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POMPEIAN ELECTORAL NOTICES ON HOUSES AND IN NEIGHBORHOODS? RE-APPRAISAL OF THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CANDIDATES AND SUPPORTERS

EEVA-MARIA VIITANEN

Introduction

Local magistrates were elected every year in Roman Pompeii and the campaigns of the candidates involved painted electoral notices covering the façades of the city. This material is unique in the ancient world as they have not been found even in Herculaneum.¹ The texts are simple and contain persons in three roles as can be seen from this example found in the southern part of Pompeii: *Q(uintum) Postum(ium) M(arcum) Cerrinium | aed(iles) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) | Euxinus rog(at) | nec sine Iusto scr(ibat) Hinnulus*.² The candidate is obviously the most important person and his name and the office he was running for form the main part of a notice text: Quintus Postumius Proculus and Marcus Cerrinius Vatia ran together for the office of *aedilis*. Almost 2500 notices have been found and a quarter of them (637) also include another name or names, those of supporters – Euxinus and Iustus in the example. The supporters could be individuals and groups as diverse as worshippers of the goddess Isis (*Isiaci*) or petty thieves (*furunculi*).³ The third role is that of the painters who appear in some thirty notices. Their activity is usually indicated by the abbreviation *scr* for *scribit* or

¹ Some electoral notices have been found on tombs and villas outside Pompeii's city walls. One possible electoral notice is known from Herculaneum (Pagano 1987).

² *CIL* IV 9851 on the façade of bar I 11,11. See Chiavria 2002, 47–85 for various elements in the electoral notices.

³ *Isiaci* in *CIL* IV 787 and 1011, *furunculi* in *CIL* IV 576.

scripsit. The example is the only notice signed by Hinnulus but he appears also as a supporter in others.⁴

The electoral notices have attracted much scholarly attention and they have been used to study Pompeian prosopography and to analyze how local elections worked in Pompeii and in early Imperial Italy in general.⁵ The significance of the supporters in the process has been discussed by Henrik Mouritsen and Raffaella Biundo.⁶ The main question concerned the organization and execution of the electoral campaign and the role supporters played in it. The names and the social statuses of the supporters were the main arguments in addition to what is generally known of Roman elections. Mouritsen proposed a centralized campaign organized by the candidates. The individual supporters could participate in the process but were not essential for the execution. He also doubted the significance of the notices for the campaign regarding them as a habitual part of the process without much effect on the outcome. Biundo argued for a grass roots model where the activity of the supporters was needed for the execution of the campaign – although even in her scenario, the candidate was responsible for the main part of the campaign. She also pointed out that the names of the supporters indicate low social status and that even women who could not vote appear as supporters. The elite dominated the electoral process and thus the activity of the supporters with lower status indicates their personal desire to participate in the elections.

The spatial relationships of the notices and supporters were also part of the discussion. Mouritsen compared the general distribution of the notices to those including names of supporters. Both are strikingly similar (Fig. 1) and focus on gaining maximum visibility by placing the notices on the main streets of Pompeii. According to Mouritsen, the grass roots model would have produced a more dispersed pattern for supported notices beyond the main streets as the supporters of lower social status must mostly have lived off main streets. Biundo analyzed the distributions of a sample of campaigns, and she claimed that the notices without supporters were located on the main streets and the supported

⁴ For *scriptores*, see Viitanen 2020.

⁵ For example, Willems 1887; Castrén 1975; Franklin 1980 and 2001; Mouritsen 1988; Chiavia 2002. For Roman elections in general, see Staveley 1972.

⁶ Mouritsen 1988, 60–68 and 1999, Biundo 1996 and 2003. See also Chiavia 2002, 189–258 for further discussion.



Fig. 1: Locations of electoral notices in Pompeii. Supported texts marked with light grey. Uncertain locations with circles. (Map by author.)

ones were mostly on the side streets on the supporter's houses and/or near the candidate's house. Each was responsible of their own part of the campaign.⁷ Both scholars assumed that supporters could only place notices on their own houses. They regarded the connection between the house and the name on the façade as mostly unproblematic. In addition, neither noted the cases where one person set up more than one notice.

The aim of this paper is to study the spatial relationships of candidates and supporters appearing in the electoral notices. The traditional interpretation is that the candidates focused their campaigns on their neighborhoods⁸ and that supporters had access only to their own house façades. This perception concurs with what is generally thought of texts found from houses: inhabitants produced them (for example, graffiti) or are referred to (for example, seal stamps).⁹ The assumption of the close connection between texts and house inhabitants has been doubted, but no thorough studies on the relationships of people, texts, and buildings in Pompeii have been conducted.¹⁰

For the purposes of this study, all textual evidence related to houses and persons involved in the elections were examined in three ways. The names of candidates and supporters also appear in other texts and to reconstruct the spatial relationships of an individual it is necessary to take into consideration all texts, not only mentions in the electoral notices. Identification of individuals is based on names and to be able to connect names on different materials plausibly to candidates and supporters, an evaluation of the frequency and use of their names in Pompeii was needed. The third approach involved analyzing the collections of texts found from houses and comparing the data across Pompeii as candidates and supporters occur in multiple houses. In the following, the first part provides a short introduction to electoral notices followed by an exploration of their distribution focusing on candidates and their spatial relationships. The

⁷ See note 6 for references.

⁸ Mouritsen 1988, 56.

⁹ Visitors are also often regarded as writers of graffiti (for example, Lohmann 2017, Chapter 8). Maker's marks on pottery, tiles, and many other materials are the exception as they were probably produced elsewhere by persons not related to the houses where the artifacts were found.

¹⁰ The main principles are presented in Della Corte 1965, 9–25. See Mouritsen 1988, 13–23 and Allison 2001 for criticisms. Mouritsen's views on Della Corte's identifications of house inhabitants did not change his own opinion on this basic assumption when interpreting the role of the supporters.

second part involves an evaluation of the evidence for the connections between supporters and houses based on notices and other materials from the houses. The last part discusses cases where the candidates and supporters feature in multiple notices and in other evidence.

It is argued that candidates and supporters in Pompeian elections were not restricted to their own properties or even neighborhoods but could access other façades and areas in the city. They sought to place their notices to the most popular streets for electoral advertising to gain maximum visibility. These observations afford more positive agency to the supporters than has been thought previously. In addition, the exploration raises serious doubts on the traditional assumption that texts from houses were almost exclusively related to their inhabitants.

Electoral Notices in Pompeii

Some 2480 electoral notices have been found and published since the beginning of the excavations in Pompeii.¹¹ They were made in connection with the annual elections for selecting the town magistrates, two *aediles* and two *duumviri*. The notices were painted with red or black paint on the upper parts of the ground floor façades, usually on the plaster covering the wall, but also on some wall surfaces on a thin layer of whitewash. The name of the candidate was usually written in large rustic capitals clearly indicating the most important content. The rest of the text is written with smaller lettering and the supporter appears most commonly at the end of the text, sometimes even below the rest. The same applies to the names of the painters.¹² Most of the electoral notices can be dated to the last decades of Pompeii based on their contents and archaeological evidence.¹³

Pompeian evidence is often plentiful, but it can also be problematic – documentation during the long excavation history has not always been exemplary. Texts have attracted more attention than many other kinds of materials and the

¹¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV and its supplements contain all but the notices found in the most recent excavations.

¹² Fioretti 2012 and 2014; Viitanen 2020.

¹³ Chiavia 2002, 114–140. The earlier electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. do not contain supporter names and are not included in this study.

large and relatively easily comprehensible electoral notices have one of the best documentation histories among all texts in Pompeii. However, areas excavated before the 1840s feature most of the uncertain find locations and most of the unclear or suspicious readings.¹⁴ Publications are usually the only available source, as in most cases it is not possible to study the original text because the plaster layers with painted texts on façades have usually been left unprotected after excavation and this has led to their destruction. The focus of the published descriptions is on the contents of the texts with few images available for comparison.¹⁵ The locations are described verbally, and, in most cases, this data is reliable when it can be checked against photographs. Most notices can be read with relative certainty based on their formulaic character. They can also be placed accurately on house façades and the uncertain locations plotted on the map complement the distribution pattern without major disruptions. (Fig. 1.)

The candidates have the central role in the notices and some 155 candidates can be identified. The Roman three-part name formula can be reconstructed for many of them.¹⁶ The number of notices for one candidate varies from one to more than a hundred – 20 candidates have 50 or more notices. Most notices, about 2/3 of all, are from the *aedilis* campaigns. In some cases, the candidate ran for both offices at different times, and it is possible to compare the distributions for the campaigns at the start of their political careers (*aedilis*) and in its continuation (*duumvir*). The number of supporters varies in each campaign, but in average about a third of the notices among the most frequently advertised candidates contain names of supporters. Most candidates have at least one or two named supporters even if the total number of notices is low. Candidates also requested individuals and groups to vote them (82 texts). These persons are not only important members of the community, as one might expect, but represent low and high social statuses alike. Many of the candidates acted also as supporters.¹⁷

¹⁴ The northern *decumanus* (modern Via di Nola) is the most problematic street as very few of the notices found along it can be placed accurately. See also Viitanen – Nissinen – Korhonen 2013.

¹⁵ Old photographs published in Varone – Stefani 2009 and elsewhere are invaluable particularly for the southeastern part of Pompeii.

¹⁶ Catalogues in Mouritsen 1988 and Chiavia 2002. The total used here contains *cognomina* that appear with more than one family name and consequently cannot be assigned to a specific person.

¹⁷ See Chiavia 2002, 73–76 for an overview and 364–368 for a catalogue.

The supporters have the second important role in the notices. Usually, one individual supporter is named, but all kinds of combinations of persons and groups occur. Most of the persons are known only by their *cognomen* which makes identifying individuals complicated – one *cognomen* can appear with many family names.¹⁸ The process of identifying 280 individual supporters involved comparing their names to all of Pompeian texts to estimate how common or rare the name is and whether it was occurred with multiple family names.¹⁹ Some *cognomina* appear repeatedly as supporters but are so common in Pompeii that individuals cannot be identified. If such a name was found more than once on one house, it was included in the analyses.²⁰ Among the 75 groups supporting candidates, *vicini* or neighbors are mentioned most frequently (32 texts), but many occupations related to production or commerce appear, such as fullers or bakers. Some of the painters of the notices were also supporters.²¹

Candidate's Choices: Finding Locations for Notices

After the brief introduction to the persons in the electoral notices, the mechanisms of how candidates got their notices on the façades of Pompeii are explored. By the late 1970s about 2/3 of Pompeii had been excavated and most of the texts had been published. A general pattern for Pompeian electoral notices could be established and Henrik Mouritsen was the first to do it in 1988.²² The distributions of notices for individual candidates had been studied already before this and the main aim had been to try to understand the motivation for selecting places for the notices.²³ The distributions were also used to locate possible areas

¹⁸ Catalogue in Chiavria 2002, 327–363.

¹⁹ Catalogues in Chiavria 2002 and Castrén 1975 were used in the process.

²⁰ Total 13 names in 44 texts were excluded: Clodius, Fabius, Amandus, Crescens, Felix, Fuscus, Hermes, Primus, Proculus, Sabinus, Secundus, Verus, and Lucius. There are also some 90 cases where the name is fragmentary or illegible. Coronatus, Genialis, Iunianus, and Nicanor were included based on spatial proximity even if one of the texts is fragmentary.

²¹ See Viitanen 2020.

²² Mouritsen 1988, 47–60.

²³ For example, Franklin 1980 without distribution maps. He did draw maps which are among his study materials deposited in the library of the American Academy in Rome.

where the candidates might have lived.²⁴ Creation of the general distribution map afforded significant insights into the basic principles of the campaigns. Most aimed at maximum visibility on the main streets starting from the gates with a heavy emphasis on the *decumanus* (modern Via dell'Abbondanza) starting from the *forum*. The candidates understood the importance of visibility for their campaigns, but the adherence to the main streets made it harder to understand their other motivations. It had been assumed that the campaigns were centered on the candidate's house and their own neighborhood, but the general distribution made this seem unlikely. The main streets were unlikely to be the neighborhood for every candidate and yet most campaigns focused on those streets. The same applied to the supporters. Despite these observations, the significance of the candidates' own houses and their neighborhoods in the campaign was not questioned.

Mouritsen considered façades of houses as public space where anyone could get their notices painted. Furthermore, the painters were mostly responsible for choosing the places, perhaps according to guidelines set by the candidate.²⁵ However, analysis of the distribution of the notices even on the most popular city blocks shows that they are never evenly distributed. Some house fronts were used more frequently than others. (Fig. 2a.) The analysis of house types shows that although there are about three shops and/or workshops for every elite house (3:1), the ratio for notices is contrary: for every notice on a shop/workshop there are three on elite houses (1:3).²⁶ In addition, façades even in the most popular streets were not used in every election. Moreover, the notices were not placed randomly on the façade, but the texts were painted in a regulated manner.²⁷ The popularity of the elite houses, the clustering of notices on certain houses, and the controlled use of the façades suggest that the household had the power to decide who could have their notices on their façades. The candidates and their families were inhabitants of the city with social, economic, and political connections that could be used to get notices in the desired places. The social prestige afforded by the notices on the façades was probably important for both the candidates and the inhabitants of the houses.

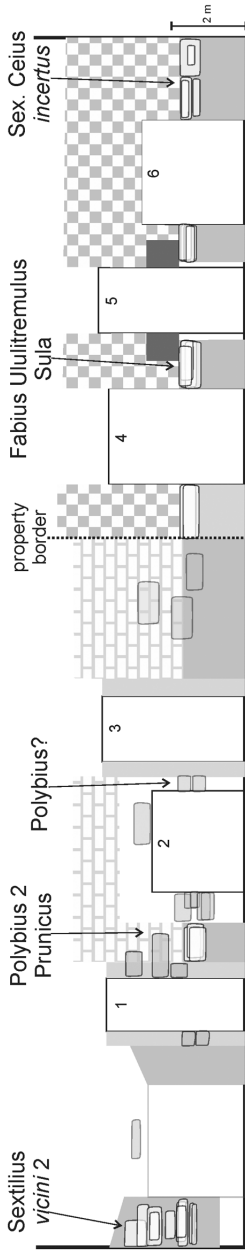
²⁴ Mouritsen 1988, 52–56.

²⁵ Mouritsen 1988, 31–32, 47 and 1999, 517.

²⁶ For analysis of locations, see Viitanen – Nissinen – Korhonen 2013 and Viitanen – Nissin 2017.

²⁷ See Viitanen 2020 for the painting process.

2a South Façade of City Block IX 13



2b South Façade of House III 2,1

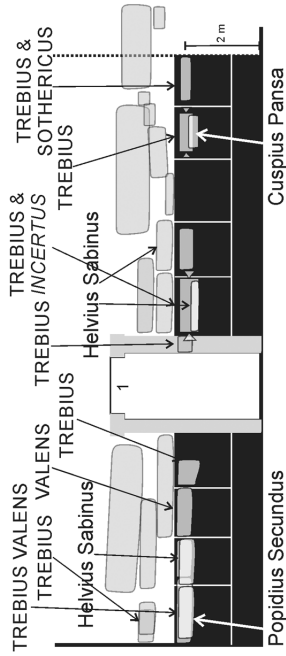


Fig. 2 a: South façade of city block IX 13 showing the different decorations of the two houses and uneven distribution of notices between them. Names and places of supporter notices marked. 2 b: South façade of house III 2,1 with supporter names in capitals and aedilis candidates of 79 C.E. with lowercase text. (Drawings by author.)

Most of the electoral notices were painted on the house fronts, but 38 texts occur inside 20 houses (Table 1). It has been assumed that the candidate promoted himself inside his home and that the supporters were similarly setting up notices inside their houses.²⁸ Half of these notices (20) appear in elite houses and half (18) are in modest dwellings or shop/workshop type buildings. This last group does not concur with the traditional view of an elite house suitable as a candidate's dwelling. The notices were placed equally frequently near the main entrance or further inside the house. The front of the house affords some visibility, but it is difficult to understand why notices were placed in the more private areas deep inside the house. These parts of the houses could have been in such use that the notices had an audience even if this activity cannot be identified. Only two houses contain other evidence to confirm the candidate as a probable member of the household: Vedii in house VII 1,25.46–47 and Iulii in house IX 13,1–3 (Table 2). Neither house was the exclusive place of the family's political activity as they set up notices also on other properties (Iulius Polybius in Figs. 2a and 3). The Iulii house features also a supporter called Ser() Sat() in the peristyle. In seven houses candidates and supporters had different family names. In the case of the Caecilii Iucundi (house V 1,23.25–27.10) it seems quite clear that Appuleius and Numisius were not inhabitants although they appear as candidates in two notices in a courtyard in the western part of the house (Table 2). This sample is small but indicates that candidates – and supporters – could get their notices also inside houses where they probably did not live.

Table 1: Electoral notices inside houses. AMF dat = amphora with a name in the dative, CAND = candidate, GR = graffito/i, PAINT = other painted text, REQ = request to vote, ROG = supporter, SIG = signaculum, ? = uncertain location or reading.

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
I 7,1.20: elite house	entrance/ outside	Cuspius Pansa REQ	Other supporters

²⁸ Della Corte 1965, 13–15. In some houses, the main door is located further away from the façade, and it is uncertain whether the notices were placed outside or inside the door. To analyze all similar contexts, also houses I 7,1.20 and IX 7,3 were included even though the notices in them were clearly outside, but not on the façade.

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
V 1,23.25–27.10: elite house	courtyard back	Appuleius, Numisius CAND	Caecilii Iucundi (cf. Table 2)
VII 1,25.46–47: elite house	corridor back	Vedius Siricus CAND	Vedii (cf. Table 2)
VII 15,1–2.15: elite house	entrance	Paquius Proculus 2 CAND Fuscus, incertus ROG	
IX 1,22.29: elite house	entrance/ outside?	Fadius, Iunius CAND Cuspius ROG	Other supporters?
IX 8,6.3.a: elite house	entrance/ outside?	Fro(nto), Verus CAND Urbanus ROG	Other supporters, SIG S() Fruc()
IX 13,1: elite house	entrance to peristyle 4 spaces	Iulius Polybius 8 CAND Ser() Sat() ROG	Iulii (cf. Table 2)
IX 14,2.4.b–c: elite house	garden back	Obellius CAND	
I 17,1: modest house	entrance	Suettius CAND	Shop advertisements?
II 3,8: modest house	<i>atrium</i> , <i>cubiculum</i>	No names?	Other supporters
V 4,1–3: modest house	portico back	Obellius Firmus CAND	
IX 7,3: modest house?	entrance/ outside	Suettius Certus 2x	Other supporters
IX 10,2: modest house?	entrance	Claudius Verus, Lollius Fuscus, Paquius Proculus CAND Obellius, pater ROG Obellius ROLE?	
IX 11,1: modest house?	entrance/ outside?	Consius CAND	
I 7,15–17: workshop	courtyard front	Cerrinius Vatia, Postumius Proculus CAND	<i>Scriptores</i> workshop?
I 12,1–2: shop/ workshop	mill room	Trebius CAND	Other supporters

House	Space(s)	CAND/ROG inside	Other evidence
I 14,1.11–13: inn?	courtyard back	Modestus CAND	Other supporters
II 9,3–4: inn?	front hall	Ceius Secundus 2 CAND (Se)cundanus ROG	
VIII 7,1–4: inn	garden back	Postumius CAND	
IX 3,18: shop/ workshop	shop	No names?	SIG Paccius Clarus

The main streets, particularly the *decumanus*, dominate in the distributions of individual campaigns, but there is also plenty of variation. Most of the larger campaigns with 50 or more notices (20 of them) cover at least one section of the city or the notices are spread across the whole city. It is mostly very difficult to see how the campaigns could be regarded as adhering to a neighborhood. The few houses attributed to the candidates are rarely placed centrally within the campaign distribution as can be seen in the case of Iulius Polybius. (Fig. 2a and 3.) Most of the notices supporting him are near his probable home, but a third of the campaign was directed to the northwestern part of the city and Polybius himself acted there as a supporter. His neighborhood was clearly not limited to the immediate vicinity of his house.²⁹

The locations of supported notices in individual campaigns were part of the discussion on the organization of the campaigns. The distribution along the main streets (Fig. 1) was used to argue for centralized organization and *vice versa*, it was claimed that the supported ones tended to be on the secondary streets and proof for grass-roots activity.³⁰ Comparison of the supported and not-supported notices in individual campaigns indicates that the supported ones tend to follow the general pattern for the candidate without clusters in one area. Isolated supported notices on secondary streets are not common. The uniformity of the distributions of supported and not-supported notices suggests that the candidate and supporters could have co-operated in the campaign design. As

²⁹ The other case with a good house attribution is the Vedii family: the notices for Siricus and Nummianus are clustered south of the house about a block away from it with others scattered in different parts of the city. The attributions for houses of Lucretius Fronto and Pupius Rufus are not as solid, and both had small campaigns. Fronto's notices are in the eastern part of Pompeii and Pupius's in the northwest. Both have clusters around their possible houses.

³⁰ See note 6 for references.

will be seen in the next section, the supporters were not restricted to their own houses or neighborhoods in their participation in the elections and could have contributed meaningfully to the candidate's visibility.³¹

Using connections to place notices on houses probably also explains the lack of evidence for direct competition, for example in the form of defacing competitor's notices. The candidates for one year's election cannot usually be identified, but a relatively good case can be argued for the *aedilis* candidates in the last elections in 79 C.E.³² Cuspius Pansa and Popidius Secundus ran together against Helvius Sabinus and probably Samellius Modestus. All but Samellius Modestus have large campaigns covering the most important streets.³³ Some 280 notices were painted on 220 houses. The competing candidates for *aedilis* appear together on 29 houses and sometimes even on the same façade, for example on house III 2,1 neatly separated from each other (Fig. 2b). All three had a connection with the inhabitants who respected the relationships by promoting each candidate.

For some candidates there are notices from campaigns for *aedilis* and *duumvir* from different times.³⁴ *Aedilis* notices are more likely to be older as it was the entry level office. Usually there are more *duumvir* notices and both campaigns cover the same areas. In three cases, the two campaigns took different patterns. The *duumvir* notices for Ceius Secundus are strictly on the main streets, but the *aedilis* ones are located on the side streets around the city block I 10 and near the eastern end of the *decumanus* (Fig. 4).³⁵ These patterns could result from better preservation of old notices on secondary streets, but they can also relate to changes in the candidate's career: a *duumvir* candidate had more influence and was more likely to get his notices in the most popular places. Majority of the

³¹ See also Viitanen 2020 on how painters were employed in the campaigns.

³² Franklin 1980, 61–62.

³³ The *duumvir* candidates were Gavius Rufus and Holconius Priscus who were apparently in coalition with Cuspius and Popidius. Their opposition could have been Ceius Secundus, who appears together with Helvius Sabinus in one notice, but this remains uncertain.

³⁴ Seven candidates with more than a couple of notices in both campaigns can be found: Ceius Secundus, Epidius Secundus, Gavius Rufus, Holconius Pricus, Iulius Polybius, Popidius Rufus, and Vettius Caprasius Felix. Paquius Proculus and Suettius Certus have only few *aedilis* notices.

³⁵ Vettius Caprasius Felix and Epidius Sabinus have similar distributions with *duumvir* notices on main streets and *aedilis* notices on secondary streets.



Fig. 4: Distribution of notices supporting Ceius Secundus in his aedilis (open stars) and duumvir (squares) campaigns with supporter names by the appropriate notices (open circle). Aedilis supporters with capital letters. Notices with unknown candidature with grey squares. (Map by author.)

duumvir notices are found in the most popular streets when the whole material is considered.³⁶

The candidates used their connections to get their notices on the façades of Pompeii and sometimes even inside houses. The campaigns were usually designed to cover the central streets of the city without a clear emphasis on the perceived neighborhoods of the candidates. It is also possible that their opportunities and choices could vary in different parts of their career. Unfortunately, the problem of the organization of the campaigns cannot be solved based on the distributions of supported and not-supported notices. Co-operation at some level is suggested by the way supported notices remain within the main pattern of a candidate's campaign.

Connecting Supporters and Houses: Inhabitants or Not?

Only a quarter of the notices mention a supporter name. Most of the supporters (159 out of 280, 56 %) are mentioned only once. The perceived connection between them and the houses is based solely on the assumption that they belong together. Interpreting the supporters as house inhabitants and/or owners makes sense intuitively, but the evidence related to this assumption has never been thoroughly explored.³⁷ Matteo Della Corte presented the main methods of identifying house inhabitants by outlining six typical cases. All six include electoral notices with supporter names and in four of them, other evidence for the same person from the house is also available.³⁸ The two cases without other evidence concern Obellius Firmus who appears as a candidate inside two houses and as a supporter inside a third house (Table 1). The assumption that candidates and/or supporters were only able to place notices inside their own houses was shown not to be valid in the previous section. Consequently, Obellius and all the others mentioned in the notices are unlikely to be inhabitants. How well do the remaining four examples fare a detailed examination of the evidence?

³⁶ See Viitanen – Nissin 2017, 126–129.

³⁷ See note 10 for references.

³⁸ Della Corte 1965, 9–20: Caecilii Iucundi and house V 1,23.25–27.10, Lucretius Fronto and V 4.a.11, Vesonius Primus and VI 14,18–20 & VI 14,21–22, Vedii Siricus et Nummianus and VII 1,25.46–47, Obellii Firmi and IX 10,2 and IX 14,2.4.b–c.

Della Corte's models for interpretation are based on cases where the names in the electoral notices have been found in other materials inside the house (Table 2). These materials include bronze seal stamps (*signacula*), stone inscriptions, and amphorae. Graffiti mentioning the supporter's name have also been used. The most spectacular case for a connection between people and house is that of the Caecilii Iucundi and house V 1,23.25–27.10: an archive of wax tablets with the name Lucius Caecilius Iucundus in most of them, an honorary statue to Lucius in the atrium, and an amphora with the family name in the dative case.³⁹ The supporters with the family name on the façade are Quintus and Sextus who can perhaps be considered sons of Lucius. A Iucundus is requested to vote for Caecilius Capella on the other side of the street.⁴⁰ Della Corte's examples include only positive cases where the notices and the other evidence concur. However, there are also equally many cases where the notices and other evidence for the supporter have been found in different buildings (Table 3).

Table 2: Supporters with notices and other evidence for them in one house. Positive cases for house attributions shaded. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Supporter(s) & House	Inside	Façade	Elsewhere	Problems?
B/Vetutius Placidus & Ascula I 8,8–9	AMF gen 3 GR 2	ROG 6 REQ	ROG 3 next door	
Caecilii Iucundi V 1,23.25–27.10	wax tablets statue with inscription AMF dat	ROG 2	REQ opposite	CAND inside Appuleius CAND inside Numisius REQ Faustus ROG Felicio

³⁹ *CIL* IV 3340, 5788, *CIL* X 860.

⁴⁰ *CIL* IV 3428, 3433, 3473.

Supporter(s) & House	Inside	Façade	Elsewhere	Problems?
Epidius Hymenaeus III 4,2–3	AMF dat	ROG 4	ROG opposite	SIG Arrius ROG Polites ROG Piranus? ROG Clodius REQ Alipus AMF dat Horatius
Euxinus & Iustus I 11,10–12	AMF dat 3	ROG		
Iulii Polybius & Philippus IX 13,1–3	SIG Philippus GR Philippus CAND Polybius 8	ROG 2 REQ	REQ opposite ROG 5 in Regions I, VI & VII <i>vicini</i> next block	ROG inside Ser() Sat() ROG Prunicus ROG L. Sextilius
Lucretius Fronto V 4,a.11	GR Fronto 2	ROG	<i>vicini</i> V 4,c–d CAND <i>hic</i> V 4,c–d	AMF gen Ninnius
Pompeius Amaranthus I 9,11–12	AMF gen 3	ROG		SIG Mestrius ROG Astylus AMF dat Pedius
Pupius Rufus VI 15,4–5.24–25	GR	ROG	REQ opposite GR inside IX 2,26	SIG Sepun(ius) SIG Stlaccius SIG Titinia
Rufinus & Parthenope V 1,18.11–12	GR	ROG REQ		SIG Val(erius)
Vedii Siricus & Nummianus VII 1,25.47–47	SIG CAND PAINT	REQ	ROG opposite	
Vesonius Primus VI 14,18–20	statue with inscription	ROG 3	ROG next door	ROG Cornelia
Vettii Conviva & Restitutus VI 15,1.27	SIG 2 inscribed ring	ROG PAINT		SIG Crusius? ROG Hilarus

Table 3: Supporters with notices and other evidence in more than one house. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Supporter	Notices	Other Evidence	Problems?
Bri/uttius Balbus	ROG IX 1,30–31? ROG IX 2,13–14? ROG 2 IX 2,16 REQ IX 2,16	AMF dat V 2,i,e	Uncertain location and role
Cassia	ROG III 4,b	Inscribed ring VI 12,1–3.5.7–8	Same person?
Cerrinius Vatia	ROG VI 17,36–37 ROG VII 2,4–5	<i>Vicini</i> ROG Region III–IV AMF dat? VII 2,16 (cf. Table 5)	
Cornelius Tages	ROG 2 I 8,19	AMF dat I 7,10–12.18	
Diadumenus	REQ IX 1,25–26	SIG VII 12,26–27 votive inscription IX 1,20.30	Same person?
Fabius Eupor	ROG 2 VI 17?	AMF gen VI 15,7–8	
Fufidius Successus	ROG 2 I 8,15–16	SIG V 2,f? AMF gen V 2,d	
Granius Romanus	ROG I 13,9? ROG 2 II 1,10	AMF dat I 8,13	Same person?
Mustius O()	ROG 2 VI 15,3	SIG VII 16,17.21–22	Same person?
Sothericus	ROG I 12,2 ROG & REQ III 2,1 ROG III 2,3	AMF gen? I 12,1–2	
Stephanus	ROG & REQ I 6,7 ROG I 8,3	AMF gen? I 7,18	
Vedius Ceratus <i>lib.</i>	ROG VII 1,26–27?	AMF dat IX 2,9 AMF dat location?	

The first question that should be asked, however, is whether there was a need to attach names to the notices – only a quarter contain a supporter name. The location was part of the message, and the house façade could also be regarded as equivalent of a name. Individual house fronts were often distinctly decorated, and properties could be separated from each other by a glance (cf. Fig. 2a). Even in the simplest decorative scheme of red socle and white top, the height and shade of red of the socle could vary between different properties.⁴¹ Houses could be identified visually and it is likely that in a relatively small town like Pompeii, it was also known who lived in them, especially if the person was important.⁴² In many cases, the location of the notice could have been enough to tell the passer-by who had set it up.⁴³ This could explain why relatively few notices feature the name of the supporter. However, some supporters wanted to display their name prominently. The analysis for notices inside houses indicated that supporters could get their notices inside properties that were not their own and it is also possible that the names on the façades could indicate supporters who did not live in the house.

The simplest way for testing whether the house and the supporter belonged together is to analyze the locations for supporters with more than one notice.⁴⁴ About a third of the individuals (95 out of 280) appear in at least two notices. A third (29) of the supporters with multiple notices set up them on the façade of only one house, but the rest (66) are found on different properties, sometimes close to each other, sometimes on different sides of the city. Requests to vote were directed to 26 persons who also posted their own support notices and, in these cases, both types of notices are usually on the same house or on adjacent properties suggesting that the area was important for this person. Trebius Valens has the highest number of notices as he supports candidates or was requested to vote 11 times – eight of these are on the façade of III 2,1 (Fig. 2b). The frequency of his name on this house makes Trebius a possible inhabitant,

⁴¹ For façades in Pompeii, see Fridell Anter 2010, Fridell Anter – Weilguni 2018, Helg 2018, and Lauritsen 2021. Hartnett 2017, 117–192 for the importance of the façade.

⁴² For example, when Cicero discusses different houses in Rome in his texts, they are commonly identified as properties of important families and/or individuals, cf. Hales 2003, 40–60.

⁴³ Some notices are on property borders without clues as to which house it belonged to. These occur usually on narrow piers between shop/workshops along the main streets.

⁴⁴ Della Corte 1965 does not address these cases.

and he also clearly wanted his name to be seen in this location. But his name could be seen also on three notices on adjacent or nearby city blocks (Table 5) – Trebius could access other properties. The same applies to Iulius Polybius discussed above (Figs. 2a and 3, Tables 2 and 5). The connection between the supporter and the house is not self-evident. Some supporters wanted their name on their own house, but some did not. The same person can appear in many locations and without additional evidence it is not possible to identify which could be their property or properties. It is also clear that supporters were not restricted to their own houses.

Trebius Valens dominated the façade of house III 2,1, but he was not the only supporter there – Sothericus and an unknown person were also mentioned. The houses range from large elite ones to modest shop/workshop type properties. About half (93) of the 226 houses with supporter notices feature multiple names – elite house IX 8,6.3.a and bakery IX 3,19–20 have the most with seven different names. Half of the houses with many supporters are on the *decumanus*, but the other half is scattered along the other popular streets. Many of the names appear also in other locations, but in some cases, all the supporters appear only on that one house. The names are rarely found in other materials (Tables 2–3) and without the additional evidence, even the Caecilii Iucundi or the Iulii, connections to the buildings would not be certain. One of the few collections of supporter names which seems to make sense on its own are the four women on bar IX 11,2–4. The plural *Asellinas* appearing in one of the notices suggests that they were a group, maybe workers of the bar.⁴⁵ Della Corte explains these multiple supporters with familial or other relationships without any evidence to support these interpretations. However, multiple names on one house can be more plausibly interpreted as documenting the connections between the households and the supporters.

Most of the different types of textual evidence used for identifying inhabitants and/or owners are present in the cases listed in Tables 2 and 3 – only mosaic inscriptions are not among them. Their significance and value in the process is somewhat difficult to evaluate as none of them have been studied from this point of view. Some notions are presented here based on study of the different groups of materials and the textual evidence related to houses in Pompeii in

⁴⁵ *CIL* IV 7862–4, 7866, see also Hartnett 2017, 269–275.

general.⁴⁶ The *signacula* or seal stamps tend to be part of the contents of the elite houses⁴⁷ and usually only one is found. If there are more *signacula* in one house, then each has a different family name – the Vettii *signacula* from house VI 15,1.27 are the only exception.⁴⁸ Della Corte explained the multiple family names as inhabitants of different parts of the houses, but the seal stamps have usually been found in the same contexts or in one part of the house suggesting they were administered as property of one household. Explaining the different family names requires further work on this material, but the names are likely to indicate inhabitants.

Amphorae texts contain personal names in different roles: producers, merchants, and recipients of the goods.⁴⁹ Traditionally names in the dative case have been interpreted as recipients of the vessels and thus inhabitants of the houses. A few dozen have been found among some 5000 vessels, usually in the elite houses and often as parts of large collections of amphorae. The processes of how these collections were formed cannot be reconstructed – were they all bought for and used in the house or were they collected from various sources to be re-used? Usually only one name in the dative appears in one house, but there are also cases where more than one name has been found. In two cases, a name in the genitive on an amphora is found also in the support notices on the façade.⁵⁰ The names in the genitive are usually regarded as producers and/or merchants, and it is possible that they were Pompeians. However, they do not usually appear in any other materials, and the connection between the persons and Pompeii remains uncertain. As evidence for identifying inhabitants of houses, amphorae are not very reliable because the roles of the persons mentioned and their connections to be houses cannot be properly understood.

⁴⁶ Similar considerations already in Mouritsen 1988, 13–23 and Allison 2001. Neither attempted a thorough analysis of the evidence, but many of their observations are repeated in the following.

⁴⁷ List of *signacula* in Della Corte 1965. See also Cicala 2014. The find locations of the 104 seal stamps were checked from relevant literature.

⁴⁸ The third seal stamp (N^{Sc} 1895, 109) for P. Crusius Faustus was found high in the volcanic layers covering the northern part of the peristyle. There is no upper floor in that part of the house and the seal stamp probably belongs to a refugee rather than the house contents.

⁴⁹ *CIL IV* for amphorae with texts. Many more were probably found, but not necessarily reported. For problems in amphora studies in Pompeii, see Panella 1975. Peña 2007 provides insight into the texts and Komar 2020 the most recent analysis of wine trade and amphorae.

⁵⁰ Betutius Placidus and Pompeius Amranthus in Table 2.

Graffiti is also a large group of evidence as more than 5600 texts have been recorded. Recent work on locations for writing graffiti has shown that they were scratched mostly in areas of movement: the entrance, *atrium*, and the peristyle.⁵¹ Anyone could have written texts on the façades of houses and a supporter's name in such a text cannot be regarded as significant additional evidence for their connection with the house. The graffiti inside houses are regarded as mostly produced by the inhabitants and added to by visitors. The large number of texts with many different names found in the gardens and peristyles raises questions on the perceived privacy of these areas. Access to different houses and their different parts was tested by tracing multiple occurrences of some rare names in graffiti and painted texts in Pompeii – they can plausibly be considered as produced by the same person. The names of two supporters, Aemilius written backwards as Suilimea and Curvius, together with Cissonius appear in greetings in different parts of Pompeii, inside and outside houses, in the front parts as well as peristyles of houses. Cissonius is greeted in more than one house. (Table 4.) These three cases do not obviously represent all graffiti but indicate a need for further work in examining distribution of names in graffiti. Graffiti inside or outside houses are not particularly good evidence to indicate that the supporter was an inhabitant.

Table 4: Texts by Suilimea/Aemilius, Curvius, and Cissonius in Pompeii. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Suilimea/Aemilius	Curvius	Cissonius
GR outside I 10,18 ROG II 1,2 ROG VII 16,2–3 PAINT VII 16,2–3 greets Cissonius GR outside VII 16,2–3 GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle GR inside IX 1,22 entrance greets Curvius	GR inside IX 1,22 entrance greetings with Suilimea & Sabinus ROG IX 2,18 ROG IX 7,15	GR inside VI 14,39 entrance Crescens greets GR outside VI 14,40–41 Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,2 <i>cubiculum</i> GR inside VII 7,5 exedra Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle Crescens greets GR inside VII 7,5 peristyle PAINT VII 16,2–3 Suilimea greets

⁵¹ For example, Benefiel 2010, DiBiasie 2015, Lohmann 2017.

Tables 2 and 3 list every case where the supporters are known from other evidence: 31 (11 %) out of the 280 individuals. Only half of the cases – 14 supporters from eight houses – feature evidence referring only to one family or one or two individuals. In some cases, every text referring to one person has been found from different contexts. The few positive cases are exceptions when the whole evidence is reviewed as there are dozens of houses where the texts refer to multiple family names and several individuals.⁵² Della Corte solved this problem in a familiar manner: by creating relationships between the individuals without any further evidence to support them.⁵³ How to interpret the relationship between people and buildings is a far more difficult question than what has been previously thought and requires further study, but interpreting the supporters automatically as inhabitants of the houses where they appear is not supported by the evidence.

Visibility in Many Locations: Neighborhoods or Not?

The analyses so far have shown that supporters were not restricted to posting electoral notices on their own façades – they could place their notices inside and outside houses where they did not live. The second assumption on the spatial relationships concerns the areas adjacent to houses of candidates and supporters as especially candidates were expected to focus their campaigns on their own neighborhoods. The opportunities the persons in different roles had in the campaigns are explored by analyzing the distributions of two groups of evidence: candidates acting as supporters and being supported by spatially defined groups such as neighbors and supporters posting multiple notices.

The number of candidates acting as supporters is not very high, only 18 (11 % of the candidates and 6 % of the supporters).⁵⁴ According to the traditional

⁵² Eschebach 1993, *passim*.

⁵³ Della Corte 1965, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Bruttius Balbus, Caecilius Capella, Casellius Marcellus, Cerrinius Vatia, Cuspius Pansa, Iulius Polybius, Licinius Romanus, Paquius Proculus, Pupius Rufus, Trebius Valens, and Veranius Hypsaeus are solid cases. Caprasius, Granius, Melissaesus, and Rustius are likely to be candidates, but without a *cognomen* remain uncertain. The three support notices by Ampliatus have been tentatively regarded as referring to Popidius Ampliatus, but they could also be by three different persons. Ampliatus appears mostly on its own or with Popidius in painted texts and graffiti, but the wax tablets (*CIL*

assumption they could place their support notices only on their own houses. Similarly, it has been assumed that the 32 notices set up by *vicini* or neighbors were usually on or close to the candidate's house or in their common neighborhood. The supporters also include four groups representing different quarters of the city and it is assumed they adhered to their own areas.⁵⁵ No suggestions have been made previously regarding the placement of notices by clients or groups of clients of candidates (18 notices for 13 candidates), but requests to vote them (82 notices for 38 candidates) have been assumed to be located on or near the house of the person mentioned. These two types can be regarded to display the spatial range of the influence of the candidate and/or where the important persons for him were located and have been included as a comparison. The data for the 14 candidates mentioned multiple times is listed in Table 5. The distribution of the notices forms a cluster in six cases adhering to the idea of their name being present in their own neighborhoods – although even in these cases the clients and requests to vote can be located at a distance from the main cluster. The remaining eight candidates were visible in different parts of the city without any clustering of their notices – for example, Cerrinius Vatia was supported equally at both sides of northern Pompeii. Neighbors were also obviously not restricted to the immediate surroundings of the candidate's house. The candidates were active in different parts of the city for example related to their work or ownership of multiple properties. The scattered distributions reflect their whole activity and not just their houses and their neighborhoods.

IV 3340) reveal several family names (cf. Castrén 1975, 248). Fuscus is not included among the candidates although the name has sometimes been regarded as Lollius Fuscus – this *cognomen* appears with several family names (cf. Castrén 1975, 253).

⁵⁵ The number of texts is small, but their distributions do not overlap: *Campanienses* in two notices in the northeast (Regions III–IV), *Urbulanenses* in three notices in the southeast (Regions II–III, in addition, a possible other painted text *CIL* IV 7807 from IX 7), *Forenses* once in the southwest (Regions VII–VIII), and *Salinienses* once in the northwest (Region VI). The two graffiti possibly mentioning *Salinienses* (*CIL* IV 5181, 8099) were found in Regions I and IX not fitting to the scheme. See also Pesando 2016.

Table 5: Multiple notices with candidates as supporters and spatially defined groups supporting them. Distributions with clusters shaded. Abbreviations in Table 1.

Candidate	Candidate	Vicini	Clientes/REQ	Other evidence
Casellius Marcellus	IX 2,18, IX 3,9– 10, IX 3,17–18	IX 3,11–12, IX 3,16–17	REQ 3 times VII 5,14–15	
Claudius Verus		V 2,17–20?, IX 9–IX 10?, IX 9,d	REQ twice IX 10,2	
Cuspius Pansa	REQ inside IX 1,22, IX 1,22–23		<i>Clientes</i> VIII 4,27	CAND inside I 7,1?
Lucretius Fronto	V 4,a	V 4,c–d	REQ VII 2,2–3, IX 1,26–27	CAND <i>hic</i> V 4,c–d
Lucretius Valens		III 6,2–3		ROG <i>Satrium ins()</i> III 6,4
Trebius Valens	I 12,2–3, III 1,6, III 2,1 8 times, III 3,6	IX 13,1	<i>Clientes</i> IX 7,2–3	
Ceius Secundus	ROG Cei? I 6,15	I 6,16	<i>Clientes</i> I 2,21–22, I 10,18, I 14,11, I 17,4, II 1,1 REQ I 13,3, I 20,3–4, II 2,3–4, VII 3,19–20	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 4,1
Cerrinius Vatia	VI 17,36–37, Region III–IV	Region III–IV		ROG <i>Campanienses</i> Region III–IV, ROG <i>Salinienses</i> VI 17,16–17?
Epidius Sabinus		IX 1,19	<i>Clientes</i> III 1,6 SE, III 4,f	ROG <i>Campanienses</i> Region IV–V
Helvius Sabinus		I 8,6–7, IX 3,26, IX 13,1	REQ I 3,22–23?, II 1,12, III 5,2–3, III 7,1, VII 1,21– 22?	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 6,1

Candidate	Candidate	Vicini	Cientes/REQ	Other evidence
Iulius Polybius	VI 1,3–4, VI 15,3–4, I 2,28–29, 3 IX 13,1–3	IX 12,6–7	<i>Clients</i> I 8,8	CAND inside IX 13,1–3
Paquius Proculus	I 7,1	I 7,1, V 3 W side*, IX 7,2–3?	<i>Clients</i> IX 2,13 REQ II 3,8–9	CAND inside VII 15,2?
Popidius Ampliatus	Ampliatus? I 10 18, II 2,3, VII 1,11–12	I 12,5, IX 1,27	<i>Clients</i> I 8,6–7, IX 7.9–10 REQ I 12,5, II 1,6, 3 III 2,1, III 3,4	ROG <i>Urbulanenses</i> III 4,3
Vettius Caprasius Felix	Caprasius? IX 1,33–34?	VI 8,22, IX 3,20–21, IX 7,3	REQ II 1,8, VII 4,57, IX 2,16, IX 7,2–3	

* Unpublished text seen in Massimo Osanna's Instagram account posts on June 18, 2018, and June 17, 2020.

It was mentioned above that a third of the supporters posted multiple notices (95 persons) and that the distribution patterns varied in extent – some were clustered, some were in different sides of Pompeii.⁵⁶ In order to study what the spatial patterns were for all individuals and groups participating in the elections, the supporter data was combined with the candidates appearing multiple times. The painters working on making notices acted also as supporters and the notices signed by them were added to visualize their whole spatial presence.⁵⁷ Eight groups also had more than one notice, and the locations are explored for possible motivations for selecting them.⁵⁸ The distributions were studied for 108 individuals and the *duo* Fabii who are the only family group to post more than one notice.

⁵⁶ See notes 20 and 54 for exceptions and problems.

⁵⁷ Florus, Fructus, Hinnulus, Infantio, Papilio, and Paris. Aemilius Celer is included as a member of this group although he was not a supporter. See also Viitanen 2020.

⁵⁸ *Gallinari, Isiaci, lignari, muliones, pistores, pomari, quactiliari, saccari*. Groups such as *discentes, sodales, ordo*, or *populus* are not included as they have no clear spatial connections.

Examining the distributions reveals three different patterns. In the first, the notices in the 54 cases are clustered at short distances: on the same house, the same city block, or the adjacent city blocks (Fig. 5). The second pattern includes 39 cases, and they are located at a greater distance, but usually within a few city blocks (Fig. 6). In the last one with only 15 cases, the notices are clearly in different parts of the city (Fig. 7). The first pattern with clusters is heavily focused on the *decumanus* and particularly its eastern part near the amphitheater. The clustering of notices could be interpreted to indicate local activity, maybe on or near the supporter's house and in that case most of them would live on or near the *decumanus*. In some cases, other evidence for the supporters connects the notices and their domiciles (Tables 2–3). For example, all evidence for the Caecilius Iucundi and the Vedii is neatly clustered in the immediate vicinity of their houses. Sometimes the other evidence comes from neighboring or nearby properties. The materials containing the names of Fufidius Successus and Fabius Eupor have been found inside houses in different parts of Pompeii compared to the locations of their notices. They had access to properties in different neighborhoods and chose to place their notices away from their possible homes. These two cases are strong arguments against assuming automatically that multiple notices near each other refer to the area where the supporter lived.

The two patterns with longer distances between the notices feature a similar trend: at least one of the notices has been placed on the most popular streets (Figs. 6 and 7). The choices of location for the notices with maximum visibility are slightly different. In the medium distance patterns the popular streets in the central part of Pompeii were chosen, but in the long-distance patterns, the focus is on the eastern part of the *decumanus* similarly to the clustered notices. The longest patterns also tend to have notices closer to the city walls than the other two. These differences cannot be explained based on the available evidence as there are no differences, for example, in the types of properties or social statuses of the supporters. The only case with a reliable house attribution is that of Iulius Polybius discussed above (Figs. 2a and 3). Iulius Philippus is also attested in the family house, and he was a supporter in the elections. Both men were visible near the house on the *decumanus* as well as in the northwestern part of the city. Cerrinius Vatia's house is unknown, but multiple notices connect him to different sides of northern Pompeii (Table 5). The patterns with longer distances demonstrate the importance of the main streets for supporters and

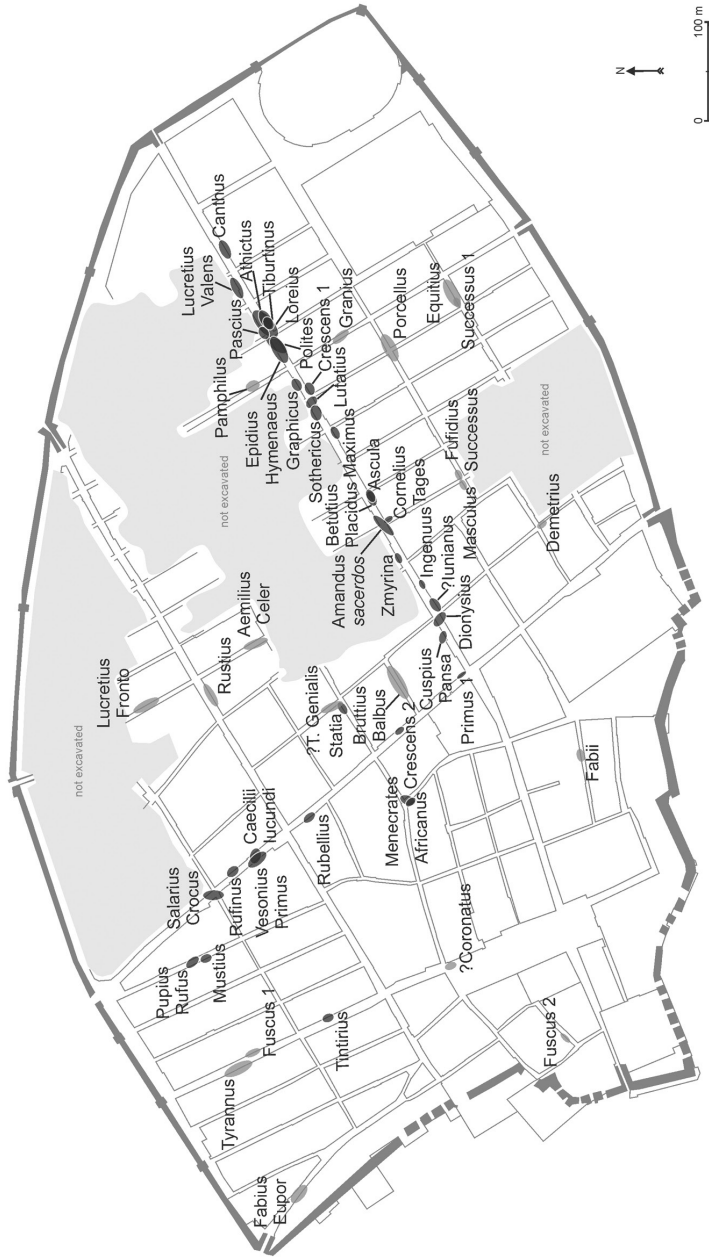


Fig. 5: Supporters with multiple notices at short distances (n = 54). Locations in the most popular areas in black, on secondary streets with grey. (Map by author.)



Fig. 6: Supporters with multiple notices at medium distances (n = 39). Locations in the most popular areas in black, on secondary streets with grey. (Map by author.)



Fig. 7: Supporters with multiple notices at long distances (n = 15). Locations in the most popular areas in black, on secondary streets with grey. (Map by author.)

that they could get their notices on houses in different parts of the city. The ties between the supporter and the inhabitants of the various houses could be based on kinship, friendship, or occupation. Advertisement space on the façades could have even been sold and bought although there is no direct evidence for that. The supporters were not restricted to the neighborhoods where they lived but were active in different parts of the city and wanted their names to be seen by most Pompeians by placing them in the most popular streets.

The significance of different groups as supporters is difficult to evaluate as it is not known if the group label could be used freely or whether a permission was needed. Some are very general, such as *populus* or *Pompeiani* and probably did not require a permission from anyone to get used. When an occupation or activity of the group can be identified from archaeological remains, the notices are often on or near appropriate workshops or other facilities. For example, *muliones* are found on stables near the Herculaneum gate and fullers and other workers in the textile industry on the façades of the workshops.⁵⁹ The notices by worshippers of Isis, *Isiaci*, were placed opposite the entrance to the Temple of Isis but also around the corner on the *cardo* (modern Via Stabiana) – both are on the façades of one house perhaps suggesting an interest in the cult in the household.⁶⁰ In many cases the activities leave no or little archaeological evidence, such as for sellers of chickens (*gallinari*) or fruit (*pomari*). The notices for *pomari* and carpenters (*lignari*) are located near each other, but the buildings offer no clues to understand why the places were chosen. For many other groups, the locations do not seem to make sense from the point of view of the activity or proximity to each other. In some instances, the location was probably chosen to match the activity of the group, but in most cases the available data is not enough to explain the choice. The candidate, the supporter, and/or the household could be connected with the occupation of the groups, but this cannot be automatically assumed.

The different data sets analyzed in this section indicate that the candidates and supporters were not restricted to placing their support notices

⁵⁹ See Liu 2008 for occupational groups in Pompeii; Poehler 2011 for stables; Flohr 2013 for fullers.

⁶⁰ See note 3. Also, bakers near bakeries, inhabitants of the different quarters (see note 55), carriers of sacks (*saccari*) near the forum, and spectators of spectacles (*spectaculi spectantes*) near the amphitheater probably made sense in their contexts. In addition, grape pickers (*vindemitores*) and farmers (*agricolae*) placed their notices very close to the city gates perhaps referring to their connection with the countryside.

on their own houses. They were also not limited to one neighborhood in the vicinity of their house. Both groups were aware of the importance of maximizing visibility and had apparently similar opportunities for placing their notices on the most popular streets. Both groups could have acted independently without co-operation, but the supported notices are rarely isolated from the rest of the candidate's campaign which suggests some level of collaboration.

Conclusions

A thorough analysis of the spatial relationships of the electoral notices and the persons involved in the process provides new insights into the significance of the notices in the elections. The previous interpretations were tied by the assumption of that the candidates and supporters were restricted to their houses and neighborhoods. This has made supporters appear passive and candidates unaware of the opportunities campaigning could have. It is now evident that the candidates could choose different strategies according to the possibilities afforded by their social status, professional, familial, and other relationships. The same applies to the supporters who could get their notices equally likely to neighboring properties as on house façades on the other side of Pompeii. Both candidates and supporters were not aiming their messages merely to their neighborhoods but rather to the whole population of Pompeii. Visibility in the most popular streets was important for both candidates and supporters, and both groups used their connections in the city actively for gaining that goal. Some level of co-operation between them in the design and organization of the campaigns seems likely. Notices were placed on houses based on personal connections rather than ideological agreements and this enabled situations where all the candidates running for one office could be supported on one house. This probably also resulted in great variation in how the individual campaigns were organized and executed. The traditional assumptions made the campaigns seem passive and static, but analyses of the spatial relationships of electoral notices makes them emerge as an active and significant part of electoral process where it was important to inform the voting decisions of the whole electorate.

The second outcome of analyzing spatial relationships of all kinds of texts related to houses is a methodological one. Pompeii is a unique environment for the

study of textual evidence for its abundance and relatively good documentation. The assumptions on the relationships between people, texts, and buildings have been formed over the long excavation history but have rarely been tested. Supporters as house inhabitants has been a central model of interpreting one spatial relationship between texts and houses. Its thorough analysis proved that the positive cases used to argue for the general assumption are rare exceptions and cannot be used to interpret other cases in a similar manner. Most houses feature large collections of different family names and individuals which according to the traditional views should all be considered inhabitants and/or owners of houses – yet many of these individuals can be found in similar materials in other houses. The supporters had a relationship with the household and they can sometimes be regarded as inhabitants, but the latter cannot be automatically assumed. In general, more work is needed to understand why the different names occur in one building. Simple explanations might feel intuitively correct, but preliminary analyses indicate a much more complicated situation.

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