2019-01-03

Movement and Motion: Spatial Change in Roman Domestic Religion. Paganism to Christianity, 1st-5th centuries CE

MacIntosh, Candace Rae

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Movement and Motion: Spatial Change in Roman Domestic Religion. Paganism to Christianity, 1st-5th centuries CE

by

Candace Rae MacIntosh

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JANUARY, 2019

Candace R. MacIntosh

4646 73 St. NW, Calgary AB

902-210-0159

Candacemacintosh@gmail.com, candace.macintosh@ucalgary.ca

B.A. English Lit, Saint Mary's University (2009); B.A. Hon. Religious Studies and Anthropology, Saint Mary's University (2015)

For Submission to Religious Studies Graduate Program, University of Calgary

Western stream

Early Christian Studies

Research Questions: How did Roman domestic religion influence movement and motion in the house? How did early Christians react and adapt Roman domestic spaces for their own religious uses? What were the spatial ramifications of Christian adaptations to household space during the 1st-5th centuries CE?

Abstract: This thesis sets out to examine changes in Roman domestic spaces related to religious practice from the pagan to Christian period. I argue that in their spatial negotiation of pre-existing pagan spaces, early Christian belief was influenced by these pagan spaces. A long process of reinterpreting domestic space created new spatial codes, to be understood as exclusively Christian. Case studies of Roman domestic architecture reveal that there is a detectable reinvention of space that emphasizes decreased visibility and increased personal-space intimacy in domestic religious performance.

Preface:

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, C. MacIntosh.

Acknowledgments

It is with sincere gratitude that I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Driediger-Murphy, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Her warm demeanor, continuous support, and advice were instrumental in working through and completing this project.

A special thank you to the Classics and Religious Studies graduate department, especially to Rachel who has always made certain I signed every form correctly and on time! To all the professors who have given me advice, professional and personal. And to my fellow graduate students, whose comradery and cheer kept me going. Thank you to Kathrine for your wonderful humour during our shared travels, classes and academic efforts! Thank you to Brittany DeMone for the use of her beautiful photographs!

And a thank you to Meghann Jack for reading and editing through my final draft – and to your mother, Angie, who introduced us.

A special thank you to the Kent Archaeological Society for going out and taking photographs for me.

To my mum, who is always ready to listen to a passage, a rant or an idea – she likely knows more about Roman housing than she ever thought she would!

And as always, thank you Tony, for always willing to listen, read and make certain I am fed!

Table of Contents:

List of Figures:

Chapter 1:

Introduction

> I spoke to the gods in prayer like this, my
> wife more so, sobs choking her half-heard
> cries. She threw herself before the *Lares*,
> hair unbound, touching the cold hearth
> with trembling lips, poured out words to
> the *Penates*, before her, not destined to
> help the husband she mourned.
>
> – Ovid, *Tristia ex Ponto*, I.III.40-46

The passage above depicts Ovid's wife's reaction to his exile from Rome, and expresses a deep, personal relationship to divine entities called the *Lares* and *Penates*. Other contemporary Roman authors shed valuable insight into how these deities were connected to various roles and rituals of domestic religion. Archaeological evidence further suggests widespread practice of religion in households. *Aedicula* (small replica temples), niches, and cupboards have been discovered in large amounts across the Roman Empire, often housing images of *Lares* and *Penates*, along with other statuettes.

First to fifth century Rome experienced much social, economic, and religious change. Following Emperor Constantine's official conversion to Christianity, and under the reign of Theodosius I, all public pagan[1] rituals were banned. In this climate, worship of pagan household deities became scandalous and potentially dangerous for the ritual participant. Yet, during this period, Christians and "pagans" were often part of the same communities, and even households. Early Christians would have either been former pagans or witnesses familiar with pagan domestic practices. As Christianity became more predominant, Christians often lived in houses that existed prior to conversion. How did they navigate existing domestic deities and ritual spaces? Were the

[1] The term 'pagan' has been acknowledged as problematic by scholars due to the Christian associations and construction of the term beginning in the 4th ce. and does not appropriately capture the variety of Roman religions (Beard, North and Price 1998, 303). It has, however, been acknowledged as a non perjorative umbrella term used for convenience to represent any non-Judeo-Christian religions (Alan Cameron 2010, 36; Averil Cameron 2012, 226 fn. 1).

social functions of domestic deities and rituals renegotiated to suit Christian beliefs? Did these social and religious changes directly influence the ways in which people orient and move across domestic space?

This thesis argues that Roman domestic space was restructured and recoded to reflect an emerging Christian religious practice. These changes directly affected how movement and motion were performed within the household by creating exceedingly liminal and limited-access spaces. Applying Hillier and Hanson's (1984) gamma-map analysis for room entry and visual access to two case studies, considering historical literary source analysis and other archaeological data, this thesis provides further insight into spatial change and movement in the Roman house between the pre- and post-Christian period.

Locating Space in Society

The concept of space is not a purely physical notion, rather, it has been exceedingly understood by scholars as social as well as material. Spatial theory, as part of Humanities scholarship, began to take form in the early twentieth century within the framework of structuralism. Structuralism posits how individuals are psychologically conditioned, or "structured," by society as a group-system structure (Durkheim 2005, 418). Spatial theorists argue that material spaces are the direct product of mental representations, subjective to the agent who perceives the space (Bachelard 1964, 4, 8; Foucault 1994, 384). Even the most mundane of spaces, the dresser drawer or the dining room-sideboard, can be imbued with meaning as the eye attempts to frame environments through mental representations, forming a "mental space" (Bachelard 1964, 72). The eye is not without the *system* through which the eye was structured, but it is within the individual's own mind that space is given meaning and made into a reality through discourse and description.

These interactions between society/culture and external stimuli are the result of complex recursive processes that occur between individuals, their daily experiences, environment, and social systems (Giddens 1986, 2). These interactions result in a feedback loop that creates a type of structure—or rules—

by which human social activities are guided (Bourdieu 1977, 3). However, the structures are implicitly experienced and reproduced through past experiences, beliefs, and opinions (Giddens 1986, 2). This forms a system of guiding principles, a *habitus*, a set of rules, or matrix (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1986). *The habitus* becomes present through a series of social processes, occurring over time and within certain spaces. As such, structures are only maintained through actions and thoughts of actors guided by the *habitus*, which is the matrix of perception and action (Bourdieu 1990, 64). Every individual is an actor through and by which their activities reproduce and make available the conditions that produce the matrix (Giddens 1986, 2). The social matrix provides a fundamental sense of autonomy and security in the self as the agent acts (and reproduces) the societal matrix that shaped and conditioned them in the first place. Any "objective space" or event is in fact both subject to the disposition of the agent, their social matrix, and the reflexive monitoring between agents and groups through analogical, discursive negotiations (Bourdieu 1977, 83; Giddens 1986, 3, 17). The performance and maintenance of spatio-social rules or codes are constructed through performances and interpretations which can become situated, expected, and anticipated forms of normative daily actions (Bourdieu 1977, 37; Turner 1991, 465).

Lefebvre (1974) moved away from concepts of mental space towards lived space by including a Heideggerian notion of *Dasein*, or being-in. He posits that the state of being is in direct relation to how space is constructed (Lefebvre 1991, 121). To Lefebvre, space is the "underpinning" of all social relations as it is the stage and setting for those relations (1991, 404). This places a stronger emphasis on day-to-day experiences, as well as expressing how space contains representational meanings endowed by agents and groups bound by spatio-temporal context. Space is never unhinged from human interpretation, as social space may transcend the locative; natural space such as a spring, mountain, or even architectural spaces, are encoded with meaning and can be manifested into objective symbols to be produced and maintained by those with the power to enforce the meanings of those symbols (Lefebvre 1991, 48).

The spaces manifested by a house, and the idea of home is an "in between" space, shows how the house is both a rational (functional) and ideological (meaningful) form of constructed space which manifests identity as both a "secret and directly experienced space" (Lefebvre 1991, 121). This is due to the notion of home as being at once part of an individual's memory, fused by representational meanings provided by social relations, geography, and time (Lefebvre 1991, 121-122). Indeed, Edward Soja refers to the home as a type of *thirdspace*, which can be summarized simply as a perceived-conceived-lived space where "neither one is privileged *a priori*" (1996, 68). He argues that the house can be three kinds of spaces simultaneously: a geographic location, the imagined representation of the home, and a third space that is transcendent as recollection of smells, sights or feelings of home at a distance—or even thinking of home—may evoke the "sense" of home (1996, 69-72).

This thesis applies spatial theory through the understanding that the house is part of the reflexive relationship manifested by *habitus*, experience, and metaphor which in turn constitute paradigms of Roman domestic space. I will also be applying Lefebvre's concepts of abstracted and objectified spaces as a means of better understanding Roman domestic deities, as well as how the spaces these deities inhabited were influence and were influenced by the religious moods and motivations of both pagan and Christian inhabitants. Spatial theory also allows for an understanding of how inhabitants own religious views, as well as direct experience and understanding of their spaces influenced how ritual movement was performed in a domestic context.

Spatial Theory in Religious Studies

Scholars of religious studies, influenced by structuralism, have considered how the structuring of space relates to religious systems and expression. According to Eliade, religious groups manifest differentiated space by expressing a "cosmic" space ordered against "chaotic" everyday spaces (1959, 32). Yet, as Eliade states, the institutional religious building is not the prime signifier for religious spatial distinctions. Rather, it is the mundane dwelling place—the

house—that manifests this cosmic order. The house imitates the cosmic order, as the *imago mundi*, while also acting as the *axis mundi* creating a link between "our world" and the "cosmic world" (1957, 39-56).

In the 1960s and 70s, Victor Turner acknowledged the issues arising out of rigid distinctions between such categories of "sacred" and "profane," and expressed the reality of an in-between category. Turner applied van Gennep's concept of liminality, taken from the Latin *limen*—an architectural term meaning threshold—to ritual performances (1991, 94). Ritual performers are treated as "beings-on-a-threshold" as they are between normative, everyday actions. At the same time, they do not register structured "codes," but they nevertheless reproduce those codes through the performance (Turner 1979, 465). By passing through the liminal state (or the liminal space), the individual arrives at the other side somehow different, through the experience and their participation in the structuring processes. Turner states that liminal spaces are those of potentiality, possibility, experiment, and play (1979, 466). Therefore, it is within ritual space that time, structure, and symbols are "held in suspension" from "indicative" reality (Turner 1979, 466). It is in the performance and interaction with these spaces that the transformation and reconfirmation of social codes occurs.

The matrix through which religious spaces are conditioned (and in turn condition the social matrix) requires a flexible understanding of religion as a polyvalent, intricate phenomenon that is part of the larger recursive feedback loop. Religious space is understood as being multileveled with intangible and tangible layers, including both physical and mental spaces, which at times are overlapping and/or contradictory (Stump 2008, 305; Grassie 2010, 211; Knott 2005, 87).

Religion and *habitus* are appropriately connected through their relationship to each other as part of the feedback loop that arises through social systems and agents within those systems. Daily activities, such as prayer, pilgrimage, or even saying "Bless You!" to a sneeze, may be included as religious action, though they may not necessarily be directly associated to the religious

system. However, it is possible for these actions to "arise as a result" of religious dispositions implicitly or explicitly expressed through action and representational thought (Knott 2005, 40-41). A 'religious' space may not be directly determined by religious moods and motivations, but these associations are strengthened through religious action within space, memory and analogies given to those spaces that occur between the meaning of the religious action and the space in which it is situated.

Domestic Religion as a Field of Study

This thesis is engaged with several intersecting disciplinary areas, namely household religion and popular and vernacular religion, which are explored through the lens of spatial theory. It is therefore necessary to address these fields of enquiry. Household, or more appropriately domestic, religion is closely connected to traditional or folk belief, which resonates within wider cultural systems. For example, religious participants not only consult friends and family, but also religious specialists, such as rabbis or priests, to determine appropriate actions and associated beliefs in relation to religious performances within their own homes. This may include how to eat, the value of sexual congress, how to celebrate, the spatial organization of the home, and many other household activities.

Scholars who were first interested in household ritual performances held a focus on modern America and favoured a structuralist approach. Robert Bellah, for instance, described each symbol and holiday of U.S. citizens in relation to religious views (1967, 3-19). Colleen McDannell (1986) illustrated how Victorian houses were connected to both mass market capitalism and Christian values during a period of rising secularism. Such studies have been referred to as popular religious studies which emphasize the hegemonic, regulatory character found in practice. They consider how society functions as a system but place little focus on how individual agency plays a role in manifesting household rituals (Noll 1986; Maffly-Kipp 2000; Bellah 2011).

Successive scholars have retooled their studies of modern American religion to focus on the idea of 'lived' or 'vernacular' religion, moving more in line with folklorist approaches which are primarily concerned with accounts of individual agency within an official institutional religion (Noll 1986, xxii; Primiano 1955, 41). According to Peter Berger, studies based wholly on society often overlooked, and were undermined by, data drawn from complex experiences reported by individuals (2013). The vernacular, or daily experience, was just too "messy" and decompartmentalized to be dealt with by academia (Bowman 2012, 3). However, the strength of the vernacular approach is that it accepts these social system matrices as dynamic and part of the overall fluid, complex recursive system of individual agents who constitute and are constituted by the social system.

Shifts in Roman Domestic Scholarship

The study of the Roman house as an artefact which could allow for further insight into the social lives and ideologies of Romans shifted in the late 1980s with the work of scholars such as Eleanor Winsor Leach. She saw the house as not only the stage through which daily activities took place, but also as the framework of the Roman mind (1988). Her work moved away from earlier studies (such as Raper's 1977 article on Pompeiian land allocation) which were often anachronistic as they applied modern urban 'zoning' planning methods to Roman urban environments. These shifts also coincided with a move away from viewing source texts, such as Vitruvius, as wholly factual rather than ideological representations. Wallace-Hadrill (1994) and Clarke (1991; 2004), advocate for the Roman house as a pattern of signs and symbols, a language, through which Roman social reality becomes manifest. To Wallace-Hadrill, Roman identity was produced, constructed, and made evident in the manifestation of domestic art and architecture.

The emphasis on the social dimensions of Roman domestic architecture began to spark debates in scholarly literature over questions such as room use and habitation, and ideas of the private and public in the Roman house. Joanne Berry

argued for a mass revaluation of domestic spaces, not just on textual or architectural remains, but also on the material remains, to better reflect the house as a "lived" space rather than as "static" ruins (Berry 1996, 194). Her concerns would be later echoed by Penelope Allison, who, while recognizing the value of textual sources for labelling purposes, warns against accepting historical sources at face-value without an analysis of material evidence (Berry 1996, 193; Allison 2001, 24)

Ray Laurence advocated for the application of modern geographic theory and methodology to the study of Pompeii (1996). He illustrated how such data and methods could be used in spatial studies of the past. This included analyses of wear-patterns and pathways, which can be developed into morphic maps which provide reasonable data on how people moved through the city itself. His work influenced other studies on individual houses, such as the Villa of the Mysteries by Longfellow (2000), which employed morphic maps to analyze ease of access and frequency room use. Alexander Grahame (2000) produced a monograph analyzing *Regio VI* in Pompeii using the Hanson and Hillier spatial syntax model. Through his study based on *Relative Asymmetry* (depth-analysis), he determined that despite the variety of socio-economic differences evident in architecture, each house expressed similar cultural "substances," even where elite styles were absent (2000, 92). These types of texts aid in the reading of domestic and urban space, however the approach is seldom applied to domestic religious practice or spatial changes due to religious change.

More recent scholarship on domestic social life of the Roman household has shifted from a purely art historical model to focus on postmodern concepts such as identity politics (Ellis 2000; Hales 2003) and the daily activities of a Roman household through deep readings in material-cultural studies (Allison 2004; Croom 2007, 2011). Hales, for example, applies Turner's *liminal space* to garden archways and paintings as a means of creating 'in-between' spaces (Hales 2000, 153-62) in Roman households. Studies such as these debate the role of the identities of the residents, the artists, and the overall socio-cultural context of the

inhabitants of domestic structures. Many of the scholars mentioned have all drawn from Pompeii as their primary material source, narrowing their study to the Imperial Roman period or earlier. Other scholarship, such as L.M White's (1996a, 1996b) or Kim Bowes' (2007; 2010) work on Late Antique houses move away from Campania and the Imperial period to other parts of the Roman Empire and into the Late Antique period. These texts begin to consider how domestic structures were changed or adapted as the empire turned to Christianity. However, due to the scope of these scholars' work, they do not specifically analyze changes to the *Lares* in connection to domestic space or movement after the Christianization of the Roman empire.

Roman Domestic Religion

The scholarship on Roman religion is exhaustive, but domestic religion specifically is less explored. Authors such as Beard, North and Price, for example, are interested in the overarching societal religious institutions, but their work is too expansive to focus on domestic religion (1998). When mentioned, domestic religion is either an afterthought, a pithy point, or a chapter in a monograph or edition (see Rives 2000; Rupke 2007, 2016, 2018; Lipka 2009). Despite not being a prominent feature in the scholarly literature, the sheer volume of religious materials found in the archaeological record point to domestic rituals as being an important mode of Roman religious expression.

Early studies on Roman religion, such as Wissowa (1912), provided catalogues of Roman cults and deities with a small section dedicated to household gods, including Vesta, *Penates*, *Lares* and the Genius. Laing (1921) and Waites (1922) attempted to trace the origins of the *Lares* and Genius, and construct a mythology between the *Lares* and Vesta, while also connecting these deities to festivals such as the *Parentalia*. Successive scholars such as Boyce (1937), and Orr (1978) primarily focused on cataloguing and finding the source of domestic deities in Pompeii. Orr, however, does provide insight on the possible functions of these deities, such as household guardians, temporal and spatial markers. He even speculates as to how *lararia* sacrificial scenes might have anticipated Christian

artistic motifs. However, Boyce and Orr never attempt deeper readings of domestic religious rites or give spatial analyses. Indeed, studies on Roman domestic religion remained limited to descriptive cataloguing until the late 1980s.

Pedar Foss (1996) analyzed household religious practices—and who within the house was part of the performance of those rituals—in relation to domestic archaeological material at Pompeii. His work specifically focused on kitchen activities in a range of house-types and sizes, illustrating that the motivations for these practices were to ensure household nutrition, health, and wellbeing. Similarly, Giacobello (2008) analyzed the differences between kitchen and atrium-located shrines, arguing that the atrium shrine was purely decorative and ritual action took place in the kitchen, primarily by slaves. Lipka (2009) argues otherwise and posits that it was only the elites who had the power to express themselves fully as the controlling party in how and what rituals were selected. This is countered by several authors who state that both groups, and both ritual spaces, had their function as places of ritual expression by all levels of household residents as individual agents (see Joshel and Hackworth Petersen 2014; Graf 2013; Rüpke 2013, 2018). From this perspective, any household member was able to select from a retinue of gods, take part in rituals, and gain a personal relationship to those chosen deities.

Most recently, Sofroniew (2016) and Flower (2017) have produced monographs specifically on the nature and role the *Lares* and other household gods. Sofroniew provides an excellent catalogue of known household deities, while Flower examines specific roles the *Lares* played in Roman religion and society in general. However, neither Sofroniew nor Flower focus on how these gods were connected to spatial movement and household ritual spaces.

Early Christian Domestic Studies

Early Christian domestic studies favour analyses of the *domus ecclesiae* or the ‘House Church.’ Scholarly work such as Krautheimer (1939), Murphy-O’Connor (1987), White (1990) and Halgren Kilde (2008) have questioned where the earliest Christian meetings would have taken place. Krautheimer argues that

meetings would have taken place in houses, most likely belonging to Christians who had the means to entertain and were most likely elite members of society (Krautheimer 1937). However, White points out that Roman housing is vastly diverse across the empire. He believes it is highly unlikely that early Christians assembled in an *atrium* style villa, arguing it was more likely in *insulae* apartment houses, or workshops. Such meetings were largely dependent on context and happened wherever there was available space (White 1990, 17, 107, 24). White argues that the *domus ecclesiae* was still in use long after the basilica structure was implemented, and it was not until the 4th century CE that any real institutional spaces were becoming normative (1990: 24). Halgren Kilde, likewise, argues that despite a variety of house shapes, the *triclinium*, appears to be a consistent feature of all Roman houses and was a likely location for Christian meetings (2008: 20).

While the debate as to where early Christian meetings would have taken place is on-going, this thesis is more concerned with the everyday practitioner during the 2nd-5th c. CE who could have effectually changed their surroundings over time and have left an impact on their domestic structure through repeated religious rituals and meanings. Christians may have met in a variety of places, but their moods and emotions would have been carried home with them after the meetings. For example, private devotional prayer required a private space to practice—and what better place than one's own home? According to Sessa (2007), this put a new emphasis on the *cubiculum*, or bedroom. She arrives at this conclusion via textual analysis of Christian sources such as the *Gesta Martyrum* and the *Vita Sinuthii Bohairice*, along with Roman sources such as Quintillian, which highlight the importance of the room as contemplative space but also potentially dangerous due to its low visibility to outside observers. Sessa's use of archaeological material is absent in favour of textual evidence, as her chosen site admittedly has no evident remains of *cubiculum*. Her strength is in her use of textual referents to expose the *cubiculum* as a spatial referent from which pagan and Christian members drew from. Sessa's work moves away from other texts on early Christian architecture as it does not focus on the location of Pauline house churches (such as Murphy-O'Connor 1987). Rather, she attempts to analyze how

both pagan and Christian concepts of space are tied to a particular location within the already existing domestic structure, i.e. the *cubiculum.* It is worthwhile for my thesis to apply her ideas to the archaeological case studies in this thesis where rooms may be determined as potential *cubiculum,* rather than applying it to a place where those structures no longer exist.

Bowes' (2007; 2008) focus is on the religious nature of social change among ordinary Romans—albeit mostly from elite sources—and how tensions in different regions between private and public life arose out of the systematization of Christianity in the late empire. Unfortunately, Bowes does not specifically question what happens to the *Lares,* rather they just disappear from her considerations after her discussion on Roman Imperial traditions. Regardless, her text serves as an invaluable source of archaeological material, along with Sofroniew's catalogues, in composing a detailed look at the relationship between domestic space, architecture, and the interaction of people during a time of changing belief systems.

Scholarship from the past year has seen an increased awareness for the study of how Christians responded to traditional Roman domestic practices as they began to form their own domestic religious system. Frenschkowski (2017) analyzes the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* for moments of domestic ritual conflict. He discovered that there are several instances where Christian expressions of domestic religion were expressed through traditional Roman models, going as far as to assert the existence of Christian *lararia,* often to the chagrin of the apostles represented in the stories (2017: 148). Verena Fugger has likewise written on the exchange of pagan domestic practices and Christian ones. In her analysis of the archaeological material of House D at Kôm el-Dikka and the House 2 in Ephesus, she demonstrates that Christian practices readily adopted traditional Roman architectural spaces such as niches, *sacraria,* and dining areas, and that they also had the same flair for fresco paintings (2017: 203). She notes that the household gods were replaced by intersessional figures such as saints and martyrs who could be physically represented with relics or other material objects,

such as grave dust and oils (2017: 229). The recent boom in research in the field of Roman domestic religious space across pagan and Christian periods highlights the importance for growth in scholarship examining how Christians expressed themselves religiously within their own homes and re-envisioned pagan spaces.

Methodology

This thesis employs a range of architectural examples from varying time periods for ritual and spatial analysis. Pompeii will be used as a baseline for the Imperial period and earlier, as the level of preservation is ideal. Many *aedicula* are still present in the archaeological record and many statues have been located *in situ*. The archaeological reports from one of the largest and most renowned houses in Pompeii, the House of the Menander (Ling 1997; Allison 2004) will serve as a case study to explore how pre-Christian Romans spatialized belief. The House of the Menander is a grand *atrium* villa, and while this does limit the mechanical analysis of domestic movement to an elite home, it should be noted that scholars have found a consistency in the substance of elements in Pompeiian homes even when the styles are not present in sub-elite houses (Grahame 2000: 25). As such, the important features of the House of the Menander will not be the frescoes, which may or may not have had religious significance, rather, it will be on where ritual locations guided movement and ocular experience around the house. I have selected a Pompeiian house as a base-line for pre-Christian ritual spaces because it did not survive well into the Christian era, therefore there was little opportunity for Christian influence.

The Pompeiian case study will then be available for a comparison to other Roman houses that existed across pagan and Christian periods. I have only selected houses that demonstrate clear evidence of pagan-Christian changes, as well as maintaining residential status. This thesis will include a detailed analysis of the 2nd century domestic remains located underneath the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian Hill in Rome. This site is highly fragmentary and will only be analyzed in the areas of the house that have clear evidence of ritual use. However, the material evidence suggests that the site was, at one point, occupied

simultaneously by Christian and non-Christian residents, and the Christian residents made clear architectural and religious adaptations to their household. I will apply Hanson and Hillier's method to illustrate how these adaptations directly impacted ritual movement around the house.

Evidence of spatial change and adaptation in the context of Roman Britain will be shown from Lullingstone Villa, located outside of Eynsford, Kent. The structure potentially had two occupation periods, the earliest likely being a Roman government official, the second a person or group of unknown origin (Henig 1984; Meates 1979; White 1996b). Due to the gap in occupation, there are clear signs of both pagan and Christian spatial adaptations in a rural outpost, which may suggest individual choices and selection in religious spatial programming as there appears to have been a lack of episcopal supervision (Bowes 2011: 131). The evidence presented from this site will show how personal choice and non-urban influence may also have impacted Roman domestic religion.

Applied Methodology

Hanson and Hillier note in their research the value of thresholds and view-angles. This includes how far an individual or group would have to walk into a building and how many thresholds they would have to cross to reach any given room. By highlighting these features of houses, they noted that the relationship between household residents and visitors lead to a bifurcation in social relationships in space as certain guests or residents would be given or denied access to successively deeper thresholds (1984: 146-7).

The means of measuring and mapping space as it is experienced via movement (or the denial of movement) was devised by Hanson and Hillier to produce a "spatial syntax" that could be read and analysed. They first divided two types of measurable space: settlement space and building space. Settlement space employs *Alpha* or convex analysis and is meant to show the degree to which an entry point or threshold of a building is integrated or separated from a settlement (1984: 96). A *Gamma*, or access analysis, is meant to illustrate a single enclosed

space, referred to as a "premises," that is also permeable and has a sense of unitary control by one or more individuals (1984: 147).

Bounded space also employs convexity as many rooms are not just square blocks, rather, they are often composed of several discrete spaces. Grahame states that when considering rooms with corners and angles, there curvature may create a boundary based on visibility where co-presence, or "the spatial domain within which individuals may be aware of each other" is severed by a decreased visibility (2000: 32). This thesis favours the concept of increased and decreased visibility over the concept of private and public as these concepts have previously dominated and are problematic to Roman domestic analyses (Berry 1996, 193-4).

Hanson and Hillier formulated a method for translating access analysis into readable data wherein each premises is made up of at least one cell (a room), and each cell can be represented in relation to its permeability, or its relation to the cells around it, by marking it with a line that links to the other cells. The cell with more than one access and closest to the external is called the Alpha cell. A cell with only one entry is unipermeable and is represented with a circle at the end

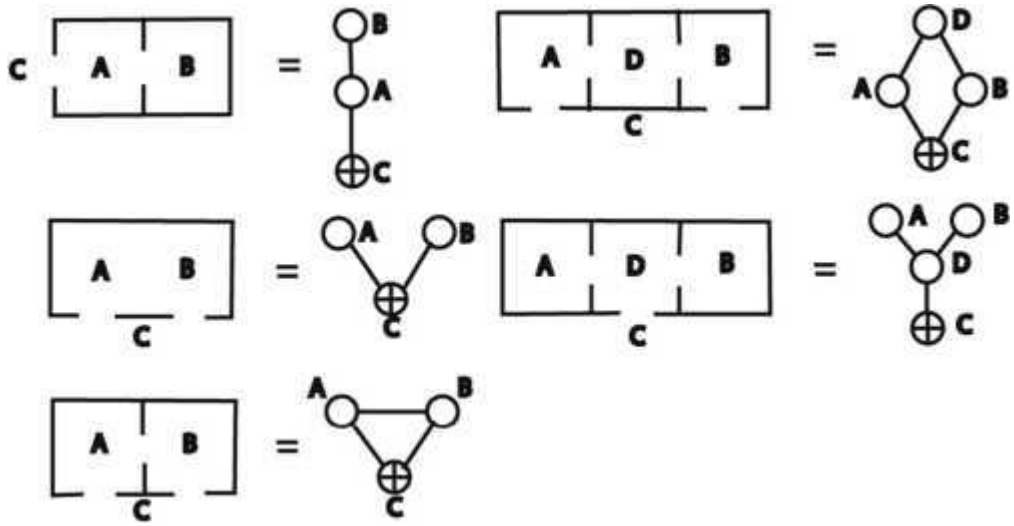


Figure 1 "justified" or "gamma" access maps illustrating distributed/non-distributed relationships in space via threshold points (Hanson and Hillier 1984, 94).

of the line; a bipermeable cell will have a circle with another line extending to the following threshold (see Fig. 1 above). The entry threshold should also be demarcated by a circle with a cross through it, called a "carrier," leading into what

is often the Alpha cell. Each space, or cell, can then be assigned a depth value in accordance with how many steps must be made to arrive in a cell starting from the carrier; each step is counted by a line to illustrate the movement between one space and another.

The average *Relative Asymmetry* (*RA* values) can then be estimated based on the depth-point numbers provided by step calculations. Hanson and Hiller provide a compiled list of *RA* values based on the *Mead Depth* (*MD*). This is done by assigning each step with a score of 1 when one boundary is what is required, 2 when two and so on. The number of spaces at each depth from the Alpha cell is multiplied by the depth number to give the total depth number (Grahame 2000: 34-5, see page 35 for complete mathematic formula). The totals are then added and divided by the total number of spaces in the system, minus one to account for the Alpha space, to give the total mean depth of any space. *RA* values are standardized and will always fall between 1-0; if they are high, they indicate a low level of accessibility, if low, the *RA* number likely indicates a less permeable cell (Grahame 2000: 35). By rendering gamma maps, the "syntactic properties of symmetry and asymmetry, distributedness and nondistributedness" become more obvious than a basic layout diagram (Hanson and Hiller 1984: 149). While the numeric calculations are not feasible given space and time constraints in this thesis, it is important to recognize that the lines given on maps are not arbitrary. I am applying Hanson and Hillier's methods in order to calculate and represent the spatial layout in each case study and to emphasize how many steps and boundaries were crossed to fulfill domestic religious rituals in a Roman elite house.

Chapter Outline

Chapter Two examines 1st BCE-1st CE Roman pagan domestic religion to establish a base-line for comparison to houses in the Christian period. I will examine one domestic deity, the *Lares*, and one house to give a basic understanding of how Roman deities and rituals functioned in the pre-Christian period. Using the House of the Menander at Pompeii as a case study, I employ

the Hanson and Hillier gamma map for evaluating logical access paths and visual lines. Chapter Three turns to early Christian literary sources in order to illuminate and contextualize how domestic pagan rituals and gods were understood and presented. This chapter will allow a better understanding of how Christians made use of, changed, or rejected familiar household spaces and rituals.

Chapter Four provides case studies analyzing each house with a gamma-access map analysis, as well as a look at how the material record and physical space of the household was affected by the adaptations to the Christian religious system. This will be illustrated by using two case studies ranging from different regions and periods in the Roman Empire. The first case study is the *Giovanni e Paolo* in Rome and the second is *Lullingstone Villa* in Britain.

Chapter 2:
Roman Traditional Domestic Religion

Gods of the House

The Roman domestic cult in the 1st century CE, much like civic religion, featured its own retinue of gods. The three gods most commonly associated with a domestic cult in historical and modern scholarship are the *Lares*, the *Genius/Juno*[2] and the *Penates*.[3] These three were often accompanied by *Vesta*, *Priapus* and *Janus*, while archaeological material has also shown that a household may have specific gods selected from the host of gods available across the Empire, such as *Venus*, *Isis*, *Serapis*[4] or perhaps the emperor himself.[5] Each god brought into the house was a potential divine figure with whom individuals, households and visitors could form sacred relationships. The blending between household gods and small-scale figurines of civic gods suggests a high degree of mutability, emphasizing civic duty, personal choice and social memory or motivations. Scholars in recent years have developed a burgeoning interest in domestic religion

---

[2] There have been many debates as to the nature and identity of the *Genius*, the most straightforward being that they were ancestor spirits that were venerated as part of the procreative force of the *pater/materfamilias* (Orr 1978, 1569; Schultz 2006, 124; Sofroniew 2016, 34; Wissowa 1912, 154). There is also evidence of location-based *geni*, such as the *Venus Pompeiana* or of a population as in the *Genius populi Romani* (Gradel 2002, 81, 134; Jashemski 1994, 124). For more information on the *Genius*' connection to snake imagery see Boyce 1942, 16; Flower 2017, 54; Fröhlich 1991, 18.

[3] The *penates,'* or *di Penates*, function within the household has been debated amongst scholars as either an umbrella term for all household deities (Bodel 2008, 258; Clarke 1991, 9; Flower 2017, 48; Fröhlich 1991, 37; Schultz 2006, 123;), or they may have been all deities stored in a cupboard, *penus*, or all of the nooks and crannies of a house: *penitus* (Orr 1978, 1565; Rives 2007, 119). They may have been apotropaic deities in connection to food storage and eating (Bodel 2008, 258; Foss 1996, 198;). I tend to agree with Foss and Bodel in that the *penates* were separate deities specific to kitchen and food preparations.

[4] On these deities in the Roman household, see: For Vesta (Bodel 2008, 258; Orr 1978, 1565; Wissowa 1912, 142). For possible domestic connections between Vesta, Janus, Priapus and Diana (Graf 2013, 128; Schultz 2006, 123). For Dioskouri (Graf 2013, 129-30; Waites 1921, 241-4;). For more on Egyptian deities in the household, see (Amoroso 2017, 37-74; Stirling 2008, 96-101).

[5] Scholars have also debated whether worship of the Emperor's *Genius* was normative practice. Stek states this was an intentional form of Augustan propaganda (2008, 112), whereas Flower argues for the worship of the Emperor's *numen* [spirit] (2017, 310). Gradel argues that there is not enough literary evidence to state otherwise, but doubts that the Augustus would intend on subordinating others so overtly through domestic ritual practice (2008, 125-206). For uses of the Emperor's image as an apotropaic see Turcan 1996, 58-60. I agree with Gradel and Flower that it would have been an act of subordination, perhaps intentional the part of certain individuals, to gain favour from the Emperor or to illustrate civic support (Gradel 2008, 205; Flower 2017, 310).

as a means of expressing individual agency and social status in relation to wider social environments (Graf 2013, 122; Rüpke 2013, 7; 2018, 247-261). In this section, I will illustrate how these gods were embedded into the physical and social setting of the house by highlighting the literary and archaeological evidence for how these gods were depicted in a domestic setting. I will use the household *Lares* as an example. For the purposes of this thesis, Roman treatment of other household gods would have been similar.

The *Lares* may well be one of the most confusing and multiplicitous gods in the Roman pantheon. They have many epithets which have caused scholars both ancient and modern to divide them into wholly differentiated beings. Some of the epithets[6] which have been documented are: the *lares familiaris* (of the family), *the lares praestites* or *compitales* (of standing before i.e. protection, or of the crossroads), the *lares agrestes (of the fields)*, of the sea (*permarini*), and of the road (*viae*) (Flower 2017, 37; Orr 1973, 1565-68; Sofroniew 2016, 33; Wissowa 1912, 149-151;). It is clear through these epithets alone that the *Lares* were guardian gods of place and movement (Flower 2017, 38-9; Wissowa 1912, 150;). For the purposes of this thesis, I will primarily focus on the

Figure 2 House of the Vettii, Pompeii VI.XV.1, atrium shrine. Unknown size. Courtesy of Brittany DeMone, University of Calgary PhD Student

[6] For Household see Orr (1973), Foss (1996) and Bodel (2008). For more on *Compitales* see Flower (2017). For military and Emperor *Lares* see Gradel (2002); Sofroniew (2016). For catalogues: Pompeii and Herculaneum (Boyce 1937), for Ostia (Balch 2008).

versions of the *Lares* which would have been relevant to the domestic setting: *lares familiaris.*[7]

The *Lares* are ubiquitous figures found across the Roman Empire, represented in over one thousand bronze statues, figurines, and frescos, which have led some scholars to believe they were the most significant of the household gods (Clarke 1991, 9; Orr 1973, 1565; Sofroniew 2016, 35). They were depicted as a set of twin gods, although sometimes found singularly and referred to as *Lar*, for example the two *Lares* flanking a *Genius* figure atop a singular snake found in the House of the *Vetii*, Pompeii VI.XV.1 (Fig. 2). This is a typical example of the arrangement of these gods in frescoes (Sofroniew 2016, 33). They are most often depicted as youthful males, dressed in short tunics,[8] tall boots, and a garland-cap and/or long hair (Orr 1973, 1568; Sofroniew 2016, 33; Flower 2017, 10). The *Lares* are also often depicted wearing a shawl, draped over the arms "incorrectly" which makes the item difficult to place (Orr 1973, 1569). Plutarch sheds some light on this, stating that, "they [the *Lares*] are clothed in the skins of dogs and have a dog as their attendant, in the belief that they are skilful in tracking down and following up evil-doers."[9] The ability to "track" down evil-doers suggests that they have a sense of motion and movement embedded into their costuming itself. However, according to Waites, Plutarch, as a Greek-born citizen of the Roman empire, may have conflated the *Lares praestites* (protection) with the *Lares compitales* (of the crossroads) to Hecate, a Greek goddess of the underworld and crossroads who is often accompanied by dogs as there is no clear domestic evidence to support a connection between *Lares familiares* (family *Lares*) and dogs[10] (1921, 251). According to Flower, a connection may be implied between

---

[7] These Imperial *Lares* appear infrequently in houses, therefore suggesting personal connections or motivations for displaying one in a household shrine (Scheid and Lloyd 2003, 204; Gradel 2008, 206-7)

[8] Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.634, "Lares, in their girt-up robes," Fraser trans. 103

[9] Plutarch, *Moralia*, IV.50.276-277; Ovid, *Fasti,* V.140-146, Ovid relates the Lares to both dogs and Diana; all of whom give chase to thieves.

[10] Waites, 1921: 251-3, also points out a "Dioscuric" Lares on the reverse of a coin, a Denarius of L. Caesius d. 104 BCE, which does depict the Lares as two youths with a dog seated between them. These Lares are depicted as "soldier" types distinctly different than those found in domestic contexts. For more on Soldier Lar, see Sofroniew

the *Lares* and the underworld due to a shared a similar animal sacrifice of pigs, however they were different from other underworld deities because the offerings were shared as meals and not burned as holocaust style offerings (2017, 10).

To further highlight how the *Lares* are tied to ritualized movement, I want to address how their body gestures and prop items are also indicative of motion. They often hold a *rhyton*, or a drinking-horn, meant to be brimming full of wine. Many wall frescos of the *Lares* even still have stains of wine dripping down from the *rhyton* (Flower 2017, 51). Individuals may walk up to the figure and interact with the god directly, forming not a flat image on the wall, but a 3-dimensional performance where the agent offers, and the god receives. The secondary object, either found in the opposing hand of the *rhyton*, or a replacement for the horn *patera*, is an offering plate or a cornucopia. In the case of two objects, the figures are often depicted with the arm holding the *rhyton* elevated above the body and the secondary arm placed in a lower, offering position, with the elbow slightly bent and held out towards the spectator. The *situla* would be directly below the *rhyton* when the horn was at a slight tilt downward, suggesting that the wine would flow out of the horn and onto the plate (Orr 1973, 1569).

According to scholars, the *Lares* were not part of the menagerie of potential hearth gods, rather, they are more likely mediated from the boundaries of properties, originating as rural cultic figures (Flower 2017, 38; Orr 1973, 1584; Wissowa 1914, 148;). However, early evidence suggests, by the 1st CE, the *Lares* served as guardians inside and outside the home, their name even becoming synonymous with the word "home" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5.744; Orr 1973, 1566; Sofroniew 2017, 37).

Applying Lefebvre's concept of objectifying abstract spaces, it is possible to imagine the *Lares* as being a figural and objectified version of the entire property of the house, both inside and out (1991, 320). Each of the spaces associated with *Lares* carries with it a level of risk: the fire from the hearth, the possibility of encroaching neighbours and outsiders, the dangers of traveling by road or sea – or even the journey to the underworld after death (Flower 2017, 10).

The *Lares* acted as guardians against the dangers to the Household from spaces beyond the *paterfamilas'* ability to provide protection. For example, in Pompeii in the House of *Lucius Caecilius Jucundus* (V.I.26) is a relief depicting the 62 CE earthquake destroying the forum on the *Lararium* in the atrium. This may have been meant to memorialize the event while simultaneously asking for (continued) divine protection for the household against natural disaster (Longenecker 2016, 70). The *Lares*, therefore, as the object version of abstract and dangerous spaces, now represents a space that can be figuratively and literally manipulated, bargained with, and placed in more controlled spaces, such as the household shrine.

While the *Lares* can be considered gods of motion and space, it is important to emphasize that the *Lares* that individuals appeared to feel the most strongly about were those of their own homes. The *Lares* were deeply connected with the physical well-being of the household in both social and physical meanings. For example, predating the excerpt in my introduction from Ovid's exile, Cicero's own exile led him to connect household rituals with security and a sense of home:

> here are his altars, here are his hearths, here are his household gods here all his sacred rites, all his religious ceremonies are preserved. This is the asylum of every one, so holy a spot that it is impious to drag any one from it. [11]

Cicero's and Ovid's description connecting asylum to household ritual provide a *thirdspace* which, through the repeated action of the ritual within the domestic space, evokes a sense of being-in a "home" space (Soja 1996, 68). Ovid even employs the imagery of being denied a *Lares* as a form of curse: "may the gods

[11] Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 3.41.108-109: *…quibus nemo rem ullam attigit qui non omnium iudicio sceleratissimus haberetur, die immortals domum meam cocupiverunt? Ista tua pulchra Libertas deos penatis et familiaris meos lares expulit, ut se ipsa tamquam in captivis sedibus conlocaret?* (trans. Yonge, C.D. 1891)

give you no *lares* and a destitute old age"[12] While this is rather a dark joke, it does tell us that readers were expected to understand that to have no *Lares* is the same as being homeless (Flower 2017, 289). Furthermore, the individual experience is given social meaning by connecting the household to the broader societal structure; Cicero's Minerva effectively attached his house to the state (Bodel 2008, 252). By dedicating a statue of Minerva from his own household collection to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, he constructed a link between his "father's house" and the *res publica* as a "father's house" of the entire population of Rome. According to Bodel, this act was a rhetorical measure used by Cicero to connect his own well-being to the state, in effect making any violation towards himself a violable offense to the state (Bodel 2008, 252). This form of rhetorical device echoes Lefebvre's point that the ability to control and maintain the discourse around space provides a form of social power: by coding his own household god as one of the State, Cicero appears as a *paterfamilias* in the house of the Senate (Lefebvre 1991, 52).

Flower states that these gods were somehow able to maintain their character during the Hellenistic period and into the Imperial period,[13] despite increasing complexity in religious understandings over roughly three hundred years, which suggests their importance as deities in the wider "spiritual geography" of the Roman empire (2017, 22. See also Foss 1996, 217). The *Lares*, with their travel-wear, dancing or leaping body positions, and gestural figures emphasize their connection to not only specific places, but spatial configurations of a divine world that intersected with the Roman world to provide a sense of guidance in motion. The motion may have been across great distances on land or by sea, or even just moving from place to place within the city and within the home. The *Lares* were therefore important deities connecting the domestic sphere to the exterior world and back again. The following chapter will readdress the

[12] Ovid, *Amores*, 1.8.113-14: *di tibi dent nullos lares, inopemque senectam*
[13] For more on *Lares* as having potentially Ancient Greek origins see (Orr 1973; Sofroniew 2016; Wissowa 1914). Orr does state that the loose hair was "alien" to both Roman and Greek representations (1569). For potential Etruscan origins see (Clarke 1994; Flower 2017; Simon 2006;).

Lares and developments of Roman understanding of these gods as gods of space and movement through the lenses of Christian authors.

The *Lares* tended to be displayed in a shrine in the *atrium* or *peristyle* of the Roman house; other household gods might be located elsewhere. The *genius/juno* may have also been located in the *peristyle* shrine, as evident in the House of the Menander, as part of the retinue of the *mos maiorum* (Allison 2004, 145; Boyce 1937, 28; Maiuri 1933, 102). These procreative deities may have also had a place in the bedroom, represented through the *lectus genialis* (couch of the *Genius*), as the *Genius* of an individual was ensured to continue through sexual reproduction (Hersch 2011, 179; Johansson 2010, 141). The *Penates*, for example, might have been situated in a storage cupboard or in the kitchen, and they may have been accompanied by *Vesta* in relation to the hearth. *Janus* and *Priapus* watched over doorways and thresholds and might have been situated at these positions around the house for protection from any intruders penetrating the entryway of the house (Orr 1973, 1561; Schultz 2006: 123; Wissowa 1914, 158-9). Each of these gods were brought into the house and set up in a particular location to some sort of benefit to the residents (Graf 2013, 129-30). While these locations have been provided to us through archaeological and textual documentation, it should also be kept in mind that as figurines, the household gods would be portable, whereas frescos and large-scale statues would have required the participant to move to them for ritual interactions.

Choices made by individuals and households as to which gods were present at the household shrine were likely produced by a mixture of individual determination and civically generated community gods. The individual may have been able to express agency through personal choice by selecting a deity of their choosing, but it would likely be influenced by their personal experiences, motivations, and surroundings, or by their cultural context. Thus, an individual may select *Dionysos* or *Venus*, but if we imagine this person as a Pompeiian, they might have selected *Dionysos* due to his association as the spirit of the place (*genius loci*) of nearby Vesuvius, or likewise, *Venus* as *Venus Pompeiiana*

(Clarke 2004, 106; Sigurdsson 2007, 48-49). Certain choices may be even more pragmatic, such as the Roman-Imperial-Egyptian program found in The House of the Gilded Cupids in Pompeii VI, XVI, 7,38, which may illustrate an attempt at either mitigating various household origins or even an attempt to assuage Egyptian and elite guests into seeing the residents' similarities to themselves (Hackworth Petersen 2012, 330; Lipka 2006, 333). Therefore, with the appropriate actions, it appears that almost any god could have been accepted into the domestic cult.

Ritual Movement in the Roman House

Now that the domestic gods have been established, I will attempt to locate[14] them in their particular positions within the domestic structure and how daily and ritual movement were interwoven into their reception and function within the house. I will use the form of a possible 1st century CE domestic structure, the House of the Menander[15] in Pompeii (I.X.4), to analyze for potential ritual areas and locations where the domestic gods could have been placed.

In order to identify types of domestic shrines, altars, and cult-rooms, it is important to address technical terminologies. The *aediculae* are small-scale temples situated within the house, often near the entry area (see Clarke 1991, 24; Orr 1973, 1577; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 30). There are also *pseudo-aediculae*, which are painted miniature temples, and can often be embossed, such as the *lararia* in Figure 1 from the House of the *Vettii* (VI.xv.1) (Bakker 1994, 15; Orr 1973, 1576). There are also niches, which are small shelves carved into walls,

[14]Berry (1996) reminds readers of the problematic issue in ascribing room functions due to many surviving house materials being not found *in situ*, due to removal, destruction or simply not being made of materials that survived time.

[15] For original excavation publication in Italian see: Maiuri, Amedeo (Rome: 1933) *La Casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*

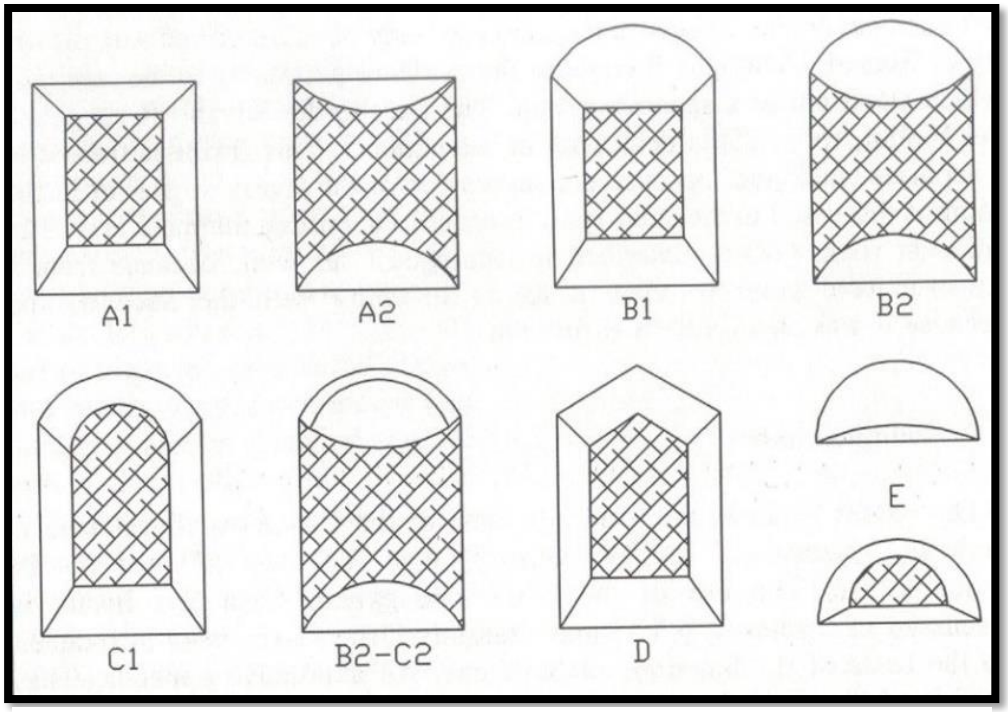


Figure 4: Aedicula type examples. From Bakker 1994: Fig. 1, pg. 20

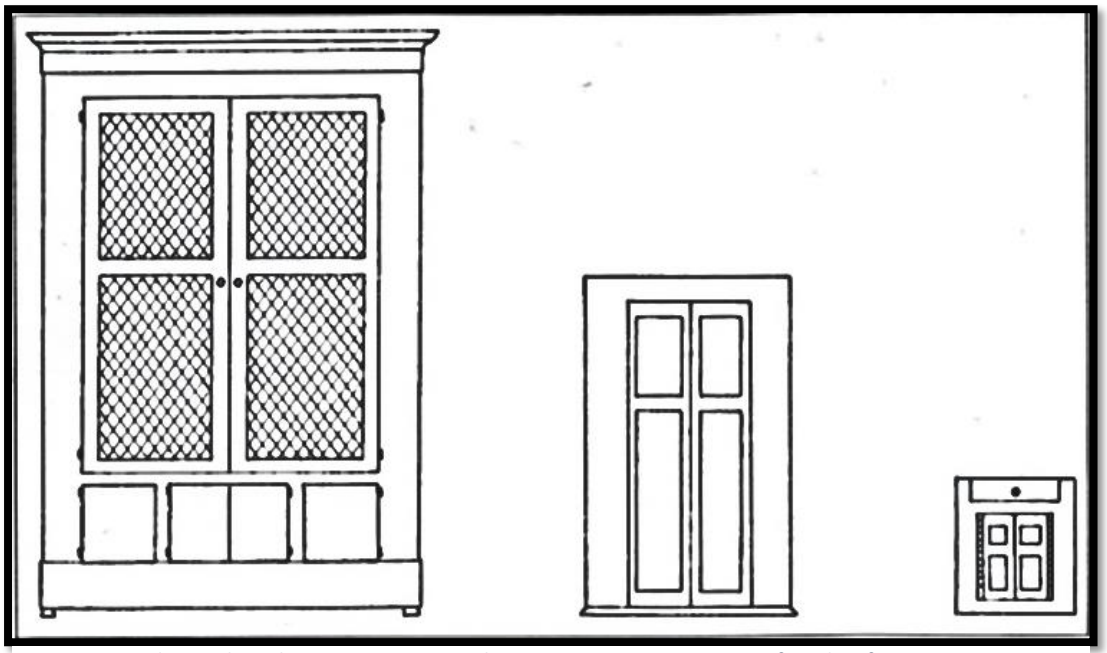


Figure 3: Wooden cupboard reconstructions. Scale representing common sizes found. Left: reconstruction based on a cast, Pompeii. Middle and Right: Reconstructions from Herculaneum. Drawn by A.T. Croom 2007: Fig. 60, pg. 125

which may come in one of eight shapes[16] (see Fig. 3). The small-type *E* are usually only located above door frames directly above the lintels (Bakker 1994, 19). It should also be noted that these types of wall-features could also be used as cupboards, or to hold a variety of objects, such as lamps which could have dual functions for lighting and religious ritual (Bakker 1994, 16; Orr 1973, 1577; Sofroniew 2016, 3-4). Additionally, there have been several wardrobe-like cupboards filled with household gods discovered in upper-floor rooms in Herculaneum (Herculaneum, V. 17, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 111) (see Fig. 4). The final kind are the wall-painting types, which depict *lararia* sacrificial scenes and are much like the *pseudo-aediculae* type, without embossing (Bakker 1994, 16; Orr 1973, 1579). There is also the possibility of portable shrines, braziers, and figurines, however these are practically impossible to read in archaeological material.[17]

The House of the Menander is roughly 19,000 sq. ft. and likely belonged to an elite member of Roman society named Quintus Poppaeus, who may have had kinship with Nero's second-wife Poppaea.[18] It is therefore likely that the elite owner would have had the home constructed by a professional and not by himself. The structure may have been constructed in the Vitruvian[19] school of architecture, or at least in similar methods[20] (Clarke 1991, 2; Ling 1997, 48; Nappo 2007, 386; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 10). Vitruvius' focus was primarily on large-scale civic

[16] For a complete survey for the number of ritual spaces, see Boyce (1937). For a concise chart see Bakker 1994, 40 (Fig. 6). Bakker lists a total of 294 identifiable ritual niches.
[17] Bakker (1994, 16) provides a list of known *Lares* and *Genius* figures that have been found that have no provenance. Ling (1997, 275) questions whether the figurines allegedly found *in situ* at the House of the Menander were actually placed in their attributed shrine by early excavators.
[18] The identity of the owner has been maintained by scholars due to a bronze seal found in the servants' quarters with this name (Allison 2001, 183; Ling 1997, 7; Nappo 2007, 368).
[19] The connection often drawn between Vitruvius' text and Roman domestic structures are likely a result of this text being the only surviving methodical treatise on Greek and Roman Architecture from the late 1st ce. BCE. (Hersey 1988, 3; McEwan 2003, 3). While Vitruvius may not have been the only architect during this period, and much of the cultural context has been lost, [19] the text remains an invaluable tool for producing technical jargon as well as a notion of prescriptive architecture during the turn of the 1st century.
[20] Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 19-50) gives other examples of Atrium-style houses located in Pompeii and Herculaneum. These include: House of the Vetii/*Casa di Vettii* (VI.xv.1), House of the Gilded Cupids/*Casa degli Amorini* (VI.xvi.7), *Casa del Principe di Napoli* (XV.xv, 7-8). In Herculaneum: *Casa del Mobilio Carbonizzato* (V.5) and *Casa dell'Atrio a mosaic* (IV.1-2)

projects, or elite structures, which would have required the use of a professional architect (Allison 2001, 183; Fitzpatrick Nichols 2017, 80; Wallace-Hadrill 1994,

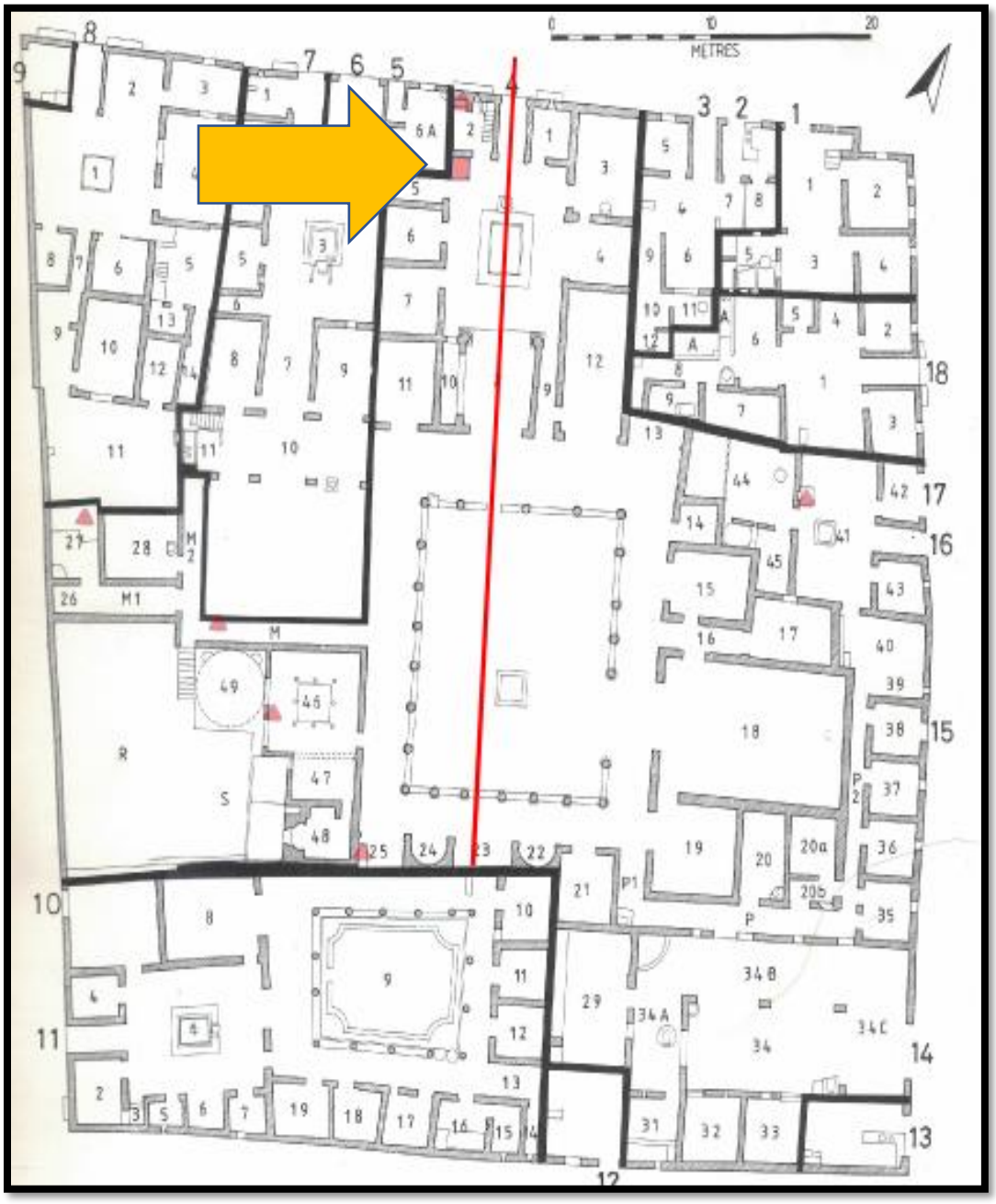


Figure 5: House of the Menander, I.X.4, From R. Ling (1997, frontispiece). Red line: Visual center. Red Triangles: Niche shrines. Square: Lararium Shrine, indicated by large yellow arrow for clarity

10).[21] Thus Vitruvius' text is likely relevant to Pompeiian houses, such as the House of the Menander, which at at the turn of the 1st century was considered an elite house (Fitzpatrick Nichols 2017, 83-84).

Vitruvius' Book VI specifically focuses on an appropriate arrangement of the house, and he immediately identifies symmetry as the main consideration of the professional architect (VI.intro.7; VI.2.1). According to Vitruvius, the straight axis ought to begin with the entry way, or *fauces* (teeth or jaw), with a long narrow hallway, focusing the visual cue into the *atrium* and the *tablinum* of the house. The House of the Menander, as shown in the example on the previous page, follows the Vitruvian recommendations for a symmetrical entrance producing a forced visual line through the center of the house. In the center of the *atrium* is the *impluvium,* or water basin, which is placed directly under the *displuviatum,* a cut-out in the top of the ceiling to allow light and water to enter the center of the *atrium*.[22] This direct axis line would have been slightly manipulated by the *tablinum* by a slight slope of 0.26 meters which begins immediately after the *impluvium* (Clarke 1991, 6; Ling 1997, 49). The *tablinum* was the place where the *paterfamilias* would have stood or sat (Clarke 1991, 6; Ellis 2000, 27). This room is framed with a set of Corinthian pillars attached to walls leading to the *peristyle* directly behind it (Nappo 2007, 372).[23] The two pillars would have created a visual frame for visitors, with the *paterfamilias* in the center of that frame (Clarke 1991, 6; Hales 2003, 126; Ling 1997, 92;).

From the view of the *tablinum* to the *fauces*, in the north-west corner of the *atrium*, an *aedicula* was constructed along the side of the wall (Boyce 1937,

---

[21] Vitruvius, when discussing unskilled lay-architects, *de Architectura* 6. *praef*.7: *non possum non laudare patres familiarum eos qui litteraturae fiducia confirmati per se aedificantes ita iudicant* "I cannot blame proprietors, who relying on their own intelligence, are their own architects" Vitruvius only takes issue with those laymen who charge a fee, perhaps because they would have competed with him for patrons.

[22] Vitruvius, *de Architectura* 6.3.1-3: Vitruvius states that the *displuviatum* is to be slanted to force rain to run appropriately into the *impluvium*. The *atrium* is to be regulated by a space divisible into five parts with a diagonal line running through the *impluvium*. The House of the Menander is fitted with these ratios and features.

[23] Vitrivius, *de Architectura* 6.3.6: Vitruvius recommends that the *tablinum* be framed with two columns of any type.

27; Ling 1997, 49). It is a well preserved *aedicula*, set directly into the wall, suggesting it was built at the same time as the rest of the decorative features in the room (Boyce 1937, 28; Orr 1973, 1577). It has a masonry podium measuring 1.08 m. square and 1.35 m. tall, supporting what looks like a miniature temple complete with two pediments extending at a right angle in south-east orientation, with a single Doric-style[24] column on the east side (Fig. 6) (Boyce 1937, 27; Ling 1997, 50; Nappo 2007, 372). The base is painted in marble imitation, set in a geometric pattern. Each pediment has a small recess painted blue and filled with two stucco *hippocamps*, surrounded with stucco polychrome cornices (Boyce 1937, 27). The canopy-like roof is diamond-shaped and features an elaborate cornice frieze that was likely painted in stripes of alternating yellow and red (Boyce 1937, 27) The backdrop, or two corner walls, were painted in marble imitation, however there is a border of red around each yellow-tinged panel. The upper area of the podium is covered with a platform with a concave top, measuring from the corner, approximately 0.13 m. high; the edge facing out is painted black, overlaid with small white garlands.

Figure 6: House of the Menander, Aedicula/Lararium. Atrium NW Corner. Courtesy of: Brittany DeMone, PhD student, University of Calgary 2017

[24] Nappo states this is a Tuscan-order column, a more simplified form of the Doric (2007: 372)

The placement of this shrine would not have drawn attention to outside viewers peering inside. This likely indicates that this shrine was designed to be viewed by those within the house looking outward, towards the main entry. The fact that this *aedicula* was impossible to view from the *fauces*—and was further shielded by the lattice from the side facing the *fauces*—anyone who entered would have had to be at least two-thirds into the *atrium* before being able to get a good glimpse of it. This may relate to the same *Vestal/Priapus* conception of the gods as being related to the *vestibule* and *fauces*.[25] As the guest enters the threshold of the house, so too does *Priapus* anticipate this penetration in the literal form of his engorged penis. Much like the sexual encounter he has with Vesta[26] in Ovid's *Fasti*, there is a chance to be rebuked, or refused at the door. Conversely, the act of penetrating the house may bring with it fortune and generate further success, as in the act of sexual reproduction.

Applying Hillier and Hanson's model, the reasonable proximity of the shrine to the doorway suggests that this shrine would be accessible to outsiders, however the lack of visible access defies this. Rather, the placement clearly demarcates who is an insider (those who can see the interior shrine) over the outsider who cannot see into it (Hales 2003, 113). It is only when the visitor or resident is leaving the *atrium* that the interior would become visible—and only if the person in question left using the left side of the atrium (highlighted in Fig. 5 with yellow arrow). The placement, in the combination of a *fauces-atrium-tablinum* with *lararia,* reveals to visitors the maintenance of "proper duties" of the *paterfamilias,* therefore reflecting his abilities to perform his proper civic duties in the forum (Hales 2003, 113).

---

[25] While not present at the House of the Menander, the House of the Vettii (VI.xv.1) has a figural representation of Priapus in line with the threshold from the *fauces* to the *atrium* (Clarke 1991: 234; Hackworth Petersen 2011: 5). See Hackworth Petersen 2011: 5-7 for more on Priapus' connection to wealth and abundance in the House of the Vettii.

[26] Beard argues that the Vesta's relationship to fire and its civilizing aspect, such as cooking, and destructive element are central to the cult, not necessarily the concept of virginity and purity (Beard 1980: 25). Therefore, we may interpret Ovid's scene as a potential attempt to steal the "flame" of Vesta, or the "flame" (i.e. wealth) of a house.

Rituals in Household Spaces: Salutatio

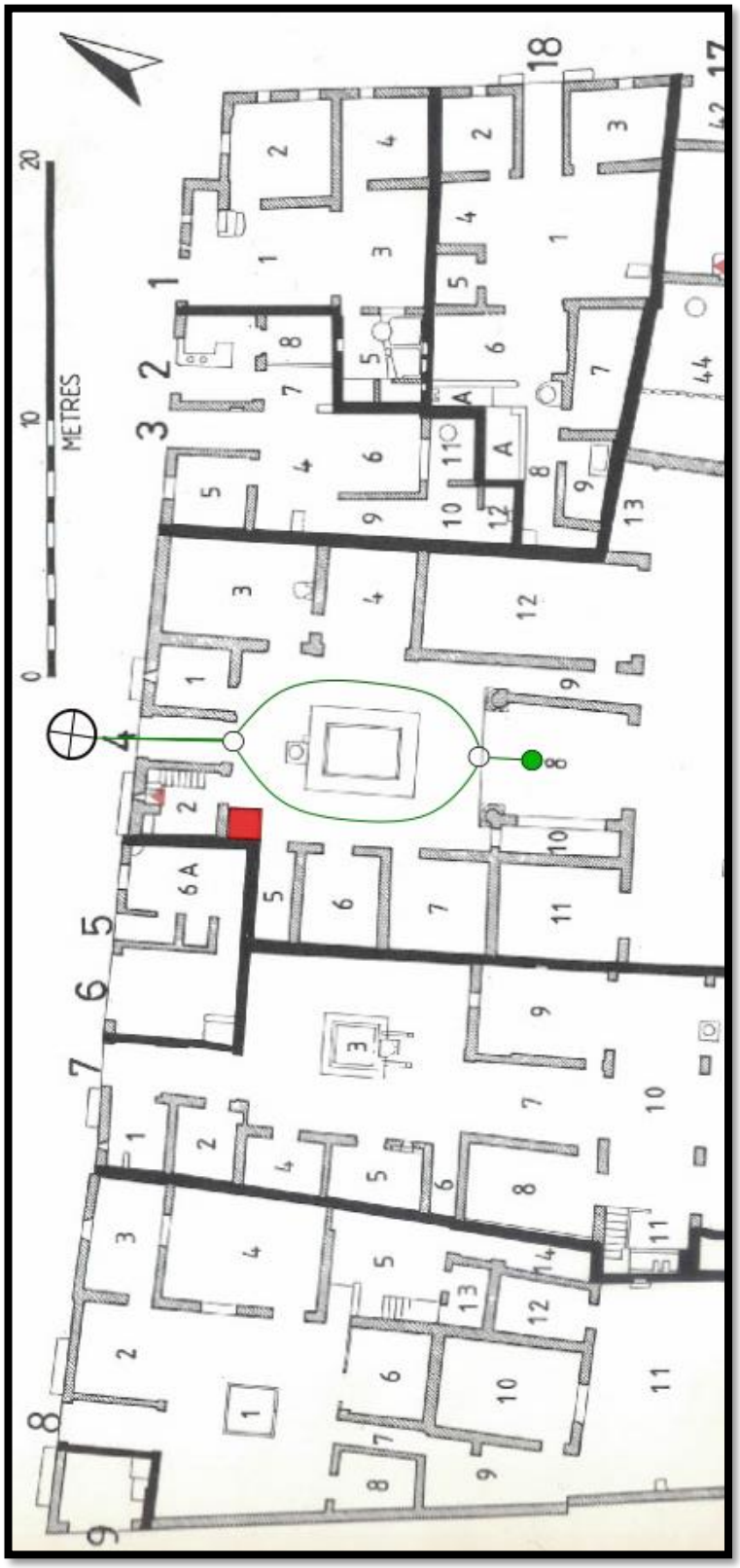
One of the main rituals that would take place in this area of the house was the *salutatio*, wherein the *paterfamilias* would act as a patron, admitting guests, dependents, and clientele (Clarke 1991, 4). Cicero states that the home of distinguished men ought to be large enough to accommodate the "numerous guests" he is likely to receive.[27] Clients may be provided benches outside or may stand in a line waiting until they were admitted into the house by a slave (Clarke 1991, 4). Too many people visiting could become burdensome, and likely required a pre-meeting prior to knocking at the door, as Seneca complains that "these are not friends, who, in a long line, knock at your door, who are divided in first and second admittances."[28] However, certain elites may have been indiscriminating in who was allowed access to their houses.[29]

The motion of this ritual would have created an ellipse around the *impluvium* as the client was led into the *atrium* towards the *tablinum*, as seen on the map in Figure 7. In the House of the Menander, a guest would have approached the *paterfamilias* situated in the visual frame of the *tablinum* with an idyllic setting produced by the *peristyle/hortus* area directly behind the *paterfamilias* (Clarke 1991, 6; Ling 1992, 92). The guest would have finally been given a visual access to the *aedicula* as they were leaving the house, as if to simultaneously admit the guest (if only for a moment) as an "insider," all the while assuring the guest in the abilities of the patron as dutiful provider. As the map below illustrates, the *paterfamilias* has a panoptic view of the entire area from the *fauces-atrium-tablinum* and turning, can see into the *peristyle*.

---

[27] Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.39: he also states that a lonely house should be avoided by filling it with people.
[28] Seneca, *de Beneficiis* 6.33: *Non sunt isti amici…*. He repeats a similar sentiment in *de Brevitate vitae* 14.3
[29] Seutonius, *Vita Divi Augusti*, 6.34: (re: Augustus) *promiscuis salutationibus admittebant et plebem*, "he admitted to the salutations even the plebs, in common…." For more information on social rank-based discrimination see Crook (1955) and Winterling (2009).

Figure 7: House of the Menander, Fauces-Atrium-Tablinum closeup with walking path in green. Lararium marked by red square



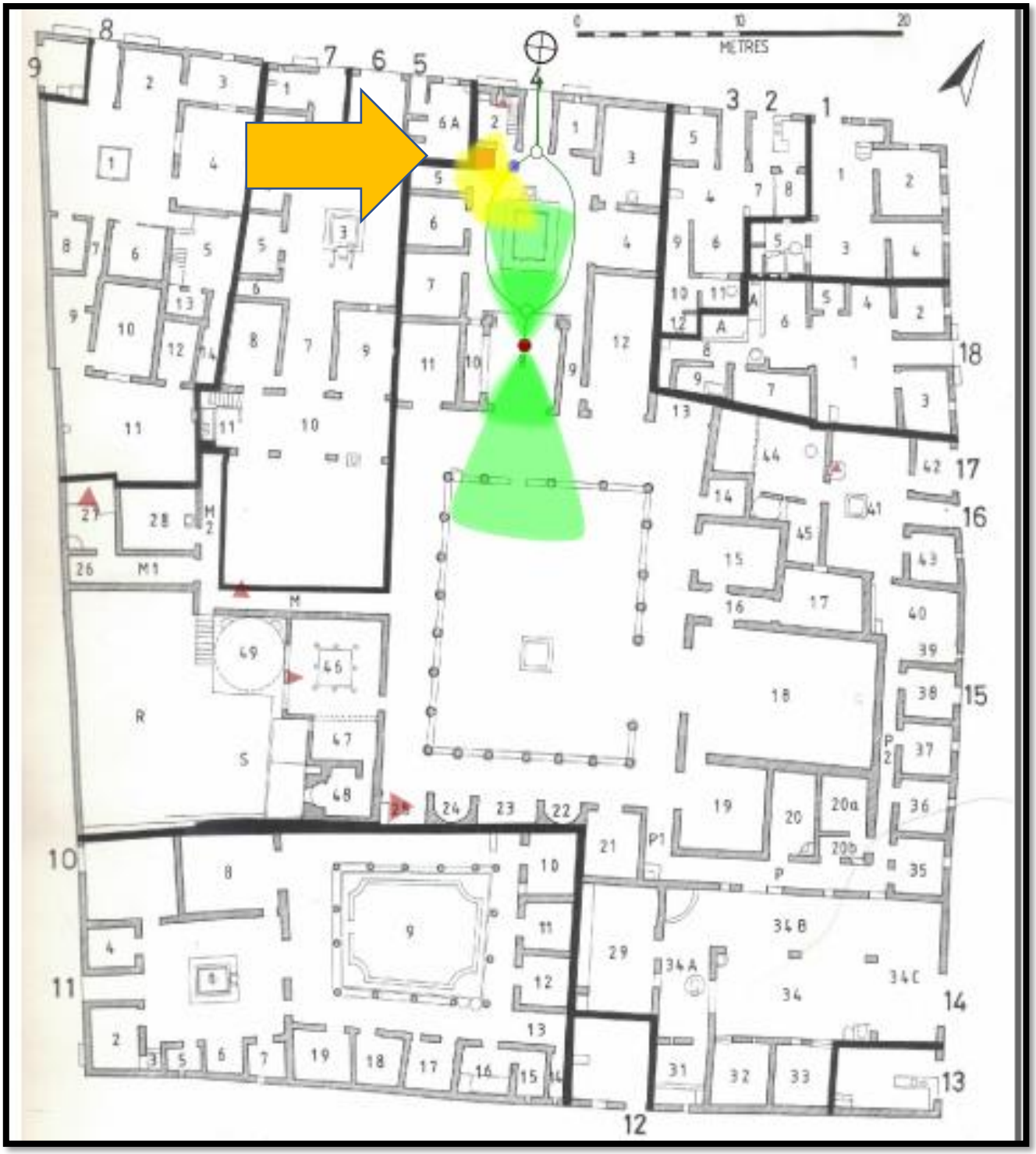


Figure 8: House of the Menander. Views of the Guest/Client are in Yellow. View angles of the paterfamilias are in green. The paterfamilas' view is far less obstructed than guests. The atrium based Lararium is not visible until the client is leaving from the left side

As the client or guest was leaving the House of the Menander, they might have caught a glimpse at another shrine, located in Room 2. This small room, measuring roughly 2.4 m x 2.8-9 m, contained a masonry staircase wrapping around the wall. Under the landing is an arched ceiling measuring 4.8 m. high, with two niches in type C1 style (see Fig**. 8**), one on the floor and the other at a realistic height for worship. Allison reports that there was a lock mechanism found on the inside of this arch, and *if* ritual items such as food-preparation materials were placed in this niche, it is likely they were stored here for safe keeping and brought out into the aforementioned *aedicula* shrine immediately outside the door[30] (Allison 2004, 75, 127).

Figure 9: House of the Menander, Pompeii, I.X.4, threshold of Room 2 with floor niche. Courtesy of Brittany DeMone, PhD Student, University of Calgary 2017

[30] It should be noted that there is a cupboard measuring 3.52 m wide in the south wall of the *tablinum*, which may be another likely place for the storage of ritual figurines (see Ling and Ling 1997: 350, Fig. 24).

The *fauces-atrium-tablinum* area of the structure leads into the *peristyle-triclinium-cubiculum* area.[31] The back-wall of the *peristyle*[32] has several picture-walls, which have been each given a room label. Room 25 in the south-western corner is labelled as a "finely decorated *exedra*" with an "unusual shrine," by A. Maiuri (in Boyce 1937, 28). This exedra-shrine room was likely constructed at the same period as the atrium *aedicula* as they have similar construction styles, such as the black *tesserae* set in limestone which may date the two shrines to the late Republic period (Boyce 1937, 28). In the west corner of this area is a rectangular masonry block, likely a podium or alter, measuring 1.33 m. x 0.66 m. x 0.89 m. high (Boyce 1937, 28; Ling 1997, 275). Sitting atop this masonry block is a smaller block, measuring only 0.21 m. x 0.17 m. x 0.25 m. tall, painted with red stucco,

Figure 10: House of the Menander. Lararium Niche. Peristyle SW Corner. Courtesy of Brittany DeMone, PhD Student, University of Calgary 2017

[31] Vitruvius, *de Architectura* 6.5.1: Vitruvius states there are areas of the house called "private rooms" for the master of the house, of which some are for general use and guests, and some are: *…namque ex his quae propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus intro eundi nisi invitatis, quemadmodum sunt cubicula triclinia balineae ceteraque quae easdem habent usus rationes*…: "… private no one enters, except invited; such are bedchambers, triclinia, baths, and others of a similar nature."

[32] For more on the garden features of the *peristyle* see Jashemski 1994: 487-98.

acting as either a miniature altar or "staircase" to the podium block (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 63-4; Ling 1997, 275; Allison 2004, 145). Directly above the 1.33 m. long side is a shallow arched niche 0.24 m. above the masonry block, in an elongated C1 style shape with an additional pseudo-arch painted above it. The larger podium was painted with slabs of yellow marble with red veins, as is the back of the niche.

The original excavation team in 1931 discovered a set of perishable figures near this niche. They made rough plaster casts of the ash-forms prior to their destruction, preserving the suggestions of the figures, but not the entire details (Allison 2004, 145; Maiuri 1933, 102). These statues were referred to as "strange divinities," as they are not the typical dancing *Lares* excavators were accustomed to finding, such as the dancing *Lares* in Fig. 2 (Boyce 1937, 28). These include a nude youthful figure seated in repose atop a rock; one hand is placed on the knee and the other maintains the figure's balance on the rock, and like other *Lares* figures, it has a garland on its head (Boyce 1937, 28). This may be a unique figurine, however, there is a likelihood that this figure was not a *Lar* figurine at all, but actually a *Genius* in reclining pose (Allison 2004, 145; Maiuri 1933, 102).

The other three figures were busts, which, according to Boyce via Maiuri, were *imagines maiorum* (ancestor spirits) worshipped alongside a singular *Lar* (Boyce 1937, 28). Ling is highly skeptical of this reading, stating that the dates, significance, and meanings are likely lost to us (1997, 61). It is possible that both the smaller masonry block and these figures were set-up in their positions by the original excavation team as well. Their intent to display a recognizable religious feature in the arrangement may obscure our readings (Ling 1997, 61; Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 64). While these cautions are a cause for concern when attempting to reconstruct ritual and movement in the house, it raises questions about the possibility that these figurines were portable in nature and may have been shuttled around the house to different shrines. Or, if they were fixed, did the figurines in the other shrines have similar characteristics? Even after the earthquake in 69 CE

that damaged the house, the residents maintained the room, and thus it persisted until the eruption in 79 CE.[33]

Much like the *aedicula* in the *atrium*, this *peristyle exedra* would likely be only partially visible to those who were not invited into the core of the *peristyle*. Unlike the *atrium* shrine and the possible ritual space in Room 2, the edge of this shrine would be visible to the perceptive viewer as they were approaching the *tablinum*. The fact that all three of the shrine areas required an invitation deeper and deeper into the house expresses a liminal quality built on penetration of succeeding thresholds (Knight 1997, 108).

Rituals in Household Spaces: Birthdays, the Parentalia, Caristia, and Banquets

Other rituals which might have involved the household gods include birthdays,[34] the *Parentalia*,[35] the *Caristia*[36], and banquets.[37] Since many of these involved the *Genius* or *Juno*, they may have been situated around the *imagines mairoum* in the peristyle shrine.[38] Banquets likely took place in the *triclinium*, to

[33] Further evidence of their importance is suggested by Mary Beard. She questions whether the three bodies discovered in between *exedra* 25-23 were returning looters, or perhaps they were servants sent to recover these valuable figurines. Evidence suggests they did not die in the eruption in 79 CE and were therefore killed attempting to retrieve something of value (2010: 10-11).

[34] Birthday rituals were fashionable amongst the elite, did not have fixed dates, and were celebrated by giving gifts and holding a banquet (Argetsinger 1992, 175-6; Lucas 1933, 5). While Boyce stated that a person did not sacrifice to their own *genius*, it appears that birthdays were the exception (Argetsinger 1992, 176; Boyce 1942, 40). According to Rawson, the birthday rite gave the individual the opportunity to renew household compacts with the *Lares* and the divine, thereby reinsuring the household's wellbeing (Rawson 2003, 135).

[35] According to scholars, the *Parentalia* was a day to celebrate the *divi parentes* (deceased "divine" ancestors) who were represented by the *imagines maiorum* (Beard, North and Price 1998, 31; Nathan 2000, 163).

[36] The *Caristia*, or *cara cognatio*, may have been related to the *Parentalia* as a day to honour dead ancestors with shared kin groups, including extended family, children and servile household members (Bodel 2008, 267; Mantle 2002, 101; Rawson 2003, 339). This may have included a banquet and a procession to the family burial location (Bodel 2008, 267).

[37] According to Smith the banquet meal took on a homogeneous character across the Mediterranean by the 1st CE and formed an important part of social interactions in the Greco-Roman world (2003, 2). Klinghardt states that this was a part of community experience for all social levels within the household and had become an "institutionalized" and normative practice (2012, 10).

[38] It should also be noted that children were likewise celebrated in this area in coming-of-age rites. For boys, the *bulla*, or necklace representing youth was given to the *Lares*. For girls, balls of yarn or their girdles may have been presented to the *Lares* instead (Mantle 2002, 101; Sofroniew 2017, 41).

which the *Lares* might be invited as depicted in Petronius' *Satyricon*.[39] If we are to situate these non-banqueting rituals in the House of the Menander, it could be argued that the event most likely occured in the *peristyle* area in front of the *imagines maiorum* (see Fig. 10, above). This area provides enough space to accommodate for more than one individual, unlike the possible niche shrine in Room 2, although the *lararium* in the *atrium* would still be open to any guests pouring in to wish their friend, or patron, greetings. Furthermore, unlike the *aedicula* in the *atrium*, the *peristyle* shrine allows for easy access to the *triclinium* in Rooms 18, 11 or 12, or even in the more intimate *cubicula* Rooms 15 or 19, depending on how many guests would have been invited to the birthday banquet[40] (Ling 1997, 64).

I have marked the pathways most likely taken from the *fauces*, however I am aware that a household member would have already been present in the house. The main path of the first part of the ritual, involving the *lararium* or *aedicula* is marked in blue, whereas the secondary lines in red demarcate where the household may have proceeded from there: perhaps the celebrant would make the trip down the long hallway M-M1 to find themselves in the kitchen in front of the *focus* of the hearth. The lines in green mark out any guest who may have headed straight to the dining area for banquet festivities. We can also safely assume that if the garden in the center of the *peristyle* was open that some guests and household members may have taken a shortcut through this path, which is why it is marked as a faded green line. Each pathway that the birthday celebrant takes would, much like the bridal ritual, take the participant in a circumambulatory motion around the house. Guests would have likewise made their way around the

---

[39] Petronius, *Satyricon*, 60: *Inter haec tres pueri candidas succincti tunicas intraverunt, quorum duo Lares bullatos super mensam posuerunt, unus pateram vini circumferens*. "Three boys came in with their white tunics well tucked up, and two of them put images of the *Lares* with lockets around their necks on the table, while one carried 'round a bowl of wine and cried "gods be gracious unto us…" (Trans. Warmington 1987). This passage, according to Scheid, illustrates a common practice amongst Romans, where incense, wine and other items were offered to the household gods—who were also invited to share in the banquet via food offerings (2008, 268)

[40] According to Ling the most likely *triclinium* room is Room 18, however, as no furnishings were found during initial excavations, the possibility of other rooms off the *peristyle* acting as dining rooms must be accounted for.

house, especially if they had also joined the celebrant in Room 25 with the *imagines maiorum.*

The rituals briefly considered in this section are all intended to highlight how domestic ritual activities carried individuals, household members and guests, through the center of the house, through the *atrium*, around the *peristyle*, and into a *triclinium* area for a banquet in which participants were literally joined by the household gods. The household gods, *Lares*, *penates*, and *genius* were therefore part of the spatial syntax of the house, and often found in the most physically accessible areas of the house (Hanson and Hiller 1984, 122). Furthermore, they were part of the underlying structure, or *habitus*, in the way the roles of household members were presented in social scenarios (Bourdieu 1990, 64; Giddens 1986, 2). Giddens states that these types of routines reinforced the security of the social network, in this case the household, which reinforces "the natural and social worlds as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (1986, 375). The well-being of a house is celebrated through the birthday, wedding, or the *parentalia* of the *paterfamilias*, as the continuation of the household and the family network (the *gens*). The family well-being is therefore continuously negotiated through ritual activities directed towards the household gods, who in exchange ensure the continuation of the household.

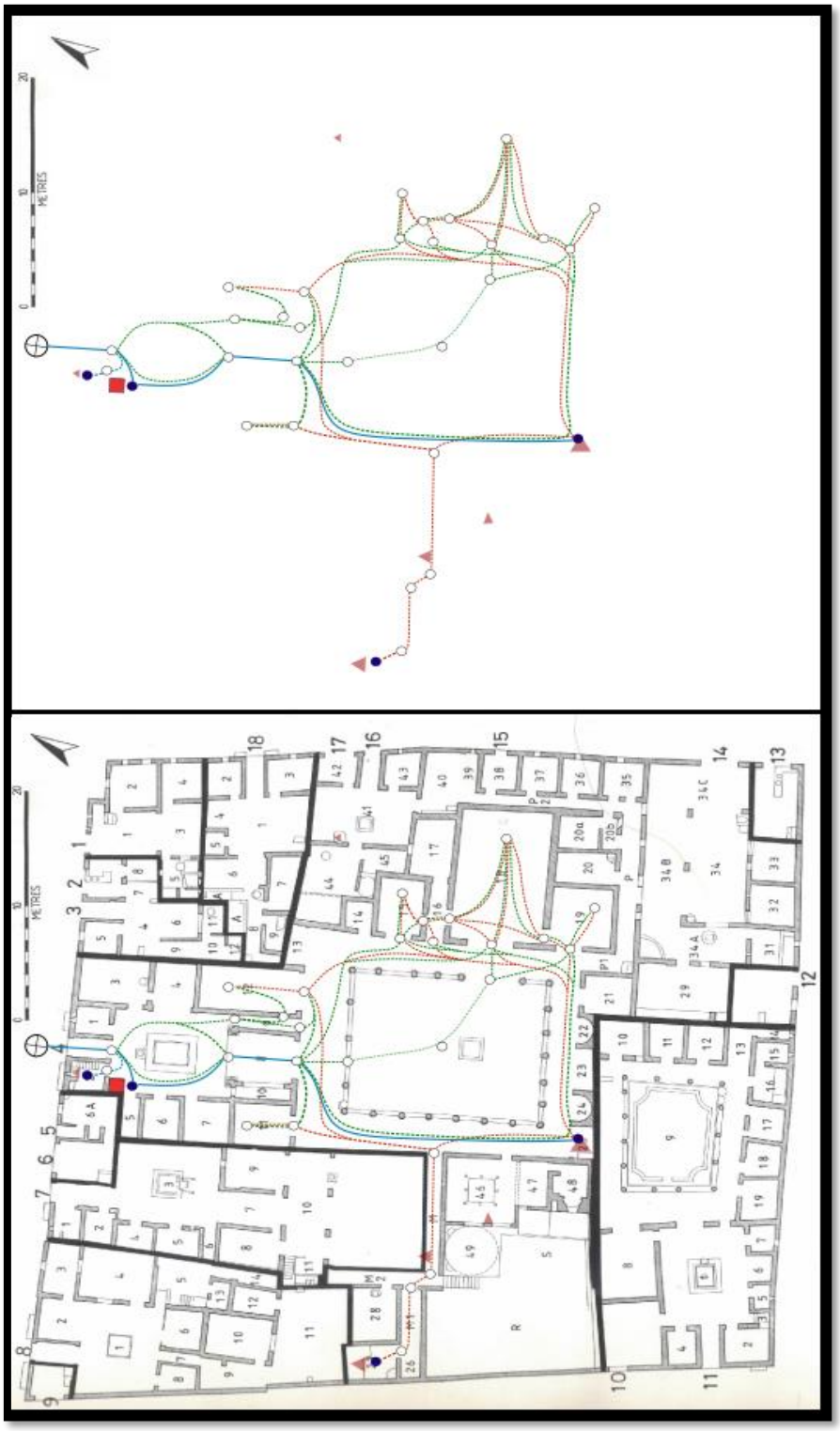


Figure 11: House of the Menander. Potential Walking Path of the Birthday Ritual. Solid Blue lines indicating from Niches to Lararia. Green dotted line indicating potential paths to triclinia. Red Dotted Line indicating potential celebrant/participant walking paths. Red Square highlights atrium lararium. Red triangles indicate potential lararia

Rituals in Household Spaces: Saturnalia and Household Staff Activities

Routine and annual rites to the *Lares*, such as the birthday, *parentalia,* or common banquets, have drawn contention amongst scholars as to where these rituals may have taken place. Since there is often mention of a burnt offering or a hearth in the ceremonies, as previously presented by Ovid, many have questioned whether the *paterfamilias* and the members of the household would crowd into the smaller kitchen-room to access the hearth (Foss 1996, 217). Pictorial evidence of this has been found in Pompeii in the House of *Julius Polybius* (IX, xiii, 1-3) and in the House of *Sutoria Primigenia* (I.xiii.2) in Pompeii. This piece, on the following page, from the House of *Sutoria Primigenia* in Pompeii (Fig. 12) depicts the entire household retinue surrounded by the two larger figures who were likely *Lares*. The central figure may be a *paterfamilias* with their toga hood pulled up beside the *materfamilias* on their left, the small figure in the forefront may be a child, or perhaps a slave, and a pipe player (the remaining figures have faded beyond recognition). However, it should be noted that unlike the House of the Menander and other larger houses, the House of *Sutoria Primigenia* (I.xiii.2) is of modest size and does not contain a possible servants' quarters (Joshel and Hackworth Petersen 2014, 40-41). Therefore, larger homes may have had the space to create layers of differentiation in the status of participants, however, the tradition of rituals in front of the *focus*/hearth in the kitchen may have continued, albeit it in pictorial or nominal forms meant to maintain the tradition of domestic rituals.

Figure 12: Kitchen scene located in the House of Sutoria Pirmegenia, Pompeii I.XIII.2. From Flower 2017, Plate 9

Differentiation in household member status may have initiated a split in the household understanding of domestic practices between the various classes. According to some scholars, we should consider the staff-area *lararia* and the shrine featuring *imagines maiorum* as being two separate religious categories (Bodel 2008, 267; Flower 2017, 77; Giacobello 2008, 45-6). Bodel argues that the disconnect between the *imagines maiorum* and the kitchen *Lares* was an attempt to deny the slaves the same family ties that a family-unit was privileged to in the *atrium* or *peristyle*. Further, when there are *Genius/Lares* designs, they were intended to act as the *paterfamilias*' surveillance over slaves via images (Bodel 2008, 267-8). Slaves also appear to have played a fundamental role in household rituals, as previously seen in Petronius' *Satyricon*, when the three young slaves enter the dining area holding the *Lares* (Petronius, *Satyricon* 60). Joshel and Hackworth Petersen state that the slaves in these scenes appear not as important as the objects that they are displaying, often acting like human showcase stands (Joshel and Hackworth Petersen 2014, 37-8).

The isolation from the main shrine may not necessarily be a negative concept, as slaves could envision their own connection to these kitchen gods to

express a degree of their own ritual agency, away from their master's eyes (North 2012, 73). Spatial differentiation within the household may be an exclusive feature of very large houses, which do appear specialized, as smaller houses may have shared the kitchen as a ritual space, as seen in the figures above (Foss 1996, 215; Maiuri 1933, 33).

The final set of shrines that may have had ritualistic meanings in the House of the Menander belong to areas that are coded as service areas by excavators (Coarelli 2002, 167; Ling 1997, 316-9). In the far western region of the house is evidence of a kitchen, labeled Room 52,[41] found to contain an excess of ash build-up and detritus in a hearth on the northern wall and a sink basin in the corner. There is a niche on the western wall directly beside the hearth (Ling 1997, 317). This niche, which is otherwise undocumented**,** was found by original excavators to be covered in a panel of white stucco bordered in red, with details of a serpent's tail remaining (Boyce 1937, 28; Maiuri 1933, 214). It is likely that this shrine, with the long hallway leading to it, would have required more effort to walk to than any other shrine in the house. This may suggest a primary usage of this particular niche by serving staff (Flower 2017, 77; Foss 1996, 216; Giacobello 2008, 65). However, we must also consider the possibility that households who wanted to perform a traditional set of domestic rituals may have made the effort to make a nominal trip to these far-regions of the house in order to maintain custom, while also being able to inspect less visited areas of the house.

One particular holiday, the *Saturnalia*, allowed for the household staff members to interact with the gods in a similar manner as the household family members. It was often held during the final days of December to celebrate the end of the year with general partying (Scheid 2003, 51). Slaves could temporarily play the role of free men and could even take part in banqueting, appearing as if they were in equal social standing to their master (Bodel 2008, 267). It is clear that it provided a platform for slaves and staff to speak their minds. Horace, for example, mentions that the slave Davus is free to speak only because of

[41] from Hall M and M1, labeled Room 52 by Maiuri 1933

"December's freedom,"[42] or when Martial reminds readers his verses are specifically intended for *Saturnalia* and are therefore exempt from censorship.[43] The household celebrations could grow so raucous as to cause the *paterfamilias* to exit the busier areas for quieter spaces, such as Pliny the Younger claims to do in his own home during the *Saturnalia.*[44] It is possible that the household staff, during the *Saturnalia*, were free to make use of the central areas of the house, including the *triclinia* rooms. Placing this in a similar motion and walking path between entry ways, the kitchen (as food and drink would likely need to be prepared for participants), and into the *triclinia*.

I have highlighted possible areas that would be large enough to host the household staff if they were to celebrate the *Saturnalia* together in the house. The largest area, the garden in the *peristyle*, is accessible from two points. However, as there was likely vegetation in this area, it may have not been a location for a household banquet. Room 18, highlighted in pink, is the most likely location for a large-scale banquet. It is a very open location as it has many points of entry and the space to accommodate numerous people. The household staff, if coming from any point from entry 4, 17, 16, 15 or 14 would have required a participant to cover at least half of the entire household. If we include any movement to the kitchen area, staff would complete the same circumambulatory motions as their social superiors during their birthdays and other rituals.

---

[42] Horace, *Satires*, 2.7: *age libertate Decembri*
[43] Martial, *Epigrams*, 11.15: *... versus hos tamen esse tu memento Saturnalicios, Apollinaris…*
[44] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 2.17: "At the head of the terrace and portico… adjoining is a chamber… the deep seclusion and remoteness is due to the fact that an intervening passage separates the wall of the chamber from that of the garden, and so all the sound is dissipated…. I find it delightful to sit there, especially during the Saturnalia, when the rest of the house rings with the merry riot and shouts of the festival-makers; for then I do not interfere with their amusements. (Trans. Firth, J.B. 1900)

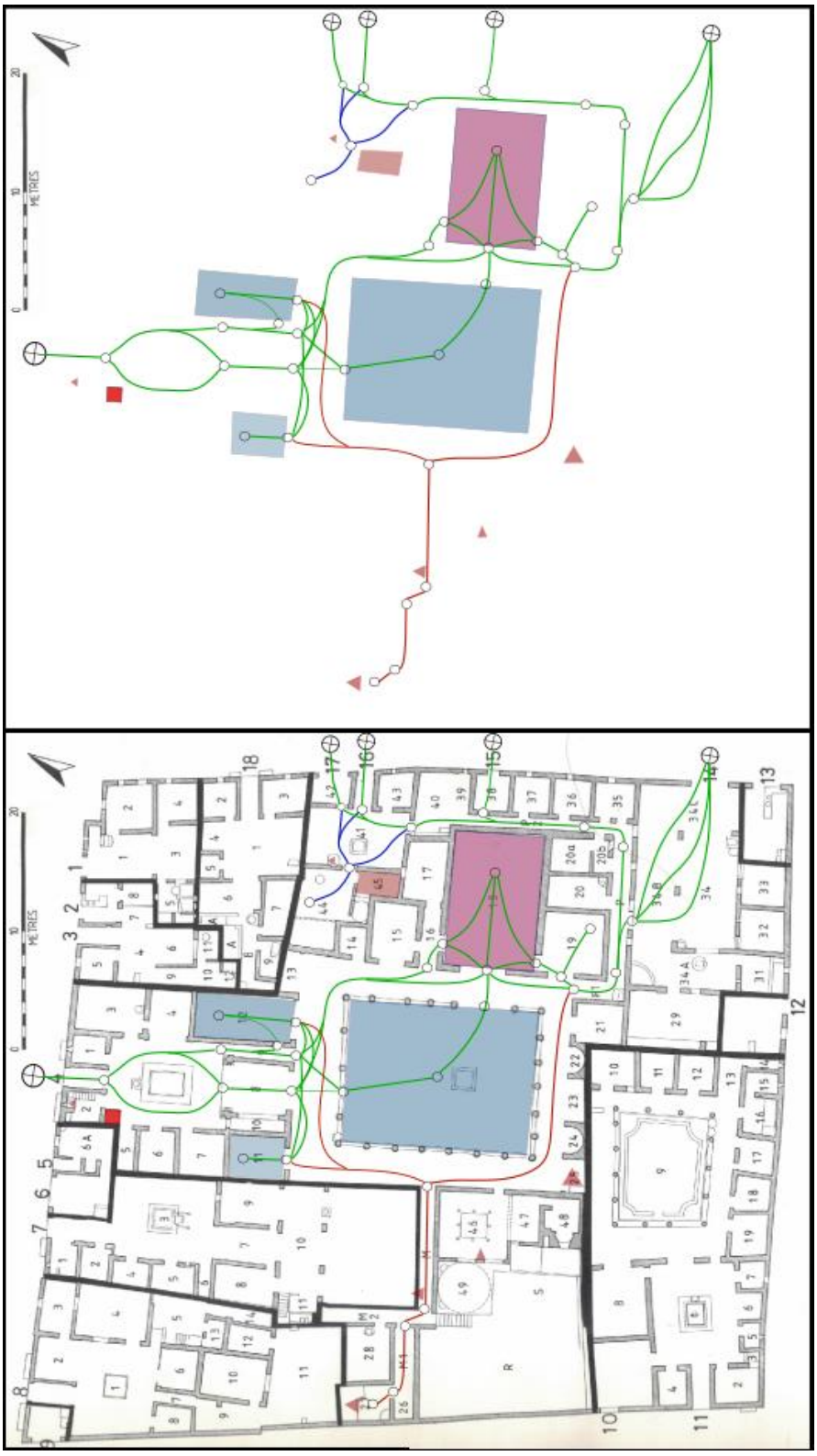


Figure 13: House of the Menander. Motion map highlighting potential walking paths and movements for the Saturnalia ritual. Green lines indicate entry paths and movement triclinia. Red lines indicate potential pathways to the kitchen areas. Blue highlights potential movement into Room 44.

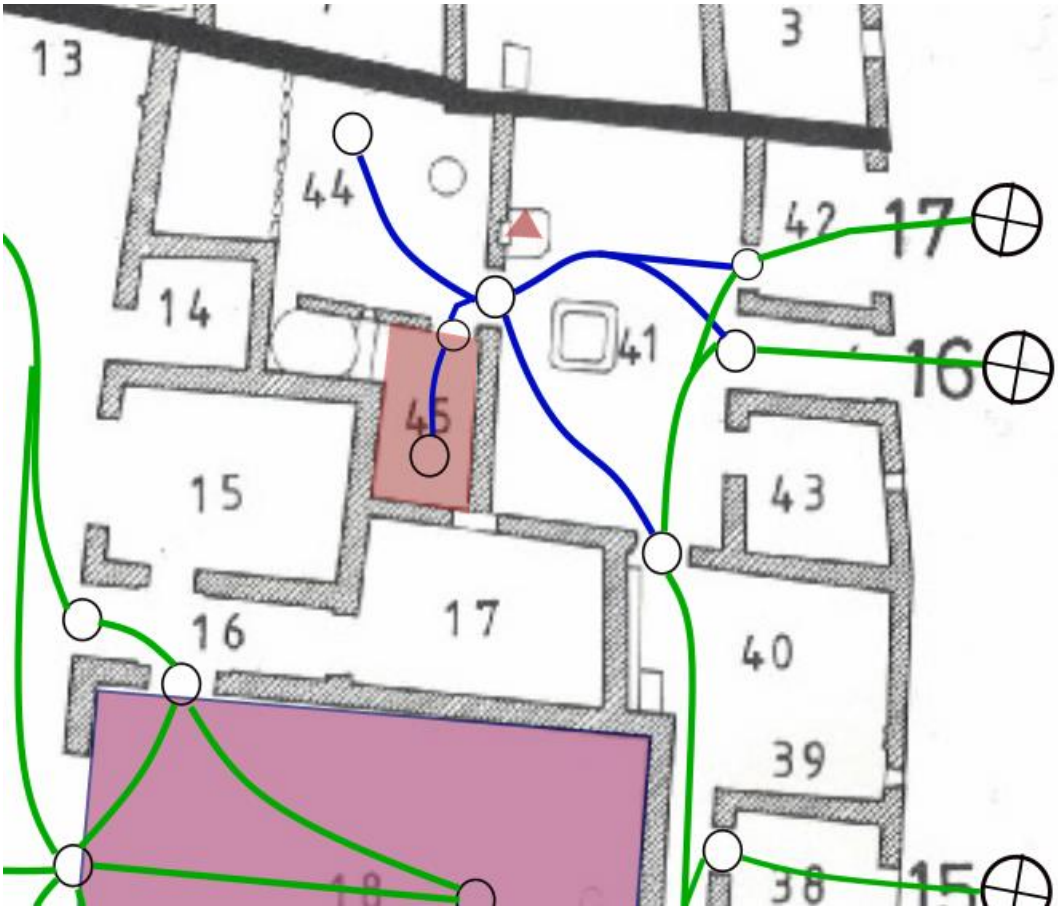


Figure 14: House of the Menander. Inset of the Quartiere del Procurator and potential movements into Room 44 and 45. Red triangle highlights potential lararium niche.

Joshel and Hackworth Petersen state that the eastern area of the house, referred to as the *Quartiere del Procurator*,[45] and the stable yard are physically lower than the other section of the house and would disappear from view completely from the slaveholder's quarters unless they moved into the core of the house (2014, 56). The household staff of the House of the Menander were, unlike smaller homes, afforded a space in which they could abscond and assert their own autonomy without the gaze of their *paterfamilias* (Joshel and Hackworth Petersen 2014, 61). Perhaps the household staff made use of the shrines available in this area of the house and only used the kitchen area for household-based rituals.

[45] The 'head' of the service staff's quarters, this may have been added around 60 CE, when the house expanded to include the south-eastern corner from room 29-38. There is evidence of a wicker screen being used to block Room 40 and 41, suggesting an attempt to inhibit connections between the houses (Ling 1997: 319).

There are two potential areas for ritual activity in this area: Room 41, directly visible from the *fauces* of entry 16 and Room 45. There were three terracotta lamps discovered *in situ*; two of which were decorated with reliefs of a sun and an eagle with a small dish (Boyce 1937, 28). I have marked in on the map, above in Fig. 14, the line of movement that would have taken place in order to reach the niche in Room 41. The movement path in this smaller *atrium* area replicates the same circular shape as the *atrium* in the main house, except the niche faces directly outward, facing anyone who arrives through entry 17 or 16. The maintained structure of entry and movement around the *atrium* suggests that it was a religiously coded area, yet the placement of the shrine also suggests the resident of this side of the home wanted immediate recognition and a high degree of visibility to this space.

The second niche in this area is located off the smaller *atrium* of Room 45 (highlighted in Fig. 14, in red). It is located on the western wall with a large *lararia* fresco painted in bright green, yellow, and red (Allison 2004, 144; Boyce 1937, 28). This area, if ritualistic, provides a large degree of non-visibility and a low access ratio as it cannot be seen from the *fauces* or the *atrium*, and requires anyone wishing to see or interact with it to physically enter the room. These may be an additional shrine provided to the service staff after the expansion in 60 CE, or perhaps a shrine granted exclusively to the *Procurator*. It does suggest, counter to Bodel's dehumanizing claim, that service staff were not limited to the kitchen for their ritual activities and could build their own relationships to the *Lares* and other household gods in the servant's quarters.

I think it is reasonable to assume that both the household staff, alongside *paterfamilias* and other elite members of the household, could generate their own relationship and understanding to the household gods. While the *paterfamilias* may appreciate more surveillance functions of the gods, as they ensured slaves' diligence duties and theft prevention, slaves would have been surrounded by the images and reality of household gods present in the house. Did the three slave boys in the *Satyricon* have any thoughts towards the *Lares* they brought out, or

was it just another task to be performed? Did they recognize within the *Lares* their own roles in life? Slaves may have felt a more kindred association to the *Lares*, as they both had a role to play in protecting food and ensuring the continued well-being of their *patronus*, which is perhaps why they were also spatially associated with kitchens (Foss 1996, 218). It seems appropriate to suggest that slaves were able to form their own relationships to the household gods, even if it went completely undocumented by literary sources.

Conclusions

The gods featured in the Roman household appear to have been situated to demarcate various religious-spatial areas of the house in everyday life. They acted as protectors, as listeners, and characterized a human-divine relationship that was set in particular locations. Present within the material record of the House of the Menander is evidence of the siting of potential ritual shrines available for use, which provide a complex network throughout the house of ritually charged locations. How a self-identified Christian of the 1st-5th c. CE would have reacted and been influenced by these household divine spaces in determining their logic of worship and devotion is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3:

Negotiations of Space: Christian Attitudes Concerning Domestic Religious Space

The Roman house, as established in Chapter Two, was filled with religious meaning, expressed through deities, movement and rituals, and informed individuals' every day experiences and *habitus*. Where a panoply of gods and divine figures were acceptable in the pagan domestic atmosphere, those who joined the early Christian movement now ascribed to a monotheistic, singular concept of the divine.[46] Therefore, as Christianity developed, a need to negotiate

[46] The scope of this paper does not permit a full discussion on monotheism's origins or whether Christians were monotheistic. For more on Christian monotheism: sources in Jewish-Christian

with the existing polytheistic pagan religious programs of domestic space arose. It is safe to assume that most everyone who attended meetings would have lived in a house in some capacity, and they likely began to interpret and particularize their once-pagan domestic surroundings within a specifically Christian framework of thought (Balch 2008, 60-63; MacMillan 1984, 146). How did believers form a Christian-oriented *habitus* distinct from a pagan one?

Early Christians likely comprised of a mix of all socio-economic levels: house-owner, tenant, or slave living in whatever quarters that were provided to them. Each group would have found themselves surrounded in environments laden with depictions of rituals and pagan gods (Balch 2008, 57-58). According to Weissenrieder and Wendt, many of the intended viewers of domestic art, that is Roman educated elites, likely made up the smallest portion of early Christian community members. The majority, as uneducated slaves, may not have been well versed in Greek and Roman visual culture (Balch 2008, 137; Weissenrieder and Wendt 2005, 4). Slaves, foreigners, and non-Roman citizens had their own religious practices, and within the Roman religious system[47] could advance their social status through participation in certain Roman rites, such as the civic *Lares Compitalia* festival (Rives 2007, 128; Rüpke 2006, 20, 205-6). Despite not having direct control over their physical environments, slaves and others may have had varying degrees of agency in constructing their own religious views even as slaves within another's household[48] (Joshel 2010, 161-162). While a

---

communities see Hurtado 2005: 11-12; for pagan and Christian similarities in monotheistic philosophy see MacMullen 1983: 174-192; Gasparro 2010: 33-57); for the debate as to how monotheistic early Christians were in reality see Kahlos 2010: 167-180.

[47] For more on Christian and Pre-Christian treatment of slaves and slavery as an institution and metaphor see Glancy. 2011. "Slavery and the Rise of Christianity" in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Vol. 1*. Eds. Eltis, David; Bradley, Keith; Engerman, S.; Cartledge, P. and Seymour Drescher, 456-481. Cambridge University Press. Glancy stresses a "moderate" view that Christian communities did not support anti-slavery movements until much later. Slavery was used as a metaphor for self-description as a member of the community, while actual slaves were regarded as 'free' (in spirit) if they were part of the Christian community. See also Corcoran, G. 1984. "The Christian Attitude to Slavery in the Early Church." *Milltown Studies* 13.1-36, 19-36 for a thorough analysis of slavery in the Bible.

[48] Scholarly literature first maintained a hierarchical understanding of classical religions with slaves and freedmen being conditioned to religious rituals based on their owner/patrons. This may be a consequence of texts such as Bömer. 1960. *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* Vol. 1-4, focuses on *staatsreligion* or "polis religion". These were

pater/materfamilias may have had the power, means, and agency to directly alter their surroundings to suit a Christian aesthetic, those of lower socio-economic status would have been largely dependent upon mental constructs to reinterpret or imagine pagan spaces away.

Spatial recodification was a slow process which does not appear to manifest in textual or archaeological materials until the late 3rd-5th centuries CE (Hadley 2015, 92; Halgren Kilde 2008, 37; MacMullen 1997, 146). To condition their surroundings, the early Christians needed to rebuild the concept of a house from a traditional Roman house filled with *Lares* and the panoply of other household gods, into a house with Christian symbolism and meaning (Snyder 2003, 23-25). Early Christian writers therefore constructed a variety of specifically Christian narratives and rituals to recodify the house, a dynamic process that required the creative manipulation of existing traditional domestic rituals (Finney 1994, 1-3). The process of domestic religious recodification is highlighted in this Chapter first by looking at the way Christian writers dealt with existing pagan imagery and spaces to clear the way for new interpretations. Secondly, in how Christian spatial reconfigurations of domestic religious space were either elevated, such as the *cubiculum*, maintained as in the *triclinium*, or overlooked such as the kitchen.

Framing Attitudes Towards Images: Adapting (to) Existing Spaces

There were a wide range of negotiation tactics employed by early Christian writers in dealing with existing pagan religious spaces and imagery. The aesthetic desires for domestic spaces, not unlike civic spaces, were mired in uncertainty by early Christians whose attitudes fluctuated in how to put images and material art into a Christian framework of practice (Balch 2008, 87; Elsner 1995, 11; Finney 1996, 43). Scholars have previously argued that the predominant reaction to pagan images was to take the complete opposite stance and reject all

---

concepts made popular in 19th ce. western scholarship and often undermined possibilities of "personal religion" or sub-elites having the capacity to construct their own religious attitudes and behaviours. For the effects of 'elite' literary biases in Rome and complications in modern scholarship assessing slave agency without direct textual evidence see J. North (2012) pp. 67-95.

images.[49] However, closer analysis of source texts from early Christian authors portrays a more varied, often uncertain view of how to deal with existing pagan imagery and the manner in which Christian imagery was to be constructed.

One observable attitude that developed towards pagan icons was an argument based on confusing God with matter[50] (*hyle*), such as wood or stones, which were too "worthless" to contain the divine (Finney 1994, 48). Clement of Alexandria presents a variety of opinions concerning gods and iconography. In one text he emphasizes that any who worship material idols become like those materials they worship—"stones become[ing] stones" due to their "dead" or "lifeless" relationship because those without "Him, [God] are deprived of truth."[51] Clement's sensational accusation of mimicry through devotion places household gods outside their roles as family and boundary protectors. Alongside the ritual participants, they become a category of the dead, and are thus a form of ineffectual practice.

Furthermore, Clement of Alexandria launches a direct attack on the household gods: "Are they not amazing, these men who make supplication to stones, and yet set them up before their gates as if alive and active, worshipping

---

[49] Early scholars, such as Theodor Klauser (1958-1967) and Henry Chadwick (1967: 277), maintained that early Christians adhered to the second commandment against making any graven image, citing Tertullian and Clement as evidence of this prohibition. More recently, Chris Jones (2013, 56-57) has maintained this position based on a Platonic reading of *anti-mimesis*, in which all art is considered potentially misleading. I think this is overstating an otherwise useful part of the overall attitudes that were being developed by Christians towards icons and images. More recent scholarship has developed an argument counter to aniconism, arguing that it was only after 7th-9th century iconoclastic movements that early Christian writers were reinterpreted as aniconic (Finney 1994, 5, 17-20). However, archaeological material dating between 1st-5th c. CE., such as the catacombs of Rome and Dura Europos have provided evidence against aniconism (Charles-Murray 2007, 51-57). Further attested to by written sources such as Clement of Alexandria on cups and signet rings (*Paedagogus* 3.59.2-3.60.1) and Tertullian on use of the Good Shepherd (*De Pudicitia 7.1-4*). For further reading see: Finney 1994, 39-68; Jensen 2000, 14-22

[50] According to Finney the term "hylotheism" was developed by Victorians as a means to criticize indigenous religious traditions as worshipping "wood and stone" but this concept had been written about since the early 5th ce. BCE by writers such as Herodotus (Finney 1994, 47-8). Clement adopted this hylotheistic argument in response to the charges that Christians were atheists. Clement builds on this argument by comparing those who worship inanimate objects to the punishments of Niobe and Lot's wife (Gen 19: 26), both of whom were made into a "state of insensibility (*anaesthesia*), which is the inevitable condition of those impious and hardhearted persons who worship *hyle* rather than God" (Finney 1994, 50).

[51] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 10.82 (Trans. Butterworth 1919)

the image of Hermes as a god, and setting up the "god of the Ways" as door-keeper?"[52] He goes on to state that if these are gods it is a mistreatment of the divine, likely as this would cast the divine figures into subservient roles that slaves were expected to fulfill. Furthermore, he states that if they are not gods, then they are useless as they obviously would no longer be effective in their roles as protectors or guardians and are nothing more than statues and decorations (Rives 2007, 35; Rüpke 2007, 69). Through these sorts of polemics, household gods like those analyzed in Chapter One are portrayed by authors like Clement as either an affront to the divine by forcing it into service roles, or rendering the divine as ineffectual, lifeless, and therefore a waste of a practitioner's time. While at times authors such as Clement do appear to have advocated for at least a reduction in the use of religious imagery, especially obvious pagan images, they were also open to discussions of what types of images were acceptable for Christian use.

Clement of Alexandria also presents a different view of the use of icons by Christians in the *Paedagogus*,[53] written sometime between 185-212 CE. He debates the types of images that are acceptable to be worn on signet rings (*Paed. 3.57.1-3.60.1*, (trans. P. Schaff 2007). Clement does not appear to support wearing rings as a form of fashion,[54] however he is well aware that there is a need for signet rings with imagery on them in order to maintain household business and securities as men and women may wear them: "…for sealing things which are worth keeping safe in the house in the exercise of their charge of housekeeping. For if all were well trained, there would be no need of seals, if servants and masters were equally honest. But since want of training produces an inclination to

[52] Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 4.45

[53] There are some debates as to the appropriate translation of the Greek in this passage and to whom this instruction was intended. According to Klauser the passage may be translated as "und wenn einer ein Fischer ist…" therefore limiting the use of anchor, fish, or boats to fishermen only (1958, 22). According to Francis, earlier translations of this passage may be misleading as the text does not show a change in subject and therefore fisherman is likely meant to be the subject of the verb (2003, 181). The intended audience of this instruction was therefore not fishermen, but those who were fishing as a hobby, or the elite (2003, 180).

[54] *Paed.* 3.57.2:3-7: It is only acceptable for women in these dire circumstances to maintain their adornment for the purpose of keeping a chaste marriage, although he still calls upon women to use their moral virtues rather than beauty to maintain their marriages (Finney 1987, 83).

dishonesty, we require seals…"[55] (3.57.1, 32-33). Despite the admitted need for seals in household business, Clement states that there should be a limit to the types of images placed on a Christian's seal:

> Let our seals be a dove or a fish or a ship running in a fair wind or a musical lyre, such as the one Polycrates used, or a ship's anchor, such as the one Seleucus had engraved on his seal stone. And if it [the seal] should be a man fishing, it [the image on the seal] will call to mind [i.e., call to the mind of the wearer] the apostle and the children drawn up out of the water. We who are forbidden to attach ourselves to idols must not engrave the face of idols, or the sword or the bow since we follow the path of peace, or drinking cups since we are sober (*Paedagogus* 3.59.1: 7-11, trans. Francis 2003, 181)

Clement's choice for more mundane and less obvious imagery, according to Elsner, employs a form of "mystic viewing" as images were not fixed in meaning, rather they were "methods for constructing meaning" within a Christian paradigm (1995, 282-3). Clement encouraged an engagement with imagery that would have required knowledge of the "experiential elements," such as the act of baptism, of Christianity rather than Biblical knowledge (Francis 2003, 182). This allows for a "polysemic" interpretation of images wherein Christian viewers use their own experiences to imbue meaning into symbols that may otherwise be viewed by non-Christians as something different.

A ring located at the British museum, dating to the 4th-5th c. CE eastern Empire, provides evidence that Clement's recommendations were not purely hypothetical but informed later uses of images (de Jauregui 2011, 120-121). The ring (Fig. 15) depicts a person playing a lyre in front of a host of animals with a Greek inscription indicating it is a seal of St. John Stephen (de Jauregui 2011, 120; Finney 1987, 186). The ring has been labelled by modern scholars as the

[55] Clement adds that men ought to wear signet rings but not personal adornment rings: "… And if it is necessary for us, while engaged in public business, or discharging other avocations in the country, and often away from our wives, to seal anything for the sake of safety, He (the Word) allows us a signet for this purpose only. Other finger-rings are to be cast off, since, according to the Scripture, "instruction is a golden ornament for a wise man." (*Paed.* 3.58.2: 21-23, trans. Schaff 2007).

Figure 15: Gold signet-ring, with hoop of rectangular section expanding to solid square bezel with Orphic figure in center. Length of bezel .73 in. (Dalton 1901, no. 123)

Orpheus christianus ring,[56] and the figure may have been understood as either Orpheus or Christ,[57] as Clement likely did by including the lyre in his list of acceptable images. It may be suggested that by not affixing a determined meaning, or using overt depictions of Christian narratives, the images that Clement regarded as acceptable tended to be mundane and only infused with sacral meaning by the beholder of the image itself (Elsner 1995, 121; Francis 2003, 182). However, it is clear that the banned images were proscriptive of the types of activities that were noted as "behaviours incompatible with Christian morality," (Finney 1987, 186). For example, Clement ends the section mocking those who wear their lovers' faces on their signets[58] which not only reminds the wearer of his licentiousness but also makes that licentiousness obvious to any viewer of the signet who may then become exposed to that activity.

An earlier example of Elsner's "mystic viewing" being applied to pre-existing images was the figure of the Good Shepherd, which could have been any shepherd icon re-cast into that role. Writing prior to Clement, Tertullian, whose treatise *On Modesty* (*de Pudicitia*) was written sometime between 212-220s CE, includes a section on the use of the image of the Shepherd (Sider 2001, xii). Shepherd figures were already popular throughout Greco-Roman iconography,

---

[56] O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities… in the British Museum* (London, 1901) no. 123.

[57] De Jauregui states that while the majority of people likely recognized Orpheus, connections between Christ-Orpheus, Adam-Orpheus or David-Orpheus may have also allowed for a range of interpretations with images such as the *Orpheus christianus* (De Jauregui 2011, 120-121).

[58] "Many of the licentious have their lovers engraved, or their mistresses, as if they wished to make it impossible ever to forget their amatory indulgences, by being perpetually put in mind of their licentiousness." (*Paed.* 3.59.1:12, trans. Schaff 2007)

such as the *kriophoroi* figurines meant to represent Hermes, who acted as a guide to the underworld and was associated with funeral activities (Finney 1994, 202; Jensen 2000, 37). It is unlikely that a Christian could not use their agency to interpret the *kriophoros* as the Good Shepherd rather than Hermes, enabling the individual to readily accept an already established image (de Gruchy 2001, 20; Dillenberger 1986, 11; Finney 1994, 200). Tertullian, however, finds a way of distinguishing the pagan or non-religious shepherd figure by clarifying that the image itself is not the root of the issue, but it is actually personal actions taken on behalf of the image-owner:

> … where you have the lost ewe re-sought by the Lord and carried back on His shoulders. Let the very paintings upon your cups come forward to show whether even in them the figurative meaning of that sheep will shine through (the outward semblance, to teach) whether a Christian or a heathen sinner be the object it aims at in the matter.[59]

Tertullian does specify that there is a difference in Shepherd images on his own chalice versus the non-Christian, or in this case, the drunken "unrepentant" Adulterer-Christian who has become part of the *ekklēsia* yet drinks from the Shepherd as an "idol of drunkenness" (*de Pudicitia* 9.49-53). Tertullian contrasts their Shepherd with his own, "that Shepherd who cannot be broken" (*de Pudicitia* 9.54-55). The distinction allows for the continued use of the Shepherd image but condemns the activities taking place *around* the image itself. In this framework, the Good Shepherd continues to be conflated with philosopher and teacher figures, like Orpheus and Hermes, but takes on another readily available epithet as Christian saviour (Bigham 2004, 131-2; Charles-Murray 2007, 61).

Another figure that appears in the archaeological record across pre and post Christian use is the *orans*, or praying figures, which sometimes are found as accompanying figures to the Good Shepherd (Charles-Murray 2007, 60). This is possibly due to their similarities as bucolic or paradisiacal figures, or perhaps they are meant to represent the "savior and the one saved" (Jensen 2000, 36).

---

[59] Tertullian, *de Pudicitia* 7.1-4. Translated by Thelwall in Schaff 2006.

Tertullian was also supportive of this type of image, likening it to an appearance of Christ on the cross: "We, however, not only raise our hands, but even expand the; and, taking our model from the Lord's passion, even in prayer we confess to Christ".[60] The three previous examples—signet images, shepherd and praying figure—all suggest that there were particular images that could be reshaped and reconfigured for a Christian understanding but what mattered was how they were attached to the types of activities that the individual was taking part in as either appropriate or inappropriate to a member of the Christian community.

Early Christian writers, such as Tertullian and Clement, were unfortunately not directly concerned with domestic icons and rituals. However, by rendering the icons of gods as "dead" or "lifeless" objects, we can suggest that these authors began to clear the household of potential former pagan meanings being produced by the discerning eye of the Christian viewer. Similar to signet rings and the chalices, the transition to a Christian-exclusive household was not entirely seamless, and often individuals appear to have maintained a reliance on known pagan rituals and images when in doubt.

For example, according to the *Historia Augusta*, Severus Alexander (208-235 CE) was rumored to have kept a sanctuary of *Lares* complete with deified emperors, deities Apollonius and Orpheus, alongside Christ and Abraham, as well as the images of his ancestors. The text states:

> I will relate a few details of his private every-day life… in the early morning hours he would worship in the sanctuary of his Lares, in which he kept statues of the deified emperors—of whom, however, only the best had been selected—and also of certain holy souls, among them Apollonius, and, according to a contemporary writer, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of this same character and, besides, the portraits of his ancestors.[61]

It is entirely possible that Severus Alexander *did* have a panoply of icons on his personal *Lararium* due to his individual context. As one of the Eastern

[60] Origen, *de Oratione* 14.7-9. Trans. Curtis 2015
[61] *Historia Augusta,* 29.2-3. Trans. Magie 1924

Emperors originating from the Roman province of Syria, Alexander was surrounded by a diverse range of religious organizations—from Judaism, mystery cults, nascent Christian communities and Roman traditional groups, all with whom he would have likely wanted to generate good relations (Pekáry 1970, 151; Turton 1974, 179). It is also possible that the introduction of the Judeo-Christian icons was a consequence of his mother, Julia Mamaea's, influence as she had entertained Christian teachings and even had Origen provide her with doctrinal instruction (Turton 1974, 158, 183-4). More personally, I might suggest that Alexander may have been replicating the same functions traditional Roman household gods were described to have in Chapter Two, as each god acts as a *Lar*, protecting the boundaries of his empire or even representing each group under his auspices. Or, he merely enjoyed them. Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain[62] whether the *Lararium* of Severus Alexander truly held so many different, and at times opposing, religious icons. The fact that the author chose to include this detail, and in a positive way no less, suggests some basis in reality. The author may have been attempting to highlight "only the best," in their opinion, of potential household god-options, which suggests this person was comfortable with a religiously mixed altar. Perhaps the author was trying to appease numerous groups at once by indulging in this fabricated altar, or the author and/or someone they knew had such an altar and they wished to validate the choice by giving the attribution to an emperor.

An excerpt from Eusebius' *Church Histories*, written sometime between 303-318 CE, suggests that images depicting Christian figures in the same way as traditional pagan deities was an accepted and common practice during this period:

---

[62] According to Rudman, there is no way to verify (even after computational analysis) the authorship or date of this text due to the nature of the text itself (1998, 156-7). Evidence suggesting the text is a later invention includes the names listed in the *Vita Severi* contain "suspicious" names that may not have existed during the period (e.g. *Ceionius Albinus HA* 13.1-7) (Pausch 2009, 151; Syme 1971, 303). There may have been six different authors for the entire *HA* or a single author; an unknown "rogue scholiast," who was willing to construct a "well-researched hoax" written roughly 100 years after the life of Severus Alexander (Syme 1971, 307). Therefore, the "contemporary writer" mentioned (29.2) may have just been the author themselves providing false evidence to support this claim on the emperor's daily habits.

> it is not at all surprising that Gentiles who long ago received such benefits from our Saviour should have expressed their gratitude thus, for the features of His apostles Paul and Peter, and indeed of Christ Himself, have been preserved in coloured portraits which I have examined. How could it be otherwise, when the ancients habitually followed their own Gentile custom of honouring them as saviours in this uninhabited way.[63]

The passage above not only provides support that Eusebius was willing to accept the construction of specifically Christian images, such as the apostles or Christ Himself, but that he did not think these the construction or admiration of such depictions to be "absurd, impossible or impious" (Bigham 2004, 187). However, Eusebius may not have always been willing to entertain the sort of pagan naiveté that he seemed to permit in the previous passage. There is an alleged correspondence[64] between himself and a Princess Constantia, whom he chastises for wanting a portrait of Christ:

> Since you have written about some image, it seems of Christ, wishing the said image to be sent to you by us, what, and of what kind, is this image which you call that of Christ?... Has this scripture alone escaped you, in which God by law forbids to make the likeness of anything in heaven, or on early beneath? Have you ever seen such a thing in a church yourself or heard it from another? Have not such things been banished throughout the whole world, and driven off out of the churches; and has it been proclaimed to us alone among all men that it is not lawful to do such a thing.[65]

It is difficult to accept this letter as completely authentic in comparison to the attitude presented in the *Church Histories*, unless we read the last line about

---

[63] Eusebius, *Church Histories* 7.18. (Trans. Williamson 1989)

[64] There are doubts amongst scholars as to the authenticity of this letter, as it does not appear in a list of Eusebius' works by St. Jerome (H. Grégoir. 1939 "La vision de Constantin 'liquidee," *Byzantion XIV*: 34-42; P. Petit. 1950. "Libanius et la Vita Constantini," *Historic 1:* 581). Petit argues that this letter is dubious because it was "discovered" 400 years after its supposed date and would likely have supported later iconoclastic groups. I am willing to entertain its existence as authentic, however, as it may have been incomplete but still an authentic Eusebian piece due to the writing style as Gero suggests (1981, 467). There is no way to identify the text as authentic or inauthentic and for the sake of this thesis it will be accepted as a potential view that could be held by an educated individual like Eusebius.

[65] Eusebius, *Letter to Constantia*. (Trans. Mango 1866, 16-17)

habits with a begrudging tone. According to van Nuffelen, Eusebius' issue is that Christ, even in human form, is divine and therefore cannot be adequately depicted without also violating the second commandment (2013, 142-3). It is also possible that the reason that Eusebius chastises Constantia and not the earlier individual is because of class, status, and education differences (Gero 1981, 465, 468). Where the average slave or freedman may not know the proper laws that a Christian ought to adhere to, Constantia has no excuse as her position would have afforded her education and understanding—she should not have the same intellectual limits of the sub-elites.

Further evidence illustrating the attitude towards the enthusiasm of new Christians who relied on pagan traditions to develop a spatial aesthetic program in their house may have been accepted by Christian teachers with a mixture of derision and understanding for their naiveté can be found in the apocryphal *Acts of John* (c. 4th-5th CE). One section describes a new congregant of John's in Ephesus, a prominent citizen called Lykomedes, who commissions a painting of John in a shrine in his bedroom (Ehrman 2003, 93; Frenschowski 2016, 145). It is allegedly "wreathed with flowers… garlanded… with lamps beside it and altars in front of it."[66] Lykomedes' shrine appears to follow the exact same description of the *Lararia* analyzed in Chapter Two. The author's intention in this passage was likely to address average households who were having difficulty in their transition from pagan to Christian in specifically domestic contexts (Frenschowski 2016, 147). John responds in shock: "I see that you are still, in fact, following your pagan ways!"[67] However, once John discovers that the image is, in fact, meant to be of him because Lykomedes considered him his saviour, his "earthly benefactor… [a] guide on the path to good,"[68] John permits him to keep the portrait. Yet he does add a chastising sentiment that echoes Tertullian and Clement's earlier statements considering images-as-lifeless: "what you have done is childish and imperfect: you have drawn a likeness of the dead."[69] The author,

[66] *Acts of John*, 26. Acts of John. Early Christian Apocrypha 6: 32 (Trans. Pervo 2016)
[67] *Acts of John*, 28.
[68] *Acts of John*, 27.
[69] *Acts of John* 29.

remaining consistent with other Christian attitudes, appears to be willing to allow the shrine, acknowledging that it is a "childish" or naïve act that should be otherwise deterred. While Christian writers may have wanted to outright discourage pagan traditional forms of domestic religious practice, it appears from the evidence in both the *Historia Augusta* and the *Acts of John*, that early Christians were prone to manufacturing similar ritual spaces they would have already been familiar with: the *lararium* containing images of their ancestors, teachers and god(s) with incense, garlands, and cakes as previously analysed.

Ausonius, who lived in late Roman Gaul and wrote in Latin during the 4th CE appears to have had a clear recommendation as to how to maintain a religious space at home while being Christian:[70] just clear out all of the pagan elements and replace them with Christian activities. Describing his morning ritual, he writes:

> Get me the chapel opened, but with no outward display: holy words and guiltless prayers are furniture enough for worship. I do not call for incense to be burnt nor for any slice of honey-cake: hearths of green turf I leave for the altars of vain gods. … And look, now I begin my prayers….[71]

According to Green, Ausonius' deliberately uses the word *sacrarium* to differentiate from the *lararium* but relied on a pagan term because it was more accessible to a wider audience than the later Christian term *oratorium* (1991, 248). His choice in words also simultaneously rejects the former household gods while maintaining traditional themes of prayer for household welfare (Bowes 2007, 144). I am skeptical whether Ausonius is genuine when he claims that he simply emptied his *sacrarium* of outward display as he gives details elsewhere suggesting otherwise. He reveals in an introduction to a personal poem dedicated to his father, that he has had the verses "written under his portrait."[72] According to

---

[70] According to Stirling, Ausonius' Christianity has been debated by scholars due to his writing about both pagan myths and Christian narratives with no definitive conclusions and will therefore not be discussed here due to limit in scope (Green 1991, xxvii – xxviii; Sivan 1993, 110; Stirling 2005, 140, 260 f. 2).

[71] Ausonius, *Ephemeris* 2.2.7-21. (Trans. Evelyn-White 1924)

[72] Ausonius, *Epicedion In Patrem*, praef.: *imagini ipsius hi versus subscripti sunt neque minus in opusculorum meorum seriem relati*.

Stirling, heirloom portraiture was maintained during this period as the image was intended to evoke a combination of "reverence, biography, and morals" but it had to be accompanied by the appropriate verse to clarify any meanings (2005, 148, 152). While it is unclear whether Ausonius rejected all *imagery* in a domestic space, he clearly rejects the accoutrements of pagan domestic ritual: the incense, honey-cakes, and hearth that were so important to ritual performance outlined in Chapter Two are all rejected (Bowes 2007, 144). The only remaining activity is the prayer "of a soul devout" [73] that he gives in the next passage.

Unfortunately, for the purposes of this thesis, Ausonius does not give a precise location as to where his household *sacrarium* is located, nor whether it is where he kept a collection of ancestor-portraits. It is discernable from the passage, however, that key motion and threshold points that were previously moved across by pagan domestic rites, such as the movement of slaves or the *paterfamilias* from the kitchen to the *atrium-peristyle-Lararium* areas with items such as honey-cakes, oils or libations. It also meant that the kitchen the staff were no longer supervised by the *pater/materfamilias*, or the substitute *Lar*, as discussed in Chapter Two. If there was no longer a need for movement to the kitchen (or movement of a portable brazier), and the only activity was now solitary prayer, how was a *sacrarium* different than any other spatial area? It could be suggested that by eliminating the specific movement-oriented domestic ritual actions, the room itself was becoming less populated by other members of the household as the ritual (prayer) was no longer contingent on spatial motions and performances across the whole house. The case studies analyzed in Chapter Four will illustrate the consequences of this lack of motion and preference for solitary performance as having a visible effect on the spatiality of Roman domestic religion. By de-emphasizing the kitchen and emphasizing spaces where prayer would not be disturbed by other individuals, such as *cubicula*, or new *sacraria*-specific rooms with limited spaces, the resulting space of the house would be tighter threshold spaces deterring movement into those areas.

[73] Ausonius, *Ephemeris* 2.3.79. (Trans. Evelyn-White 1924)

The Triclinium*: A Continued Space for Dining and Ritual*

The importance of *symposium* rituals was widespread throughout the Mediterranean, so it is no surprise that the *triclinium* is one of the earliest instances of a domestic ritual space being conditioned for Christian use by early Christian authors. It is an exhaustively studied topic in early Christian studies, and due to constraints of this thesis will not be analyzed in depth here (for detailed studies see Glancy 2012a; Smith 2003; Weissenrieder 2012). As illustrated in the previous Chapter, not only did Greco-Roman dining rituals reconfirm the relationship between individuals and household spirits by inviting statues of deities to the table and making offerings to them, often these rituals helped to emphasize, or defy in the case of the *saturnalia*, the social hierarchy present in patron-client and master-slave relations. The household *triclinium* space was likely an early location for Christian community members to meet and perform the Lord's Supper ritual.

The Cubiculum: Alone Time with Christ

The *cubiculum*, as previously noted, is a room in the Roman house often used for a wide range of activities, including sleep, sex, dining, writing and anything else requiring private space (Allison 2001, 184; Berry 1996, 185). Kristina Sessa points out in her research on the *cubiculum*, in both pre- and post-Christian periods there was a suspiciousness afforded to this area of the house due to the room's ability to conceal activities by limiting the external audience's ability to see in (2007, 172. See also Riggsby 1997, 40, 43). As access to this room could be limited by drapery, screens, or doorways, classical authors often situated immoral acts, such as murder, adultery or magic,[74] in this area of the house (Riggsby 1997, 41).

---

[74] For example, in Apuleius' *Apologia* 58, Apuleius is accused of engaging in magical rituals in the *cubiculum* of a neighbour (Trans. Butler 1906). There are also examples of praising this quality of the *cubiculum*, for example Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 10.3.23-27) refers to this room as the best room for meditation and writing, and as previously noted, Pliny the Younger *Epistulae*, 5.3.11 regarded the *cubiculum* as a perfect setting for entertaining his most intimate comrades (Trans. Radice 1969).

Early Christian authors, when formulating their own perspectives towards the *cubiculum*, were just as sensitive to the moral precariousness of areas which afforded such low-visibility and so little access to individuals. As previously stated in Chapter Two, one of the key activities that was expected to take place was sex,[75] specifically the consummation of a marriage ritual with a spatial relationship to the *lectus genialis*. Origen, for example, argues that the bedroom is not an appropriate place for Christian prayers.[76] Fugger states that the association between the *cubiculum* and the *lectus genialus*-marriage bed resulted in an anxiety amongst early Christians in marriages with non-Christians (Fugger 2017, 228). An excerpt from the *Egyptian Church Order*[77] provides a clue into how this particular anxiety was potentially dealt with by changing how rituals were spatially enacted:

> [30] having risen from thy bed, and having washed thy hand with water, pray [31] and if thou hast a wife, both of you pray. And if she has not yet become a believer, go aside from her and pray alone, and return again into thy bed. Because thou art bound by marriage thou shalt not leave of praying; because ye are clean, and it is not or you (to be as) unclean.[78]

There are two important elements worth highlighting in this passage: first, that in the case of single or coupled Christians, prayer appears to occur in the bedroom. This can be suggested by the fact that the mixed-marriage individual is told to go elsewhere to pray and *then return* to bed, which is only differentiated in this instance, so we might assume that the Christian pair remains in their bedroom

---

[75] John Cassian, *Conferences* 2.23.1-2, expresses concern for monks spending too much time in their *cubicula* sleeping, as there was a potential for nocturnal emissions.
[76] Origen, *de Oratione*, 31.4: unfortunately, Origen does not give any other details as to why. According to Clark, Origen was applying Old Testament instructions on sexual abstinence before ritual to Christian prayer activities (Clark 1999, 279). In this case, Origen does not recode the marriage bedroom but re-orients appropriate Christian prayer away from that space.
[77] Scholarly debates as to the authenticity of this text as part of the *Apostolic Tradition* written by Hippolytus of Rome, provide a date of 235 CE, when Hippolytus was allegedly martyred (Brent 1995, 412; Connolly 1916, 4-6, 136-40). Bradshaw argues that the *Egyptian Church Order* was a collection of a range of texts and attributed to another Hippolytus in Egypt or Syria (Bradshaw 2002, 80).
[78] *Egyptian Church Order*, 30-31. (Trans. Connolly 1916)

to pray.[79] Secondly, the relocation of the Christian participant effectively concedes that the bedroom space is contaminated, and relocates themselves to another space in their home. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest where else was appropriate in the home.

According to Giddens, social systems and practices do not have structures, but have structural properties, and "structure exists, as time-space presence, only in its instantiations in such practices and memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents." This may include the familiar conduct and spatial meaning of the marriage-bed, which with this instruction can only be maintained by a dual-Christian couple (Giddens 1986, 17). The dramatic shift in habituation formed by a lack of presence may entice the non-Christian spouse into becoming Christian for the sake of maintaining the habitual structure of the space of the *cubiculum* as an intimate space representative of the marriage.[80] Normative rules that are implicit or expected are shaped through discourse (Bourdieu 1977, 37). Therefore, when the activities previously familiar to *cubiculum*-spaces (like sex) are changed, there is a similar change in the language conditioning the *habitus* of that space, enabling a spatial-code shift from a sexualized space into a religiously devoted space.

The *cubiculum* altar appears to have been a common hold-out for those in the interstitial steps between baptism and true conversion. Sessa states that there was an increasingly prevalent association by Christians that the bedroom was a site of pagan rituals (Sessa 2007, 180 f. 28). As presented in Chapter Two, material evidence from Herculaneum suggests that cupboard-shrines were acceptable pagan ritual spaces, therefore it does not seem likely that Christianity forced a movement of pagan rituals into these less visible rooms of the house but

[79] John Cassian, *Conferences*, 9.35.1-2, Cassian worries about eavesdroppers on monks' prayers suggesting that prayers were taking place in the *cubicula* of non-domestic contexts. I see no reason why this cannot be extrapolated into domestic contexts (Trans. Gibson 1894).
[80] See MacDonald (1996) for more on "mixed marriages" and their efficacy for enticing spousal conversion (or divorce).

was addressing already existing pagan domestic ritual spaces (Herculaneum, V. 17, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 111, Fig. 5.12).

Christians, much like their pagan counterparts, were wary of the *cubiculum'*s potential as a location where magic and superstitious rites could take place. But for early Christians, this suspicion also extended to household gods contained within the space. For example, in an early 5th century story of Saint Sebastian,[81] a Roman prefect Chromatius is portrayed as consenting to be baptised to cure his gout, allowing Sebastian and Polycarp to destroy all of the idols in his house.[82] However, when the alleged baptism proves ineffective against Chromatius' gout, it is revealed that other pagan altars and icons, particularly ones located in the *cubiculum*, were not given over to the saints.[83] Chromatius' character admits to Polycarp and Sebastian that he kept in his room a *holovitreum,*[84] which is likely a miniature astrological projector made of glass used for astrological speculation (Kitzler 2010, 330; Sessa 2007, 188 fn. 53). The character questions what is wrong with the item, as it is not apparently religious in nature, but a practical device used for teaching and calculations.

We can gather several valuable insights into the issues that the author was addressing in this story in relation to domestic ritual spaces. According to this tale, it is only once the character Chromatius rids himself of the "filth of the idols"[85] and from within his household space that he is actually cured. Chromatius, just like Constantia and Lykomedes, is uncertain as to what are acceptable forms of Christian domestic ritual spaces.

As examined in Chapter Two, the well-being of the head of the household (played by Chromatius here) was directly bound to the well-being of his house.

---

[81] See Pillsworth (2000, 317) and Hagen (1884, 19-50) for dating sections of the *Gesta martyrium Romanorum* and the *Acta*. This section is likely from a mid-5th century author (Pillsworth 2000, 317; Sessa 2007, 188).
[82] *Saint Sebastian and Companions,* Ch. 49-59 (Trans. Lapidge 2017)
[83] *Acta Sancti Sebastiani Martyris,* Chapter 27 (ed. Gaume 1862): *Tunc ille ait: Habeo cubiculum ex toto vitreum, in quo omnis disciplina stellarum ac mathesis mechanica es arte constructa, in cujus fabricam pater meus Ta quinius amplius ducenta auri pondera dignoscitur impendisse.*
[84] See above: "*vitreum*"
[85] *Saint Sebastian and Companions,* Ch. 59 (Trans. Lapidge 2017)

The author implies that once the pagan space—which is contaminated by disease––had been cleared, the well-being of the house is restored via the therapeutic conversion of the household space to Christian dictates. There are several passion stories[86] that portray the *cubiculum* altars of pagan characters hindering the efficacy of their baptism (Sessa 2007, 189). While these stories may be fictional, they express a real concern on the part of the author that people are converting to Christianity ineffectually, as they continue to maintain pagan spaces in the areas of their houses least seen by visitors, especially in the *cubiculum* space.

The removal of pagan spatial coding for the *cubiculum* required a sort of cleansing and renewal in Christian terms. According to Sessa, one of the main ways that this was carried out was through a refocusing of the *cubiculum* as a space in the house for one's own prayers and maintenance of purity (Sessa 2007, 182). Returning to marriage rituals, for example, Origen effectively re-coded the marriage procession, as described in the previous Chapter, and thus the *cubiculum* through his allegorical and spiritual interpretation of the *Song of Songs*. He does this by focusing on the movement of the bride into the *cubiculum* towards the *lectus genialus*, culminating when, "the King has brought me into his bedroom."[87] It is when the individual has only fully entered into their commitment as a Christian that the individual finds "fulfilment in Him" (King 2005, 14). This sentiment is further addressed by both Ambrose and Jerome, who constructed the *cubiculum* as the optimal space for a young person to preserve their chastity while also attending to her prayers and psalm chanting[88] (Sessa 2007, 182; Hunter 2016, 93)

The *cubiculum*, once regarded as a place of suspect action, shifted to one interlaced with the "ethical economy" of the Christian household structure

---

[86] These include: *Act of Pope Stephen I* (Ch. 17) and the *Act of Gordianus and Epimachus* (Ch. 2-3). The scope and space of this thesis does not permit me to address all of these narrations in depth. For a complete analysis of these stories see Sessa (2007, 188-200); See M. Lapidge 2017 for complete translations of these texts

[87] Origen, *Canto in Canticorum*. *Prae*.: 62 *Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum*

[88] Ambrose, *De virginibus* 3.4.19; Jerome *Epistulae* 22.25-26, Jerome instructs Eustochium, stating that the *cubiculum* is the most protective space of a woman's virginity because it was *secreta*, or secret.

(Fugger 2017, 227). The *cubiculum* was effectively recoded from a space of pagan ritual, meditation, and entertainment, to a space meant for the reception of divine prayers, solitude, and maintenance of purity. This is far different than statements from Vitruvius and others from the first century who depicted *cubicula* rooms as being a location for reception similar to the *triclinium* or *atrium* of the house.[89] Therefore, idealized concepts of the *cubiculum* became increasingly divided, or at least obstructed, from the rest of the house to provide solitude and shelter from the observations of others (Sessa 2007, 185). I will return to the potential spatial-changes in domestic movement and ritual in Chapter 4.2. The case study of Lullingstone Villa examines how a potential *cubiculum* may have become built into an exceedingly insular room as Christian spaces began to develop there in order to facilitate ritual attitudes of solitude.

Conclusions

There appears to be a consistent concern among early Christians for their household spaces, particularly, the *triclinium* and the *cubiculum*, as they were coded by images and actions—both of which contribute to the *habitus* of the individual practitioner. According to Eliade, "habitation always goes through a process of sanctification" because it is a microcosm of the *imago mundi* or divine creation (1959, 52). Therefore, by shifting the *habitus* and spatial coding of these spaces, early Christians 'sanctified' their spaces by reframing "symbolic installations" (Eliade 1959, 52). The *triclinium* may have lost the household gods' admittance but was spatially maintained as a place for group-dining rituals. The *cubiculum* was perhaps the most transformed in discourses of domestic spaces by early Christian writers. A typical early Christian may have changed the way they saw these rooms through "mystic viewing," but also may not have even paid close attention to their surroundings or cared for that matter (Bradshaw-Aitken 2012, 239; Elsner 2005, 35). Those who engaged in the discourse surrounding domestic spaces expressed power through a system of signification and authorization over the structural features of the social system, especially through forms of written

[89] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 6.51

media (Bourdieu 1977, 37; Giddens 1986, 16). In controlling the way in which language around household spaces was constructed, the behaviours and habits of practitioners could be reoriented, and their way of "seeing" space was effectively changed before they started to physically adapt their household spaces. The *cubiculum* could not only be a marriage-bed, but a chaste environment—determined by the relatively enclosed and limited spatial nature of the room.

Before moving on to the final Chapter, I would like to acknowledge the fact that this Chapter did not contain a section on kitchens, as the first Chapter did. My research suggests there is an absence of information about the kitchen in early Christian writing, from Paul to 5th century saint's tales. Ausonius made the briefest of mention in his comment on not needing "hearths of green turf,"[90] but otherwise it appears that there is an absence of evidence allowing a proper assessment of potential rituals, attitudes, or movement concerning the kitchen-area of the house. It is possible that the kitchen fell in its importance due to a lack of interest on behalf of the early Christian authors. According to Lefebvre, those who act within space are rarely the ones who maintain the discourse surrounding those spaces (1991, 48). Although early Christian authors benefited from the actors in the kitchen, the kitchen itself is made into an object which can be detached or separated from the space it originally manifested in (Lefebvre 1991, 48-9). Unlike natural spaces, objectified spaces may transcend local, to regional, national and even global levels as representations of those objects as a form of "absolute" space (Lefebvre 1991, 88). Absolute space is a space that has symbolic existence, not tied to any particular location, includes many natural dimensions couched in social practices such as ceremonies (Lefebvre 1991, 48). By placing importance on spaces providing solitude for prayer, or leaving the house to meet an *ekklēsia* elsewhere, I suggest that spaces used for religious practice the kitchen was no longer necessary in the religious spatial program of Christianity. Therefore, household members who had benefitted most from that space were now finding other, potentially external or abstracted spaces, to satisfy their needs.

[90] Ausonius, *Ephemeris* 2.2.7-21. (Trans. Evelyn-White 1924)

Chapter 4:
Case Studies of Early Christian Domestic Space

4.1: SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome

The first site I have selected as a case study is a large-scale complex located on the Caelian Hill in Rome. It is the current site of the modern basilica Santi Giovanni E Paolo (John and Paul). It is situated between four historical streets: the *via dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo,* the *San Stefano,* the *Clivus Scauri* and the *via del SS. Quattro Coronati*. The area was an exclusive, elite residential area from at least the Imperial period until the Gothic invasion in 410 CE. Properties of prestigious families such as the *Valerii* were located nearby, as well as a resort area established by Nero in 64 CE, and the *Mansiones Albanae* soldiers' barracks (di Stanislao 1980, 266-7, 271). The whole villa's position on the hill would have given it a visual command over the landscape, as it was raised roughly 15 meters above street level, providing residents with a view of all the other hills of Rome as well as a direct view of the palace of the Caesar's on the Palatine Hill (di Stanislao 1890, 271).

The excavation history of the site is complicated mostly due to damage caused by inexperienced archaeological prospecting and conflicting assessments of material remains (Brenk 2003, 82). The site was first discovered in 1887 by the attending priest at the basilica, Padre Germano di San Stanislao. Caught up in the archaeological fervor of the late Victorian period, and fuelled by the story in the *Acts*, di San Stanislao hastily decided to excavate beneath the basilica. He was determined to prove that the building was the site of an elite early Christian household and the burial location of the saints, which meant he was not concerned with many of the other, equally valuable, excavated materials such as pottery sherds or food remains.[91] Unfortunately, it was not until a year later, when he discovered grave shafts underneath the stairwell, that di San Stanislao notified

[91] di San Stanislao states in his second report that a bench and two large third and fourth century frescoes were destroyed by workmen before he "could save it" (1891, 34).

Commissioner De Rossi of the Institute of Early Christianity at Rome and a more careful excavation began (Brenk 2003, 82). The whole site was not fully analyzed until 1940 by Antonio Colini, who assembled a corpus of pottery and lamp fragments that established a reliable occupation date ranging from the 1st – 7th CE (Brenk 2003, 83). Colini was also the first to clearly map the various construction phases, however, it was not until the late 1960s that Apollonj Ghetti presented isometric maps and began to critically evaluate the site in its context (Brenk 2003, 83).

There have been scholarly debates concerning the religious identity of the house owner and residents, and when the structure became exclusively used by Christians. Older scholars, such as di San Stanislao, Krautheimer and Prandi believed that the house was no longer used as a residence as early as the 3rd CE—likely due to their reading of frescoes as being either Christian or destroyed due to distaste (di San Stanislao 1891, 34; Krautheimer 1937, 285; Prandi 1958, 12). More recent evaluations of the material data, previously ignored by di San Stanislao, points to a longer period of habitation than previously documented. According to Brenk (via Gasdia), a hypocaust water system was used until the late 4th /early 5th CE in a house-bath area in the basement (H and H', see Fig. 16 below) suggesting regular habitation (Brenk 2003, 106). The evidence suggesting Christian occupation of the whole structure are the numerous amphorae, documented by di Rossi, which have embossed crucifixes, dating to the 4th- 5th c. CE (Brenk 2003, 106). However, as Fulvio Coletti reassessed pottery sherds on behalf of Brenk, he realized that the types of amphorae present point to a mixed structure including residential and large-scale use on behalf of a Church-institution which dated between the 5th-7th c. CE (Brenk 2003, 105). In short, use of the structure for domestic purposes was more enduring than previously thought by scholars.

The structure of the site, when it was a house, had a total of three floors, (including the ground-floor) evident due to the fact that the façade of each storey was preserved during each phase of construction and is still observable today (di

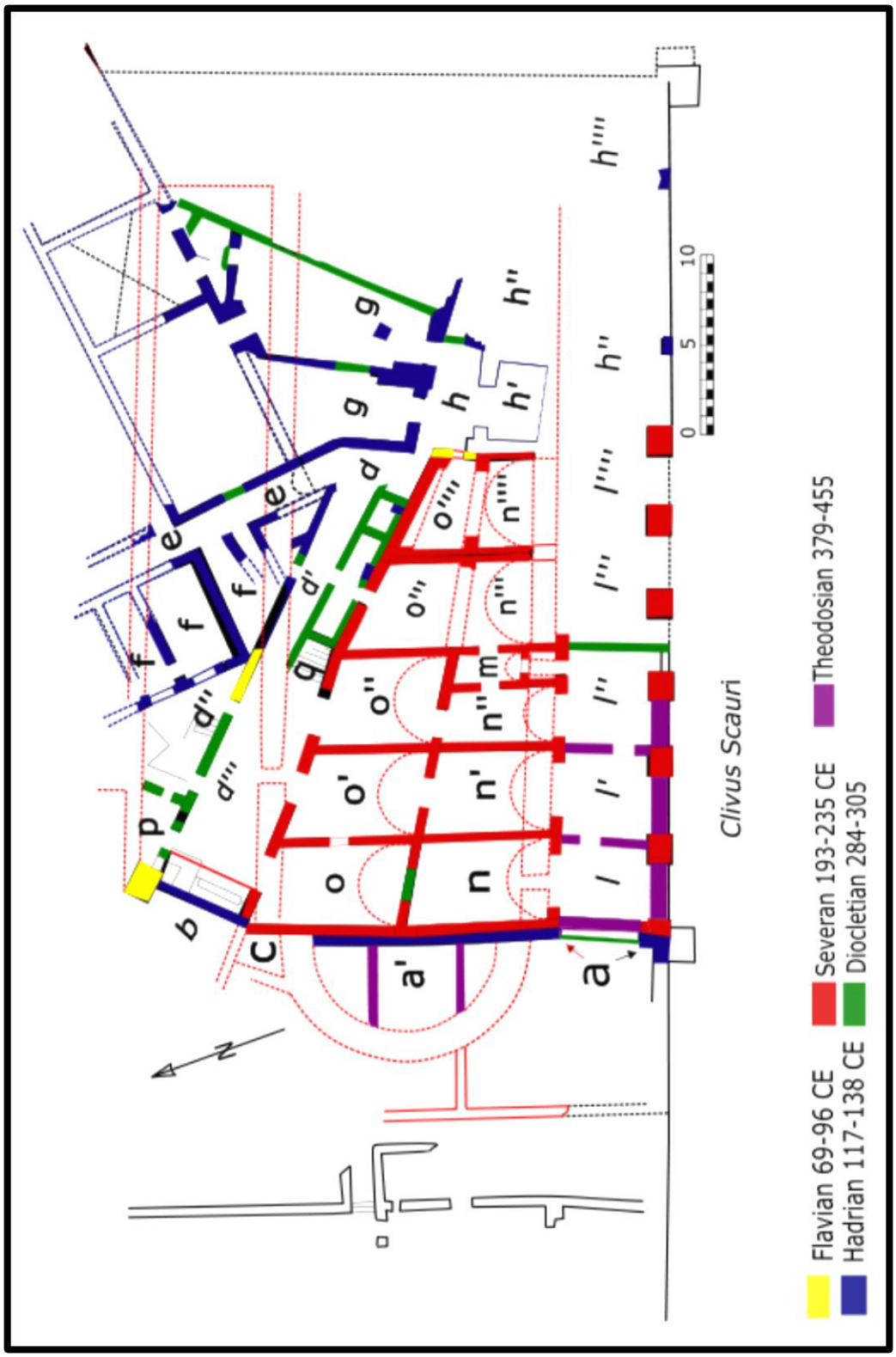


Figure 16: Full Map of SS. Giovanni e Paolo 1st-5th c. CE, color version made by author. Labels and dates established by Brenk (2003: Fig. 151). Map adapted from Colini (1944 tav. 9)

San Stanislao 1890, 276). The windows of the first storey were closed and plastered and the second storey windows were adopted to act as the current *clerestory* of the basilica. The tops of the windows were eliminated to lengthen and adapt them to the modern building (di San Stanislao 1890, 279-80). The total length of the building is roughly 30 m and the total height of the exterior is 15 m, with 4 m for the first floor and 4 m for each of the subsequent floor.

There were likely three major phases of construction to the property: first the so called *residenza privata*, which is located directly under the northern aisle of the modern basilica (Krautheimer 1937, 268). The second phase was a large multi-storey apartment and shop house, likely built during the early Severan Period, which is located underneath the modern nave. The third phase was a mix between workshop houses and Christian meeting spaces, located under the eastern part of the nave, from which parts of the façade on the *Clivus Scauri* remain visible (Krautheimer 1937, 270). The three various phases were likely built at different stages over time, corresponding to the needs, desires, and motivations of the various owners.

The first documentable phase of the house, or *residenza privata*, was originally of considerable size. Constructed from temple brick, it was built roughly around the 1st-2nd centuries CE (Brenk 2003, 84; Krautheimer 1937 271). The single structure was replaced by four houses, two of which were located under the northern aisle (Areas G, E and F) and the other two in the south (Areas A and B). They appear to have been independent of each other (Krautheimer 1937, 278; White 1990b, 211). In the third century, stores and apartment houses were built on part of the territory but did not outright replace the *residenza privata*[92] (Brenk 2003, 84). It is unknown how far West this area may have stretched, but it was likely accessible from the *via Tempio di Claudio*.

[92] According to Brenk, Krautheimer's analysis was incorrect in claiming that the property was originally one large private residence. Brenk argues that it was most likely several small homes that were in close proximity and eventually absorbed under the basilica (2003, 84). There is not enough evidence to point in either direction, although if it was units each would have likely used common areas such as the staircases and entry ways into the structure and would have passed by, interacting in some way, with the *nymphaeum* in corridor D'''.

It can be reliably established that Rooms H', H, G and G' were part of the same structure, as they are much lower than Rooms E and F and are on a different axial orientation (Brenk 2003, 84). The second *domus* that can be recognized by alignment with the *Clivus Scauri* is directly under the apse of the modern basilica. The walls on the eastern side are preserved to the third floor and forms the west-end wall of the south aisle of the basilica (Brenk 2003, 84). Krautheimer and White state that this area was likely always independent from the entire structure until the construction of the basilica, as early excavators saw the rising masonry as a means of preserving the main section of the apse of the current church (Krautheimer 1937, 270-1; White 1990b, 210). However, this overlooked the fact that there was originally a door leading through A' and O, suggesting a closer spatial relationship between the units prior to Christian evidence during the 2nd CE (Brenk 2003, 84).

The door was added by the back of a shop sometime in the 3rd CE, before which the structure was a single house with rooms that opened onto the *Clivus Scauri* (Brenk 2003, 84). As the wall of the shop under the apse had this door, the rooms (O, O') must have been given a new function within the property, as the new owner appears to have distanced the living spaces away from A' and A''. Room A' was likely adapted into a reception room as there were new paintings installed (Brenk 2003, 84). According to Brenk, the owner likely sold a section of the estate (Rooms A', A'', B and C), or perhaps the house was split up to be used within the extended family (Brenk 2003, 85). Regardless, this section was separated from the property by the early 3rd century CE, around the same time that there begins to be evidence of Christian occupation.

In the late 2nd - early 3rd century, there was a high degree of material and social change in this prestigious district, namely the construction of a multi-storey shop and apartment house on the former lot of the *residenza privata*. The new owner removed the entire area on the trapezoidal building plot aligned with the *Clivus Scauri*, but left parts of the original structure to the North, G, H, E, F, D, intact (Brenk 2003, 85; White 1990b, 212). It remains unclear whether the owner

of the structure continued to live in the Hadrian era house, or whether this structure was likewise rented out like the rest of the shop units (Brenk 2003, 86). Krautheimer argues that the owner of the apartments in Rooms F, E and G purchased the shop area, and constructed the vault-ceiling between F, E and G and Rooms O and N, consolidating the spaces into one unit by the early 3rd CE (Krautheimer 1937, 281; White 1990b, 213).

The individual shop rooms, built in the 2nd century, were entered through a portico whose arcades opened over pillars onto the *Clivus Scauri,* although Brenk notes that the east side shop/apartments (Rooms O’’’, N’’’, O’’’’ and N’’’’) were cut off from the other areas as they were likely rented out to other craftsmen (Brenk 2003, 85; White 1996b, 211-212). Room M may have contained a shared staircase (from Rooms N’’ and N’’’) leading upstairs to the apartments. The same height from the former door from Rooms O’ to N’ and the staircase Room M (ca. 215 cm high) suggest they were constructed contemporaneously.

The shops extended to the North diagonally alongside the corridor (D, D’ and D’’) providing access to the northern house as well as apartments. The new owner had to mitigate any issues, whether religious, economic or spatial, between tenants who were likely his subordinates and understood that their patron was likely to make use of the northern chambers (Brenk 2003, 85). According to Brenk, the merger between a household and a multifunctional store-apartment complex was a feature of early 3rd century building trends as wealthy owners often broke off sections of their property to rent out and yield a profit from the space (Brenk 2003, 86).

The fusion between the two different complexes is jarring, especially considering the Flavian wall of D’’ touched the ceiling of Room F, effectively combining the older Flavian construction and sharing the corner of D’’ with a door that opened at a width of approximately 10 meters. The original vault, which was replaced in the 5th CE, contains evidence that oil lamps hanging from ropes were installed in the corridor to compensate for a lack of light in this area. The function of this corridor was potentially to create a connecting room between the

multi-storey apartment and the lower house, suggesting a shared use of the space by all of the household (Brenk 2003, 86).

The next transformation of the shop-complex (O, N, D and P) occurred in the late 3rd - early 4th CE, when the corridor D''' became intensely decorated, suggesting a heightened use of the space. A new staircase was also built in the corridor (staircase Q) and was painted with a fence and bushes. Simultaneously, staircase M was removed, suggesting that the apartments above could no longer be accessed and were either abandoned or reached by a staircase no longer present in the archaeological record (Brenk 2003, 87). As well, the shops were intricately painted, except for the eastern shops N''', O''', N'''' and O'''', which were also never connected to the corridor and were probable storage areas or single-unit shops (Brenk 2003, 87). According to Brenk, the decorative motifs likely suggest that the owner was living in the lower floor and main storey of the house and did not feel the need at this point to rent out the apartments (Brenk 2003, 87). Building staircase Q resulted in lowering the corridor by roughly 1.75 m and a new long rectangular space was placed under the staircase into which the door to D' led (Brenk 2003, 87). The installation closed off the north-eastern passage from the Hadrian-era house (B).

The north-eastern passage was then transformed into two *nymphaea* installations, one in the passage itself (D''') and another in Room P to the east. The first *nymphaeum*[93] was sea themed and may have held two water features on each side dividing the two *nymphaea* niches, suggested by the fact that there was a 60 cm deep pool preceding a niche and clay drain pipe located in front of the rectangular basin (Brenk 2003, 88). There was also an altar-like feature in front of this *nymphaeum* which increased in size over time from ca. 300 CE until the late 4th century. The cube measures approximately 103 cm wide and protrudes into the

[93] According to Brenk, this *nymphaeum* was never measured or drawn when it was discovered and only the base has been preserved. He does state that it was likely similar to other *nymphaea* found in 3rd-4th century Roman houses, such as at Ostia in the *Domus del Ninfeo* and the *Domus Amore e Psiche* (Brenk 2003, 88). Whether this provides a connection to the household and Ostia, or water-based household dependency economically is unknown, however there does appear to be a focus for this space prior to Christian spatial changes to the house.

nymphaeum by 45.5 cm; later it was increased to include a 46 cm high step in front of the cube and pushed into the corridor by an additional 26 cm and covered with a 2 cm thick layer of mortar (Brenk 2003, 88). According to Brenk, the fact that the cube increased over time and was adapted into the configuration of the *nymphaeum* suggests that there was an elevated ritual status given to this *nymphaeum* (Brenk 2003, 88).

Additionally, the corridor was equipped with a small enclosed room (Room P) to the north-west. This room contains the second *nymphaeum* and was painted with wine-drinking figures as well as cupids and is of the same appearance and arrangement as the rest of the building's artistic style (Brenk 2003, 88). The enclosed quality of the space of Room P suggests a more intimate setting, with room for only a few individuals, however the jovial nature of the cupids and drinking figures also suggest social activities and not solitary actions (of course, this does not limit the room from being used by one individual). Room P would have also been partially visually accessible from Room O, which may have drawn viewers into the space.

Room O is also part of the stylistic updates the late 3rd century owner initiated. It is also decorated with themes of wine, with grape vines as well as 10-12[94] *genii*, perhaps intended to represent various seasons. They are made to look like young servants, festooned with garlands wound around them (Brenk 2003, 88-90). The similarities between the figures and servants may be no coincidence. As evident in Chapter Two, there was a close kinship and association with servants and the *genius* of households. Brenk has interpreted these figures as wine tasting deities at a seasonal festival and claims that they are directly associated with the Venus-Bacchus murals in the corridor and Room P (Brenk 2003, 90). Spatially, these rooms are all within close proximity and visual access, suggesting the owner had a cohesive theme throughout spaces used in daily or specialised ritual uses.

[94] Two of the figures are destroyed beyond recognition and cannot be safely determined to be seasonal *genii* but given the repetition of the room it is likely (Brenk 2003, 88).

The new configurations of Rooms O and P blocked the passage from Room O to shop N, the only shop that appears to still be in use by the late 3rd to early 4th century CE, and a new access point was made between Room O to O' (Brenk 2003, 91). The new walls blocked much of the lighting provided by the *Clivus Scauri* and relied on the corridor's natural lighting (Brenk 2003, 91). Rooms O and P were possible living and dining areas, as numerous boar teeth, snail and oyster shells were discovered in the area. However, the original excavation did not take note as to which specific rooms these remains were found in (Brenk 2003, 91). Fortunately, many amphorae that were preserved in Rooms N' and N'', alongside oil lamps dating into the late 5th century, suggest that dining activities most likely took place in Rooms O and P, even after the basilica was built above the private residence and shops (Brenk 2003, 91).

Room M, the former staircase area, was fitted with a very small Apis bull scene painted on imitation marble. According to Brenk (via Wilpert), this was part of a program of self-legitimizing that a potentially new owner of this grand house was attempting to implement, as each room from the back to the front was slowly transformed into a representational space of variety and leisure or *otium* (Brenk 2003, 91, 93).

Room O' was redecorated with an illusory domed ceiling that was constructed of alternating trapezoidal fields filled with human figures. These figures are likely philosophers or *orantes*, much like the praying figures mentioned in Chapter Three and at Lullingstone Villa (see the following case study). Yet, decorative motifs such as the *nymphaea* and Apis-bull fresco are likely not motivated by Christian themes as others have previously assumed of the late 3rd century owners (Brenk 2003, 93, 95; di San Stanislao 1891, 33). The distinctions between pagan and Christian intentions in the planned theme of the household spaces suggests that the owners responsible for the later church construction were not part of this decoration phase as they would not have entertained the installation of the Apis Bull in the adjoining room to Room O' if the *orantes* figures were intended as Christian martyrs (Brenk 2003, 95).

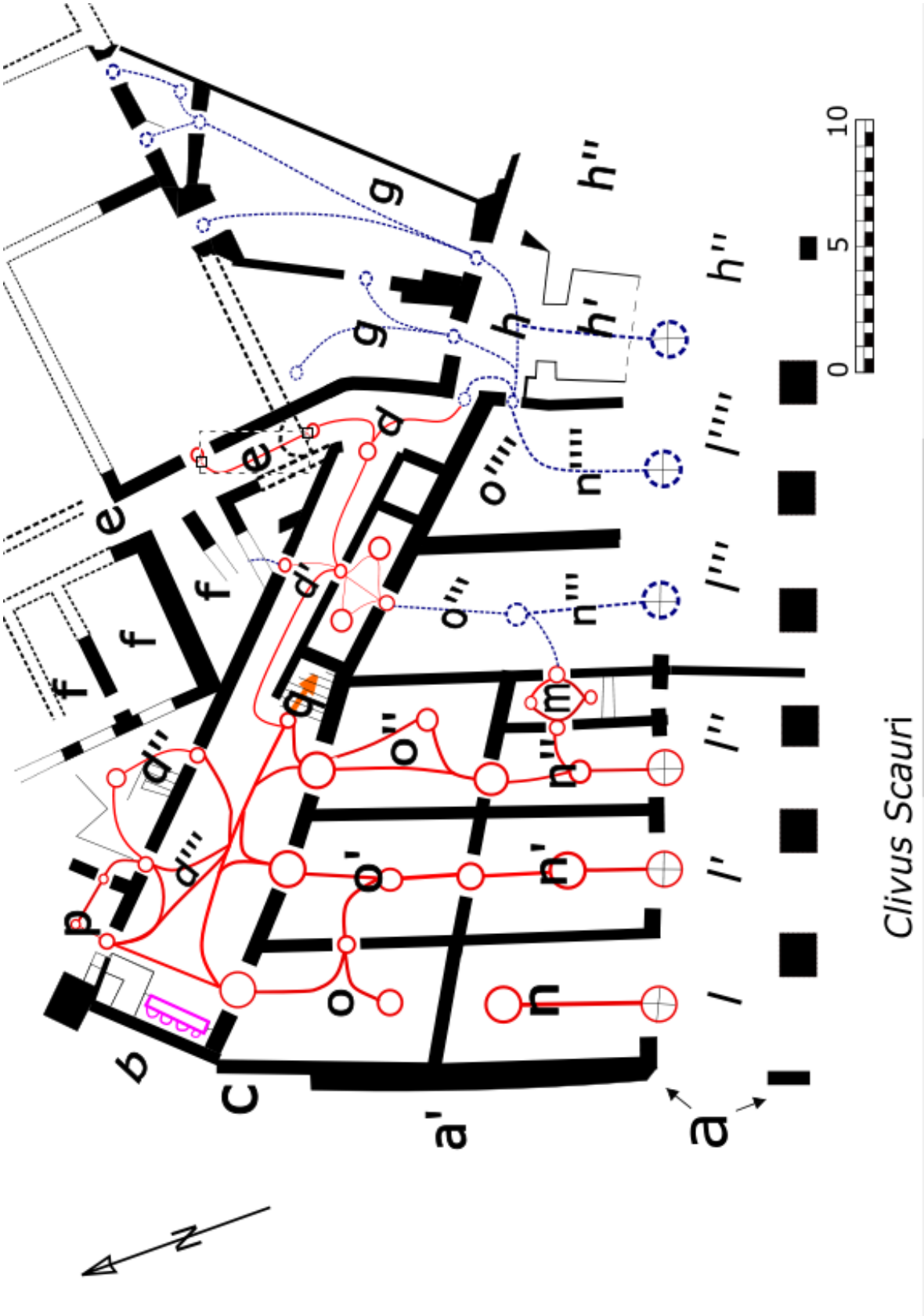


Figure 17: Plan of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, potential motion path prior to 3rd century Christian spatial changes. Red lines indicate potential walking paths of apartment and shop complexes. Blue lines indicate Hadrian-era House motion paths. Unknown areas are not given due to a lack of information available in archaeological records. Adapted from Colini 1944, tav. 9

However, once in place, the program does not preclude Christian or shared use of the space, as illustrated in Chapter Three. Christians and pagans often shared spaces and were prone to generating their own meanings from their visual and physical experiences in those spaces.

In analyzing the line of motion that would have been required to navigate towards the *nymphaea* and Room O, there is a consistency in spatial configurations as seen in Pompeii's House of the Menander in Chapter Two. While there is no vestibule, rooms N' and N'' act as threshold spaces through which any individual must first be permitted to pass to gain access to Corridor D and the adjoining Rooms P and O (See Fig. 17 above. See Fig. 18 for motion only). Furthermore, even without the Vitruvian *vestibule-atrium-tablinum* straight axis, the line of Room N' (the shop) to Room O' and corridor, simulate the three-room axis line found in larger elite houses. Inside Room O' frescoes of philosophers set the tone of the space and prepares the individual for the next set of rooms in either social activities and their associated ritual actions, such as daily events like dining or festive events such as birthdays or the *parentalia* mentioned in Chapter Two. Spatially, Rooms P and O are oriented around the *nymphaeum* in Corridor D''', as the only area completely flooded with light the visual effect would bathe the domestic altar threshold of light and dark, adding to this liminal character of the space are: cupids (Room P), the *genii* (Room O) as the sound of the *nymphaea* which would also echo into Room O.

The earliest evidence for Christian spatial adaptation occurs in the second half of the fourth century when staircase Q was broken halfway up, interrupting the staircase and rendering the garden *otium* space distinct from the ground floor (Bowes 2008, 88; Brenk 2003, 98). The change may have been a natural adaptation of the architecture after an earthquake or some other disruption, or it may have been an intentional decision made by a new set of owners. Brenk hypothesizes that the staircase may have been severed to create a differentiation between two families, perhaps of the same household, who had different—and conflicting—religious world views (2003, 98). The hypothetical Christian family

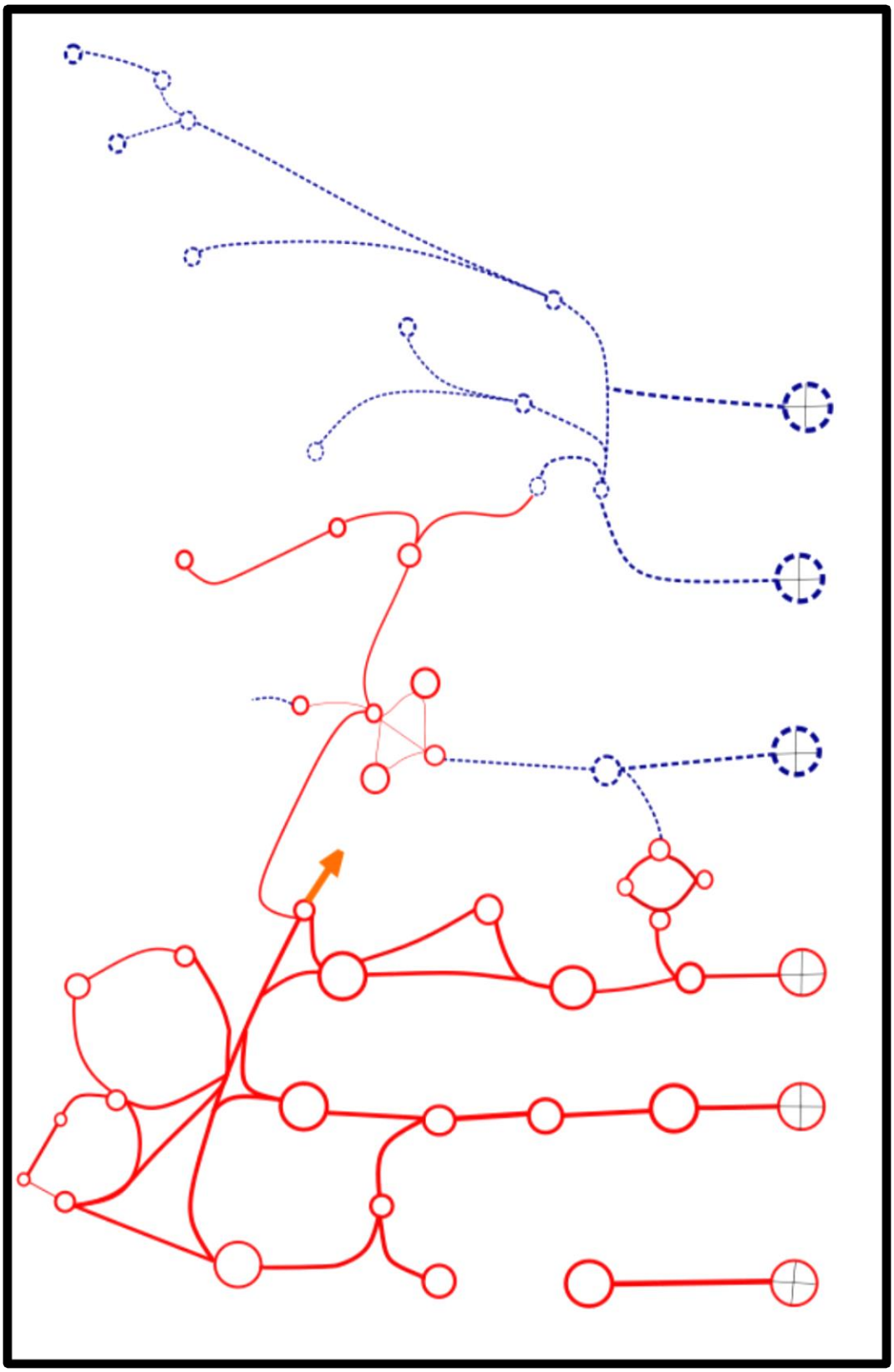


Figure 18: Giovanni e Paolo, early 3rd CE, prior to Christian spatial changes. Isolated map of potential walking paths highlighting linear axis and threshold points.

would have had to reside primarily in the Hadrian era house (Rooms G, F, E and south corridor D) and not amongst the shops facing the *Clivus Scauri*. The two disparate spaces would have been successfully negotiated by breaking the accessibility of Christians to pagan space (Bowes 2008, 88).

Around the same time that staircase Q was broken up, a Christian shrine was constructed on its landing between 340-390 CE. This will be examined in more detail below. The pagan scenes remained visible[95] after the construction of the Christian shrine, however the accessibility between the two types of shrines, and the two types of people they served, were limited to their own floors. This suggests that at this point the house was shared between Christian and pagan residents who were attempting to distinguish their own spaces.

While some *nymphaea* may have been reinterpreted to suit Christian meaning—such as associating water features with paradise—it is unlikely that this particular area was reused for Christian purpose (Bowes 2008, 92; Brenk 2003, 98). As Brenk points out, eventually the *nymphaea* were later dismantled as the garden *nymphaeum* in corridor D was completely blocked with a 50 cm thick wall (2003, 98). The decision to block the *nymphaeum* suggests that whoever lived upstairs eventually did not want to be exposed to, or expose others to, this religiously charged space. Nevertheless, they did not necessarily outright destroy it as it was preserved or contained behind the new wall.

The newly installed partition in the staircase provided a small space on the landing (1.21 m X 1.10 m). It was reconstructed into a small chamber which was labelled a *confessio* by di San Stanislao (1891, 15). Figure 19 below illustrates the newly created landing and how it connected to the household to the north via a large archway—but was no longer accessible from the apartment/shops area upstairs.

[95] According to di San Stanislao, Room O' also contained a fresco that was covered over with tempera colors, to which Comm. di Rossi concluded was due to scenes that were "too pagan" (di San Stanislao 1891, 34). However, the Apis-bull was never removed, suggesting either a reinterpretation, or perhaps it was covered with material items to obstruct the view of it.

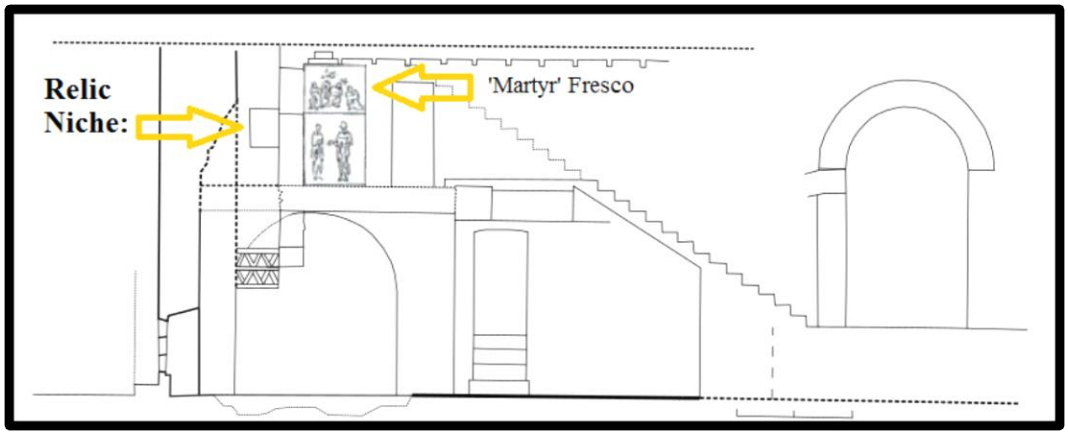


Figure 19: Area beneath the Apartment/shops (modern Basilica) of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo, late 4th CE. Adapted from Apollonj Ghetti (1978: Fig. 4)

Brenk and Bowes do not necessarily agree that the space is a *confessio*,[96] as the space is only 1.10 meters wide, and is more like: "a lararium in which only a single person could take a seat" (Bowes 2008, 90; Brenk 2003, 98;). The reliquary space most closely resembles the *lararia* or *sacraria* spaces, located in pagan domestic cults, and familiar to early Christians (Bowes 2008, 90). However, unlike the previous pagan spaces analyzed in Chapter Two, the Christian space is not wholly integrated into daily spatial movement and actions. Rather, to participate in this space, the participant would have to intend on making their way up the staircase to fully interact with the Christian niche. There is also a low level of visibility granted to the space as the chapel can only be accessed through a very narrow corridor which does not appear to permit many individuals into the space at once.

Bowes hypothesizes that a small niche may have been located at the bottom of staircase Q as a possible domestic pagan shrine, therefore this space was already religiously coded for ritual action (2008, 90). However, unlike this possible shrine, the new Christian shrine is spatially difficult to access, and of limited area that would have only provided space enough for one individual. Bowes calls this a "Janus-faced project" as it is both a low-visibility area, but it is

[96] A "*confessio'* is a commemorative piece of architecture placed in the location of a martyr's death (Jones *et. al*. 2013, 128). A *martyrium* carries the same definition, except it does not necessarily have to be attached to the precise location of the martyrdom (Gregg 1897, 290-1; Jones *et. al* 2013, 356)

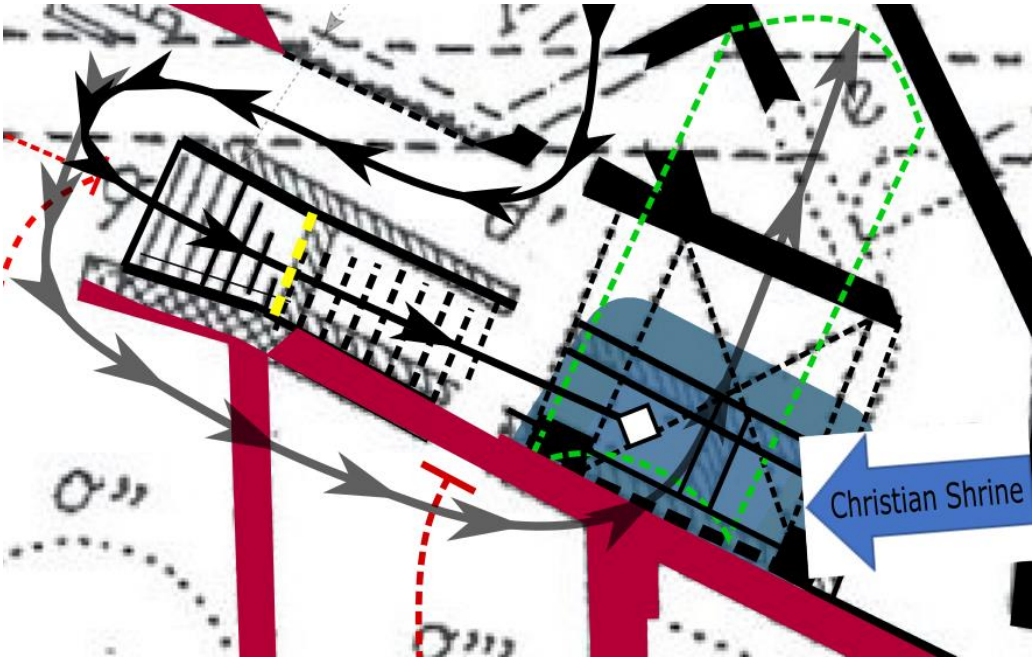


Figure 20: Giovanni e Paolo, inset of staircase. Christian staircase landing is highlighted in blue with large blue arrow for clarity. Potential obstructed movement of non-Christians in Red. Christian walking path, in grey/black, is circular and allows for an ease of motion around reliquary space.

spatially located in the very center of the house, suggesting an "intimate space for contemplation of the holy on what had been a major domestic thoroughfare overlooking the home's earlier sacred center" (Bowes 2008, 91). The location and attachment of the space specifically to the domestic center of the house may also indicate for whom this domestic shrine was intended for: it is not large enough to satisfy group ritual action, nor is it located near service areas such as the kitchen.

This space echoes instructions on Christian ritual, as seen in the letters from Jerome to Eustochium analyzed in Chapter Three. Christians were expected to show devotion through isolation within their homes which in turn required a space within the house to be adapted for this purpose (Munk 2009, 12-13). The space also echoes the ritual spaces explored in Chapter One, as the care and use of the site would not have been a far stretch from the role Roman pagan wives would have had in maintaining *lararia*—except the *lararium* was a lived space where the participant would join in the space, but the Christian relic-shrine was set apart from ordinary life and meant to be looked into (Munk 2009, 13). Women or slaves may have tended to the space, but this does not preclude use of the space by other members of the house, as the space also served the same visual-control

capacity as the *tablinum* view of the *paterfamilias.* I do agree with Munk in her interpretation on the liminal quality of the shrine-space, as it literally sat in the middle of the house but was also elevated above day-to-day life due to its position on the staircase.

The clearest evidence available for identifying use as a *domus ecclesiae* is the *titulus* dating to ca. 440-461 CE made in the name of either *Byzantis* or *Pammachius* (Krautheimer 1937, 270; White 1990b, 209). It is not until the late 6th or 7th CE that the basilica was named for the saints John and Paul (Bowes 2008, 89; Brenk 2003, 98). The final phase, and likely the end of the building being put to use as a house, occurred in the late 4th- early 5th c. CE (ca. 400-410 CE), following the installation of the staircase-space (White 1990b, 210). This occurred when the entire mezzanine level was made into an open hall by removing the interior partitions, likely including the top-floor apartments, as well as opening into the former street-facing rooms (Bowes 2008, 88; White 1990a, 131). However, it should be noted that the staircase shrine remained part of the domestic space on the ground floor (perhaps now disused) and did not become integrated into the meeting hall on the upper mezzanine. Rather the maintenance of such a shrine with limited space suggests that the staircase shrine was specifically designed for personal domestic use—even while there may have been a Christian group space directly above it (Bowes 2008, 89; Leyser 2007, 145). Therefore, this was a religious space intended exclusively for a household, and not to be shared with guests and incoming patrons. As a liminal space, it was both part of and set apart from the house in its spatial composition.

4.2: Lullingstone Villa, Britain

The second case study I will analyze concerning the way motion was affected by religious and spatial changes, is Lullingstone Villa. It is an elite agrarian-type structure located in a rural region of the British provinces and is situated a short distance from the road to Lundinium. The site was discovered in 1939, after a tree fell to reveal several mosaic fragments. Excavation began after World War II in 1949 by a large group lead by G.W. Meates and J. Toynbee. J.

Evans and the Darent Valley Archaeological group, along with the British Society of Antiquities and the Kent Archaeological Society were also involved. The dig was carefully planned, with each stage of the excavation process documented and published through the Kent County Council. The dig was completed by 1969, with much of the external buildings reinterred and the villa itself preserved as a museum. The careful mapping and reconstructions of the villa mosaics, ritual spaces, as well as clear numismatic evidence for dating various changes to the internal spatial design of the house provide an excellent location for analyzing domestic religious spatial changes.

The site is located on the side of a hill, which was advantageous for preservation as a thick layer of sediment accretion and water run-off sealed in the house. Any missing fragments have often been located at the bottom of the hill in the run-off. Like other Roman villas located in England, many of the door frames are absent, as well as the North Western wing, which was destroyed by modern road construction sometime in the early 21st century. This is most unfortunate, as this also destroyed much of the eastern wall of a 4th CE house church.

The region appears to have evidence of farming prior to Roman occupation, however it was not until Agricola gained governmental control over the region that there was a conscious program of Romanization and intensive farming. Meates and White agree that it is likely that Lullingstone was a product of this expansion. The first phase of the house, a simple rectangular shape constructed of flint and mortar, dates roughly to 70-80 CE. The main entry was likely from Room 11 (as seen on the map in Fig. 21) in the North East via entry ramp, descending the hill and stopping roughly 2 ft. above Room 11's floor. Meates and Henig have hypothesized that this slope was used as either a water dock, or a storage room for grain due, to pottery evidence. A small slab located on the floor opposite the entrance may have served as a base for a cultic image, as there is evidence for repeated fire use near the threshold. However, no exact cultic image has been recovered. White states that the ritual character is likely Celtic

due to the circular temple located on the top of the hill, east of the house (White 1996b, 246).

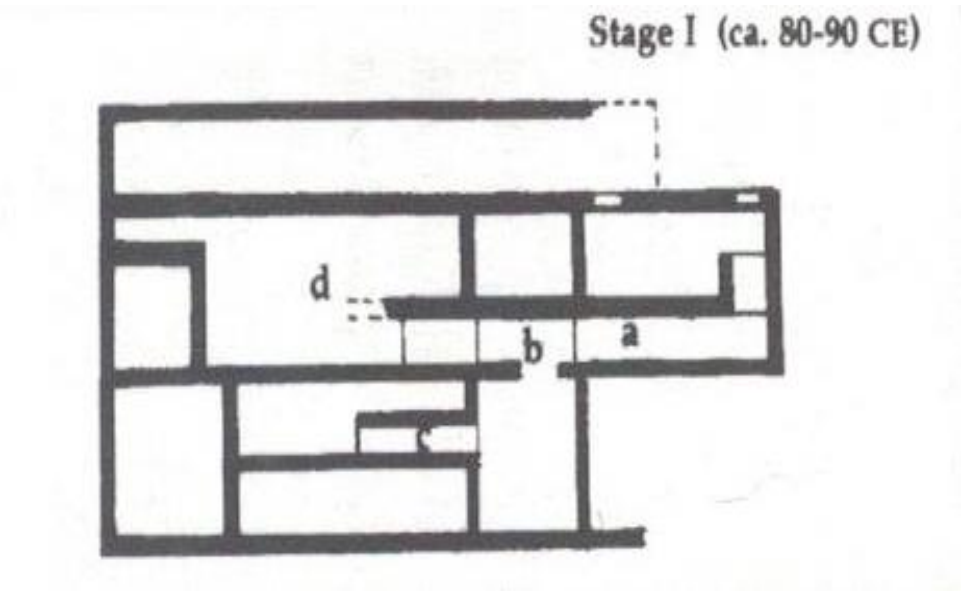


Figure 21: Lullingstone Villa, phase 1 floor map. From Meates (1979: Fig. 3a)

Figure 22: Lullingstone Villa, Nymphaeum. Deep Room, SW Wall. Courtesy of Kent Archaeological Society, 2018.

The house underwent notable changes around 180-200 CE, which mostly affected the south and north wings of the house. The core rectangular living areas of the house, listed as Rooms 7, 8, 10, 12, 13 on the map in Fig. 24, retained much of their original spatial configurations. The cooking area, Rooms 7 and 13, were refurbished from one room into two rooms with a partition. The main entry remained in the NE side of corridor 13, with a new addition of a set of tiled stairs directly off of the entry to a landing which broke off into three staircases—two leading to Room 24 and one leading to Room 11. It is this area of the house that is most relevant for an analysis of ritual space as new features, discussed below, began to clearly code this area as ritualistic. Scholars have determined these changes to be clear evidence of a conscious Romanization project, likely initiated by a new owner who felt the need to express a visual and spatial connection to the Empire (Meates 1979, 30; White 1996b, 247).

These visual and spatial connections are evident by the expanded south end with a hypocaust furnace and bath structure. More significantly for this thesis, the North west wing was completely changed from an entry ramp and work space into an area designed for ritual activities. The Deep Room (Room 11) had a niche installed on the south wall, framing a fresco of three nymphs, one of which holds a water jug, another has water spurting from her nipple, and a third has been damaged beyond recognition (see Fig. 22, above). According to two scholars, the three nymphs may have represented the local rivers, or were related to agricultural deities (Henig 1984, 47-49; Meates 1957, 72). Boone argues that there is not enough evidence to support ritual activity around this niche in the same sense as the *lararia* found in Pompeii and Rome discussed earlier. Rather, it was a mock or simulated form of niche meant to only look Romanesque (1983, 348). Perring (1991) argues that the room was likely of a ritual setting, as there was an altar built in one corner of the room where marble busts were placed on a low platform. Similar ritual cellars were also found in Cambridge and Colchester, both of which also appear to be directly concerned with agricultural success, much like Lullingstone (Perring 1991, 327).

It is more likely that this was a domestic ritual space as other personal objects, such as the busts discovered in the Deep Room suggest: these busts are clearly of Roman import, they are made of pentelic marble and have a Hadrianic and Antonine date respectively (see Fig. 23). According to Meates, these are ancestor figures brought from Rome by the new owner, who he claims was either Pertinax himself or a close relative (1979, 21-30, 36). While I am apprehensive in ascribing a clear identity, an engraved cornelian signet stone belonging to an 'E. Pertinax' discovered just outside the villa does provide a compelling piece of evidence (Henig 2007, 7).

Figure 23: Pertinax Busts, Lullingstone Villa. Pentelic Marble. Measurements unknown. Courtesy of Kent Archaeological Society, 2018

When analyzed on a map, the Deep Room, in no way resembling the *vestibule-atrium-peristyle* direct flow seen in the House of the Menander at Pompeii, nevertheless remains consistent in providing a space directly connected to the entry way. As seen previously in the *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, the staircase plays an important role in dividing living space from ritual space. The Deep Room is also visually inaccessible unless descending the stairway, and distinct from the other areas of the house. A consequence of this differentiation between areas does not allow for an integration in living spaces such as the *tabulinum* and *triculinium*, as previously seen in the House of the Menander. Rather, the space is

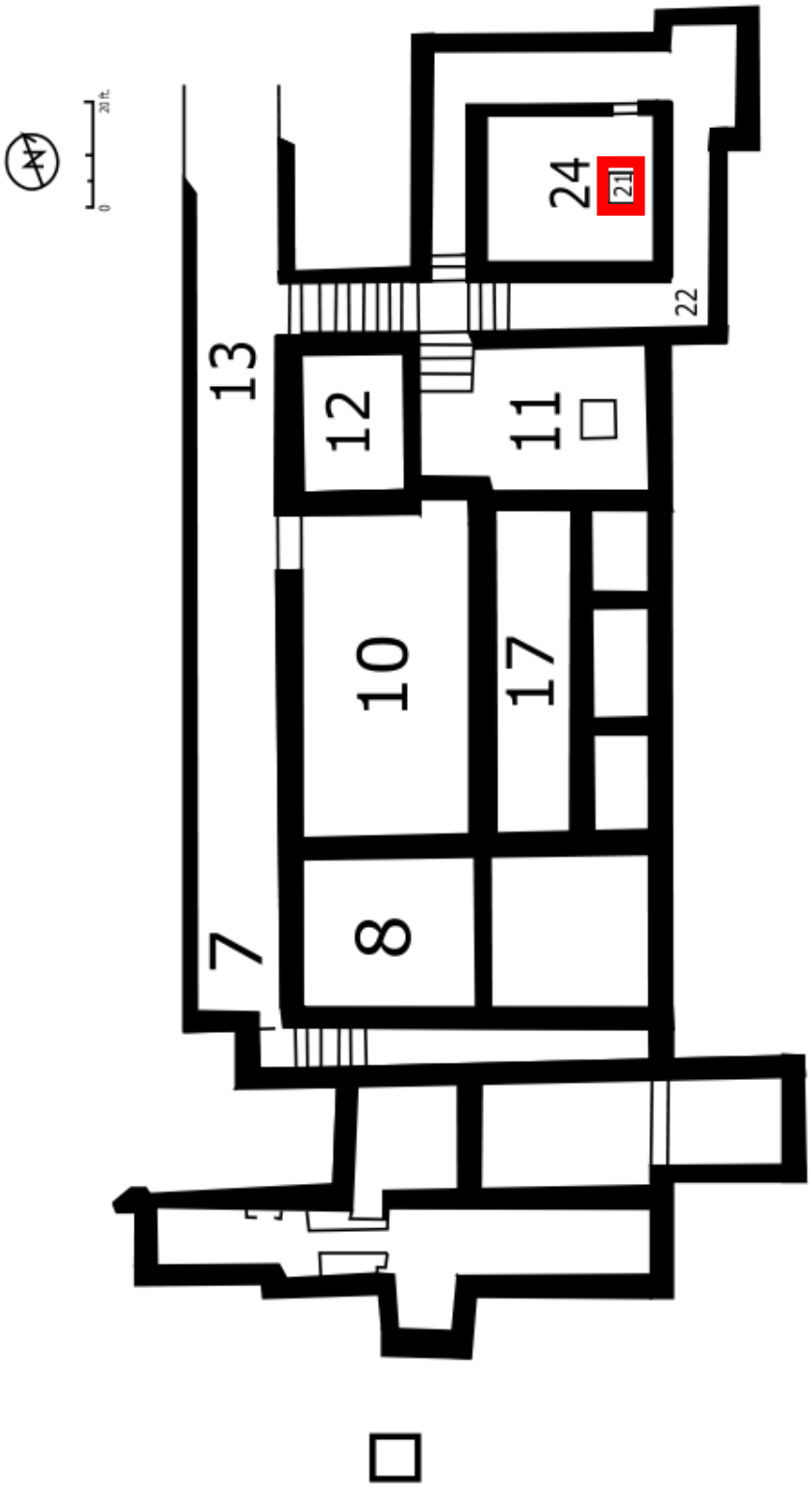


Figure 24: Lullingstone Villa, Phase 2. Floor map, after Meates (1979: Fig. 6). Feature 21 outlined in red for clarity.

related to workspace and ritual, not living spaces. This suggests that the residents of the household would have had to intentionally move into the North wing of the house to perform any rituals and would have likely either been surrounded by household staff, or they would have had to have a temporal distinction and a limited or suitable time for ritual versus daily production.

The Romanesque owners also added Rooms 24 and 22, including feature 21. According to Henig, the ambulatory walking path (Room 22) with a central chamber (24) included a ritual pit feature (marked as 21 outlined in red, see Fig. 24). This is attributed to a Romano-British hybridized ritual style and can also be seen at other contemporary sites in the British province, such as Chedworth Villa (Henig 1980, 36). Perring has noted a distinct lack of votives or ritual items in archaeological deposits in Rooms 11 and 24 (1991, 327). However, the intentionally imposed circumambulation path (22) around Room 24 suggests a ritual activity of repeated motion (See Fig. 25 for motion path). If the area was not used in some form of ritual, the accessibility to Room 24 would be counterproductive for work purposes, as the time to walk around Room 22 would have been unnecessary. A walking path along this area of the house demonstrates that the North wing of the house was intentionally made to arrange the participant body in a particular manner, descending the stairway, making the appropriate turns (or to the uninitiated, perhaps the wrong turns) and finally to precise ritual locations.

The archaeological evidence—such as the estimated one hundred and fifteen ox-bone fragments discovered scattered around the floor, as well as a deposited horse-skull and pine cones were found in ash deposits in the west and north of Room 24—are highly suggestive of ritual sacrifices taking place in a domestic context (Meates 1979, 65). As mentioned in Chapter Two, animal sacrifice, as well as pine cones were a common feature in Roman domestic ritual (Boyce 1937; Flower 2017, 63, 150; Sofroniew 2016, 4-5). There was also a small yellow brick roof-finial discovered in the north of the ambulatory, which may

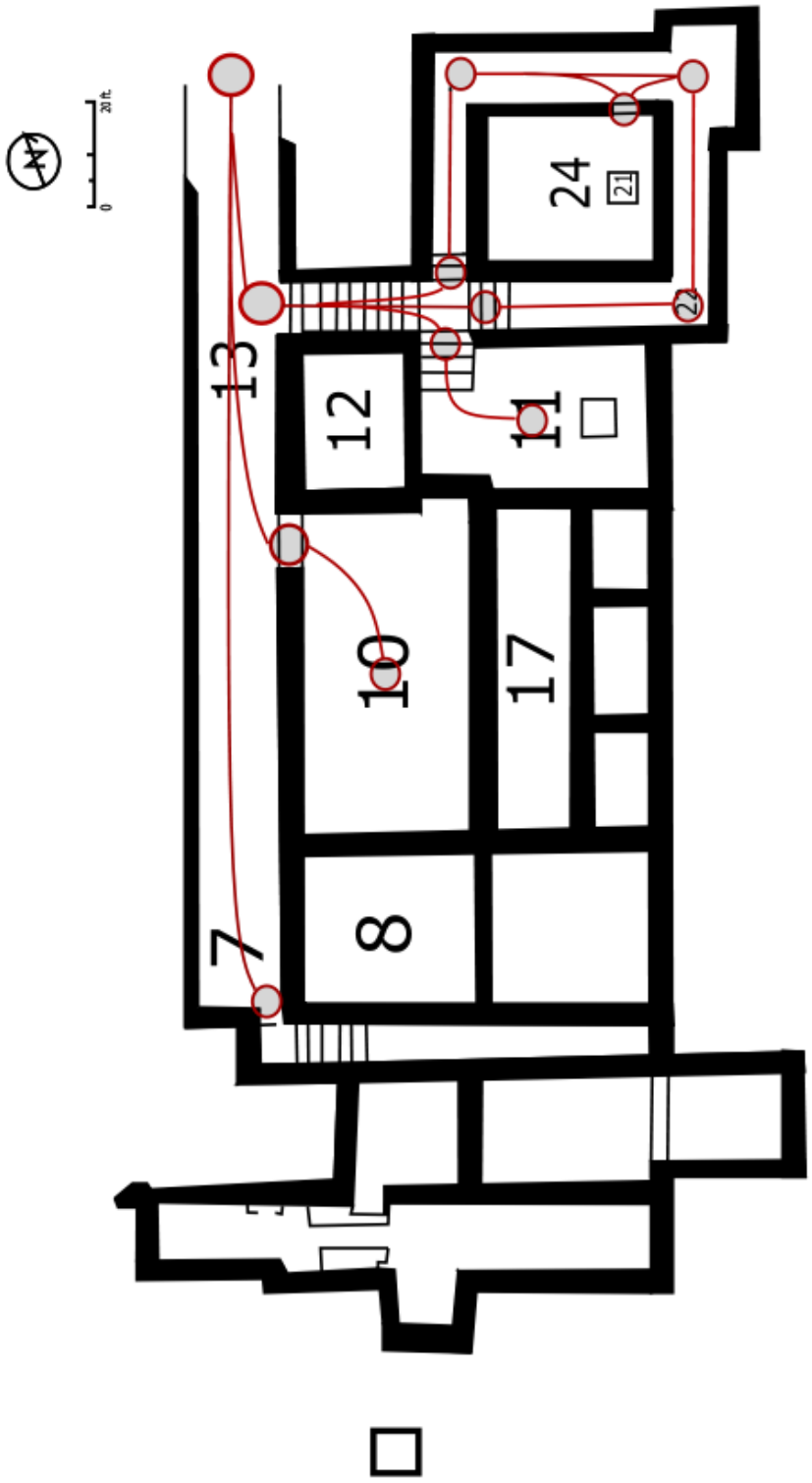


Figure 25: Lullingstone Villa, Phase 2 floor map. Red lines indicate potential walking paths

have been a votive lamp, as is commonly found in other Roman domestic ritual contexts across the Mediterranean (Meates 1979, 66-67).

It is unclear whether there were walls around path 22, which either would have pointed to a surveillance-like use as one could walk around the circuit observing the household staff production area to the west and the river to the north, or if walled, imposed a focus upon those who walked the area as they entered Room 24.

While the exact motivations, or identity, of the new owner for installing ritual features in the Deep Room (11) and building the *ambulatio* (Room 24) are unclear, it is evident that the owners attempted to create a differentiation in both movement and space. Perhaps to delineate these areas with specialized religious spatial coding, the type of motion allowable in the space creates a distinct setting for ritual movements—even in daily use for agricultural production. The combination of underground chambers, running water or wells, along with visual and ritual features appear to connect Lullingstone's Northwest wing to both the production (i.e. continued economic success) and ritual activities ascribed to this space in the household.

The third phase of the house featured mostly utilitarian changes to the damaged structure. The house was partially destroyed by fire around 200 CE and remained abandoned until around 280 CE. By the late 3rd century, the villa was reoccupied, likely by a wealthy Romanized Briton who used it primarily as a farming estate (White 1996b, 249). The fact that the villa no longer functioned as a permanent residence and became more suited to farming is evident in the simultaneous construction of a new barn built on the south east end, as well as the dismantling of the external cultic complex, as well as a truncation of the whole North wing.

The new owner razed a wall and replaced it with another as a boundary for the new Rooms, marked 14, 15 and 16 on the map below (Fig. 26). The stairs to the Deep Room were blocked in, the floor covered in a thick clay, and the busts deposited in the fill on the stairs. Room 15 appears to be used as a tannery during

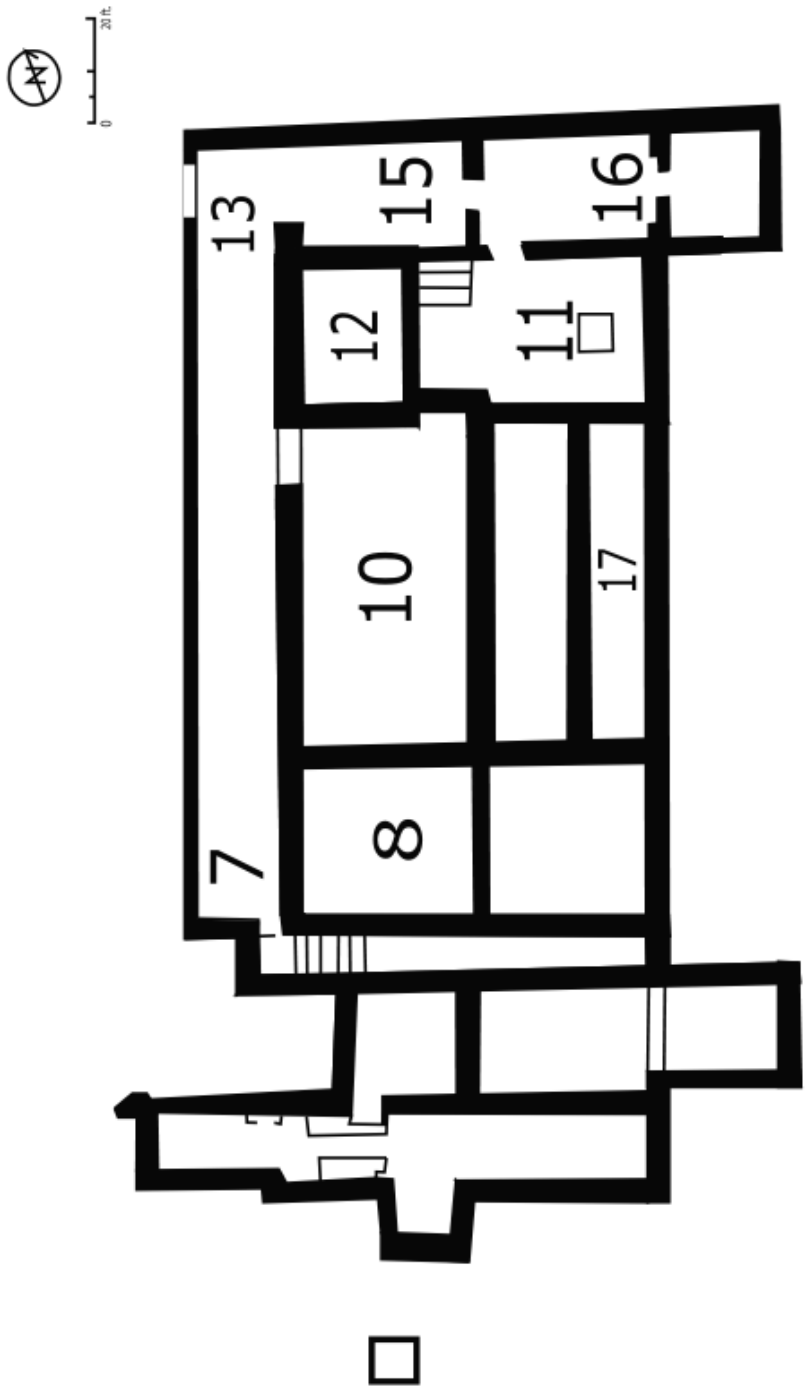


Figure 26: Lullingstone Villa, Phase 3 floor map. After Meates (1979: Fig. 4)

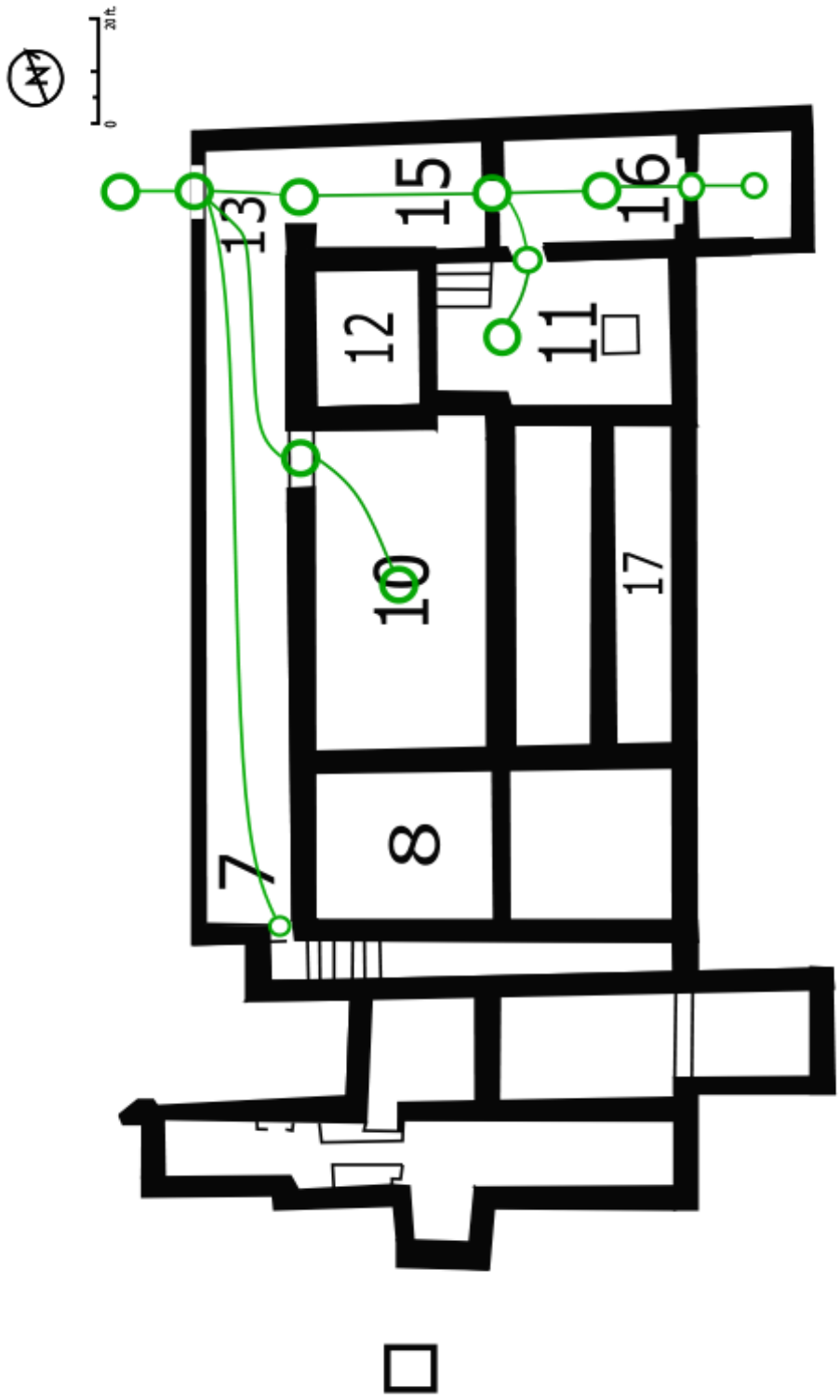


Figure 27: Lullingstone Villa, phase 3 floor map. Green lines indicate potential walking path

this period, attested to by a wooden plank for stretching skins as well as a brick oven and a lime tank (Meates 1974, 17). While Room 16 was used as a furnace, likely for drying materials, the occupants appeared to have blocked the staircase leading to the Deep Room as well as depositing the marble busts into the room (Meates 1974, 18; White 1996b, 249-50). It was during this period that the Cult Room (Room 24, see Fig. 26-27) was razed to ground level and the overall length of the house was shortened by several feet. The Deep Room, *nymphaeum*, and busts were not put into disuse, rather a new doorway was installed in Room 16 and the busts were placed on the steps which acted as a marble altar in a newly plastered white room (Meates 1974, 18, 34). Meates also states that at this time the *nymphaeum* was also plastered over, which suggests that the new owners during this phase—although willing to ritualistically honour the busts in this space—were no longer ascribing importance to the deities depicted in the niche (1974, 18). As seen in Chapter Three, Ausonius rid his home of all images, except for those of his ancestors, suggesting that their memorialization was maintained as acceptable forms of veneration within a Christian space. It would also force the owners to no longer focus on the South and Eastern areas of the room. Rather, with the addition of the staircase altar and the new doorway, the participants of any ritual movement would have likely been focused on the North and Western walls as, seen in Figure 27.

Stage IVa (ca. 330-360 CE) saw a revival in ritualized spaces, particularly to the exterior of the house, with the construction of a temple mausoleum on the Northwest terrace of the house (Meates 1979, 122; White 1996b, 250, see Fig. 28). The interior of the villa was remodelled with a focus on the new apsed *triclinium* (Room 9) and the mosaic of the fore-room (10). Meates believed that a wooden stairway was made for entry to Room 17, which would place a special emphasis on the living space, as well as draw attention to all who entered to the new mosaic feature (1979, 116-117).

The mosaic at Lullingstone has generated heated debates and fantastic answers as to the identity and religious moods and motivations of the household.

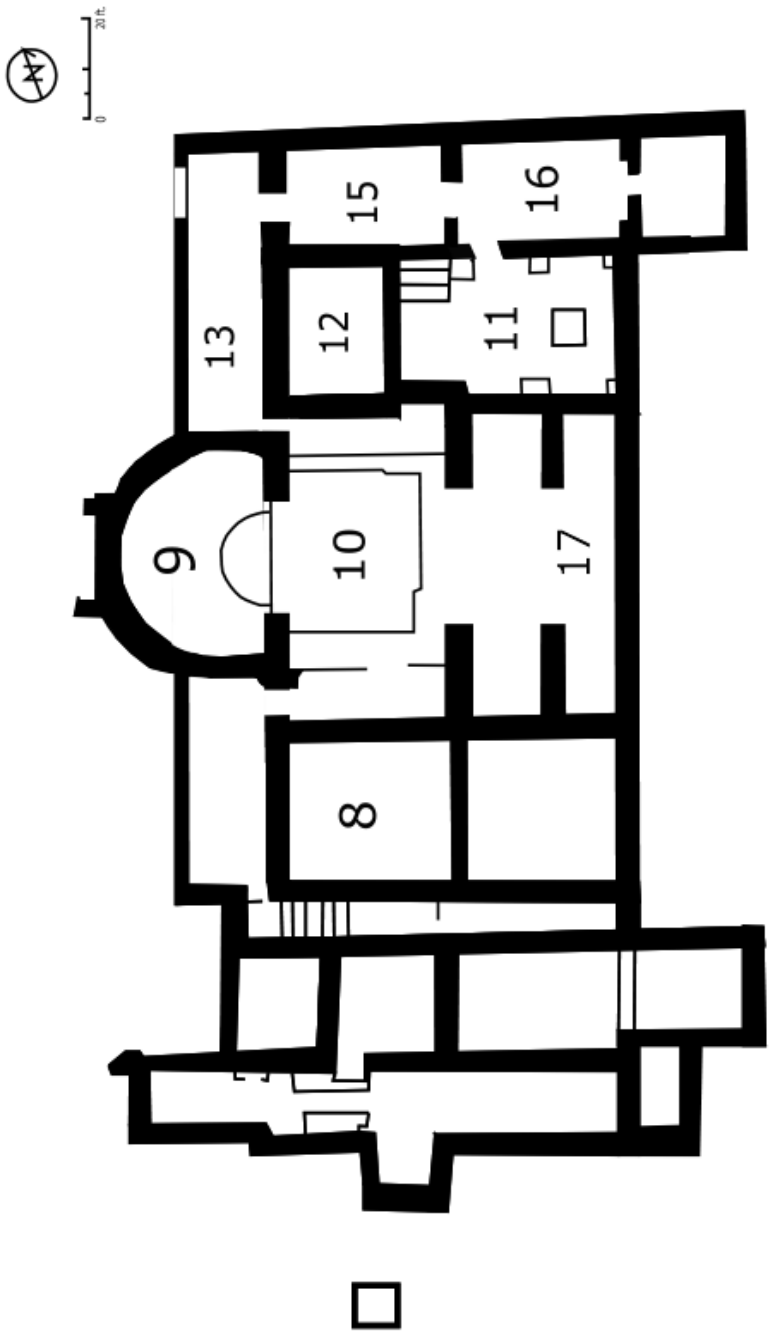


Figure 28: Lullinstone Villa, phase 4a. After Meates (1979: Fig. 6)

Meates pragmatically saw the mosaic as a sign of economic success and imperial favour under Constantine (1979, 116-117). The mosaic has two narrative features: one of Bellerophon slaying the chimaera in Room 10 and a second featuring Europa on the bull in the *triclinium* apse. There is an inscription[97] below the Europa scene that has led scholars to debate the social and religious identity of the owner of this period. According to Henig and Barrett, the inscription is in the same structure, meter, and syntax as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which highlights the level of education of the owner and his personal taste (Barrett 1978, 313; Henig 1997, 4).

While it is not within the scope of this thesis to debate the meaning of the inscription, it is worth noting that nearby Villas, such as Hinton St. Mary in Dorset and the Frampton Villa also feature Bellerophon mosaics with added Chi-Rhos rather than the inscription (Henig 1997, 5; Perring 2001, 243; Toynbee 1964, 4). The regional similarities suggest that the rural areas of Roman Britain appear to have exhibited a network of educated elites who were willing to syncretize imagery in a way that mixed beliefs, much like Ausonius and others who were willing to blend old and new traditions that centered around the well-being of the patron, his household, and the agricultural success of the property (Bowes 2007, 161-2; Henig 1997, 6).

The mosaic at Lullingstone, which was likely still in use into the next, very obviously Christian, phase of the house, provides evidence confirming Balch's (2008) overall thesis that early Christian viewers would have shared many of the same visual narratives as their pagan counterparts. Henig has also stated that he prefers to think of mosaics like this as a sign of pagan beliefs but does not see a rigid division between potential pagan and Christian

[97] RIB II, 2448.6: *INVIDA SI TA[VRI] VIDISSET IVNO NATATVS/ IVSTIVS AEOLIAS ISSET ADVSQVE DOMOS*. Originally published in Frere, S.S. and R. Tomlin inn R.G. Collingwood and R.P wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* II, fasc. 4 (1992): 86. "If jealous Juno had seen the swimmings of the Bull, more justly would she have gone to the halls of Aeolus" (Trans. S.R. Cosh 2016).

Figure 29: Lullinstone Villa, apse mosaic. English Heritage (2009, 18)

interpretations[98] (1997, 4). It is for this reason that I find it reasonable to accept Henig's position that the original installation was likely of a pagan context and from a "religion of educated elite," who dabbled in a diverse range of religious sources including those external to the gospels, including natural philosophy and mystery religions (1984, 178-9; see also Perring 2001, 241). If the wooden steps did exist, as Meates theorized, the new entrance would have drawn a direct focal emphasis to this mosaic, elevating its importance as a set of symbols meant to be viewed and interpreted by all who entered.

[98] While it is not within the scope of this thesis to debate the potential Christian cryptogram of Lullingstone Villa, I do not feel it is worth wholly dismissing. For further reading see W. H. C. Frend. 1955. Religion in Roman Britain in the 4th Century. *Journal of the British Archaeology Society* 3 (18): 1-18. He argues that mutual jealousy and competitive iconography motivated both elite pagans and early Christians. For suggestions on how the whole building is Christian see K.S. Painter. 1969. The Lullingstone Wall-Plaster: An Aspect of Christianity in Roman Britain. *The British Museum Quarterly*. 33 (3/4): 131-150; Charles Thomas 1998. *Christian Celts….* For counter argument see R. Ling 2003. Inscriptions on Romano-British Mosaics. *Mosaic* 30: 14-16 and Sandra R. Cosh. 2016. The Lullingstone Mosaic Inscription – A Parody of Martial? *Britannia* 47:262-266.

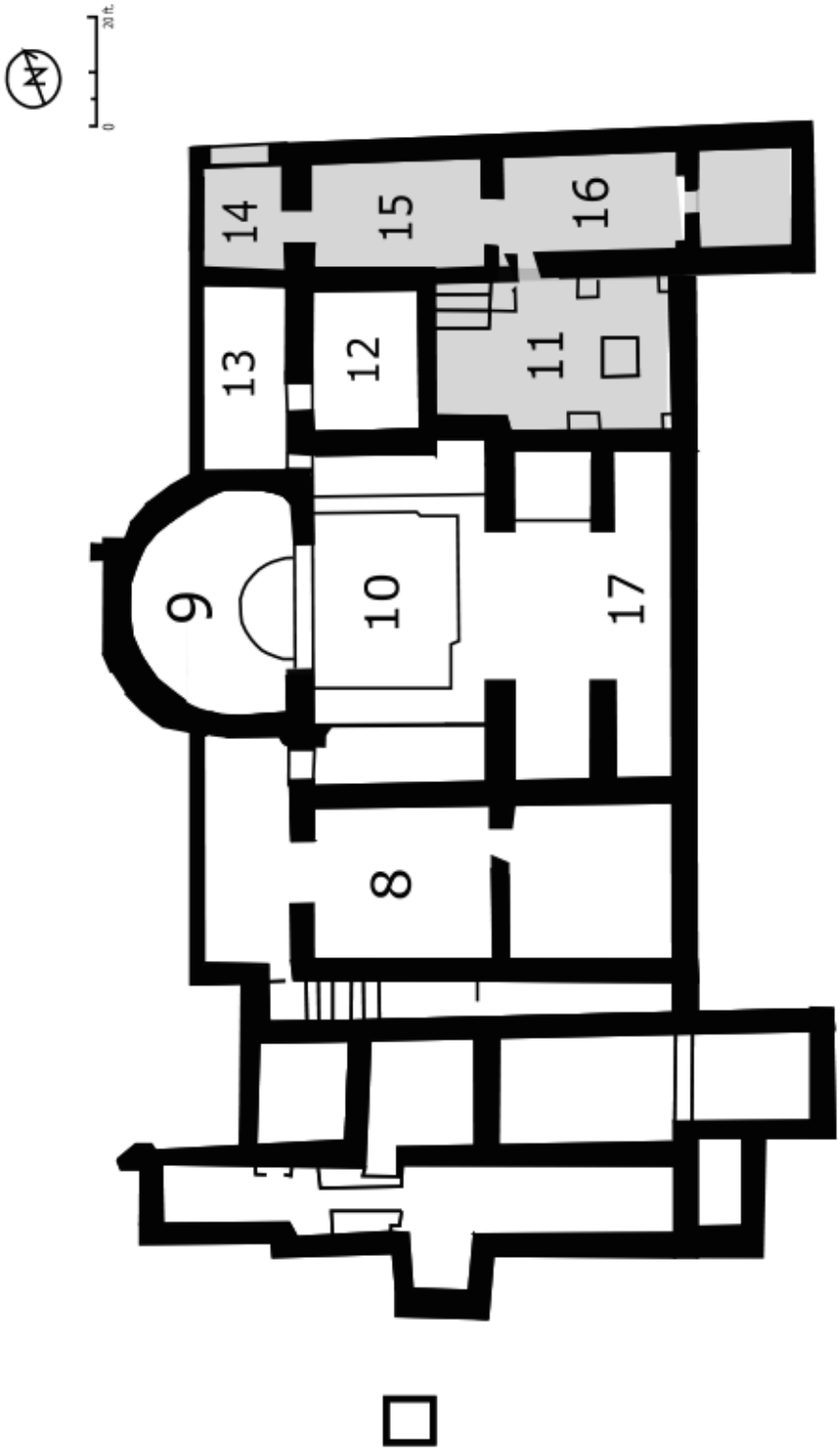


Figure 30: Lullingstone Villa, phase 4b. Adapted for clarity concerning Rooms 11, 14, 15 and 16. After Meates (1979: Fig. 6)

Stage IVb (ca. 360- 390 CE) features another large shift towards specialization in the North wing, this time for Christian use (see Fig. 30, above). A wall was placed in corridor 13, making Room 14 into a more familiar looking vestibule shape, and severing the North wing from the entire house. The former main door, now displaced in importance by the grand entry for Room 17, was also reoriented from a western facing point of entry to a northern entry (see Fig. 31, below). This would have directed focus away from the back western area, where the external pagan temple mausoleum would have still stood. In redirecting visual focus into the vestibule, the participant would have to admit their whole body into the structure in order to begin to observe any symbolic referents that would signal ritual-spatial function to the viewers. These changes to the house have been interpreted as evidence that the northern wing of the house had been adapted for use as a Christian meeting place. Rooms 15, 16, and especially Room 11—above the former Deep Room— were now functioning as a chapel.

Another significant change that occurred during this period were renovations to the hearth/kitchen area of the house. The cooking area, which had formerly been in the entry vestibule Room 13 was completely dismantled and a new kitchen area was constructed in Room 8. By removing the built-in hearth from this area, the designer would have effectively rendered any rituals involving the hearth, as illustrated in Chapter Two, more difficult to manoeuvre in relation to the ritual area in the north wing. The lack of hearth or kitchen features in the ritual area further confirms the notion that kitchens slowly became of decreased importance to domestic religious ritual spaces under Christianity, as suggested in Chapter Three by Ausonius.

This is further confirmed by the fact that the "bedroom," Room 12, appears to have continued use, even after the new kitchen (Room 8) went out of use around 380 CE, suggesting that use of living space was beginning to decline in favour of the Chapel for exclusive use (White 1996b, 256-7). Whether intentionally or not, the spatial reconfiguration also has the bedroom appearing exceedingly insular from both the chapel space and the living areas. This may

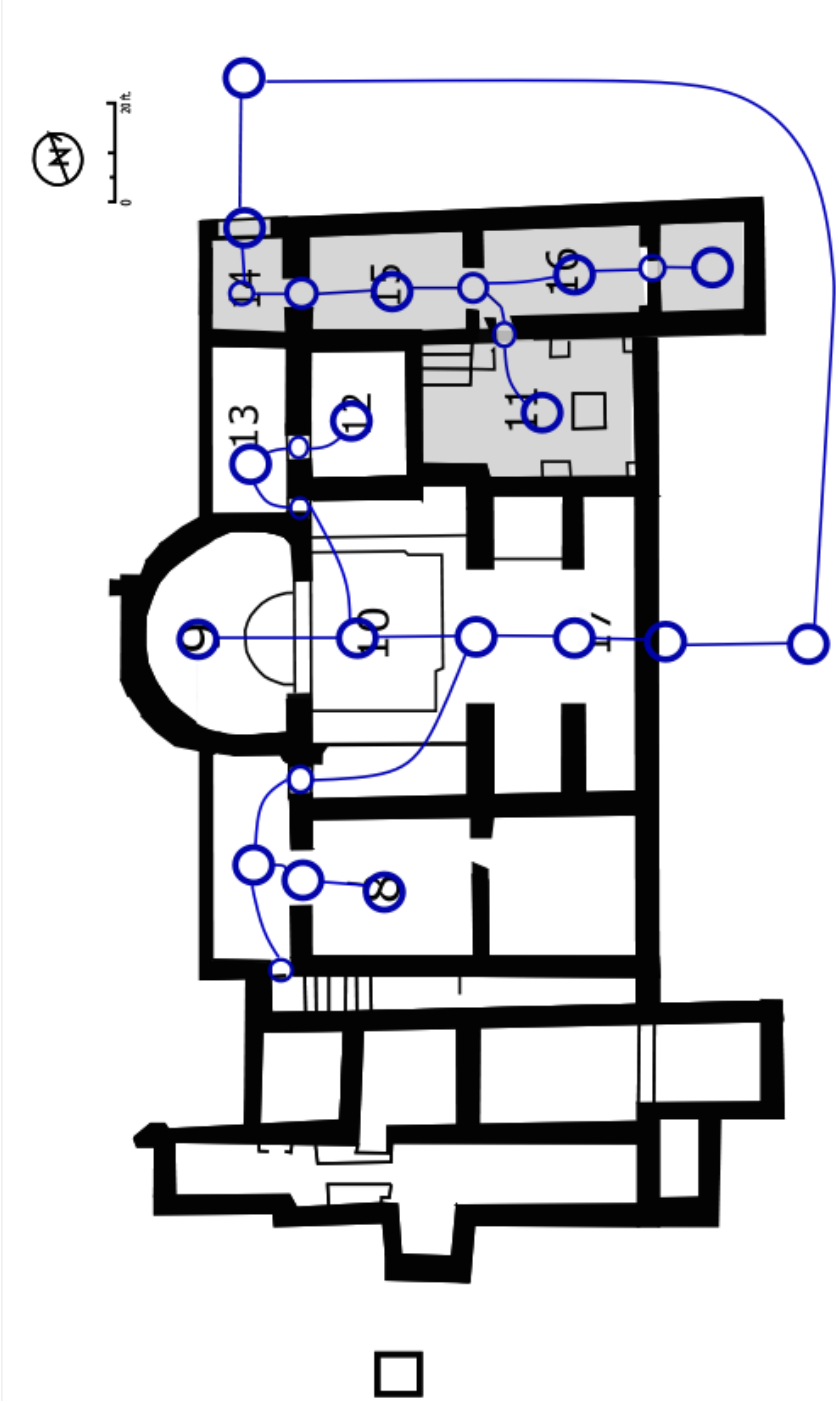


Figure 31: Lullingstone Villa, phase 4b. Blue lines indicate potential walking path.

suggest, as hypothesized in Chapter Three by Sessa, that sleeping quarters were becoming spatially conceived as solitary spaces meant for divine contemplation.

The new ritual space in the Northwest wing opened to participants in Room 15, which was decorated with the first of three Chi-Rho symbols to be installed in this area of the house. This would mean that any participants who entered would be privy to the intention and design of the space only *after* they went past the vestibule. The participants would then enter the former Deep Room (now referred to as the Chapel Room, Room 11), where they would be surrounded by more Chi-Rho frescoes: the second directly above the former *nymphaeum*,

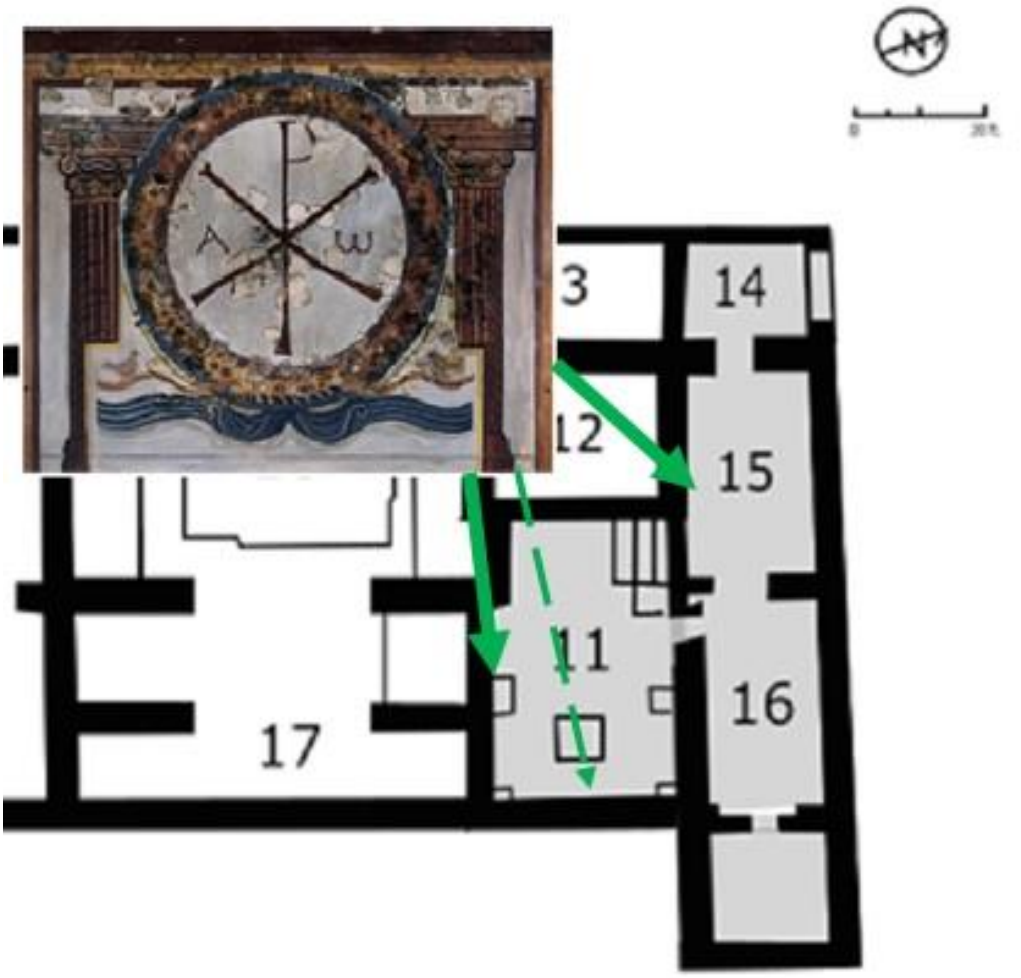


Figure 32: Chi-Rho fresco recreation, English Heritage (2009, 33). Floor map inset, adapted after Meates (1979: Fig. 6)

(likely unwittingly placed there) and the third likely on the Eastern wall.[99] The West wall was filled with a large fresco of six *orantes*, or praying figures. According to White, the quality of the dress and individualized features likely represents the patron of the chapel's family and likely house owner (1996b, 256).

The agent in motion would be surrounded in a visual field of known Christian images (recognizable by this period) and would be reminded of the patron's ability to provide such an appropriate space as well as the family's religious devotions. This is not unlike the pagan facilities that we have previously seen in the House of the Menander, where the participants would be flanked with ritualistic imagery once they passed the vestibule (See Fig. 32). Unlike the House of the Menander, Lullingstone Villa's owners did not provide an access point from the main area of the house.[100] Due to this disconnection between the domestic living spaces and chapel area, I think it is reasonable to state that the chapel served more than the household and staff, but also the surrounding community (White 1996b, 255). This is why there would have been a need for closing off corridor 13 into a separate vestibule for the chapel.

Considering the religious and spatial changes of the villa over the entire period of occupation allows us to create a visual hypothesis of how movement around the space would have been affected by these architectural changes. From phase 2 on (marked in green on Figure 33, below), we begin to see an elevated importance of the North wing of the house that is streamlined for movement in a linear direction. This blended ritual and workspace would have allowed for ease of movement in and out of the building. Phase 3 pushed the space out by a large area, creating a new dimension of ritual movement in the house which either allowed for invigilation of workers to the East, or a closed space specifically for

[99] According to White, the eastern Chi-Rho fresco was found in the fill at the east end of the Chapel wall, and the North wall was completely destroyed (1996, 256). Whether there was an additional Chi-Rho is unknown.

[100] Early excavation reports hypothesized a doorway from Room 11 to Room 17, however, no other reports mention this doorway and no lintels were ever discovered here (Meates 1955, 76, 201-2)

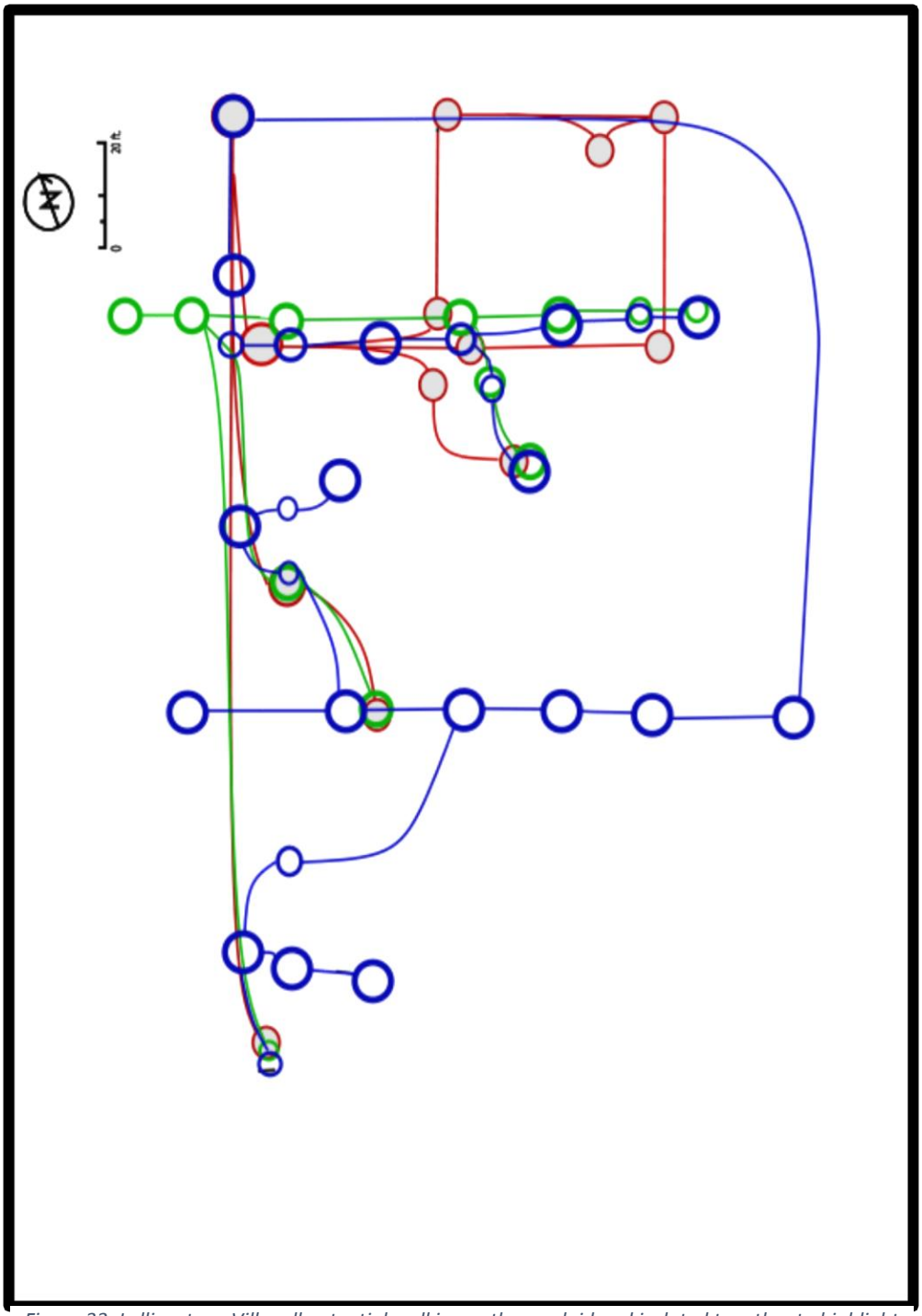


Figure 33: Lullingstone Villa, all potential walking paths overlaid and isolated together to highlight changes in movement and accessibility

ritual practice. I have already stated that I do not think that the space was used for agricultural production due to the inefficiency of manoeuvring around the room

towards the exit. Phase 4a and 4b witnessed a return to the streamlined North wing with sequential rooms; yet this time the house was severed from the North wing (see blue line on Fig. 33). While this spatial configuration cut off internal access from living quarters to the chapel, it provided chapel goers and residents alike a sense of controlled visibility. It also suggests that there was a decrease in the social importance of being seen as a performer. The fresco of *orantes* highlights the fact that, albeit in a subtler manner, the patrons still wanted credit for their support of the space as a Christian space.

Lullingstone Villa provides evidence that, while rather consistent in physical movement and axis points, pagan and Christian spaces emphasized ritual performance visibility in a different manner. Where pagan elites shared work and living space with their divine household counterparts, Christian spatial configurations were increasingly specializing for ritual uses. Living quarters were also affected, as kitchens appeared to have decreased ritual spatial status and bedrooms become more limited in access. Dining spaces appear to have remained consistent in visual focus and access.

Chapter 5:

Conclusion

This thesis examined the spatial impact of religious change concerning domestic ritual, as well as movement and motion across the house during those rituals. The first Chapter illustrated the ways in which Pre-Christian Romans selected deities that were embedded in the spatial fabric of the house. The *Lares*, with their multi-faceted character, acted as boundary guardians, protectors of the household's well-being, a form of individual expression, and were part of everyday ritual performances. Reflected in the way in which individuals might have moved across the house, as they were visible and open for interaction at every position in the house. The *habitus*, or matrix, behind Roman domestic rituals structured the household, but so did the individual choices of people within the house.

Once the system structuring these matrices shifted toward monotheistic Christianity, the emergent system required negotiations with the former system of religio-spatial order. Early Christian authors were obviously aware of the pre-existing *habitus* concerning domestic religious practices: the author of the *Vita Severi,* for example, made certain that readers were aware of the Emperor's shrine and the blend of pagan and Judeo-Christian figures present. Writers like Ausonius appear cavalier in their willingness to rid themselves of pagan imagery from their houses. Yet, Ausonius still maintained the space itself, much like in the stories of Chromatius or Lykomedes. The *habitus*, that was so long a part of their social understandings of domestic space, is apparent in the portrayal of their prescriptive characters. Lykomedes used traditional veneration portraits to show his affections to John, while Chromatius does not understand *which* parts of his household shrine are so pagan they could block his own baptism. Indeed, the changes to the mental framework of religious practitioners required slow, active discourses between expert and practitioner—further evidenced in the supposed Letters between Eusebius and Constantia, or Jerome and Eustochium. By actively discussing which forms of images and veneration were to be accepted or rejected, the spatial codes that were in play were effectively renegotiated.

The *Lares* became abstracted from their original forms and character, opening them up for reinterpretation and manipulation through various discourses. They were transformed into more appropriate Christian household guardians, offered in household martyria or reliquaries such as the one seen in the *Giovanni e Paolo*, or as *orantes* as seen in *Giovanni e Paolo* and Lullingstone. Arising from this abstraction and renegotiation, the physical spaces conditioned for domestic rituals were likewise transformed for Christian use and interpretation.

Niches, or *aedicula* shapes, for religious domestic spaces appear consistent. Again, the *Giovanni e Paolo* maintained a shape of a small square carved into the wall, as evident in the analysis in Chapter Two of the House of the Menander. If we imagine these pieces on their own, stripped of all cultural and

religious meanings, the physical characteristics of these domestic ritual spaces are similar.

Individual choice, or personal taste, in religious aesthetics was maintained across pagan and Christian households. In a similar manner to Lykomedes, Ausonius enjoyed ancestor portraiture. As seen in the archaeological record at Lullingstone Villa, busts from the past were maintained in ritual spaces. Also, pagan themed imagery, such as the mosaic at Lullingstone, or the Apis Bull in the *Giovanni e Paolo* could be maintained—likely by those individuals who were willing to abstract, or distance, these images from their religiously associated meanings, and shift their status into representations of stories. Alternatively, perhaps the Apis Bull and/or Europa and the Bull have a significance to these early Christians that we are not aware of?

In relation to household space and movement, we have seen an increasingly enclosed space at the *Giovanni e Paolo* still physically dominant in its central position. This space reflects many of the elements from the House of the Menander, as the central position of the staircase shrine is much like the shrine in the *atrium*. It no longer possessed the same range of visibility that the *atrium* shrine had. Instead, a person walking across the house would have had to *intentionally* seek the staircase shrine. Access was also much more limited. For example, in the complete re-conditioning and orienting of ritual space, living space was exceedingly cut off from those spaces at Lullingstone Villa. There is not enough evidence to argue whether the *Giovanni e Paolo* residents felt similar effects, however it is clear that the spaces for religious rituals in these houses are set-apart, yet still part, of the domestic space as a whole. The shift from very visible/accessible in the pagan period to a space "betwixt and between" visible/nonvisible generates a liminal character that was not so obvious before these Christian changes.

Certain household spaces, such as the *triclinium*, were maintained, as their social function and practicality were easily reinterpreted to suit Christian ritual activities. This is consistently seen across the case studies presented in Chapter

Four, as there appears to be a need across periods to accommodate group meal rituals. The *Lares* were no longer invited to join the table. By coming together in a set space and in a synchronic manner, it was the "spirit" (mood or motivation) of the *ekklēsia* and the Last Supper that the group was invoking. However, this does not mean that the *triclinium* spaces were necessarily completely repainted in Judeo-Christian themes. Lullingstone Villa clearly illustrates how former pagan images, such as the Bellerophon mosaic, likely did not cause any issues to the Christian viewer. Perhaps this is why the owners of *Giovanni e Paolo* saw fit to maintain some of their more pagan themed items; they applied a flexible Christian lens—a "mystic viewing" —that allowed them to see those images as multivalent.

Large rooms, such the former Deep Room 11 at Lullingstone Villa, indicate that open spaces were provided to areas where traffic was higher and required more visual control. These spaces illustrate how discourse, like those of the early Christian authors, was controlled not only through literary pursuits, but also through an authority figure invigilating large groups. The spaces at Lullingstone are also contingent on the *vestibule* for maintenance of spatial control—much like the vestibule's function in the House of the Menander at Pompeii. The *cubiculum*, a multi-purpose room for storage, living, or sleeping was, to pre-Christian authors, just that—a room that could serve a range of uses, including virtuous activities such as studying, writing, or socializing with close friends. The *cubiculum* could also be the space of sexuality with one's spouse or lover. Or, it could be a location of conspiracy and superstitious or magical practices. Both the benefits and anxieties surrounding this space appears to have been consistent into the Christian period, however those worries now included pagan domestic ritual practices and materials. As we saw, several authors of the *Acts* expressed concerns that individuals may convert with intent, but cling to their pagan household shrines, unwilling to part with them unless forced by the larger social group. Despite existing concerns surrounding activities in the *cubiculum*, authors such as Origen effectively re-coded the room as being a place of divine reception, mediation, and interaction, due to its private location with the house. Therefore, the bedroom, or *cubiculum*, became elevated in its position,

despite concerns that latent pagan rituals could also be transpiring in these decreasingly accessible rooms. This is clearly evident at Lullingstone Villa, as the *cubiculum* became exceedingly inaccessible from ritual areas of the house.

Kitchens appear to be no longer a focus as part of ritual space as Christianity emerged. This is most evident in Lullingstone Villa, where the kitchen is removed from the ritual space of the house in the North wing, to a more mundane living area of the house towards the South. This would have created a much longer path of motion between the kitchen and ritual area, suggesting that the kitchen was no longer part of shrine-based rituals.

All these changes to the religious social system directly affected how the individual moved across the house in ritual performance. This resulted in certain rooms, such as the *cubiculum*, becoming increasingly ritualized in meaning, yet less accessible. The dining facilities were maintained across periods, whilst rooms such as the kitchen disappear from literary accounts of domestic religion. Therefore, in changing the matrix that informed the *habitus* of religious participants, the codes for understanding, interacting, and building the physical and mental religious spaces of the house were directly affected and shifted towards limited visibility and accessibility for household use. Large, open, and visible spaces became avenues for maintaining control over a larger social group.

References

Allison, Penelope. 2001. "Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Domestic Space." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2): 181-208

Allison, Penelope. 2004. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture*. Los Angeles University of California, Institute of Archaeology

Ambrose. 2010. *De virginibus.* Turnhout, BE: Brepolis Publishers

Amoroso, Nicolas. 2017. "The roles of Isis in Roman domestic cults: A study in the "Isis-Fortuna" bronze statuettes from the Vesuvian area." In *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 18/19: 37-74

Anon. 1916. *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*. Translated by Hugh R. Connolly. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers

Anon. *Historia Augusta vol. 2*. 1924. Translated by David Magie

Apollonj-Ghetti, Bruno M. 1978. "Problem I relative alle origini dell-architettura paleocristiana." *Atti IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*. 1: 491-511

Apuleius. 1906. *The Apologia and Florida of Apuleius of Madaura*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press

Argetsinger, Kathryn. 1992. "Birthday Rituals: Friends and Patrons in Roman Poetry and Cult." *Classical Antiquity.* 11 (2): 175-193

Ausonius. 1924. *Ephemeris.* Translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Ausonius. 1991. *The Works of Ausonius*. Edited and commentary by Roger R.H. Green. Oxford, Oxford University Press

Bachelard, Gaston. 1957. *la poetique de l'espace*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France

Bakker, Jan Theo. 1994. *Living and Working with the Gods: Studies of Evidence for Private Religion and its Material Environment in the City of Ostia (100-500 AD).* Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben

Balch, David L. 2008. *Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches*. Tübingen, DE: Mohr Siebeck

Baird, Jennifer. 2007. "The Bizarre Bazaar: Early Excavations in the Roman East and Problems of Nomenclature." In *TRAC 06: Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Proceedings 2006*. Edited by Benjamin Croxford, Nick Ray, Roman Roth and Natalie White, 34-42.

Barrett, A.A. 1978. "Knowledge of the Literary Classics in Roman Britain." *Britannia* 9: 307-313

Beard, Mary. 1980. “The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70: 12- 27

Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome: A History.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. Vol. 1

Bellah, Robert. 1967. “Religion in America.” *Daedalus* 96 (1): 1-21

Bellah, Robert. 2011. *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Berger, Peter. 2012. “Further Thoughts on Religion and Modernity.” *Society* (July-Aug.): 313-316

Berry, Joanne. 1996. “Household Artefacts: towards a re-interpretation of Roman domestic space.” In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond.* Edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 183-196. Portsmouth, RI.: JRA

Bigham, Steven and Stéphane Bigham. 2004. *Early Christian Attitudes Towards Images.* Rollinsford, NH: Orthodox Research Institute

Bodel, John. 2008. “Cicero’s Minerva, *Penates,* and the Mother of the *Lares*: An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion.” In *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*. Edited by John Bodel and Saul M. Olyan, 248-276. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing

Bömer. 1960. *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom teil 1-4*. Weisbaden, DE: Steiner

Boone, G.C. 1983. “Some Romano-British Domestic Shrines and their Inhabitants.” In *Rome and Her Northern Provinces*. Eds. Hartley B. and J. Wacher. Gloucester, U.K: Allan Sutton Publishing

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1958. *sociologie de l’Algérie*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Edited and translated by Richard Nice. New York: Cambridge University Press. First Published 1972

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989. “Social Space and Symbolic Power.” *Sociological Theory* 7:14-25

Bowes, Kim 2007. ““Christianization” and the Rural Home.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies*. 15 (2): 143-170

Bowes, Kim. 2008. *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bowes, Kim. 2010. *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*. London: Duckworth

Bowman, Marion. 2012. “Introduction: Vernacular religion, generic expressions and the dynamics of belief.” In *Vernacular Religion in Everyday Life: Expressions of Belief.* Edited by Marion Bowman and Ulo Valik, 1-22. NY: Routledge Press

Boyce, George K. 1937. "Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 14 (5): 5-112

Brenk, Beat. 2003. *Die Christianisierung der Spätrömischen Welt: Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in früchristlicher Zeit.* Weisbaden, DE: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag

Brent, Allen. 1995. *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension Before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*. Leiden, DE: Brill

Cameron, Alan. 2010. *The Last Pagans of Rome.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cameron, Averil. 2012. *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: AD 395-700*. NY: Routledge Press

Cato. 2016. *De Agricultura*. Scott's Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

Cicero. 1891. *De Domo Sua.* Translated by C.D. Yonge. London: Bell and Sons

Cicero. 1913. *De Officiis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Cicero. 2014. *De Legibus*. Shujing, CN: Jiahu Books

Clark, Elizabeth A. 1999. *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Clarke, John R. 1991. *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*. Los Angeles: University of California Press

Clarke, John R. 2004. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 BC – A.D. 315*. Los Angeles: University of California Press

Clement of Alexandria. 1919. *Protrepticus.* Translated by George W. Butterworth. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Clement of Alexandria. 2007. *Paedagogus* In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325 Vol. II.* Edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts, Sir James Donaldson and Arthur Cleveland Coxe. Translated by Philip Schaff. NY: Cosimo Publishers

Chadwick, Henry. 1967. *The Early Church.* Baltimore, PA: Penguin Books

Charles-Murray, Mary. 2007. "The Emergence of Christian Art." *In Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*. Edited by Jeffrey Spier, 51-65

Coarelli, Filippo. 2002. *Pompeii*. NY: Riverside Book Co.

Coarelli, Filipo. 2014. *Rome and Environs*: *An Archaeological Guide*. Oakland, California: University of California Press

Colini, Antonio Maria. 1944. *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita*. Vatican City, Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana

Corcoran, G. 1984. “The Christian Attitude to Slavery in the Early Church.” *Milltown Studies* 13: 1-36

Cosh, Sandra. 2016. “The Lullingstone Mosaic Inscription – A Parody of Martial?” *Britannia* 47: 262-266

Croom, Alexandra T. 2007. *Roman Furniture*. Stroud, U.K.: Tempus Publishing

Croom, Alexandra T. 2011. *Running the Roman Household*. Stroud, U.K.: The History Press

Dalton, O.M. 1901. *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East.* London: British Museum

de Gruchy, John W. 2001. *Christianity, Art and Transformation: Theological Aesthetics in the Struggle for Justice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

de Jáuregui, Miguel H. 2011. *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Berlin, DE: de Gruyter

Dillenberger, Jane. 1986. *Style and Content in Christian Art.* NY: Crossroads Publishing

di Stanislao, Padre Germano. 1890. “The House of the Martyrs John and Paul Recently Discovered on the Coelian Hill at Rome.” *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 6 (3): 261-285

di Stanislao, Padre Germano. 1891. “The House of the Martyrs John and Paul Recently Discovered on the Coelian Hill at Rome.” *The Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 7 (1/2): 25-37

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger*. NY: Routledge Press

Durkheim, Emile. 2015. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated and edited by Karen Fields. NY: The Free Press. First published 1912

Ehrman, Bart D. 2003. *Lost Scriptures: Books that Did Not Make It into the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Eliade, Mircea. 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. NY: Harcourt Publishing

Ellis, Simon. 2000. *Roman Housing.* London, U.K.: Duckworth Press

Emmel, Stephen. 2002.” From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis.” In *Perspectives of Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest.* Edited by A.B. Egberts, P. Muhs and J. Van Der Vliet, 95-113. Leiden, DE: Brill Publishing

Eusebius. 1986. “Letter to Constantia.” In *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312: 1453: Sources and Documents*. Translated and Edited by Cyril A. Mango. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Eusebius. 1989. *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*. Translated by G.A. Williamson. Revised and Edited by Andrew Louth. Westminster, UK: Penguin Books

Evans Grubbs, Judith. 1994. "pagan and "Christian" Marriage: The State of the Question." *Journal of Early Christian Studies*. 2 (4): 361-412

Ferguson, John. 1974. *Clement of Alexandria*. London: Ardent Media

Finney, Paul Corby. 1994. *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fitzpatrick Nichols, Marden. 2017. *Author and Audience in Vitruvius' De architectura*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press

Flower, Harriet. 2017. *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Foss, Pedar. 1996. "Watchful *Lares*: Roman Household Organization and the rituals of cooking and dining." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond.* Edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 196-219. Portsmouth, RI.: JRA

Fugger, Verena. 2017. "Shedding Light on Early Christian Domestic Cult: Characteristics and New Perspectives in the Context of Archaeological Findings." *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 18/19: 201-235

Francis, J.A. 2003. "Clement of Alexandria on Signet Rings: Reading an Image at the Dawn of Christian Art." *Classical Philology* 98 (2): 179-183

Frantham, Elaine. 2002. "Politics, History and Religion." In *Brill's Companion to Ovid*. Edited by B. Boyd, 197-235. Leiden, DE: Brill

Frend, William Hugh Clifford 1955. "Religion in Roman Britain in the 4th Century." *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*. 3 (18): 1–18

Frenschowski, Marco. 2017. "Domestic Religion, family life and the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles." *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 18/19: 123-156

Frere, S.S. and R. Tomlin. 1992. "86.2448.6." In *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain II,* fascicule 4 (*RIB II* 4). Eds. Collingwood, R.G. and R.P. Wright. Stroud, U.K.: Allan Sutton Publishing.

Fröhlich, T. 1991. *Lararien- und Fassadebilder in den Vesuvstädten*. Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern

Gasparro, Sfameni G. 2010. "One God and Divine Unity. Late Antique Theologies between Exclusivism and Inclusiveness." In *Monotheism Between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter van Nuffelen, 33-57. Walpole, MA: Peeters

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays.* NY: Basic Books

Gero, S. 1981. "The True Image of Christ: Eusebius' Letter to Constantia Reconsidered." *The Journal of Theological Studies* 32 (1): 460-470

Giacobello, Federica. 2008. *Larari pompeiani: iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestico.* Milan, IT: LED Edizioni Universitarie

Giddens, Antony. 1986. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. LA: University of California Press

Glancy, Jennifer A. 2011. "Slavery and the Rise of Christianity" in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Vol. 1*. Edited by David Eltis, Bradley, Keith, S. Engerman, and S. Drescher, 456-481. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Glancy, Jennifer A. 2012a. "Slaves at Greco-Roman Banquets: A Response." In *Meals in the Early Christian World: Social Formation, Experimentation and Conflict at the Table*. Edited by Dennis E. Smith and Hal Taussig, 205-215. NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Glancy, Jennifer A. 2012b. *Slavery in Early Christianity.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press

Gradel, Ittai. 2002. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion. Oxford Classical Monographs*. Oxford University Press

Graf, Fritz. 2013. "Individual and Common Cult: Epigraphic Reflections. In *The Individual and the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean*." Edited by Jorg Rupke, 115-136. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Grahame, Mark. 2000. *'Reading' Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii*. Stroud, U.K.: Archaeopress

Grassie, William. *The New Sciences of Religion: Exploring Spirituality from the Outside In and Bottom Up.* NY: Springer Publishing

Gregg, John A. F. 1897. *The Decian Persecution*. London: William Blackwood and Sons

Grégoir, Henri. 1939 "La vision de Constantin 'liquidee," *Byzantion XIV*: 34-42

Gaume, J. 1862. *Latini scriptores christiani ex ampliori collectione clarissimi viri* 1. Neapoli: Apud Josephum Dura, Bibliopolam

Hackworth Peterson, Lauren. 2011. *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hackworth Peterson, Lauren. 2012. "Collecting Gods in Roman Houses: The House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7,38) at Pompeii." *Arethusa* 45 (3): 319-332

Hadley, James T. 2015. "Early Christian Perceptions of Sacred Spaces." *Material Culture Review* 80-81: 89-108

Hagen, H. Berner. 1884. “Palimpsestblätter aus dem 5.-6. Jahrhundert zur Passio Sancti Sebastiani.” *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, DE: Hof-und Staatsdrukerei. 108: 19-50

Hales, Shelley. 2003. *The Roman House and Social Identity*. Cambridge, U.K.: University of Cambridge Press

Halgren Kilde, Jeanne. 2008. *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press

Henig, Martin. 1984. *Religion in Roman Britain*. NY, NY: St. Martin’s Press

Henig, Martin. 1997. “Art, Religion and Letters in a fourth-century villa: the Lullingstone Villa Mosaic.” *Mosaic* 24: 4-7

Hersch, Karen K. 2011. *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hersey, George. 1988. *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Hillier, Bill and Julienne Hanson. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press

Horace. 2012. *Satires*. Edited by Emily Gowers. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Horrell, David G. 2008. “Domestic Space and Christian Meetings in Corinth: Imagining New Contexts and the Building of the East Theater.” *New Testament Studies* 50: 349-369

Hunter, D.G. 2016. “Sacred Space, Virginal Consecration and Symbolic Power: A Liturgical Innovation and its Implications in Late Ancient Christianity.” In *Spaces in Late Antiquity: Cultural, Theological and Archaeological Perspectives*. Edited by Juliette Day, Raimo Hakola, Maijastina Kahlos and Ulla Tervahauta, 89-105. NY: Routledge

Jashemski, W.F. 1994 *The Gardens of Pompeii*. First Published 1979. NY: Aristide d Caratzas Pub.

Jensen, Robin M. 2000. *Understanding Early Christian Art*. London: Routledge

Jerome. 1933. *Select Letters of St. Jerome*. Translated by F.A. Wright. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

John Cassian. 1894. *Conferences*. Translated by Edgar C.S. Gibson. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library

Jones, Christopher P. 2013. *Between Christian and Pagan.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Jones, Tom Devonshire, Peter Murray and Linda Murray. 2013. *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Joshel, Sandra R. 2010. *Slavery in the Roman World*. NY: Cambridge University Press

Joshel, Sandra and Lauren Hackworth Petersen. 2014. *The Material Life of Roman Slaves*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press

Johansson, Linnéa. 2010. "The Roman Wedding and the Household Gods: The Genius and the Lares and their Different Roles in the Rituals of Marriage." In *Ancient Marriage in Myth and Reality*. Edited by Lovén, Lena L. and Agneta Strömberg, 136-150. New Castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Kasprzak, Dariusz. 2012. "The Allegorical Sense of Gregory the Great's commentary on the Song of Songs." *Analecta Cracoviensia* 44: 101-114

Kaufmann-Heinimann, Annemarie. 2008. Religion in the House. In *A Companion to Roman Religion*. Edited by Jörg Rüpke, 188-201 NJ: Blackwell Publishing

Kahlos, M. "Refuting and Reclaiming Monotheism: Monotheism in the Debate between "Pagans" and Christians in 380-430." In *Monotheism Between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter van Nuffelen, 167-181. Walpole, MA: Peeters

King, J. C. 2005. *Origen on the Song of Songs as the Spirit of Scripture: The Bridegroom's Perfect Marriage Song*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kitzler, Petr. 2010. "'Habeo Cubiculum Holovitreum': A note on the interpretation and genealogy of two astrological passages in the *Acta Sebastiani Martyris*." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.* 73: 327-334

Klinghardt, Mathias. 2012. "Typology of the Communal Meal." In *Meals in the Early Christian World*. Edited by Dennis E. Smith and Hal Taussig, 9-22. NY: Palgrave MacMillan

Klauser, Theodor. 1958. "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte derchristlichen Kunst I." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 1: 20-51

Knights, Clive. 1997. "The Spatiality of the Roman Domestic Setting: An Interpretation of Symbolic Content." In *Architecture and Order: approaches to social space*. Edited by P.M. Parker and C. Richards, 102-130. NY: Routledge

Knott, Kim. 2005. *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*. NY: Routledge Press

Krautheimer, Richard. 1937. *Corpus Bascilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome*. Rome, Italy: Pontificio istituto di archeologia Cristiana

Krautheimer, Richard. 1965. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Baltimore: Penguin Books

Laing, Gordon. 1921. "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares." *Classical Philology* 16 (2): 124-140

Lampe, Peter. 2003. *Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries: From Paul to Valentinus*. London: A & C Black Publishers Ltd.

Lapidge, Michael. 2017. *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Laurence, Ray. 1996. "Space and Text." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond.* Edited by Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 7-15. Portsmouth, RI.: JRA

Laurence, Ray. 2007. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*, 2nd Ed. NY: Routledge Press

Laurence, Ray. 2011. "From Oikos to Familia – Looking Forward?" In *Families in the Greco-Roman World.* Edited by Ray Laurence and Agneta Stromberg, 1-16. NY: Continuum Publishing

Layton, Bentley. 1987. *The Gnostic Scriptures*. New Haven, NJ: Anchor Bible Press

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space.* Translated and edited by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden, Maine: Blackwell Publishing. First Published 1974

Leyerle, Blake. 1995. "Clement of Alexandria on the Importance of Table Etiquette." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3: 123-141

Leyser, Conrad. 2007. "'A church in the house of the saints': property and power in the *Passion of John and Paul*." In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*. Eds. Cooper, Kate and Julia Hillner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 140-162

Ling, Roger. 1992. *Roman Painting.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press

Ling, Roger. 1997. *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii, Vol. I: the structures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Ling, Roger and Lesley Ling. 1997. *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii, Vol. II: the decorations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Lipka, Michael. 2006. "Notes on Pompeian Domestic Cults." *Numen* 53 (3): 327-358

Lipka, Michael. 2009. *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach*. Leiden, DE: Brill Publishing

Longenecker, Bruce. 2016. *Early Christianity in Pompeiian Light: People, Texts, Situations.* Minneapolis, MN: Ausburg Fortress Publishers

Longfellow, Brenda. 2000. "A Gendered Space? Location and Function of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries." In *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii: Ancient Ritual – Modern Muse.* Edited by Elaine K. Gazda, 24-37. Ann Arbor: The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and The University of Michigan Museum of Art

Lucas, Hans. 1933. "Martial's Kalendae Nataliciae." *The Classical Quarterly*. 32 (1): 5-6

MacDonald, Margaret Y. 1996. *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

MacMullen, Ramsay. 1983. "Two Types of Conversion to Early Christianity." *Vigiliae Christianae.* 37 (2): 174-192

MacMullen, Ramsay. 1997. *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press

Maffly-Kipp, Laurie F. 2000. "Introduction." In *Practicing Protestants: Histories of Christian Life in America 1630 – 1965*. Edited by Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, Leah Schmidt and Mark Valeri, 1-19. Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press

Mantle, I.C. 2002. "The Role of Children in Roman Religion." *Greece & Rome*. 49 (1): 85-106

Maiuri, Amedeo. 1933 *Pompeii*. Translated by L. Sergio. Rome: Libreria dello Stato

Martial. 2015. *Epigrams*. Translated and Edited by Gideon Nisbet. Oxford: Oxford University Press

McCutcheon, Russel T. 2003. *The Discipline of Religion: Structure, Meaning, Rhetoric*. NY: Routledge Press

McEwan, Intra Kagis. 2003. *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Publications

McDaniel, Colleen. 1986. *The Christian Home in Victorian America 1840-1900.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

Meates, G.W., E. Greenfield and E. Birchenough. 1950. "The Lullingstone Roman Villa." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 63: 1-49

Meates, G.W. 1952. "The Lullingstone Roman Villa: Second Interim Report." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 65: 26-78

Meates, G.W. 1963. *Lullingstone Roman Villa, Kent*. Reprinted 1974. London, U.K.: Department of the Environment

Meates, G.W. 1979. *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent. Vol. 1: The Site*. Kent, U.K: The Kent Archaeological Society

Meeks, Wayne A. 1983. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Meyers, Gretchen E. 2005. "Vitruvius and the Origins of Roman Spatial Rhetoric." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50: 67-86

Munk, A. 2009. “Domestic Piety in Fourth Century Rome: A Relic Shrine beneath the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 15 (1): 7-19

Murphy-O’Connor, Jerome. 1987. *St. Paul’s Corinth*. Collegeville, Minnesota The Liturgical Press

Nathan, Geoffrey. 2000. *The Family in Late Antiquity*: *The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*. NY: Routledge

Nappo, Salvatore C. 2007. “Houses of Regions I and II.” In *The World of Pompeii*. Edited by John Dobbins and Pedar Foss, 424-451. NY: Routledge Worlds.

Noll, Mark A. 1986. *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship and the Bible in America*. San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishing

North, John. 2012. “The Ritual Activity of Roman Slaves.” In *Slaves and Religions in Graeco-Roman Antiquity and Modern Brazil.* Edited by Stephen Hodkinson and Dick Geary, 67-96. New Castle Upon-Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Origen. 1957. *Canto in Canticorum.* Mahwah, NH: Paulist Press

Origen. 2015. *de Oratione.* Edited and Translated by William A. Curtis. Chicago: Letcetera Publishing

Orr, David G. 1978. “Roman domestic religion: the evidence of the household shrines.” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2 (16.2): 1557-1591

Osiek, Carolyn and David L. Balch. 1997. *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press

Ovid. *Fasti*. 1903. Edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, W.H.D. Rouse, L. A. Post, E.H. Warmington. Translated by Sir James George Frazer. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Ovid. 1991. *Amores*. London: Bristol Classical Press

Ovid. 1996. *Tristia. Ex ponto Vol. VI.* Edited and Revised by G.P. Goold. Translated by A.L. Wheeler. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Painter, K.S. 1969. “The Lullingstone Wall-Plaster: An Aspect of Christianity in Roman Britain.” *The British Museum Quarterly.* 33 (3/4): 131-150

Paulinus of Nola. 1966. *Epistles Vol. 1.* Translated by P.G. Walsh. Westminster, MD: Newman Press

Pausch, Dennis. 2010. “*libellus non tam diserte quam fideliter scriptus?* Unreliable Narration in the Historia Augusta.” *Ancient Narrative* 8:115-136.

Pekáry, Thomas. 1970. “Statuen in der Historia Augusta.” *Bonner Historia Augusta-Colloquium* 1968/1969: 151-172

Perring, Dominic. 2001. *The Roman House in Britain*. Berlin, DE: Springer Publishing

Pervo, Richard I. 2015. *Acts of John*: *Early Christian Apocrypha*. Salem, OR: Polebridge Press

Petit, P. 1950. "Libanius et la 'Vita Constantini'" *Historia* 1: 562-582

Petronius. 1987. *Satyricon*. Revised translation by E.H. Warmington. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Pillsworth, Clare. 2000. Dating the *Gesta martyrum*: a Manuscript-based Approach. *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (9): 309-324

Plautus. 1916. *Aulularia*. Translated by Paul Nixon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Pliny the Younger. 1969. *Epistulae Vol. 1: Books 1-7*. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Primiano, Leonard Norman. 1955. "Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife." *Reflexivity and the Study of Belief* 54 (1): 37-56

Quintilian. 2016. *Institutio Oratoria*. Scott's Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

Raper, R.A. 1977. "The Analysis of the Urban Structure of Pompeii: A sociological study of land use." In *Spatial Archaeology*. Edited by David L. Clarke, 189-221. Michigan: Academic Press

Rawson, Beryl. 2003. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rennie, Bryan S. 1996. *Reconstructing Eliade: Making Sense of Religion.* NY: SUNY Press

Rickaby, Joseph. 2009. *St. Augustine's City of God*. Eugene, OR.: Wipf and Stock Publishers.

Riggsby, A.M. 1997. "'Public' and 'Private' in Roman Culture: The Case of the Cubiculum." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10: 36-56

Rives, James B. 2000. *Religion in the Roman Empire*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing

Robinson, O.F. 2003. *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration*. NY: Routledge

Rudman, Joseph. 1998. "Non-traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in the *Historia Augusta*: Some Caveats." *Literary and Linguistic Computing*. 13 (3): 151-157

Rüpke, Jörg. 2007. *Religion of the Romans* Edited and Translated by Richard Gordon. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press

Rüpke, Jörg. 2013. "Individualization and Individuation as Concepts for Historical Research." In *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean.* Edited by Jörg Rüpke, 3-41. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rüpke, Jörg. 2016. *On Roman Religion: Lived Religion and the Individual in Ancient Rome,* Townsend Lectures. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Rüpke, Jörg. 2018. *Pantheon: A New History of Roman Religion.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Scheid, John and Janet Lloyd. 2003. *An Introduction to Roman Religion*. Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press

Schultz, Cecilia E. 2006. *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*. Chapel Hill, NC.: University of North Carolina Press

Seneca. 1914. *De Beneficiis.* Edited by Carl Hosius. Leipzig, DE: B.G. Teubner

Sessa, Kristina. 2007. "Domestic conversions: households and bishops in the late antique 'papal legends.'" *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*. Edited by Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner, 79-114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sessa, Kristina. 2007. "Christianity and the *cubiculum*: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (12).2: 171-204

Sider, Robert D. 2001. *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sigurdsson, Haraldur. 2007. "The Environmental and Geomorphological Context of the Volcano." In *The World of Pompeii*. Edited by John Dobbins and Pedar Foss, 110-130. NY: Routledge Worlds Sofroniew, Alexandra. 2015. *Household Gods: Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Los Angeles: Paul J. Getty Museum Publication

Simon, Erika. 2006. "Gods in Harmony: The Etruscan Pantheon." In *The Religion of the Etruscans.* Edited by N. De Grummond and E. Simon, 45-65. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press

Sivan, Hagith. 1993. *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of Gallic Aristocracy.* London: Routledge

Smith, Dennis E. 2003. *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press

Snyder, Graydon F. 2003. *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press

Sofroniew, Alexandra. 2016. *Household Gods: Private Devotion in Ancient Greece and Rome*. LA: Paul J. Getty Museum Publication

Soja, Edward. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley Publishing

Stek, Tesse D. 2008. "A Roman Cult in the Italian Countryside? The *Compitalia* and the Shrines of the *Lares Compitales*." *Babesch* 83: 111-132

Stewart, Peter. 2003. *Statues in Roman Society: Representations and Response*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Stewart-Sykes, Alistair. 2004. *On the Lord's Prayer: Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen*. NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press

Stirling, L.M. 2008. "Pagan Statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus." *Hesperia* 77: 89-161

Stirling, L.M. 2005. *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Stump, Roger. 2008. *Geography of Religion: Faith, Place and Space*. Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Suetonius. 2014. *Life of Augustus.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Syme, Ronald. 1971. *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the 'Historia Augusta.'* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Tertullian. 1906. *De paenitentia: De Pudicitia*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Tertullian. 1953. *De Oratione Liber.* Translated by Ernest Evans. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press

Tertullian. 2006. *De Jejuniis,* In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Its Founder, Tertullian Vol. III.* Edited and Translated by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library

Thomas, C. 1998. *Christian Celts: Messages and Images.* Stroud, U.K.: Allan Sutton Publishing

Toynbee, J.M.C. 1964. *Art in Britain Under the Romans*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Trombley, Frank R. 1993. *Hellenic religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*. New York: E.J. Brill

Turner, Victor. 1979. "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies, 6*(4): 465-499.

Turner, Victor. 1991. *The Ritual Process: structure and anti-structure*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. First published 1966

Turton, Godfrey. 1974. *The Syrian Princesses: The Women Who Ruled Rome, AD 193-235*. London: Cassell Publishing

van Gennep, Arnold. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

van Neffelen, Peter. 2013. "The *Life of Constantine:* The Image of an Image." In *Eusebius of Caesasrea: Tradition and Innovation*. Edited by Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Schott, 133-150. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Vitruvius. 1996. *De Architectura*. Translated by Frank Granger. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

von Stackelberg, Katharine T. 2009. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society*. NY: Routledge

Waites, Margaret. 1922. "The Nature of the Lares and their Representation in Art." *American Journal of Archaeology*. 24 (3): 241-261

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1988. "The Social Structure of the Roman House." *Papers of the British School at Rome.* 56 (Nov.): 43-97

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Weissenrieder, Annette and Friederike Wendt. 2005. "Images as Communication: The Methods of Iconography." In *Picturing the New Testament: Studies in Ancient Visual Images.* Edited by Annette Weissenrieder, Friederike Wendt and Petra von Gemünden, 3-53. Tübingen, DE: Mohr Siebeck

Weissendrieder, Annette. 2012. "Contested Spaces in 1 Corinthians 11: 17-33 and 14:30: Sitting or Reclining in Ancient Houses, In Associations and in the Space of the *ekklēsia."* In *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and the New Testament*. Edited by David Balch and Annette Weissenrieder, 59-109. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck

Wilson, Pete. 2009. *Lullingstone Roman Villa*. London, U.K.: English Heritage

Winsor Leach, Eleanor. 1988. *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Wissowa, Georg. 1912. *Religion und Kulter Römer*. 2nd Ed. Münich, DE: Beck

White, L. Michael. 1990. *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians*. Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press

White, L. Michael. 1996a. Valley Forge, P.A.: Trinity Press International

White, L. Michael. 1996b. *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture: Texts and Monuments for the Christian Domus Ecclesiae in its Environment, Vol. 2.* Valley Forge, P.A.: Trinity Press International

Woolfenden, Gregory W. 2004. *Daily Liturgical Prayer Origins and Theology*. Farnham, U.K: Ashgate Publishing

Zanker, Paul. 1998. *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press