

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXXIV

HELSINKI 2000 HELSINGFORS

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VICI AND INSULAE: THE HOMES AND ADDRESSES OF THE ROMANS¹

PAAVO CASTRÉN

The *domicilia*, *domus* or *sedes*, that is the residences or dwelling-places of the inhabitants of Rome, have never been a matter of extensive examination. However, it would be interesting to know how exactly the town administration kept records of the resident citizens and of their residences, how a Roman city-dweller gave his home address and how it was possible for a visitor to seek out a certain person in the general confusion of a city of more than a million inhabitants.²

In the literary sources we sometimes get partial information on where some known Romans lived. For instance, Pompey, Antony, and the emperors Tiberius and Gordian lived in the fashionable quarter of the Carinae, on the low ridge that once joined the Palatine and the Fagutal, the westernmost part of the Esquiline. We also know that the first medical doctor in Rome pursued his practice in the same area, at a crossroads called *Compitum Acilium*.³ Furthermore, we know that Maximus, one of Martial's patrons, had as many

¹ This is a revised version of a paper given, in January 2000, at a seminar on Roman topography at the All Souls College, Oxford. I thank Professor Eva Margareta Steinby for having invited me to the seminar and for commenting my paper in her usual kind and constructive manner. I thank also my friend Bryan Ward-Perkins for the revision of my text, and Professors Andrew Lintott, Alison Cooley and other participants of the seminar for their valuable comments.

² At least in smaller towns it was customary to inquire around to find a person's home. Antonio Varone has recorded several Pompeian graffiti in which a famous courtesan, Novellia Primigenia, appears. In one of them instructions are given to find her home. CIL IV 8356: *Nucerea quaeres ad Porta(m) Romana(m) in vico Venerio Novelliam Primigeniam*. There a general topographical indication (*ad Portam Romanam*) is given first, then the name of the *vicus* (*Venerius*) where the person in question and her home were already known.

³ Plin. nat. 29,12.

as three houses in Rome, one in the region of Esquiliae, another on the Aventine ("Diana's hill") and a third one in the *Vicus Patricius*⁴, while the modest home of the author himself was on the third floor of an insula in the *Vicus ad Pirum* on the northernmost slope of the Quirinal hill⁵. But in literary sources we get only very rarely more detailed local information that could be considered the exact address of a person. One of the best known examples is perhaps in Cicero's first speech against Catiline where Cicero informs the Senate that he had – according to Sallust through his female enquirers⁶ – found out that the conspirators had met on a certain night in the senator Marcus Porcius Laeca's house (*domus*) which stood *inter falcarios*, that is in the *vicus* of the sickle-smiths, evidently a quarter in which the sickle-smiths worked or had worked earlier.⁷ Unfortunately we do not know where this *vicus* was situated and unfortunately there are very few similar cases in literary sources. Another case is a porticus which lay *inter lignarios*, in the quarter of the timber dealers near the river harbour.⁸

The *vicus* as a local unit in towns

The oldest and most significant local units of a Roman town were the *vici*, which originally meant rows of houses flanking a street, and later a quarter with its main artery together with the alleys (*angiportus*), paths (*semitae*) and passageways (*ambitus*) between the buildings.⁹ Originally, Rome also seems to have been almost a conglomeration of semi-independent *vici*, some of which may have been independently walled, for instance the *Vicus Africus*, where the Carthaginian hostages of the Second Punic war were kept.¹⁰ According to Tacitus, the *vici* of Rome were originally irregular

⁴ Mart. 7,73.

⁵ Mart. 1,117,6.

⁶ Sall. Cat. 11–13.

⁷ Cic. Cat. 1,4.

⁸ Liv. 35,41,9–10.

⁹ Fest. 460 (L.).

¹⁰ Varr. ling. 5,159.

(*enormes*)¹¹, and only after the great Neronian fire were they finally rectified (*dimensis vicorum ordinibus*), the streets widened (*latis viarum spatiis*), the height of the houses regulated (*cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine*), open spaces left between them (*patefactis areis*) and porticoes built at the expense of the emperor himself to protect the façades of the *insulae*, or apartment buildings, (*additisque porticibus, quae frontem insularum protegerent*).¹²

From earliest times, these units also had their own cults and their own officials. The antiquity of this tradition is still reflected in a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹³ who informs us that it was the king Servius Tullius who established the division of the city into four locally defined tribes, *Sucusana* (*Suburana*), *Palatina*, *Collina* and *Esquilina*, and ordered that sanctuaries be erected at the crossroads where slaves would perform sacrifices in honour of some "heroes". He adds that these local officials also had to know in which house each inhabitant of their district lived. Dionysius continues by saying that this old tradition was still respected in his own time and that sacrifices were performed by local officials in the most solemn and sumptuous manner a few days after the *Saturnalia*, at a festivity called the *Compitalia*. Actually, Dionysius almost certainly here confuses the ancient cult of the *Argei* and the more recent cult of the *Lares compitales*, an anachronism typical of Dionysius. However, the information could also perhaps reflect Augustan propaganda in favour of the antiquity of the cult of the *Lares compitales* which the emperor reformed by adding the cult of his own genius to that of the *Lares*. In fact, the traditional cult of the *Lares compitales* had encountered difficulties towards the end of the Republic when the *collegia compitalicia* responsible for it had been prohibited as being dangerous to the public order. The requirement that the local officials had to know what house each man lived in could also belong to the Augustan legislation rather than to the period of the Kings.

Vici and insulae in Pompeii

However, since the character of the Roman *vici* and *insulae* has turned out to be rather difficult to determine, it would perhaps not be very

¹¹ Tac. ann. 15,38.

¹² Tac. ann. 15,43.

¹³ Dion. Hal. 4,14.

inappropriate to begin by examining the situation in a smaller and archaeologically better-known community, such as Pompeii. A French colleague of mine, Dr. William Van Andringa from the University of St. Etienne but currently continuing his research work in part in Finland, has studied the local cults of Pompeii and he has given me permission to use some of his results from a forthcoming article.¹⁴

In Pompeii, 37 street shrines have been identified. Their rather even distribution all over the town suggests that a majority of them are cult places of the town *vici*, or city wards, sacred to the *Lares compitales*. 25 of them are altars, five are niches, three *aediculae* and four religious paintings.¹⁵ Eight of them are situated in the northern main street or *decumanus* which consists of Via di Nola and Via della Fortuna and their continuation towards the Porta di Ercolano; ten in the southern *decumanus* or Via dell'Abbondanza, and five in the main *Cardo* formed by Via di Stabia. The remaining shrines lie in the area of the Forum or, occasionally, at smaller crossroads. When the shrines were excavated in the 19th century, it was still possible in their proximity to distinguish paintings in which usually four *magistri* accompanied by a flute player were represented performing a sacrifice to the *Lares compitales*. A list of such officials from the years 47 and 46 B.C. has survived¹⁶ and shows that most officials came of the freedman class. Similarly, in a fragmentary document¹⁷ where the officials of the *tribus Urbulana* and respective *vicomagistri* are recorded, all the officials are freedmen or slaves. If indeed these sanctuaries are street shrines of the Pompeian *vici*, the total number of the *vici* of the town would be somewhere between 30 and 40. In the primarily residential areas of Pompeii, such as region VI, where the houses were spacious and the number of the inhabitants was accordingly rather low, there are only six shrines and the *vici* were

¹⁴ W. Van Andringa, "Autels de carrefour, organisation vicinale et rapports de voisinage à Pompéi", *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, forthcoming in 2001 (a summary will be published in *Cahiers du centre Gustave Glotz*, forthcoming in 2001).

¹⁵ Only the 25 altars can be seen securely identified as *compitum* shrines. The *aediculae* for example may be college chapels, and some of the outside paintings could belong to shops or private *lararia* (see fig. 1, p. 20).

¹⁶ CIL IV 60 = CIL I, 2, 777.

¹⁷ CIL I, 2, 2984a. It is true that the identification of a [tribus] *Urbulana* in CIL I, 2, 2984a is still questioned, see G. Amodio, "Sui *vici* e le circoscrizioni elettorali di Pompei", *Athenaeum* 84, 1996, 457–478.

rather large. A similar situation is valid for regions V and IV which, however, are excavated only partially. In the remaining regions, especially I, VII and the Forum area (VIII), where the houses were smaller and commercial activity greater, the shrines are in comparison more numerous and the *vici* smaller in area.

To the administrative sphere of Pompeii also belonged the *Pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus*, which according to the recent studies of Antonio Varone was originally the community of the Sullan veterans who had received parcels of the *ager publicus* around the town.¹⁸ Their administrative centre lay near the harbour, in a village called *Salinae Herculeae*, where there functioned an assembly which had the right to punish the inhabitants by means of fines.¹⁹

Although the houses in Pompeii were of the traditional *domus* type, the definition *insula* was used there, too. However, the *insulae* in Pompeii were not apartment houses but the definition was used rather to denote an entire city block occupied by an original house of the *domus* type and everything that belonged to it. There is the well-known example of an advertisement in which the old so-called Casa di Pansa, adapted to a more profitable use and now called the *Insula Arriana Polliana*, is rented out by its owner, Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius.²⁰ In this case the whole *insula* included "*tabernae cum pergulis suis, cenacula equestria, and domus*", that is about a dozen shops with their respective back and upstairs rooms, three distinguished independent apartments and some smaller flats, and finally the old house itself, which in this phase consisted only of the rooms closest to the atrium and the peristyle.

Augustan reorganization of the municipal administration of Rome

Around 7 B.C. Augustus reformed the whole city administration of Rome. It is a well-known fact that he divided the town area into 14 regions, eight inside the old city walls and six in the new quarters outside of the walls.

¹⁸ See A. Varone, Pompeii. I misteri di una città sepolta, Storia e segreti di un luogo in cui la vita si è fermata duemila anni fa (I volti della storia 67), Roma 2000, 22.

¹⁹ CIL IV 5181. See Varone, op. cit., 53.

²⁰ CIL IV 138 (see also fig. 2, p. 20).

At the same time, he also created the post of urban prefect, according to Tacitus because of the size of the populace (*ob magnitudinem populi*) and because the law courts functioned too slowly (*ob tarda legum auxilia*).²¹ The passage suggests that the duties of the urban prefect were twofold, administrative and judicial. Geographically, the field of activity of the urban prefect extended 100 miles outside of the town area. Initially, his headquarters were probably housed in the *Basilica Paulli*, and the archives may have been kept in the so-called library of the *Domus Tiberiana*. After the Neronian fire the headquarters were transferred into the *Templum Pacis*, built by Vespasian and completed by Domitian. This multifunctional complex, which included, besides the temple itself and a vast almost square court, other spaces and housed most of the works of art which Nero had transported from Greece and the Hellenistic East for his Golden House. The temple itself stood in the central part of the south-eastern side of the complex, flanked by two large halls and other smaller rooms, and the offices of the urban prefect were housed in these rooms in the premises of the *Templum Pacis*. The southernmost of the larger halls was the "Library", or the archives of the prefect, and the two opposite walls of the adjoining smaller space were covered by maps delineated on marble slabs. One of these maps was the famous *Forma urbis Romae*, probably a marble copy of a more detailed map in bronze, which illustrated the town area approximately on the scale of 1:246. Filippo Coarelli has suggested that on the opposite wall there was another map, painted on marble slabs. In my opinion the purpose of this other map was to show the whole area of the prefect's field of activity, that is the area inside the circuit of 100 miles all around the city (see fig. 3, p. 21).

The urban prefect and the city administration

The urban prefect was the civilian governor of the city and a kind of deputy there of the emperor himself. His duty was to preside over the civil and criminal courts of the city, to command the police forces and to keep the cadastral archives of the city up-to-date. It is therefore understandable why the *Forma urbis* was on a wall of a room which stood between the *Templum Pacis* and the archives of the urban prefect. This multifunctional construction,

²¹ Tac. ann. 6,11,3.

a combination of religious and administrative activities, was later also copied elsewhere. In Athens and probably also in Alexandria Hadrian established library constructions which closely resembled the *Templum Pacis* complex and probably also had corresponding functions. In Alexandria we know that the main cadastral archives of the town were kept in the Library of Hadrian²², and the same is certainly also true for Athens.²³

As effective taxation was not possible without such archives, they were always the first public buildings to be repaired after every earthquake, fire or barbarian sack. After the worst Sack of Athens, that by the Heruli in 267, a senatorial commissioner, the *corrector Achaiae L. Turranius Gratianus*, was sent to Athens to take care of the restoration of Hadrian's Library.²⁴ Only some years after having completed this task, in 290, the same Turranius Gratianus turns up as Urban prefect in Rome. From Rome also we have information on several repairs in the area of the *Templum Pacis*.

The *vici* of Rome in the Imperial period

Very probably Augustus also reformed the management of smaller administrative units, the *vici* and the *insulae*. The *vici* in Rome retained and even had their administrative role reinforced in the Augustan period. Suetonius states explicitly that Caesar and Augustus did not perform the review of the people in the traditional way and in the traditional place but *vicatim et per dominos insularum*, that is with the assistance of the

²² P. Oxy. I. 34, col. III: "Proclamation of Titus Flavius Titianus, praefect of Egypt. It has not escaped my notice that the lawyers in Egypt, imagining that they will not be punished for their illegal acts, send their reports anywhere rather than to the Library of Hadrian, which was built for this very purpose of preventing the concealment of any irregularities. I therefore command them and all officials whom it may concern to carry out the terms of my edict, and inform them that any persons who violate it, whether from mere disobedience or to serve their own nefarious purposes, will receive condign punishment. Let this edict be publicly issued."

²³ See my article "Paganism and Christianity in Athens and Vicinity during the fourth to sixth Centuries A.D.", in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999, 211–223.

²⁴ See E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in Spätromischer Zeit*, Budapest 1946, 410.

vicomagistri and the owners of the *insulae*.²⁵ Evidently, in this way they wanted to be sure that the result of the review was as correct as possible and required that the officials of the *vici* made a list of the owners of the *domus* and *insulae* of their district and that every *dominus* had a list of all the inhabitants of his *insula*. Finally, it was the the urban prefect who kept an account of the situation in its entirety and kept the cadastral archives up-to-date. It was actually the same system which is still in use in most European countries, or was abandoned only recently.

Thanks to Pliny the Elder, we know that there were 265 *vici* in Rome in the Flavian period.²⁶ About seventy years later, in the inscription of the altar dedicated to the emperor Hadrian in AD 136, we have the names of the 66 *vici* of five of the regions: I (*Porta Capena*), X (*Palatium*), XII (*Piscina Publica*), XIII (*Aventinus*) and XIV (*Transtiberim*), and the names of their respective officials.²⁷ It is worth noting that there was only one freedman superintendent (*curator*) and a freedman attendant (*denuntiator*) for every region but as many as four freedman officials, or *vicomagistri*, for every vicus. It is true that some of them are recorded as freeborn citizens, but they certainly belonged to the same social environment. The higher number of the *vicomagistri* may reflect the great importance of the *vici* as administrative and religious units.

In the regional catalogues of the 4th century, we arrive at about 300 *vici* (304 according to the *Notitia*, 307 according to the *Curiosum*), if we add together the *vici* recorded under each region. However, the total sum of the *vici* given in both catalogues is 423, a number which probably also includes the *vici* situated outside of the urban area but inside the zone of 100 miles around the city. The number of *vici* in the five regions included in the list of the period of Hadrian, 66, had more than doubled, to 143. As the population of the city had certainly not increased accordingly between AD 136 and the beginning of the 4th century, the higher number may reflect the rising demands of bureaucracy after the crisis of the 3rd century. Furthermore, in

²⁵ Suet. Iul. 41: (*Caesar*) *recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit*. Suet. Aug. 40,2: *Populi recensum vicatim fecit*. Suet. Aug. 43,1: *Fecitque (ludos) nonnumquam etiam vicatim ac pluribus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones*.

²⁶ Plin. nat. 3,66.

²⁷ CIL VI 975.

the Constantinian period the *curatores* of the regions were recruited from the senatorial class, and the number of the *vicomagistri* had been reduced to 48 for every region in spite of the different number of *vici*.

Taking the administrative importance of the *vicus* into consideration, we would expect to see at least the *vicus* mentioned if we have any kind of a person's address in Rome.

Topographical information in inscriptions

Unfortunately, in inscriptions as well, topographical information – as superfluous information in general – is relatively rare. Exact indications are even rarer. However, in some rare cases both the region and the *vicus* are mentioned.

The Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae mentions about 115 *vici*, but several more are probably known from inscriptions, as we will see. The names of the *vici* varied as S. Zimmer, has shown in his detailed study.²⁸ Some of them bore the names of various groups of craftsmen or shopkeepers, who worked, or had worked, in the area. Such cases are, for instance, *Vicus aliarius*, *Vicus argentarius* and, according to some, even *Vicus iugarius*. In my opinion the above mentioned cases *Inter falcarios* (sc. *Vicus*) and *Inter lignarios* (sc. *Vicus*), that is the quarters of the sickle-smiths and the wood dealers also belong to this same group. That the word *vicus* itself is missing in these cases is perhaps due to the fact that both names are rather early, perhaps well-known and therefore self-evident.

Actually, the word *vicus* is not always explicitly recorded in the inscriptions, although it is certain that in many cases the name of the *vicus* is concealed behind some other definition.

Several *vici* got their names from the temples or other important public buildings which were situated in their area.

The collars of runaway slaves

In the inscriptions, there are different types of addresses. When an exact address is necessary, usually the region or another general topographical

²⁸ "Zur Bildung der altrömischen Straßennamen", ZVerglSprF 90 (1976).

information is given first, then the vicus, and, after that, more specific indication, such as the domus or insula, or a public building or other monument in whose neighbourhood the owner lived. This is particularly true for the collars of runaway slaves because it was important that the person who had captured the slave could identify and seek out the owner as soon as possible.

One of the slave owners was Dexter who worked as a sort of copyist in the Senate and lived in the fourth region (*Templum Pacis*) in the vicus called *Arca* (or *Area?*) *Macari*.²⁹ The Senator Potitus had a private palace in the fashionable region of Aventine in the vicus of the *Thermae Decianae*.³⁰ The slave owner Apronianus Palatinus lived in the same XIIIth region but presumably in an insula situated in the vicus called *ad Mappa(m) Aurea(m)*, probably somewhere near the starting stalls of the Circus Maximus.³¹ Praeiectus, who was an assistant of the prefect of the food supply lived near the temple of Flora in the vicus called *Ad to(n)sores* where he probably was well enough known without any further exact indication of the house.³²

Some slave owners preferred to give the address of their workshops, either because they lived on the same premises, or because they were more easily to be found there. In one case it seems that Maximianus, who was a Christian, had a kind of antique shop in the Forum of Mars. This inscription may also reflect the increasing interest in late antiquity in old objects and books.³³ The slave owner Pascasius pursued his trade in Trajan's forum in the Porticus Porphyretica.³⁴

²⁹ CIL XV 7174: *Ianuarius dicor, servus sum Dextri exceptoris senatus qui manet in regione quarta in arca Macari (palma).*

³⁰ CIL XV 7181: *Fugitibus so, revoca me in Abentino in domu Potiti v(iri) c(larissimi) ad Decianas.*

³¹ CIL XV 7182: *Tene me et reboca me Aproniano Palatino ad Mappa Aurea in Abentino quia fugi.*

³² CIL XV 7172: *Asellus servus Praeiecti officialis praefecti annonis. Foras muru exivi, tene me quia fugi. Reduc me ad Flora ad tosores.*

³³ CIL XV 7190: *(Christogram) Tene me (Christogram) et revoca me in Foro Martis ad Maximianum antiquarium.*

³⁴ CIL XV 7191: *Tene me ne fugiam et revoca me in Foro Traiani in purpuretica ad Pascasium dominum meum.* Another similar, but less clear, case is VI 9526: *[L]ocus Donati qui manet in Subura [m]aiore ad Ninfa[s]. Lintearius Bisomu.*

In some other cases both region and vicus are also given.³⁵

The *insulae* in the city of Rome

Once the region and the vicus had been identified, the *domus* or the *insula* had still to be sought out. The persons living in houses of the *domus* type were obviously easier to find than those living in the apartments of the *insulae*, the block houses.

Also in Rome an *insula* was originally a construction completely isolated from its neighbours.³⁶ Festus states that *insulae* originally were apartment houses which did not have common walls with the neighbouring similar houses but were separated from them by public or private passageways (*ambitus*) of 2,5 feet (75 cm). However, Festus's passage suggests that this rule was not always respected. This is particularly true in the cases where a large apartment block had been constructed on a lot (*praedium urbanum*) where there had earlier existed several houses of the *domus*-type. Thus a *praedium urbanum* could consist of several *insulae*, as is suggested by an interesting painted inscription from Rome, a kind of unofficial will: *In his praedis insula(m) Sertoriana(m) bolo esse Aur(eliae) Cyriacetis filie meae: cinacula n. VI, tabernas n. XI et repossone subiscalire (= repositionem subscalarem). Feliciter.*³⁷ Evidently the *insula* consisted of 11 shops and stairs with a storeroom under the stairs on the groundfloor, and six apartments on the upper floors.

It was customary – and probably obligatory – to fix on the wall of the *insula* a slab recording the name of its owner or his agent, the *dominus insulae*, who was responsible for its upkeep and administration as well as for keeping a record of the tenants. Some of such slabs have survived.³⁸

³⁵ CIL VI 9673: *Esquilis isdem ad statuam Planci*; CIL 33087: *pigmentarius negotians Esquiliis ab aqua conclusa*.

³⁶ Fest. 98–99 (L.): *Insulae dictae proprie, quae non iunguntur communibus parietibus cum vicinis, circumituque publico aut privato cinguntur; a similitudine videlicet earum terrarum, quae in fluminibus aut mari eminent, suntque in salo*.

³⁷ CIL VI 29791.

³⁸ E.g. *Insula Eutychetis, Insula Saeni Va... Aureliani* in the *Lexicon Topographicum*, s.v.

Considering the number of the *insulae* in Roma, surprisingly few such slabs have survived, probably because they were of suitable size to be reused.

Addresses in the sepulchral inscriptions

However, there are other cases in which topographical indications do exist, and that is the sepulchral inscriptions. Most often an address is given to show where the person in question had exercised his/her profession. In these cases an exact address was not necessary because the information was given more for reasons of prestige than for a more practical purpose. As only under 10 % of the sepulchral inscriptions of Rome contain the indication of the profession and only a minority of these also have a topographical indication, the total number of these cases is not great. Craftsmen and various shopkeepers seem to have been more eager to give information of this kind than other people. As more prestigious professions tend to be recorded more often than the modest ones, so are also more prominent zones of the city more likely to be recorded than the poorer ones.

Only very few of the streets of Rome were called *viae*, that is the Sacra Via, the Via Nova and the Via Lata. Thus it is understandable that a church could be identified as "*in Via*", as S. Maria in Via (sc. Lata) was. Only Sacra Via, Via Nova, Via Appia and Via Lata are recorded as *viae*. All the other streets are either *vici*, *compiti* or *clivi*. However, on the Aventine there is a *Vicus trium viarum*³⁹, which suggests that different street names were not always very strictly distinguished.

Understandably, the Via Sacra area is the most popular and most prestigious among the recorded areas. There only more respectable professions are mentioned, such as: 6 *margaritarii*, 5 *gemmari*, 3 *vascularii*, several *aurifices*, 2 *flaturarii* (casters of metal), 1 *negotiator*, 1 *mellarius*, 1 *unguentarius*, 1 *auri aceptor*, 1 *auri vestrix*, 1 *caelator*, 1 *cavatores*, 1 *coronarius*, 1 *pigmentarius*, 1 *tibiarius*. All the recorded professions belong to dealers in luxury items, and it is understandable that the people who worked there wanted to record the place of their trade.

The zone between the Forum and the river bears several different denominations. The area nearest to the Forum is called *Post aedem Castoris*:

³⁹ CIL VI 975 = 31218 add. pp. 3777, 4312.

where several moneylenders and tailors worked. The street or terrace which follows the slope of the Palatine hill was the famous *Vicus Tuscus* where luxury tailors and courtesans used to work, as some inscriptions and literary sources from Plautus to the late commentators of Horace testify.⁴⁰ On the other side of the Velabrum valley, following the slopes of the Capitolium was another distinguished commercial street (or terrace), the *Vicus Iugarius*, which is mentioned separately in the regional lists of the 4th century under reg. VIII, *Forum Romanum magnum*.

The area between these two terraces was the Velabrum in the reg. XI, *Circus Maximus*, where the selection of the trades is almost as impressive as in the *Vicus Tuscus*, except that food and wine dealers are also represented.

Conclusion

This paper is of a preliminary nature and intended just to show that we have a possibility of identifying at least some addresses of the homes and shops in Rome, if we consider all the relevant archaeological, literary and epigraphical sources and compare our results with the material from other, better known, towns.

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⁴⁰ E. g. Plaut. *Curc.* 482; Schol. Hor. *sat.* 2,3,220.

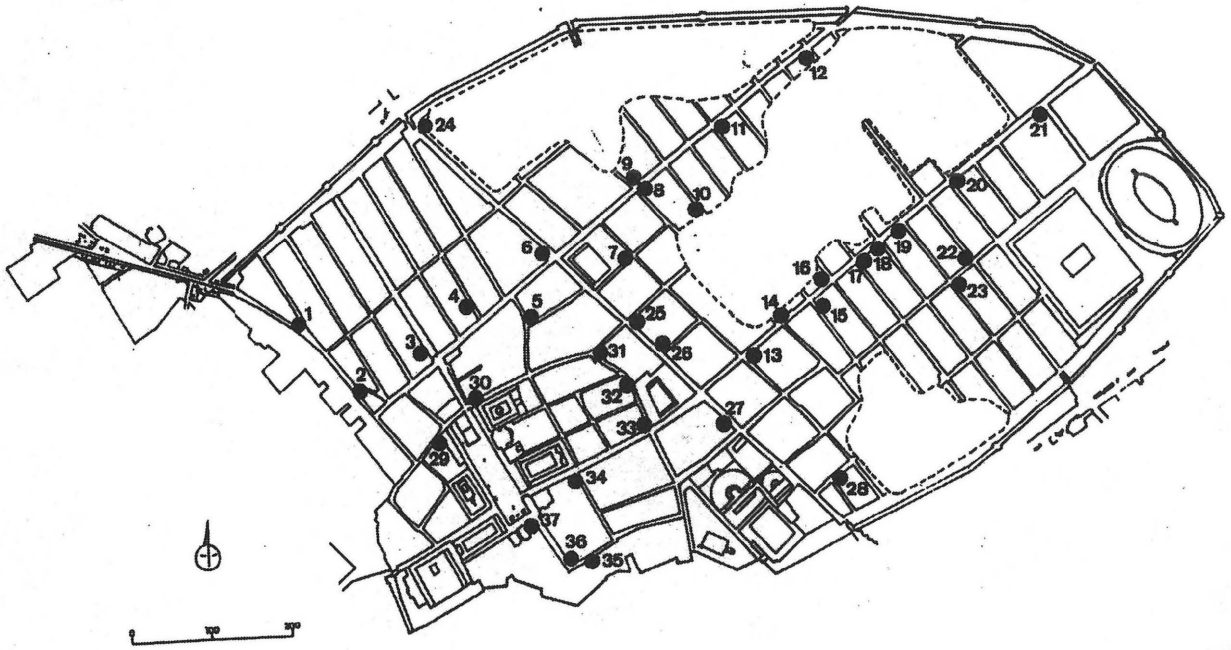


Fig. 1. The Pompeian street shrines according to W. van Andringa.

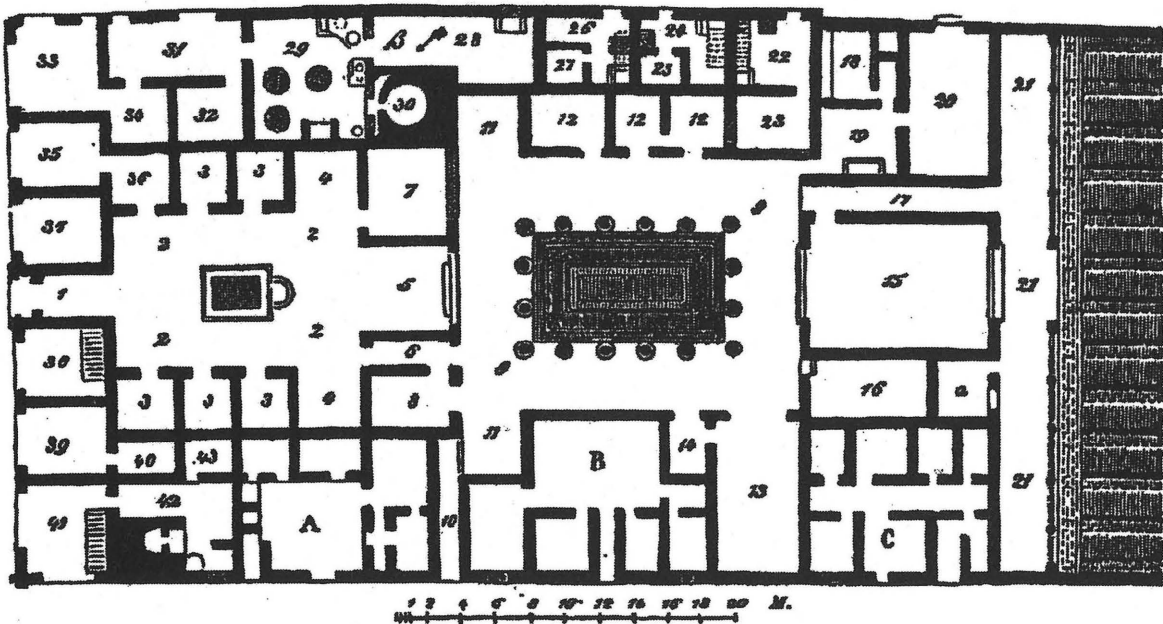


Fig. 2. *Insula Arriana Polliana* (the so-called Pansa's House) according to Mau.
A, B, and C: *cenacula equestris*.

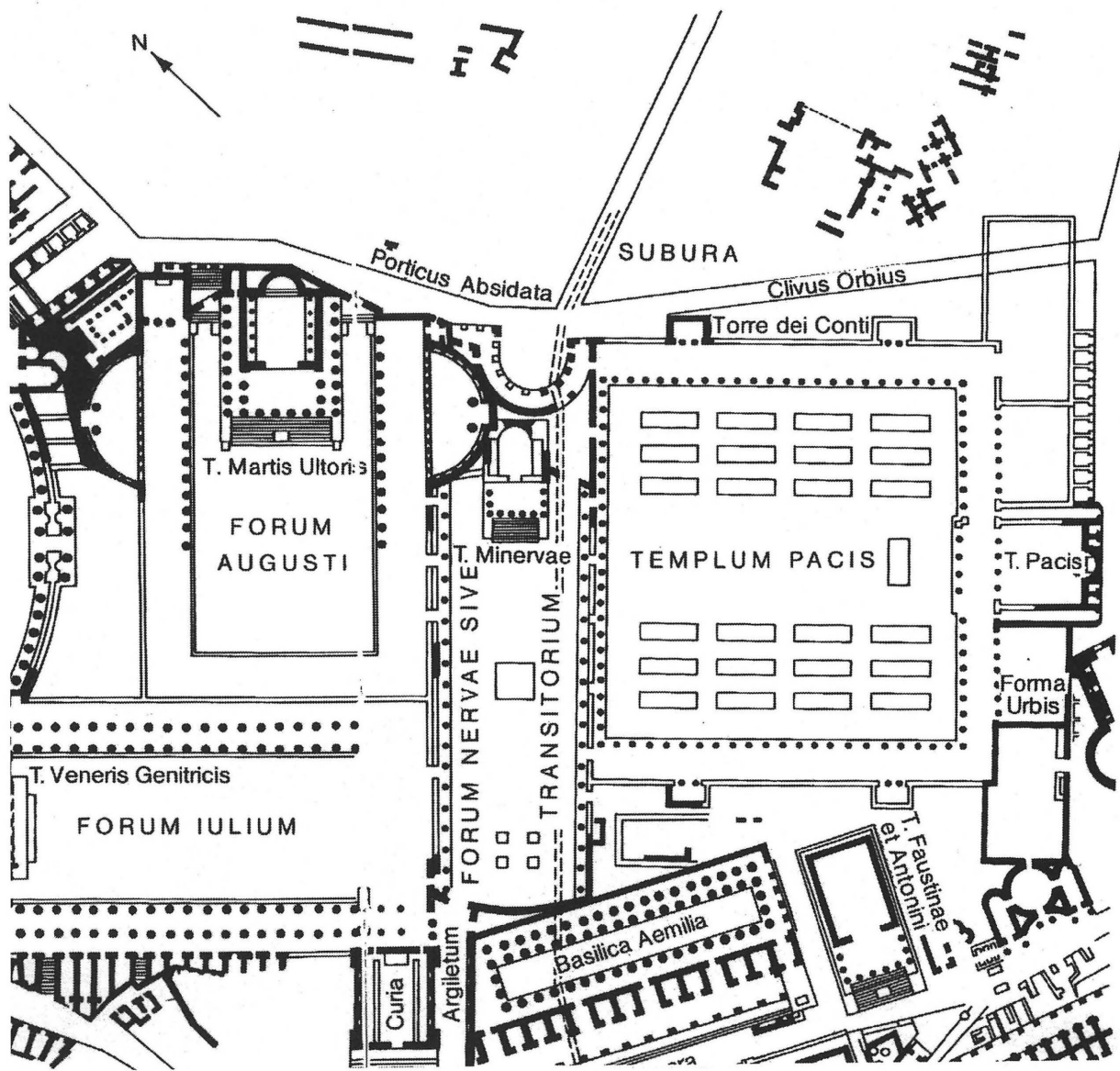


Fig. 3. *Templum Pacis* and the site of the *Forma urbis Romae*.