period too, at the latest, the small temple to the south was demolished.

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Fig. 1: DAI Athens D-DAI-ATH-Akropolis 480.
Fig. 2: DAI Athens D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 161.
Fig. 3: after Dörpfeld 1908, Pl. 38: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ad1908/0097/image,info>; <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.655#0097> (22.01.2023).
Fig. 4: American School of Classical Studies at Athens Agora Excavations (2012.33.0364).
Fig. 5: DAI Athens D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 95.
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Fig. 10: American School of Classical Studies at Athens Agora Excavations (2012.33.0379).
Fig. 11: DAI Athens D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 88.
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Fig. 13: American School of Classical Studies at Athens Agora Excavations (2012.33.0315).

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Tobias Busen

Back-to-Back and Yet not Separate: Evidence of Neighbourly Agreements within Insula I 4 in Pompeii

Abstract: This paper focuses on the relationship between neighbours as owners of properties within the same city block and the agreements among them regarding building measures. The investigation is based upon a case study of Insula I 4 in Pompeii, which includes the large Casa del Citarista (I 4,5.25.28) as well as smaller houses, workshops and a significant number of shops. While Insula I 4 was originally divided into plots of similar size, several of these passed completely or partially to the owners of the Casa del Citarista over the centuries. The built remains on Insula I 4 provide evidence for two different phenomena of how these processes of reorganisation had to be negotiated among the owners of neighbouring properties. Firstly, it will be shown how areas of conversion were temporarily used as a construction yard and accessed from the street as well as from the neighbouring properties. The second phenomenon attests instead to more complex forms of negotiation amongst neighbours, in order to equally redistribute areas between their properties.

Introduction

The neighbourhood as a phenomenon of social coexistence and interaction involves numerous different aspects, including varying degrees of formality between neighbours, which in turn depend on the kinds of relationships among them. Two shop owners on the same street can maintain a casual yet amicable relationship, as long as their spheres of commercial interests remain balanced or do not clash. The relationship between the owner of a property and his tenants, on the other hand, is unbalanced from the outset and is therefore usually regulated by laws and formal agreements. The particular social ties among neighbours are also likely to impact the frequency and regularity of neighbourly interaction, which can range from accidental daily encounters to rarer and more official gatherings. Moreover, the different groups that we can encounter in a neighbourhood change depending on the size and type of the area chosen for a specific study. In an urban context, the built structures (building blocks) and the open spaces between them (streets, squares and public gardens, etc.) constitute two categories encompassing different and intersecting groups as well as internal and external relationships[1].

This paper focuses mainly on the group of property owners within a building block in the centre of the Roman town of Pompeii and the agreements among them as neighbours. In contrast to tenants, freedmen or slaves living or working in buildings, the owners were the ones who made decisions as to what should be built or modified on their property, usually determined by their own social as well as financial potential, and restricted by building laws. In most cases, though certainly not all, the owners were residents of at least one of the units in their possession[2]. Following a short overview of the relevant city block, Insula I 4, we will present different kinds of evidence based on the architectural remains, which can be interpreted with respect to two different phenomena of neighbourly
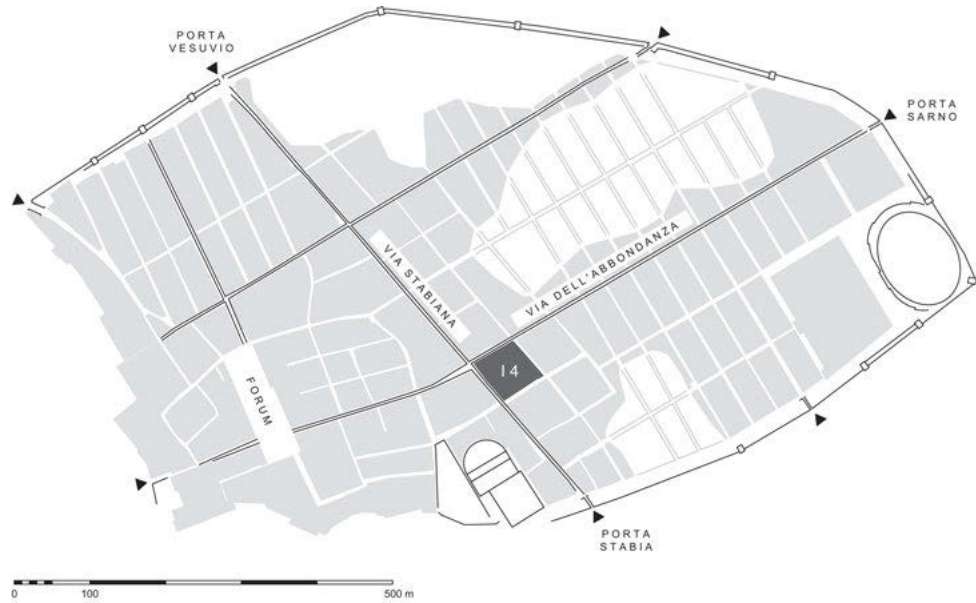
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1 See the introduction by Haug, this volume, especially on Gerald Suttle's concept of the 'face-block' in contrast to the building block.
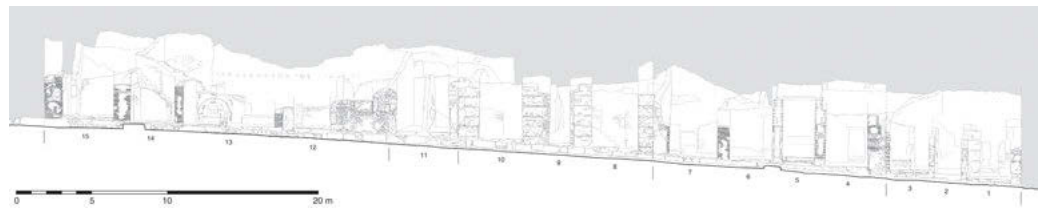
2 For traces of rented accommodation on Insula I 4 see Dickmann 1999, 30; Pirson 1999, 211. 238–242.

Fig. 1: Plan of ancient Pompeii showing the position of Insula I 4.

Fig. 2: Western elevation of Insula I 4.

agreements among property owners. While the first one concerns the interim sharing of areas and access ways for construction purposes, the second one concerns the deliberate partition of a specific area into equal parts by the adjoining neighbours.

Insula I 4 in Pompeii

Insula I 4 is situated at the intersection of two prominent streets that cross the ancient town of Pompeii (Fig. 1), known as the Via Stabiana and the Via dell'Abbondanza. While the Via Stabiana leads from Porta Stabia in the south towards Porta Vesuvio at the northern edge of town, the Via dell'Abbondanza leads from the forum in the southwestern part of the city ('Altstadt') towards Porta Sarno in the east[3]. The public Stabian Baths are situated across from the intersection, as is the Tetrapylon of the Holconii[4]. This area of investigation is immediately adjacent to the north of the Porta Stabia neighbourhood, which has been studied in detail by Steven Ellis[5]. The city block is delimited by the surrounding streets and has a trapezoidal layout, with outer edges measuring ca. 62–64 m long. In contrast to the eastern and southern sides, the western and northern façades of Insula I 4, adjacent to the Via Stabiana and the Via dell'Abbondanza, are characterised by a large number of shop fronts and relatively narrow house entrances, which leave only short wall segments in between (Fig. 2).

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3 For a good overview on the urban topography of Pompeii see Geertman 2007.
4 Della Corte 1965, 239; Müller 2011, 92–94.
5 See Ellis, this volume.

Fig. 3: Ground plan of Insula I 4 in the last phase (showing independent units of property as identified by interconnected rooms and areas, coherent façade design, and other built indicators).

The building history of Insula I 4 is a good example of how socioeconomic inequality directly impacted the built reality within a city block over time, a phenomenon studied by Miko Flohr, especially for Late Republican Roman Italy[6]. In Insula I 4, it is possible to identify four independent house units and two commercial units existing during its last phase before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (Fig. 3)[7]. Almost two thirds of the *insula* was occupied by a single property, the Casa del Citarista (I 4,5.25.28) and its respective shops[8]. Across two atria, guests of the house were able to reach a series of three peristyle gardens, arranged in a row from south to north. The southern atrium, accessible through entrance (5), was flanked by two further atrium houses, I 4,2 (I 4,1–4) and I 4,9 (I 4,8–10), both of rather moderate dimensions. A medium-sized house, I 4,22 (I 4,19–24), was located west of the atrium of entrance (25), while the northwestern corner of Insula I 4 was occupied by a large bakery complex with two ovens and various shop fronts (I 4,12–18) as well as an adjoining workshop (I 4,11).

Based on the evidence resulting from recent building archaeological and geophysical investigations of the *insula*, and in combination with information derived from excavations conducted under the direction of Amedeo Maiuri in 1933[9], it must however be assumed that the original layout of the

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6 See Flohr, this volume.

7 Considering direct connections between rooms and areas via doorways as well as coherent façade design and homogeneous building construction of smaller units (such as shops and workshops) as indicators for the same owner of an adjoining larger unit. This method can certainly neither prove nor eliminate the idea that one proprietor could also have owned more than one unit on an *insula*, even if they were not physically connected to each other but separated by a boundary wall.

8 Named after a bronze statue of Apollo most likely found in the southern peristyle (32) during excavations. On the building history of Casa del Citarista (I 4,5.25.28) in general, see Fiorelli 1873, 65–69 Pl. 12; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 359–366; Dwyer 1982, 79–108; Pesando 1997, 27–34; Nappo 1998.

9 Tommasino 2004, 24–27.
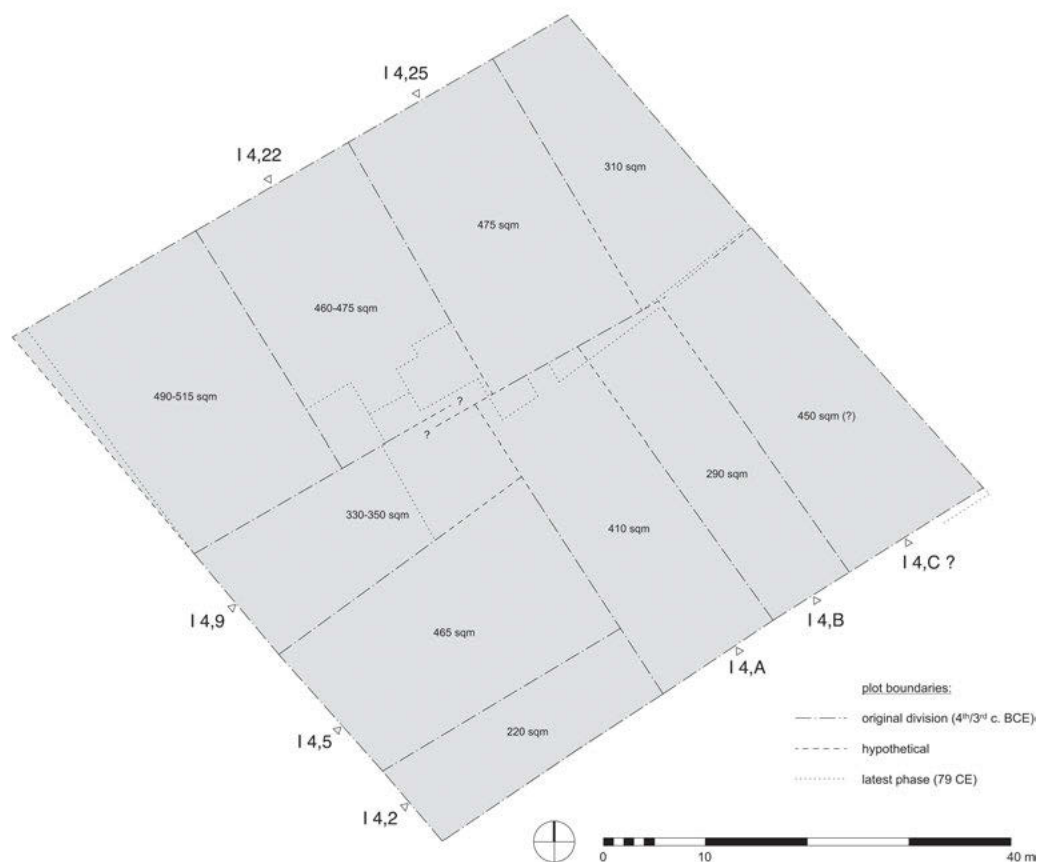
Fig. 4: Original division of Insula I 4 into lots (as identified by building archaeological and geophysical evidence).

insula was divided into at least nine to ten parcels of land of similar size (Fig. 4)[10]. This division had most likely already occurred in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. In addition to the preserved atrium houses, it included at least three plots which occupied the southeastern quarter of the *insula*, oriented in a north-south direction and accessed primarily from the south. It has been shown that at least two of these plots were occupied by *atria* of a similar size to those of other houses on the *insula*[11].

In a city organised by public streets and *insulae* in between, it was evidently difficult to expand one's own property towards the street space, since this would have resulted in disturbances for various stakeholders and would most likely have violated public laws. The only way of modifying the size or layout of your own property was to reach an agreement with the adjoining neighbours on any shift in plot boundaries. This meant either transferring a planned building area from one owner to another, in most cases likely by acquisition, or agreeing on areas of common use by more than one owner or inhabitant. In fact, over the course of several centuries, the owners of House I 4,5 seem to have expanded their property at the expense of that of their eastern neighbours, gradually integrating the whole southeastern part of the *insula* as well as the rear part of House I 4,9 into their property. In a subsequent step, most likely around the middle of the 1st century B.C., this already large *domus* was connected to House I 4,25 in the north through a flight of steps in the massive retaining wall, leading to the situation still visible today[12]. The expansion phases of the Casa del Citarista certainly required

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10 The detailed description and analysis of the built remains will be part of a monographic publication on Insula I 4 and the Casa del Citarista in particular. For this reason, within the limits of this contribution only a summary of the building history is given.

11 Especially for the early phases, the results from the few sondages under Maiuri could be complemented by the geophysical investigation in order to reinforce the described hypotheses and to render them more precisely.

12 The dating of the unification of the two houses has been discussed amongst scholars. While De Vos (PPM I [1990] 117–177 s.v. I 4,5.25, Casa del Citarista [M. de Vos], 117) and Pesando (1997, 28) assume an early date in the 1st century

**Fig. 5:** First expansion phase of House I 4,5 (blocked doorways to the construction yard highlighted).

a complete buyout, especially of the eastern neighbours, in order to gain enough space for the construction of two large, conjoined peristyles. It is mainly the western half of Insula I 4, however, which shows evidence of how the boundaries between neighbours living back-to-back were subject to negotiation. The different house owners apparently made specific neighbourly agreements on temporarily sharing areas, granting access or splitting areas among them in order to achieve the best advantage for all parties involved.

Sharing Areas of Transition and Accessways with Neighbours

Let us first have a look at an area that was most probably shared among at least two neighbours for a limited period of time and then turn to an occurrence of temporarily granted access to another neighbour's property:

While the nucleus of House I 4,5 was originally not much larger than the adjacent atrium houses, the archaeological evidence suggests that it was first enhanced by adding a peristyle garden on its eastern side (Fig. 5). In order to do so, the property of House I 4,A, or at least its northern part, where the peristyle garden was actually installed, had to be acquired. The atrium of that house, together with the surrounding rooms, was located in the southern part of the lot and was accessible from the street running along the southern edge of Insula I 4. This house could well have remained in use after the change in ownership of the rear part. The body of evidence lets us assume, however, that it

B.C., Dickmann (1999, 316) argues for a later date in the 1st century A.D., Nappo (1998, 28; 2007, 358) for the time after the earthquake in A.D. 62.
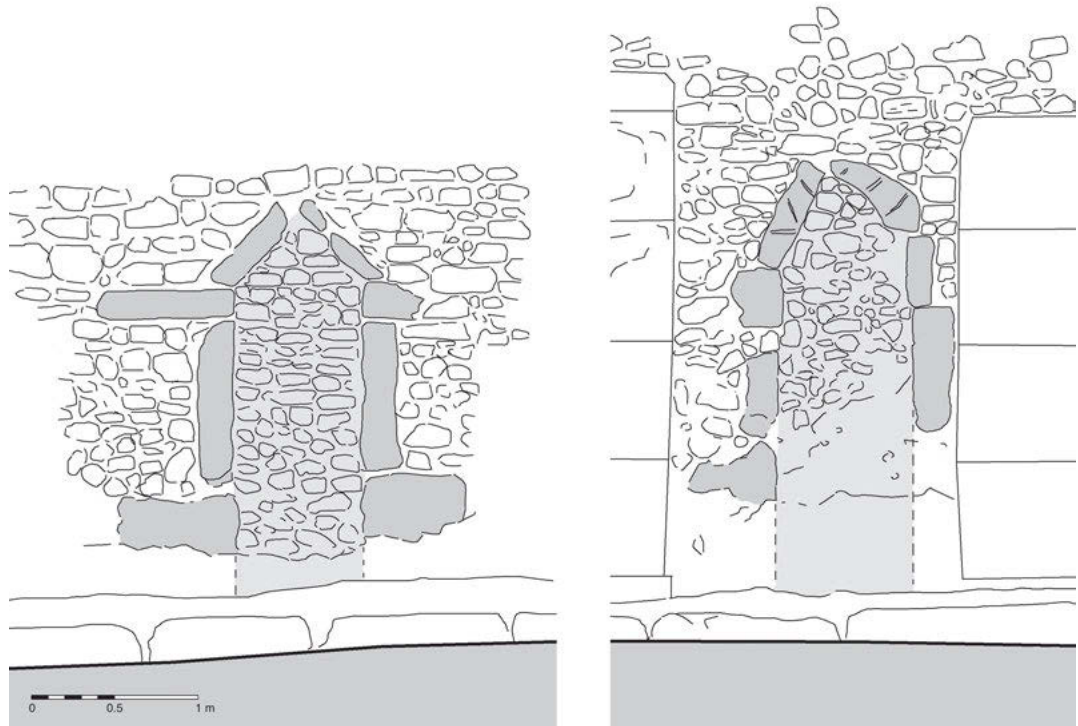
Fig. 6: Blocked doorways in the southern wall of peristyle (32) in House I 4,5 (Casa del Citarista).

was not. A drainage channel installed directly on top of the rooms on the western side of the atrium indicates that they were taken out of use[13]. The channel cannot be dated, but it seems to have served to drain rainwater from the *porticus* of the new peristyle garden. The latter was surrounded by other properties on almost all sides: any other configuration would have led to drainage problems, unless the house owners wanted to drain the water from the peristyle garden across their own *atria*, which was in active use.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that at a certain point the whole lot belonging to House I 4,A was sold, but the owners of House I 4,5 used only the northern half for the expansion of their living space. If so, what happened to the southern part? The built evidence lets us infer that the area was used as a kind of construction yard not only for the owners of House I 4,5, but also for at least one of the adjoining neighbours. This can be deduced from a series of openings situated in the walls surrounding the area, which were blocked at a later date. The southern wall of House I 4,A was completely demolished and replaced by a new rubblestone wall, maybe because the ashlar blocks from the former façade were more useful for the new interior wall constructions. This new wall contained only one opening, set in line with the entrance and *fauces* of the former atrium house. A similar opening can be found further east, in line with the former entrance of House I 4,B, the original ashlar masonry façade of which is still preserved. Both openings show a similar size and construction technique: they are each ca. 75 cm wide and their impost height varies from 1.9 to 2.15 m. In both cases, the lintel is fashioned of two oblong and roughly cut stones leaned against each other, which thus form a triangle 40–60 cm high (Fig. 6)[14]. These doorways were large enough to let construction workers pass, bring tools and building materials inside and remove demolition debris from the site. In addition, they were also still small enough to be easily shut, for instance with a similarly improvised wooden door, in order to prevent intruders from entering the construction site.

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13 Tommasino 2004, 25.
14 The workmanship can generally be described as rather rough and deficient in terms of structural details. There is no trace of architectural decoration or plaster, either.
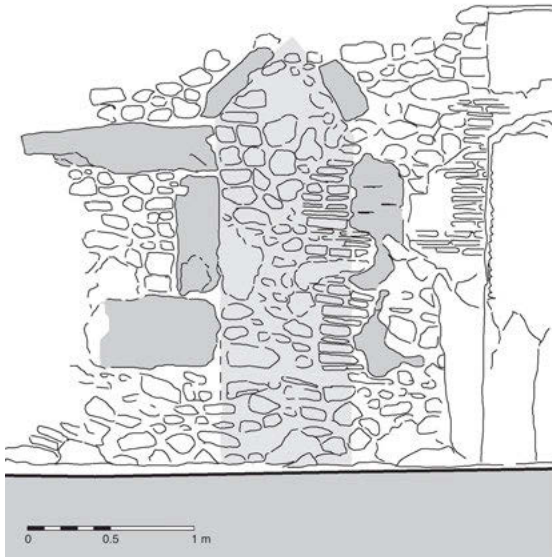
Fig. 7: Blocked doorway in the rear wall of room (g) in House I 4,2.
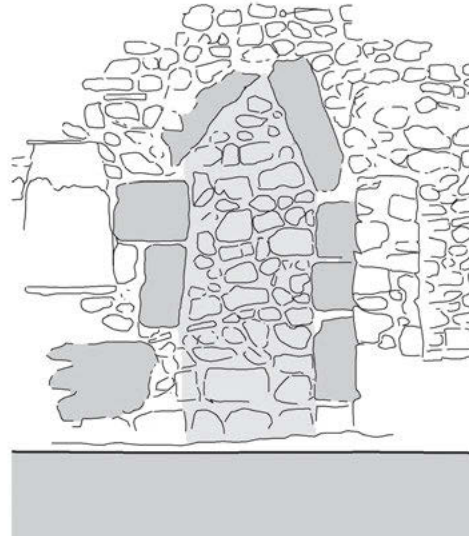
Fig. 8: Blocked doorway in the rear wall of courtyard (n) in House I 4,9.

The opening towards the former lot of House I 4,A thus provided access to the construction site of the new peristyle garden of House I 4,5. The owners were certainly not interested in having their atrium area disturbed by the construction work going on in the back of their property. Yet, we can identify the remains of a similar doorway with a triangular lintel in the rear wall of House I 4,2, directly bordering the construction yard (Figs. 5. 7)[15]. The built evidence from this house suggests that its rear section was originally used as a kitchen garden, but was later reorganised through the installation of a small peristyle garden and the addition of the large room (g) in the back, flanked by a staircase leading to an upper floor. In order to further keep their atrium area unaffected by the side effects of a construction site, the owners likewise took advantage of the adjoining construction yard as a means to access their own construction site. Construction material such as ashlar blocks from the former atrium walls of House I 4,A would have been of good use for both the owners of the Casa del Citarista and those of House I 4,2, which at that time was not yet so much smaller in comparison.

If both owners had access to the construction yard (and even had its south wall towards the street rebuilt), this required formal agreements between them. We do not know if it was the inhabitants of the Casa del Citarista alone who bought the whole area of House I 4,A in the first place, or if this was a conjoint initiative by both neighbours. In the first case, the new owners would have conceded the right to use the construction yard to House I 4,2, as an accessway to House I 4,2's own backyard. At the same time, the neighbours might have acquired reusable building material from this area. If, instead, both house owners purchased the former atrium House I 4,A together, they must have agreed on a common organisation of the building yard as well as on what materials were to be reused by whom and to what extent excess materials would be sold to outside clients[16].

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15 In this case, parts of lintel blocks, a rather strong impost block and reveal blocks on both sides are preserved in between later brickwork. The width of the opening again measures ca. 75 cm and the top edge of the impost lies 2.15 m above the ground floor of room (g) in House I 4,2.

16 Barker (2010) does not exclude the possibility that second-hand material was sold to private groups. On the re-use of building material directly on-site within the Casa del Citarista, see Busen 2022, 59 f.

Similar doors in the outer walls of *insulae* can also be found elsewhere in Pompeii. Interestingly, these openings often granted direct access from the outside to the larger areas of houses, such as peristyle gardens. This is the case, for instance, on the western side of Insula I 14 in the back wall of the rear courtyard of House I 14,4.10. Additional examples can be found at the southern end of the western garden wall of the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2) and in the garden wall of peristyle (83) of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6)[17]. In all of these cases, the masonry used for blocking the entrances does not differ significantly in its building technique from that used for the surrounding wall. This suggests that the doors were not blocked after a longer period of use, but rather as soon as the construction work was finished. The intended use and value of such accessways for ongoing construction sites is quite obvious: in this way, the atrium houses themselves could remain in continuous use while the expansion achieved through the addition of peristyle gardens was accomplished without affecting the daily life in the house. No house owner would have gladly endured workmen crossing the atrium daily, carrying building material and dirt with them and making the centre of the house only barely usable as a living space or for acts of representation.

The blocked doorway in the rear of House I 4,2 is not the only detectable connection built between the Casa del Citarista and its neighbouring properties. A similar opening, which was likewise subsequently blocked, can be found in the rear wall of House I 4,9 (Fig. 8)[18]. The situation of this particular opening differs from the cases discussed above. The opening connected the tiny courtyard (n) of House I 4,9 to one of the rooms of the private bath complex within the Casa del Citarista, namely the *tepidarium*. Before the installation of the raised floor as part of the hypocaust system, the floor level on both sides of the opening was similar. After the construction of the technical installations was finished, the opening became superfluous and unusable, and was thus closed.

Unlike House I 4,2, which was close to the construction yard around the former atrium of House I 4,A, the owners of House I 4,9 did not benefit from an opening in the back of their house. Furthermore, it remains possible that the area where the private bath was to be erected originally belonged to House I 4,9, but was instead used as a garden area. In this case, the owner of the Casa del Citarista would not have bought the whole neighbouring property, but rather only its rear part in order to add yet another area to his *domus*. Consequently, the blocked opening between both houses may have merely served as an accessway to the construction site of the bath area. The owners of the Casa del Citarista seem to have once more tried to keep daily life around their atrium house undisturbed by the side effects of their own house's expansion, by arranging a secondary entrance to the construction site. As this was not directly possible from the street, they must have had enough influence on their smaller neighbour to be able to use their property as a bypass for workers and building material.

For the inhabitants of House I 4,9, this certainly meant that daily life was disturbed, at least during the times when workers had to traverse the house. Of course, we have no information on how this was arranged, but we can imagine rather short time slots when the accessway was actually used, while the construction work was being carried out behind the rear wall. Nor can we say whether the owners of the Casa del Citarista owned the neighbouring property and let it to someone else, whether there were other social ties that enabled them to enforce such a choice, or whether they simply paid for temporary usage rights.

At least one further example of a temporary opening constructed with a triangular lintel between two houses can be found in Pompeii. It is situated between *ala* (10) of the Casa del Forno di Ferro (VI 13,6) and *ala* (5) of the neighbouring Casa del Gruppo dei Vasi di Vetro (VI 13,2)[19]. Stratigraphic

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17 In the case of the Casa dei Dioscuri, the triangular lintel cannot be identified, since the upper part of the wall is covered on both sides by plaster, on the exterior imitating ashlar masonry; see the contribution by Lauritsen, this volume. The reveal blocks are also much more regular than in the aforementioned examples.

18 While the width of the opening is similar to the examples described above, the impost height in this case amounts to just 1.5 m. In trade, the rise of the triangular lintel, at 73 cm, is higher. Hence, the dimensions can be described by simple proportions (width: impost height: apex rise = 1 : 2 : 1).

19 Cova 2015, 92–94; Cova concludes that 'the communication between the two houses was relatively short-lived'.

excavation in this case has dated the opening to the early 1st century A.D.[20] Shortly afterwards, it was rendered unserviceable when a masonry staircase to the upper floor was built into the *ala* of House VI 13,2. The idea that Pompeian property owners tried to find routes other than their own atrium to bring materials and workers to construction sites within their houses might also be applied to this case. In addition to the construction of the staircase, materials would have been needed to erect rooms of the upper floor above this area of the house. Both houses were however of similar size, with one located adjacent to the other. Both were similarly accessible from the surrounding streets. The interpretation must therefore remain less precise than in the case of Insula I 4.

Planning Agreements Among Neighbours

Beyond these examples of shared access-ways and construction areas, we can present another interesting case of neighbourly agreements on Insula I 4. This evidence is not found in the built remains directly, but indirectly, by analysing the dimensions of some of the rooms. Looking at the preserved division of the *insula* in its last phase before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, the most complex situation can be found where the three Houses I 4,9, I 4,22 and I 4,25 adjoin (Fig. 9). Not only do the respective floor levels differ in elevation by up to 2 m, but the boundary wall, instead of being straight, is composed of several rather short wall segments, perpendicular to each other. These define the boundary walls of three halls, each belonging to one of the bordering houses.

Hall (m) within House I 4,9 was apparently added later to the floor plan by occupying the southwestern corner of what seems to have been the original layout of House I 4,22. Having ceded the rear portion of its property to the Casa del Citarista at an earlier date (see above), the owners of House I 4,9 thus found an alternative area for a dining hall. The latter was provided with wall paintings in the Third Style and an *opus sectile* flooring in the centre of the room. This kind of decoration provides a terminus ante quem for the construction of the walls in the first half of the 1st century A.D.[21] The room was provided with a rectangular layout measuring 15 × 22 Roman feet (4.43 × 6.47 m), which can be subdivided into 3 × 4 squares with a lateral length of 5 Roman feet. This leaves a strip at the northern end of the room with a width of 2 Roman feet[22].
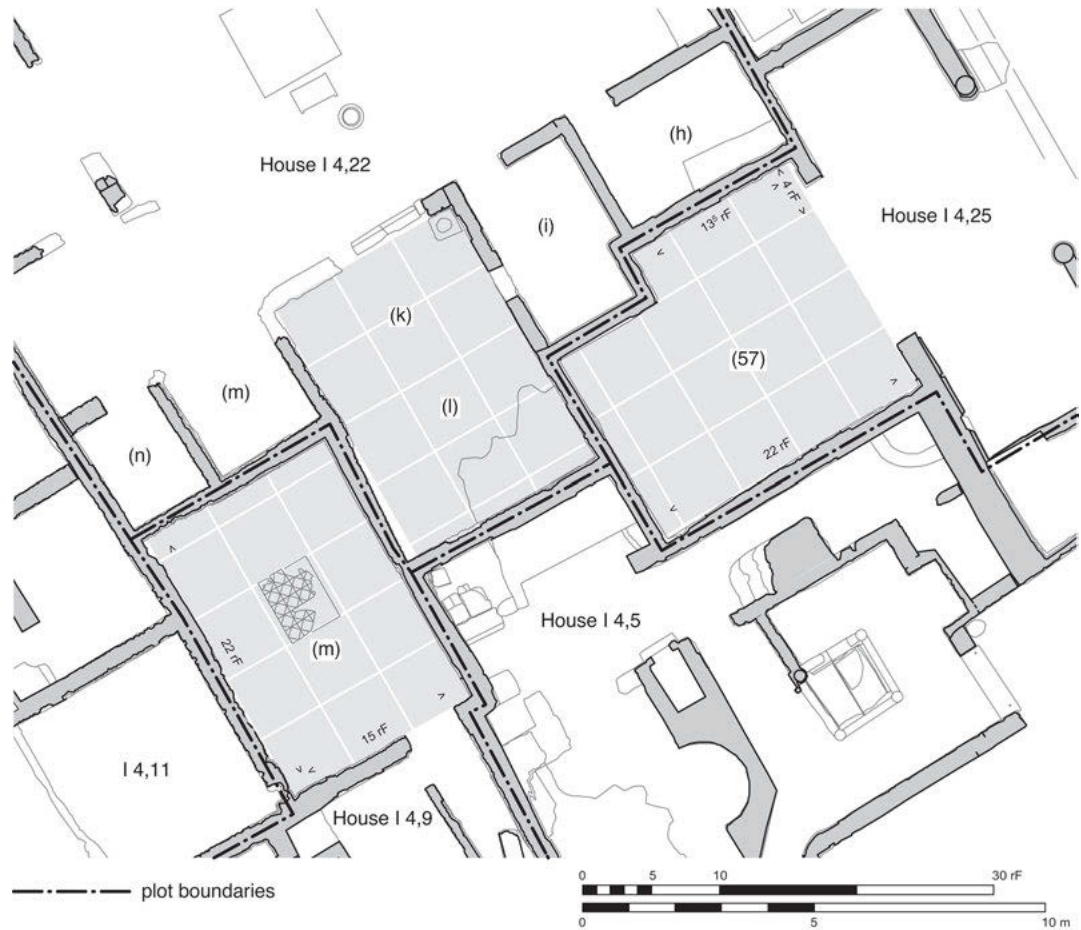
Interestingly, area (k. l), which is situated in the rear part of House I 4,22 and has an elevation of almost 2 m above the floor of House I 4,9, exhibits almost identical dimensions[23]. In this case, the line of reference seems to have been taken from the northern wall, parts of the southern atrium wall and the eastern wall. At the same time, the latter constituted the rear wall of a third hall, room (57), which belonged to House I 4,25. While the first two halls described run parallel, though shifted with respect to each other, room (57) is oriented at a right angle to both of them and is accessed through the large peristyle (56) in the east. Its plan once again contains a rectangle of ca. 15 × 22 Roman feet, with another rectangle of 4 × 13.5 Roman feet along its northern edge. This part borders kitchen (h) and *cubiculum* (i) of House I 4,22. The irregular layout of room (57) was necessary in order to create an opening aligned centrally towards peristyle (56), even though the result was to shift the main area of the room off the central axis.

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20 Lipizer – Loccardi 2009, 116. 145 f.

21 Mau 1882, 413; Bragantini et al. 1981, 14; PPM I (1990) 178–180 s. v. I 4,9 (M. de Vos), 180.

22 The *opus sectile* panel in the centre measures 4 × 5 Roman feet and fits perfectly in the third central square, counting from the south wall, which was likely the line of reference for laying out the floor plan.

23 The area is interpreted by scholars as an open-air dining hall, see Fiorelli 1873, 69; PPM I (1990) 181–184 s. v. I 4,22 (M. de Vos), 181. According to the plan published by Overbeck – Mau 1884, 360 Fig. 179 and the remains currently preserved, the flooring in the northern part was made of water-resistant *opus sectile,* while the southern part contained a simpler cast plaster floor. A cistern was installed in the eastern part of the substructure from which the water was collected via an opening in the northeastern corner of area (k. l).

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such as kitchen and storage rooms. They were certainly easier to accommodate than the large halls of the neighbours. Therefore, the owners of House I 4,9 most likely sold the rear part of their property to the owners of the growing Casa del Citarista and compensated this loss by acquiring at least the area for a representative dining hall from their northeastern neighbour. The fact that they also provided an accessway across their own atrium house for the construction of the private baths of House I 4,5 leads us to consider at least the possibility of some kind of economic dependency on their larger neighbour.

Nevertheless, the almost identical proportions and sizes of the three new halls is certainly noteworthy. This indicates a process of negotiation among neighbours that resulted in a fairly egalitarian distribution of the available area. If, however, the same person or family owned more than one of the participating houses, the result would certainly have been different, likely favouring one of the properties over the others[24]. The case described here certainly fits uneasily with the commonly postulated development of an *insula*, in which financially stronger house owners bought out their neighbours in order to expand their own property[25]. Quite the contrary, the built remains of this internal area of Insula I 4 rather illustrate the complex relationships among neighbours living back-to-back on the same *insula*.

Conclusions

As can be seen from the examples discussed here, the state of neighbourhood becomes effective in the negotiation of space. Neighbourly agreements between or among house owners on adjoining lots of land occur less often, but result in more or less extensive changes with respect to the division of areas of interest for the expansion or modification of house properties. These building measures have the potential to significantly change the spatial and social composition of a city block both internally and externally. The acquisition of an entire property by a neighbour, as shown for the plots in the southeastern quarter of Insula I 4, did not automatically lead to a full occupation by house extensions. Instead, it allowed the temporary use of existing spaces as a construction yard for more than one adjoining neighbour. The opening in the back of House I 4,9 (and probably the prior sale of its rear part), on the other hand, suggest a certain social or financial dependence of its owners on their apparently more powerful neighbour, the Casa del Citarista. In return, the very same owner of House I 4,9 was one of three neighbouring parties acquiring and splitting a significant area of House I 4,22 between them in order to each add the necessary space for a new and ample hall to their houses. This certainly presumes complex processes of negotiation that resulted in a satisfactory solution for all adjoining neighbours, always according to their own power in relation to the others. In the case of Insula I 4, the continuous expansion of the Casa del Citarista resulted in the concentration of all commercial activity on the western and northern edges of the *insula*, along the heavily trafficked Via Stabiana and Via dell'Abbondanza. At the same time, though the internal changes within the *insula* discussed above were fairly extensive, they had no visible effect on the exterior of the houses towards the street. They were rather confined exclusively to the internal perspective of those who lived back-to-back in the same city block.

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24 Dickmann (1999, 316 f.) postulates that House I 4,25 was added to the Casa del Citarista only in the Imperial period; Nappo (1998, 28; 2007, 358) argues for the period after A.D. 62. De Vos (PPM I [1990] 117–177 s.v. I 4,5.25, Casa del Citarista [M. de Vos], 117), Pesando (1997, 28) and Tommasino (2004, 27) date it in the Late Republican period.
25 For example, in the case of the Casa del Criptoportico (I 6,2.4.16); see Dickmann 1999, 81 f.

Illustration Credits

Figs. 1–9: T. Busen.

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Roman Neighbourhoods and the Archaeological Process: A Case Study from the Porta Stabia Neighbourhood at Pompeii

Abstract: Can archaeological excavations really target something as intangible as the 'neighbourhood'? This paper deals with the excavation of a large urban neighbourhood with multiple spaces and properties in Pompeii. The Porta Stabia neighbourhood consists of two *insulae* (VIII 7 and I 1) situated on either side of the Via Stabiana near the city gate. During the excavation of this area at least ten structurally independent properties were uncovered that once served as shops, workshops and modest residential and hospitality-oriented spaces. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the extent to which the structural and social texture of the neighbouring properties can be distinguished through archaeological excavation.

Introduction

The rise of '*insula* excavations' in Roman urban studies from, arguably, the 1970s, and particular those at Pompeii from the 1990s, brought about a new kind of interest in the archaeology of the neighbourhood[1]. This movement toward the excavation of not just multiple buildings across a city, but neighbouring ones, brought with it a certain promise that more and different information could move urban studies beyond the story of the singular property. One question remains, however: can urban excavations really target something so multifarious as the 'neighbourhood'? Much can be done for the individual elements, of course, such as the select spaces and individual properties, but what can be understood of them as an urban collective? What are the parameters, from spatial to conceptual, and how do these factors shape the types of questions that can and cannot be asked? As multivalent and holistic as the focus may seem for many of these efforts, still the methods and approaches have tended to remain singularly focused on one thing (the trench or room or property) or another.

The aim of this chapter is thus to take something of a (self-)critical look at what it means to excavate a Pompeian neighbourhood. As much as it is not about arguing for the merits of neighbourhood-wide studies, neither is it just about demonstrating their challenges, for there are hits and misses to be had on both sides. It is really rather about shining some light on the experience of excavating a large urban neighbourhood of multiple spaces and properties – in this case, the University of Cincinnati's excavations of the Porta Stabia neighbourhood at Pompeii – so as to demonstrate how the lessons from one experience might help us to think through how we can better understand the Roman neighbourhood[2]. And as common and important as definitions of space and of neighbourhoods are to this topic, the focus here will be more on the extent to which the spaces and properties themselves, regardless of how we delineate them, and also the archaeological practice itself that we bring to their study, are too often very binary constructs. How do we reconcile the precision of our archaeological approaches and structures and methods, and the data such projects create, with what was, in reality, a neighbourhood of buildings and households that were relatively less tangible, with blurred and opaque divisions that will have altered over time and space? In short, the contribution that follows is

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1 First brought to the fore in Pompeii by Roger Ling in the 1980s with his excavation of the Insula of Menander (Ling 1978; 1997), then accelerated from the 1990s by multiple missions (see Guzzo – Guidobaldi 2005; 2008; Dobbins – Foss 2007; Ellis 2011b). For a fuller, essential essay on *insula* excavations across Roman archaeology more broadly, see Hurst 2013.
2 For select publications, see Ellis 2011b; 2016; 2017; Ellis et al. 2011; 2012; 2015; in press.

about how we can identify not just the specific spaces and entities of a neighbourhood, but also the relationships between them.

For all the necessary caveats we might have for the sticky topic of definition, still some brief statements must at once be made to set something of the stage for what follows. There is of course no singular notion of what once formed a Roman neighbourhood. The very conception of a Roman neighbourhood, after all, takes us beyond conventional, binary definitions of space. Thus, more than identifying one property from its neighbour, or determining what binds a group of them (neither a simple task), there are various socioeconomic lenses through which to conceive of aggregated urban space. These bring to the foreground all sorts of often unanswerable questions about ownership and tenancy, which can be conditioned by the infrastructural and economic dependency between neighbouring properties; other related frameworks centre on the motivations behind urban invest-ment[3]. Still there is a need to identify neighbourhoods, for which it is fairly normal to think at once in spatial, lineal terms. By this, I do not mean the size and shape of a neighbourhood; it remains difficult, after all, to conceive of some totality of a Roman neighbourhood from an artificially top-down, aerial perspective. For while we can know something about a neighbourhood's place in the city – its political, social, religious, administrative and legal roles, sometimes even its name – still whatever spatial perimeters distinguished one neighbourhood from another were likely kaleido-scopic, multivalent and blurry. So, we can know that there was a neighbourhood in Pompeii associ-ated with salt, but we cannot really describe it, much less delineate any of its parts. Some surviving inscriptions – an earlier one in Oscan, and a later in Latin – tell us of its existence, and even of its approximate location. These inscriptions refer to a gate named the Porta Salis (today's so-called Her-culaneum Gate)[4], and a street by much the same name (Vicus Saliniensis – today's Via Consolare), on which election posters speak of the *Salinienses* (the salterers)[5]. But to map which properties and streets were also part of this district is hard to do. A Pompeian probably could not have done it either. One may have known when they were in the heart of the neighbourhood, but to draw a conceptual boundary around such a place is not possible to do because such boundaries will have likely been nonexistent in a lineal sense.

The Porta Stabia Neighbourhood

If conceiving of the neighbourhood as a total shape has its difficulties, then what of the neighbour-hood at a more zoomed-in scale? Say, from one property to the next. What can we do to better under-stand the shape of a neighbourhood from a more 'neighbourly' perspective? This brings us to the primary subject for much that follows: the Porta Stabia neighbourhood at Pompeii. For our present purposes, the Porta Stabia neighbourhood can be conventionally defined as, or limited to, the two *insulae* on either side of the Via Stabiana just inside the Porta Stabia gate – so, *insulae* VIII 7 to the west, and I 1 to the east. If this area had any concept of a civic identity in antiquity, no evidence sur-vives of it. And to draw some boundary that takes in still more than these two town blocks would be purely speculative. But it at least constitutes an area of connected and interconnected buildings, even if only in a structural sense for now, that has been the focus of archaeological excavations by the University of Cincinnati since 2005[6]. During this time some 40 trenches have been excavated across what appear to be ten structurally independent properties that stood (at least by A.D. 79) on either side of the Via Stabiana as well as some excavations within the Porta Stabia itself (Fig. 1). From the most

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3 On the variable motivations behind retail investment, see Ellis 2018, 85–125.

4 Murolo 1995, 118. On the Oscan inscription (*veru Sarinu*), see Vetter 1953, no. 23; for the Latin inscription (Porta Salis), see CIL IV 9159; also, Curtis 1991, 90, no. 208.

5 Maiuri 1959, 79–81; Castrén 1975, 79–82; Botte 2009, 69.

6 See n. 2, above.

cursory observation, it is clear that these properties once functioned as shops, workshops and modest residential and hospitality-oriented spaces.

Of the many aims of the project, many of which circulated around developing a robust understanding of the socioeconomic development of a sub-elite neighbourhood, one was especially critical to the topic at hand: to identify something of the texture of a neighbourhood. That is, to identify distinctions and differences between one property and the next so as to better understand the range of urban conditions between households that existed in close proximity. These conditions might manifest themselves in architectural and spatial terms: the sizes of buildings, or their rate of building developments and changes over time, or simply through any differing construction styles or use of various materials whether recycled or otherwise. This urban texture might also be identified in a more artefactual sense: the types of objects associated with the operation of each property, especially, for example, the food waste from drains and cesspits.

But to do so required delineating one property or space from the next not just for the purpose of identifying the units of occupation that will have existed in antiquity, but also to help structure the organisation of the archaeological research. The immediate challenge here was the sub-elite fabric itself, given that we are not here dealing with the singular and conventionally well-known footprint of an atrium house that is delineated on all fronts by sizeable partition walls. Instead, what we have at the Porta Stabia is a different, sub-elite orthodoxy in architecture, one that is less apparent or clear from the outset. There is a much greater heterogeneity of space and architectural configuration that does not conform to a more regularised typology as can be deduced for elite houses at one level, or of
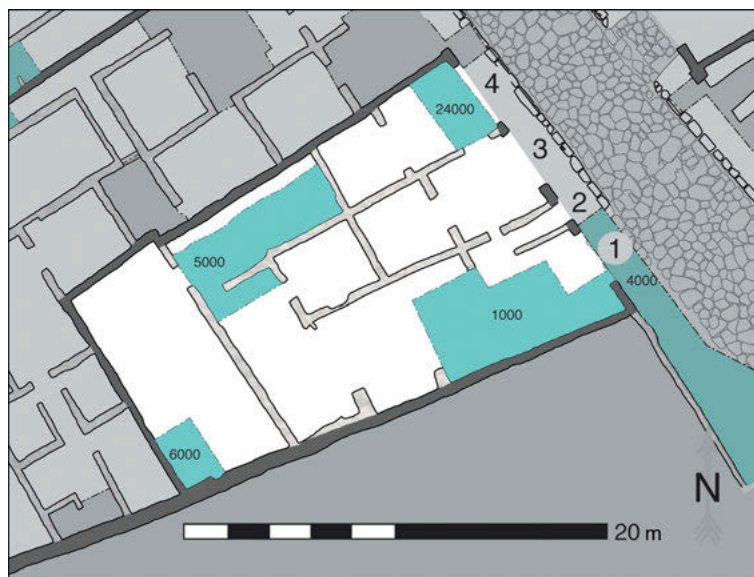
Fig. 2: Plan of VIII 7,1-4 with the location of archaeological trenches.
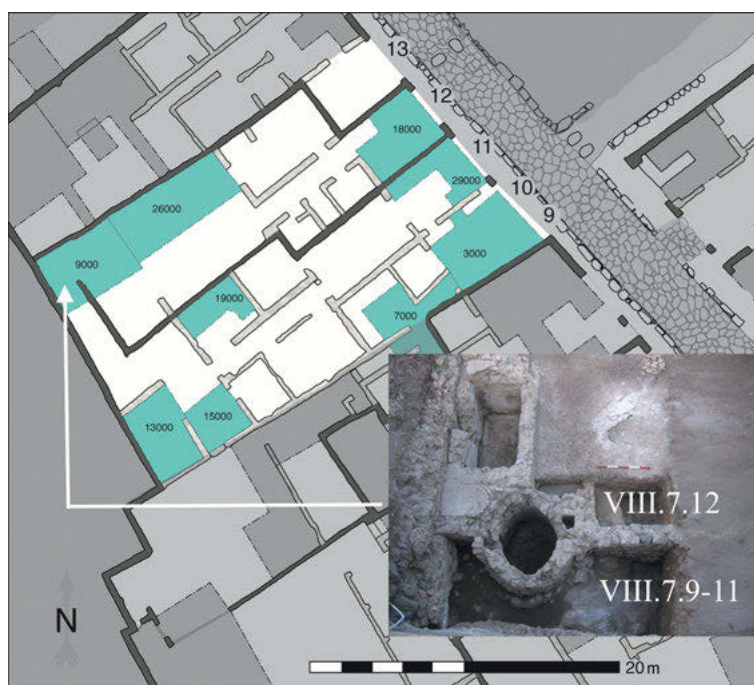
Fig. 3: Plan of VIII 7,9-11 and VIII 7,12, with the location of the shared waste pit.

singular commercial units on the other[7]. What we are rather left with is the outline of buildings that are variable in size and shape, and which are typified by interconnections between neighbouring properties via doorways and openings that reflect, or at least imply, access and connectivity.

Still, the shape and spatial bounds of some of the properties were more apparent than others. The property with multiple street-front entrances at VIII 7,1–4 serves as a useful example (Fig. 2). The outline of this property is fairly easily imagined because of its perimeter wall that binds the four street-front entrances into a collective whole. Within that seemingly singular footprint are a series

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7 For typologies of commercial spaces, see especially: Boëthius 1934; 1960; Girri 1956, 3. 6 f.; Staccioli 1959, 58; Packer 1971, 18; Meiggs 1973; Gassner 1986, 45–49 (specifically those at Pompeii); Mar – Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, 349–353 (specifically those at Empuries); Monteix 2010, 113–127 (specifically those at Herculaneum); Holleran 2012, 100–105.
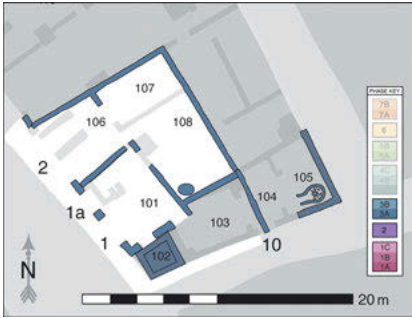
Fig. 4a: Via Stabiana at I 1,1/10 and I 1,2. Phase 3 (late 2nd – early 1st century B.C.).
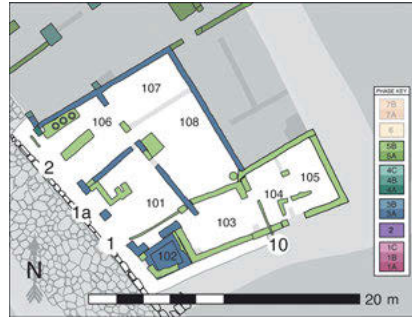
Fig. 4b: Via Stabiana at I 1,1/10 and I 1,2. Phase 5 (early 1st century A.D.).
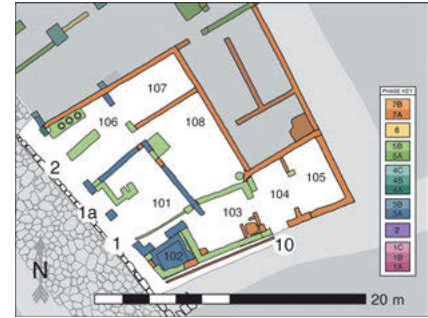
Fig. 4c: Via Stabiana at I 1,1/10 and I 1,2. Phase 7 (now as I 1,1-2 and I 1,1/10; early 60s through 70s A.D.).

of individual street-front entrances, side-by-side, as well as doorways between the front rooms of these spaces. Those separate street-front entrances imply a certain individuation of identity, likely also of activity, with each space having its own entrance from the street, while the doorways within these street-front rooms demonstrate some degree of interconnectedness. These separate shopfronts (at least those at entrances 3 and 4) are thus part of the footprint of a singular property; though their separate entrances imply individuated activity, still they all share space, walls and a roof.

Things get a bit more complicated elsewhere in the Porta Stabia neighbourhood. Some properties present as singular spaces at the street front, only to then have their rear spaces open onto and into what otherwise appear to be separate, neighbouring premises. The property at VIII 7,9–11, for example, might seem distinct from its neighbour at VIII 7,12 to those approaching from the street. Even so, both properties shared access to a cesspit or waste pit toward the back of their premises (Fig. 3). How that arrangement worked in a practical sense is not easy to know, but the fact that they seem to have shared so important a piece of urban infrastructure is a phenomenon, and complication, to which we will return.

Another arrangement, common to almost all of the properties, is best demonstrated in the neighbouring properties found across the Via Stabiana at I 1,1/10 and I 1,2 (Figs. 4a–c). Here we see the impact that time, measured over generations, had on the shape of individual properties and, in particular, on the developing relationships between neighbouring properties. These two properties show at once as physically separate entities, at least at their ground level; they each have their own entrances from the street, with no open doorways between them (see Fig. 4c). But this shape, this arrangement, is something that occurred relatively late in their overall existence as buildings. Our excavations of the subsoil deposits, combined with our study of the standing and buried architecture, allows us to chart this development with some precision.

It all began in the 2nd century B.C. when we see the first of the buildings that will ultimately define the *insula* being built in this southernmost area. To be clear, some earlier building activity is known for this area, dating from as early as the 6th century B.C., but the evidence for it is relatively minimal and none of the walls correspond to the built environment that can be charted from the 2nd century B.C. through to A.D. 79. That earlier building activity, some of the earliest in the area as it dates from the 6th through 4th centuries B.C., is still worth a mention. It was made up of some sections of pappamonte tuff walls that fronted a sidewalk to an earlier iteration of the Via Stabiana, or onto that earlier street itself. Not enough of the structure survived to delineate much of its shape. What we can determine, however, is that the structure was abandoned; accumulation deposits, and even evidence for a fallen tree show that this area experienced something of a downturn in urban activity leading into the 3rd century B.C.[8]. The thoroughfare, however, was at least re-laid several times from about the

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8 On a downturn, or hiatus, in Pompeian urban development, see Coarelli – Pesando 2011, 47 f.; Esposito et al. 2011, 131–133; Poehler 2017, 27–31; and now, especially, Avagliano 2018, 118–122.
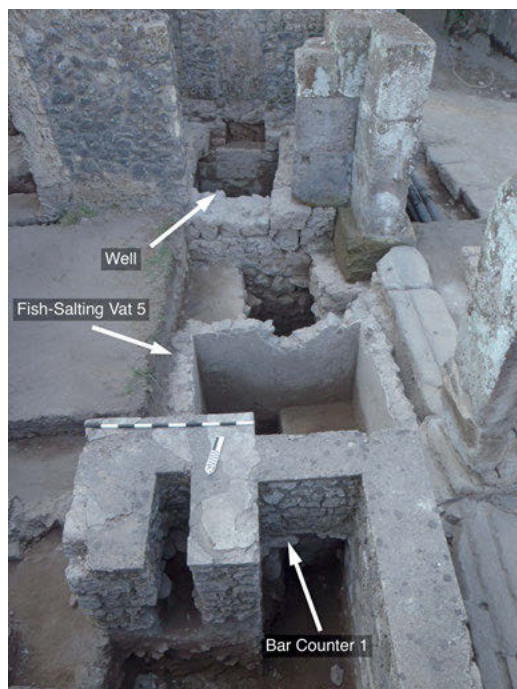
Fig. 5: The well, fish-salting vat, and counter at I 1,1/10.

later 4th century B.C. Then in the 3rd century B.C., again beneath our later property, a ceramics kiln was installed, pointing to at least some urban, and indeed industrial, activity in this area, though we still do not have any articulation of the complete architectural configuration that will have accompanied it.

To return to the origins of our property in the 2nd century B.C., it was at this time – and more likely in the later years of that century – that we see the first articulation of the property that will define the southern end of I 1 through to A.D. 79. Notably, this was the earliest of the buildings in the *insula*, with later construction of the neighbouring properties proceeding northward; this south-to-north pattern of development and expansion was replicated across the road at Insula VIII 7. The more relevant point here is that our later two properties begin at this time as one: as I 1,1–2 (see Fig. 4a). This was a simple rectangular structure with internal divisions. While less can be known about the activities of these spaces at this time, the area immediately to the south, which will later be incorporated into the property, shows much clearer evidence for urban activity: this space included a large public well (1.35 × 1.25 m, with a depth of ca. 11.70 m) in the southwest corner of the area fronting the Via Stabiana (Room 102 in the plan), and the resumption of pottery production with the installation of another kiln in the southeastern corner (Room 105 in the plan; Fig. 5).

From the early 1st century B.C., we can say decidedly more about the activities of our singular property. At this time, we can document strong evidence for the production of salted fish products in the street-side rooms (Rooms 101 and 106 in the plan). Here we uncovered two fish-salting vats that had once operated with no fewer than four soak-away vessels for the associated waste; the fills of all four of them were dominated by fish remains (see Fig. 5). These fish-salting activities were part of a neighbourhood economy where we see the same evidence for production, at much the same time, in properties VIII 7,7–8, VIII 7,9–11, VIII 7,12 and VIII 7,6[9]. And as for those other properties, the fish-salting activities at I 1,1–2 also ceased toward the end of the same century, or at least by the early years of the 1st century A.D. Still our property continued to operate as a single entity at this time, but as two shopfronts with interconnected rooms and spaces. This was an important period of not just development, but true change: where once we had a property, indeed a neighbourhood as the pattern is

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9 Ellis 2011b.

more widespread, dominated by production activities, now in the first years of the 1st century A.D. we see a transition to retailing (see Fig. 4b). The burying of the production facilities to make new floors for retailing activities constituted an important change to the socioeconomic character of the neighbourhood (see Fig. 5). The focus of the properties had changed from the making of things, locally, to primarily the selling of things both local and otherwise. The newfound commitment to retailing, and indeed the confidence in the new economy, is manifested at this time in the construction of permanent masonry shop counters for the retailing of food and drink as well as in new cooking facilities (Rooms 101 and 106 in the plan)[10]. The property extended southward at this time, adding a suite of new rooms with a separate entrance from the side street at doorway 10.

The property at I 1,1–2 thus spent almost its entire existence as a singular structure, albeit with multiple entrances onto the street. It was only in the latest years (it is difficult to pinpoint precisely when in the A.D. 60s or 70s) that the property took its final shape. And though structurally these developments appear as relatively minimal, with just some blocking of doorways between the front rooms of each, these actions had significant consequences on the overall configuration of the urban area, as one property now existed as two: I 1,1/10 and I 1,2 (Fig. 4c). The point here is that these properties – as they stand in A.D. 79, and indeed the neighbourhood itself as much as the city more broadly – reflect only a fraction of the life of their spaces. And valid and important though that one snapshot may be, still it can betray the much longer story of the development of space and of the relationships of the people within them.

Another telling example of the impact of time on neighbourhood dynamics comes from Insula VIII 7, though here the change in that neighbouring relationship occurred significantly earlier and under circumstances that might be more determinable and reflective of a pattern of broader urban developments. What we see here is the growth of one property at the expense of another, its immediate neighbour. To summarise an extensive series of developments, it was in the early years of the 1st century A.D. that the property at VIII 7,9–11 incorporated the rear rooms of its neighbour at VIII 7,7–8. Those in VIII 7,9–11 now gained access to the back premises of VIII 7,7–8 by opening some doors through what had been the perimeter wall between the two, and making new blockages to separate any access VIII 7,7–8 once had to rooms once considered its own (Fig. 6a–b). Even the drainage of the two properties was impacted by these developments. Some considerable effort, for example, went into decommissioning a drain that had once serviced the property at VIII 7,7–8, now that it no longer had access to the inlet. Rather than have that drain continue to run its course through VIII 7,7–8, a new drain was laid directly over it, but turning through a new doorway to ensure its course ran now only through the property (VIII 7,9–11) that governed its inlet. This growth of one property and the contraction of another, two immediate neighbours, must have come with all sorts of social and economic bargaining, the details of which will likely remain beyond us; their full consideration is at least beyond the scope of the present discussion. But while those important details elude us, still the development can ultimately be contextualised within a broader chronological trend.

What we thus see for the neighbourhood as it stood in A.D. 79 is an amalgam of not just urban developments over time, but of social and economic relationships between neighbours that take their shape in the addition and subtraction of walls and doorways and drains. And while many of the pieces of evidence for these arrangements can be pulled together from the stratified contexts that survive in the standing remains, a much fuller story can only be attained through stratified excavations into the construction contexts (through the fills and the floors) associated with the standing and buried architecture. Beyond a more accurate picture of development, the subsoil deposits, especially when exposed for much of an entire neighbourhood, reveal broader patterns in development that would otherwise go unimagined. The subsoil evidence allows us to question the extent to which these developments reflect more piecemeal, individualised circumstances, or if they reflect patterns of change over time.

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10 Ellis 2018, 151–186.

Fig. 6a: Plan of VIII 7,5-8 during Phase 4 (early 1st century B.C. – early 1st century A.D.).
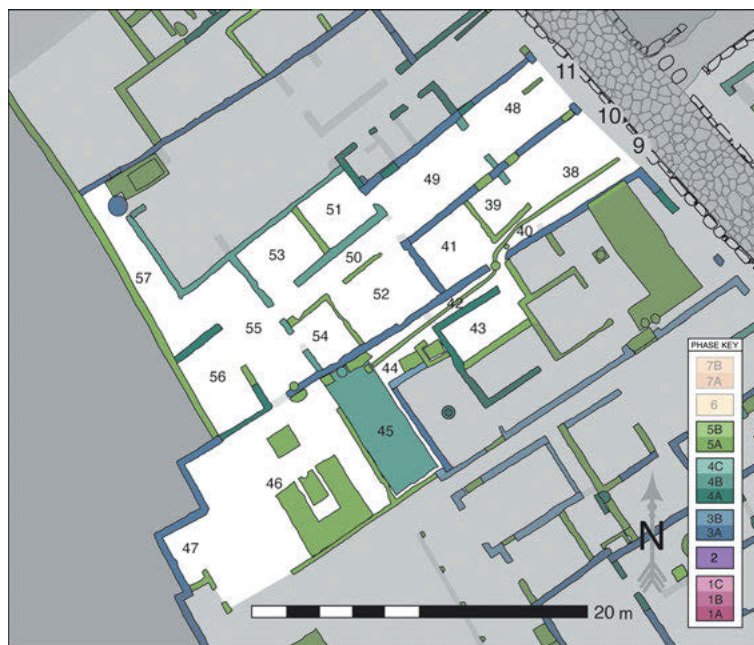
Fig. 6b: Plan of VIII 7,9-11 during Phase 5 (early 1st century A.D).

For as many urban developments that can be identified for each room of each property over time (some 220 'subphases' in number), still many of these can be physically connected or stratigraphically associated to identify broader phases that impacted the two *insulae*. When expressed as a sitewide Harris Matrix (Fig. 7), those many individual developments reveal a sequence of building activity over about seven centuries in which certain periods of change, or episodic urban developments, were more common to all of the buildings. To overly summarise, what we see are patterns in the construction and reconstruction of the buildings that made up the neighbourhood, seven phases in total, with especially common activities occurring in the:

– 2nd century B.C. (Phase 3): with the construction of many of the buildings that made up the neighbourhood as we see it today, albeit in their early versions.
– Early 1st century A.D. (Phase 5): with the wholesale transition from production to retail activities.
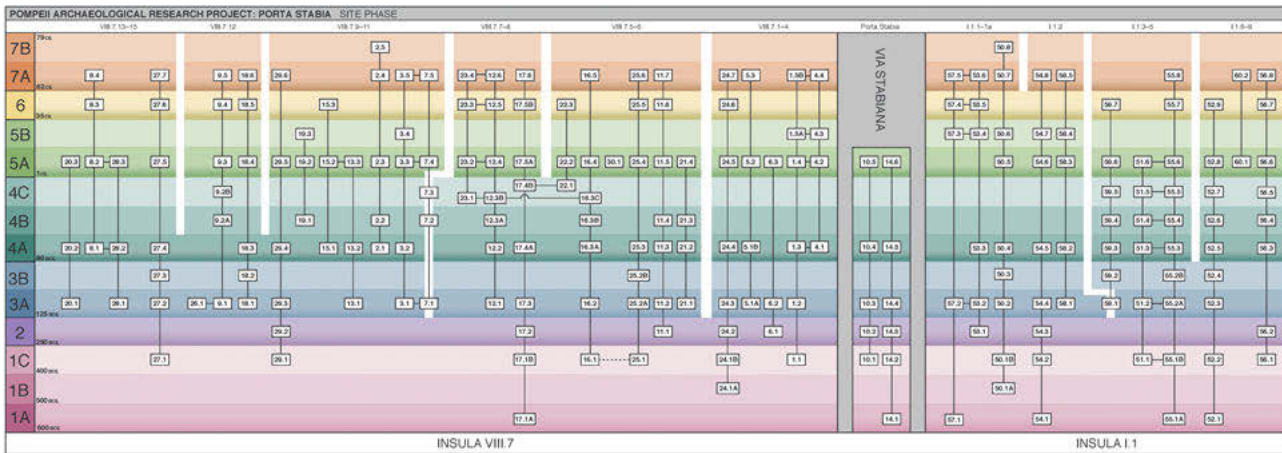
– Early A.D. 60s through 70s (Phase 7): with the rebuilding of the properties in the post-earth-quake(s) era.

What this phasing shows us is that while much of the urban evidence will present itself as a sequence of hyperlocalised developments, many of these will have been motivated by social and economic forces at a broader level across Pompeii and indeed beyond. It is these patterns of development that help us to contextualise what are otherwise very specific sets of data from the excavation of a neighbourhood.

Fig. 7: The site-wide Harris Matrix of phases of urban development at *insulae* VIII 7 and I 1.

Relationships of Data and of People

One of the more significant realities that comes from excavating a Pompeian neighbourhood is that the frameworks for such an approach tend toward being a little too lineal and binary. The datasets are tethered to contexts and trenches and rooms and properties, however defined. Too easily missed in this binary of both socioeconomic and dataset distinction are the complex relationships between neighbouring spaces. It is in these relationships between spaces, between properties and neighbours, that we see more clearly the urban characteristic of common and combined resources. By this I mean the wells, cisterns, cooking facilities, toilets and storage spaces that can simply be assigned to the properties in which they are most directly found, but which are often better understood as having served multiple, neighbouring spaces. Many of these infrastructural features were demonstrably shared between the occupants of neighbouring spaces.

Some examples of how neighbouring properties shared various infrastructural resources is necessary. The cesspit installed at the rear of VIII 7,9–13 in Phase 3a remained in use as the property split into both VIII 7,9–11 and VIII 7,12 in Phase 4b, the inhabitants of each then sharing its use up to the time of the eruption (see Fig. 3). All of these properties, together with their neighbour at VIII 7,5–6, shared access to a rear garden behind their properties for the entirety of their existence. In Insula I 1, the quarry at the rear of I 1,6–9 provided some building materials for its own expansion in Phase 5a, but almost fully supplied the concurrent reconstruction of its neighbour to the south at I 1,3–5. Looking beyond the Porta Stabia, my survey of the broader Pompeian retail landscape brings some of this recognition of combined and shared resources into higher definition. In the realm of retail, it is common to see both storage spaces and cooking facilities for bars being located in their adjacent houses (Fig. 8)[11]. One of the outcomes of this custom of sharing space and resources is that

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11 For a fuller treatment, see Ellis 2018, 64 f. 70–73. 119–121.

Fig. 8: The location of the cooking facility in the atrium of I 4,2, in service of the bar at I 4,3.

all of the food and drink outlets that were attached to houses, for example, are on average smaller than those which were more physically independent, likely because of their ability to draw on the spatial resources of the house. Moreover, it is just the smaller bars that retain a physical connection to houses in order to draw upon these resources. Once we get to the larger bars of three rooms or more, the direct access ceases; indeed, it is only when bars are large enough to have three rooms that they begin to provide their own toilets (87 % of all bars) – all of the smaller bars relied on their access to adjoining houses.

On the one hand, this realisation that there is a fluidity of function and activity between spaces problematises some popular approaches to urban archaeology. After all, the many great lists of facilities that have been compiled per property is a common pastime for those working at Pompeii[12]. But on the other hand, and more positively, it can help us to better understand and identify – whether anticipated or otherwise – the social and economic relationships that connected neighbours. Significantly, shared resources suggest that we should rethink our assumption that separate people had a singular control on spaces that are architecturally distinct.

Pompeian Precision

One final factor that I want to touch upon, which has been hinted at above but which takes us in a somewhat different but related direction, is that our best efforts to understand the Pompeian neighbourhood may be impeded by – and I do not wish to present this as a complaint – the overwhelming mountain of data that is available to us. Though Pompeii is not necessarily unique in this, its unusual abundance and variety of available evidence characterises it as a site where so much can be done; certainly, more is expected of the city than of practically any other archaeological site. The city's complexity as an archaeological dataset can hardly be overestimated. More than a site that can boast over 1,000 exposed properties across an urban area of about 627,000 m², with artefact assemblages

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12 From among the many, see the encyclopaedic treatment of Pompeian buildings in Eschebach – Müller-Trollius 1993.

that number in the many hundreds of thousands, Pompeii has arguably attracted more intensive academic research across more languages and over a longer period of time than any other site outside of (and perhaps even including) the capital itself. I might also add, because it is a point that is too easily underappreciated or ignored, that there is an almost unparalleled accessibility to this data as well as the creation of still more of it, at least by comparison to those wanting to undertake approved – and ultimately publishable – urban-field surveys elsewhere.

The relevance to neighbourhood studies here is that given that the resolution of these Pompeian datasets is so great, and the scale so vast, there has been a tendency in Pompeian scholarship to ask a range of especially interesting questions on the one hand, yet to also ultimately fuss with the details on the other; I understand the attraction here, because I have done much of this myself[13]. It is not simply that we can, for example, count the number of doorways along a street, each and every street, and to good effect, it is rather that we can take so much meaning from the precision of the data. That one of these doors, say to an industry or a shop, might be nearer or farther from a house – as measured in metres, sometimes even centimetres – can be registered as meaningful to our understanding of property ownership and economic portfolios is an approach that is worthwhile as an exercise yet probably also at odds with how we might better understand the necessary complexities of the city[14]. My demonstration of these types of granular, precision-based approaches to the Pompeian dataset is not entirely out of critique, but rather to petition for them to be offset by those which seek also to recognise the fuzziness and subtlety of a neighbourhood.

Conclusion

What much of this speaks to is the difficulty in handling rather absolute concepts and data that make up the neighbourhood. For archaeological projects, we tend – of necessity – to focus on the singular things: the trenches and rooms and properties, or the walls and contexts and objects. Of course, there will always be both an interest in, and a structuring of, the data to undertake urban excavations this way. And though we might understand well the need to study the relationships between these things – seeing walls as architecture, contexts in a matrix, or objects as an assemblage – still the results and outcomes can often remain limited in both breadth and complexity. Compounding these issues is the very obvious fact that the archaeological excavation of multiple properties, of a neighbourhood, necessarily produces an overwhelming amount of information and data. There is, therefore, a difficult balance between documenting all the countless parts that form the volumetric matrix of a neighbourhood, and the weaving of them together to form some kind of understanding, some kind of story.

Little wonder, then, that the story – whether told through preliminary reports or 'final' publications, online or in print – face often insurmountable challenges to account for both the trees and the forest. Conventional archaeological reporting thus produces rather granular, atomised accounts of one trench or space or building, then another. This is in part a legacy of the practice of publishing excavations, where there is not just a tradition, but what could rather be argued as an increasing fetish in the digital era for making lots of data, good and clean data, and making all of it available. Where the balance lies is difficult to say. What I hope to have shown here is that some of the most valuable information lies between the data, between the properties and their inhabitants. And thus, it does not necessarily nor easily abide by distinct borders and boundaries. But in the study of Roman neighbourhoods, archaeological excavations have a chance to move beyond the stand-alone sequences, to examine multiple spaces and properties and identities, and the multiple relationships between them.

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13 My typology of bars in Ellis 2018, Ch. 2, for example.
14 For example, Robinson 2005.

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Figs. 1–8: S. Ellis.

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Simon Malmberg

Neighbourhoods by the Tiber: Life at Two Harbours in Rome

Abstract: This study looks at two locations in Rome, at Ripetta and Pietra Papa, that could function as a departure for a discussion about harbour neighbourhoods in the city. Since we lack complete preserved ancient urban districts in Rome, as opposed to Pompeii or Ostia, this study will have to combine material from two ancient harbours at Rome, complemented by information about harbour life in early modern Rome. Specific forms of urban neighbourhoods probably evolved in harbours, which were characterised by the interaction between permanent and temporary residents. Neighbourhoods can be seen as socio-spatial phenomena that go beyond material culture. Studying them may challenge the material focus of archaeology by forcing us to look specifically at intangible social relations and human activities that do not necessarily leave any physical traces. This contribution uses material from different periods to highlight the possibility of port functions and neighbourhood arrangements that are not visible in the archaeological or textual material from ancient Rome. It also discusses trajectories of change in the harbours in the short term (days), midterm (seasons) and long term (centuries).

Introduction

The city of Rome was among the largest and most important ports of the Empire, with harbour facilities stretching for many kilometres along the Tiber. This study will look at two harbour locations in Rome that could function as a departure for a new perspective on neighbourhoods in the city, which will also take into account human activities that did not leave permanent physical traces. Harbour neighbourhoods are chosen because they have been previously somewhat neglected in neighbourhood studies in Rome. They also present a different form of neighbourhood, characterised by seasonality, temporary inhabitants and structures and land-water interaction. The first of the harbour neighbourhoods under investigation is at Pietra Papa, in the southern part of Rome, which received ships coming up from the Mediterranean. The other is the Ripetta harbour in northern Rome, which was one of the ports for riverboats coming downriver from the Tiber Valley (Fig. 1). The two harbours are not chosen for a comparison or as a contrast, but rather to provide complementary material in a city which only allows fragmentary glimpses of harbour life.

Pietra Papa has been chosen for this study because it is a rare example in Rome of a large part of a harbour being excavated in a planned and published excavation. While the ancient Ripetta harbour is far more fragmentary, it instead provides us with a continuity seldom seen among Rome's harbours, being in use from at least A.D. 20 until 1889. Pietra Papa is also chosen because it has been puzzling scholars due to its lack of much of the infrastructure associated with harbours, such as buildings for storage and distribution, that can be found in for example Testaccio. Neither are there any known centres of habitation for workers at or close to the harbour. Although the area of the Ripetta harbour

Fig. 1: The urban part of the Tiber in antiquity with the Ripetta and Pietra Papa harbours marked out.

had become quite densely urbanised by the 2nd century A.D., it too for a long time lacked any identifiable structures for storage and distribution.

The study consists of four parts: First a presentation of the theoretical perspectives of the study, which closely adheres to the volume's overall goals and how these might be applied to harbour neighbourhoods in Rome as well as our sources for studying them. The second part describes the two chosen harbours more in detail, which is complemented by material from early modern Rome at Ripetta. Then follows a discussion where the theoretical perspectives are applied to how the two ancient harbours might have worked as neighbourhoods. The last section looks at the temporal dimension of the harbour neighbourhoods, again related to one of the main themes of the volume, in a short-, medium- and long-term perspective.

Harbour Neighbourhoods: Perspectives and Challenges

The main highways, urban streets, city gates and fora in Roman cities were important social spaces, where people moved, met and interacted. Studies of ancient urban social organisation and development have developed into an important research field, to which I have been devoted. It became natural to extend my research on urban movement and social life to also include the urban Tiber. This part of the river intersected ancient Rome and formed one of the most important traffic arteries and locations for human interaction in the city. The Tiber was essential to the city of Rome and connected it with the Mediterranean and the port cities at the mouths of the river, as well as with the important agricultural inland regions of the Tiber Valley. In the Late Republic and the Imperial period, the Tiber became fundamental in supporting up to a million inhabitants in Rome, which necessitated the

construction of harbour facilities at an unprecedented scale in the city, within an area of 18 km along the river[1].

In the study of harbour areas of ancient Rome as urban neighbourhoods, it is important to explain the perspective and definition of 'neighbourhood' used here. Following the overall theoretical perspective of this volume, I have chosen to emphasise the socio-spatial aspects of neighbourhood, following the work by American sociologist Gerald Suttles, who defined it as a 'network of acquaintances [...] known from shared conditions of residence and the common usage of local facilities'[2]. Suttles saw neighbourhoods as subjective, with blurred limits and a gradually decreasing social relevance, dependent upon both physical and social distance. Using this perspective, the neighbourhood is created through the constant actions by the individuals living there.

Suttles divided the experience of neighbourhood into three categories of decreasing relevance. The first category is the face-block, consisting of individual, local, face-to-face relationships, usually among houses along both sides of a street for the length of one city block. In this study, the quay can be understood as a form of street. The next stage is what Suttles termed the defended neighbourhood, which comprises several city blocks with a corporate identity, and constitutes a safe haven for its inhabitants. This would correspond to the larger harbour neighbourhood area, including harbour buildings farther from the river. The third category moves beyond the neighbourhood, to what Suttles called the community of limited liability. This is an administrative city unit with an official name and boundaries, which would be equivalent to a formal city district in ancient Rome, such as a *vicus* or an urban region[3].

The concepts developed by Suttles will be applied to two harbour neighbourhoods in Rome, discussed in more detail in part three below. These harbours had normal face-blocks based on streets, open spaces and buildings, but in addition we can perceive the harbour quays as a form of face-block, with buildings on one side and moored river craft on the other. The river should thus not be seen as a boundary or an obstacle in the harbour neighbourhood, but as a central part of it. Shared facilities are central to neighbourhood identity, and we find that these two harbour neighbourhoods were lavishly equipped with aqueduct water that supplied *nymphaea*, fulleries and bathhouses that might have been used by the harbour inhabitants. Another aspect is that of social networks, where we will look at the groups that potentially made up most of the inhabitants of the harbour neighbourhoods. The temporary character of both inhabitants and their housing facilities lent a special dynamic and fluidity to the character of these neighbourhoods.

To study port areas in Rome from a neighbourhood perspective has been a somewhat neglected topic, and understandably so in view of the general lack of information about harbour life in the city. Roman literary texts are mostly occupied with mythology or dramatic historic events when they deal with the Tiber and seldom mention the social life of harbour inhabitants. Legal texts are somewhat more forthcoming but are mainly occupied with ownership or user rights. There are some depictions of harbour scenes in Roman art, but very little directly related to the city of Rome. Epigraphy provides some evidence related to harbours in the city. The most important epigraphic material for harbour neighbourhoods in Rome is probably the different marble plans, that partly depict harbour areas[4].

When it comes to archaeological sources, the construction of the muraglioni, the flood walls of Rome, at the end of the 19th century, could have been a golden age of harbour archaeology. But the opportunity was not seized because rapid urban modernisation efforts were prioritised to the detriment of proper archaeological investigations, and thus very little was recorded or saved. Things

1 For an overview of previous scholarship on Rome's harbours, see Malmberg 2015; 2021. For an overview of Rome's demographic and economic relationship to its immediate hinterland, see Malmberg, in press.
2 Suttles 1972, 55. See also the introduction to the present volume.
3 Suttles 1972, 21–81.
4 See Malmberg 2021 for an overview of available sources for the port of Rome. For a general overview of scholarship and ancient sources on Roman ports, see Arnaud – Keay 2020; Keay 2020; 2021.

have improved, especially since the 1970s, due to pioneering efforts by several Italian archaeologists, but the excavated material provides little direct information regarding specific human activities and social interaction[5].

To be able to understand the city of Rome as a whole it is essential to include studies of the city's interaction with the river, since harbour areas are very relevant in relation to socio-spatial aspects of urban life. Studies of this type presuppose the use of a large range of different sources. There is especially a danger for aspects that are not preserved in the ancient material culture to be overlooked. For this reason, evidence from later periods in Rome can provide an important complementing perspective on the organisation of goods, services and workers at the city's harbours in ways that did not necessarily involve permanent physical structures. The rebuilding of the Ripetta harbour at the beginning of the 18th century will supply such material for this study. Of course, this kind of material cannot provide us with facts about ancient Rome, but rather with useful ideas, and open our minds to different possibilities and aspects of harbour life.

A Close Reading of Two Roman Harbours

We have now established the theoretical parameters of the chapter and their application to harbour neighbourhoods, as well as the challenges we meet in piecing together a coherent picture of harbour life in ancient Rome. In the following part, the empirical knowledge we have about the two harbours in Rome will be presented more in detail.

Pietra Papa

The first harbour of this study is the one at Pietra Papa, in southern Rome (Figs. 2–3). It is one of the few sites where we have knowledge of the larger infrastructural context of the port since it was mostly unearthed in a single, planned, large-scale excavation. Major findings of port structures were made during drainage work in 1892, and again after flooding in 1915, which in turn led to large-scale excavation work in 1939–1940. The excavators found an inclined concrete quay at least 400 m long, faced in *opus mixtum*. Brick stamps suggest a construction date in the first half of the 2nd century. Several large, perforated mooring stones in travertine formed part of the quay, and two stairways in travertine connected the river with the top of the quay. Along the edge of the quay, three river-boundary stones were found in situ, together with several other *cippi* without inscriptions. Marks from ropes on two of the inscribed stones showed that they had also been used as mooring stones. Behind the quay the excavators found two bathhouses, both constructed in the first half of the 2nd century: one smaller and simpler to the north, with floors in black-and-white mosaics, and one larger farther south, with frescoes of riverboats and marine motifs of high quality and floors in polychrome mosaics from a later 4th-century phase. The larger bath also had a *palaestra* with a pool, and a large cistern that was probably connected to an aqueduct. Farther to the south were a *nymphaeum*, a fishpond, a fullery and a monumental rectangular tomb in concrete with remains of marble decoration, a series of modest burials and several *columbaria*[6].

It has been observed as a global phenomenon in the early modern period that harbour workers usually live close to the harbour[7]. At Pietra Papa, we have no indications of a permanently settled pop-

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5 For overviews, see Aldrete 2007, 247–252; Malmberg 2015, n. 1. For specific examples, see Malmberg 2021.

6 Jacopi 1940; 1943; Le Gall 1953, 172. 196 f. 258 f. 271; Mocchegiani Carpano 1975/76, 243 f.; 1981, 152; Castagnoli 1980, 37 f.; Palmer 1981, 383; Rossetti – Tella 1991; Taylor 2000, 190. 197 f.; Imperatori 2003, 164 f.; Malmberg 2021, 353–355.

7 Davies – Weinhauer 2000.
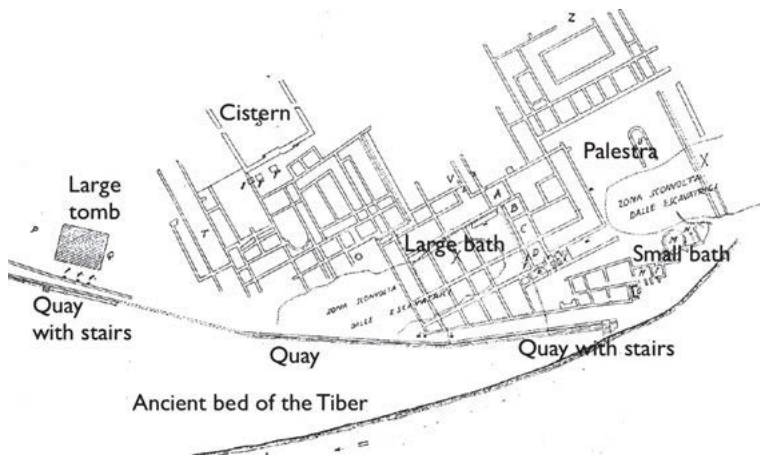
Fig. 2: Plan of the excavations at Pietra Papa in 1939–1941.
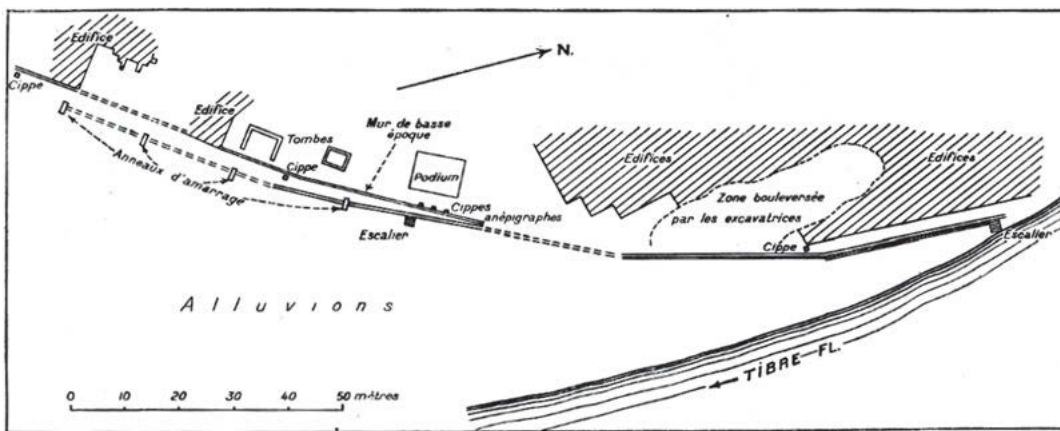
Fig. 3: Plan of the quay at Pietra Papa.

ulation[8]. This, together with the lack of storage and distribution facilities, has led scholars to suggest that the site was not a proper harbour but only a toll or waiting station on the way to inner-city harbours[9]. I find this argument wanting, in view of the massive investment needed to build an at least 400 m long concrete quay equipped with large mooring stones and delimited by official boundary stones. As will be demonstrated, a lack of buildings for storage, commerce or habitation does not preclude a thriving harbour with a seasonal population of dock workers. No similar quays have come to light at any other presumed way stations between the Tiber mouth and Rome, which demonstrates that it was feasible to moor river barges during the night without access to concrete quays[10].

Ancient Ripetta

The second example is the Ripetta harbour, which was well-positioned in the northern part of Rome to receive goods coming down from the Italian inland (Fig. 4). It occupied a central location, at the junction of the river and the Via di Ripetta, a road that goes back to the Early Imperial layout of the northern Campus Martius. We first hear about a harbour here in A.D. 20, mentioned by Tacitus as

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8 That the port at Pietra Papa had social functions is however beyond doubt, through the existence of no less than two large bathhouses, one simpler and one more luxurious, both located right next to the quay.

9 Le Gall 1953, 259; Palmer 1981, 383–393.

10 Keay 2012, 48; Aguilera Martín 2012, 113 f.; Fedeli 2013; Malmberg 2021, 356 f. Indeed, simple river mudbanks were used to moor river barges in Rome itself during the medieval and early modern period.
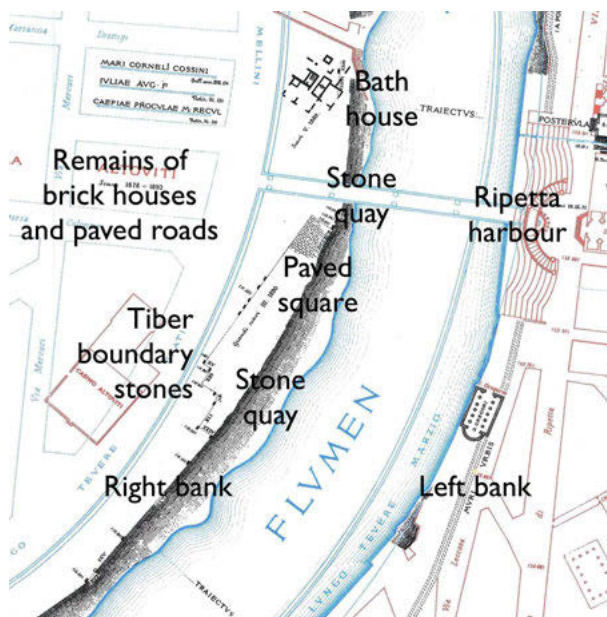
Fig. 4: Plan of the Ripetta harbour. On the eastern, left bank is the 18th-century harbour, built on top of an ancient quay. On the western, right bank are remains of an ancient harbour excavated in the 1890s.

located next to the Mausoleum of Augustus. Remains of the harbour structure were unearthed during the construction of a new port in the early 18th century. A 50 m stretch of the ancient quay was found, which was built in blocks of stone and paved in travertine. An Augustan Tiber marker was found at the quay, which might give a chronological indication[11].

There are also ancient harbour remains on the opposite, right Tiber bank. During construction of the Ponte Cavour in the 1890s a stone quay was discovered together with a large, paved square. A series of Tiber boundary stones from the Augustan period was found in situ along the edge of the quay. There is limited knowledge of the harbour area beyond the paved square since it was hurriedly developed for housing in the 1880s without scientific excavation, but there are indications the area was densely urbanised in antiquity, with many finds of brick housing and paved streets. Just north of the square, a building in *opus mixtum* with a large, porticoed courtyard was uncovered, which could be tentatively identified as a bath building because of its indoor pools. The interior walls were partly covered in painted plaster, and some rooms had simple white mosaic floors while others preserved fragments of *opus sectile*. Based on a brick stamp found in situ, the building can be dated to the middle of the 1st century A.D.[12].

Ancient remains found on the left bank at Ripetta were the result of inadvertent discoveries related to infrastructural work in a crowded part of the modern city. Thus, they cannot give us a detailed understanding of the ancient harbour. However, results from many different discoveries can be pieced together to provide an image of the general development of the area. They show that it began to be occupied by houses from the Flavian period and turned into a densely urbanised area in the course of the 2nd century A.D., with the monuments from the Augustan period built over or confined to more limited areas. There is evidence of both *insulae* and *domūs*, and a dense network of paved streets and sewers, but during the early Empire with no traces of buildings directly linked to harbour activities, such as markets, warehouses, or distribution centres[13].

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11 Tac. Ann. 3, 9, 2; Maischberger 1997, 106; De Caprariis 1999, 220 f.; Malmberg 2021, 329.

12 Lanciani 1881; 1885; Lanciani – Borsari 1885; Marchetti 1889; 1890; Le Gall 1953, 203 f.; Steinby 1974/75, 96; Mocchegiani Carpano 1981, 143; Quilici 1986, 202; Maischberger 1997, 105; LTUR V (2000) 69–73 s. v. Tiberis (M. Maischberger) 72; LTUR Suburbium V (2008) 148–156 s. v. Tiberis (M. Maiuro) 154; Muzzioli 2015; Malmberg 2021, 331–333.

13 Rakob 1987, 694–709; Sediari 1997; Brandt 2012, 110 f.; Coletti – Loreti 2016, 320–323. Due to the random and fragmentary character of excavations, and the lack of proper publication of older findings, it is impossible to provide further details regarding design of streets, *tabernae* or house sizes close to the Ripetta harbour.
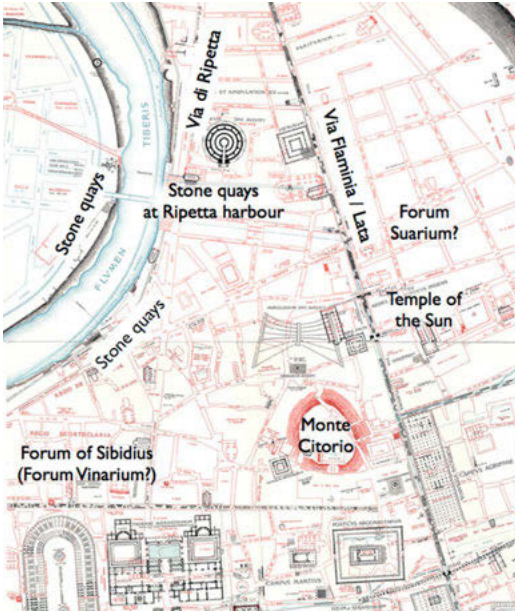
Fig. 5: Plan of the harbour at Ripetta and major commercial infrastructure in northern Campus Martius in Late Antiquity.

This, however, changed in late antiquity (Fig. 5). The newly built Temple of the Sun at today's Piazza di S. Silvestro functioned both as a storage and distribution facility of state-subsidised wine by the 4th century, and other new marketplaces for wine and pork were also located in the northern Campus Martius. Moreover, a large refuse dump, today known as the Monte Citorio, developed next to the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Puzzlingly, none of this infrastructure is in the immediate vicinity of Ripetta, but rather removed ca. 400–500 m from the harbour. This could perhaps be explained by the urbanisation of the area taking place long before the harbour had become more important. Thus, by the 4th century, new economic facilities might have to be located where there happened to be free space, making the handling of goods less efficient[14].

Early Modern Ripetta

Ripetta seems to have been in continued use through the ancient, medieval and modern period, until the closing of the port due to construction of the flood walls in 1889, and can thus provide a tantalising glimpse of urban continuity. This part will describe the same Ripetta harbour but removed in time from the ancient remains by one and a half millennia. In the early modern period, the harbour consisted only of a dirt bank, and an open unpaved court which also functioned as a garbage dump (Fig. 6). The harbour was remodelled in 1703–1704 with a formal piazza, a hemicycle with a fountain, ramps, symmetrical steps, and most importantly, the regularisation and solidification of the lower riverbank (Fig. 7). The new layout was realised in less than a year, using mainly stone taken from the Colosseum. In connection with the rebuilding, we have access to a trove of planning documents and series of letters, issued by the President of the Tribunale delle Strade, the papal authority responsible for street and harbour works in Rome at the time. These texts not only describe the building project, but also detail the workings of the harbour in dialogue with merchants, porters and boatmen already active in the harbour[15].

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14 Le Gall 1953, 202. 288–290. 314–316; LTUR I (1993) 267–269 s. v. Ciconiae (C. Lega); Maischberger 1997, 105; De Caprariis 1999, 220 f. 225 f.; Malmberg 2015, 198 f.; 2021, 329–331; Liverani 2020, 25.
15 Taja 1705, 37–41. 46–48; Nicolai 1829; Marder 1975, 27–31; 1980, 33–37.

Fig. 6: Porto della Legna with the Ripetta harbour in the background in 1685. Painting by Caspar van Wittel. The simple arrangements of both harbours can clearly be seen.

Fig. 7: The new harbour at Ripetta, built in 1703–1704 by Alessandro Specchi, who also made this engraving.
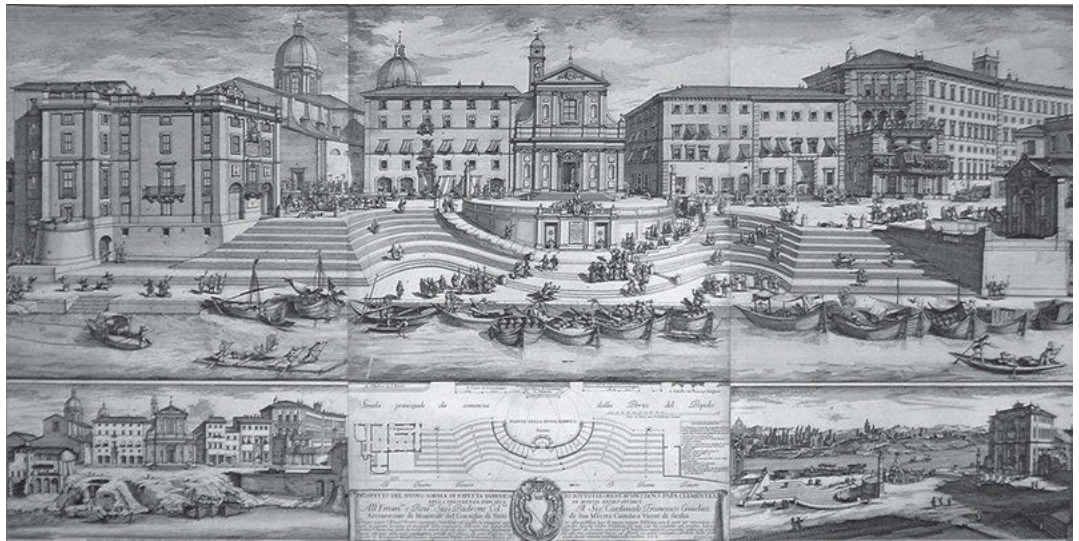
The 18th-century harbour received boats loaded with firewood, charcoal, stone and brick produced in the Tiber Valley above Rome. Foodstuffs, mainly wine, olive oil, fruit and vegetables, were also unloaded here. The bulkiest commodity was timber, that was floated downriver bound together in large rafts which were moored at Ripetta, or somewhat farther upstream at the Porto della Legna. When cargoes arrived, they were not unloaded until they were sold. Usually, agents scoured the city for prospective buyers, who would come to the shore, or board the boats to do business, usually at auctions. Thus, there developed a kind of floating market at Ripetta, that catered mostly to wholesale buyers, but also handled some retail. There were no permanent structures for either sale or storage at the harbour, also after the construction of the new harbour, since all activities occurred either on the vessels or in the open piazza. However, the harbour was equipped with a customs house, to

handle paperwork and payments. There were not any permanent living facilities in the harbour, and yet hundreds of people lived there, at least during the summer season. Porters and other harbour workers slept in the open or erected small tents to protect against rain. The boat crews lived onboard their vessels, below decks or in tents. Even the timber rafts were equipped with small huts to live in. In the planning of the new harbour, living quarters for these dock workers were not included. However, aqueduct water was specifically made available for the workers through the construction of a decorative fountain placed at the centre of the harbour[16].

There are some striking similarities between ancient and early modern Rome at Ripetta. The location had open squares in both the ancient and modern periods, but no signs of storage or market buildings at the harbour itself. It can also be fruitful to compare these arrangements with a similar puzzling lack of storage, commercial and living facilities at the harbour of Pietra Papa. A difference between the 18th-century port at Ripetta and the two examples from ancient Rome is the size of the harbours, which were larger in the ancient period. This should not come as a surprise in an ancient city ten times the size of its 18th-century counterpart. Another difference is that in ancient Rome public bathhouses were central to social life, while they were banned in the 18th-century city. There are indeed baths at both ancient harbours, but not at the early modern one[17].

Harbour as Home: Applying the Concept of Neighbourhood

In this section, the theoretical perspectives and empirical knowledge will be merged in an attempt at an interpretation of how these two harbours worked as a specific form of urban neighbourhoods. The street has been recognised as essential to neighbourhood life, and also formed the basis for Suttles' idea of the face-block. At Rome's harbours, in addition to normal street-based face-blocks, we can think of the quay as a form of street. Their boundaries were delineated by *cippi*, similar to how Roman public highways were marked out, creating an unobstructed street-like feature along the river. Beyond the Tiber boundary stones, people were free to construct buildings that formed one side of the face-block. The other was formed by the river craft that were moored at the quay. We might imagine these craft moored in several rows, similar to arrangements depicted in 16th-century drawings and 19th-century photographs from the Ripa Grande harbour at Rome (Figs. 8–9). You could therefore characterise harbours like those at Ripetta and Pietra Papa not only as neighbourhoods located adjacent to the river, but also partly **on** the river, a neighbourhood on water. Rivers are often viewed as natural obstacles or boundaries in the urban landscape. In the case of harbours, the river was integral, even central, to the neighbourhood. The impermanent nature of the river, and the use of river craft as mobile living units, gave a further dynamic to harbour neighbourhoods. If we apply Suttles' categories of scale, Ripetta, with its 50-metre quay, can be seen as a face-block, while the harbour at Pietra Papa, being eight times longer, could be perceived as a linear form of defended neighbourhood.

Harbour areas, where hundreds of people worked and lived together in close proximity, had the potential to develop strong neighbourhood bonds. In early modern Rome, many dock workers constantly shared space and facilities when working together in teams. They shared fountains for drinking and household water and slept close together in the open or with tents providing some privacy.

It should be noted that both ancient harbours were plentifully provided with aqueduct water: at Ripetta both riverbanks were supplied (Campus Martius through the Aqua Virgo and Prati by the Aqua Traiana), while Pietra Papa received piped water despite its remote location. The *nymphaeum* at Pietra Papa could have had a similar function to the central fountain at early modern Ripetta,

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16 Corvisieri 1877/78, 139 f.; Rodocanacchi 1894, 233–244; Mira 1954, 34–40; Delumeau 1957, 388.
17 Poirier 2005, 158 f.: Public baths were banned due to the transmission of syphilis. Syphilis is first attested in Europe in 1495, when it spread from America.

Fig. 8: Ripa Grande in Rome in the 1550s. Drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

Fig. 9: Ripa Grande in the 1870s.

providing workers with clean drinking and household water. Moreover, clothes washing could have been provided by the nearby fullery. The aqueducts at Ripetta and Pietra Papa also supplied the bathhouses that were located just next to the quays. Bathing would be very welcome after a day's hard work in the port but would also be an excellent opportunity to socialise. These facilities all point to a thriving, albeit in the case of Pietra Papa, temporary neighbourhood, that might have involved hundreds of workers during the hot summer months.

River traffic and harbour activities were much affected by seasonal variations in ancient Rome. Thus, many harbour workers were seasonal labourers who lived migrant lives away from their families, and harbours therefore must have seen a rapid turnover of people. Harbour workers were probably a heterogeneous group consisting of freeborn, freed and slaves, with different languages, cultures and backgrounds. These factors potentially weakened bonds within the group as a whole. On the other hand, absence or weakening of family ties together with constant proximity to other workers might have developed other types of networks based on profession, religion, culture and ethnicity.

The organisation of harbour workers into such networks can indeed be seen in Roman epigraphic and legal sources, where workers are grouped into *collegia* based on a hierarchy of different work assignments and professions. We know of the *collegia* of the grain measurers, timber dealers, sack carriers, amphorae carriers, sand carriers, stevedores, warehouse workers and warehouse guards. There were also organisations for skippers, boatmen, ferrymen and divers, as well as for grain, wine and oil merchants. To this can also be added members of state organisations, such as the Imperial

bureaucracy for the maintenance of the river and its banks, and the administration of the food dole[18]. One potential way to mark hierarchies spatially can be observed at Pietra Papa with its two different bathhouses, one larger, more luxurious, and one simpler.

To what extent migrant harbour workers were integrated with the local population of Rome is probably beyond the reach of our available source material. Rome's population was known in antiquity for its many immigrants. Could this have led permanent city dwellers to be more open to seasonal workers, or would they have shut them out as outsiders and temporary passers-by? Experiences in this regard in the modern period seem to be as diverse as there are historical examples[19].

Temporal Dimensions of Harbour Neighbourhoods

One of the overarching goals of this volume, as set out in the editors' introduction, is to move beyond neighbourhoods as unchangeable entities, and also stress their temporal dimension. Thus, in this final section we will also look at harbour neighbourhoods from a temporal perspective: who spent time and put their stamp on the area within different time frames, and how did that change an area over time? These trajectories of change in the two harbour neighbourhoods will here be discussed in the short term (days), midterm (seasons) and long term (centuries).

For changes in the population of the harbour neighbourhoods in the short term, within days, we can presume a mix of permanent urban residents and temporary workers. There is an ongoing debate regarding the ratio between these two groups, but this cannot generally be resolved due to a lack of evidence[20]. Many of the temporary inhabitants were probably day labourers who might work in the port one day and somewhere else in the city the next. It also included crew onboard the river craft that might be moored for at most a few days before moving on. The boatsmen were not a homogeneous group but ranged from crew and haulers working the large barges between Rome and the Tiber mouths, to farmhands from the hinterland carrying local agricultural produce in small skiffs or loggers from the Tiber Valley travelling on timber rafts. Their common denominator was that they all probably lived on their river craft, as documented in 18th-century Rome.

In the midterm temporal perspective, the largest change was related to people working and living in the harbours on a seasonal basis. The use of the Tiber, and thus of the harbours, was dependent on seasonal variations. The river was hard to navigate between November and April due to a fast and dangerous current, but a slow pace in summer made it easy to use for transport. The period between April and November was also considered the primary sailing season on the Mediterranean, and the recommended time for concrete construction at Rome. Moreover, from June, overseas grain shipments began to arrive at the Tiber mouth, followed by the Italian grain harvest in June–July, most fruits and vegetables in August–September and wine in October. A steady stream of agricultural products thus reached Rome both from the Mediterranean and the inland regions in the period between June and October. This traffic probably had a major impact on the composition of the harbour inhabitants[21].

There was thus a significant difference in activity in the port of Rome, with a peak during summer, while in winter and early spring we can imagine that activity in the harbours almost came to a standstill. Gregory Aldrete and David Mattingly estimated a total workforce of 3,000 at peak activity to handle the loading and unloading of goods in Rome's harbours in the Early Imperial period.

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18 Sirks 1991, 258 f.; Aldrete – Mattingly 1999, 183. 190; Rougier 2020; Tran 2020; Virlouvet 2020.

19 Compare for instance the very different experiences of segregation and integration of seasonal harbour workers in 19th-century New Orleans, Bremen, and London: Arnesen 2000; Lee 2000; Mankelow 2000.

20 Workers mostly from permanent urban population: DeLaine 2001; Holleran 2011; 2016. Workers mostly from migrant population: Erdkamp 2008; 2016.

21 Frontin. Aq. 123; Le Gall 1953, 15–18. 31. 128; Aldrete 2007, 56–61. 66–71; Malmberg 2015, 189–192.

They acknowledged that this is probably an underestimation. Paul Erdkamp and Lance LaGroue used 19th-century Shanghai as a comparable example of a major city supplied along a river that could only be efficiently used for two thirds of the year. With a population of 500,000, about half that estimated for Early Imperial Rome, Shanghai needed 20,000 dock workers in peak season, but only about 5,000 during winter. To these workers must then be added several thousands of crew manning river craft. The existence of this large seasonal workforce also led to other people being drawn to the harbours to provide additional services, for example to supply dock workers with foodstuffs and entertainment[22].

Using the analogy from 18th-century Ripetta with its lack of permanent living quarters as well as buildings for storage and distribution, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that both Ripetta and Pietra Papa could have been active harbours, with storage and sales onboard the vessels, and both boatmen and dockworkers living in temporary facilities, such as tents, huts and river craft. The harbours would likely have been operated on a seasonal basis, at Pietra Papa mostly by temporary workers due to its relatively isolated location in relation to the main centres of permanent habitation. This seasonal variation, combined with its geographic location, might have transformed the Pietra Papa neighbourhood into almost a ghost town during winter.

Ancient Ripetta had a different situation since it was located in an increasingly urbanised central area of Imperial Rome. A large portion of the dock workers could have been permanent residents of the urban district, but many could still have been migrant, seasonal workers. In fact, evidence from the early modern harbour at Ripetta points to most of the dock workers being migrants, living in temporary facilities, even though the harbour also in this period was situated in a densely inhabited part of the city. Overall, the ancient Ripetta neighbourhood probably saw a noticeable but less dramatic seasonal change in the number of inhabitants compared to Pietra Papa, not least because Ripetta was a much smaller harbour.

There were also longer-term changes in the two harbour neighbourhoods, which can be observed across the centuries. In this long-term perspective it can be argued that there were different types and paces of change at Ripetta and Pietra Papa. Ripetta became equipped with stone quays and river-boundary stones along both banks in the Augustan period. A further improvement came with the provision of aqueduct water to northern Campus Martius through the Aqua Virgo, while Prati di Castello benefited from a side channel of the Aqua Traiana that was built to supply the *naumachia* of Trajan. Harbour-related facilities at Ripetta handling storage, distribution and waste disposal came to be gradually added from the late 3rd century, although somewhat removed from the river, as the harbour gained in economic importance. Ripetta harbour thus developed gradually, until it reached its peak use in the 4th and early 5th centuries.

Long-term change at Pietra Papa, on the contrary, was comprehensive and sudden. The quay, ramps, aqueduct, *nymphaeum* and bath complexes all seem to have been built within a few decades in the first half of the 2nd century in a rural location, only previously occupied by an aristocratic villa from the Augustan period. The harbour seems to have been planned as a single project, similar to other large-scale 2nd-century harbours to the south of the city centre. It was located on the outskirts of Rome, and never seems to have become fully integrated within the urban area. Most of the complex was in use and kept up until at least the 4th century, but by the 5th century it had probably become abandoned.

The effect of the construction of proper quays can be observed at early modern Ripetta, which facilitated both the handling of goods through the proper mooring of river craft, and also provided living spaces for the dock workers and offered some protection from the river. Thus the quays probably played a central role, both economically and socially, in the harbour neighbourhood, comparable to the central street in other urban neighbourhoods. The provision of aqueduct water was another development that had a great impact on social relations. It made life more comfortable and

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22 Aldrete – Mattingly 1999, 197–199; Johnson 2000; LaGroue 2008, 15; Erdkamp 2008, 423–430; 2016, 40 f.; James 2021, 160–192.

safer, by providing good quality drinking water, as well as water for washing bodies and clothes. It also allowed the construction of that most central communal social space in Roman society, the bathhouse. The relative importance of the different harbour buildings can be gauged by the temporal order in which they were provided. At Ripetta, the quays are stressed as the most important element in the early modern rebuilding, and this is also the first element that is provided in the ancient port. Aqueduct water soon follows, although a bit later on the Prati side. What seems to have been the least important element is that of buildings for storage and commerce, which were never built in early modern Ripetta and ancient Pietra Papa, and were the last addition to the ancient Ripetta harbour. Pietra Papa was not even provided with permanent housing, and was never fully integrated into the urban fabric. Crucially, this might have been a main reason for its eventual abandonment in late antiquity, whereas Ripetta lived on as a harbour neighbourhood for another millennium and a half.

Conclusions

For archaeologists, physical remains often take centre stage. But neighbourhoods can be seen as socio-spatial phenomena that go beyond material culture. Neighbourhood studies may thus challenge that material focus by forcing us to look specifically at intangible social relations and human activities that do not necessarily leave any physical traces. Specific forms of urban neighbourhoods probably evolved in harbours, which were characterised by the interaction between permanent and temporary residents.

This study has attempted to show the benefits of using material from different periods to highlight the possibility of port functions and neighbourhood arrangements that are not visible in the archaeological or textual material from ancient Rome. Most of the activities and people in the early modern port of Rome were highly mobile, seasonal and left very few physical traces. These include riverboats and open quay spaces that were used for storage, public auctions and living space. This might suggest new ways of approaching the study of ancient harbour neighbourhoods, and to think about how they might have worked and developed.

Some elements that were similar at Ripetta and Pietra Papa have been highlighted: the centrality of the quay as a focus for neighbourhood life, the lack of large-scale buildings for storage and distribution close to the river, the plentiful access to aqueduct water and bathhouses and its social implications and, at least for Pietra Papa, the lack of permanent housing for harbour workers and the resulting physical proximity of inhabitants.

The contribution also discusses temporal dimensions in the harbours in the short term (days), midterm (seasons) and long term (centuries). Short-term change might have in general been characterised by a rapidly changing population, while the midterm was dominated by the seasonal changes of the Tiber and the arrival of goods. Long-term change, it is suggested, expressed itself differently at the two harbours, with gradual developments at Ripetta and comprehensive and sudden change at Pietra Papa.

A fundamental issue when studying harbour neighbourhoods is the transient nature of a large part of their population, and how this might have affected the sense of community that underpinned neighbourhood formation. Did harbour neighbourhoods consist of workers who only occasionally came together for work in the harbour on a daily basis? Or did they make 'real' neighbourhoods where people both worked and lived for part of the year before moving on? And what about the off-season? Was a neighbourhood on the margins of the city, like Pietra Papa, depopulated in winter? Probably some people lived there all year round, at least to maintain the infrastructure. What kind of neighbourhood community developed in this off-season? This might be the most important difference between the two harbours under study, since Ripetta probably had a much larger share of its population that lived there on a permanent basis. On one hand, this might have led to stronger

neighbourhood ties at Ripetta. But the opposite might equally be true, since that permanent population might have resisted the 'intrusion' of seasonal workers into the harbour, resulting in segregation and a lower level of social cohesion as a result.

Of equal importance is the potential social impact of harbour infrastructure. The central role of built-up quays for harbour life has been stressed in this study. Similarly, the ubiquitous presence of piped water and bathhouses in harbours point to their central role. The lack of proper buildings for habitation, commerce and storage, might on one hand have made life in harbours hard to endure, and led to more mobile populations. But on the other it probably further intensified social contacts during the peak season. Of course, other harbours in ancient Rome had more developed facilities for commerce and storage, and also, it has been argued, for housing workers. It thus might be useful in future studies to compare the formation and resilience of neighbourhood identities across a larger number of different harbour districts in Rome and elsewhere, including areas such as Testaccio and Trastevere.

Social relations at the neighbourhood level are an exciting and complex field of study, not the least because they operate at a middle level, below the level of general urban society, but above that of individual households. Neighbourhoods thus stand at the intersection between more public forms of urban activities, and the private lives of its inhabitants. By previously focusing our research either on public monuments or domestic space, this middle level might not have until recently received the attention it deserves.

I hope in this study to have underscored how the Tiber riverbanks were prime locations for human interaction and urban neighbourhoods. This study should be seen only as an attempt to initiate a debate on the social life of Rome's harbour neighbourhoods. We need to focus more on these urban areas, using approaches that incorporate broad comparative perspectives and use of sources. Although challenging to address, due to the limited ancient material available, it is nevertheless important that we devote more effort to studying this essential part of urban life in Rome to be able to understand the city's urban structure and organisation as a whole.

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Streets Between Axiality and Area

M. Taylor Lauritsen

The Crossroads of Mercury: Decoration and Development on the Via di Mercurio at Pompeii

Abstract: Over the course of the last century, architectural forms and decorative media adorning the streets of Pompeii have been used to shed light on the character of particular neighbourhoods. Most studies of streetside decoration, however, have focused exclusively on the city's final years, a period from which the material remains are both well-preserved and thoroughly recorded. Following the aims of this volume, which seeks to explore the concept of 'neighbourhood' not only as a spatial expression, but also as a phenomenological experience influenced by action and time, this paper adopts a slightly different approach, examining the development of architecture and decoration along a single Pompeian street, the Via di Mercurio, in the longue durée. In doing so, the goal is to show that the decorative forms visible on the street in A.D. 79 were not simply a by-product of contemporary events or trends, but rather the outcome of specific socio-cultural, economic and structural processes that evolved across multiple generations. Thus, the street's ultimate appearance reflected conceptions of the neighbourhood's complicated past, while also reinforcing inhabitants' local identity in the present.

Introduction

Numerous sociological studies conducted during the late 20th and early 21st centuries support the notion that individuals residing in urban neighbourhoods establish collective identity and place attachment through visual connections with the built environment, including forms of street decoration[1]. In modern cities, community murals[2], façade paintings[3] and even temporary holiday decorations such as jack-o'-lanterns and Christmas lights[4] can play an important role in this regard. Yet modern ties to place are relatively weak when compared to those observed in ancient and medieval cities, where an individual's residence and workplace were often the same and mobility was considerably more limited[5]. In these contexts, movement beyond the boundaries of one's neighbourhood occurred less frequently, and consequently decoration visible from the street may have played an even stronger role in the consolidation of collective identity. Exploring this relationship in such historical settings is problematic, however, because the material evidence required for analysis – i. e., the large-scale preservation of both standing architecture and decoration – is rare. While various sites in the Roman world present a well-preserved architectural record, only in the Vesuvian cities is this record combined with an equally robust index of decorative forms.

Indeed, much of what we know about the visual appearance of the Roman street is a consequence of Vittorio Spinazzola's 'Scavi Nuovi', the large-scale excavation project of the 1910s that uncovered much of eastern Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompeii. As a result of Spinazzola's emphasis on the preservation of building façades as well as the paintings and sculptures that adorned them, research dedicated to the interpretation of streetside decoration has tended to focus on the properties lining this broad

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1 E. g., Lynch 1960, 3 f. 7–13; Norberg-Schulz 1976, 7 f.; Low 1992.
2 Marschall 2002; Sieber et al. 2012.
3 Casakin – Elliot 2012, 153–157.
4 Brown – Werner 1985; Wood 2013, 23. 90 f.
5 Rossi 1984, 158.

Fig. 1: Via di Mercurio, looking north towards Tower XI.

thoroughfare[6]. It is only natural that an area offering particularly well-preserved material remains sits at the centre of such studies, but one must also consider whether concentrating exclusively on this specific spatial setting can provide a comprehensive overview of the city's varied architectural and decorative repertoire. Further, analyses of the Via dell'Abbondanza are generally limited to the years immediately preceding the eruption of Vesuvius. The rationale for this tendency is obvious enough: with the A.D. 79 streetscape in excellent condition, earlier architectural and decorative forms were often obscured. Plus, with so much material from the final period with which to work, there has been little incentive to explore earlier decorative phases.

Here, we shall adopt an alternative approach, moving away from the temporal constraints imposed by the material remains of the Via dell'Abbondanza. To do so, it is necessary to situate our study in an area with greater time depth, one that offers well-documented archaeology both above ground and below. Although it was originally excavated nearly two centuries ago, the Via di Mercurio offers just such an opportunity (Fig. 1). Due to its physical scale (ca. 11–12 m wide) and geographical position (at the centre of early excavations in Regio VI), perishable decorative media discovered on this street were recorded to a reasonable standard, particularly in the region around the junction with the Vicolo di Mercurio, a narrow east-west route connecting the Via Stabiana in the east with the Via Consolare in the west (Fig. 2). With much of this media no longer extant, however, it is also possible to establish a more coherent understanding of the neighbourhood's long-term development. During the 2000s, 'Progetto Regio VI' made a significant contribution in this regard, conducting a series of detailed architectural studies throughout the area in an attempt to explore the building histories of various *insulae*[7]. Relying upon analyses of the standing architecture as well as targeted excavations, the project's directors were able to establish chronologies for the evolution of buildings flanking the Via di Mercurio. These data, alongside other studies of individual structures, are employed here to investigate the development of architectural and decorative forms on this street in the longue durée[8]. While considerable time is spent discussing the appearance of the streetscape in A.D. 79, the aim is not simply to document a 'snapshot' of the Via di Mercurio in its final phase, but rather to examine the socio-cultural, economic and structural processes that led to the decorative choices visible at that time.

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6 E. g., Kellum 1999; Clarke 2003, 87–93. 105–112; Potts 2009; Hartnett 2017, esp. 259–297.

7 The publications of this project are too numerous to list here, but the primary outputs are Coarelli – Pesando 2006; Verzar-Bass – Oriolo 2010; Pesando 2010; Zaccaria Ruggiu – Maratini 2017; Pesando – Giglio 2017; D'Auria 2020.

8 The dates provided by 'Progetto Regio VI' can be debated, but at present their chronologies often remain the only metric available to undertake this type of diachronic study. Naturally, future excavations may require aspects of the developmental sequence presented here to be revised.

Fig. 2: Property divisions around the junction of the Via di Mercurio and Vicolo di Mercurio in A.D. 79.

The Via di Mercurio in Scholarship

In the years since it was first excavated, Pompeii's northwest quarter has been viewed as a neighbourhood that was home to the city's wealthiest inhabitants[9]. Grand urban villas such as the Casa del Fauno (VI 12,1) and Casa di Pansa (VI 6,1), built during the urban florescence of the Late Samnite period, established a standard for refined urban life that, in the opinion of many scholars, continued in this area until the eruption of Vesuvius. Indeed, Paul Zanker noted that '[i]n this period, the largest and most expensive houses were built mainly in the northern part of the town, where large, regularly shaped *insulae* made construction on a grander scale possible'[10], going on to state that 'despite the influx of new residents [in later periods] the overall appearance of the existing residential quarters did not undergo marked alteration. The tufa façades of the second-century houses continued to set the tone in the grander neighbourhoods. New construction was limited largely to the eastern end of town, but even there builders followed the established style'[11].

Implicit in Zanker's reading is the effect that the exteriors of Samnite-era dwellings made upon the general appearance of Regio VI, a long-lasting influence that, in theory, reinforced a standardised conception of what elite façade architecture and decoration should look like.

In recent years, Zanker's position has been taken a step further by Riccardo Helg, whose research focuses on the urban appearance of this area, which in his view was shaped largely by external forms of residential decoration. Helg concentrates on the Via di Mercurio in particular, noting that here the architectural and decorative landscape was far more consistent than in other parts of the city, a consistency that allowed the 'aristocratic' character of the street to emerge more clearly[12]. Even in Pompeii's final decades, he suggests,

> 'the appearance and uniform character of the district were maintained as a distinctive and qualifying feature, as suggested by several clues that denote a conscious conservative attitude going beyond the simple perpetuation of ancient forms'[13].

In Helg's view, then, the Via di Mercurio was a haven for the town's elite throughout its history, a fact broadcast to the public (and to other members of the neighbourhood) by the standardised forms of exterior decoration that adorned the residential buildings flanking it.

However, the arguments of Zanker and Helg, like many scholars before them, rely upon a limited examination of the archaeological evidence. Neither sought to explore the forms of façade decoration employed in this area in particular detail, nor to consider the historical processes that led to the appearance of the streetscape in its final phase. The goal of this paper is to address these omissions by adopting a more holistic approach to the analysis of the street's decorative apparatus. In an effort to narrow the geographic scope of the inquiry, we shall focus in particular on the junction of the Via di Mercurio with the Vicolo di Mercurio, where, as noted above, the material remains are best documented.

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9 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 68; Schoonhoven 1999, 219.

10 Zanker 1998, 33.

11 Zanker 1998, 72 f.

12 Helg 2018, 121. In this conclusion, Helg seems to be following Lauter (2009, 62), who noted that '[...] Ganz offensichtlich besteht eine Wechselwirkung zwischen der ruhig gestellten Straße und der intentionellen Strenge der Häuserfronten. Man wird soweit gehen dürfen, in der Bebauung der Via di Mercurio die Realisation eines gehobenen, signorilen Sozialklimas zu erkennen [...]'.

13 Helg 2018, 120: '[...] l'aspetto e il carattere uniforme del quartiere vennero mantenuti come elemento distintivo e qualificante, come suggeriscono diversi indizi, che denotano un consapevole atteggiamento conservativo che va oltre la semplice perpetuazione di forme antiche'.

Archaic Period and the 'Hiatus'

The Via di Mercurio is a broad thoroughfare running from the northeast corner of the forum towards Tower XI, a tall bastion projecting from the northern section of Pompeii's circuit wall (Fig. 3). The lower part of the route – roughly the span between the so-called Arches of Tiberius and Caligula – is typically referred to as the Via del Foro, on account of its proximity to the forum. Beyond the piazzetta formed by the junction of the Via del Foro with the Via della Terme/Via della Fortuna (crossroads VI 8, VI 10 and VII 4, VII 5), the road's course shifts slightly to the west; from this point it is described as the Via di Mercurio, an epithet also transferred to the tower positioned at its terminus, known colloquially as the 'Torre di Mercurio'. These are modern appellations all, of course, and it seems entirely unlikely that Pompeians made a similar linguistic distinction between these two particular sections of the road network[14].

Whatever its ancient name, the Via di Mercurio represents one of the oldest traffic routes in the city[15]. It emerged from the north side of the 'Altstadt', the earliest settled section of the lava outcrop upon which Pompeii is located, and ran northwards towards the nascent city's far-flung fortifications, passing through a gate located in the vicinity of the (much later) Tower XI (Fig. 3). Between the Altstadt and the circuit wall, the road was bordered by a series of Archaic houses. Built in pisé on pappamonte foundations, remains of these dwellings have been found underneath the Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22)[16], Casa di Caprasia e Nymphius (VI 10,3–4), Casa di Pomponius (VI 10,6)[17] and Casa del Meleagro (VI 9,2)[18]. Although the materials used to erect these structures certainly suggest an Archaic date, the remains discovered in Insula VI 10 provide definitive confirmation – here, sherds of pottery retrieved from a construction cut situate the building in the mid-6th century B.C.

Following this Archaic florescence, we encounter a period of approximately two centuries that is typically described as the 'hiatus', during which there is little evidence for occupation or development across the whole of Pompeii. But starting in the early 3rd century B.C., small but lavishly decorated atrium houses began to appear throughout Regio VI, including the 'Protocasa del Granduca Michele'[19] and the 'Protocasa del Centauro', the latter located beneath the later Casa del Centauro (VI 9,3) on the east side of the Via di Mercurio[20]. These dwellings were decorated in the so-called Style 0, a term some French and Italian scholars have employed to describe the earliest forms of wall painting observable in Pompeii[21]. With the advent of fully decorated interiors, it is reasonable to imagine that paintings and other media were also applied to domestic façades, but in the absence of definitive evidence, we can only speculate as to what this decoration might have looked like.

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14 Unlike the Via di Mercurio itself, we can be certain that the tower was called 'Tower XI' (at least at the end of the Samnite period), thanks to the so-called *eituns* inscriptions, a series of Oscan dipinti discovered on the façades of properties throughout the city. The three inscriptions from Regio VI (Vetter 23, Vetter 24 and Vetter 26) offer directions from their locations to positions along the northwest part of the city wall, making reference to the 'Sarina Gate', Tower XII and Tower XI. These landmarks have been identified as the Porta Ercolano and the two towers located to its east, the latter being the Torre di Mercurio. For more on the *eituns* inscriptions, see Crawford et al. 2011, 617–623; Henderson 2014, 103–107.
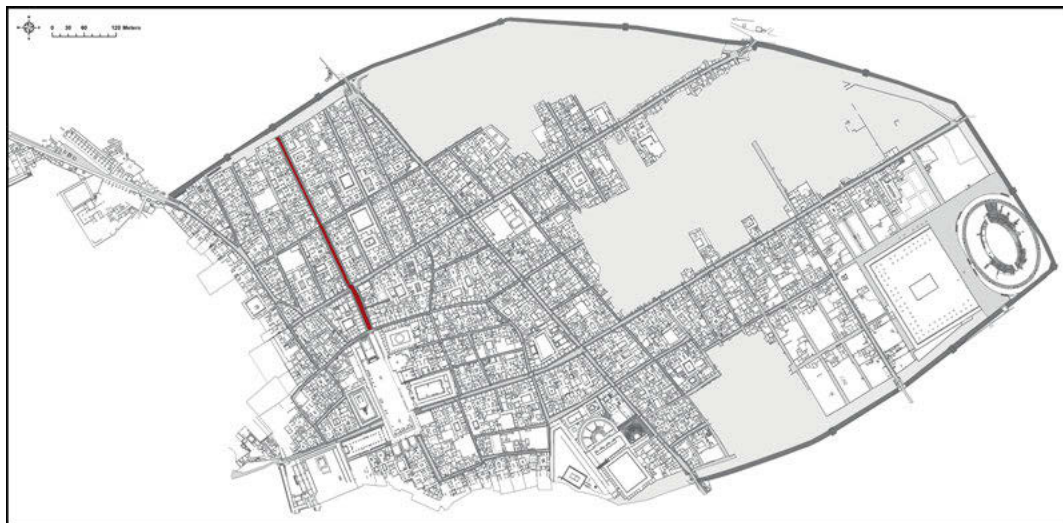**15** Poehler 2017, 36.
16 Maiuri 1973, 161–165.
17 The structures under VI 10,4–6 were identified first by Maiuri (1973, 166 f.) and recorded by Coarelli and Pesando (2006, 23) during 'Progetto Regio VI'.
18 Tommasino 2004, 30 f.; Sorriento 2008, 2.
19 For an analysis of this house, see D'Auria 2020.
20 Coarelli – Pesando 2011, 51 f.
21 Brun 2008; Pesando – Giglio 2017, 14.

Fig. 3: Route of the Via di Mercurio in AD 79.

Late Samnite Period

By the early 2nd century B.C., the street had begun to take on its final appearance, with the first kerbs and elevated sidewalks probably appearing at this time[22]. Its continued importance as a through route seems to have drawn residents to the area, and over time, the vacant spaces between extant properties were filled in, creating for the first time uniform façades similar to those that lined the street in its final phase. The façades of these properties were typically erected in either limestone framework or ashlar masonry and are characterised by the presence of cubic capitals of Nocera tuff, which in some instances survived in their original position until A.D. 79.

Of particular interest are the Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22) and Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8,23–24), a pair of houses located in the northern part of Insula VI 8 (Fig. 2, A and B). The former dwelling was constructed initially as a dual-atrium house, with a façade produced entirely in finely worked ashlars of Nocera tuff (Fig. 4). At the foot of the wall, a socle zone composed of broad orthostates rested upon a low stylobate positioned flush with the threshold blocks located in each doorway. Above the high socle, drafted ashlars composed the rest of the façade, of which three to five courses remain. These stones were remarkably standardised in size and craftsmanship, with heights consistent at 65 cm and widths ranging from 1.33 to 1.4 m, while the drafts uniformly measure between 2–3 cm. Both of the dwelling's original entrances (VI 8,21 and VI 8,22) were framed by shallow pilasters created by coursed ashlars positioned perpendicular to the wall curtain. It is unclear how tall the property's exterior was in antiquity, although the presence of internal stairs in two locations around the northern atrium confirms the presence of a second storey. Regardless of its original height, the exterior of the Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22) was clearly intended to make an impression on passers-by. Unlike other Samnite-era dwellings in the area, the dressed tuff employed in its construction necessitated no cladding to protect it from the elements, and the high level of skill employed in the drafted masonry produced its own decorative effect, emphasising not only the sheer scale of the property but also the financial investment made in its appearance by the owners[23].

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22 Kerbstones dated to the mid-2nd century B.C. have been identified on the northern part of the Vicolo del Fauno, the street running parallel to the Via di Mercurio on the opposite side of *insulae* VI 9 and VI 10 (Sorriento 2008, 3). Raised kerbstones and sidewalks in the vicinity of the Porta Stabia likely date to the same era (Ellis – Devore 2006, 13).
23 Indeed, the Casa della Fontana Grande's façade was unique, for no other Pompeian dwelling was provisioned with a 'closed' curtain wall of Nocera tuff. For more on the exceptional nature of the design, see Lauter 2009, 61. 69–72.

Fig. 4: Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22).

Fig. 5: Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8,23-24) during the late 19th century.

The construction of the two atrium houses that compose the Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8,23–24) followed soon after the Fontana Grande (VI 8,22) was completed, although the former properties remained separate from one another during the initial phase of occupation[24]. The main (east) façade of the complex was built in *opus incertum*, with quoins and doorjambs produced in ashlars of Sarno limestone; the structural division between the *domūs* was made evident by a vertical line of ashlars positioned in the middle of the façade, complemented by projecting slabs of travertine that emerge from the sidewalk (Fig. 5)[25]. Immediately following their construction, the two houses were covered in mock ashlar designs that mimicked the masonry of their southern neighbour. Measurements of the scant remains confirm that the height of these stuccoed blocks was identical to that of their tuff counterparts: 65 cm.

It is to the Late Samnite period that we can also date the first incursion of commercial interests around the crossroads. On the opposite side of the Via di Mercurio, a series of changes occurred in the Casa di Caprasia e Nymphius (VI 10,3–4) and Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2), conjoined atrium houses that were erected during the early 2nd century B.C. (Fig. 2, C and D). These properties, which had previously served a purely residential function, were formally divided from one another and outfitted with retail units – the first of their kind on the Via di Mercurio[26]. In the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2), the northwest *cubiculum* was converted to a *taberna* with a pair of back rooms[27], while in the Casa di Caprasia e Nymphius (VI 10,3–4), a suite of rooms at the rear of the property was given over to the Casa di Pomponius (VI 10,6), the atrium was rearranged and a two-room shop was added in the southwest corner of the house[28]. Although it is impossible to know what was sold in these shops, their mere presence offers the first evidence for the diversification of the streetscape in this area. They mark a shift away from the long, blank walls of traditional *domūs* towards an architectural frame punctuated by greater variation and accessibility.
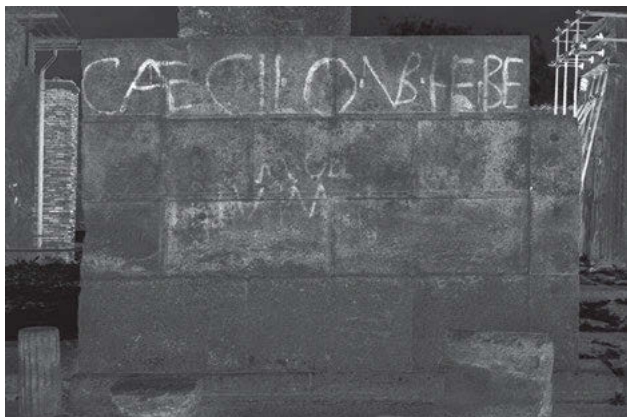
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24 Fröhlich 1996, 75.

25 On boundary markers in Pompeii, see Saliou 1999, 169–171. 209 Tab. 5b.

26 For a full discussion regarding the separation of the two properties, see Zampetti 2006, 111.

27 Rossi 2006, 72.

28 Zampetti 2006, 111.

Fig. 6: CIL IV 30 and other 'programmata antiquissima' on the façade of the Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22).

Fig. 7: Casa di Tullius.

Social War and Colonisation

By this point in the city's history, major social and political changes were afoot. In the autumn of 91 B.C., several Italian tribes initiated a conflict with Rome in an effort to force the expansion of Roman citizenship to allied territories. Pompeii, one of the members of this coalition, felt the full force of Rome's wrath only two years later, when the city was besieged by the general Lucius Cornelius Sulla. Evidence for this conflict is visible throughout Regio VI, in the form of ballista marks on the wall near the Porta Ercolano, ballista balls and lead shots found in the gardens of houses throughout the neighbourhood and the *eituns* inscriptions that were applied to the façades of the Casa di Sallustio (VI 10,1), Casa di Pansa (VI 6,1) and the Casa del Fauno (VI 12,1)[29]. But perhaps the most significant event for the residents of the Via di Mercurio was the closure of the gate at the north end of the street, which likely occurred in the years immediately prior to the Social War, when Pompeii's circuit wall was reinforced with a series of defensive towers, including Tower XI[30]. With the street no longer serving as a major thoroughfare, the focus of development coalesced around the crossroads with the Vicolo di Mercurio, which remained an important east-west route in this part of the city.

The Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8, 22), for example, saw considerable modifications to its original design, first with the addition of a new peristyle[31], and later through the division of the dwelling into two separate properties (Fig. 2, A and A¹)[32]. These adaptations to the original layout suggest that a change of ownership had taken place following the installation of the Roman colony, a conclusion that is emphasised further by the crudely painted 'programmata antiquissima' that now adorned the building's façade (Fig. 6)[33]. The large scale and haphazard character formation of these texts suggest that the new owners were less concerned with the aesthetic appearance of the unvarnished masonry than they were with the messages espoused in the dipinti.

Further to the north, the atrium house at VI 7,9 also underwent major structural renovations, indicating that it too had changed ownership following the arrival of the Romans. Here, a long north-south wall was driven through the heart of the Tuscan atrium, subdividing the property into two

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29 See above n. 14.
30 van der Graaff – Ellis 2017, 284; van der Graaff 2019, 91.
31 Dickmann 1999, 202 n. 242.
32 Dickmann 1999, 62; Flohr 2011, 94.
33 CIL IV 30: *Q(uintum) Caecil(ium) q(uattuor) v(irum) b(onum) et be[nef]icum.*

individual houses: the nameless *domus* VI 7,7 (Fig. 2, E[1]), which was entered through a doorway on the Vicolo di Mercurio, and the Casa di Tullius, accessible via the old entrance at VI 7,9 (Fig. 2, E)[34]. This event, which coincided with the addition of shops to the north and south of the house door (doorways VI 7,8, VI 7,10 and VI 7,11), transformed the latter property's exterior from a staid curtain wall to a retail complex pockmarked by openings both large and small (Fig. 7). The mercantile character of the new residence is confirmed by the presence of a large cistern and a suite of industrial tanks that were installed in room 8[35]. The dramatic shift in the building's function has led to the hypothesis that the former owner, a Samnite aristocrat, was ousted after the Social War and replaced by a member of the new Roman bourgeoisie, who sought to make his living via enterprise[36].

Augustan and Julio-Claudian Periods

By the beginning of the Augustan period, the Via di Mercurio had certainly been provisioned with a paved surface. Indeed, Pompeii's urban infrastructure was subject to considerable development in this era, with the arrival of the Serino aqueduct and a consistent piped water supply occurring at around the same time[37]. These events had significant consequences for the neighbourhood, facilitating a diversification of commercial and industrial activity in the properties surrounding the crossroads. For example, in the Casa di Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus (VI 7,20–21), one of the two dwellings that composed the original Casa della Fontana Grande (VI 8,22), a *fullonica* was installed at the rear of the peristyle, incorporating a series of basins that were presumably connected to the public water system[38]. In conjunction with this event, a new entrance (VI 8,20) was hastily created at the southern end of the old ashlar façade, built from the dismantled blocks that once composed the building's southeast corner (Fig. 4, far left)[39]. These were used to construct the jambs of the new doorway; in the process, the block displaying the 'Q' in the *programma* advocating for Quintus Caecilius (CIL IV 30; Fig. 6) was moved to the south jamb and inverted. By this point, then, the appearance of the (now shared) façade had changed quite dramatically. If the finely crafted tuff ashlars had evoked an air of authority and regal splendour in the Samnite period, by the early 1st century A.D., the façade had been reduced to a shadow of its former self, covered in dipinti, with a crudely worked doorway tacked on to its southern boundary.

Further evidence for the increasing importance of industry and commerce in this period can be found on the east side of the street, where significant structural alterations occurred in the properties positioned on either side of the Vicolo di Mercurio. In the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) (Fig. 2, F), facilities associated with metalworking were installed in room 75 at some point in the early 1st century A.D.[40]. To the south, the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2) and Casa di Caprasia e Nymphius (VI 10,3–4) were outfitted with *thermopolia*. This seems to have been done at considerable expense in the latter

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34 Turchi 2017, 128 f.

35 Turchi 2017, 129. Room numbers here and elsewhere follow those employed in the series 'Pompei. Pitture e Mosaici'.

36 Turchi 2017, 130.

37 Keenan-Jones 2015, 194–196, contra Ohlig 2001, 76–79.

38 For a detailed discussion of the *fullonica* and its phasing, see Flohr 2011, 94–99. Although there is no direct evidence that the basins positioned in the peristyle's ambulatory were supplied with piped water, the presence of an (earlier) bath suite to the south and a (later) fountain in the garden suggests that connections were available in this area.

39 Flohr 2011, 94. Connecting doorway VI 6,20 with the installation of the *fullonica* challenges the dating of Dickmann (1999, 62), who suggests that the new entrance was created at the same time as the peristyle itself, perhaps replacing a previous doorway that led to a second storey. There is no evidence for this earlier entrance, however, and the dismantling of CIL IV 30 indicates that the new doorway was constructed after the post-colonial period. The amount of upheaval generated by this event – and the haphazard nature of the craftsmanship employed – suggests that it occurred at a time when other major revisions to the property were also underway.

40 D'Esposito et al. 2019, 159.

Fig. 8: Fountain spout with relief depicting Mercury.

dwelling, where a *cubiculum* located at the front of the property was opened to the street and a large, three-armed bar counter was installed, narrowing the main entrance in the process[41].

However, the installation of the public fountain in the northeast corner of Insula VI 8 was undoubtedly the most consequential development of the era (Fig. 5). The fountain was built from four equally sized slabs of trachytic basalt, an arrangement characterised by Yastami Nishida as 'Type D', the most common fountain design in Pompeii[42]. While the body presented little in the way of aesthetic embellishment, the fountain's spout was adorned with a relief sculpture depicting Mercury. In this composition, the god appears particularly youthful, with his wide face topped by a mop of curly hair and the traditional winged cap (Fig. 8). At the bottom right of the composition, a *caduceus* appears, leaving the viewer with little doubt as to who the figure presented here was intended to represent.

Jeremy Hartnett has shown that the fountains in nearby Herculaneum were adorned with reliefs that depicted deities associated with the city, which aimed to reinforce the residents' civic identity each time they collected water[43]. While the situation in Pompeii is admittedly quite different, perhaps the fountain in front of the Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8,23–24) was also intended to represent a locally relevant figure. Certainly, few deities were more popular in and around the city's shops and bars by A.D. 79 (Fig. 9)[44]. Mercury appears time and again in the painted ensembles that decorated both façades and interiors; he is also commonly found in *lararium* decorations, indicating that the aforementioned paintings were not mere lip service – retail-minded Pompeians truly venerated the god of commerce. His comparative lack of popularity in more traditional domestic art (he appears only four times in the mythological panels analysed by Jürgen Hodske)[45] only serves to reinforce Mercury's prominence amongst the mercantile classes. Against this backdrop, it is possible that the selection of this deity as the fountain's chief decorative apparatus was intended to reflect (or emphasise) the increasingly commercial nature of a street that had once been dominated only by large *domūs*.

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41 Zampetti 2006, 111 f. The addition of a masonry stove in the corner of the atrium confirms that this bar served both food and drink, and that the entire property was involved in the enterprise.
42 Nishida 1990, 93 f.
43 Hartnett 2008.
44 In this instance, shops and workshops have been distinguished from other types of properties by the presence of a wide *'taberna*-style' doorway.
45 Hodske (2007, Beil. CD-Rom Tabs. 1. 3) documented the mythological figures identified in the corpus of panel paintings from Pompeian houses, amounting to a total of 2,000 individual characters.
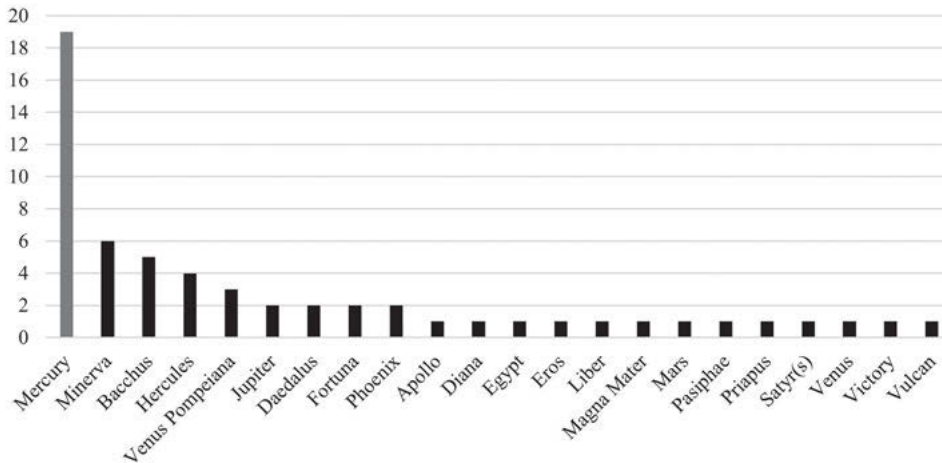
Fig. 9: Painted representations of mythological figures (or their attributes) on Pompeian shop/ workshop façades (n=58).

After the Earthquake

In February of A.D. 62, Campania was struck by a substantial earthquake[46]. Although considerable destruction occurred in Neapolis and Herculaneum, Pompeii seems to have borne the brunt of this event, with numerous public and private buildings suffering major damage[47]. This was certainly the case on the Via di Mercurio, where some structures were rebuilt from the ground up in the following years. As elsewhere, the period of reconstruction was marked by increasing commercialisation along the street: the row of uniform *tabernae* (VI 8,15–19) installed to the north of the junction with the Via della Fortuna almost certainly dates to this period (Fig. 2, G), as does the bar counter installed in the shop attached to the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,1). However, the biggest shift (so far as the modern observer can tell) occurred in forms of decoration that were applied to the newly rebuilt exteriors of various properties. If the Via di Mercurio was once a street known for its staid Samnite-era façades, this notion was turned upside down in the post-earthquake period, with bold figurative paintings and unusual ornamental designs appearing up and down the street.

The Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8–11), for example, was outfitted with an unusually high, red dado decorated with a series of panel paintings (Fig. 10). The most famous image from this ensemble was discovered between doorways 8 and 9 (Fig. 11, left), and depicts a group of litter-bearers carrying a *ferculum* bedecked in coloured shields and drinking vessels, upon which figures are engaged in various woodworking activities. At the rear of the litter stands a statue of Minerva, of which only the goddess' feet, shield and staff remain visible. The painting is completed by a pair of figures positioned at the opposite end of the litter, one standing erect over the prone body of the other – these are typically taken to be Daedalus and Perdix, the former having just slain the latter. The traditional reading of this image suggests that it depicts a group of carpenters, who carry the *ferculum* (replete with representations of the activities and deities associated with their trade) in a formal procession[48] – perhaps the Quinquatria, a festival dedicated to Minerva[49]. This conclusion naturally leads to another: that the Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8–11) was itself home to a carpentry workshop, an interpretation of the

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46 Tac. Ann. 15, 22, 2.

47 Sen. Q Nat. 6, 1–2. Architectural evidence for the earthquake can be found throughout Pompeii (for a survey, see Adam 1986), and the destruction of the Porta Vesuvio was illustrated on a relief plaque discovered in the Casa di L. Caecilius Iucundus (V 1,26).

48 Fiorelli 1875, 109; Fröhlich 1991, 320 f.; Clarke 2003, 86 f.; Turchi 2017, 117 f.

49 On the Quinquatria: Suet. Dom. 4, 4; Varro Ling. 6, 14. The suggestion that the procession takes place during this festival was originally made by Felletti Maj (1977, 335) and reiterated by Clarke (2003, 86).

Fig. 10: Reconstruction of the Via di Mercurio in A.D. 79, looking north.

Fig. 11: 19ᵗʰ century reproductions of the paintings discovered on the façade of the Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8-11).

property supported not only by the interior layout, but also the other painted scenes discovered on the exterior.

To the south of doorway VI 7,8, another painting of Daedalus appeared. In this picture he was the focus of attention, presenting the wooden cow to Pasiphaë, who used this object to copulate with a white bull sent by Poseidon, thereby conceiving the Minotaur. Unusually for façade paintings, versions of this scene have also been found in interior contexts, including the atrium of the Casa del

Fig. 12: 19ᵗʰ century drawing of panel depicting Fortuna and Mercury on the façade of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6-7).

Meleagro, just across the street[50]. In this instance, however, the subject was perhaps selected because it emphasises Daedalus' skills as a carpenter, with evidence of his artistry positioned front and centre. The only other representations of Daedalus from Pompeii depict him alongside Icarus just before or during their flight from Crete, an episode that makes only an oblique reference to the former's chief vocation, and which has a decidedly tragic outcome[51].

Three additional paintings adorned the main entrance. Mercury appeared on the interior of the south doorjamb, carrying the *caduceus* in his left hand and the *bursa*, or money pouch, in his right (Fig. 11, right)[52]. The interior of the north jamb was decorated with a blue globe and a cornucopia – the attributes of Fortuna[53] – while Minerva appeared on the exterior face, pouring a libation onto an altar, assisted by a small girl positioned just to her right[54]. If the Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8–11) was indeed home to a group of carpenters, then the deities positioned either side of the house door were, much like the images of Daedalus, entirely appropriate. Mercury, the god of commerce; Minerva, the patron of craftsmen; and Fortuna, the goddess of good luck, were the ideal combination for such a workshop, overseeing transactions with customers and offering protection to both the building and its occupants.

Interestingly, two of these deities also appear in a panel painting on the opposite side of the street, next to the northern entrance (VI 9,6) to the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) (Fig. 12)[55]. Positioned in front of a barren, hilly landscape, Fortuna stands static at the left, while Mercury – replete with his usual accoutrement – floats towards the dwelling's entrance. Given the seemingly residential nature of the property, the presence of the pair is somewhat surprising, not least because Mercury and Fortuna appear on the same façade in only two other instances: the Casa degli Scienziati (VI 4,43) and the Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8–11). The latter seems unlikely to be mere coincidence, but whether the owners of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) drew inspiration from their neighbours (or vice versa) when choosing

50 Other examples of the Daedalus and Pasiphaë exchange have been found in the Casa di Paccia (V 2,10), Casa degli Scienziati (VI 14,43), Casa dei Vettii (VI 15,1), Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4,45–49) and the Casa di Julius Polybius (IX 13,1–3).

51 There are 11 of these panels in total, all hailing from domestic contexts: see Hodske 2007, Pl. 1.

52 Bechi 1827, 7; Fiorelli 1875, 109 f.; Fröhlich 1991, 320; PPM IV (1993) 389–394 s. v. VI 7,8.12 Bottega del Profumiere (I. Bragantini) 389–391; Clarke 2003, 86; Turchi 2017, 118.

53 Bechi 1827, 7; Fiorelli 1875, 110; Fröhlich 1991, 320; Clarke 2003, 86.

54 Bechi 1827, 7; Fröhlich 1991, 320; Clarke 2003, 86; Turchi 2017, 118.

55 Bechi 1830, 1–3. Both Richardson (1955, 4) and Fröhlich (1991, 321) place this image on the right (south) side of the doorway; in fact, it was located to the left.
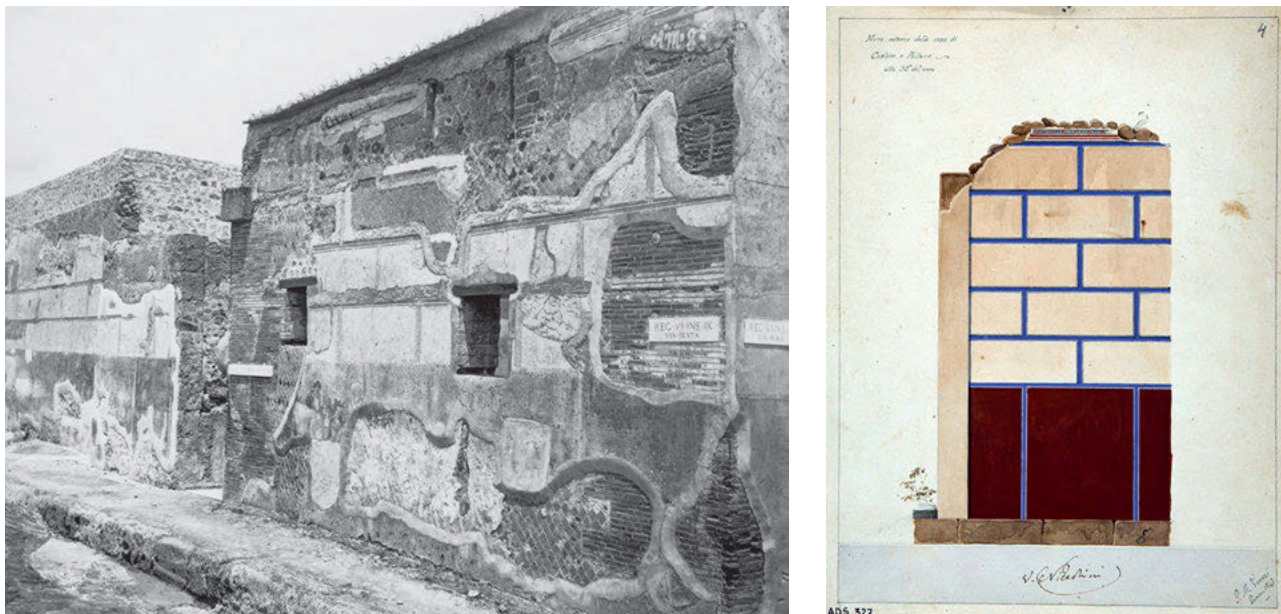
Fig. 13 left: Mock ashlar decoration on the façade of the Casa dei Dioscuri, overview.

Fig. 13 right: Mock ashlar decoration on the façade of the Casa dei Dioscuri, detail.

their tutelary deities can, unfortunately, never be known. Given the god's association with this particular neighbourhood, however, the selection of Mercury as an apotropaic figure was a natural fit in any case. Indeed, in addition to the fountain spout and the painted examples that we have already encountered, one 19th century visitor to the Via di Mercurio noted that images of Mercury appeared in 'tanti altri luoghi di questa strada'[56].

Further evidence for this deity's local importance has only recently come to light. In the mid-2010s, during restoration work conducted by the 'Pompei per tutti' project on the sidewalk next to the Fountain of Mercury, an ancient maintenance trench was discovered[57]. Inside, excavators found the remains of a ritual deposit, which consisted of animal bones, ceramic sherds and a group of bronze coins contained in a small wooden box[58]. All the coins dated to the Imperial period save one: a bronze sextant cut in the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., with an image of Mercury displayed prominently on its obverse. The appearance of this deity in this location is almost certainly not an accident; rather, the coin offers further confirmation of the active role played by Mercury in the neighbourhood, where he not only watched over the fountain itself but also the properties located in its immediate vicinity.

But the painting of Fortuna and Mercury was not the only unique aspect of the Casa dei Dioscuri's decorative scheme. Following the A.D. 62 earthquake, the southernmost part of the building was rebuilt from the ground up, with the façade on the Via di Mercurio erected in a high-grade *opus mixtum*[59]. The property's entire frontage was then covered in a unifying layer of stucco, which was divided into a relatively high dado (1.79 m) topped with an upper zone of mock ashlar (Fig. 13, left). The former was decorated with a series of dark red panels framed by thin blue lines, while the ashlar scheme above was subject to various flourishes, with the joins between the individual blocks painted dark blue – perhaps to enhance the relief – and the draft-lines embellished with a thin trefoil and flower petal moulding (Fig. 13, right). A stuccoed band decorated with an alternating pattern of palmettes and lotus flowers – a motif common in Fourth Style stuccowork – was positioned atop the ashlar zone and marked the start of the cornice. The flowers were painted blue and dark red,

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56 Bechi 1827, 7.

57 These types of trenches have been found throughout Pompeii and are generally associated with a large-scale restoration project that was interrupted by the eruption (Keenan-Jones 2015, 192).

58 D'Esposito et al. 2018, 167.

59 Richardson 1955, 110; Eschebach 1993, 191.

matching the colour palette established below. Although none of the decoration above the palmette and lotus band has survived, it is clear from reconstruction drawings that the upper mouldings were also embellished with floral patterns.

What can we make of this unusual decorative scheme? To me, the most striking characteristic of the programme is its particular suitability for the era and urban setting in which it was created. On the one hand, it can be classed as nothing less than an unconventional approach to the decoration of a domestic façade: the combination of bright, creatively placed colours and irreverent stuccowork is found nowhere else in Pompeii. Indeed, only the west façade of the Casa del Poeta Tragico (VI 8,5) – another post-earthquake invention – rivals the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) for the creative use of colour and ornament[60]. On the other hand, the implementation of a mock ashlar scheme in the late 1st century A.D. must be viewed as a direct reference to (and presumably reverence for) the masonry and plastering techniques of the Samnite period, which, as we have seen, contributed to the appearance of the Via di Mercurio and surrounding neighbourhood in significant ways. In choosing this decorative approach, the owners of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) were linking their grand dwelling with those from earlier eras positioned just down the road (i. e., the Casa della Fontana Grande [VI 8,22] and Casa della Fontana Piccola [VI 8,23–24]), even if the façades of these houses had deteriorated significantly during the intervening centuries.

In Insula VI 10, the earthquake wrought considerable destruction upon the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2), one of the dwellings that had been converted into a commercial property in the previous century. While the interior damage seems to have been comparatively limited, both the façade and the *taberna* flanking it (VI 10,1) were extensively rebuilt (and redecorated) after A.D. 62[61]. From the street, the most obvious addition was the large L-shaped bar counter emerging from the shop's north wall, which extended southward towards a hearth constructed in the previous phase (Fig. 14)[62]. Positioned against the basalt threshold, the counter was covered in large slabs of polychrome marble, with a rectangular panel of granito della sedia di San Lorenzo, a grey-green granite that hails from Wadi Umm Wikala in Egypt's Eastern Desert, included on the west face. It is the only example of this stone anywhere in the Vesuvian cities[63], and its position at the centre of the counter's exterior assemblage suggests that the bar's owners were well aware of this fact.

To the south of the house door (VI 10,2), another unusual decorative feature appeared. Drawing upon ornamental arrangements more typical of domestic interiors, the wall was painted dark red and subdivided into three registers (Fig. 15)[64]. Below, a low kickplate was covered with an alternating pattern of white flowers and stars set inside framed squares and a running meander. In the zone above, three rectangular panels filled the horizontal space between the south jamb of the house door and the southern property boundary. The panels were separated from one another by vegetal candelabra, their frames formed by a vacillating triangle pattern interwoven with vines and garlands. Towards the bottom of the composition, leafy green tendrils emerged to cover the lower part of the panels with an 'umbrella' pattern. A small caprid or capricorn was located in the centre of each panel. A third register was probably located above the panel zone, but even in the earliest photographs of the scheme (e. g., Fig. 15) this area has been destroyed.

Attempts to classify this composition have resulted in it being variously described as 'Third Style' or 'Fourth Style' over the years[65], and although the painting adopts a structure common to interior decoration (the tripartite horizontal division of the wall, a central field organised around vertical

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60 For a detailed discussion of the Casa del Poeta Tragico's exterior, see Lauritsen 2021, 124–127.

61 Rossi 2006, 74.

62 Rossi 2006, 74. The presence of the hearth in the pre-earthquake arrangement suggests that there was likely an earlier counter positioned in a similar location, with all evidence for it obliterated when the new counter was constructed.

63 Fant et al. 2013, 188.

64 For alternative (albeit generally briefer) descriptions of this façade, see Spinazzola 1953, 247; PPM IV (1993) 1029–1043 s. v. VI 10, 2 Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (I. Bragantini) 1030 f.; Rossi 2016, 68; Zampetti 2006, 104; Helg – Malgieri 2017, 272.

65 Zampetti 2006, 105. 113.

Fig. 14: Bar attached to the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,1).

Fig. 15: Ornamental painting on the façade of the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2), late 19th century.

panels, etc.), finding direct comparatives is difficult. For example, the most characteristic feature – the squares containing flowers and stars that adorned the kickplate – appears only a handful of times on the walls of Pompeian houses, and never in this precise arrangement[66]. But the absence of obvious comparanda for aspects of the design scheme was surely not of great concern to passers-by. Rather, their interest was probably piqued by the sheer eccentricity of the overall approach – it was simply unusual for the exteriors of Campanian buildings to be decorated in this fashion; indeed, the only remotely similar example in the region appears on the façade of the Casa di Nettuno e Anfitrite (V 7) in Herculaneum[67].

A final design element – the sidewalk – completed the unconventional decorative programme. Although most of the surface that is extant today has been subject to modern reconstruction, the zone immediately next to the façade is certainly original (Fig. 16)[68]. Playing off the bar counter's material repertoire, the pavement was produced in a dark lavapesta interrupted by scattered chips of polychrome marble and sherds of terracotta. Despite the chromatic range of the materials employed, the dominant colours of the overall ensemble were red, black and white, matching those that appear in the ornamental painting applied to the façade. The pavement extended into the *fauces*, where it met the recessed house door, while in the south, a line of marble diamonds established the property boundary with the Casa di Caprasia e Nymphius (VI 10,3–4). Although we cannot be certain that the sidewalk was installed at the same time as the parietal paintings (or indeed if the former even postdates the earthquake), the coherence of the colour palettes suggests that, at the very least, one medium served as inspiration for the other.

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66 A watercolour by F. Morelli (MANN ADS 822) documents a similar pattern in the atrium of the Casa della Regina Carolina (VIII 3,14), for example, although in that instance all the squares were produced with double frames and their interiors decorated only with flowers.

67 Dardenay et al. 2018, 11–13.

68 Multiple repaving events have taken place along the Via di Mercurio over the years. At some point after World War II, a composite surface consisting of polychrome marble chips set into lavapesta was laid down over large parts of the sidewalk (the date is confirmed by various pre-war photographs [e. g., Fig. 14] that show parts of the sidewalk in a state of complete disrepair). In recent years, the pavement was again refurbished, this time with a pedestrian-friendly conglomerate, carefully retaining both the fragments of the ancient sidewalk as well as the modern polychrome surface.

Concluding Thoughts

Naturally, the final years of Pompeii's existence are the best represented in terms of exterior decoration, as façade paintings could deteriorate rapidly in the face of the elements and consequently were renewed on a regular basis[69]. The ultimate compositions, whether individual figurative panels or broader ornamental schemes, replaced those that existed in previous epochs, a process that was animated further by the A.D. 62 earthquake, which created an additional need for widespread regeneration of façade decoration. In terms of the overall development of the streetscape, the post-earthquake period represents the best opportunity to develop a holistic view of the relationships between decorative media. Only monumental architectural forms (e. g., the façade of the Casa della Fontana Grande [VI 8,22]) and stuccoed cladding (i. e., the mock ashlar scheme) seem to have been excepted from this programme of renewal, presumably due to the financial investment necessary to produce them and the comparatively robust character of the materials in which they were produced.

Thus, during the city's final two decades, we encounter a decorative landscape increasingly driven by a broad range of competing interests. Commercial properties, such as the Casa di Tullius (VI 7,8–11) and the Casa dei Cinque Scheletri (VI 10,2), employed contrasting approaches to attract potential customers – the former was adorned with a series of religious pictures that emphasised the piety and traditional values of the owner, while the latter was outfitted with high-value materials and unusual ornamental paintings, presumably in an effort to distinguish the dwelling and its bar from others along the street. At the same time, however, longstanding forms of residential decoration were still recognised as a valid means of identity expression. Despite 'modern' twists on the design, the exterior of the Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6–7) was clad in mock ashlar because it remained a suitable form of façade decoration for high-status dwellings, particularly in this spatial context, where its antecedents were visible across the street. Amidst this melange of conflicting visual messages, unifying pictorial themes and iconographic figures (e. g., Mercury) were reproduced throughout the neighbourhood, creating connections that bound the local community together.

In A.D. 79, then, the Via di Mercurio was not an immutable bastion of elite residential architecture, as some pompeianisti might have us believe. Rather, it was a street subject to the city's fluctuating socioeconomic conditions over multiple centuries, and its final decorative forms were the product of this changing urban landscape.

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69 There are numerous examples of layered painting schemes on Pompeian façades. For currently visible ornamental designs, see IX 11,3 and the west façade of the Praedia Iulia Felix (II 4,12). During the 'Scavi Nuovi' multi-layered figurative paintings were discovered in various locations along the Via dell'Abbondanza, including either side of the entrance to the Casa di Cornelio Massimo (IX 11,7) (Della Corte 1912, 62 f.; 1915, 284 f.) and on the east façade of I 11,7 (Della Corte 1913, 478 f.).

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Fig. 11: Giuseppe Marsigli [MANN ADS 173 and 176].
Fig. 12: after Bechi 1830, Pl. II.
Fig. 13: AAR Neg. LC.Italy.Pompeii.C.255 and after Niccolini – Niccolini 1854, Pl. I.
Fig. 14: SAP Neg. A2332.
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Eric E. Poehler

Urban Infrastructure and the Perception of Neighbourhood

Abstract: This paper tries to approach neighbourhoods from an individual's visual perspective, taking the urban infrastructure of Pompeii as a starting point. Rather than searching for material proxies that might define the centre or the edge of a particular neighbourhood, it is assumed that notions of neighbourhood might better be drawn from what an urban inhabitant can see as they navigate the ancient city and how they make meaning and a sense of belonging out of that visual experience. Therefore, the paper explores the Pompeian streetscape from the broadest (street grid) to the more particular physical objects (street façades, paving types, fountains and street shrines), before looking at models of movement across the city. Neighbourhood production is a reciprocating and multifaceted process, which manifests itself in memory and the use of physical features rather than in the features themselves.

Introduction

The concept of the neighbourhood, as both a place and a community, is a notoriously difficult abstraction to pin down, and urban sociologists have been debating its definition for more than a century[1]. For classical scholars, only more recently dedicated to the question, direct evidence about neighbourhoods comes almost exclusively as physical objects and landscapes, from which one must infer most of the social world[2]. For this reason, there has been a natural tendency to attempt to find material proxies for communities, especially at Pompeii, at sites of intense or important social activities that might define the centre or the edge of a particular neighbourhood. Local fountains, street shrines and epigraphic evidence are abundant at Pompeii and have lent themselves to consideration[3]. Moreover, because Classical archaeologists have some responsibility to incorporate the relevant ancient literature, these attempts have tried to pair the information about top-down, political and administrative structures that were enacted spatially with these material proxies. Bert Lott's 'The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome' stands out in this regard, making use of 'inscribed altars, statues, buildings, and other monuments'[4] to describe the process by which Rome's first emperor transformed the city's smallest urban administrative units into political machinery for the new regime. There is, however, a significant disjunction between established political boundaries, which might cut across communities, and fuzzier edges of community that rely on the perception of social cohesion as well as the built environment for their definition. Although outside of his purview, Lott was well aware of this social reality, in which 'eligibility for distributions of grain, burial and occupational societies, and a devotion to particular actors, gladiators, or racing factions, for example, created social groupings that sat alongside, or on top of, the division of the city into neighborhoods'[5].

Such mismatches in concept – concepts now well described in the introduction to this volume[6] – are one reason that the attempts to define ancient neighbourhoods have thus far been unsatisfying. The fixed spatial extent of *vici*, the approximate co-location of (some) voluntary associations and the

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1 Park et al. 1925, 142–154.

2 Laurence 1991; Lott 2004.

3 Castrén 1975; Mouritsen 1988; Laurence 1994; Van Andringa 2000.

4 Lott 2004, 10.

5 Lott 2004, 10 f.

6 See Haug, this volume.

non-spatial communities of shared opinion all generate different criteria for defining a city quarter and have different affordances for applying those criteria. Moreover, even when material proxies for these various communities can be identified and located, they are often not distributed in a manner that matches our expectations of what neighbourhoods or city quarters should look like. That is, because we expect to be able to find homogeneity within a city quarter and heterogeneity across city quarters[7], we struggle to employ poorly distributed objects, such as street shrines, because they would produce many micro-communities where they cluster and comparatively large sections of the city where they are rarer. It is hard to imagine that these objects were not places of community focus and cohesion, but their placement (whether on purpose or by accident) seems consistently to define neither the edge nor the centre of that neighbourhood community.

One way to preserve the material baby amidst this spatial bathwater might be to treat such objects as only one of many visual cues within the urban landscape, which can be combined with others, but which have no necessary, defining relationship to quarters' or neighbourhoods' boundaries. Instead, notions (rather than definitions) of neighbourhood might be built up from what an urban inhabitant can see as they navigate an ancient city and how they make meaning and a sense of belonging out of that visual experience. This 'imagery-based' approach is well articulated by urban sociologists and further influenced by materialisation theory in anthropology[8]. Moreover, it has already been tried to some extent in Roman cities in general and at Pompeii specifically[9]. My approach in this paper will follow this visual method and explore the Pompeian streetscape from the broadest (the street grid) to the most particular (individual street corners, paving types, fountains and street shrines) physical objects, before looking at models of movement across the city. While some of the material examined is familiar, other evidence is uncommon or even (almost) unique to Pompeii. In many ways, this paper is less of a hunt for neighbourhoods than a kind of methodological thought experiment that tries to peel back the layers of an ancient urban experience to examine each in turn for relevance for neighbourhood perception. The outcome is a series of largely independent vignettes that might help us to see what Pompeians saw of their city. Reassembling those layers and vignettes into established neighbourhood boundaries at Pompeii, however, is not a goal of this paper, not least because streets are only one element of neighbourhood production, to be combined with considerations of the interiors of public spaces, private residences and commercial establishments not considered here.

The Morphology of Pompeian Streets

The Street Network

The shape of an urban street network, often set in place centuries before the fullest occupation of those streets as city quarters, has a profound impact on the forms of habitation and the construction of meaningful social units, such as neighbourhoods. For example, a grid of urban streets can encourage the construction of buildings that open onto the street and generate social interaction via these face-blocks. To be clear, however, this is an act of circumscription, rather than prescription: certain architectures and activities are facilitated while others are discouraged in a street network, but different street shapes do not necessarily produce any kind of occupation around them. Pompeii's urban history is long and imperfectly understood, as particular elements and their chronologies are still debated. While this is not the place to discuss Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's tentative hypothesis of an

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7 Hipp et al. 2012, 4.

8 Lynch 1960; Strauss 1961; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Perry et al. 1997.

**9** MacDonald 1986; Westfall 1997; 2007.

Fig. 1: Map of Pompeii with *insulae* and streets labelled. Dotted line indicates division between eastern and western portion of the street plan.

Archaic city plan, Herman Geertman's gradualist theory of expanding grid plans, or my own idea of a 4th century B.C. 'Refoundation'[10], it is important to note that all of these theories acknowledged that there was a western Archaic heart of the city that was qualitatively different than the shape of space generated in the east, whenever it appeared (Fig. 1).

Even if these areas are not city quarters themselves, exploring this east-west divide at Pompeii will allow us to see how the street network influenced each half's divergent urban history, from the macro-scale of the network's overall continuity and discontinuity to the micro-scale impacts of the shape of different street corners. Indeed, the stark differences between each half of the city will serve as tests for the assumptions about how visual cues influence (or don't) the experience of belonging to a neighbourhood in these divergent urban environments. Within these city-sized considerations are more human-scale impacts, such as the size of city blocks, the variety of pavements along the streets and the manner in which they intersect. In the context of neighbourhood production (and from our perspective, neighbourhood detection), what is important at any scale is how these spaces are seen and seen to be used. Therefore, at the largest scale, we should expect that the discontinuous western street network and continuous street network of the east would have produced radically different visual experiences, encouraged divergent architectural arrangements and generated heterogeneous social interactions.

What do continuous and discontinuous street networks look like? From a planometric perspective, it is obvious enough that, starting a few blocks east of the Via Stabiana/Via del Vesuvio line, streets are arranged in a regular grid plan, intersecting each other at right angles and interrupted only by the curving outline of the eastern fortifications. To the west of the Stabiana/Vesuvio line, however, only the northwest seems to follow this pattern, while stepped (Via della Regina), curving (Via dei Soprastanti, Via degli Augustali) and dead-end streets (many) characterised the rest of the area. For a person walking in each half of the city, the experience would have been remarkably different. In the east, our imaginary pedestrian might have been able to see three or four blocks away in every direction if standing in an intersection, for example at the intersection of Via di Castricio and Vicolo dei Fuggiaschi. Such long vistas in the east make the changes in Pompeii's topography more regularly perceptible, make street furniture (e. g., fountains, benches, shrines, etc.) identifiable from farther away, and make visible one's proximity to busy streets. By contrast, in the west, most intersections offered a view of only one or two blocks' distance, closing off one's visual connection beyond those

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10 Geertman 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 2013; Poehler 2017a, 31–44.
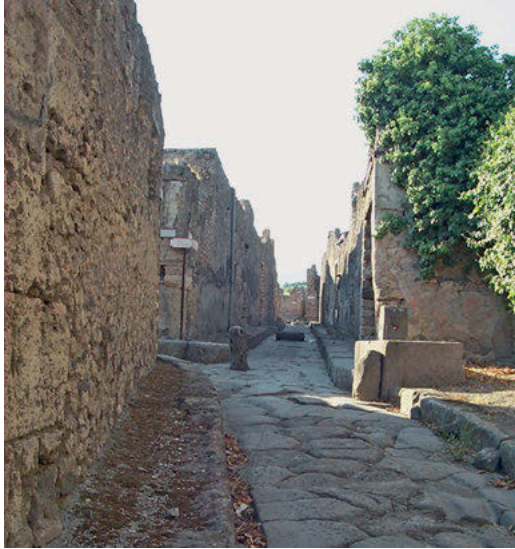
Fig. 2: View to the north on Vicolo di Tesmo showing the visual effect of offset intersections.

corners, making those same forms of distant furniture near, but not here. The visual impact of each experience must also have influenced one's sense of their local community. For example, in the west, the limited views might have encouraged inhabitants to conflate the edge of their vision with the edge of their most local community, while in the east, the absence of such visual discontinuities might seem to have encouraged a sentiment of inhabiting a bigger local community, with boundaries created by major thoroughfares. As we will see, however, those major thoroughfares might also have segregating effects on the narrow streets that cross them.

Of course, such differences in visual continuity are both explained and amplified by the size and shape of the city blocks in each half of the city. In the west, many blocks are comparatively small, but when they are larger, it is very often because they bar the continuation of a street through them, becoming double or even triple the size of their neighbours. In this way, much of Region VII and Region VIII necessarily face away from the rest of the city, while Regions I and II, for example, make twice as many outward connections beyond their boundaries. But it is not only interrupted streets that reduce the sense of visual connectivity among places, but also streets that are offset from one another at intersections (Fig. 2). Most notable are those disjunctions that occur from slightly varying block sizes, such as where Vicolo del Panettiere and Vicolo IX 3/IX 4 meet Via Stabiana. Much smaller disjunctions are still disruptive, such as the next intersection to the south, where Via degli Augustali meets Via Stabiana 2.1 m farther north than Via Mediana, interrupting the visual sense that the same street, and likely the community along it, continued across this major thoroughfare. There are 28 more offset intersections in the western portions of Pompeii, some more obtrusive than others, but there are only 5 such intersections in the east, and these form its western boundary. Indeed, nearly all north-south streets in Regions I and II continue directly across Via dell'Abbondanza into Regions IX and III, and these same streets appear to run straight across Via di Nola into Regions IV and V. Only the width of these major cross streets and the volume of traffic along them would give the visual sense of moving into a new part of eastern Pompeii.

One further interdependency to consider is the natural topography and the slope of the terrain below these differing shapes of city blocks. In the west, the ground is both higher and more steeply sloped, falling off the plateau to the south and west, and falling into the Stabiana valley in the east. In the eastern half of the city, the ground is far more regular and gently sloping away to the south and east[11]. This difference is important, at least in my estimation, to help explain why blocks are shaped

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11 Poehler 2012, 97–99.

and sited as they are. That is, the general correlation between long, rectangular blocks on relatively flat ground and smaller, more square blocks in the west is meaningful in explaining the street network's design and evolution[12]. Even if one rejects the connection between terrain and city planning, it remains true that the greater slope of the west further curtailed one's view across the city, at least while facing uphill.

Façades and Doorways

All of the preceding, however, is based upon a city-wide, largely, planometric view that asks us to consider more 'where' than 'what' we can see. It is necessary, therefore, to bring the third dimension into more direct focus and to repopulate the streets with the architectures and amenities known in the ancient city, such as the façades and doorways, as well as the sidewalks and street surfaces and the pedestrians, draft animals and vehicles that moved along the streets. As we will see, despite the great differences among these material proxies, methodologically, they all lead back to finding people using the street.

In terms of their basic visual impact, façades are perhaps simpler to reconstruct. Rising two or three storeys, and rarely (if ever) more, the frontages of buildings combined with the mostly narrow streets increased the sense of enclosure within a street. This was only amplified by the presence of balconies that overhung the sidewalks, further limiting one's view of the sky, which would draw one's gaze forward rather than upward. Riccardo Helg, and Ray Laurence more briefly before him, have described the important differences in how residential and retail properties express themselves, even within the same frontages[13]. Qualitatively, the stark difference between large mostly residential streets, such as Via di Mercurio, and narrow mostly commercial streets, like Via degli Augustali, must have made the social texture of a particular place abundantly clear. Most streets fitted between these archetypal examples, and so, quantitatively, it has been useful to count the number of doorways in making an assessment of how inhabitants and visitors assessed where they were at Pompeii (Fig. 3).

At its simplest, the idea of counting doorways is a proxy for counting people and making calculations about the likely ratio of inhabitants and visitors to a particular street or city block. That is, we can fairly assume that the greater the number of doorways along a street, the greater the number and variety of destinations that street presented, and therefore in streets with many doorways, the proportion of people entering those doors who did not live along that street would be greater than in streets with fewer doorways. Visually, this quantification relates to the perceived permeability of the façades and the expectation (perhaps at night) if not the observation (perhaps during the day) of people moving in and out of the building. Famously, Ray Laurence presented this model and explored its analytical utility in his 1994 book, 'Roman Pompeii. Space and Society'. Again, this is not the place to rehash the importance or the limitations of this methodology, though it is important to say that Laurence had already anticipated the generative power of the street network's shape by studying doorway occurrences[14]. For our purposes, it is enough to extract Laurence's map(s) of doorway densities in order to bring to the surface some of the assumptions underlying attempts to formulate neighbourhoods based on these data (Fig. 3).

If more doorways represent more people and especially more strangers[15], then it is necessary to ask how the proportion of strangers impacts the perception of being in a neighbourhood or not. For example, along an internal neighbourhood street, such as Vicolo del Panettiere in Region VII, the

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12 Poehler 2017a, 33–35.

13 Laurence 1994; Helg 2018.

14 Poehler 2017b, 168–173.

15 Appleyard 1981, 23–26.
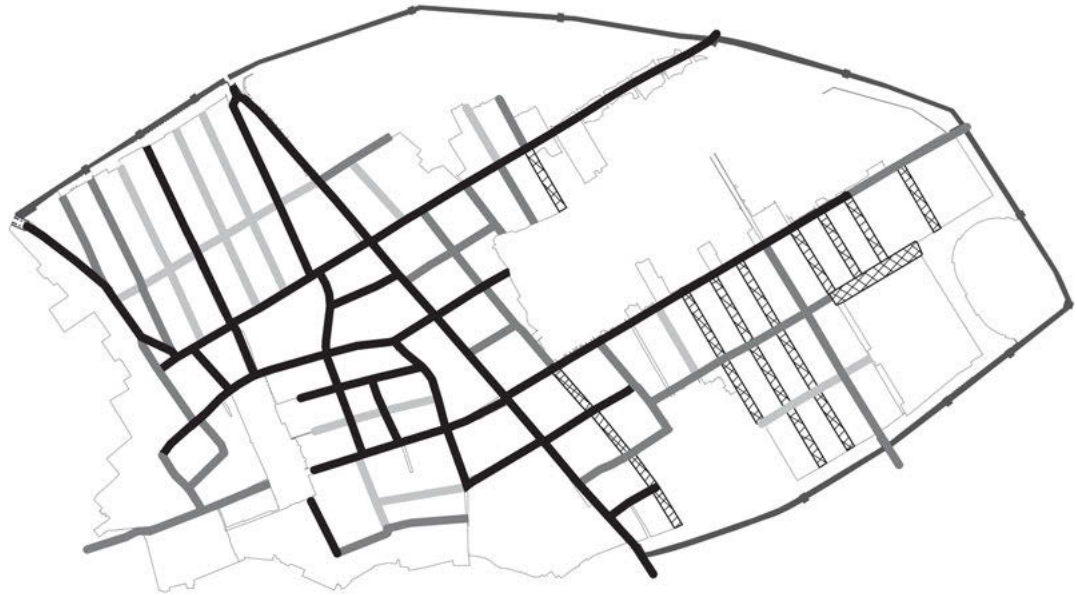
Fig. 3: Map of doorway densities. Doorways every 0–5 m (black), 6–10 m (dark grey), 11–15 m (medium grey), 15 m+ (light grey) (after: Laurence 1994, maps 6.1–6.4).

sense of belonging to the same place might be built from seeing the same people across the street each day, even if non-residents are frequenting the eponymous bakery along this street. These non-residents, however, might also be 'regulars', coming repeatedly to the same bakery. Conversely, the block of Via Stabiana directly south of Vicolo del Panetierre is (as we will see) one of the busiest places in the city and the constant flow of non-inhabitants, strangers and even foreigners past these 26 doorways would seem to interfere with the creation of social ties and self-identification across this boundary. Would those whose habitations opened (primarily) along Via Stabiana have identified themselves as residents on the edge of a neighbourhood, better defined by the quieter streets behind them? Or, would they see themselves as having more in common with those who lived across Via Stabiana, sharing in the experience of its hustle and bustle? And, if the residents of this stretch of Via Stabiana got their daily bread from Vicolo del Panettiere, might their common experience of each place produce a sense of belonging to both?

We might also consider how our analyses of doorways and consequent ratio of inhabitants to visitors impact our reading of the least visited streets. Streets such as Vicolo dei Fuggiaschi, which has only four doorways along its ca. 260 m length, would seem to have little draw to anyone who does not actually reside in a building fronting along its length. Does this quietude result in a greater sense of community among those who did see each other, and often only each other, along this street? Or, was the absence of strangers felt as a desolation, building a common perception of space – and thus neighbourhood – from a negative association? Indeed, in Latin literature distant, empty streets have been shown to have had associations with deviance and crime, offering a pre-perception of a street's quality when walking along it or, perhaps, when simply looking down into it from a major thoroughfare[16]. In a sense, this negative association of an empty street with dangerous individuals hidden in the shadows is the other side of the coin from the anonymity of the crowd found on broad, busy streets. Each creates an expectation for very few prosocial engagements, which we assume works against a sense of community, but that is not identical to a sense of neighbourhood. That is, one can feel their neighbours are dangerous or anonymous, but the visual qualities they produce as one moves through their shared space might very well produce a sense of inhabiting the same urban quarter, of belonging to a 'bad neighbourhood'.

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16 Kaiser 2011a.
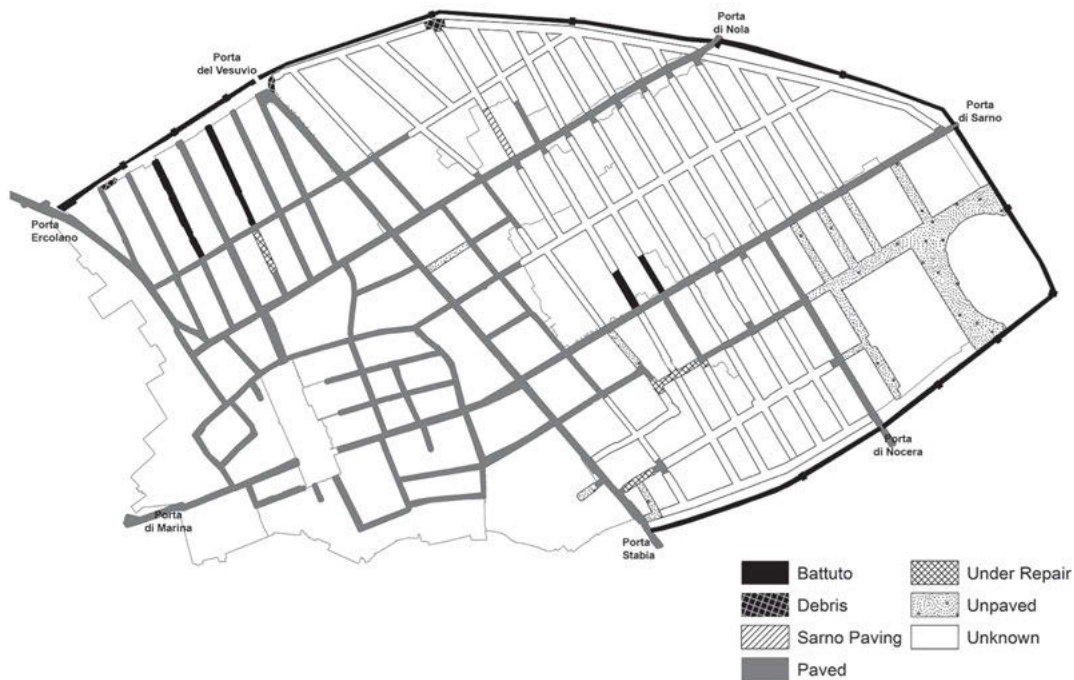
Fig. 4: Map of street surface types at Pompeii.

Street Amenities: Pavements, Sidewalks, Stepping Stones

Other aspects of the street's condition might play into this same sense of being part of or being apart from a particular neighbourhood and the sense of value that space had for the Pompeians. For example, there is a strong correlation between streets that in A.D. 79 were still paved in beaten ash and the long, empty streets of the east (Fig. 4)[17]. When we consider the low density of strangers expected along these eastern streets, the lack of investment looks like a reasonable allocation of resources. But, when we consider that some of the stone pavements in the west had been replaced two or even three times, the absence of such an amenity looks more like neglect. At very least, one might explain this difference by the insufficient pull from the few monumental structures in the east to be matched with a similarly broad, ornamented and pedestrian-only street pavement like that found on Via Marina. Indeed, there are streets in the east that were not only not paved in stone, but also seemingly abandoned in the street network, choked by accumulations of garbage from nearby houses[18]. Intriguingly, however, it is only the narrow, north-south streets that suffered this neglect; as far as excavation allows us to see, all east-west streets were paved in stone. It is interesting to consider, then, if the change in street surface from beaten ash to stone would have signalled the boundary of a new environment and that crossing that stone paved street, even if continuing onto another beaten-ash surface, would have been perceived as entering a new neighbourhood. It is hard to accept that this was true, as it would mean a perceived neighbourhood was only a single block in length and visited by comparatively few people.

It was not only the street surface that would draw the comparative eye of the ancient viewer, but also the presence or absence of other urban amenities located in the streets. Thus, while wide and wildly elaborate sidewalks proliferated around the western half of the city, even a narrow row of kerbstones was only sporadically employed in the east (Fig. 5)[19]. Like stone pavements, sidewalks are most prevalent on the east-west streets, suggesting that the investment in infrastructures of

17 Poehler – Crowther 2018, Fig. 3.
**18** Berg 2008; Varone 2008.
19 Saliou 1999.

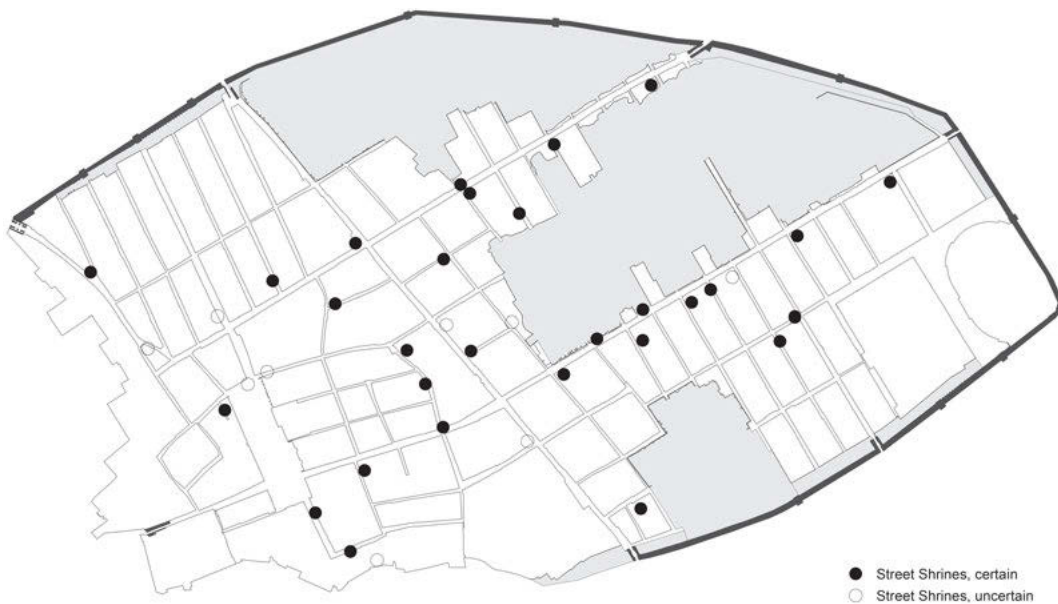**Fig. 5:** Map of sidewalks and stepping-stones at Pompeii.

mobility were made to serve those who were moving across rather than passing deeper into east Pompeii. The same pattern appears when one looks at the distribution of the 318 stepping stones deployed around the city: only 27 % are found east of the Via Stabiana/Via del Vesuvio line and only one stepping stone was not set within a stone street pavement. What's more, many of the busiest and broadest streets were provisioned with stepping stones such that pedestrians could cross these streets outside of intersections as well as at them. It is interesting to consider, from a neighbourhood-formation perspective, how such features bridged these wide streets, paradoxically integrating the two sides of a street with the busy, anonymous movement of hundreds or thousands of pedestrians crossing over them.

Urban Furniture: Fountains and Shrines

Conversely, fountains function in the opposite way to stepping stones, providing a focal point within the city where people stop and congregate. Indeed, fountains operate as small eddies in the larger flow of traffic, both by their function and by their position. In function, fountains force users to stop and fill a container either from the basin (if full) or from the spigot (if not), requiring at least a few seconds to perhaps several minutes. It is reasonable that some fountains, during some hours of the day, would have been witness to a line of people waiting to collect water, producing both social interaction among those at the fountain and the perception of that behaviour among those passing by. Where this interaction occurred, it would have generated other effects on perception. Many fountains are set partially into the street, partially into the sidewalk in a compromise between pedestrian and vehicular forms of traffic that ensures neither is stopped but both are slowed, compounding the crowding effects around fountains. To militate against the expected congestion, some fountains were set up out of the way of traffic entirely or in little piazzette allowing for water to be gathered and for queues to be formed without causing annoyance to other users of space. It is easy to imagine these fountains as a focal point of a local community. Finally, a few fountains were placed with the specific goal of stopping vehicular passage, such as into the forum or the areas behind it, participating in the production of pedestrian zones in the monumental centre and in the surrounding residential quarters. For example, the 'Fountain of the Cock' bars carts from the area west of the forum, joining

Distance from fountain

- 10m
- 20m
- 30m
- 40m
- 50m
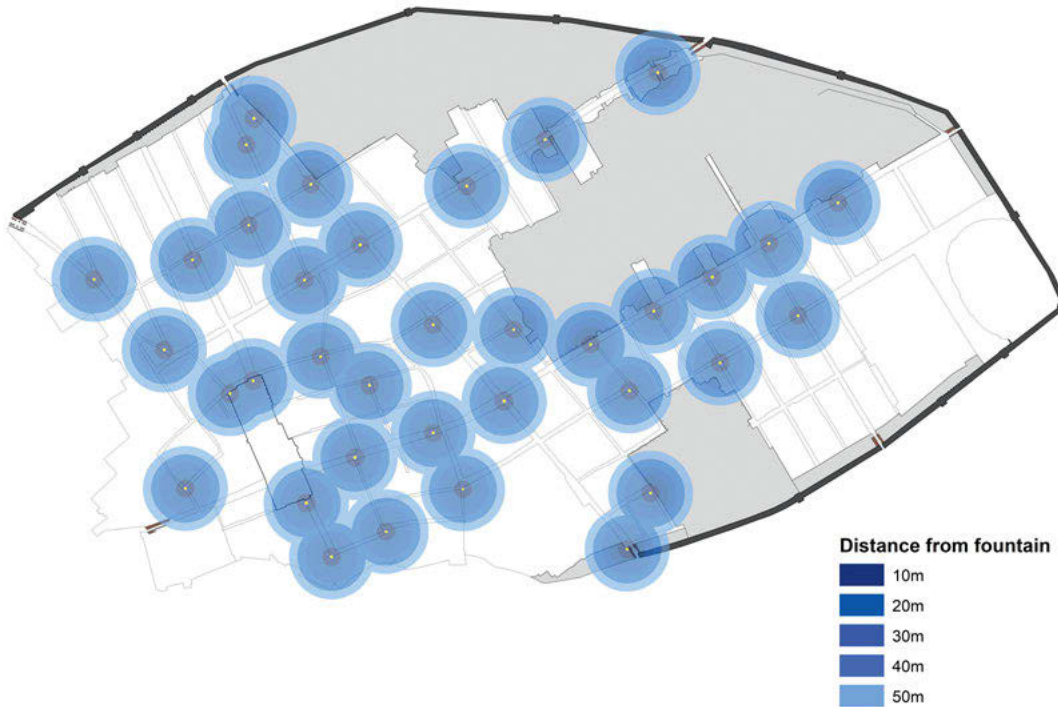
Fig. 6: Map of fountains at Pompeii with 10 m buffers, up to 50 m.

● Street Shrines, certain
○ Street Shrines, uncertain

Fig. 7: Map of street shrines at Pompeii.

with six other streets that either dead end at the forum or are excluded from the (vehicular) street network entirely[20].

The wide distribution of fountains (Fig. 6) should mean that nearly all people had access to a nearby 'neighbourhood fountain' (or fountains). At the same time, the relative closeness of fountains to their users and to each other would also mean that the same person could access water from other nearby fountains that might be believed, by reference to other factors, to be in a different

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20 Poehler 2011a.

neighbourhood[21]. Such ease of overlap suggests, paradoxically, that fountains within neighbourhoods helped to build communities around them, but using fountains spatially to define those communities will be fraught with ambiguity.

The problems of locating a local community around features in the street network are even more pronounced when considering the spatial distribution of street shrines[22], whether we imagine them at the centre or the boundary of a neighbourhood[23]. Although approximately equal in numbers to fountains, compital shrines have more pronounced spatial clustering, with most shrines being located along the major east-west routes of the city (Fig. 7). These patterns only amplify the difficulty seen with fountains in drawing lines around any shrine to approximate its local community. For example, in Region VI, there is one shrine for every two blocks of Via delle Terme/Via della Fortuna, there is one shrine for every block along Via del Lupanare in Region VII, and there are blocks in Region I and Region IX where two shrines exist around a single *insula*. Unlike fountains, however, compital shrines did not see an intensity of daily use, and even when used, would only occasionally have drawn a large community around them. That is, we can imagine individual use of a shrine would have been far less common than for a fountain and that community use, while generating large gatherings, would have been less frequent[24].

How, then, do we reconcile these objections with the research that shows that street shrines were important mechanisms of the political apparatus in organising and mobilising local communities? Indeed, at Rome these shrines seem to have been powerful loci in 'top-down' acts of social organisation[25]. Methodologically, however, the spatial distribution of shrines demonstrates that they are of little use in defining neighbourhoods on a perceptual basis. Again, like fountains, many Pompeians must have felt that they inhabited a neighbourhood that incorporated multiple shrines, but also occupied a religious urban landscape that included nearby shrines in surrounding neighbourhoods. Moreover, this clustered distribution suggests that there may have been differences of character among the shrines invisible to us that impacted how they were used and how they were perceived. Indeed, such qualities were likely manifest in memory and practice rather than physical features alone, making such distinctions still harder to detect.

Traffic and Drainage

Having added more of the third dimension to our discussion of the street grid, it is now necessary to repopulate those streets with movement and consider its perception in the formation of neighbourhoods. In many ways, modelling the movement of people and objects through the streets is a backdoor to the fourth dimension, allowing us to focus on intensely short periods of time (e. g., 'rush-hour' or a religious procession) or on the longue durée (e. g., the impacts of recurrent urban flooding or its risk). For all the visual expressiveness and communicative power of the built environment alone, it is the passage of people and objects through it that was likely the most compelling visual information that the ancient Pompeian utilised in navigating the ancient city. In fact, several parts of the preceding discussion have centred on how the street network or the architectures elaborating it could be proxies for the people who utilised those spaces. It is possible, however, to target movement more precisely. Over the last decade, I have attempted to measure and model the movement of vehicles, pedestrians and water throughout the city, and these studies (though necessarily imperfect) along with those by others can provide some basis for examining Pompeii's neighbourhoods through the lenses of bulk

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21 Laurence 1994, 43.

22 Van Andringa 2000.

23 Laurence 1994, 37; Kaiser 2011a, 43.

24 Kaiser 2011b, 43.

25 Lott 2004; Kaiser 2011b, 51.

Fig. 8: Map of rut depth at Pompeii.

material transport (vehicular movement)[26], street-network effects (pedestrian movement)[27] and infrastructural systems (wastewater drainage)[28].

Vehicular Movement and Bulk Transport

Ruts, like doorways, have had an important history as proxies for movement at Pompeii (Fig. 8), with scholars attempting to correlate their presence and depth with increased levels of social and economic activities and, by their absence, with increased level of social control over those activities[29]. Even as there are flaws in these correlations, for example not accounting for the absences of ruts produced by the replacement of stone pavements and for the different erosional behaviours on beaten-ash surfaces, the images they present of wheeled vehicles and heavily laden draft animals passing through certain parts of Pompeii are useful to our discussion of the perception of neighbourhood. The volume of mules and donkeys, unfortunately, is harder to assess as they left few traces in the archaeological record[30], but we should understand they represented the greatest proportion of the total transport in the street[31]. The evidence for wheeled traffic – ruts, wearing patterns and storage locations – thus becomes another proxy, one that represents minimum values for this variety of movement.

What this evidence reveals is that heavy transport was sufficient in scale to require regulation, even though it was concentrated on relatively few streets in the city. In fact, 92 % of all segments of streets with deep ruts are found on the eight streets leading to the city gates and the six through routes that parallel them, leaving only three deeply rutted pavements in the heart of Region VII not connected to a gate. These deeply rutted pavements, however, make up only 35 % of the street network's approximate area. Moreover, these figures represent only the streets that Sumiyo Tsujimura was able
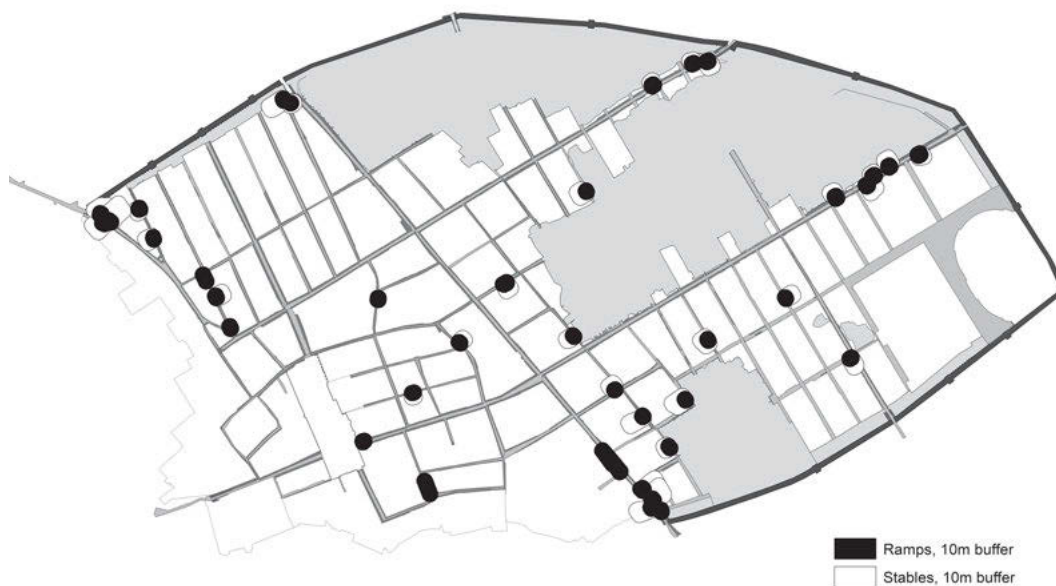
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26 Poehler 2017a.

27 Poehler 2017b.

28 Poehler 2012; Motta et al. 2018.

29 Tsujimura 1991; Wallace-Hadrill 1995.

30 Garzia 2008, 1 f.

31 Laurence 1999, 123–135.

Fig. 9: Map of ramps and stables at Pompeii.

to study, leaving out perhaps another quarter of the street network. Including these streets would only increase the percentage of traffic limited to particular streets.

The evidence for traffic worn onto the stepping stones along these streets, however, demonstrates that, whenever possible, cart and wagon drivers preferred to drive in the centre of the street. For such evidence to be produced, the volume of traffic from vehicles needed to be sufficiently low so that traffic moving in different directions did not need to consistently bifurcate into two separate lanes[32]. From this, then, we might reconstruct an image of the street in which most vehicles moved steadily along the middle of the street, while others occasionally rolled along the edges, not least to park and load or unload their cargoes[33]. Meanwhile, hundreds of mules and donkeys moved through these same streets, likely sticking closer to the kerbs and creating outside lanes of animal traffic where vehicles were less common. Scattered throughout this scene of traffic were more specialised conveyances, including oversized construction transport, litters and ornamental carriages as well as thousands of pedestrians moving along the sidewalks and slipping between the carts and animals to reach the other side.

The locations of vehicle storage, where ramps led off the streets and into stables, support this general image of traffic and add nuance to that picture as well. For example, of the 36 ramps identified at Pompeii, nearly half (17) are found in close proximity to the city gates. Moreover, the buildings they led into were overwhelmingly commercial properties, especially inns, representing a strong local investment at the gates in servicing the transport economy (Fig. 9). The rest of the ramps are spread out across Pompeii, giving vehicular access to mostly industrial properties and very large residences[34]. This access, however, was almost always via a narrow back street, rather than one of the primary thoroughfares. It is easy to imagine that for a Pompeian, seeing a pair of ruts cutting through the kerb of a narrow street and into the stable of a rich man's house would serve to colour the sense of place, defining the street as a back alley and the stable as a servant's entrance. These rut ramps, though rarer, are the inversion of the street-side benches that marked the public entrance to the house[35]. The broad, paved ramps of commercial inns near the gates must have described another kind of place to the ancient viewer, one of transience, of movement and of strangers.

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32 Poehler 2017, 152–155.

33 Weiss 2010.

34 Poehler 2011b.

35 Hartnett 2008.

Pedestrian Movement

Modelling the movement of pedestrians produces a generally similar picture to that of vehicular and animal traffic, but with some potentially greater nuance in that picture. Ten years ago, my colleague Alexander Stepanov and I built a model of Pompeii that encompassed the basic street network (edges) and its connections to every doorway into each building or space (nodes)[36]. This included an extrapolation of both datasets in the unexcavated areas to produce a complete model of the ancient city. We then ran a process to calculate the shortest route across the network from one node to another and repeated that process to create every possibly route for every node, producing a map of the most likely paths of travel across Pompeii based solely on the shape of the network. The model is a significant improvement on the doorway-occurrence method as it measures the movement through a segment of street (which is nearly all traffic) rather than only movement to any particular set of doorways. Even if the model is flawed in a number of ways (e. g., omitting terrain, modelling movement on shortest path and treating all nodes as equivalent, especially the city gates), it nonetheless provides a crude instrument to measure the potential of human movement and to consider in relation to previous methods for interpreting human circulation (Fig. 10).

For pedestrians, Pompeii has four primary routes: (1) Via della Fortuna/Via di Nola, (2) Via degli Augustali/Via Mediana, (3) Via dell'Abbondanza and (4) Via Stabiana. Of these, the Via Stabiana was the most important because it is centrally located within the city and because it intersects the other three streets, serving to collect and then redistribute their pedestrian traffic. In this closed system, as streets get farther from the core of the city, they lose intensity of traffic, largely replicating the sense of busyness of the west and emptiness of the east expressed in the doorway data. In fact, some streets in the southeast seem especially desolate. For example, the model shows that the southernmost streets of Region I might have had almost no traffic other than that by inhabitants. The busy routes in the centre and west, however, have the effect of slicing up that part of the city into rows of only one or two blocks. Interestingly, the through routes that were important to wheeled traffic – Via Castricio and Vicolo Mercurio/Vicolo del Nozze d'Argento – were less travelled and might seem to have not separated northern and southern blocks from one another by a steady stream of pedestrians.

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36 Poehler 2017b.

How these data on pedestrian movement might be interpreted in relation to neighbourhood production is more difficult to interpret, especially around questions of visual urban landscapes and expectations for social cohesion. For example, the inhabitants of the blocks east of Via Stabiana between Via Mediana and Via dell'Abbondanza would have only a face-to-face relationship to one another along a single street unless they passed directly through a block or circumambulated it, using one of these busy streets. Thus, one house owner might have 'neighbours' in one street at his front door and another set of 'neighbours' at his back door, but these two groups of people could not be 'neighbours' to each other without temporarily joining the crowds of strangers[37]. Of course, this act is no barrier to a neighbourhood's definition, but such an encounter with what might be expected as a neighbourhood boundary likely had consequence in one's sense of a neighbourhood. It seems unlikely that turning around the short side of a single block (ca. 35 m) would necessarily lead one to feel they were in a new neighbourhood, but would sustained contact (two or three blocks) with the anonymising space of one of Pompeii's busiest streets break a sense of continuity of community?

Despite the broad similarities between this model and Laurence's doorway-occurrences method (Fig. 3), there are some productive divergences that begin to illuminate the difference between 'dense' and 'busy', that is, between having many inhabitants and visitors (doorways) and having many passers-by as well (network). For example, the number of doorways along Vicolo del Balcone is high, but the number of pedestrians was surprisingly low, not least for the character of the streets it connects to, which are both busy and full of doorways. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the position of the purpose-built brothel along Vicolo del Balcone Pensile in the heart of the city and wonder, if it were an unseemly site, why it shouldn't have been built somewhere along one of the quiet streets in the east. It is not my intention to wade into the debate of the existence or measurement of moral geographies at Pompeii[38], but the movement of people along either side of this building may have relevance for its placement and the character of its neighbourhood. The entrance to the brothel is located on Via del Lupanare, a well-travelled street, while the exit (only 12 m away) opens onto Vicolo del Balcone, which forms a very sharp corner and which witnessed four times fewer uses by people moving across the city (i. e., by through movement). The brothel was thus well situated to advertise to potential patrons and to offer a more discrete departure, should one desire it.

Thus, the difference between models also reveals another distinction between streets that are 'important' and those that are 'busy'. A particularly good example of this is the westernmost section of Via dell'Abbondanza, which has many wide and elaborate doorways (and sidewalks to match), but which loses pedestrians due to the paucity of destinations west of the forum and because of the forum's limited connections to the street network, making it a poor distributor of pedestrians. Indeed, it is this 'shadow effect' that quieted Vicolo del Balcone Pensile for those exiting the brothel. At the same time, this area was also filled with grand old houses, a quality matched by similarly quieted quarters 'behind' the forum, especially to the west (along Vicolo del Gigante) and south (along Vicolo di Championnet). These elite houses may have been orphaned in the street network when they lost contact with the forum, but their size and quality, and thus importance, appear unchanged. Similarly, those few people the model shows crossing the forum to get elsewhere, however, must certainly underestimate the many people who came to the forum itself, which the monumentalising of its architecture, as well as the streets leading to it, more than adequately demonstrate. A question for defining neighbourhoods, then, would be whether these areas that shared so much in character represented to their inhabitants several small, individual neighbourhoods or one large, 'donut-shaped' neighbourhood surrounding the forum. Was the forum a dividing or unifying factor in the experience of neighbourhoods?

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37 See Busen, this volume.
38 Wallace-Hadrill 1995.
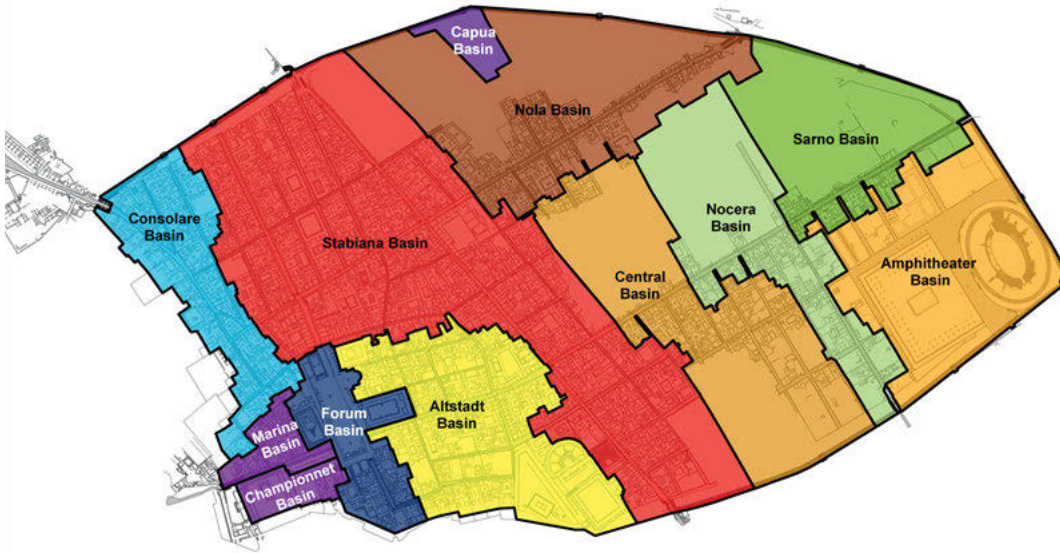
Fig. 11: Map of basins of surface water drainage at Pompeii.

Water depth, 100 year rainfall event

— 0.001 - 0.100m	— 0.301 - 0.350m
— 0.101 - 0.150m	— 0.351 - 0.400m
— 0.151 - 0.200m	— 0.401 - 0.450m
— 0.201 - 0.250m	— 0.451 - 0.500m
— 0.251 - 0.300m	— 0.501 - 0.779m

Fig. 12: Model of depth of surface water drainage at Pompeii in a once in a 100-year rainfall event.

Water Movement

Finally, there is the question of how water flowed through the city and how the perception of that flow affected one's conception of neighbourhoods. We have already examined the centralising effects of water supply in the form of street fountains, but wastewater was likely also a factor in neighbourhood dynamics. Like wheeled traffic, there is evidence in the streets for the civic management of wastewater, which includes not only drains and sewers below ground, but also blockages, ramps and redirection mechanisms in the streets that funnelled water from a limited area of Pompeii down paths toward a dedicated exit (Fig. 11). On a sunny, summer day this administrative overlay upon the city would be almost invisible, with little more than the overflow of fountains to trace the particular paths out of Pompeii. With the late winter rains, however, when cisterns were full and the streets became

storm drains, the city's drainage system parcelled out this enormous volume of water, preventing it from flooding the lower, southern portions of the city[39].

To test the effectiveness of such a system, Davide Motta and I built a surface drainage model of the city to access the impact of different rainfall events on the different parts of Pompeii using GIS data and Integrated Catchment Modelling software[40]. The model took into account not simply the amount and duration of rainfall, but also the slope, width and surface treatment of the streets along with the height of the kerbs, the collection of water by cisterns and the absorption of water by gardens. The result was a series of maps that showed the rates of flow and depths of water accumulation across the city during intense rainfall events without the mechanisms of the drainage system in place. If we consider a once-in-a-lifetime type storm (Fig. 12), the street network shows several areas where the depth of water discharge would become sufficiently extreme to cause the potential for flooding, especially along the southern boundary of the city, but also, surprisingly, at the centre of the city as well. The effect of a once-in-a-generation storm (25-year event) is lessened, but even in a simple bi-annual storm, the same areas are impacted.

These results are intriguing for thinking about how one perceives a neighbourhood and how that perception is formed. Unlike the permanence and daily trips to a public fountain, the high volumes of runoff from intense storms were not a daily, observable feature of the city. Indeed, some are by definition considered to be once-in-a-century events. Instead, we must imagine that it was experienced in two very different ways. The first was via memory, whether lived or told, of the times, places and effects of flooding. Those who shared these memories or histories surely re-experienced such places differently than those nearby places that survived the flooding unscathed. Of course, any manner of remembered event could colour a place and its surrounding neighbourhood – as our examination of compital shrines showed – but we need extraordinary evidence to examine those mental landscapes.

More permanent are the potential impacts of flooding on the built environment. Looking at two disparate locations of likely flooding during a 100-year event we can see different local responses to potential flooding, responses that help to characterise the local environment both before and after the change. In the centre of the city, for example, the flattening of the terrain where Via Stabiana meets Via dell'Abbondanza caused the model to show an important accumulation of water at one of the most important intersections in the city. The urban response was significant. In addition to nearly doubling the kerb height beside the Stabian Baths, water was siphoned off from the intersection by a large drain built below the western section of Via dell'Abbondanza, funnelling it to the Altstadt Sewer and out of the city. Prior to the installation of this mechanism to draw off water, the downstream effects at the Porta Stabia were considerable, which are discussed in more detail below. Farther east along Via dell'Abbondanza, blockages and ramps were created in the Augustan era across the streets, farther south, of Insulae I 21 and I 22 to prevent the flooding of this location. Despite these interventions, these blocks remained some of the least built-up places in all of Pompeii, impacting the circulation of pedestrians through the area by a paucity of destinations.

The Porta Stabia Quarter: A Case Study

The ample evidence now available from the area at the Porta Stabia[41] allows us to see not only the long-term impacts of flooding and wastewater management on the built environment, but also to combine it with the movement of people and goods over time to examine the concomitant impacts on city-quarter production and neighbourhood perception.

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39 Poehler 2012.
40 Motta – Poehler, in press.
41 See Ellis, this volume.

Excavations have shown that already in the 4th century B.C. the area just inside the Porta Stabia was a burgeoning node of activity, with several buildings flanking the Via Stabiana, while much of the eastern half of the city remained sparsely occupied at best[42]. Proximity to one of the most important of Pompeii's city gates undoubtedly spurred the development of a city quarter here[43]. By the late 2nd century and into the 1st century B.C., these buildings had expanded to take over much of the space that would become their city block, and the street between them was given one of the first stone pavements in all of Pompeii[44]. The new physical elaboration of this city quarter, however, did not change the working-class, industrial character of the area, which is illustrated by a kiln and several fish-salting vats, among other fixtures. No purely residential structure can be identified, and most importantly, no atrium-style house that supported its own micro-community – what Wallace-Hadrill has called 'housefuls' – ever existed[45]. Thus, the inhabitants of the Porta Stabia quarter in this period seem to have lived alongside their workspaces, and as they did, undoubtedly recognized the same of their neighbours across and along Via Stabiana. At the same time, traffic was likely constant through the gate, but seems to have been highly transitory. Inhabitants surely interacted with visitors, but the shapes of their buildings suggest they did not intend for visitors to stop or engage with their businesses. Only the public well just inside the gate may have served as a place of regular interaction with strangers, even as it served as a locus of social cohesion for locals.

In the following century, as more and more of Pompeii benefitted from the arrival of stone-paved streets, these impermeable surfaces shunted more and more of the city's wastewater toward the Porta Stabia. Without control of run-off, heavy rainfall had the potential to flood the Porta Stabia quarter, undoubtedly influencing the decisions of elites to not build their homes here. Conversely, the installation of water-control mechanisms upstream (as described above at the Stabian Baths) and at the Porta Stabia itself in the Augustan era was accompanied by a massive reinvestment in the shape of *insulae* at the gates. Workshops transformed into bars and restaurants and whole areas were converted into inns and stables, all to service a stream of visitors so numerous that the Via Stabiana had to be repaired twice in a generation[46]. Although the public well was replaced by a public fountain, the social relations surrounding a water source likely were mostly the same. Having opened their frontages toward the street and invited the flow of strangers to stop and seek their services, however, surely must have changed the social relations in the area. On the one hand, the inhabitants in these two small and isolated city blocks[47] changed from being simply neighbours to being also daily being competitors, which may have invited conflict. On the other hand, the shared economic identity of inhabitants working in the transport economy, and doing so outside the shadow of an elite residence, likely also influenced their perception of the Porta Stabia quarter as their neighbourhood.

Conclusion

Having peeled back the layers of Pompeii's streetscape, it is time to reflect on that process and to ask: what have we learned? Certainly, one lesson is the futility of trying to draw a hard, definite line around neighbourhoods from any one, or even several, material proxies for community. At the

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42 The following discussion of the Porta Stabia quarter's development comes from Ellis et al., in press. I thank the authors for allowing me access to their pre-published materials.

43 For an example of this phenomenon at Rome, see Malmberg – Bjur 2011.

44 On the history of the Via Stabiana, see Poehler – van der Graaff 2021, 17–23.

45 Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 116 f.

46 Poehler – Crowther 2018.

47 Physically, these two *insulae* are bounded by the city wall and gate to the south, by the Quadriporticus building to the west, and by the Theatrum Tectum in the northwest. Only Insula I 3 in the northeast is inhabited, which is filled with atrium houses, flanked by shops and bars.

same time, a few themes do emerge that suggest environments more and less conducive to neighbourhood production. One such theme, intimately related to the first point, is that many objects and sites that might be expected to have a strong relationship to neighbourhood production may have a more complex set of relations to address. In fact, they (1) may be one of several such places or objects that exist within a neighbourhood, they (2) may be frequented by non-residents and (3) they may be absent from some neighbourhoods entirely. Another theme to contend with is that we tend not to consider the temporal aspects of our evidence. These aspects include the daily rhythms of life, the disparate times and durations of object use and the long-term effects of social processes on the built environment. For example, streets – like fora and *tablina* – had busier and quieter times of the day, and some particular places within those streets saw daily, regular use by many people (e. g., fountains) while others (street shrines) were witness to individual and infrequent visitation. At the same time, the importance of those objects and the behaviours they generated were likely equally divergent from an individual's sense of place. Over a longer time frame, the reciprocal effects of infrastructure, or its absence, on the built environment can shape whether an area might be seen to be part of one neighbourhood or another.

Perhaps the most important theme to emerge from this thought experiment was the process of identifying spaces and activities that inhabitants might experience as a boundary. While many forms of evidence – the size, paving, amenities and expected levels of traffic – point to the same major thoroughfares as likely boundaries of neighbourhoods, utilising that observation brings its own challenges. For example, different forms of evidence – doorways and pedestrians, pavements and ruts or fountains and shrines – suggest differing levels of intensity along these streets, which are not always in alignment with one another, complicating the perception of their 'boundaries'. Equally challenging is the idea that the inhabitants along the boundary might see themselves as their own community, perceiving what Cahill and Lofland describe as the 'alienation, asociality, and unrelieved anonymity' of a city's busiest streets, as the basis of a neighbourhood in its own right[48].

Finally, trying to apply boundaries returns us to the unsatisfying end products of drawing lines on a map. One can begin with the locations that lend themselves to differentiation, such as the parts of the *insulae* that surround the intersection of Vicolo degli Scheletri and Vicolo della Maschera, which appear to be a quiet, enclosed community surrounded by busy, boundary streets. One wonders, however, if the parts of this area beyond the moderately busy streets of Vicolo di Eumachia (to the west) and Via del Lupanare (to the east) would not have been perceived to be part of the same neighbourhood. Interpretation becomes even more complicated when looking at the larger, longer blocks just east of the Via Stabiana/Via del Vesuvio line, which are enclosed by busy streets to the north and south, making 'neighbourhoods' out of a single street. Conversely, those same large, elongated blocks appear to create especially large 'neighbourhoods' once the intensity of traffic along these streets appears to diminish. Neither these micro-communities (which might match some of the street-shrine evidence) nor the near city-spanning expanses (which might fit the inscriptional evidence, not dealt with here) are satisfying results, yet they are the honest applications of some of the instruments we have thus far devised.

In the end, therefore, perhaps our most important lesson is to countenance the insufficiency of our proxies and methods we derive from them. It is a notion, in fact, that Robert Park expressed to his students one hundred years ago, at the birth of the sociological search for neighbourhoods:

'You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats and filled out by reluctant applicants for fussy do-gooders or indifferent clerks. This is called "getting your hands dirty in real research". Those who counsel you are wise and honorable; the reasons they offer are of great value. But one more thing is needful: first hand observation. Go and sit in the lounges

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48 Cahill – Lofland 1994, xiv.

of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and the slum shakedowns; sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter burlesk [sic]. In short, gentlemen, go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research'[49].

Classical scholars in pursuit of ancient neighbourhoods are perhaps in need of similar advice. We have been told to look in the epigraphic and literary corpuses for under-appreciated evidence of urban congregation, to seek out such sites in an ancient city, and to plot them on a map. Yet there remains no credible map of Pompeii's neighbourhoods, and there likely will never be one. To take up Park's advice requires investing in something closer to an archaeological ethnography, in which deep observation of place is brought into dialogue with our more abstract proxies of space. While we cannot talk to ancient Pompeians, we can sit where they did and steep in their places, making investment in the qualities of time to balance the attention we have given to aspects of space.

I stated in the introduction that defining and locating neighbourhoods at Pompeii would not be a goal of this paper, but maybe it shouldn't be a goal at all. Ancient Pompeians successfully accommodated the ambiguities of neighbourhood boundaries and perhaps we should too. That is, unless we can identify new types of evidence and/or develop new kinds of intellectual tools that reveal the expected internal homogeneity of a city quarter/neighbourhood and expected external heterogeneity of surrounding city quarters/neighbourhoods, we might do well to embrace the fuzziness of Pompeian space and find different modes of analysis and expression. The most obvious and readily available mode is narrative. In many ways, this is not a novel appeal. Jeremy Hartnett's 'The Roman Street' (2017) has already begun to break down the cultural life of the street into a series of well-told stories. But these stories are meant to illustrate concepts and qualities of Roman street culture and it was never Hartnett's intention to try to aggregate his discussions into abstractions called neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, it suggests an intriguing model. Perhaps a comprehensive set of such narratives, however impressionistic, indistinct and largely incomparable as they might be, can offer another (better?) sense of what makes up Pompeii's physical and social texture, block by block. Moreover, we might hope to detect in that endeavour something of the adhesive qualities that stick one block to another (but not to a third), allowing for the concrete cores and hazy halos of neighbourhoods to emerge.

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Fig. 7: after Van Andringa 2000, Plan B, edited by E. Poehler.
Fig. 8: after Tsujimura 1991, Fig. 5, edited by E. Poehler.
Fig. 12: E. Poehler and D. Motta.

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49 Quoted in McKinney 1966, 71. I am grateful to Prof. Wenona Rymond-Richmond for sharing this quote with me.

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City Quarters and Districts:
The Socio-spatial Patterning of the City

Pia Kastenmeier

The Green City Quarter Close to the Amphitheatre in Pompeii and its Rural Identity

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to highlight a particular urban ensemble within the city of Pompeii as an example of a well-defined ancient city quarter. The outline of the specific tangible and intangible qualities of the district is accompanied by a brief discussion of its chronological development. The district under consideration, the southeastern part of the city, is characterised by the presence of vineyards and market gardens. Another singular feature is al fresco dining establishments, which are found only in this area of the town – in the immediate vicinity of the amphitheatre and the Palestra Grande. Taken together, the architectural, archaeological and archaeobotanical evidence reveal a green quarter full of characteristic 'voids', with perceivable breaks in the urban landscape and temporal clustering of activities. Thus, at least in the example presented here, infrastructural and functional density turns out to be crucial for defining an ancient city quarter, while economic factors in our case study appear decisive for the emergence of this particular district within the city walls. Furthermore, topical issues such as resilience and sustainability are addressed in this contribution, since the Pompeian *rus in urbe* stands for one of the basic economic components, as well as for the rural identity, of the local community.

Introduction

General Description of the Urban Ensemble

Pompeii, in contrast to what is known of the neighbouring city of Herculaneum, for example, can be described as a green city: many Pompeian houses covered large ground-areas and included greened and planted spaces such as gardens and peristyles. The focus of this paper is on the concentration of a series of greened properties that cluster in the southeastern part of the city. It is broadly accepted from the archaeological evidence[1] that these properties were used for commercial horticulture, rather than for self-sufficiency as we might expect to find outside the city walls in the *suburbium* (Fig. 1)[2]. The land was cultivated mainly as market gardens and vineyards, and about half these units seem to imply an additional commercial income. They are equipped with masonry *triclinia,* indicating that outdoor drinking and dining took place[3]. Similar facilities can also be found in a variety of other locations, in both private and public buildings and outdoor spaces, but so far are not known from the archaeological record of *villae* and farmhouses in the surrounding countryside. If we do not wish to assume that the masonry *triclinia* in these inner-city vineyards were destined exclusively for private use, they should be considered part of the food and drink outlets distributed all over the

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[1] Jashemski 1979; 1993.

[2] As part of the urban economy cf. Flohr – Wilson 2017, 14; Monteix 2017, 218 Fig. 7.2; Poehler 2017a (buildings functions, N.B.: vineyard and market garden III 7,6.7 is missing in this map). Market gardening at Pompeii includes the cultivation of olives, nuts, fruit trees, vegetables, herbs and flowers.

[3] For masonry *triclinia* see Soprano 1950; Massoth 2005; Dunkelbarger 2021. Masonry *triclinia* had been found in 5 of the 10 vineyards and in 12 of the 26 market gardens; ephemeral structures for outdoor dining may have existed in other units, as suggested by find-spots, cf. e. g., vineyard I 20,5, Jashemski 1993, 68 and the related pictures: <http://www.pompeiiinpictures.org/R1/1%2020%2005%20p2.htm.> (20.07.2022).

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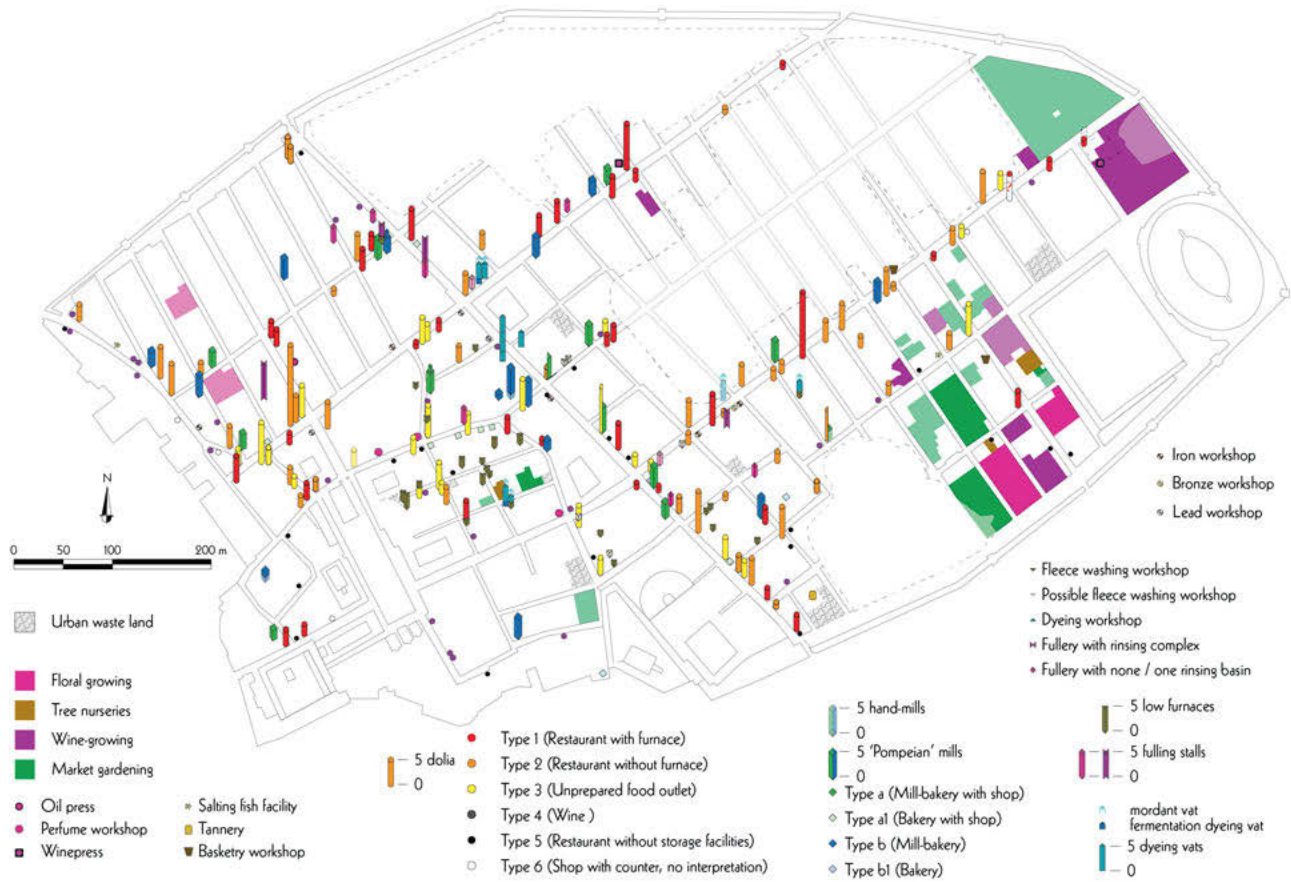
city of Pompeii[4]. Taken together – and further distinctive characteristics will be illustrated below – a very particular urban ensemble, with a very different urban morphology, different views and different amenities is emerging here. Moreover, according to geophysical investigations[5], larger gardens should be expected as far as Porta di Nola in the northeast of the city. This would have resulted in a green urban area, characterised by a particular business (horticulture) and potentially expanding over the entire easternmost zone of Pompeii. As such, the archaeological evidence of vineyards, market gardens and al fresco dining establishments in the southeastern area of Pompeii may provide an excellent example for the methodological approach and key questions of this colloquium on 'Dynamics of Neighbourhoods and Urban Quarters'[6].

Chronology

The dating of the establishment of the vineyards and market gardens as well as of the al fresco dining establishments, remains an open question. The view frequently repeated in Pompeian scholarship is that most were established after the earthquake of A.D. 62[7]. However, there is some evidence that

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4 For bars, inns, or restaurants at Pompeii see Kleberg 1957; Kieburg 2014; Ruiz de Arbulo – Gris 2017; Ellis 2018, all with former bibliography; for those excavated in the southeastern part of the city see Calabrò 2020; for hospitality in this district, see Costa 2020 (with hypothetical relation to *collegia*), also the new excavation project 'Tulane I.14 Project' by A. Emmerson (<https://liberalarts.tulane.edu/departments/classical-studies>) (20.07.2022).

5 Anniboletti et al. 2009.

6 For Pompeiian city quarters see among others Laurence 1994, 38–50; Coarelli 2000; Pesando 2017.

7 Cf. Zanker 1995, 181 f.; Venner 2020.

this green district might already have been an integral part of the city before that catastrophic event (which certainly had a drastic effect on city life) but further research is needed. The two large-scale urban buildings in this district, the amphitheatre (the older of the two) and the Palestra Grande, would have been erected for political reasons. It can be assumed with relative certainty that they were constructed over former residential buildings. The standing architectural remains of the adjoining *insulae* and the sporadic stratigraphic excavations carried out in this part of the city point to a typical, small-scale subdivision of the *insulae* into the dwellings termed 'case a schiera' with garden areas at the rear, which probably dates to the middle or end of the 3rd century B.C.[8]. Wilhemina Jashemski identified several of the large trees concentrated in this city quarter as being about a hundred years old at the time of their death during the volcanic activity which destroyed the city[9]. Finally, attention can be drawn to the remains of an older masonry *triclinium* within one property that was built over by the *palaestra*[10].

Characteristics of the Quarter

Accessibility and Movement

The green district of Pompeii was accessible from outside the city walls via the nearby city gates of Porta Nocera and Porta Sarno. Both gates connected the city with the southeastern *suburbium* and the interurban road to Nuceria. From the gates, the district was reached via a wide main street, now called the Via dell'Abbondanza, or a narrower one, now called the Via di Nocera[11]. From the inner city, the route to the eastern district was similar: either via the wide thoroughfare of Via dell'Abbondanza or via narrower side streets, such as the Vicolo del Menandro or Via di Castricio. Moreover, a change in the urban organism towards the east becomes tangible when approaching the green quarter on foot from the city centre. Looking at a map of the city, the different dimensions and the shift in orientation of the *insulae* are even more evident (see above Fig. 1)[12].

At first sight, the presence of the amphitheatre and the Palestra Grande is the dominant feature of the southeastern district. However, although today we have the modern entrance to the excavation site, created in 1931, the public space around these two buildings was formerly a cul-de-sac. In other words, the urban character and inner-city traffic of this area was quite different from the other large public areas of Pompeii, such as the theatre district and the forum, which functioned both as places to stay and as transit and traffic intersection points. Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that the immediate surroundings of the amphitheatre and also the adjacent streets were – unlike almost all other streets of Pompeii – unpaved[13]. This might have been because frequent wheeled traffic was neither expected nor desired. We know the area of the amphitheatre was a public space without wheeled traffic and surrounded by the city walls from the famous wall painting, discovered in a Pompeian house, depicting a riot between Pompeians and Nucerians in A.D. 59, in front of the amphitheatre and the *palaestra* (Fig. 2)[14]. In this context, it should also be mentioned that the routes giving imme-

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8 Among others: Maiuri 1939, 214; Hoffmann 1979, 111–114; De Simone 1987; Nappo 1993; Helg 2005; Guzzo 2007, 136–144. 177–179; Anniboletti et al. 2009, 7–10; Esposito 2021.

9 Jashemski 1993, 21–105. 246 f. for the single find spots in *regiones* I and II; interestingly the masonry *triclinia* near the Temple of Sant'Abbondio outside Pompeii had already been installed before the earthquake of A.D. 62, cf. Jashemski 1979, 157 f.

10 Cf. the description of the excavation trench close to entrance of II 7,8 in Maiuri 1939, 171 f. n. 1.

11 The modern street names are reported, e. g., in Poehler 2017b, 4 Fig. 1.1; this volume, Fig. 1.

12 Cf. Poehler, this volume, Fig. 1.

13 Poehler 2017b, 54. Fig. 3.1; this volume, Fig. 3.

14 For the riot cf. Tac. Ann. 14, 17.

Fig. 2: Casa di Actius Anicetus (I 3,23). Wall painting from the peristyle.

diate access to the amphitheatre could be blocked on the main thoroughfares (as for other areas in Pompeii), an enclosure that plainly regulated not only wheeled but also pedestrian traffic[15].

Commercial Clustering and Rural Morphologies

As shown on the map, large units dedicated to commercial horticulture, some equipped with masonry *triclinia*, are a feature almost unique to the southeastern district (Fig. 3). This map shows all areas within Pompeian *insulae* that have been identified as market gardens or vineyards in Jashemski's archaeobotanical investigations. Thus, these areas are substantially workplaces. Whereas for many urban activities (e. g., urban bakeries), production and sales probably occurred in separate spaces, the commercial activities combining horticulture and hospitality in this quarter involved a broader variety of public or non-public access to these enterprises. The presence of customers in some of the market gardens is at least conceivable, similar to what we see in a plant nursery today. Indeed, for several vineyards, an almost semi-public ambience, if not unrestricted public access, might be presumed due to the presence of the masonry *triclinia*.

Another distinguishing feature of the quarter are the large trees planted in the public space, which are also depicted in the wall painting of the riot. This depiction is confirmed by a series of tree root cavities discovered by Amedeo Maiuri during the excavation of the *palaestra*, while investigations by Jashemski revealed many further root cavities of large trees within nearby properties where horticulture was practised[16].

Besides areas with cultivated plants, vineyards and market gardens in general also present minor architectural structures, such as grape-treading rooms, *cellae vinariae*, cisterns, kitchens, latrines, bars with counters and other production units[17]. In those properties equipped with masonry *triclinia*, the finds and the many shrines suggest a symposial and religious milieu[18]. Thus, it seems clear that the

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15 Poehler 2017b, 173. Fig. 6.8; after Poehler (2017b, 181) the blocking of the streets in this city quarter was 'undoubtedly related to the construction of the Grand Palestra'.

16 Maiuri (1939, 194 f.) for the plane trees in the Palestra Grande; Jashemski (1993, 21–105. 246 f.) for single find spots in Regio I and II; Ciarallo 2009; for the green district cf. also Haug 2023.

17 For example: a *cella vinaria* in vineyard II 5; a *taberna vasaria* linked to the so-called Inn of the Gladiators (I 20,1–3) and to market garden II 3,7–9; the bars on the street frontage connected to the al fresco dining facilities with masonry *triclinia* I 11,10–11; I 20,1–3; II 5,1–4; II 1,3–7 and II 8,2.3.

18 For religious practices in the gardens see Jashemski 1979, 115–140; Van Andringa 2009, 271–323 and Laforge 2009 with former bibliography; for the single findspots see Jashemski 1993, 51–105. 246 f.

Fig. 3: City map of Pompeii. Vineyards are marked in yellow, market gardens in green, masonry triclinia in red.

experience of dining al fresco near the amphitheatre and the Palestra Grande had little in common with that of visiting other catering outlets in Pompeii, such as the bars with counters along the street frontages of the major thoroughfares, or the inns known from the famous Pompeian 'tavern-scenes' depicting a few customers sitting on stools around tables[19]. Al fresco dining in vineyards and market gardens was dominated by nature, by olive, nut or fruit trees, by flowers and by vines with their tendrils hanging down from each pergola shading a masonry *triclinium*[20]. It would be interesting to understand how this hospitality was organised in practical terms. Was it enjoyed by groups of customers, who hired the whole *triclinium* for a more private use, or do we have to imagine a more fluctuating guest-structure, with, on occasion, comparative strangers reclining intimately together in the confined space of a *triclinium*?

Besides the al fresco dining establishments, the vineyards and market gardens, the district is also distinguished by other characteristics. Compared with other parts of the town there are fewer cultural and religious buildings, and there are also fewer residential buildings in general, with larger ones particularly lacking. The streets have fewer or no sidewalks or stepping-stones. Public fountains tend to be located close to the main thoroughfares. Furthermore, between Porta Sarno and Porta Nocera there are fewer shops, workshops, stables or *hospitia* than there are in the proximity of Porta Marina, Porta Ercolano, Porta Vesuvio or Porta Stabia, which makes the area visibly different even from the other city gate environments[21].

Those urbanistic and functional differentiations are reflected in a tangibly different 'landscape' for this city quarter: the streetscapes contain fewer of the façades typical of Pompeian houses and

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19 Cf. Neudecker 2012; Ellis 2018, 239–244 with bibliography.

20 For a literary description of al fresco dining facilities cf. Appendix Vergiliana, Copa; Jashemski 1979, 172–178.

21 Religious buildings: Poehler 2017a; private buildings: Viitanen et al. 2013, 67. Fig. 4; stepping stones and sidewalks: Poehler, this volume, Fig. 4; fountains: <https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/Plans/Plan%20Fountains.htm> (20.07.2022) and Poehler, this volume, Fig. 5; shops and workshops: Viitanen et al. 2013, 63. Fig. 2; cf. the reconstruction of the street-scape close to Porta Stabia <https://www.getty.edu/visit/cal/events/ev_3348.html> (S. Ellis and G. Blayney) (20.07.2022).
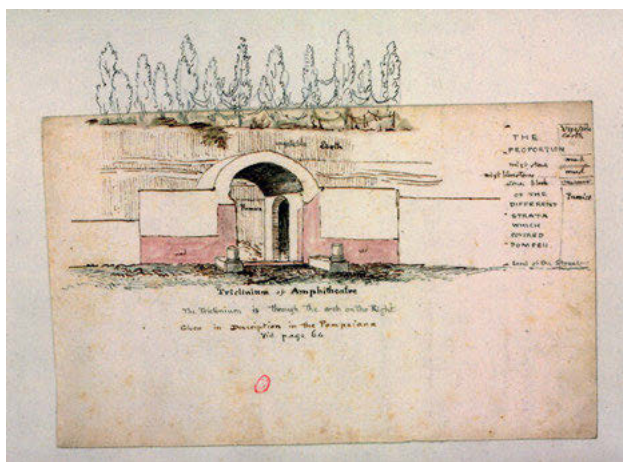
Fig. 4: The entrance to vineyard II 5,5 (William Gell 1817–1819).

Fig. 5: The entrance to the Villa Diomede in the Via dei Sepolcri (François Mazois).

shops, and also show no sanctuary enclosures or temple walls[22]. Instead, we may need to reconstruct streetscapes of a more rural character, with some high boundary walls and trees and plants behind them, but without paved streets. This suggests a certain resemblance to the property walls in the *suburbium*, such as, e. g., outside Porta Nocera, or at the many *villae rusticae* in the hinterlands. Even the configuration of the entrances to some properties is closely related to examples from the *suburbium*. The entrance to vineyard II 5,5 (Fig. 4) is in front of the amphitheatre. The property covered an entire *insula* and wine was produced here. There were two masonry *triclinia* on the property, one of which lay immediately to the right of the entrance. The entrance to this vineyard is surprisingly similar to the one of the Villa di Diomede outside Porta Ercolano, both prominently marked by columns that apparently supported a small gable roof (Fig. 5). Finally, based on the architectural, archaeological and archaeobotanical evidence, different intangible qualities, such as smells and sounds, may also be suggested for the district, equally connoted by its somewhat quasi-rural setting: the smells and sounds

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22 Helg 2018, 96–117.

created by people working outdoors in the vineyards and orchards. In this sense, it should be noted that the entire district was probably also characterised by a different microclimate, perhaps slightly fresher and cooler in summer than the other inner-city districts due to the lower density of building on the properties and the denser vegetation. Taken together, it can be concluded that (1) together with the presence of two specific public buildings, green and open space – generated by a particular business (horticulture) – was a defining feature of this less wholly urban district; (2) the district was perceivable as a distinct quarter by residents, by workers and by visitors from outside the city.

Discussion

In order to convey a clearer picture of this green urban quarter and the 'daily life' of its neighbourhood, its distinguishing features are defined and discussed below. The topics addressed here – the question of physical or non-physical boundaries of a city quarter as well as the characterisation of its residents and the different temporal spheres of action that can be reconstructed on the basis of the archaeological evidence – were chosen because they emerged during the colloquium as matters of general significance.

Boundaries

As pointed out, this green part of Pompeii was not defined by large traffic arteries that would function as limits, since the most distinguishing feature of the quarter was the presence of larger properties used as commercial horticultural units, which made significant breaks in the urban fabric. Thus, the boundaries here appear more fluid than the street network of the city or fixed landmarks and buildings[23]. This calls into question the relevance of factors like the blocking of wheeled and pedestrian traffic from the main roads in defining urban quarters within Pompeii, weakening that argument[24]. Rather, the compartmental blocking of streets seems purely functional and related to events in public buildings within an urban quarter (namely the entry/exit of a great number of people), and was thus a temporary parameter.

Residents

Excavating and investigating some properties in Regio I and II during 1995, Antonio De Simone described the social status of the inhabitants of the southeastern district as 'ceto di artigiani e piccolo commercianti'[25], i. e., artisans and minor shopkeepers. According to De Simone, the building history of the properties rather demonstrates an economic vitality and resilience, which led him to hypothesise that (1) the occupants of the workshops and properties were not tenants but owners; and (2) businesses were probably handed down from father to son. There are of course alternative scenarios, such as the one most recently proposed by Jessica Venner[26], which alludes to a newly constituted, strongly commercially oriented neighbourhood moved by a lively entrepreneurial spirit. We can in any case at least agree on the widespread absence of municipal elites among the residents of this quarter. The neighbourhood (here intended as a social category) in the southeastern part of Pompeii must have

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23 See Poehler, this volume.

24 Differently Haug 2023; this volume.

25 De Simone 1995.

26 Venner 2020.

been different from, for example, the neighbourhood at Porta Stabiae[27] or the Via di Mercurio[28], which lacked its horticultural environment inside the city walls, and which were clearly more influenced by the 'second retail revolution' as proposed recently by Steven Ellis[29].

Seasonal and Temporary Differences

Within the overarching topic of neighbourhood in this volume, the temporal aspect proved to be significant. In the green part of Pompeii, clear differences in usage during the course of any given year must be assumed at all levels of the archaeological record – in the street-space, the *insulae* and the individual architectural units. This includes the variation of activities according to the season (e. g., the presence of more horticultural workers during the harvest season, as opposed to during the winter) or the more rapid changes caused by the holding of public feasts and *spectacula* in the Palestra Grande and the amphitheatre (with certain activities occurring only at those times). Of course, this also includes the al fresco dining establishments, which would only have been open from spring to autumn. Thus, the residents and workers in this city quarter included, among others, those who variously cultivated the gardens, ran the al fresco dining establishments or retailed the horticultural produce. Even more significant for the character of the quarter appears to be the fluctuation of occasional visitors to the district. Highlighting the seasonal and temporary differences allows us to conclude that this was a leisure district providing two contrasting forms of entertainment: the infrequent, formal, large-scale and public events at the amphitheatre and Palestra Grande, and the informal, private, *rus in urbe* experience of al fresco dining[30].

Conclusions

At some stage the southeastern part of the city emerged as a distinct quarter, defined and distinguished as much by the presence of the amphitheatre and the Palestra Grande as by the commercial use of numerous properties for horticulture. The district appears as a specialised zone, not subject to building pressures, whether for housing or other purposes. Furthermore, the space required for the kind of commerce shaping this district is hardly comparable with other typical commercial units at Pompeii, such as retail or craft activities. It is interesting to note that the relevance of necessary surface area is also reflected in the mapping of productive spaces by Nicolas Monteix, as shown in Figure 1: while other commercial units are recorded as 'points', the urban horticulture spaces are shown as areas. The different ratio of area to production in these workplaces can be also described as less urban and more rural.

With respect to the administrative centre at the forum and the theatre district, both of which are disposed around an Archaic sanctuary, the southeastern part of Pompeii represents the outskirts of the town. On the fringe of the centrifugal dynamics related to the inner-city building complexes there is a lower density of both buildings and economic activity, and more scope for a changing urban morphology. Indeed, the area under consideration is characterised by a series of former house-plots grouped together as larger properties for the purpose of commercial exploitation (horticulture). This gave the city quarter the ambience of *suburbium*, while the two particularly large public buildings in this quarter, each with imposing construction on a grand scale around the perimeter enclosing a vast

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27 See Ellis, this volume.
28 See Lauritsen, this volume.
29 Described as 'a veritable by-product of Augustan urbanization' in Ellis 2018, 183.
30 Cf. Mart. 12, 57, 21: […] *cui plana summos despicit domus montis | et rus in urbe est vinitorque Romanus | nec in Falerno colle maior autumnus | intraque limen latus essedo cursus* […].

Fig. 6: Replanted vineyards at Pompeii.

open central area within, clearly gave rise to a pronounced fluctuation of people. Thus, alongside the materially defined space, density appears as one of the defining features of this city quarter.

But this leaves the question of what led from the urban layout described as 'case a schiera' to the specific form of business cluster that is only typical of this one area of the town (market gardening, viticulture and al fresco dining establishments). How can we even imagine an area within the city walls developing into a green city quarter with properties where cultivation occurred? Was there a political impact? Can we follow the recent paper by Jessica Venner where she, regarding the re-configuration of these properties, maintained:

> 'the benefit of cultivating cash crops on urban land must have outweighed the value of residential real estate post-CE 62 to make this a profitable option for urban landowners'[31]?

Perhaps it may be more appropriate to assume that the driving force here was not the 'opportunity from disaster' scenario, but rather a 'wine trade revolution', which, similar to the 'retail revolution', would have been set some decades **before** the earthquake of A.D. 62 and might be considered the reason for the vineyards spilling over the city walls from the *suburbium* into the inner city? Certainly, there is a solid archaeological basis for the 'retail city' already being embedded in a 'wine trade suburbium' during and even pre-dating Augustan times (Fig. 6)[32].

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Illustration Credits

Fig. 1: after Monteix 2017, 218.
Fig. 2: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Inv. 112222).
Fig. 3: after Morichi et al. 2017, edited by P. Kastenmeier.
Fig. 4: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/viewer/1359#page=110&viewer=picture&o=bookmark&n=0&q=>
    (23.01.2023); and Dessales 2019.
Fig. 5: after Mazois 1824, 98 Pl. 51.
Fig. 6: D. Esposito.vv

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31 Venner 2020, 2.
32 Cf., e. g., Seiler et al. 2019 with former bibliography.

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Miko Flohr

Prosperity and Inequality: Imperial Hegemony and Neighbourhood Formation in the Cities of Roman Italy

Abstract: This chapter explores how urban landscapes in Late Republican Roman Italy came to accommodate increasing levels of socioeconomic inequality, and what that meant for processes of neighbourhood formation. Starting from the idea that inequality can be physically expressed through urban housing stocks, the paper analyses the impact of the increasing wealth inequality brought about by Roman hegemonic prosperity at the micro-level. It starts by identifying the mechanisms of urban development through which inequality could accumulate in urban space, and then proceeds to analyse the actual developments in Roman Italy, contrasting the nature of neighbourhood formation in mid-Republican Italy with that in Late Republican Italy. The paper argues that, in the decades that followed the Roman conquest of large parts of the Mediterranean, cities at the heart of Rome's imperial network increasingly developed urban landscapes defined by inequality, and that this had immediate consequences for the ways in which these quarters could function in everyday practice, entrenching socioeconomic distinction and hierarchy permanently in the urban landscape.

Introduction

Cardo IV in Herculaneum was a narrow street that connected what seems to have been the town's main road with the southwest edge of the city, which overlooked the Bay of Naples. On both sides, the road was surrounded predominantly by houses (Fig. 1). Originally, most of the houses that opened off the street were fairly modest in size: the city blocks around the street had been divided in narrow strips on which only houses could be constructed that consisted of a central front hall, and a small number of domestic rooms (Fig. 2, left). Some houses may have had a shop next to the entrance, others only had one entrance in an otherwise closed façade. A few houses, such as the Casa del Tramezzo di Legno (III 11), already from the start were a little bit bigger than the others, while others, such as the Casa del Papiro Dipinto (IV 8), were a bit smaller. In general, however, differences between the households along the street initially remained relatively limited. Yet from the Augustan period onwards, as the urban community became more economically differentiated, the houses around the street began to change (Fig. 2, right). Several houses merged: in A.D. 79, the Casa dell'Alcova (IV 3) occupied the space of two predecessors; the wall that originally divided them still can be recognised in the house plan[1]. The Casa del Tramezzo di Legno (III 11) was, in several steps, extended, incorporating its neighbours to the northeast and northwest[2]. At the same time, multiple houses were equipped with rental apartments[3]. These were accessible through staircases directly from the street, and without exception appear to date from the Early Imperial period. Moreover, around the same time, the houses on the seaside end of both city blocks were extended on top of the original city wall and transformed from rather modest urban houses to lush seaside villas with huge peristyle gardens and luxurious rooms overlooking the Bay of Naples – their modest origins are only still reflected in their tiny front

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1 De Kind 1998, 142 f.

2 De Kind 1998, 109–111.

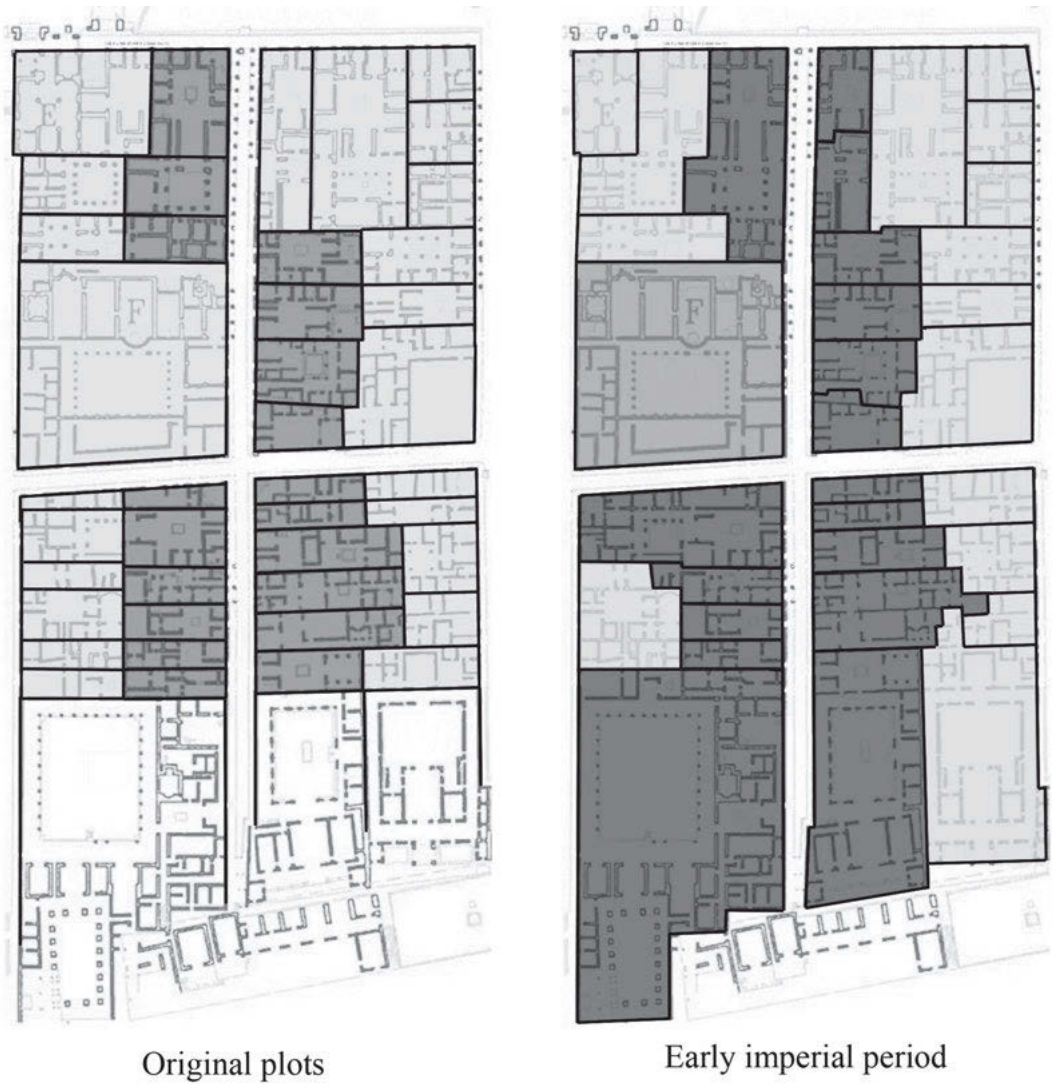**3** Along Cardo IV, rental apartments can be found at entrance III 12, III 13, IV 3, IV 5, IV 9 and V 2.

Fig. 1: Herculaneum. Cardo IV.

Original plots

Early imperial period

Fig. 2: Herculaneum. Cardo IV and its environs: original allotments (left); property boundaries in A.D. 79 (right).

halls[4]. Between the mid-1st century B.C. and the mid-1st century A.D., the neighbourhood that lived together around Cardo IV was transformed from a community of, roughly, equals to a much more diverse and unequal neighbourhood, in which very rich and relatively deprived lived in each other's direct environment.

The transformation of Cardo IV in Herculaneum shows how emerging socioeconomic differences would, over time, accumulate in the urban landscape. This accumulation is not simply an abstract socioeconomic fact: it had profound implications for the everyday lived experience in the area, and for the ways in which the people in the area could construct and conceptualise their living environment. In the repeated, spontaneous encounters between the more and less wealthy inhabitants of the zone – and their more and less wealthy visitors – there was ample opportunity to translate differences in prosperity into social difference: once it had become inscribed in the physical urban landscape through the city's housing stock, inequality came to construct social distinctions within the neighbourhood. Of course, the patterns are complex: servants living in the wealthier residences near the seaside had a socioeconomic status that differed profoundly from the members of the core family who owned the house. As slaves or freedmen, they may have been of a lower social status than many people inhabiting the smaller houses, though at the same time they enjoyed a close proximity to the elite. Yet this complexity is precisely the point: what once had been a relatively homogeneous community changed into something much more heterogeneous and complex – and this changed the ways in which the neighbourhood could (re)produce itself at the everyday level.

Neighbourhood and Difference

The history of the Cardo at Herculaneum is not unique, and this chapter starts from the idea that in studying neighbourhoods in antiquity, understanding their history of socioeconomic differentiation is indispensable: if neighbourhoods – as a social constellation – are shaped by and performed through everyday interactions in the urban environment, it cannot be doubted that the socioeconomic makeup of a street, a block, or a quarter was crucial to their functioning. At a very basic level, in situations where a socially diverse group of people enjoys structural physical proximity in a neighbourhood-like constellation, their diversity will impact on the formation of social knowledge: if the relatively wealthy and the relatively deprived encounter each other every day again and again, they will develop an acute awareness of each other's existence, and of the existence and meaning of socioeconomic difference within their community[5]. Additionally, in everyday interactions within a neighbourhood community, diversity in wealth may translate into differences in social power, and thus contribute to the development of relationships with a more strongly hierarchical character, including bonds of patronage between the wealthier and less wealthy residents of an area; patronage, of course, became a key feature of Roman society in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods[6]. Moreover, the accumulation of social difference in the urban topography can result in clustering, meaning that certain social groups become disproportionally concentrated in certain locations. This, of course, may contribute significantly to the formation of neighbourhood identities: areas where larger houses cluster may develop, in the perception of the urban community, an 'elite' character, while zones with a lot of smaller houses may be seen as more everyday or even deprived – and the people inhabiting them may come to think of themselves as a neighbourhood of 'common people'. It is of course impossible to read such perceptions directly from the archaeological material, but the

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4 By A.D. 79, the Casa dell'Albergo occupied more than half of Insula III; it had its main entrance on Cardo III, but two secondary entrances on Cardo IV (De Kind 1998, 93 f.). The seaside part of Insula IV was divided between the Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico, opening off Cardo IV, and the Casa dei Cervi, opening off Cardo V (De Kind 1998, 131–158. 176–183).

5 Cf. Mumford 1954, 257, cited by Haug, this volume.

6 Wallace-Hadrill 1989; Saller 2000.

excavated archaeological remains of urban quarters give a clear indication of the possibilities for such neighbourhood identities to develop. Thus, even if inequality, in Roman scholarship, has been most strongly associated with economic history, the present chapter argues that, in fact, inequality plays a critical role in social and cultural history too – as it shapes the lived experience of people in their everyday environment.

Connecting the study of urban neighbourhoods to the study of inequality also is important for a different reason. Emerging inequality in local urban communities, almost without exception, is a product of broader socioeconomic developments, and it shows how these could impact on the everyday lived experience in specific locations. In the case of Cardo IV at Herculaneum, the emergence of inequality should be seen against the background of a gradually increasing inequality in the Roman Mediterranean at large[7]. The unification of the Mediterranean under Roman rule created an enormous pool of agricultural surplus that could be tapped into, and most of it was, in some way or another, controlled by the Roman elite, which overwhelmingly spent it in and around the place(s) where they lived. Particularly in parts of central Italy, this led to the emergence of a consumer economy that had no precedent, and which generated an unprecedented demand for labour[8]. This, in turn, results in sustained flows of migration (both voluntary and forced) leading, in some places, to the emergence of groups of urban inhabitants who did not have the means to buy their own house, and came to be accommodated in rental apartments. At the geographical heart of this imperial consumer economy was the Bay of Naples, and, with it, Herculaneum[9]. In other words: what we are seeing along Cardo IV at Herculaneum is not some isolated local phenomenon, but a local expression of a global development – increasing inequality in the Mediterranean – which was a direct product of political change: the emergence of the Roman Empire. Thus, through the emergence of socioeconomic inequality, the story of neighbourhoods is intimately linked to the story of Roman Imperial hegemony: it is in this everyday urban environment that the various groups of relative 'winners' and relative 'losers' of Roman imperial hegemony negotiated their position in their local community. No history of urban neighbourhoods can be written without understanding how they were shaped and transformed by these larger-scale political and economic developments, but the point is that the reverse is also true: a key reason to study urban neighbourhoods in the Roman world is that their transformation can help us to understand what Roman imperial hegemony meant at the level of everyday urban practices, and inequality offers a key vantage point to explore precisely this issue. The following pages will therefore analyse the impact of empire formation on urban neighbourhoods in Roman Italy, and they will use socioeconomic inequality as the central interpretative perspective. The argument will develop in three steps. First, I will briefly explore the relation between socioeconomic inequality and urban development, and the way in which this may be expressed in the archaeological record; subsequently, I will contrast two periods. The second section will focus on what can perhaps be seen as the 'pre-hegemonic phase' of Roman urbanism – before Rome became a Mediterranean power; the third section will discuss the 'early hegemonic phase' that followed the defeat of Carthage and the conquest of Greece and Asia Minor in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Chronologically, thus, the focus in what follows will be on the last three centuries B.C., but the developmental trajectories that will be highlighted were not restricted to this period – or to these places. The point of this chapter is not to present a full account of the impact of imperial inequality on the Roman city, but rather to sketch how the increased inequality brought about by a global development like Roman imperial hegemony had a significant impact on neighbourhood formation at the local level in many cities. Neighbourhoods, here, are thus thought of as socio-spatial constellations that were, to a considerable extent, shaped by processes of 'glocalization'[10].

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7 Scheidel 2017; Scheidel – Friesen 2009; Kron 2011; 2014.

8 Cf. Temin 2013.

9 Flohr – Wilson 2017; see also D'Arms 1970.

10 On 'glocalization' as a concept in Roman studies see now Montoya Gonzalez 2021.

Inequality and the Archaeological Record

It is important to begin with a note of caution: the relationship between socioeconomic inequality and the archaeological record is not straightforward. In the first place, and obviously, many aspects of inequality are not directly expressed in the archaeological record. This is particularly true for the inequalities that may exist within households – both within the core family, between male and female members of the households, or between age groups, and between the core family and their entourage of servants, slaves and freedmen. One can say that it is more likely that larger houses, particularly elite villas, were constructed with larger, more diversified households in mind, but once these houses had been built, the composition of the households occupying them can fluctuate[11]: the fortune of families could develop over time. People who are socially mobile in an upwards direction may live in a house that is a bit smaller than their wealth and status, while households or families in decline may continue to live in a house that is (much) bigger than their actual wealth and status[12]. Thus, even if Roman (elite) culture attached considerable ideological weight to people being housed appropriately[13], differences in house size should not be taken directly at face value, though, on average and in the long run, wealth status and house quality may be likely to roughly converge.

Emerging inequality can become expressed in the archaeological record through construction activity: it begins to appear when people decide that existing available houses in a place are unable to satisfy their needs or ambitions, and resort to constructing new buildings or adapting existing buildings so that they become more suitable. This construction always takes place in a certain place at a certain moment, and thus is dictated by the specific needs of that moment – but the resulting building continues to dictate housing possibilities long after that moment has passed, as long as it is not adapted or replaced. Moreover, construction processes were always in some way or another constrained. They were constrained by availability – the quality and quantity of land or pre-existing housing that is available for purchase – and by possibility – what people can afford to buy. In practice, these constraints meant that urban construction tended to be conservative: once a city block was divided into allotments, the original boundaries of these allotments often stayed in place unless something special happened, though neighbouring properties could and did occasionally merge[14]. Thus, initial allotments tended to have a profound impact on the way in which inequality could become expressed in the urban landscape. In practice, development of urban housing stocks seems to be dominated by three scenarios. The first is the least complicated: a family buys (or owns) a house, and redevelops it according to their needs, potentially carving out independent units like *tabernae* and upper-floor apartments, and using the available space more effectively. Second, house-owners can buy up property adjacent to their house – another house, or land that is not being used – and incorporate it into their house – by merging, or by building an extension of the house in a zone that used to be empty. The extension of houses over the city wall in Herculaneum is a good example; in Pompeii, some houses over time were extended deeper into city blocks: initially, only the street side had been divided into plots, and the inner parts of the city blocks had been left open[15]. More ambitious still – and in practical terms also more complicated – was the third scenario, in which people would buy up larger numbers of houses in order to destroy them and build a large elite villa in their stead. This must be seen as the 'nuclear option' of urban development, and while some examples of it will be discussed later in this chapter, it has to be stressed that they very much remained exceptional:

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11 Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 91–103.

12 For instance, the Casa del Poeta Tragico at Pompeii is so richly decorated for its size that there seems a clear imbalance between wealth and house size (cf. Flohr 2019, 121).

13 Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Zanker 1998; Hales 2003.

14 See Busen, this volume.

15 This is e. g., true at Pompeii, Insula V 2 and VI 14.

throughout antiquity, the development of inequality in urban space generally took place in relatively small steps, property by property[16].

Neighbourhood Inequality in the Middle Republic

For the period before Rome became a Mediterranean power, neighbourhood inequality can be studied in a limited number of cities in the Italian Peninsula, and the evidence is fragmented and biased everywhere. At Fregellae, the excavations by Coarelli and others in the 1980s and 1990s exposed only one street, just northeast of the forum[17]; at Norba, the excavations by Stefania Quilici Gigli and her team have revealed parts of an urban quarter[18]; at Pompeii, a number of houses can be dated to the 3rd or early 2nd century on the grounds of building materials and techniques used[19]. Fregellae and Norba have an urban landscape dating back to the 4th or 3rd century, but they were destroyed by the Romans, in 123 B.C. and 80 B.C. respectively. Pompeii, of course, continued to evolve substantially after the mid-Republican period, but the number of houses from before 150 B.C. is such that some understanding of local urban inequality can be based upon it. Thus, while in each of the four cities our understanding of neighbourhood inequality leaves a lot to be desired, taken together, the picture they suggest is relatively coherent.

Fregellae

Fregellae was entirely organised around the Via Latina, which served as the city's central thoroughfare; on both sides, it had perpendicular sideroads at regular distances. The excavated houses were situated along one of these sideroads, but immediately next to the forum – in the heart of the city (Fig. 3). The houses differ a bit in size, but they are roughly equal in structure: they have the usual entrance corridor that led to a front hall with some rooms around it; around the entrance corridor were *cubicula* rather than *tabernae* – but no more than one on each side; the larger houses (1–7) have a *tablinum* in front of the entrance, and *cubicula* and *alae* around the sides of the atrium; smaller houses further down the road (9, 11, 13) lacked the side rooms. While the larger atrium houses had an atrium complex of around 350 m², the smaller houses were constructed with a surface of ca. 200–300 m²[20]. In general, very little seems to have been happening behind the *tablina*: some houses had a small backyard, but there were no more rooms. Essentially, these are all small- to medium-sized atrium houses of the kind that would typically house just one family; they did not include any rental units like upper-floor apartments or independent *tabernae*. While the houses on average appear to be a little bit bigger, the excavated street at Fregellae resembled Cardo IV at Herculaneum before its early imperial transformation: there was a relative equality between the households.

Norba

The excavated section of Norba is situated in the southeastern part of the city, in the depression between the forum and the so-called minor acropolis, where an important urban sanctuary was

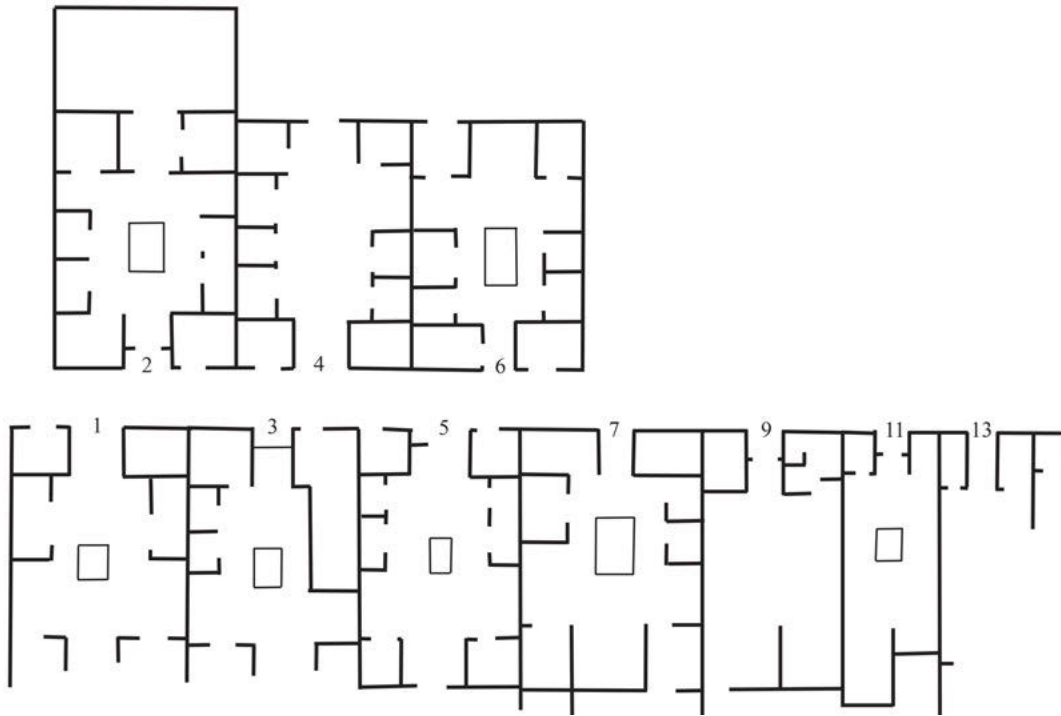**16** On the complexity involved in buying up land occupied by others see, in the context of the construction of the forum of Augustus, Flohr 2020a, 208–216.
17 Battaglini – Diosono 2010; Coarelli – Monti 1998.
18 Quilici Gigli 2015; 2016; 2018.
19 Peterse 1999.
20 Battaglini – Diosono 2010, 219.

Fig. 3: Fregellae, series of mid-Republican atrium houses.

situated. The excavated houses are situated in three house-blocks around a major road that crossed the settlement at its heart and ran in a straight line from the city's west gate towards the temple on the minor acropolis[21]. While we do not fully understand the dynamics of urban traffic at Norba, it is clear that this was an artery of key importance, used both for internal traffic and for traffic entering and leaving the city – the west gate offered a connection to Cora and, eventually, Rome. The houses resemble those at Fregellae, both in their size and in their layout: they are basically all canonical, medium-sized atrium houses, with *cubicula* alongside the entrance corridor and along the sides of the atrium; most had a *tablinum*. While the houses vary a little bit in size, the basic domestic facilities that they had at their disposal were roughly equal: there is a strong emphasis on the atrium and the rooms surrounding it. One of the houses (Domus X) had a small secondary courtyard, but without any rooms attached to it (Fig. 4)[22]; two houses south of the main road overlooked the edge of the city and seem to have had a terrace behind the *tablinum* (Fig. 5)[23]. There is very little evidence for dependent units: there are no upper-floor apartments, and while Domus X had several *tabernae* in its final phase, they had not originally been present[24]. Again, this quarter appears to have been an environment where people lived among their approximate social equals. This does not mean that there were no differences at all, but the differences between the households of the neighbourhood remained limited.

Pompeii

In Pompeii, no city quarter from before the mid-2nd century B.C. has been preserved, but a substantial number of individual houses are known from this period, and many houses, throughout the city, incorporate wall sections or walls constructed in the technique associated with this earlier period,

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21 Cf. Quilici – Quilici Gigli 1988, 251.

22 Quilici Gigli 2015, 59–115.

23 Carfora et al. 2010, 234–236.

24 Quilici Gigli 2015, 84 f.

Fig. 4: Norba. 'Domus X', overview.

Fig. 5: Norba. Two atrium houses on the SW edge of the city.

House I 6, 13
(130 sq. m.)

House I 12, 7
(114 sq. m.)

House V 3, 11
(120 sq.m.)

House of the Surgeon (VI 1, 10)
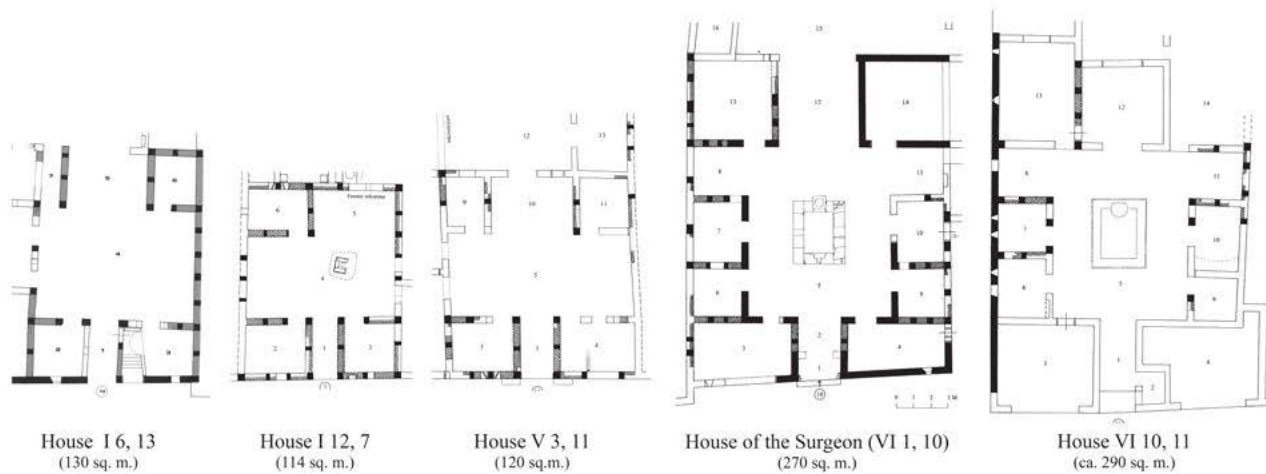(270 sq. m.)

House VI 10, 11
(ca. 290 sq. m.)

Fig. 6: Plans of five Pompeian houses from the 4th and 3rd century B.C.

which is known as *opus africanum* or 'limestone framework'[25]. Based on this scattered evidence, the nature of domestic architecture in 3rd and early 2nd century B.C. Pompeii is broadly understood (Fig. 6). As is well known, Pompeian houses in this period did not yet have peristyles: the largest houses in the city consisted of an atrium surrounded on two sides by *cubicula* and *alae*, and with a *tablinum* surrounded by two larger rooms separating the atrium from some kind of backyard. The largest houses at Pompeii were actually slightly smaller than their counterparts at Norba and Fregellae: buildings like the Casa del Chirurgo (VI 1,10, cf. Fig. 6) and House VI 10,11 had an atrium-*tablinum* complex of less than 300 m² [26]; however, most houses were smaller still and would lack *cubicula* on one or both sides of the atrium[27]. While some houses had one or two *tabernae*, large numbers of rental units did not exist – and there is no evidence for the existence of independent upper-floor apartments. Thus, even though we do not really know Pompeian city quarters from before 150 B.C., enough of the city is known to estimate they are unlikely to have been very unequal: in this early period, neighbourhood formation took place on the basis of relative socioeconomic equality. It is possible that houses of above-average size were already disproportionally clustered around the through roads in the north-western part of the city: the largest known houses were all situated in this zone, while elsewhere in

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25 Peterse 1999.
26 Peterse 1999, 109–116.
27 Peterse 1999, 117–136.

the city, 3rd century B.C. houses appear to be a bit smaller. However, the overall picture of the division of larger and smaller houses over the urban area remains too fragmentary to tell, and it will not have made a big difference.

Late Republican Urban Transformations

It would be misleading to think of urban neighbourhoods in mid-Republican Italy as fully egalitarian: there were clear differences between households, and domestic architecture had developed several ways of accommodating these differences, such as the presence or absence of *cubicula* and *alae* around the atrium, and the presence or absence of a *tablinum*: there are differences between simpler and more elaborate houses in each of the cities discussed in the previous section. These differences, of course, will have found their way into social practices within the neighbourhood. However, in all cases, social differences were playing out between family-based households that each occupied their own domestic building: in the end, everyone in these neighbourhoods was essentially in the same socioeconomic league. This was to change dramatically in the 2nd century B.C.

The transition of Rome from an Italian to a Mediterranean power radically transformed the economic foundations of urban life in Roman Italy. Several economic historians have emphasised the consequences of the unprecedented influx of wealth from booty and predation[28]. As Peter Bang put it some time ago: 'both the sale and consumption of the spoils of empire began to spawn the formation of new markets that developed to service the process of predatory mobilization'[29].

This 'predatory mobilization' started from the Roman senatorial and equestrian elites, but as these groups began to use their wealth to buy themselves lives of luxury, other parts of society began to be affected as well. The result was a sharp increase in the differences between rich and poor[30]. However, what this meant at the micro level of urban neighbourhoods – and how it affected processes of neighbourhood formation – has not been part of the debate: discourse on inequality in antiquity has to a large extent taken place on the macro level of the entire ancient Mediterranean. Thus, to understand what is going on, the following pages will compare Late Republican developments in everyday living environments in three cities that are archaeologically well-known: Pompeii, Ostia and Paestum. Each of these cities felt the impact of empire in a different way, though an increase in socioeconomic diversity can be seen everywhere.

Pompeii

Of the three cities, developments at Pompeii appear to have been the most radical. Part of this story is well-known, and well-studied: in several parts of the city, particularly to the north of the forum – in Region VI – and east of the forum in Regions VII and VIII – a new category of houses emerged that was much larger than the largest houses of earlier periods and included, alongside the often grand atrium, at least a peristyle or a second atrium, and occasionally both[31]. Textbook examples include the famous Casa del Fauno (VI 12,2.5), constructed with two atria and a peristyle, and later extended with a second peristyle[32], and the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11,8–10) (Fig. 7). Several of these complexes, such as the Insula Arriana Polliana, included independent rental apartments[33]. Much more so than
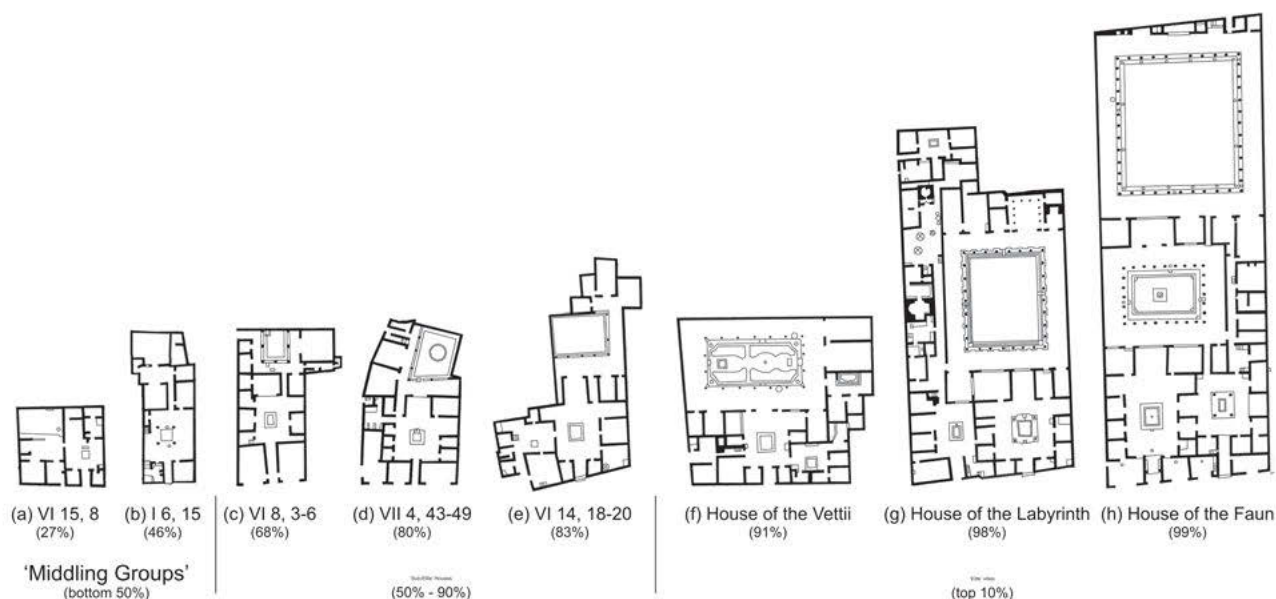
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28 Hopkins 1978, 1–96; Harris 2007.
29 Bang 2012, 203.
30 Hopkins 1978, 40; Scheidel 2012, 13.
31 Dickmann 1997; 1999.
32 Faber – Hofmann 2009.
33 E. g., Pirson 1999, 23–46.

(a) VI 15, 8 (27%)   (b) I 6, 15 (46%)   (c) VI 8, 3-6 (68%)   (d) VII 4, 43-49 (80%)   (e) VI 14, 18-20 (83%)   (f) House of the Vettii (91%)   (g) House of the Labyrinth (98%)   (h) House of the Faun (99%)

'Middling Groups' (bottom 50%)   (50% - 90%)   (top 10%)

Fig. 7: Pompeii. Plans of eight Pompeian houses in their A.D. 79 state. House I 6,15 is in size similar to House I 6,13 on Fig. 6

was true for the largest houses of Early Imperial Herculaneum, these complexes thus accommodated a lot of inequality: they combined wealthy house-owners who lived in the central house and much less wealthy figures who lived in the dependent apartments. Moreover, these large houses were also constructed to contain households with a substantial amount of *internal* inequality: even if we do not know who lived in the Casa del Fauno, it is safe to assume that the house probably contained a household with, alongside the core family, a substantial number of slaves[34]. Thus, the sudden emergence of these large-scale atrium-peristyle houses in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. transformed Pompeii, and made socioeconomic inequality a central element in neighbourhood formation in several places in the city.

At the same time, increasing socioeconomic heterogeneity impacted on neighbourhood formation in another way as well, as inequality did not spread evenly over the urban area: some locations were more desirable than others, and attracted higher levels of competition. The large Late Republican urban palaces were primarily concentrated north and east of the forum, along the city's major thoroughfares: very few can be found east of the Via Stabiana[35]. What happened in 2nd century B.C. Pompeii was not only that certain neighbourhoods became more unequal, but also that the differences between different parts of the city increased. In some places in the city, particularly along through roads and in Region VI, north of the forum, elite families bought up and destroyed several more modestly sized houses to construct their peristyled palaces (Fig. 8); in other places, this did not happen, – and it is in these places that Pompeii's 'traditional' middling groups came to cluster: in Region V, and in Region I, in the east part of the city, but also along dead-end roads in Region VI, and along the central and southern section of Via Stabiana (Fig. 9). These were areas where the emerging inequality of the Late Republican period did not – or at least not yet – become entrenched in the urban landscape. These areas remained more socially homogeneous: they were characterised by the absence of both elites and of the people living in *tabernae* and upper-floor apartments. Both social extremes were relatively rare in these areas. At the same time, many of these regions were situated in what can be seen as a 'marginal' location: they were further away from the city centre and, partially, from through roads.

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34 Cf. George 1997, 22.
**35** For a list of these houses see Flohr 2022, 172.

Ostia

While our knowledge of Late Republican Ostia is not comparable to that of Pompeii, it seems that the city did not become as sharply unequal as Pompeii did: enormous urban palaces like the Casa del Fauno and the Casa del Labirinto cannot be found in Late Republican Ostia, and are unlikely to have existed. The largest known house of this period at Ostia is the Domus dei Bucrani[36], which had a medium-sized peristyle and covered an area of less than 800 m² – slightly more than a fourth of the Casa del Fauno. Judging from the 2nd century A.D. plot boundaries, many of which go back to the Republican period, most other houses were substantially smaller[37]. Arguably, this points to a difference in economic development between Ostia and Pompeii. One explanation for that difference is that what was lacking at Ostia was a wealthy land-owning elite: while the territory of Pompeii was extremely fertile, and was involved in export-oriented wine-production on a large scale, Ostia was not surrounded by a

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36 Perrier et al. 2007.
37 On the continuity of plot boundaries see Flohr 2018b, 153.
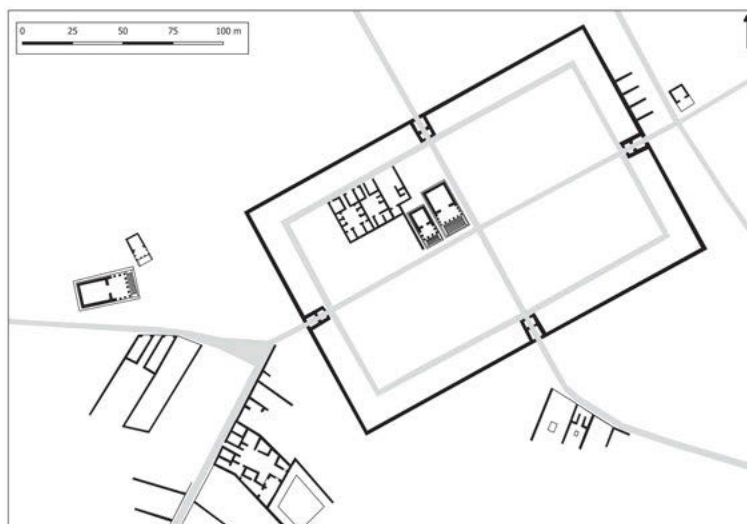
Fig. 10: Ostia. Map of the Late Republican city.

comparable quantity of agricultural land. Indeed, while some agriculture was taking place in the plain to the south of the city[38], there were large saltpans to the east, and urban growth in Late Republican Ostia was mostly based on trade. This trade was lucrative, but by no means as lucrative as Vesuvian agriculture. Thus, very wealthy families could not easily emerge at Ostia.

Nevertheless, while urban change in Late Republican Ostia was less extreme than it was at Pompeii, it is clear that the community became more heterogeneous. Several peristyle houses were constructed along the western *decumanus* – their remains were discovered underneath the Imperial-period structures[39]; other elite houses emerged along the *cardo*[40]. Contrary to Pompeii, where the peristyle houses were being constructed right in the heart of the city, Ostia's peristyle houses appear to have been built as an extension to the city, alongside the roads to and from the *castrum*, gradually expanding the city away from its original core (Fig. 10). As far as its Late Republican history is understood, the area of the *castrum* appears to have remained basically unchanged, and continued to consist of medium-sized houses, three of which have been found back along the Via delle Casette Repubblicane[41]. Thus, while differences remained more limited than at Pompeii, the overall result in terms of the diversification of the urban topography is comparable: we find the elite clustering in certain zones, creating a distinction between more heterogeneous parts of the city where the elite was a force to be reckoned with at the everyday level, and a more homogeneous quarter – the old *castrum* – where it was much less directly present in the private sphere.

Paestum

The urban development of Paestum in the Late Republican period differs both from Pompeii and Ostia. Over the course of the later 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C., a series of very large elite houses was constructed in the heart of the city, along the roads leading from the forum westward to the harbour

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38 Cf. Heinzelmann 1998.
39 Flohr 2018b. The so-called Domus dei Bucrani, underneath the Schola del Traiano (IV 5,15), is the most prominent example.
40 Flohr 2020b. The Domus di Giove Fulminatore, one of two remaining atrium houses, in its first phase had a vast area, perhaps a peristyle, behind the *tablinum*.
41 Calza et al. 1953, 103; Flohr 2018b, 145–147.
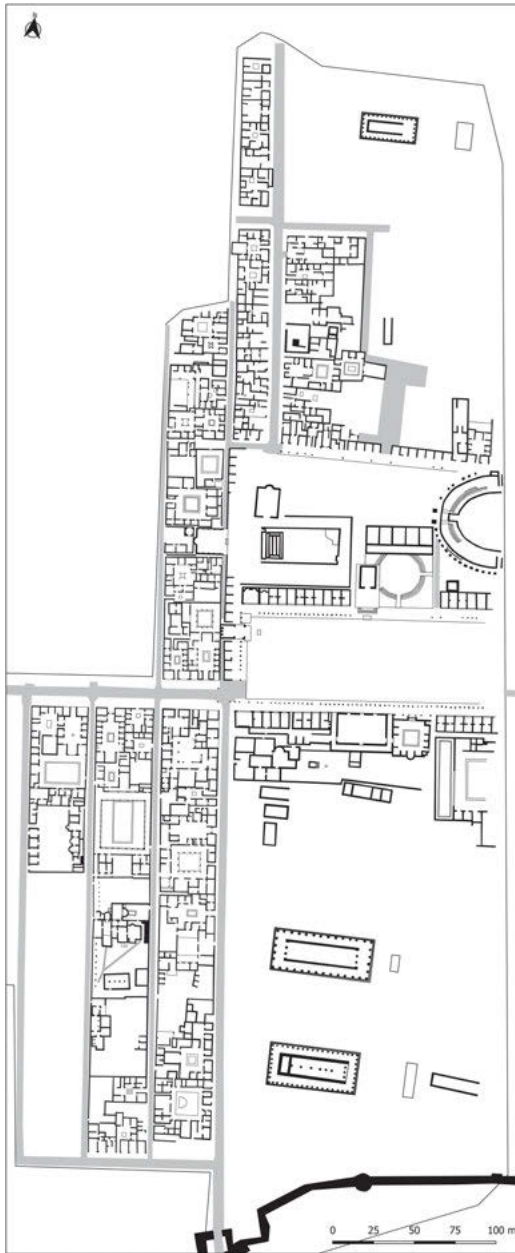
Fig. 11: Paestum. Map of the Roman city.

and southward to the southern city gate (Fig. 11)[42]. These houses had large atria and vast peristyles, and they were about as large as the largest houses of contemporary Pompeii (Fig. 12). Given their scale, these houses were, probably, designed and constructed with comparably large and differentiated households in mind. However, contrary to their Pompeian counterparts, these houses did not have large numbers of *tabernae*. Some had a few, but most did not, and homeowners clearly were less interested in exploiting their street fronts: houses either had a closed façade, or a closed façade interrupted by one or two shops. This relative absence of commerce had an enormous impact on social dynamics along these roads: while at Pompeii, neighbourhood formation along thoroughfares was shaped both by elites and by the people living in the dependent units belonging to elite houses, at Paestum, the latter group would be much less present in urban space, so that neighbourhood

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42 Flohr 2022, 163 f.

Fig. 12: Paestum. Large peristyle house west of the forum.

formation was dominated by elites. Perhaps, like at Pompeii, the construction of these large houses reflects the emergence of an agricultural elite of large-scale landowners – and this could explain the difference with Ostia; indeed, as is suggested by traces of land-division north and east of the city[43], Paestum was surrounded by a large and fertile plain that could easily support the emergence of such an elite; in the later 2nd century B.C. these people also would increasingly easily have found markets interested in their produce. However, unlike Pompeii, Paestum was less-well integrated into regional and supra-regional networks: it was in a much more isolated position: the closest cities – Eboli, Picentia, Salernum and Velia – were all more than 20 km away, as the crow flies[44]. The senatorial elite, which from the 2nd century B.C. onwards began to cluster around the Bay of Naples, did not come to Paestum or its environs in significant numbers. This meant that, overall, there was much less scope for the emergence of a flourishing regional consumer economy, and, thus, that there were fewer incentives to invest in dependent or commercial facilities.

Like at Pompeii and Ostia, thus, a landscape emerged in which the local urban elite of Paestum clustered in one part of the city, and were mostly absent from the others parts of the city. This can be seen very clearly north of the forum, where the city blocks mostly consisted of small- to medium-sized houses (Fig. 11). Many of these were comparable in size to the smallest mid-Republican houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum, having a surface between 150 and 300 m². Though it is hard to understand the topography of Paestum in its entirety, it seems that these smaller houses also were in a somewhat more marginal location than the elite houses west of the forum. In any case, they made up a neighbourhood where everyday social dynamics differed radically from those along the road between the forum and the sea.

Discussion

The previous sections have emphasised how the later 2nd century B.C. brought a significant transformation of urban environments in several cities of the Italian Peninsula. In Pompeii, Ostia and Paestum, we can see how increasing socioeconomic differentiation transformed urban housing stocks. Some quarters, in some cities, became extremely heterogeneous; in multiple cities inequality between quarters became permanently entrenched in the urban landscape, with the elites (and their dependents) clustering in one part of the city, and the people belonging to the middling groups in much

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43 Pelgrom 2008.
44 Pompeii had five cities within a radius of 20 km: Herculaneum, Nuceria, Nola, Stabia and Surrentum.

more marginal positions. These developments changed the dynamics of neighbourhood formation everywhere: on the one hand, they increased possibilities for the elaboration of social hierarchies; on the other, they facilitated the development of certain forms of socioeconomic awareness at the neighbourhood level. Thus, even if the analysis of this chapter started from what in Roman scholarship has often been considered an 'economic' category – inequality – what emerges is an analysis of changing everyday social dynamics in urban communities.

It may be good to briefly reflect on the way in which the practical consequences of this increased socioeconomic differentiation may have played out on the ground. In that respect, it is first important to understand that increasing inequality had different consequences for different groups in society: it did not only mean that quarters within these cities began to diverge more sharply in character, but also that the lived experience of the urban elite and of the people living in the dependent facilities in elite houses could begin to diverge from that of people living in the topographically more marginal medium-sized houses: with their dependents and equals clustered around their houses along the main roads, elites had few incentives to penetrate into the areas that were dominated by the houses of people belonging to the middling groups; the same is true, in a different way, for the people living in *tabernae* and upper-floor apartments along the through roads, unless they had friends or professional contacts in these zones. Conversely, people living in households belonging to the middling groups of society – not the rich, not the poor, but those living around the median – would cross the diversified through-roads of the city on an everyday basis. As a result, they would have had the much more diverse urban experience, which included both their marginal middling-group quarters and the central zones in the city, where the elites lived. This experiential divergence is most clearly visible at Pompeii, but it shaped neighbourhood dynamics at Ostia and Paestum as well.

Thus, the increasing socioeconomic heterogeneity in this period redefined, but also diversified urban lifeworlds. This is of key relevance in understanding processes of neighbourhood formation in the cities of Roman Italy: for people living within the *castrum* at Ostia, or in one of the small houses north of the forum at Paestum, both their direct living environment and the position of that environment in the city was different than it was for people living in or around the peristyle houses elsewhere in the city. These differences were, in all probability, not neutral: they resulted in an (informal) hierarchy of place that, in turn, informed neighbourhood and identity formation on the ground. Hence, this diversification, in many cities, had relative winners and relative losers. It may be argued that the elite, logically, came out on top, able as it was to construct houses that dominated their surroundings; underneath the elite, however, it can be suggested that, from the perspective of neighbourhood formation and socio-spatial integration in the community, the people living in *tabernae* and upper-floor apartments were relatively better off than middling groups living in medium-sized houses: the former were materially more deprived, but, physically, had a much more central position in the urban landscape; the latter were materially more prosperous, and may have enjoyed a higher social status, but often became spatially marginalised in the urban community, and with that spatial marginalisation came a clear risk of social marginalisation: were they to end up without patronage ties, there were no elite households around in their direct environment to whom they could easily turn.

Finally, the keypoint of this chapter has been to argue that inequality deserves a place in the study of ancient neighbourhoods. It may be true that the material remains of cities do not offer many clear indications of the ways in which individuals and neighbourhood communities responded to the emergence and socio-spatial distribution of inequality. Perhaps a closer look at differences in place-making between more and less differentiated neighbourhoods in cities that we know well could offer some clue, and it is certainly interesting that, at Pompeii, some of the façade paintings that seem to be most explicitly oriented at a neighbourhood community can be found along the eastern stretch of the Via dell'Abbondanza, in an area characterised by a relative absence of elite houses and strongly dominated by people who seem to belong to 'middling' groups. The precise interpretation of these paintings, which combine religious scenes with reference to everyday work, is a subject of debate and remains beyond the scope of this chapter, but their socially peculiar context emphasises the need to see neighbourhood formation and the social practices associated with neighbourhood at the local

level in the context of larger scale, 'global', historical forces, like Roman imperial hegemony, and their impact on the social makeup of urban environments.

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