Introduction

I began working on early Christian saints' tombs looking for insight into how they both commemorated figures of the past, much like other monuments ancient and modern, and, at the same time, became increasingly vital centers of cultic activity. The early fourth-century basilica of St. Peter's on the Vatican Hill (Fig. I.1 and I.2), for example, is at once a glorification and monumentalization of the pre-existing shrine to the apostle at its core as well as a massive architectural space designed to accommodate large numbers of Christian visitors.[1] Such early Christian martyria constructed directly over the even earlier tombs or memorials of Christian saints bridged the temporal gap between the present of the imperially sanctioned and economically ascendant Church and its own heroic past of persecuted and victorious martyrs.[2]

Over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, saints' tombs became sacred focal points where one could come into direct, physical contact with the divine. We see in the holy graves evidence of a strongly place-based sacrality. Expressions of this understanding of the materiality of the sacred include not only monumental architecture constructed on the sites associated with sacred events or holy people, but also pilgrimage and the protective and healing powers ascribed to physical relics. Consider, for example, the travels of Egeria, whose account of her voyage to Palestine and Egypt in the 380s is peppered with *loci sancti*;[3] think also of objects such as the four-inch-tall terracotta ampulla, which would originally have contained sacred oil or dust taken home as a memento of the trip to St. Menas' shrine outside Alexandria (Fig. I.3).[4] Other manifestations include

[1] An overview of the cemetery and early church construction can be found in J. M. C. Toynbee and J. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956. For a detailed presentation of the archaeological and architectural evidence for the basilica, see Richard Krautheimer and A. Frazer, "S. Pietro," in *CBCR*, vol. v, pp. 165–279. On the history of liturgical arrangements in the basilica, see Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Studi e Testi, 355–56), Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994, vol. II, pp. 451–514.

[2] R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 88–95.

[3] John Wilkinson, trans., *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. edn., Jerusalem: Ariel, 1981.

[4] On ampullae and other material evidence of pilgrimage, see Gary Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982; and Gary Vikan, "Byzantine Pilgrims' Art," in *Heaven and Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. Linda Safran, College Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania

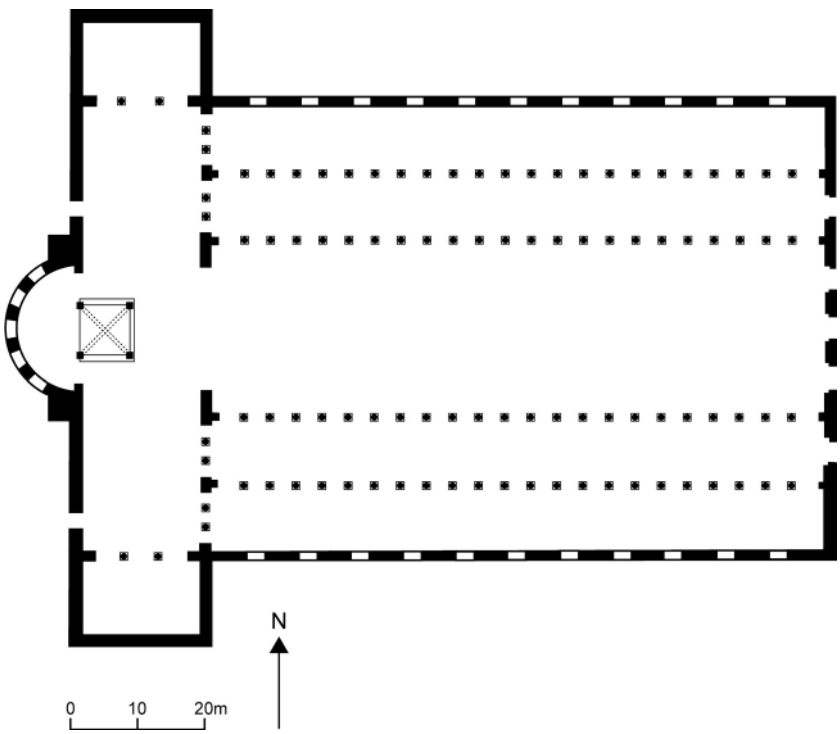

Figure I.1 Plan of the Basilica of Old St. Peter's, Rome, *c.* 400 CE

the deposition of saints' relics within or underneath altars and inhuming the dead around tombs of saints, so-called *ad sanctos* burial. Such phenomena attest to an undeniable materialistic and topocentric view of sacrality among late antique Christians.

Yet, there is more to the story. As my research progressed, I became increasingly intrigued by features of monuments and aspects of saint veneration that are not fully explained by the materiality of relics and the "placeness" of cult. Often, for example, the inscription of saints' names or images on church surfaces do not mark the location of relics but instead testify to votive prayers, donors' benefactions, or liturgical celebrations. In addition, the direct, architectural assimilation of saints' tombs, relics, or memorials to church altars is less regular than we might expect. In fact,

State University Press, 1998, pp. 229–63; Cynthia Hahn, "Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990, pp. 85–96. On the churches and pilgrimage center associated with St. Menas' tomb, see Peter Grossmann, *Abu Mina I: Die Gruftkirche und die Gruft* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, 44), Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989; and Peter Grossmann, "The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ," in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 134), Leiden: Brill, 1998, pp. 281–302.

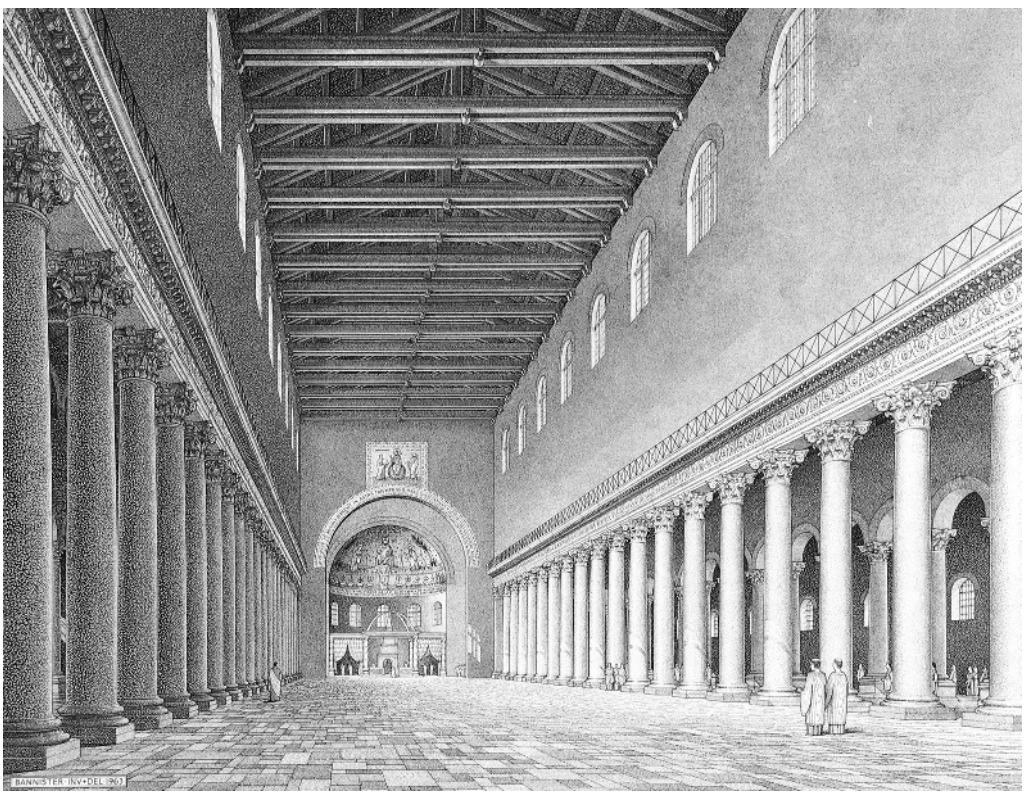

Figure I.2 Reconstruction drawing of the interior of Old St. Peter's nave, looking west

it is not at all uncommon for a saint's memorial to stand in marked separation from the main liturgical altar and serve as an alternate ritual and architectural focal point to it. Archaeological evidence also challenges some features of the conventional interpretation of burial patterns within and around saints' memorials. While scholars have, for example, stressed the materiality of saints' remains in attracting later graves to physical proximity with them in death, many aspects of the appearance and arrangement of church burials seem to have little directly to do with the saints, and the relative chronology of burials rarely conforms to a pattern of neat expansion out from the initial nucleus of the martyrium.

Ultimately I came to see that an investigation of the impact of saints on late antique sacred topography that was limited to the examination of saints' relics and funerary monuments alone would risk overlooking a wide range of valuable evidence. Indeed, the rich testimony of late antique churches demonstrates a set of much broader and under-recognized roles for saints within early Christian church spaces. With their names inscribed on capitals and lintels, their images arrayed on walls or vaults, and votive appeals or

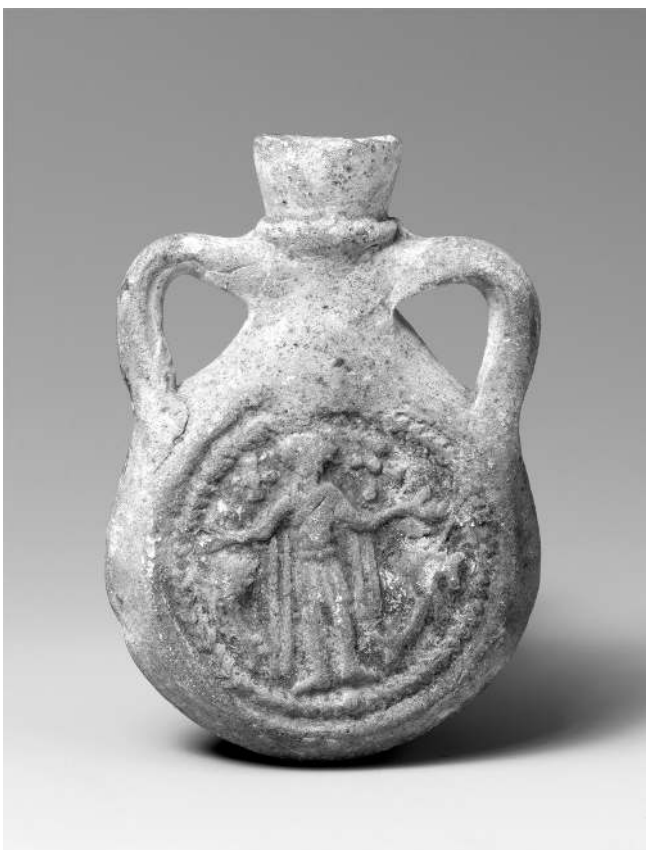

Figure I.3 Ampulla showing St. Menas between two kneeling camels, Egypt

dedications to them found on columns and mosaic pavements, saints were made materially and visually present throughout church buildings. The project thus evolved from a study of saints' memorials per se into a broader investigation into the social and architectural effects of the rise in saint veneration on early Christian ecclesiastical space.

This is a book, then, about early Christian churches. It builds on a significant body of literature on ecclesiastical buildings, but it is not a study of architectural history in the traditional sense.[5] Rather, it concentrates on

[5] The principal survey of early Christian architecture remains Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th rev. edn. with Slobodan Ćurčić, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986; and see Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (History of World Architecture), New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974. See also the recent monograph on the early churches of Rome: Hugo Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West*, trans. Andreas Kropp (Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive, 8), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005 (German orig. 2004). In addition, the following handbooks provide useful introductions: Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie*, Darmstadt:

spatial aspects of churches, or, the activation of the buildings through use. Specifically, it is interested in how the buildings in which Christians came together to pray and participate in eucharistic rites functioned as social and ritual spaces.[6] What kind of "work" did church buildings perform for the communities who built and used them? How did they convey meaning and influence those who entered and took part in the rituals set within their walls? Getting at these issues involves investigation of both physical and ephemeral aspects of churches. The project therefore examines the architectural form and decoration of churches in light of the buildings' interaction with and reception by their users.

This contextual approach reveals a complex and multifaceted picture of early Christian church spaces which were at once social and spiritual, economic and political. In particular, the book concentrates on three interdependent and overlapping spatial functions of churches: communication with the divine, community identity, and the creation and reinforcement of a connection with the past. It is possible to conceptualize this triad of functions by considering the church building as a means of communication between three different sets of interlocutors. The first form of communication facilitated by church space is that between God and the Christians who gather within the church. This exchange takes the form of prayers, offerings, and gifts and can be considered the "sacred" dimension of church space. The second type of communication articulated through churches is performed between the members of the community themselves. This "communal" aspect of church spaces includes the conveying of messages about both the definition of the community (who belongs and who does not), as well as about its make-up and shape (the relative hierarchy between individuals as seen in spatial and visual signs of privileged status). Third, church buildings and ritual construct a type of communication across generations. As past people and events are remembered in the present and preserved for the future, the "commemorative" aspect of church spaces is evident. The first half of the book identifies and explores these three aspects of early Christian church spaces, and the second explicitly turns to the ways in which saints' cults influenced these spatial functions.

This book, in short, seeks to account for the visual and material manifestations of saints within early Christian churches which are not adequately explained by current readings of late antique architecture and sacred space. Its analysis suggests that the impact of saints' cults on early Christian sacred

Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983; Guntram Koch, *Early Christian Art and Architecture: An Introduction*, trans. John Bowden, London: SCM Press, 1996 (German orig. 1995); Pasquale Testini, *Archeologia cristiana: nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI. Propedeutica, topografia cimiteriale, epigrafia, edifice di culto*, Rome: Desclée, 1958.

[6] Previous work on the "use" of church buildings has focused specifically on relation between architecture and liturgy. The excellent studies of Thomas Mathews and Sible de Blaauw are fundamental (Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971; de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*).

geography is more pervasive and diverse, but perhaps less novel and radical than has been previously supposed. Specifically, it argues for an understanding of saints' cults as a powerful means of extending pre-existing notions of corporate identity, intensifying social hierarchies, and connecting local Christian groups to larger earthly and heavenly communities.

GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

The book draws on evidence from Christian cult sites across the Mediterranean, including North Africa and Italy, Greece and the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt. Though the discussion does not proceed by a direct region-by-region comparison, the Mediterranean perspective adopted here does seek to understand how the architectural diversity found across the early Christian world complicates our picture of an east/west geographical divide. One reason for taking up such a broad geographical range has been to safeguard against taking the observations about any one region as representative of broader norms.[7] At the same time, it is by no means a wholly defensive measure. In adopting the Mediterranean-wide purview, I am interested in exploring potential parallels between localities which demonstrate diversity in regional architectural forms, cultic expressions, and local histories. The project thus seeks to investigate broad trends while simultaneously recognizing local particularities and difference. This aspect of my methodology runs parallel to recent historical work which examines the Mediterranean as a unit, but one composed of a "fragmented topography of microregions."[8] My analysis also shares with this scholarship a desire to bring smaller and less well-known sites into the discussion as a valuable control on the picture gleaned from famous monuments, such

[7] Chris Wickham's recent magnum opus makes a strong argument for the perspective to be gained by transcending isolated, single-region studies: *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

[8] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, p. 5. Horden and Purcell's project draws explicit inspiration from the pioneering work of Fernand Braudel (e.g. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols., New York: Harper and Row, 1972–73) even as it criticizes Braudel's proximity to environmental determinism (Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, esp. pp. 36–45; see also H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Fernand Braudel, the *Annales*, and the Mediterranean," *Journal of Modern History* 44:4 (1972): 468–79, reproduced in *The Annales School: Critical Assessments*, vol. III: *Fernand Braudel*, ed. Stuart Clark, London and New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 19–29; and Peter Fibiger Bang, "The Mediterranean: A Corrupting Sea? A Review Essay on Ecology and History, Anthropology and Synthesis," in *Ancient West and East*, vol. III, no. 2, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004, pp. 385–99). Despite the important critiques of a number of aspects of Horden and Purcell's work, their model's conceptualization of the "fragmentation and connectivity" of the Mediterranean's micro-regions has found wide acceptance (see Brent D. Shaw, "Challenging Braudel: A New Vision of the Mediterranean," *JRA* 14 [2001]: 419–53, esp. 422–28; James Fentress and Elizabeth Fentress, "The Hole in the Doughnut," *Past and Present* 173 [2001]: 203–19; and the essays in W. V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, 2005, especially W. V. Harris, "The Mediterranean and Ancient History," pp. 1–42; Alain Bresson, "Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm," pp. 94–114; and Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics," pp. 348–75, esp. 362–67).

as the churches of Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. While effort has been made to juxtapose diverse regions, at the same time the shortage of relevant and available evidence from different areas presents a situation in which for any given issue, there is simply more to work with from some areas than others. I have thus opted in this book to present cases which best illustrate the issues at hand rather than offer up a complete catalogue or dossier of evidence, an endeavor that for several regions has already been admirably carried out by others.[9]

A word must also be said about what types of structures are included in this study. Over the course of the period under investigation, saints make their way into every church where liturgical services are held, in some cases bodily, in others only through their images or names which adorn the material structure or are evoked during the course of the liturgy. In its approach to questions of ritual and social construction of sacred space, therefore, the study draws on evidence from buildings which served as monumental *memoriae* over saints' remains (martyria in the strictest sense), as well as structures of various architectural shapes in which regular liturgical services were held (centrally planned or basilican synaxis churches) or which served as episcopal seats (cathedrals). The word "church" is used here as inclusive of this range of different "types" of ecclesiastical architecture. Of course, churches were not the only kinds of sacred spaces constructed in the early Christian world. Domestic buildings too, for example, could be turned into sacrally loaded spaces of prayer and Christian devotion.[10] They have been excluded, however, because they differ from early Christian church spaces on two points that are central to this study: the distinctively communal element (the buildings examined here served as urban or extra-urban public

[9] E.g. Isabelle Gui, Noël Duval, and Jean-Pierre Caillet, *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord (inventaire et typologie)* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 130), 2 vols., Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992; Anne Michel, *Les églises d'époque byzantine et umayyade de Jordanie (provinces d'Arabie et de Palestine) Ve–VIIIe siècle: typologie architecturale et aménagements liturgiques* (Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive, 2), Turnhout: Brepols, 2001; Peter Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 62), Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002; Cristina Godoy Fernández, *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII).* Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1995; Yvette Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae: le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 58), 2 vols., Rome: École française de Rome, 1982; Pascale Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae: l'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (IVe–VIIe s.) en dehors de la capitale Salona* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 194/2), 2 vols., Rome and Split: École française de Rome and Musée archéologique de Split, 1996. Though many relevant sites have been discovered since their publication, André Grabar's *Martyrium* remains an essential source on sites of saint veneration throughout the early Christian world (*Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols., Paris: Collège de France, 1946), and D. Pallas's survey of Christian monuments in Greece is still useful (*Les monuments paléocrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973* [Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, 5], Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1977).

[10] See, for example, Beat Brenk, *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt. Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlichen Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003, and the recent special edition of the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15:2 (2007), especially the essays of Kristina Sessa ("Christianity and the *Cubiculum*: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome," 171–204) and Kim Bowes ("'Christianization' and the Rural Home," 143–70).

gathering spaces for Christian groups not related by blood or household), and the relationship to institutional authority (church buildings fell under the direct orchestration of ecclesiastical officials).[11]

The chronological range of the project adopts a "soft" definition of the period of Late Antiquity, one defined less by sharp contours of the dates of singular historical events (which tend to affect different regions very differently) than by historical processes and material phenomena. Though glimpses of saint veneration exist as early as the second half of the second century (for example in the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp *c.* 165 CE), from the late third to early fourth centuries onward evidence for the beginning of a broad phenomenon takes clearer shape and becomes identifiable by numerous indices (archaeological, literary, and historical) among a growing number of Christian communities.[12] The bulk of the evidence discussed, however, comes from the later fourth to sixth centuries, a time which witnesses both a great expansion of church construction and increasingly palpable liturgical, ritual, social, and architectural roles for saints.

The project is bound at the outer chronological edge by the seventh century when many of the phenomena explored are no longer in process of "becoming" but have become normative and widespread. By the late sixth and seventh centuries, saints' relics and altars, for example, had become both physically and conceptually fused, the place of saints in the performance of liturgy solidified, and their celebrations codified into standardized calendars of feast days. All three trends speak to increased clerical oversight and regulation of saint veneration.

The seventh century is also a point at which the political and economic partitioning of the Empire reached pitched levels. Most obviously, the crises caused by the Persian and Arab threats of the early seventh century brought about major cultural, administrative, economic, and religious changes in many of the areas under study including the outright conquest of Syria,

[11] Evidence from rural villa estates which included martyria and/or mausolea largely outside the control of the bishops points to an alternative type of Christian sacred space, distinct from the largely urban phenomenon of architecture serving bishop-led communities (Kim Bowes, "'Un coterie espagnole pieuse': Christian Archaeology and Christian Communities in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Hispania," in *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, ed. and trans. Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski [The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 24], Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 189–258).

[12] Excellent histories of the early centuries of saints' cults can be found in Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (Subsidia hagiographica, 20), 2nd edn., Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933; and Grabar, *Martyrium*, vol. 1. See also the more recent studies of Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, University of Chicago Press, 1981; Charles Pietri, "Les origines du culte des martyrs (d'après un ouvrage récent)," *RAC* 60 (1984): 293–319; Bernhard Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen Geisteswissenschaften, 123), Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1965; Deichmann, *Einführung*, pp. 54–64. On the account of Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna's martyrdom, see Herbert Musurillo, ed. and trans., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 2–21.

Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa.[13] At the same time, the period of iconoclasm, which began to be enforced in the eighth century in the regions that remained under Byzantine control in the East (principally the areas of modern Greece and Anatolia), created a sharp historical and material break with the pre-iconoclastic (or "early Byzantine") period. In some ways it might seem easier to envision continuity in western regions that were subject neither to the control of Muslim rulers nor to the iconoclastic edicts of the Byzantine emperors. However, even in areas such as Italy and Dalmatia the material, cultural, and political differences experienced by communities in the sixth and seventh centuries frequently led to abandonment of the fourth- to sixth-century sites studied here, to their relocation under quite different terms, or to substantial new building. Therefore, both because the ritual and institutional transformations investigated in this book had largely stabilized and because most of the buildings themselves were either no longer in use or significantly restructured, the late sixth to early seventh centuries serve as a reasonable point to close parentheses on the early history of church spaces.

Within the late antique period the book's discussion of monuments tends toward the diachronic. It is important to take into account relative chronologies of individual sites as well as absolute dates, especially in so far as they allow us to find intersections between the archaeological record of a building and the ways in which liturgical and other textual sources might suggest that it was used. The nature of the evidence, however, mitigates against a decade-by-decade or even century-by-century approach to the questions at hand for two principal reasons, one practical and one methodological. First, it is a disappointing but undeniable fact that for the vast majority of our archaeological data, absolute dates are either utterly lacking or highly tenuous. Occasionally a dated inscription or historical record of a foundation is preserved, but even when we are so fortunate, such pieces of evidence pin down only a single moment in the building's long history and leave the rest unmoored to a fixed chronology. Second, the primary interests of the project lie in outlining key aspects of widespread changes over time (diachronic patterns). The broad geographical range covered by this book incorporates evidence from regions and sites which adopted architectural and ritual changes at different rates in great part because of the different rates of change in their political, economic, and administrative fortunes. As with J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz's characterization of the political evolution of late antique cities, the statement that "regional

[13] An overview of the Mediterranean world at the end of Late Antiquity can be gleaned from the regional essays in Averil Cameron *et al.*, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIV: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, Cambridge University Press, 2000; and Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 17–41. On the justification of a periodization of late antique archaeology ending in the seventh century, see Luke Lavan, "Late Antique Archaeology: An Introduction," in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. Luke Lavan and William Bowden, Leiden: Brill, 2003, p. vii.

differences often [were] a matter of timing rather than substance" also largely holds true for the specific issues investigated here.[14] Our evidence for relative chronologies not only is far more secure than that for absolute dates but also better facilitates a geographically comparative investigation of the changes that buildings and the communities who used them underwent.

APPROACH AND SOURCES

As is clear by this point, the stress in this book is on the functions and use of built environments over the production histories of physical buildings. It is, nevertheless, important to emphasize that my analysis of the "social functions" of church spaces is not intended to eclipse the religious or sacred dimensions of ecclesiastical architecture, but rather to contribute to the analysis of religion and ritual in overtly social terms, an approach that is ultimately indebted to the foundational work of scholars such as Emile Durkheim and Clifford Geertz.[15] Since this project is primarily about sites, however, it also draws on the work of recent theorists (including Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, J. Z. Smith, and Christopher Tilley) who have further developed the notion that, in addition to religion, space too is socially constructed – that space is a medium, not merely a container, for action.[16] Finally, in shifting the focus of inquiry from the typologies and influences of Christian architecture to the lived experience of the ritual, social, and commemorative functions of church spaces, this study contributes to an ongoing conversation in art historical scholarship on the relationship between artworks or architectural structures and their real or ideal viewer(s), a line of investigation that has parallels in recent reception-oriented work on ancient inscriptions and liturgical ritual as well.[17]

[14] "Administration and Politics in the Cities of the Fifth to the Mid-Seventh Century: 425–640," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIV: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron *et al*. Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 207.

[15] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain, New York: Free Press, 1915; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

[16] Henri Lefebvre, *The Social Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 (orig. French 1974); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, esp. pp. 91–110; J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, University of Chicago Press, 1987; Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford University Press, 1994, esp. pp. 1–67 and 202–8. See also Yi-Fu Tuan's formulation of the distinction between space and place: places are stable, pauses, whereas space is the realm of movement (*Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). For a useful methodological and historiographic overview with additional bibliography, see Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

[17] The literature on viewer reception is extensive, but important works in Roman art history include Jaś Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*, Cambridge University Press, 1995; Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, Oxford University Press, 2003; and John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans:*