Patrons and Clients in Roman Pompeii – Social Control in the Cityscape and City Blocks?

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ABSTRACT Roman society was strongly hierarchical in nature and the status of a person was visible in many ways from items of clothing to the address where one lived. The dominance of the upper classes over the rest of society can be traced in well-preserved Roman cities such as Pompeii. By examining where the large dwellings were located and what kind of activities can be found around them, we can analyse how the rich and the powerful controlled the city. At the level of an individual city block, a study of the arrangements that connected adjacent housing units in one way or another allows us to sketch possible property boundaries. This provides a means to deepen our understanding of social dominance, control, and dependence. It is shown that the social, economic, and political dominance of the Pompeian upper class had an impact on the everyday life of their dependents, and that the lower classes could watch over the elite, too, as various social groups lived side by side in Pompeii.

Introduction

Human beings are tied to each other by a multitude of social relations that organise and manifest themselves in various ways. Roman society was divided into numerous groups and classes including patricians and plebeians, landowning elite and urban poor, citizens and slaves. These groups of people mark the separation of those who have from those who have not and give support to claims that it is exploitation and opportunity hoarding that drive societies to install boundaries and construct hierarchical organisations (Tilly 2005:73–74, 88). Consequently, political and economic means most often determined a person's place and status in Roman society. Many of the relationships between individuals of different social groups were formalised in varying ways. A person's social status could be visible, for ex-

ample, in dress (e.g. Edmondson 2008) or in his/her actions such as the morning *salutatio* ritual where patrons were visited by their clients daily (e.g. Goldbeck 2010).

The possibility for social closure and exclusion is effective in solving organisational problems (Tilly 2005:72). The Roman social relations were maintained for the most part by resorting to self-help, for instance, in solving crimes and dealing with social unrest. As a result, Romans developed only few formal ways of social control, surveillance, and policing themselves. During the Republic, some local magistrates had duties that resemble those of the modern police forces (Nippel 1988). There was, however, a tendency to use military personnel as police during the first centuries

of the Empire (Fuhrmann 2012). The desire to control individuals and crowds increased with time, which is visible also in public architecture: the original forum or central square of all Roman towns was open on all sides, but later examples in the city of Rome, for instance, had restricted access by doorways (Fredrick 2003).

The ways in which social relations were manifested in Roman cityscapes have not been studied despite the widely spread "spatial turn" in the study of Roman archaeology and history starting from the 1990s (e.g. Newsome 2011). One of the reasons for this lack could be the difficulty of connecting the literary sources to the archaeological evidence. Most of the texts concern the city of Rome, whose archaeology is poorly known beyond the monumental buildings. Instead, Pompeii, a small town located in Campania south of Rome and destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, has most often been used to explore social relations. Its excellent preservation and the wide extent of the excavated area offer a unique opportunity to study daily life in the Roman Empire. However, Pompeii is not Rome and it is not certain that the social habits and rituals recorded for the capital were also known and actively used in a small provincial town. It has been suggested, for instance, that *salutatio* would have been geographically restricted mostly to the city of Rome (Goldbeck 2010:22–23). The inscriptions made on stone and electoral notices painted on the house facades give clues as to who belonged to the political elite of Pompeii, but otherwise there are only a few texts directly concerned with how different social groups related to each other.

Based on what is known of government in Roman towns, and on the basis of the principles behind social inequality outlined above, the most powerful form of control in Pompeii was probably that conducted by its citizens: informal self-help control based on the social, political, and economic status of individuals. The wax tablets found in the house of a rich banker, Caecilius Iucundus, offer clues to the social hierarchy as they record financial transactions signed and verified by other individuals in order of their social status (Andreau 1974; Jongman 1988:207–273). Changes in the social composition of the city's inhabitants have been suggested based on epigraphical evidence (Castrén 1975, but see also Mouritsen 1988 and 1997 for criticism and different interpretations). Archaeology has not been used much in these studies despite attempts to identify house owners (Della Corte 1965; for criticism see Mouritsen 1988:18–19, 61; Allison 2001). However, some hypotheses on social relations visible in the cityscape have been presented. It has been suggested that the Pompeian elite lived in secluded areas, away from the crowds and socially suspicious establishments such as bars, taverns, and brothels (Wallace-Hadrill 1995; Laurence 2007:81–101). These analyses are based on literary sources and explore the distribution of the deviant establishments, but the locations of the dwellings of the elite or where other inhabitants of Pompeii lived are not discussed. Literary sources can be also used to illustrate the elite's wish to place their dwellings in busy streets for visibility and accessibility (Robinson 1997:142; Kaiser 2011:117–118). Moreover, recent studies have shown that the distribution of retail of food, drink, and even sex can be explained with economic causes (Ellis 2004; 2006; McGinn 2002).

The basic question remains: can social relations between elite and non-elite and social control be observed in the archaeology of Pompeii? City planning and architecture guide human behaviour and give clues as to where certain activities take place (Lawrence & Low 1990) –many of the spatial elements of social actions can be traced in the cityscape of Pompeii. We aim to study how different social groups were visible in the cityscape of Pompeii and how the locations of social control occurred in Pompeii on two levels: firstly citywide and secondly inside one city block. The first part takes a look at the distributions of different kinds of dwellings and various social and commercial activities. The second part explores means of social and economic control at the micro level, between individual houses in city block IX.3 located in the geographical centre of Pompeii. This dual approach gives grounds for interpreting the role and forms of social control in the daily life of the Pompeians and showing that both large-scale and small-scale studies are vital in answering our question.

Figure 1. Locations of public buildings and the case study city block IX.3 in Pompeii. Plan by Eeva-Maria Viitanen (based on Dobbins & Foss 2007).

City Planning and Social Control

Pompeii's visible grid plan was formed mostly in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC, according to the most recent interpretations (e.g. Coarelli 2008; 2011). It represents a variation of the classical grid plan where the uneven topography has dictated the placing of the main streets and the shapes of the city blocks between them (Holappa & Viitanen 2011). Most of the administrative public buildings around the *forum* are located in the western part of town, whereas the theatres are located in the southern part and the amphitheatre is in the eastern part (**Fig. 1**). The excavations in the south-eastern part of Pompeii have also revealed that many city blocks were used as gardens and vineyards (e.g. Jashemski 1979). When the various workshops and shops are plotted on the plan of Pompeii, an industrial and commercial zone can be outlined in the centre of the town (e.g. Laurence 2007:Map 4.7): most of the workshops are located within two blocks on both sides of the main north–south street of the city. It has also been suggested that the north-western part of Pompeii would have been mostly residential in character (e.g. Schoonhoven

1999). However, it is not possible to demonstrate functional zoning inside the town apart from these general notions (cf. Raper 1977; Robinson 1992).

The city blocks were divided into plots that were eventually filled with houses, and in AD 79 the town was densely built and inhabited. The similar sizes of the city blocks and the building plots inside them (e.g. Schoonhoven 2006) suggest a rather egalitarian thinking behind the land survey plan (cf. Sewell 2010 on the establishment of Roman colonies in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC). There was little control over the land use of individual proprietors, which probably resulted in the observed mixed use of space (Laurence 2007:78–81) with only minor evidence for zoning (Raper 1977). The grid plan of Pompeii or its planning do not provide signs of taking control of the population or of social relations in general. On the other hand, it demonstrates a desire to control crowds. The clustering of public buildings and other places where crowds were likely to gather shows that the planners of the grid plan were aware of the need to create spaces

Table 1. Types of housing units in Pompeii (simplified from Schoonhoven 2006).

Groups	Unit Type	Number
Small	Workshop, shop and/or dwelling, no status architecture, row houses	768
Medium	One atrium or peristyle, with or without commercial area	134
Large	One atrium and a decorative garden/peristyle	112
Very Large	One or more atria and one or more peristyles	94

for certain activities even though zoning in the modern sense did not exist. The public spaces placed in the grid plan afforded opportunities for the various social groups to meet, but the plan did not segregate them.

Distribution of Dwellings

The basic elements in the grid plan are the city blocks, which were further divided into dwellings, workshops, and shops, and sometimes included even public buildings. Determining where members of different social groups lived indicates how integrated or separated these groups were. However, defining which of the houses were used primarily as dwellings is not an easy task even in Pompeii. Productive and commercial activities can be associated even with some of the largest and most lavishly decorated houses (cf. Dickmann 2010; Flohr 2011). Classifications have been made based on house size and structure of the ground plan (presence of atrium and/or peristyle), as well as quantity and quality of decorative elements (especially Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Robinson 1997; Schoonhoven 2006:App. I).

We decided to use Astrid Schoonhoven's catalogue, as it is the only one that covers almost all the buildings in Pompeii – she left out the houses at the western and southern edges, but they are included here (Schoonhoven 2006). Four distinct classes could be discerned, starting with simple one-room houses and ending with the lavish dwellings covering almost entire city blocks (**Table 1**). The lowermost classes usually consist of workshops and/or shops and could also include living space. The rest are more clearly dwellings where the owner was able to invest in decoration and amenities improving the comfort of living.

The distribution of the more certain dwellings covers most of the city area, but is concentrated especially in the north-western and southern parts (**Fig. 2**). There are relatively few dwellings in the eastern part of the city, as well as around the *forum* in the western part. The areas where crowds were likely to gather, such as those around the *forum*, the theatres, and the amphitheatre, were clearly avoided when it was decided where to place dwellings. The main entrances of particularly the large dwellings usually open to the main streets, particularly those starting from the gates. On the main streets, the prestigious houses are flanked by shops, workshops, and bars, and the kind of seclusion suggested by earlier research does not seem to occur (cf. Viitanen *et al.* 2013).

It has been suggested that the elite would have preferred to live near the *forum* in order to create a connection between themselves and the prestigious religious, political, and commercial centre of the town (Sewell 2010:137–165). However, in Pompeii, mostly only public and commercial buildings can be found in the city blocks adjacent to the *forum* and dwellings were placed slightly further away. Although this distribution represents the last phase of Pompeii in the late 1st century AD, the locations of the prestigious houses do not seem to have changed considerably compared to the 1st century BC (e.g. Dickmann 1999:Abb. 38).

Discerning dwellings from shops in the cityscape was made possible by using distinct architectural clues (cf. Hales 2003:101–106; Helg 2009). The facades of the city blocks form long, continuous wall surfaces, but the doorways to dwellings and workshops/shops were built in different ways. The entrances to shops were usually fairly low and wide, whereas the doorways to large dwellings were often narrower, but high and accentuated with such architectural elements as columns, steps up, or relief stucco decorations. The

sidewalks were managed by the owners of the houses, and their building technique and consequently appearance would change when one passed the area of one property and entered another (Saliou 1999). From the point of view of social control, the dispersed distribution of the large dwellings affords better possibilities for monitoring neighbourhoods than secluded elite residential areas. Visibility and openness of the house were expected of the elite (e.g. Hales 2003:36–39), and they could be controlled by the non-elite when the dwellings were located in the same streets. The distribution of dwellings, shops, and workshops displays spatial integration of the Pompeian population, not segregation of various social groups.

Street Activities and Social Control

Many archaeological remains of communal and commercial activities can be found distributed along the streets of Pompeii: crossroad shrines, water fountains, benches, shops, bars, taverns, brothels, and prostitute's cribs. Some are located in the street space and some open to the streets. In the absence of centrally control-

led zoning and land use, their placement probably depended on many factors, such as real and/or perceived demand for services, traditions, or the wishes of individuals, particularly land owners. We plotted the various elements onto a map of Pompeii to see how they related to each other (**Fig. 3; 4**).

Crossroads shrines (47 based on Van Andringa 2000) used in the cult of *Lares Compitales* and public water fountains (45 based on Jansen 2002) connected to Pompeii's water mains are two elements previously used to reconstruct neighbourhoods or *vici* (Laurence 2007:39–61). Roman towns were divided into *vici*, and each *vicus* had a cult, shrine, and magistrates of its own (Lott 2004). This division was probably manifested in the distribution of the shrines and fountains (**Fig. 3**; Lott 2004:70–71; Laurence 2007:39–61).

In Pompeii, both are located mostly along the main streets and they can usually be found near crossroads. It is not known how the places of the shrines were selected, but the evidence suggests that they were not in central locations in the neighbourhood, but more likely at their boundaries (Laurence 2007:42). Most of the shrines were built on the perimeter walls

Figure 2. Distribution of very large, large, and medium-sized dwellings in Pompeii. Plan by Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

of the city blocks, and they are usually located in connection with shop doorways (18 out of 47) or public buildings (10 out of 47). Ten shrines can be found in connection with private dwellings, usually large ones. The locations of the fountain basins were partly dictated by the main pipelines, but their final distribution was fairly even (cf. Eschebach 1979:Abb. 8) – gaps can be found only in the north-western and south-eastern parts of Pompeii. The distribution of the shrines and fountains closely resembles the distribution of dwellings seen earlier (**Fig. 2**), and it is clear that they were intended to serve the regular inhabitants of Pompeii.

During the Late Republican period the *vici* in Rome had been an essential part of the political unrest. The Augustan reorganisation tied the neighbourhood activities to the imperial administration and cult in an effort to control them more efficiently (Lott 2004:28–60, 81–127). The *vici* were probably involved in political activity in Pompeii, as suggested by their names used in electoral notices supporting candidates (Van Andringa 2000:73, 75). The persons responsible for the neighbourhood organisation – *magistri vici* – were usually non-elite, for example freedmen and their descendants (Lott 2004:84–98). In Pompeii, the fountains and shrines suggest a neighbourhood division (Laurence 2007:Map 3.4; cf. Robinson 1997:142), which always included also large dwellings, possibly indicating elite interest in the neighbourhood activities. However, the element of control over the movements and gatherings of the non-elite is not very obvious.

The third element in the streetscape is masonry benches (100 based on Hartnett 2008), which can be found built along the street facades particularly in the western part of town. They have traditionally been interpreted as waiting areas for clients visiting their patrons, but only half of them can be associated with entrances to large dwellings. The rest are beside shop doorways or connected with public buildings. They do not seem to have a very clear connection with the shrines or the fountains either. They are usually located on the side of the street that has the most shadow, making them suitable for resting pleasantly under the hot Campanian sun (Hartnett 2008:Table 8). The benches have been regarded as signs of elite dwellings,

but their distribution and associations with all kinds of house units suggests that they were used in various other ways as well. The decision to build them was made by the owner of the house, and they afforded chances for people to meet and gather in more comfort than merely standing in the street (cf. Hartnett 2008).

The rest of the activities – shops, bars (154 based on Ellis 2004; 2006), and prostitute's cribs (46 based on McGinn 2002; Guzzo & Scarano Ussani 2009) – are not located directly in the street (**Fig. 4**). However, they are closely connected with what happens in the street, as some of these establishments attracted drunkenness, rows, and gambling extending from the house into its surroundings. They are located in very similar locations as the more acceptable elements in the streetscape: in the main streets starting from the gates and close to the crossroads. Prostitute's cribs are often connected with bars in the crossroads, but most of them tend to be slightly removed from the main streets (Van Nes 2011:115). The locations of these activities are easily explained with economic reasons: the main streets and crossroads attracted most of the vehicular and pedestrian traffic and brought customers. However, it is striking that there are only a few bars or shops in the areas of public buildings in the south-western and south-eastern parts of the city (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1995:43–45). The distribution of the commercial establishments closely resembles the distribution of the dwellings – their services were directed to the inhabitants of the city and they were located where the people lived.

The largest and the most lavishly decorated dwellings – the houses where the Pompeian elite were likely to live – are almost invariably located in the streets where there was plenty of activity. The bars and other suspicious elements were located right next to the prestigious houses and it was not possible to reach the entrances to these large dwellings without passing bars. The integrated distribution of dwellings, locations of neighbourhood activities, and retail outlets allowed the elite to oversee what happened in the immediate vicinity of their house.
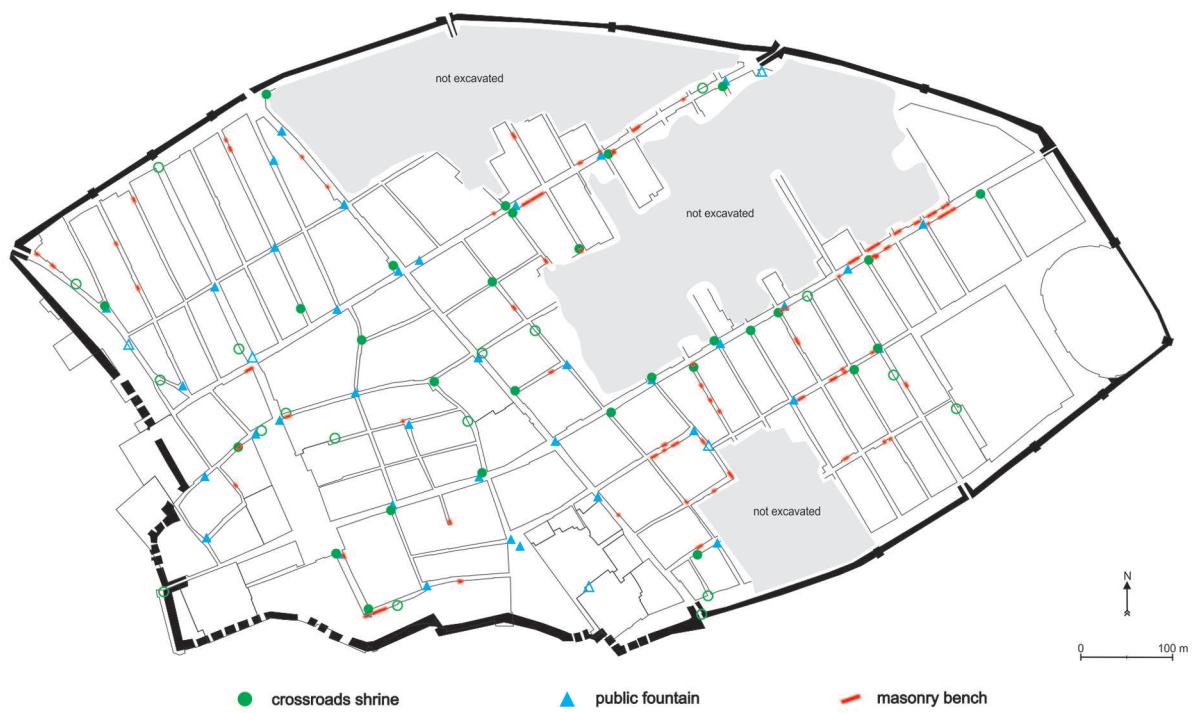
Figure 3. Distribution of crossroads shrines, public fountains, and benches in Pompeii. Uncertain cases are indicated with open signs. Plan by Eeva-Maria Viitanen.
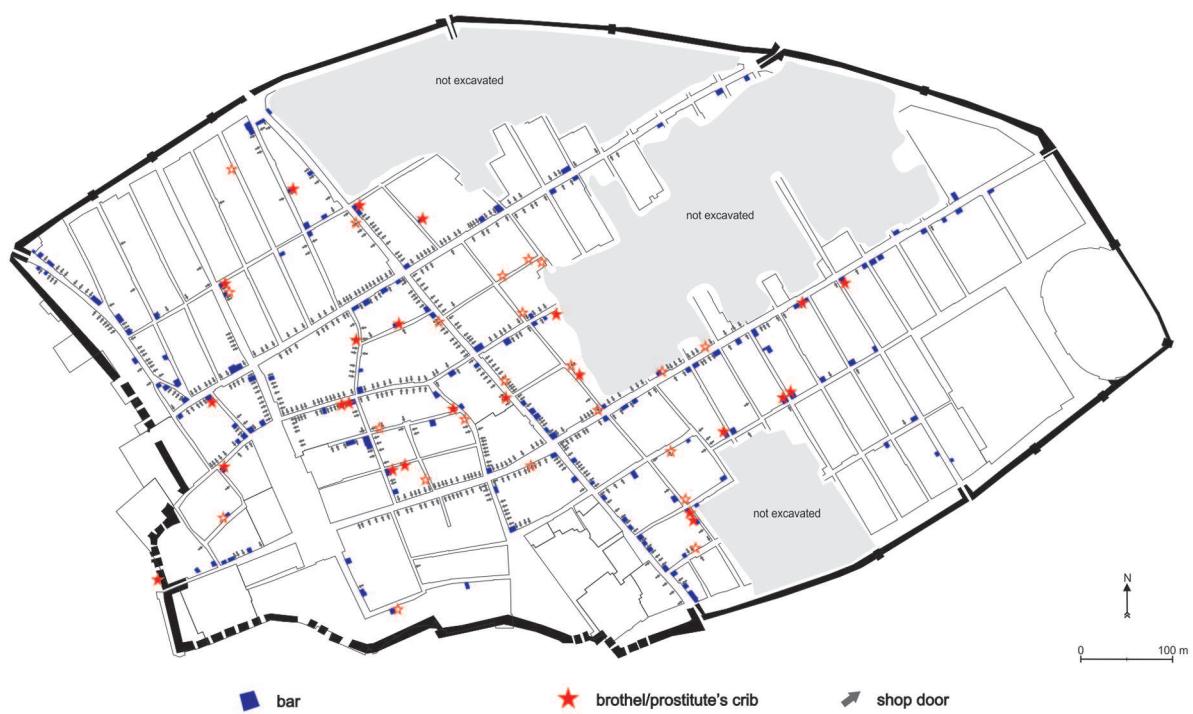
Figure 4. Distribution of bars, workplaces of prostitutes, and shop doors in Pompeii. Uncertain cases are indicated with open signs. Plan by Eeva-Maria Viitanen.
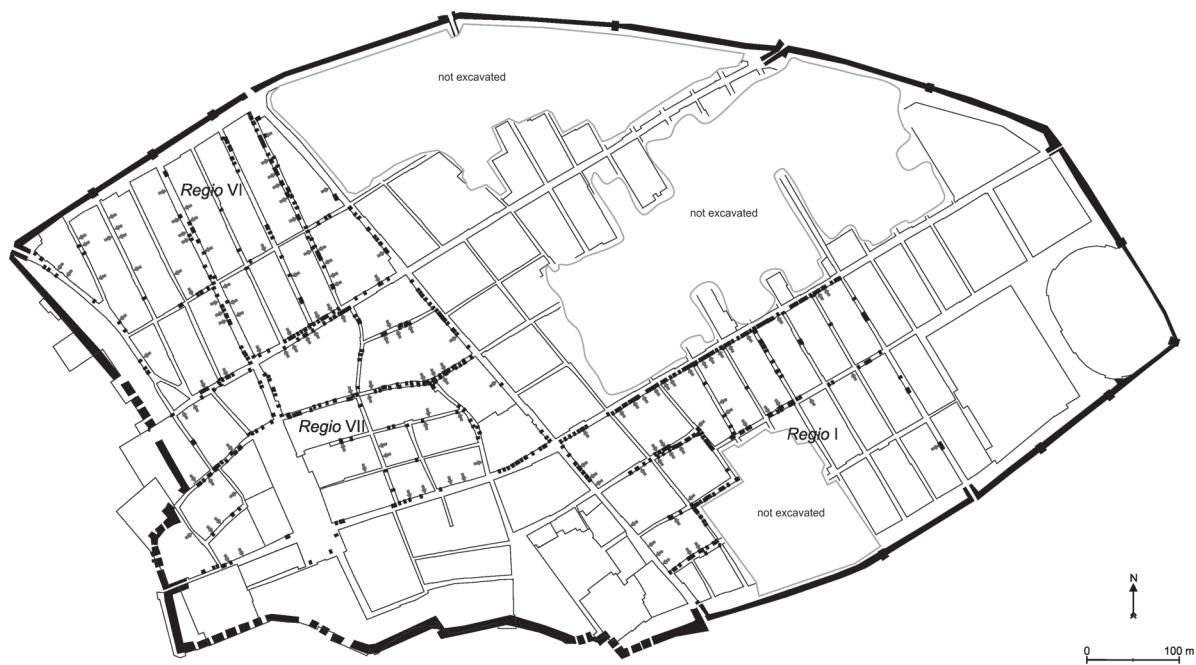
Figure 5. Distribution of electoral notices and graffiti in three areas of Pompeii. Arrows mark the main entrances to very large and large houses. Plan by Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

Wall Inscriptions as Signs of Social Control

The last category of evidence in the city-wide analysis consists of the thousands of painted electoral announcements and inscribed graffiti which have been recorded on the facades of Pompeian city blocks. Their distributions have previously been studied by counting messages per facade or street metre, and the results have been used to assess the representativeness of the material or mobility in the streets (Mouritsen 1988:Fig. 3, Maps 6.5–6.8; Laurence 2007:109–113). We analysed the exact locations of the texts in three areas of Pompeii to see what the contexts can tell us about why and for whom the texts were written (**Fig. 5**). Two of these, the north-western and southern parts of town, are mostly residential in character, and the third area around the *forum* features more public buildings. The general distribution of the texts follows the locations of the active streets (e.g. Mouritsen 1988:Fig. 3), confirming the impression gained from other evidence: no audience, no advertisements.

The texts tend to cluster in certain parts of the facades, usually near doorways, and the analysis of house types connected with texts shows that roughly half of them (755 of some 1400) were found on the facades of the large dwellings. The modest shop-houses outnumber the large dwellings almost 3 to 1 (461 and 146 respectively) and feature most of the bars and shops that attracted crowds. Despite this, more texts occur on the dwelling facades. The owners apparently had an active role in promoting electoral candidates (*contra* Mouritsen 1988:58). The graffiti scribbled on the walls could very well be imagined to have been written by visitors waiting to enter the house, perhaps in connection with similar formalised social rituals as the *salutatio* described for the city of Rome. Even if the morning *salutatio* mentioned in written sources would have been restricted to the city of Rome and its elite, this evidence suggests that similar practices probably existed in the small provincial towns. The tradition of

patronage was rooted deeply in Roman society (e.g. Saller 1982).

The owners of the large dwellings were probably able to control, at least partly, the movements of the persons who had relationships with them – the patron–client relationships are always between unequals (White 2008:251–256). The *salutatio* in Rome took place in the morning (Goldbeck 2010:106–146), and social rituals in Pompeii could have happened on a similar timetable. A powerful individual could also take up the time of his client for most of the day, as clients were expected to follow their patrons during the performance of their daily activities, for instance, at the *forum* or even during the visit to the bath, if so required (Laurence 2007:154–166). The distribution of the wall inscriptions particularly on the facades of the large dwellings affords a map of the active, powerful, and socially connected owners. The streets in front of these houses and their entrances were places where the clients gathered, and the crowds and the texts displayed the social connections and the influence of the owner.

Property Borders and Ownership

We now turn to the locations and means of social control inside city blocks and start by looking at ownership in general. What if the above-discussed pattern of large elite residences surrounded by shops results from not only economic reasons but also the common ownership of these units? Hence the elite would have benefitted from the visibility of their property and its integration with the city's active areas not only in social terms but also in an economic sense: the more buying customers and respect-paying associates they could attract, the greater was the potential for also their own profit. While this possibility seems lucrative, we need further evidence to validate it.

A means for examining the common ownership of adjacent units is to look for architectonic clues. Connective internal doorways are the most obvious clue, but there are other structures that cross the perimeter walls – clear property boundaries – and imply common ownership. For example, it has been argued that common ownership may be detectable

through mapping parallel alignments of properties, similar building techniques and materials, continuous pavements and curb-stones, and shared structures or facade treatments (Pirson 1997:173–174; Saliou 1999:177; Leander Touati 2008:117). However, shared utilities do not attest to common ownership by default. Roman law involved a device, servitude, which enabled adjacent properties to share the use of some of their structures (*dig.* 8.2–3; Crook 1967:149–150; Möller 2010:17–21). We might therefore be dealing with not only ownership but legally binding co-operation among neighbouring units belonging to different owners. Through examining the whole body of archaeological data, we can generate an aggregate understanding of the relationship between adjacent units and give a well-grounded view on their connections as stemming from mutual agreement or ownership (Ynnilä 2013). If several structures are shared by two neighbours, we are more likely to deal with common ownership than with complex servitudinal arrangements, as these were potential causes of legal conflict and neigbourhood quarrel.

Figure 6. City block IX.3 consists of 19 units. Individual unit numbers are based on the numbers given to their front doorways. The borders of units are highlighted in grey. Plan: *EPUH*/Maija Holappa & Heini Ynnilä.

The Ownership of City Block IX.3

Because the examination of shared structures among adjacent units requires meticulous studies of the available data, it is best to approach the question of common ownership through a case study. City block IX.3 is located at the geographic heart of the city (**Fig. 1**), and since 2002 it has been studied by a team named *Expeditio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis* (Castrén *et al.* 2005; 2008; Castrén 2008).

In AD 79, the city block examined here contained nineteen units ranging from one-room shops to large elite dwellings (**Fig. 6**). Although the units contain no connective doorways, there is evidence that some of them shared structures that crossed their boundaries, thus indicating co-operation among adjacent units. These include at least windows, water pipes, drainage channels, and cess pools (**Fig. 7**). Moreover, according to the principles of Roman jurisdiction, *superficies solo cedit*, meaning that what stands on the land goes with it, and hence the proprietor of the ground floor also owned the upper floors (Pomponius *dig.* 41.1.28; Crook 1967:143; Borkowski 1994:149). It follows that if a house extended over its neighbour, they must have been owned by the same proprietor.

What **Figure 7** clearly shows is that some units shared structures frequently, while others had only one shared structure or none at all. For example, Units 3 and 5 shared light and a cess pool. Moreover, their upper floors extended above the ground floor of Unit 4, and Unit 5's upper floor extended above the ground floor of Unit 6. This strongly suggests their common
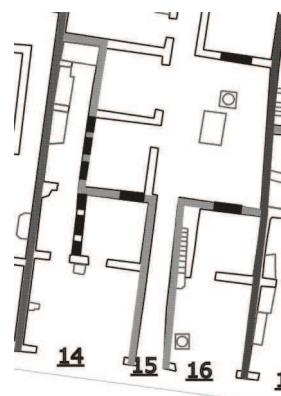

Figure 7. Shared structures between units in city block IX.3. Windows piercing walls between units are in white, a shared cess pool between Units IX.3 and 5 is striped, a shared water pipe between Units IX.3.18 and 19–20 is shown as a black line and a drain shared by them is marked with broken black lines. The extension of upper floors in each unit is indicated in light grey and the borders of units on upper floor levels are indicated in mid-grey (compare **Fig. 6** showing the borders of units on the ground floor level). Unit clusters indicating common ownership are bordered in dark grey. The common ownership of Units IX.3.14 and 15 is not clear, which is indicated with a broken line. *EPUH*/Maija Holappa & Heini Ynnilä.

Figure 8. There are a number of blocked openings (in black) in the partition walls between Units 14, 15, and 16, many of which seem to have formed doorways. Plan: *EPUH*/Heini Ynnilä.

ownership. In a similar manner, Units 17, 18, and 19–20 had several shared utilities in AD 79. Firstly, the upper floor of Unit 19–20 extended over Unit 17. Secondly, light was shared between these two. Thirdly, all three units probably shared water supply and drainage. Again, these arrangements are best explained as a result of common ownership.

The common ownership of adjacent units needed not be a permanent arrangement. On the contrary, the ownership of units could have changed hands from time to time, with parts of property sold off and new acquisitions being made. Such processes seem to have taken place in city block IX.3. For instance, Units 14, 15, and 16 had once probably belonged together. This is indicated by their location "inside each other" and a number of closed doorways in their partition walls (**Fig. 8**). In AD 79, the continued common ownership of Units 16 and 15 can be suggested on the basis of stairs extending to the space above Unit 15 from Unit

16. Likewise, although Units 7, 8, and 9 were "carved out" of Unit 10–12, there is not enough evidence to confirm that they were all under common ownership in AD 79. Only Unit 9 probably belonged to Unit 10–12, which extended above it. Instead, only light was definitely shared between Units 7 and 10–12, but this may have been due to a light servitude between the two. Indeed, windows between two units that had no other structures to indicate further connections are common in the city block. They are found between Units 1–2 and 25, Units 5 and 10–12, Units 5 and 13, and Units 13 and 15 (**Fig. 7**), and best explained as the result of a servitudinal relationship.

On the basis of observing shared structures between units, city block IX.3 can be divided into 11–12 properties consisting of one to five units (**Fig. 7**). This division means that even the largest dwelling of city block IX.3, Unit 5, had direct control over only a limited part of it. There were small and medium-sized independent properties in addition to four larger entities – representing all four types of units in the classification presented above. City block IX.3 is not unique in its composition, as this pattern is repeated throughout Pompeii (Craver 2010). The integration of social groups inside city blocks repeats the tendency already observed in the city-wide analysis.

The changes in the perimeter walls of the units in city block IX.3 show the evolution of properties in time, but, interestingly, this did not involve changes in the extent of properties by default. Instead, modifications in the way the shops and workshops in the frontage were connected with the rest of the house took place, for instance. In the case of the largest dwellings, Units 5 and 15, the shops were originally connected with the main house and only later on made physically separate entities. Through this, the separation of the elite house and the commercial activity was made clearer, although the ownership of the property continued unchanged.

Although changes in partition walls were not reflected in facades, house frontages revealed much about the units behind them. Thanks to the inherently different appearance of doorways – entrance doorways to private dwellings are narrow and doorways to commercial units are wide – the different functions of units

behind different doorways were always clear to passers-by. The connection between units owned by the same proprietor was made visual through a variety of means. Although, apart from the electoral notices documented by early excavators, we know very little of the facade treatments of city block IX.3, a few visual clues remain. The junction of the facades of Units 24 and 25 is accentuated by moulded stucco, for instance, and the pavement in front of Unit 15 is in crushed white marble mixed with mortar instead of the widely used *cocciopesto*. The electoral notices are located on the facades of the commercial properties in the corners of Units 1–2, 10–12, and 19–20. Unit 5 was the only dwelling with notices painted in connection with its entrance. All of the large properties attracted more than one notice, apart from the one consisting of Units 14, 15, and 16 despite its location on a busy street and connection to a large residence. The preference of commercial properties in city block IX.3 differs from the results of the analysis of the distribution of electoral notices in the sample regions. Corners were open to two directions, which can partly explain why the corner properties were preferred. The size of the property could also be a factor in choosing a location for painting notices. But the presence of notices reflects the political – and social – connectedness of the owners.

Windows between Units as Media of Social Control

Most of the shared utilities were hidden in the supporting structures of houses, such as downpipes inside walls or cess pools under floors, but a window between two units affords a direct connection between them. A window can even allow direct observation of what happens in the adjacent units. What is interesting in the windows between units in city block IX.3 is that in most cases they were located above eye level. There are no more than three windows at eye level or below a height of 2 m on both sides of the partition wall. These are found between Units 3 and 5 and between Units 17 and 19–20, which, as already suggested, were probably owned in common. The rest of the shared windows probably resulted from light servitude, which, prior to the advent of artificial lighting, may have been crucial for the lighting of rooms that had no windows

directed onto open spaces. Although privacy was not under the protection of any particular law in the classical era (Saliou 1994:225), there were no particular rights that made it possible to see into a neighbouring house either (Rodger 1972:127). This strengthens our interpretation of the common ownership of units that shared windows through which one could look over into an adjacent unit.

While the windows between Units 17 and 19–20 are narrow and partly blocked, limiting the views, the window between Units 3 and 5 is no less than 1.6 m wide and at least 0.8 m high. This would have allowed neighbours not only to see in from one unit to another but to interact and keep an eye on activities taking place on the other side. Consequently, while windows between neighbouring units were supposedly made to improve lighting conditions, some of them in fact allowed control over others and take us from practical functions to social ones.

Located between the kitchen of an elite house (Unit 5) and the back room of a shop (Unit 3), directly above a cooking podium, the window might well have functioned as a serving hatch between the units. We may go as far as to propose that the shop operated as a vending place for the products of the kitchen of the elite house next door. In this case, Unit 5 would have maximised the production capacity of its kitchen (staff) and the income generated by its holdings. In any case, the window constituted a potential problem for the adjacent shop, as the fumes emitted from the kitchen were dispersed to the shop through the window. The comfort of those, either slaves or tenants, working in the shop was of no concern, however, to the elite owners eager for increased profit. Notwithstanding the precise function of the shop, Unit 3 is an example of a workshop–shop that operated under the direct control of the adjacent elite house. While windows between workshops and the private houses behind them are also known elsewhere in Pompeii (e.g. Ling 1997:249–251; Dickmann & Pirson 2002:258–261), our case presents the first example of units that can be functionally linked together on the basis of window locations.

Units 5 and 3 serve as good examples of the social and economic control of the elite over its neigh-

bours. As discussed in the first part of this paper, bars are commonly found next to the entrances to prestigious houses. What our example suggests is that they were owned in common too. The combination of large elite houses surrounded by smaller shops owned in common served the purpose of bringing visibility and economic success to the upper class, as well as allowing them control over the town's economic activities, street life, and social relations (Wallace-Hadrill 1994:135–141; Moormann 2002:435; Robinson 2005). However, the elite was not free from social control. City block IX.3 contained three other large properties that consisted of several units and must have rivalled with each other. The visibility of the elite and their property portfolios were easy targets for public criticism.

Conclusion

This paper has examined how the social, economic, and political relations between different social groups in Pompeii were displayed in the cityscape. Instead of clear dominance and seclusion of the elite, integration of various groups and their activities can be seen. Many activities took place in the streets, particularly on street corners, and the loci for actions were organised locally, probably in co-operation between the various social groups inhabiting the adjacent city blocks. The elite houses were invariably located in the busiest streets, and they probably influenced the commercial activities taking place in the shops flanking these thoroughfares. Social rituals comparable to the *salutatio* known from literary sources, as well as bar life, took place in properties belonging to the elite and strengthened their social power. The election notices supporting different candidates displayed on the facades of elite houses were intended to have an impact on the political life of the city, but they also indicate places where people stopped to read the messages on the walls and to scribble their own texts. Political life was mostly controlled by the elite, which is clear from the distribution of the notices concentrating on the largest dwellings.

On the basis of mapping shared structures among neighbouring houses, we can begin to understand how city blocks were divided into separate properties, the number of which is smaller than the number

of architectonically discrete units. These properties constituted the landscape of social, economic, and political power, but the elite houses have less direct control over the area of the city block than could be expected. Small, medium-sized, and large commercial properties cover most of the ground area in city blocks and display the integration of social groups on the micro level.

The landscape of ownership and social relations was not immune to changes. In addition to properties that shared a number of structures in AD 79, there may have been further units previously owned in common, some units of which were later sold off and became independent units. Additional units were physically separated from the houses they had belonged to, but remained in the hands of the same proprietor. These units owned in common could, at least in principle, have operated rather independently. In contrast, as the example of Units 3 and 5 has shown, other units operated under the direct control of their neighbours on a daily basis. However, regardless of the level of everyday interaction between units owned in common, their connections were made visual in one way or another. These visual clues marked the realm of direct social control and divided the neighbourhood into different power networks.

Social, economic, and political power was concentrated in the hands of the elite in Roman society. In Pompeii, elite housing was dispersed in the city and inside the city blocks, enabling the elite to control the streetscape as well as their adjacent properties. At the same time, the non-elite could observe the activities in the elite dwellings and the balance of social control could be maintained. Thus the dominance of the elite based on the resources concentrated to them formed the foundations of social networks in Pompeii. The hierarchical nature of the society generated peer pressure and inherent control of conduct in respect of the expected behaviour fit for one's standing. Architecture and wall inscriptions guided the inhabitants of Pompeii in finding the loci where to negotiate their different networks.

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