INVESTIGATING THE HOUSE-CHURCH IN DURA-EUROPOS:
PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SPACE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis investigates space through its relationship with society based on the idea of the social production of space. By employing the social concepts of community and institution, and the spatial concepts of shelter space and marker space, it provides a theoretical perspective for the evaluation of space in architectural history. This theoretical frame is supplied with a case study on the evolution of Early Christian community and their meeting place. The historical course of the Early Christianity in the Roman Empire from community formation to become an institution – Christendom - constitutes the paradigm for the social premise of the thesis. On the other hand, the proposed outline for the spatial evolution is demonstrated on the house-church at Dura-Europos.

Keywords: Shelter Space, Marker Space, Early Christianity, House-Church, Dura-Europos.

ÖZ

DURA-EUROPOS'DAKİ EV-KİLİSENİN İNCELENMESİ: SOSYAL MEKANIN ÜRETİMİ

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Bu tez mekanın sosyal üretimi düşüncesini temel alarak mekan kavramını onun toplumla olan ilişkisi ile incelemektedir. Toplumsal oluşumlar için önerilen olan komünite ve kurum kavramları ile mekana dair üretilmiş olan barınak mekan ve belirteç mekan kavramları kullanılarak, Mimarlık Tarihi'nde mekanın ele alınışı üzerine kuramsal bir bakış getirilmiş, sonrasında da bu bakış Erken Hıristiyanlık topluluğu ve onların toplanma mekanı üzerine bir örnek çalışması ile desteklenmiştir. Erken Hıristiyanlığın Roma İmparatorluğu döneminde komünite oluşumundan kurum oluşumuna olan tarihsel yolculuğu ile bu çalışmanın toplumsal önermesine bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Öte yandan, mekansal evrim üzerine olan önerme Dura-Europos'daki ev-kilise örneği ile kanıtlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Barınak Mekan, Belirteç Mekan, Erken Hıristiyanlık, Ev-Kilise, Dura-Europos.

To my dear family, Mümtaz, Semiha and Ayşe Ceren Güney and soon to be family Pınar Aykaç

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GREEK AND LATIN WORKS

Ammianus Marcellinus

    Rer. Gest   *Rerum Gestarum*

Aristotle

    Phys.   *Physica*

Athenaeus

    Deipn.   *Deipnosophistae*

Cicero

    Flac.   *Pro Flacco*

    Sest.   *Oratio pro P.Sestio*

    Att.   *Epistulae ad Atticum*

    Dom.   *De domo sua*

Clement of Alexandria

    Strom.   *Stromata*

    Paed.   *Paedagogus*

Cyprian

    Ep.   *Epistulae*

Eusebius

    Hist. eccl.   *Historia Ecclesiastica*

    Vit. Const.   *Vita Constantini*

Hippolytus

    Haer.   *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium (Philosophoumena)*

    Trad. ap.   *Traditio Apostolica*

Horace

    Ep.   *Epistulae*

Irenaeus

    Haer.   *Adversus Haereses*

Isidore of Charax

    Man. Part.   *Mansiones Parthicae*

Josephus

    J.W.   *Jewish Wars*

Justin

    Apol.   *Apologeticus*

Juvenal

    Sat.   *Satirae*

Lactantius

    Mort.   *De Morte Persecutorum*

Martial

    Epigr.   *Epigrammata*

Ovid

    Am.   *Amores*

Pausanias

    Descr.   *Graeciae Discription*

Plato

    Crat.   *Cratylus*

Pliny the Younger

    Ep. Tra.   *Epistulae ad Trajanum*

Plutarch

    Pyrrh.   *Pyrrhus*

Sallust

    Rep.   *Epistulae ad Caesarem senem de re publica*

Seneca

    Ep.   *Epistulae Morales*

Tacitus

    Ann.   *Annales*

    Hist.   *Historiae*

Tertullian

    Apol.   *Apologeticus*

Zosimus

    Hist. Nova   *Historia Nova*

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

    Mart. Paul   *Martyrdom of Paul*

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

    Clem.   *Clemens Romanus*

    Did.   *Didache*

    Did. Ap.   *Didascalia Apostolorum*

    Ign. Magn.   Ignatius, *To the Magnesians*

    Ign. Rom   Ignatius, *To the Romans*

    Ign. Smyrn.   Ignatius, *To the Smyrnians*

    Ign. Trall.   Ignatius, *To the Tralleians*

    Mart. Pol.   *Martyrdom of Polycarp*

PAPYRI, PARCHMENT AND MANUSCRIPTS

    P.Oxy   *Oxyrhynchus papyri*

    P. Gen. Inv.   *Les Papyrus de Genève*

    Disc.   *Discriptio XIIII Regionum Urbis Romae*

    Chr. Ed.   *Chronicum Edessenum*

DICTIONARIES AND REFERENCES

LSJ   Liddell, Scott, Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*
Thayer   Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
Musurillo   H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*

DURA-EUROPOS EXCAVATION REPORTS

TEAD-P&P   The Excavations at Dura-Europos: The Parchments and Papyri
TEAD-Prel. Rep. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The number of the dimensions of space is not certain. Human perception allows three dimensions to define space and locate an object. Even so, intuition may permit more dimensions to be grasped. For instance, the situation of a human observer in four-dimensional space is similar to his photograph in the three-dimensional space. Although he cannot entirely observe the four-dimensions, through the crossing sections where the dimensions overlap, he can imagine the bigger picture. Thus with some imagination and effort he can grasp the nature of four-dimensional space.

However another dimension sometimes neglected requires less effort and empathy to be understood. This is the human-social dimension of space embedded within the other three without which a correct definition of space and the location of an object in it are not possible. That the physical phenomena depend on the observer was first formulated by Albert Einstein who put the observer as a parameter in his General Relativity Theory.

This paradigm shift in physics was greeted with enthusiasm by some students of the humanities and social sciences. Since Henri Lefebvre, de Certeau, Pierre Bourdieu and Guy Debord among many, "space" has become more important in social studies. As such, space is taken not as an individual entity but as accompanying social phenomena. Even more, it is regarded as being produced socially. This is to say,

social processes influence the formation, reformation and transformation of space and spatial cognition.

Because of this, space is now treated with these social premises. More generally, space is considered neither absolute nor neutral as it would seem to be at first sight. It is susceptible to manipulations caused by human actions. Henri Lefebvre's argument in *The Production of Space* (in English, 1991) is that space is not only a social product but also a complex social construction - based on values, and the social production of meanings - which affects spatial practices and perceptions. "An existing space" he says, "may outlive its original purpose and the *raison d'étre* which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one."[1]

While discussions on space are tinged with new social premises and extended to new fields of study, architectural space is often neglected. One reason for this is that the society and social issues are often considered in the urban scale. Architecture on the other hand, is recognized as the realm of more minor social entities. Buildings, the major elements of architecture, are investigated through their significance in the urban scale. Similar to an architectural plan, when the scale is increased, the details become visible. The homogeneity and order in the whole disappear. The differences are revealed. At this level there are too many parameters which frustrate the study for the social scientist, who works with the instruments of determinism, categories and statistics.

On the other hand, current understandings of architecture also serve to it indifferent to social issues. Architecture as a profession deals

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[1] Lefebvre, 1991, p. 167

with designing the space. Precisely for this reason, it is alienated from society. For instance, a house barely becomes a subject of an architectural investigation and when it does, it is often a work of an architect probably designed for a prominent person. Excluding particular interests of certain disciplines, the architecture of an ordinary house, the main sphere of the society is often overlooked. The interference of architecture into society usually occurs in the manipulation of space for shaping social life and its practices, such as public buildings and mass housing projects. However the spaces of society are not designed, but produced by living.

In this respect, the thesis intends to reveal a fresh perspective to the relation between space and society in architectural history. In this perspective, both social and spatial issues are held together. None of these elements are considered as constant and autonomous, but changing and interdependent.

As a whole, the study is founded on two main theoretical parts: the social and the spatial. In the social part, the thesis traces the formation of social organizations from a cyclical transformation of simple structures to more complex structures and the inverse. This reduction is intended for putting the limits and for forming a small scale control group. For appellative purposes, the two nodes of this formation are designated as *community* and *institution.*

The term 'community' is employed to define simple social organizations while 'institution' refers to more complex organizations. The terminology used here has very much in common with Victor Turner's fundamental categories 'structure' and 'communitas' by which he aims to explain social phenomena. By 'structure' Turner means "the patterned arrangements of role sets, status sets, and status sequences consciously recognized and regularly operative in a

given society and closely bound up with legal and practical norms and sanctions."[2] 'Communitas' on the other hand, is "a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations and circumstances."[3]

Obviously Turner's "structure" matches with what is designated as "institution" while his "communitas" fits the term "community". The reason for using these generic terms instead of Turner's is to avoid any confusion that may be caused by the putative connotations of his terminology. For instance "structure" is a well known term of Saussurean linguistics and has a specific role in Levi-Strauss' structuralism. Similarly "communitas" appears in Ferdinand Tönnies' *Community and Society* (in English, 1957) as a particular case to define a small group of people interacting with each other over many years and many separate spheres of life.

This study does not provide further particular definitions for these social organizations nor does it have such an aim. Rather, it focuses on the dynamic process of the cyclical transformation between these organizations. It is assumed that at the base of this transformational relation lies the principle of negation. Each organization comes into existence as the denial of its antecedent while giving way to its follower. Within concurrent rings a causal chain, each is the origin and source of the following. This means that institutions produce communities while communities develop to institutions.

For the second part of the study, two terms, *shelter space* and *marker space* are coined to constitute the spatial framework. In its simplest definition, shelter space is the space that is purified from all non-spatial contents existing only to serve as a shelter. It may be

[2] Turner and Turner, 1978, p.252
[3] Ibid., p. 250

improbable to find a space that is not "contaminated" in this defined way since mankind is noted for his skill in attributing meanings to almost all things. Even so, in actuality, any space which is chosen by its users for practical reasons only may be designated as a shelter space. This is the purest form of shelter space. Additionally, this study includes some further phases as the transitional phases of shelter space.

While shelter space is as explained above, marker space is considered as its opposition. Thus, inverting the definition of shelter space, marker space is the space that is overloaded with the multitude of non-spatial elements - certainly abstract - existing least to serve as a shelter to the user. Marker space starts when space comes into being as a self-existent entity. Monuments can offer the perfect example for marker space because of their architectural program and meanings embedded in them. As such, a building may become a marker space without considering its volumetric scale or aspectual quality.

Based on the definitions above, the following assumptions are used in the thesis:

- There is an incessant transformation from simple social organizations, communities to complex ones, institutions and vice versa.
- This transformation is based on the principle of negation each of which is the cause of what it is not.
- Space is produced socially

Regarding these assumptions, the hypothesis of this study is that the two types of space are produced corresponding to the two types of social formations. These spaces are namely shelter space and marker space. Shelter space matches with the community while institution is

paired with marker space. The hypothesis is demonstrated on actual historical evidence, the case study.

Relevant to its problem and hypothesis, the theoretical contribution of this thesis is based on outlining the process of "institutionalization". Asserting that both the social and spatial environments are exposed to process of institutionalization, the thesis follows the traces of this process on social practices and different types of spaces. From this perspective, this study looks for the reasons and mechanisms of the formation of architectural spaces, their evolution and evaluation.

In this respect, the Early Christian community is selected due to its confirmed communal formation beset by certain controversies against surrounding Jewish and Roman institutions. The Early Christianity that can roughly be considered as the Christianity in the Pre-Nicene period clearly reflects the journey of a community from certain antagonisms to become the source of new ones. Additionally, the congregative character of Early Christianity is an asset to point out the relationship between community and space. It was the act of meeting that gathered the community in a space, establishing interaction. Therefore the modifications in this act, depending upon the changes in the community are possible to trace physically in the configuration of the space.

While Early Christianity and its spatial practices constitute the conceptual framework of the case study, the exposition of Dura-Europos and its house-church which is a unique example that remained unchanged after a certain period offers its realization. Thus the study utilizes a historical-contextual approach.

After the introduction, the second chapter outlines the contextual basis which is necessary for a wider comprehension of the study with

its social and historical background. The historical and spatial account of Early Christianity is given in the fourth chapter; however the social environment, the Roman Empire, that gave way to the rise of Christianity and many other predating social formations are analysed in the second chapter. It has to be known that Christians were not the inventors of the community concept but adopted it from similar neighbouring organizations. Similar to modern non-governmental organizations yet more formal and perhaps more ritualistic, these organizations served as a model to Early Christians with their social and spatial practices. The similar social context study is also done for the spatial context where Roman urbanism and architecture are analysed with some remarks on the state architecture and domestic architecture.

The third chapter is devoted to one of the main efforts of this study, which is to bring a new theoretical approach to space. First, the concept of space is investigated with reference to its different understandings and etymologies highlighting its relationship with social aspects. This is followed with the definition and explanation of shelter space and marker space, the two fundamental notions of the study.

The fourth chapter introduces the social organizations and their transformation. Here, the formation of two architectural spaces, shelter space and marker space are associated with these organizations. Further, the Early Christian community, its communal practices and its development are examined in a historical path with reference to the modifications in the space, this time their meeting place. The analyses on the Early Christian community are based on the literary evidence including Christian Scriptures, patristic and Roman sources as well as individual attestations.

The fifth chapter concerns the application of the hypothesis that is generated with the theoretical and historical information, on the actual case, the Dura-Europos house-church. A short historical account of Dura, the urban development in different periods and the spatial analysis of the city including the street network and housing program are given before focusing on the house-church. With respect to the exposition on the use of "house" as a communal place in the contextual chapter, the two house-temples, namely the Mithraeum and the house-church, are analyzed here. In these analyses, modifications in the architectural plan also including the decorative aspects are studied.

While the major aim is to reveal the evolution of the Dura house-church, the reason for the study of Mithraeum is to reveal the models that Christians in Dura might have followed in their spatial practices. However this study concantrates on the early stages of this evolution whereby the house still keeps its architectural entirety as a house. This is why the synagogue at Dura-Europos is not included in the research because it reflects a further level in this evolution which is beyond the scope of the study. The analyses of the House-Church at Dura-Europos are founded on a methodology that includes the literature survey for retrieving the conceptual and factual bases, and the on-site survey for the empirical investigation. In this respect, excavation reports, field survey results, web based study on the databases of certain institutions such as Yale University Art Gallery, and some further experimental researches on the spatial analysis of the city were utilized. Moreover, some measurements, visual documentation and field observations were carried out on the site of Dura-Europos, Aleppo Museum of Antiquities and Damascus Museum of Archaeology during the winter months in 2011.

In sum, the major aim of the thesis is to underscore the significance of the house-church in Dura-Europos in exemplifying its unique status in the evolution of shelter space and how this may become transformed in time.

The sixth and final chapter outlines the results and conclusions gained from the combined analysis of architectural space and social formation through the unique contribution revealed by the Early Christian community and the house-church in Dura-Europos.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT

2.1 The Social Order of the Roman Empire
2.1.1 The mainland

"*Faber est suae quisque fortunae*"[4]

"Every man is the builder of his own fortune" said Appius Claudius Caecus in the first recorded political speech in Latin which was delivered before Cineas the envoy of Pyrrhus of Epirus who defeated the Romans in the Battle of Heraclea in 280 B.C.E.[5] Sallust, a famous Machiavellian figure in antiquity, directly quoting Claudius advised Roman emperors not to be harsh on their subjects. However one must have been literally blind (*caecus*) as Claudius was or a perfect stranger to Roman culture like Pyrrhus to take this as a truth. No builder (*faber*) in Rome was able to construct his own fortune. In Rome, in fact, the rich had always pledged on the rights and wills of the poor. This was the regular situation that no one considered to challenge. Furthermore, regarding the political events of the next seven years, it might seem as if Claudius became demented or that he was a hypocrite when he exalted himself to dictatorship with the approval of the senate in 273 B.C.E. Claudius was neither demented nor a hypocrite. What seems as an inconsistency was only a conceptual misunderstanding caused by an anachronistic look. By

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[4] Sallust, *Rep.* 1.1
[5] Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 19. 1-5

"every man" Claudius meant men like himself from the highest rank of the society.

2.1.1.1 Bases of the social order: paideia, pecunia and patrocinium

Order and status, different than their excluded role in the modern definitions of social classes were natural categories in the Roman world. When Cicero claims that the Senate was open to all citizens, he was actually speaking of "the supreme order".[6] From many similar accounts it can be deduced that the Romans themselves talked in a fully stratifying language. They defined themselves in terms of an order (*ordo*) the frame of which was drawn by the state through statutory or customary rules and in standing in a hierarchical relation to other orders.[7] "Status" in Weber's words "mean(s) an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges".[8] For instance, Tacitus says that the "(s)enators and *equites* (equestrians) have special property 'qualifications', not because they differ in nature from other men, but just as they enjoy precedence in place, rank and dignity, so they should enjoy it also in these things that make for mental peace and well-being".[9] These privileges or 'qualifications' in the early periods were *paideia, pecunia* and *patrocinium.* Even under the emperors, the high rank positions belonged to the distinct families perceived to be worthy via these traditional standards.

Paideia (Greek: παιδεια; Latin: *cultus*), the formal education composed of empirical training, rational instruction, and the corresponding forms of behaviour was the principal requirement for status. But being more than a training, *paideia* was the indicator of

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[6] Cicero, *Sest.* 65, 137
[7] Finley, 1999, pp. 45-51
[8] Weber, 2005, pp. 305–6
[9] Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.33.2

one's familial tides, and of his genealogy. Money, *pecunia,* was certainly required to obtain this education; likewise it was needed for *patrocinium,* patronage. Horace complained that 400,000 *sestertii,* the fitting amount of property to be registered as an equestrian at the census, opened the way to the honours of Rome.[10] In a similar vein, Ovid, a contemporary of Horace, lamented the fact that the "Senate is barred to the poor".[11]

Patronage was the main tool for displaying power and status of the rich in the public domain. It was basically a benefaction-gratitude relationship between *patronus,* the patron and *cliens,* his dependant. There were two types of patronage, namely the public patronage and the personal patronage. Public patronage was the situation when a patron became the protector and benefactor of a community (a guild, an association or a city). It included the financial sponsorship of public building activities, of social services and public entertainment as well as political protection and advocacy. On the other hand, in public patronage, patrons supported individuals in all necessary means; hence it was referred to as friendship, *amicitae.* Being under the umbrella of a rich master provided the individual with political protection, reputation, and many other social privileges such as appearing before important people.

P. Saller defines the essentials of this interaction as "first, it involves the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. Secondly, to distinguish it from a commercial transaction, the relationship must be a personal one of some duration. Thirdly, it must be asymmetrical, in the sense that the two parties are of unequal status and offer different kinds of goods and services in the exchange—a quality

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[10] Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.58: "You've a mind, character, eloquence, honour, but wait/You're a few thousand short of the needed four hundred"
[11] Ovid, *Am.* 3.8.55

which sets patronage off from friendship between equals".[12] P. Millett states the differences between Athenian democracy based on equality and Roman oligarchy:

> It is an easy step to connect the strength and longevity of the Athenian democracy with the apparent absence of information about patronage. It seems a plausible hypothesis that the democratic ideology, with its emphasis on political equality, was hostile to the idea of personal patronage, which depended on the exploitation of inequalities in wealth and status.[13]

2.1.1.2 Patricians

At the top of the social pyramid stood the patricians (from *patricius*, 'belong to' *patres*, 'fathers'). Being the descendants of the founding tribes of Regnum Romanum, the grandchildren of old clans enjoyed their birthright dignity for centuries. Their higher position was approved as a birth right. They formed the *ordo senatorius*, senatorial class. Similarly, *patriae* (father land), the Roman territories, belonged to *patricii* as *patrimonium*, legacy. It can be said that the Roman social order was set on hereditary grounds for ages.

2.1.1.3 Plebeians

Besides the distinct class of patricians there was another group, *plebes*, commoners. Plebeians were most likely originated from the invaded people of Latium. Later, war prisoners and other conquered people joined them. Plebes were mostly farmers and handcrafters. They had to rent the soil they cultivated from *patricii* for very high rates of debit interests. The punishment for the delay of the payment of the debts was the enslavement.

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[12] Saller, 2002, p. 1.
[13] Millet, 1989, p. 17.

The legal and social status of plebes changed after the end of the fourth century B.C.E. due to many challenges and revolts against patricians. Important ameliorations were made on the legal, social and financial status of plebeians. In the new form of the society, plebeians and patricians together constituted the free citizens of Rome, *cives Romani.* After these developments, a variety of reputable professions became available for plebeians. They started to engage in certain profitable fields such as the military, commerce and politics. Among those, some became prominent not by genealogy but with their economic and political skills. These new aristocrats named themselves *nobilis*, meaning noble, known, worthy of being known. They put more emphasis on patronage in order to increase their recognition and reputation. They constituted the *ordo equester*, comprising all men of business, bankers, money-lenders, and merchants, *negotiatores* or contractors for the raising of taxes and many other purposes, *publicani.*

While some plebeians became distinguished, others were nevertheless downgraded. In the censuses the citizens who had no property of significance were called *capite censi*, counted by head because they were recorded not with respect to their property but only their existence as living individuals, primarily as heads (*caput*) of a family. These poorest masses were called *proletarii*, the one who produces offspring.

Cicero wrote about the Roman *proletarii* who were destined to live in shaky tenements under harsh conditions with inconceivable abhorrence, referring to them, amongst other things, as "the city scum".[14] Cicero acknowledges the grinding poverty and social misery the *proletarii* had to endure, but, then to increase the damage with insult, he sees these as their own fault, using the word *egens*,

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[14] e.g. Cicero, *Att.* 1.19.4

impoverished, for the poor with contempt and even goes so far as to mention "the impoverished and felonious" (*egens et improbus*) in the same vein.[15]

2.1.1.4 Slaves

Slaves, *servi*, were seen as the principal labor force for every work type. Slaves did work in the workshops and commercial operations, but the largest concentration of the servile labor involved house chores. Roman law made a clear distinction between *mancipia rustica* (farm slaves) and *mancipia urbana* (city slaves), the latter being those with which the head of the household surrounded himself for the sole purpose of his lifestyle. According to Roman law, a slave was not a person but *res*, a thing or a business, subject to the dominion of his or her master. The term *res* implies that a slave had no rights, but duties, and this legal definition separated him or her from other forms of subordination. While expressing his ideas on the control of slaves, Athenaeus says that "There are two safeguards that one may take: first, those who are going to be slaves must not come from the same country of origin, and in so far as it can be arranged they must not speak the same language..."[16] A question arises here: Why did Athenaios put emphasis on the ethnicity and language of slaves?

Seneca provides an answer which later became a Roman proverb "so many slaves, so many enemies",[17] that is to say, enemies of Rome were the people working for them. The rule of fear was the basis of the master-slave relationship, which at the end turned slaves into enemies. The tension between the master and slave was the harsh extension of greater social conflict between the rich and the poor, the ruler of the state and its subjects. This conflict sometimes turned to

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[15] Cicero, *Dom.* 89
[16] Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 6. 87
[17] Seneca, *Ep.* 47.5: "quot servi, tot hostes"

wars such as the three servile wars that caused much trouble to Rome.

2.1.2 The Provinces

While the social panorama of Rome and its hinterland was as described, the case in the provinces was slightly different. With respect to various parameters, Rome followed different strategies in dealing with the people of provincial territories. The early students of Roman history considered that Romans brought civilization in the form of Romanization to the conquered lands especially to those in the west. In addition, looking up to the high culture of the invaders, the natives more often than not, Romanized themselves voluntarily. However the evidence indicates that the cultural interaction between Romans and the natives was mutual. Greg Woolf's study on the Romanization of Gaul demonstrates that the process was actually the "...emergence of a new highly differentiated social formation incorporating a new cultural logic and a new configuration of power. This grew up first from within Roman then Italian society and expanded by drawing in more groups, individuals and resources."[18]

On the other hand, in the eastern provinces, especially in Asia Minor and Syria, complex social and cultural structures had already been established before the arrival of Romans. From prehistoric periods to the spread of Hellenism, these territories witnessed various civilizations that emerged, rose and paled while adding to the collective culture. The story of Roman occupation was more or less the same. "In Syria" says Mommsen "the flower of the Hellenic conqueror was settled. [...] For the Romans in Syria not much was left to be done as to the increase of urban development."[19] The differences between the East and the West were also emphasized by

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[18] Woolf, 1997, pp. 339-350
[19] Mommsen, 1906, p. 132

Haverfield, who commented that, in contrast to Britain, "...in the East where an ancient Greek civilization reigned, the effects of Romanization were inevitably slow. Rome met here the most serious obstacles to union, a race whose thoughts and affections and traditions had crystallized into definite coherent form. That checked imperial assimilation".[20]

Summarizing this view, Ramsay MacMullen states that, non-Roman customs disappeared in the West; however, "in the East, by contrast, it was the Roman intruder's ways that were eventually forced off the stage".[21] Scholars have traditionally drawn boundaries between the western and eastern empire. The impact of Roman rule on the social order, institutions and the material culture of the eastern provinces was not as dominant as in the west. According to Drijvers, "in contrast to Britain and Gaul, where one could argue that the Romans brought the fruits of civilization to "barbaric" lands, in Roman Syria, the new rulers added an administrative-military layer on top of a social and culturally complex society".[22]

Roman administrators seem comfortable with this cultural exchange or acculturation unless they were outright contradictory to the Roman interests. Indeed, they encouraged the adoption of local and idiosyncratic elements. Writing in Hadrian's reign who was nicknamed as *Graeculus*, 'little Greek', Juvenal states with xenophobic curiosities that "the Syrian Orontes has long since poured into the Tiber, bringing with it its lingo and its manners..."[23] From a different perspective, Horace writes "Greece, the captive,

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[20] Haverfield, 1912, p. 11
[21] MacMullen, 2000, p. 46
[22] Drijvers, 1980, p. 77
[23] Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.62: "...iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Oronte et linguam et mores..."

made her savage victor captive and brought the arts into rustic Latium."[24]

2.1.3 The social misery

In the 17th chapter of Revelation, it reads:

> "[1]Then one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls came and said to me, "Come, I will show you the judgment of the great harlot who is seated upon many waters... [15]And he said to me, "The waters that you saw, where the harlot is seated, are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues."[25]

Beyond the apocalyptical visions and future prophecies, Revelation (*apocalypsis*) is a clear picture of the socio-political atmosphere of its time. Almost all visions are full of canonical symbols many of which can be deciphered through a careful research on the rest of the Bible. In this respect, 'waters' in this vision signify the people upon which Rome, 'the harlot', stood.[26] Under the feet of Roman nobility, flowed the poor majority.

As already stated, the social panorama of Roman territories in the imperial era was such that, there were the upper circle of noble born patricians together with some nouveau rich, then the middle class of decent workers and impoverished proletariat in a downward hierarchical order. However, this was not a perfect social order, nor was it tolerable. Rather, it was an apparatus fuelled by the misery and exploitation of the poor. The expansionist policies of the emperors required more military power. Although there was the class of professional soldiers, due to the increasing number of wars, revolts and threats Rome unavoidably mustered the farmers and workers

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[24] Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.156: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio."
[25] Rev 17:1, 15 RSV
[26] e.g. Dan 7:21 RSV

into the army and made them stay away for years. The absence of farmers from their lands brought their families economical decline. To avoid starving to death, they sold their land to rich landowners and migrated to cities. The rich grew richer, lazier, and more indulgent. Housing costs in the cities soared, chasing the impoverished into attics and one-room hovels with no water and no hearth.

Roman governors were well aware of the miserable condition of the majority and possible threats this brought. For instance, at least three times in the last century of the Republic, there arose a cry for the total abolition of debts: in 88 B.C.E., after the Social War; in 63, during Cicero's consulship, when political and social revolutionary projects were combined in Catiline conspiracy; and in 48 B.C.E., when the economic condition of Italy had been disturbed by the Civil War. These murmurings were muted by certain subventions: In Caesar's rule, the state distributed daily wheat rations to the poor citizens of Rome, the plebeians who included all adults except foreigners, slaves, and women. Even farmers who still owned land were abandoning their property and flocking to the city to live on the dole. Cicero scorned the newcomers as "the bloodsuckers of the treasury"[27]

The deceitful remedies of the state made a peak in the imperial era. To keep their citizenry happy and away from grievance, emperors launched lavish religious ceremonies and *ludi*, the games in honour of the gods, where free bread and entertainment were provided. While pointing out this corruption, Juvenal also brought in a metaphor, 'bread and circuses' to the political literature:

> [...] already long ago, from when we sold our vote to no man, the People have abdicated our duties; for the People who once upon a time handed out military command, high

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[27] Cicero, *Flac.* 18

civil office, legions — everything, now restrains itself and anxiously hopes for just two things: bread and circuses.[28]

2.1.4 Voluntary Associations

So was life in the Roman Empire. Besides the mean conditions caused by the social order, the state's exploitation of its subjects resulted in the social misery. This was the dark side of the shiny "city of marble".[29] While the empire was visibly enhancing in many aspects for its prominent citizens, big gaps were forming in the slums. People living in these circumstances needed to seek new forms of social unity.

Henri Lefebvre draws a distinction between the spectacle and spontaneous festival.[30] The political essence of this distinction is revealed by D. Arnold and A. Ballantyne (2004) stating that "the spectacle is an expression of the devious power of the state, hiding the grimy sides of social reality while festival is the real participatory and spontaneous expression of popular culture."[31] The authors also point to Lefebvre's inspiration by Rousseau who investigated the theatre and festival comparing them with the contemporaneous political order. The reason for this was that the concepts of theatre and festival were organically bounded with certain social institutions. Considering ancient tragedy which was based on myths, these strands become more crystallized whereby it may be asserted that the primitive form of theatre was festival.

Before being exploited for certain political profits and becoming more sophisticated, the festivals were modest religious gatherings arranged

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[28] Juvenal, *Sat.* 10.77–81: "[...] iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli / uendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim / imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se / continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat, / panem et circenses..."
[29] Cassius Dio, 56.30.3: "I found Rome of clay; I leave it to you of marble" says Augustus in his deathbed.
[30] Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 75,76
[31] Arnold and Ballantyne, 2004, p.154

by the local population on a considerably smaller scale. Many collectivities contributed to these festivals. In antiquity, these collectivities were known with various names such as *collegium, secta, factio, thiasos, eranos, koinon,* and *synodos* with respect to their founding principles or organizational scheme. As an inclusive term, "voluntary associations" was coined very recently by the attendants of the seminaries organized by the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies between 1988 and 1993.[32]

Enhancing the term 'association' with 'voluntary' produced a new expression to make a distinction between "establishments" ran by the state and those formed by civil initiative in the Graeco-Roman world. These organizations may be likened to modern non-governmental organizations. Yet they should not be taken as political endeavours against the government and social order. Other than a few instances of strike and meetings of support, the general activity of these organizations was not meant to manipulate political power;[33] quite different, they existed to offer a refuge to their members.

The history of voluntary associations can be traced to the fifth century B.C.E. These associations seem to have flourished first in Greece, later extended to the Roman mainland. From written evidence, it is deduced that they followed familial patterns in organization. They were founded for various reasons including sports, business, celebration of a cult, professional solidarity and commerce.[34] Although trade and professional occupations were common factors for membership in voluntary associations, the primary emphasis was on social rather than business activities.[35]

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[32] See Kloppenborg, 1996, p. 1
[33] White 1991, pp. 16-18
[34] Meeks 1983, pp. 31-32; Stambaugh and Balch, 1986, pp. 124-25
[35] Malherbe, 1983, pp. 88-91 emphasizes the importance of trades and crafts for understanding organizational factors of early Christianity. MacMullen, 1974, pp.

The influence of these voluntary organizations on Early Christianity was great. According to John Kloppenborg, Christianity did not have "to invent the notion of a religious society distinct from the family and the *polis* or state" because forming associations was a well established custom in the contemporaneous Mediterranean world.[36] Therefore, it is reasonable to embrace Early Christianity within this concept.[37] Early Christians named their community as *ekklēsia.* The ancient Greek word refers to those being called or summoned. Different uses of the word can imply an army, or the assembly of free citizens in Greek cities. In its Christian nuance, the term is used for Christians gathered. The vast majority of references (106 verses in the whole New Testament) are found in Pauline or deutero-Pauline texts, the Acts of the Apostles and in the Apocalypse of John. With the exception of few passages,[38] the term is absent from the New Testament gospels, and it is used only occasionally in the non-Pauline epistles.

It is another probability that the Early Christians borrowed the word from the *Septuaginta,* the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the *Septuaginta,* the term was used to match with the Hebrew word *qahal* (להק)*,* which means "to gather together a flock to the shepherd; congregation, assembly, company, multitude".[39] It refers to people who have an objective to form a religious and social entity. A formula such as '*ekklēsia en theō patri',* "assembly in God the Father"[40] was a common designation of the community of Early

76-77 estimates large tradecraft associations were set up like miniature cities. Both scholars stress that associations were not concerned with improved business but with the social life of their members.

[36] Kloppenborg 1996,pp. 213

[37] See Foucart, 2010, pp. 5-12 for comments on the involvement of women and slaves in associations that had parallels with church membership.

[38] Matt 16:18; 18:17

[39] See Act 7:38

[40] 1 Cor 1:2; 11:22; 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:13; 1 Thess 1:1-4; 2:14; 2 Thess 1:1; Eph 3:10; 1 Tim 3:15; 5:16; Acts 12:5; 20:28; Heb 12:23 RSV

Christians that stressed an assembly of people with common ideas of election and destiny.

The sociological analyses indicated that the voluntary associations served as a model for Early Christian *ekklēsiai*.[41] The communal formation of Christian *ekklēsiai* was influenced deeply from those of the voluntary associations. Contrary to the social structuration of the period which was based on genealogy, property and hierarchy, Christian *ekklēsia* likewise the voluntary associations offered its members a more egalitarian platform. Additionally, many features such as fraternity between members, internal administration, charitable activities, and collective meals were shared by both *ekklēsiai* and voluntary associations.[42]

However, the similarities between *ekklēsiai* and voluntary associations were limited with the organizational scheme. Voluntary associations were akin to recreation clubs, where members gathered for leisure time activities and occasions. On the other hand, Christian *ekklēsia* was established upon certain doctrines and values which regulate entire lives of the members. The religious character of Christian *ekklēsia* was distinct from the grounds of voluntary associations. The Christian appellations like "holy", "called" or "beloved of God" that characterize references to *ekklēsiai* had no equivalent in voluntary associations.[43] Even the name *ekklēsia* was not used to refer a community in voluntary associations.[44] In this

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[41] "Now, brothers and sisters, you know that members of the household of Stephanas were the first converts in Achaia, and they have devoted themselves to the *service of the saints*" 1 Cor 16:15-18 RSV
[42] Kloppenborg, 1993, pp. 224-28
[43] Rom 12:1; Col 3:12; 1 Cor 7:24; Gal 5:13; Rom 1:7; 1 John 4:11
[44] Kloppenborg, cites form Franz Poland (1909, p. 332) that the limited cases of business meetings of clubs being called *ekklēsiai*. H. Lietzmann, (1979, p. 64-68) could find only three references to *ekklēsiai* as a cultic guild or religious fellowship in non-Christian sources.

regard, *ekklēsia* was closer to the religious cults which were exported especially from the eastern provinces to Roman religious atmosphere.

Despite of all these differences, the principles and the practices that ad already been established in the Greco-Roman associations constituted a base for the organization of the Early Christian community. In addition to the shared organizational structures, the members' motivations were very similar to their pagan counterparts. Leaving aside secular organizations such as the unions and guilds, the resources of the contemporaneous pagan cults and Christianity were parallel. All were fuelled with the same socio-cultural and economical atmosphere of the era. Therefore the expectations of the members from their associations were similar.

Among many promises the voluntary associations gave to the participants, the most significant provision was the sense of belonging and common identity. The social and economical conditions that have already been discussed left the individuals, especially from the lower strata, deserted and helpless in the society. The *horror vacui*, the fear from this vacuum, led many to seek other platforms where they were able to express their existence. In this respect, the communities were matchless as providing them with visibility, and letting them to be individuals not among but together with many. Briefly stated, the Early Christianity may be described with its primitivism and its human scale which may have played an important role in the conversion of the masses to this new belief. However when it declared as the state religion by the Edict of Thessalonica (380 C.E.), its magic disappeared, leaving it very similar to its pagan predecessor.

2.2 Roman Urbanism and Architecture

The analysis of the Roman society regarding its vertical stratification and the relationships between these strata necessarily brings a division between the "static" and the "dynamic". These terms which are reconsidered in the third chapter, certainly define the characteristics of the social order. Here the term "static" describes the nature of the Roman political institutions, while "dynamic" is an adjective of the Roman society, especially of the lower strata. Roman political institutions are considered to be static for their predesigned, recorded and taming character. On the other hand human activities are seen as dynamic, since they are spontaneous, unrecorded and reactionary.

This division is readable in Roman architecture and urbanism. The state's interference with the built environment is easily distinguishable from that of the individuals. The architectural programmes of the Roman state were principally based on the continuation of the order. Architecture was utilized to regulate the lives of individuals in accordance with the dominant political discourse and projections. Therefore in parallel with these concerns, especially four elements shaped the Roman state architecture from very early periods: a well-considered city plan, strong emphasis on circulation (both in the buildings and the city), preplanning of space for society and monumentality.

During the reign of "Five Good Emperors" namely Nerva (96-98 C.E.), Trajan (98-117 C.E.), Hadrian (117-116 C.E.), Antoninus Pius (138-161 C.E.), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 C.E.) the Roman Empire reached its territorial, economic and cultural peak. The boundaries of the Roman Empire in this period stretched from the southern half of Britain to the innermost regions of the Near East (Figure 1). The land

area was approximately 6.5 million km^2 and the population reached 88 million.[45]

Governing such a huge empire required a well designed administrative network. Analogous to the body of a living organism, roads were the veins and sinews transmitting the necessary materials and commands to the organs, the cities. The cities were the key elements of bringing Roman rule, as well as the principles of Romanization from the centre to the edges of the empire. Cities helped to form and sustain the cultural and social structure of Roman civilization in various ways: administration and commerce were organized, occupied lands were interconnected and the population taken under greater control.

The planning of early Roman cities in Italy and beyond was influenced from the layout of military settlements. The reason for this interaction was the Roman expansion tactics that endured to the end of the empire. In hostile territories, Romans planted *castra* for military operations. Many later cities evolved from those *castra.* Indeed, in the late antique period, due to the necessity of defense against the invading armies, many cities of the eastern empire shrank within the *castra.* The *castrum,* military camp was the home of the legions. This fort was fully capable of supporting the entire army, including people and animals, along with all their food and supplies. Romans called these *castra* with names such as *tertiis castris, septuagesmis castris,* etc. to indicate the duration of the construction.[46]

While native towns in distant parts of the empire could be quite different from each other, *castra* from those locations were quite similar because of the common logistic needs and routines of the

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[45] Taagepera, 1979, pp. 115-138
[46] Smith, 1875, p. 37

army. Military engineers built the forts in the same fashion, according to a specific plan that was changed only if extraordinary circumstances arose. The *castra* were programmed in such a way that every soldier knew his place automatically.[47]

Josephus describes the army camps as:

> Thus an improvised city, as it were, springs up, with its market place, its artisan quarter, its judgment seats, where officers adjudicate any differences which may arise. The outer wall and all the installations within are completed more quickly than thought, so numerous and skilled are the workmen...[48]

The *castra* were set up on a square or rectangular layout (Figure 2). Being arranged in the form of a grid plan they were surrounded by four walls with four gates at each end of the *cardo,* the main north/south street, and the *decumanus,* the main east/west street, that intersected forming a cross at the fort's center.[49]

In addition to *castra,* especially in the imperial period, Romans also established many *colonia. Colonia* were settlements built on lands granted to retired soldiers. These colonies were important because, they were instrumental in influencing the native populations in Roman manners. Originally these colonies were allocated to the ex-military residents, their families, and the laborers working for them. In time, the population acquired a more integrated lifestyle with the arrival of indigenous people. Located within these colonies, soldiers helped the empire to maintain control by putting down local rebellions, influencing local people, and providing a basis for Roman power in the area when necessary, even supplying experienced

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Josephus, *J.W.* 3.5
[49] Miranda, 2002, p.5

soldiers should they be needed back in the army.[50] According to Tacitus:

> In order to facilitate the displacement of troops westward to man [the nearby garrison], a strong settlement of ex-soldiers was established on conquered land...Its mission was to protect the country against revolt and familiarize the provincials with law-abiding government.[51]

The *castra* and *colonia* were successful models for Roman planning considering the needs and expansion patterns of the empire. As mentioned before, many *castra* were set up in one week or less. In a hostile environment, these powerful bases built by soldiers for soldiers offered great advantages. Besides, the elasticity and the adaptability of the layout of *castra* allowed further developments in urban form according to the demands of new arrivals of civilian residents. *Colonia* on the other hand, were effective instruments of Romanization in a comparably peaceful setting, such as the newly conquered or diplomatically tethered provinces where the native people were at rest. Yet *colonia* were well equipped to intervene in possible tribulations.

Yet it would be an understatement to reduce Roman urbanism into two fashions of military settlements. In the imperial territories there were many cities various in size that were founded ages before the Roman arrival. Romans did not sack those cities; instead they benefitted from the existing elements and if necessary added their own installations. As E. J. Owens suggests, the genius of Roman urbanism was its adaptability to local forms and customs.[52] Nevertheless, these previous forms were kept only if they were in accordance with the general framework of the state's architectural

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[50] Haverfield, 1913, p.41
[51] Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.32
[52] Owens, 1991, p.125

programme. Otherwise they were renovated or replaced with more appropriate ones.

Besides the construction and defensive advantages, probably due to their military origin, these layouts offered the state a great controlling opportunity on the individuals. As mentioned before, in *castra* every soldier automatically knew his post. This system was continued long after these *castra* became cities. This time, the individuals were appointed to (Latin: *destinare*) specific places. Where they lived, they ate, bought or sold; almost all of their destinations were predetermined by the state. This extensive control certainly required the addition of other factors to urban planning. One of these was the circulation pattern in the city.

Circulation in the Roman cities depended on the equally divided parallel land units, separated by streets (*viae*). All streets were equal in width except for the two main arteries: the north-south one, *cardo maximus* and the east-west one, *decumanus maximus*. These were wider and ended at the four gates of the exterior wall. The origin of the two main streets appears to follow the same method of orientation connected with augural ritual. At the crossing of the two streets were located the city's forum and the market (Figure 3).

In assessments of Roman architecture and urban planning, the role of street systems and circulation are usually paid less attention than the other elements of the city. Actually the main elements of circulation, the roads and the streets were designed in such a way that they also served another important function: providing open air spaces of socializing. In the second volume of his study *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* (1986) William MacDonald exposes the dynamics in the configuration of public open space in Roman towns by introducing the concept "armature" which he defines as

"path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas".[53] From his studies on Roman cities in the Mediterranean region[54], MacDonald reveals that Romans paid great attention to the formation of open space centres of public gathering which were enhanced with architectural and visual elements. Depending on the size of the city these centres increased in number such that, in some examples they effused outside the gates (Figure 4, Figure 5).[55]

The configuration of circulation and open spaces in this way gave Roman authorities great control opportunities on the public life. Public life was intensified on those centres or through the streets and spaces connected to and extending from these centres. This arrangement of circulation enhanced the vividness of the cities as well as influencing the social and commercial activities. These spaces were projected to attract people to flow through and assemble in and around them.[56] They were not left empty and dull but were equipped with statues and similar urban furniture, which reduced the space to human scale whilst reinforcing the ideologies which promoted social cohesion.[57] The most important open space, Forum, which corresponds to the Greek Agora, contained, similarly, a paved open court; however, different than its Greek counterpart, this court was almost as enclosed as the cloister of a medieval church. A similar type of defined space encouraging and controlling public activities was the temple precinct.

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[53] MacDonald, 1986, p.3

[54] This impression that the integrated urban space designed both to welcome visitors and provide areas for the socialization of the urban population does not seem to be supported by the evidence of some town plans of the north-west provinces. For further details refer to Richard Reece's "Roman towns and their plans", in Grew and Hobley, 1985, pp. 37–40.

[55] Wallace-Hadrill, 1992, pp.281-282

[56] In contrast to Christian meetings, most religious and civic ceremonies in the Roman period took place in open spaces rather than inside public buildings. This contrast in gathering practices will be discussed in the next chapter.

[57] Wallace-Hadrill, 1992, pp.281-282

Besides these open air spaces, the socialization of individuals was regulated through the public buildings. The theatre and amphitheatre together with circuses were the principal facilities of entertainment and directly served state in controlling the society. For instance, in the reign of Emperor Claudius, there were 159 public holidays annually. During these holidays, the public games of all sorts, *ludi,* including athletism contests, gladiatorial games, and chariot races were held in circuses. Entrance was free to all citizens and the expenses were covered by state or wealthy patrons.

As a result, architectural and urbanistic preplanning of space gave state ultimate control on society. As such, state was in a position that it could dictate how and where to act to society. It could be said that the state was practically ruling like a land lord in cities. Not suprisingly, the Roman territories, *Patriae*, belonged to the ruling groups. What was left to individuals then were the houses. Houses were only buildings that users can design, so that they were beyond the reach of state authority.

2.2.1 Roman Residential Architecture

The residential layout in Roman cities was composed of three main elements: *domus*, *insula* and *villa.* There was also *casa*, housing for the poor slaves and low classes. Because of their perishable nature the evidence for *casa* derives mostly from literary sources. The rural population often lived in these *casae* made of stone or mud brick. Several generations of the same family inhabited in these *casae* sharing rooms together with their animals. On the other hand prosperous families dwelled in *domi,* houses in the city. The middle class constituting the majority of population rented apartments, known as *insulae.*

The ancient topographical document from the first half of the 4th century C.E., known as the *Discriptio XIIII Regionum Urbis Romae*[58] lists all the different buildings in the city of Rome and includes the number of houses and apartment buildings in the city. There were 1,797 buildings identified as *domus,* but 46,602 apartment buildings! This difference is even more pronounced considering that each *domus* contained only one family, while an apartment building could shelter dozens of families.

Domi had few or no windows. Facades were blind from the outside. The configuration of inner spaces of domus was from public to private. From the *vestibulum,* entrance, inhabitants and visitors were directed to the *atrium,* center of the house. The *atrium* was a rectangular courtyard with a large opening on the ceiling for illumination. There was often a pool of water, the *impluvium* in the center of the *atrium.* In the *atrium* there was *tablinum,* a bench-like stage, "where the *paterfamilias* would sit when receiving visitors of lower status."[59] From *atrium* a corridor leaded to *triclinium,* the dining hall. *Cubiculi,* bedrooms were located at the rear of the house. At the back of some *domi,* there were gardens surrounded with high walls.[60]

While the wealthy lived in *domi* the greater part of the population lived in high-rise apartment buildings. Because of the way they often occupied entire city blocks, Romans called these *insulae*, islands. *Insulae* were located all over the city of Rome, and some of the larger ones might have had ten or more stories. The collapses caused by poorly built *insulae,* led emperors to set limits on the height of these *insulae* several times. Usually these limits were around 60 or 70

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[58] *Disc.* 1. The text is the 14th chapter of a greater work known as the 'Chronography of 354'. The original text did not survive but there are two sooner forms. The first of named as the *Notitia urbis Romae regionum XIV.* The other is *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIIII.*
[59] Aldrete, 2004, p. 75
[60] Ibid.

Roman feet (20-25 meters), and the fact that the emperors felt the need to repeatedly pass such legislation suggests that these limits were routinely ignored. The poet Martial mentions one wretched *insulae* resident who had to trudge up two hundred stairs to reach his squalid apartment in the attic.[61] *Insulae* housed a wide variety of tenants of differing socioeconomic classes. The ground-floor apartments would have been rented to the wealthiest tenants who did not want to have to climb up many flights of stairs to reach their dwellings. Often, the row of rooms opening onto the street was rented out as shops and small businesses. If one would climb up the levels of the *insulae,* he would see the wealth of the tenants declined and the number of people per room increased.

2.3 'House' as a Gathering Place

While the elements of public and official religious activities and their architectural forms were monumental and distinctive in style, the continuum between public and private forms of religiosity was not clearly differentiated in the Hellenistic-Roman world. Different than the modern cultural understanding making a dichotomy between public/civic and private/domestic, new studies indicated that these concepts were interpenetrated in each other.[62] For instance, the vicinities of cities, districts and neighbourhoods were protected by *Lares Compitalis.* Their shrines, *compita* were located at the junctions, producing an invisible area of impact which determined the borders of the neighbourhood. Similarly, the houses were protected by *Lares Familiares.*[63] At the intersection of the public and

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[61] Martial, *Epigr.* 7.20 "These things he carries home with him, up some two hundred steps; and locks himself carefully in his garret and bars it; and the next day the rapacious fellow sells them."
[62] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 199
[63] Bakker, 1994, p. 197

private, usually near the hearth or at one corner of *atrium, lararium,* shrine to *Lares Familiares* stood.[64]

A Roman citizen, usually male, had two or more families: In addition to his biological family, he also had spiritual family composed of his brothers from the voluntary association that he was affiliated with. As already stated, voluntary associations were established upon certain commonalities such as business, trade, military, and ethnicity. Although, these associations appeared in some public festivals, their main sphere was the community hall, where they gathered for ritual banquets. Some of these, especially the ethnicity and trade oriented ones had a patron deity or deities, to whom a shrine, *schola* was erected within the house. *Triclinium,* dining hall was another aspect where banquets, the main activity of the association, were held. Banquets started with sacrifices and other rituals and then continued with conversations.

Architecturally, the meeting places were built in domestic forms. For instance, in Delos, there was a community hall of "Association of Merchants and Shippers from Berytus" since the second century B.C.E. According to the votive inscription found in the building, the building was named as the "House of the Poseidoniasts from Berytus" after Poseidon, the protector of sailors. Poseidon in their version was a combination of the Greek deity with his Syrian equivalent Baal. In addition to the peristyle, there was a courtyard and a large meeting room. Other interior spaces were reserved for altar and shrine.[65]

In Roman period, merchants from Tyre established a meeting place and a temple for Helios Seraptenos (Seraptan Baal) in Puteoli.[66]

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[64] Wallace-Hadrill, 1997, p. 117; Osiek and Balch, 1997, pp. 5-47; White, 1998, 177-81
[65] Bruneau 1970, p. 623–4
[66] White, 1996-7, I: p. 32

Similarly, in Ostia, the port city of Rome there was the C*ollegium Fabri Navales,* the Ship-builders Guild, whose meeting place was located at the *Decumanus maximus*, very near the forum. The meeting place was built on the remains of a previous house some elements of which were renovated. The peristyle was closed in order to form a small *temenos.* The *tablinum,* the livingroom of the house was transformed into a *cella* by adding a platform. The rooms at the backside were reserved for the assembly of the members.[67] The similar practice of using private houses as gathering place was widespread also in Dura. For instance, many temples, especially around the Agora region which were erected in Parthian and Roman eras, were built on pre-existing houses. In order to obtain a larger space for temples, several houses were integrated. Additionally, there were relatively small houses renovated to function as the gathering place for different groups.

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[67] Meiggs, 1973, p. 327; Hermansen, 1981, p. 63

CHAPTER 3

THE FORMATION OF ARCHITECTURAL SPACE

3.1 What is Space? An Ontological Approach

What is a house? Is it a means of dwelling? What is a palace then? Another means of dwelling? What really is a building? How are these questions answered without referring to their functions? What is the common trait of a 'bicycle shed' and 'Lincoln Cathedral'[68] not considering the aesthetic judgments about them? The simple answer is that they are all architectural spaces.

The study of architectural space is a relatively young discipline which has emerged from the age old quest for Space. Space and spatial concepts have long been significant in philosophical and scientific investigation, extending back to ancient Greek civilization. Several words exist in ancient Greek, which correspond to different but related connotations. The most frequent word for Space is *Chora* (χορα) which came to mean "space or room in which a thing is, defined as partly occupied space".[69] It implies the space enveloping being, a volumetric space. Another word *Topos* (τοπος) refers to "place, position".[70] This is the positional, locative space. The third one *Kenon* (κενος), "mostly of things, empty"[71] means nothingness, the void.[72]

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[68] Pevsner, 1995, p. 23 "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture. Nearly everything that encloses space on a scale sufficient for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings *designed with a view to aesthetic appeal*." (Italics are mine)
[69] LSJ, p. 797
[70] Ibid., p. 616
[71] Ibid., p. 956

The semantic differences in ancient Greek words constituting different understandings of Space are also valid today. Amos Rapoport states that "This great variety of possible 'types' of space … makes any definition of space [in planning and design] difficult. Intuitively, however, space is the three-dimensional extension of the world around us, the intervals, distances and relationships between people and people, people and things, and things and things."[73] Space in its broadest sense means the volume, the place and the emptiness.

From the beginning until very recently, Space has been investigated as a problem of metaphysics. In metaphysics Space was defined with respect to its relation with Being, the very concept of ontology. Before coming into consideration as an independent question, architectural space was also examined with a similar logic. The context of architectural space was held via its relation to human existence. Philosophers such as Martin Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Bachelard as well as Michel Foucault argued that mankind's relation to places is based on dwelling and that dwelling is fundamental to existence. In order to reveal these consequent deductions about architectural space, the general concept of Space and its relation to Being need to be investigated and this investigation will be ontological.

3.1.1 A Preliminary: The Elements of the Study

The ontological study of the relation between Space and Being is constructed on specific definitions and a special terminology. This terminology is fixed and aids to distinguish the fallacies and misuses of daily language. It includes several keywords which are critical for

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[72] Algra, 1995, pp. 38-70, 263
[73] Rapoport, 1980, p. 11

clear understanding of Space. These keywords are Being, existence, becoming, and universe.

3.1.1.1 Being

Giving a definition to Being has been the hardest quest of ontology since Parmenides of Elea whose explanation is still credited in some circles. The Parmenidian account of Being is established on the ancient Greek verb ειμι and its present indicative εστι (is), infinitive ειναι (to be), and participle εον (Being) variations. In his important work *The Greek Verb 'To Be' and the Concept of Being* (1966) Charles Kahn states that "the most fundamental value of εἶναι when used alone (without predicates) is not *to exist* but *to be so,* or *to be true."* Kahn names this stance of the verb *to be* as its "veridical usage."[74] Briefly, *Being is.* Traditionally, it refers to some concepts such as immobility, invariability and indestructibility.[75] "Being", in the Parmenidian sense is without borders. It is one and indivisible. Opposite to Being, *non-being is not.* It is not allowed to talk more on "non-being" as this would mean to associate an existential predicate to it: "The other, that not-being is and that it necessarily is, I call a wholly incredible course, since thou canst not recognize not-being (for this is impossible), nor couldst thou speak of it, for thought and being are the same thing".[76]

3.1.1.2 Existence and Becoming and Universe

The definition of Being also helps to identify the other keywords. Thus "existence" is a predicate. It is an umbrella term that can be used for all kinds of reality.[77] "Becoming" is the principle that was used to explain the formation of things. Contrary to the singularity of

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[74] Henn, 2003, pp. 31-32.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Fairbanks, 1898, pp. 91-92
[77] Edwards, 1987 p. 141

Being, Becoming allows a plural universe. In this version, things perpetually *come into being* and perish. Everything is exposed to this evolutionary change. The famous statement traditionally attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus, "παντα ρει (οσ ποταμοζ) (panta rei [os potamòs])" is translated literally as "everything flows [like a river]".[78] Universe is defined as an entirety, a sum of things in various disciplines. It contains all means of realities. The universe is "just there, and that's all" and "...collection of things..."[79] A term for "universe" in ancient Greek was το παν which means *the all.*[80]

In this study, I maintained the general definitions of these concepts. To clarify, I recognize Being as the immediate reality related to its genuine definition which was given before. Being is first degree existence. Becoming is the second degree existence, the mediated reality. It is the product of change and transformation. The Universe is taken as the most inclusive set of the whole existence. It reveals itself before our eyes in a spatial-temporal frame. We perceive it through the "spectacles"[81] of Time and Space. Things exist three dimensionally in Space and embedded with the Time module. This is the primary paradigm that we start to build our judgments about the universe and through this paradigm we respond to it. This company of the existence with space-time is what is called *the continuum* in this study.

3.1.2 Problems of Space

As already mentioned, Space is defined in various ways: A volume, a place or emptiness. All of these attribute an existence to Space.

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[78] Plato, *Crat.* 401.5 and 402.8
[79] Russell, 1964, pp. 175, 56
[80] LSJ, pp. 1345–1346
[81] Russell, 1964, pp. 78-79 "If you always wore blue spectacles, you could be sure of seeing everything blue. Similarly, since you always wear spatial spectacles in your mind, you are sure of always seeing everything in space."

However, associating Space with existence causes some problems because in each case, Space actually implies something which is not Being: The vessel (volume) for Being, The position (place) of being or the interval (emptiness) between beings. The path of reasoning may be like the following statement: If Space is not Being, then it is the negation of Being. Thus Space is non-being. But then some questions arise: How does Being dwell in non-being? How can extension, increase-decrease, division and motion of matter be possible?

These and similar questions were introduced by the members of the school of Elea. Parmenides, traditionally credited as the founder of the school, proposed Being as the One and denied the non-being. His students, Zeno and Melissus went against spatial partition and emptiness. For example, Melissus stated:

> Nor is there any Emptiness; for the Empty is Nothing; and so that which is Nothing cannot Be. Nor does it move; for it cannot withdraw in any direction, but (all) is full. For if there were any Empty, it would have withdrawn into the Empty; but as the Empty does not exist, there is nowhere for it (Being) to withdraw.[82]

Later on, a different account was given by Plato while these arguments (Aristotle calls *fallacies*) of Eleatics were still standing. Plato saw a potentiality rather than emptiness in Space:

> And there is a third nature, which is Space and is eternal, and admits not of destruction and provides a home for all created things...[83]

In this passage, Plato clearly depicts the role and some features of Space. In previous parts, Plato recognizes two types of existence which are namely Being, the unchanging and unperceivable; and

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[82] Freeman, 1948, p. 49; Aristotle, *Phys.* 4.2
[83] Jowett, 1953, 52b

generations, sensible and changing.[84] In addition to these he introduces a third kind, which is the universal nature in which all things are made, and which is like none of them; but they enter into and pass out of it. This is Space (χορα-chora), the containing principle which according to the passage "provides a home" (εδραν δε παρεχον) for generated beings.

Here the word *edran* refers to "providing the situation".[85] In harmony with this, Space is the prerequisite in which becoming is possible and the objects can have existence. Space enables objects to be. As immediate reasoning verifies, something existing exists in somewhere. Plato continues "…all existence that it must of necessity be in some place (τοποζ-topos) and occupy a space (χοραν-chora), but what is neither in heaven nor in earth has no existence (ειναι-einai)".[86] Space is essential for and of the existence. Space is exemplified with a winnowing machine, which by sorting the chaos generates order. Because of Space, everything becomes something rather than nothing.

Although not clear in the definition of Space, Plato's account is sufficient to derive a description for its nature. Plato's concept of Space conjoins "matter" and "room" or "place-giving". Platonic Space (χοραν-chora) gives room for the matter in Place (τοποζ-topos); in fact the two terms are interchangeable. The Greek word for space, "chora" (χοραν) also means "a region or country, a tract of land, the (rural) region surrounding a city or village, the country, the region with towns and villages which surround a metropolis land which is

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[84] Ibid. pp. 49, 51 "For the present we have only to conceive of three natures: first, that which is in process of generation; secondly, that in which the generation takes place; and thirdly, that of which the thing generated is a resemblance".
[85] Taylor, 1928, p. 98
[86] Jowett, 1953, p.50

ploughed or cultivated, ground".[87] These secondary connotations were implied in other chapters of Plato's Timaeus and the Republic.[88]

Platonic understanding of Space is continued in Aristotelian philosophy with some distinctions. Aristotle employs Place (τοποζ-topos) as synonymous to Space. It is most possible due to the fact that he, distinct from Plato, seems not to recognize the existence of an empty space, a void in which bodies come to existence. Yet Aristotle talks of the togetherness and inseparableness of matter and place without which the other cannot be explained:

> Place is thought to be something important and hard to grasp, both because the matter and the shape present themselves along with it [but they are separable, so they have been eliminated as being place], and because the displacement of the body that is moved takes place in a stationary container, for it seems possible that there should be an interval which is other than the bodies which are moved.... [But what actually is the place if the container is moved?] Just, in fact, as the vessel is transportable place, so place is a non-portable vessel. So when what is within a thing which is moved, is moved and changes, as a boat on a river, what contains plays the part of a vessel rather than that of place. Place, on the other hand is rather what is motionless: so it is rather the whole river that is place, because as a whole it is motionless. Hence the place of a thing is the innermost motionless boundary of what contains it.[89]

The difference between Plato and Aristotle then is that, for Plato, Space is an infinite existence in which the matter occupy place and change place. Yet while recognizing Space as an existence Plato puts it to a more distinct position than matter. Similarly, for Aristotle, Place is a boundary of matter. Both Plato and Aristotle share the idea of impossibility of empty Space. Space cannot exist without a body filling it. But how can the motion of bodies be possible then? The

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[87] Thayer, 'Chora'
[88] Brandwood, 1976, op cit, pp.965-966
[89] Aristotle, *Phys.* 4.4

universe is a *plenum* in the Aristotelian version, and Space is completely filled with matter: "Again, just as every body is in its place, so, too, every place has a body in it."[90] Nature, as fullness of being despises the vacuum, the non-being, and therefore, empty space is prevented by filling it with matter. This is called *Horror vacui*[91] (fear of empty space) a principle that is designed to explain the motion of a body in Space. Movement is the displacement of bodies in universe.

In the *Definitions* part of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,* Newton proposes two types of Space: The Absolute and Relative Spaces. "The Absolute Space" says Newton "in its own nature, without regard to anything external, remains always similar and immovable".[92] From this, Newton distinguishes the Relative Space which "our senses determine by its position to bodies; and which is vulgarly taken for immovable space".[93] The relative space likewise the relative time is what is measurable. "Place" he adds "…is a part of space which a body takes up, and is according to the space, either absolute or relative".[94] Absolute Space is independent from its content, meaning that if the content is to be evacuated till the emptiness, Space would still exist. Thus Space is a self existent entity free from Being filling it.

Newton's model that proposes universe as a plenum is also held by Leibniz in his Monadology, but with a radical difference:

> In a *plenum of filled space* every movement has an effect upon bodies in proportion to this distance, so that not only

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[90] Aristotle, *Phys*. IV. 2
[91] Aristotle, *Phys*. IV. 4. "…always in the case of any body that can be displaced, must, if it is not compressed, be displaced in the direction in which it is its nature to be displaced…"
[92] Newton, 1846, p. 78
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.

is every body affected by those which are in contact with it and responds in some way to whatever happens to them, but also by means of them the body responds to those bodies adjoining them, and their intercommunication reaches to any distance whatsoever. Consequently every body responds to all that happens in the universe, so that he who saw all could read in each one what is happening everywhere, and even what has happened and could read in each one what is happening everywhere.[95]

Leibniz rejects the concept of empty Space. Accordingly, the universe is a plenum of simple substances, what Leibniz calls as "monads".[96] Monads are simple spiritual entities. They do not have form and extension. Therefore they cannot be broken up either practically or theoretically. Leibniz supposes them as metaphysical points in that the physical points are divisible and the mathematical points do not exist in reality. Universe is the fullness of the monads, a continuity that does not include any interval, "leap"[97]. These simple substances, likewise the atoms forming the molecules, by getting together constitute the corporeal substances, the aggregates of monads. Unlike the monads these aggregates exhibit extension. The extension is a consequence of "plurality, continuity, and simultaneous existence of many parts". Space is "an order of coexistences", "well founded phenomen[on]"[98].

Thus we come up with two contrasting models of Space. These are the Newtonian Space, an absolute space which can exist without its content; and the Leibniz Space, a phenomenon which is caused by continuous and concurrent existence of Beings. Undoubtedly, these models are the progeny of previous perspectives or at least they contain certain elements borrowed from those older theories. For instance, the Newtonian model must have been influenced from

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[95] Leibniz,1993, p. 61 (italics are mine)
[96] Monadology, 1; Discourse, 8; see also Principles of Nature and Grace
[97] Leibniz, 1993, preface: "Nature does not allow leaps"
[98] Bennett, 2007, pp. 2-6, 7-18, 28

Democritus' Atomism which posits that objects are made up of indivisible atoms and there are gaps between these atoms[99]. On the other hand, the Leibnizian model while proposing monads - a very similar projection to atoms - rejects the intervals between them.

In addition to these conflicting ideas, another account of Space is given by Immanuel Kant. Kant starts with an acknowledgment: "I openly confess the suggestion of David Hume was the very thing, which many years ago first interrupted my dogmatic slumber, and gave my investigations in the field of speculative philosophy quite a new direction."[100] What Kant owes to Hume in the manner of Space is that, Space and time are the ways in which bodies are revealed to our senses as appearing through visual and tactile sensation, and as succession of perceptions.[101] The existence, he maintains (and of outer existence) is the very same as the idea of that which we regard to be existent.[102]

In Kantian terms Space is the *a priori* category of perception. "Space then is a necessary representation a priori, which serves for the foundation of all external intuitions."[103] The categories evolve from our mental structure and they predetermine our perception. As one of these categories, Space precedes experience. This means that contrary to the common sense, we do not derive the idea of Space from external objects; instead, by Space, we understand the world. Kant denies Space as an entity, so he rejects Absolute and Relative Space. For him, Space is "...nothing else than the form of all

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[99] Pyle, 1997, p. 109
[100] Fieser, 1997, p. 260
[101] Hume, 1739, 1.2.3
[102] Ibid. 2.6
[103] Kant, 1978, p.32

phenomena of the external sense, that is, the subjective condition of the sensibility, under which alone external intuition is possible."[104]

What we have at hand for Space, then, are the self existent space of Newton, its denial by Leibniz and the reduction of it to a cognitive instrument by Kant. We can exemplify this with a thought experiment: suppose that the universe is a glass, half of it is filled with water. For Newton, Space is the volume of the glass occupied by water and the air, and it will exist even if the contents were to be taken out. For Leibniz, what we perceive as Space is the coexistence of water and air upon it. If the glass would be emptied, then Space would be the glass itself. And finally, for Kant, Space is how we perceive water and air in the glass.

This study asserts that the universe cannot be exemplified by a glass filled with water to the half. The universe is the continuum comprising the glass, water, air, Space and the Spectator and the phenomena. Every actor is equally important in constituting the continuum. They are not stationary in the continuum. Instead, every actor including Space and time ceaselessly interact with each other to form phenomena. Every moment, the universe is reformed all over again.

Space, as well as time, Being and phenomena cannot be understood as treated separately from the continuum since the interaction between the actors changes each of them continuously. Any attempt to define Space individually will fail to explain its reality because in such an examination what will be defined is not Space but a frozen piece of an interval which has only an analogous relationship with Space. This may be likened to an effort to understand a motor race from one single shot of camera. Even a video record would not be

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[104] Ibid., p.33

satisfying as it is not able to demonstrate every angle of view, that of the audience and the racers; nor it is capable of bringing the smell of hot tarmac. Therefore the only thing that can be said for Space then, is that it is of the continuum.

3.2 From Space to Architectural Space: An Appropriation

Shifting from Space to "architectural space" necessitates incorporating new parameters to the study: Human beings and their activities. This is because architectural space is a becoming; a product of change that occurs in Space, out of Space. An important disparity between Space and architectural space is that the latter is a human generation. It is a contextual creation out of nothing. Space does not require a context to exist; however, architectural space survives only by its very context. It is a product of human labor which like other man made artifacts is susceptible to be embedded with numerous rational and irrational predicates. It acquires a name, a function, and most significantly a meaning. It is initially "becoming" due to the fact that it was not (not existing) but came into existence after human intervention and will go on with those predicates. Even without its bodily existence, it is possible to reconstruct it upon the traces that it leaves behind. As a part of the continuum, architectural space also manifests itself in a spatial-temporal framework. It is a section of the continuum which is spatially limited but temporally enduring. But how does this entity emerge? The story of an edifice is not easy to tell.

First of all, we should consider the transformations and deviations that Space is exposed to. As infinite as the matter that fills it, Space initially turns into a definite and limited container for matter, the volume (χοραν-chora): the first break from the uncertainty. Later, it becomes the system of coordinated dots on which the position of every body is determined. This is Place (τοπος-topos). In the third

stage, volume and Place are synthesized to become an *opus* of architecture. Architectural space occupies a measure of volume and is positioned in the universe. However, more than that, it houses human beings and the events which are the relations between human beings, things, Space and time. Thus, architectural space is a conscious appropriation from the outer continuum, creating an inner continuum.

3.2.1 Man and His Activity

Describing architectural space as a human generation requires the account of the human and his activity to be given. Heidegger calls Being *Dasein* (there-being).[105] He employs this term to emphasize that Being cannot be examined separately from its historical and spatial context. The same principle is also valid for human beings. Human beings are situated in everyday life and located[106] in the world. Therefore the most inclusive implication of *Dasein* is being-in-the world. Being-in-world is engagement with the world. Heidegger himself exemplifies this engagement with a workman using a hammer. When engaging in this activity, what he is attending to is not the hammer, nails, wood and their various properties but rather the practical project - the process regarded as leading to an end having a purpose, fulfilling a function. Human beings are not identified by their biological, physical or mental capabilities. These potentials become meaningful only when they are activated. Human existence lies on the activity, his individual or collective practices (πραξιζ-praxis).

Interestingly, the activity (πραξιζ) is also crucial for the relationship between human beings and Space. This is a reciprocal relationship which utilizes the sensual and cognitive abilities of humans through

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[105] Heidegger, 1985, p.173
[106] Ibid., p.174 'thrown', *geworfen*

their activities. Acting can be acting in somewhere (δυναμιζ-dunamis, potentiality) or from somewhere to somewhere (κινεσιζ-kinesis, movement). Even for a stationary spectator, the spatial environment is revealed to him by activity, a mental activity (δυναμιζ-dunamis) which mainly relies on fixed visual inputs such as perspective, the visual differentiation of extension. However this type of cognition is limited to the spectator's viewpoint and is illusory.[107] On the other hand, for a displacing (κινεσιζ-kinesis) spectator, there are more inputs for the mind to process and convert to knowledge.[108] In all cases, it is fair to say that Space can be identified and experienced only by action.

The significance of activity for Space (*espace*) is pointed out by Michel De Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984):

> A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements...Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities.[109]

Having established the bridges between human beings, activity and Space, we may now continue with the architectural space. After defining Space in his own terms, de Certeau articulates another concept, the place (*lieu*) which he distinguishes as "the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence".[110] He sees an opposition between Space and Place. This opposition is created by the ordering of objects: "The law of the "proper" rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own

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[107] Epstein and Rogers, 1995, pp. 3-7, 23, 23-24, 61
[108] Ibid., pp. 205-207, 327-330, 355
[109] de Certeau, 1984, p. 117
[110] Ibid.

'proper' and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability."[111]

In de Certeau's point of view, the main difference between Space and Place is that Space is a practiced place.[112] It involves activity. In "place" de Certeau sees orderedness and situatedness. On the other hand, space, better to say, architectural space, emerges from production. According to de Certeau, architecture is the practice of transforming Space into a place. He articulates this idea by a poetic quotation from Christian Morgenstern:

> One time there was a picket fence
> with space to gaze from hence to thence.
> An architect who saw this sight
> approached it suddenly one night,
> removed the spaces from the fence,
> and built of them a residence.
> The picket fence stood there dumbfounded
> with pickets wholly unsurrounded,
> a view so loathsome and obscene,
> the Senate had to intervene.
> The architect, however, flew
> to Afri- or Americoo.[113]

Yet, this view of architecture is valid only if it is taken in the physical sense. Obviously, drawing borders to space and covering it with walls would turn it into a box. However, architectural space is neither a box nor is it a farm surrounded with fences. Beyond its physical form, architectural space is the articulation of infinite and vague Space. Being determined by humans and their actions in it (events) makes Space *the* space and *the* place. It becomes the subject of narrative not in the locative manner proposing location, rather as the protagonist of the story.

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid., p. 117
[113] Ibid., pp. 127, 128

What brings de Certeau to this point constitutes the very subject of this chapter. This chapter and also the entire study aim to reveal the formation of different architectural spaces from different motives. These motives may be fully practical as in the case of a building that provides shelter; or they can be fully formal, such as a monument narrating a story or they could be shifting in between the two. Yet no matter what the motive for an edifice is, it is a social production.

3.3 Space is a Social Production; so is Architectural Space

Regarding Space as a social product and therefore attempting to explain its formation within this framework is the core concept of Henri Lefebvre's *The Social Production of Space* (in English, 1991). Lefebvre states that "...the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself."[114] Production in its broadest sense can be described as the fulfillment of certain needs by the transformation of some elements into others. Production necessarily coexists with its negation, consumption.

There is a dialectical relationship between production and consumption. Every means of production is at the same time consumption. Therefore the inverse is valid for consumption. This inextricable relationship between production and consumption was first articulated by Marx and Engels in *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (1857):

> It is obvious that man produces his own body, e.g., through feeding, one form of consumption. But the same applies to any other kind of consumption which in one way or another

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[114] Lefebvre, 1991, p.129

contributes to the production of some aspect of man. Hence this is consumptive production.[115]

But this should not be taken as a simple equation where a material is consumed for the production of another. Indeed, both activities are fundamental for each other. "Consumption produces production" says Marx, firstly "because a product becomes a real product only through consumption." Marx gives the example of a dress which becomes a dress only when it is being worn. The ontological status of a product is climaxed by its consumption. Secondly, "because consumption creates the need for new production, and therefore provides the conceptual, intrinsically actuating reason for production…"[116]

The inclusion of the production-consumption dialectic into the study of the formation of architectural space is necessary since this formation is determined by the ways that it is consumed. The consumption of Space, especially architectural space, can only be explained by the actors and the activities it is built for. As mentioned before, it is impossible to distinguish the matter and the vessel that contains it, since each is determined by the other. As Being, Space and events are all together, indiscernible and they constitute the continuum, so do the human beings, architectural space and the social events. Social events are principally the sum of human activities which include everyday human interactions as well as social and traditional practices. According to Gregory and Urry "spatial structure is…seen not merely as an arena in which social life unfolds, but rather as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced."[117]

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[115] Marx, 1993, p.81
[116] Ibid.
[117] Gregory and Urry, 1985, p. 3

In this respect, I recognize two types of human acts: "voluntary acts" and "mediated acts".[118] By "voluntary act" I understand the immediate result of deliberation. On the other hand, the "mediated act" is done because of an extrinsic "stimulus". A "stimulus" is a principle derived from a frequently practiced, unanimous voluntary act. In other words, an act of deliberation becomes a norm after being agreed upon and performed many times by many people. At the end, this norm becomes the basis of the reflex act. This is the perpetual motion from Praxis to Theory and then to Praxis again.

The change from Praxis to Theory is the result of the very process of Institutionalization. Man's instinctive desire to bring order leads him to establish a controlled society. In order to achieve this, individual human lives and intentions need to be governed. This is achieved by creating institutions out of people's individual voluntary acts. Institutions are theories derived from individual practices and cooperative enterprises in order to produce systematized and controllable facts that can be re-operated in all necessary circumstances. For instance, institutions such as codes of social life, ethical principles, must-dos and etiquettes are the mutations of originally voluntary acts, that is, the acts of deliberation. Institutions arise from human voluntary acts. But once the latter become institutions, they are operated automatically.

To say that institutions are theories does not mean that they are only conceptual. Actually, in most cases, institutions are far more tangible than voluntary acts. This is because institutions cannot survive as mere concepts. To sustain control on society, institutions must be embedded in every aspect of life. Therefore almost all acts of individuals and collective practices are institutionalized. From those

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[118] A very similar classification of human acts was made in Giddens, 1984, pp. 162-213

institutions new practices grow. As said earlier, the transformation from Praxis to Theory and reverse continues perpetually.

Two types of human activities, namely voluntary activity and mediated activity also determine the formation and transformation of architectural space. These explain the patterns of how an edifice is produced. Due to the mutual relationship between production and consumption, these activities reveal the motives behind the consumption of the edifice at the same time. Therefore, the two types of human activity are juxtaposed with the two types of the architectural space that are namely "shelter space" and "marker space" (Figure 6).

3.4 Shelter Space

Shelter space is an *envelope* for certain activities. It operates as a peripheral membrane which isolates the user/s and their practices from the outer continuum. The role of the space is providing a roof for this activity and the actor/actors from external factors such as sunlight, rain, noise or the curious gazes of other people. It provides privacy for its users. The emphasis is on the activity and the actor, not on the space. One of the most important features of shelter space is that it is plastic. In other words it is flexible. The user/s can renovate it according to needs.

The house is a fine example of such architectural space. It fulfills all of the projections such as protection, privacy and secrecy. The house is primarily a shelter in which one can take refuge from external factors. In addition, it provides segregation. The house separates the individual from the public. Almost every civilization sanctified "house" as one's impenetrable territory. Access is limited only to those who are invited in. The authority of the state is invalid behind the walls, at

least in theory. These walls are stronger than any fortifications because they are blessed by the social contract.

Although seemingly unbreakable and stiff, the house is actually plastic. It can be renovated in accordance with the requirements of the users and their practices. The most important feature of this flexible private stronghold is that it refers to the users and their activities. This can be verified by the connotative usage of house in different cultures. It is used as the family *cognomen.*[119] It is not a space anymore but it becomes a symbol; a symbol of a family, or community.

3.5 Marker Space

Marker space is an infill on the urban fabric. Unlike shelter space, marker space is rarely designed to cover the inside activity. Rather it is intended to target itself and the place that it is built on. The marker space can appear in the different forms of Space. It can be volumetric or extensional. Or it may point to a specific location like an address. The production of this address is the consequent stage of a very complex process which may be called as the interaction of human beings with Space.

This interaction starts with perception. From this perception emanates a mental state which is spatial cognition. Spatial cognition is expressed in different types of spatial representations. In this regard, there are two types of such representations of Space. These are the story and the map. The story or spatial narrative is the account of an expedition: "I passed straight through the living room and came into the kitchen" or similarly:

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[119] Statements that are composed house with a family name implies to the all members of that family.

On the Greek mainland facing the Cyclades Islands and the Aegean Sea the Sunium promontory stands out from the Attic land. When you have rounded the promontory you see a harbor and a temple to Athena of Sunium on the peak of the promontory. Farther on is Laurium, where once the Athenians had silver mines, and a small uninhabited island called the Island of Patroclus. For a fortification was built on it and a palisade constructed by Patroclus, who was admiral in command of the Egyptian men-of-war sent by Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, to help the Athenians, when Antigonus, son of Demetrius, was ravaging their country, which he had invaded with an army, and at the same time was blockading them by sea with a fleet.[120]

The spatial narrative is different from a map in that it involves Praxis (πραξισ) where the itineraries and experiences are branded to compile a subjective account of Space. This is the ultimate form of the integration since it includes not only Space but also the interaction between Space and the narrator. We can deduce the account of this interaction from the private experiences of the narrator. In this form Space becomes practical knowledge.

In addition to the spatial narrative, the cognition of Space can also be represented as a map. If we are trying to describe where we are, we can use some positional predicates like we do on a plan: "the living room is next to the kitchen." Or it can be given in a more detailed account as following Roman tablet records:

> VIAM FECEI AB REGIO AD CAPVAM ET
> IN EA VIA PONTEIS OMNEIS MILIARIOS
> TABELARIOSQVE POSEIVEI. HINCE SVNT
> NOVCERIAM MEILIA LI, CAPVAM XXCIIII,
> MVRANVM LXXIIII, COSENTIAM CXXIII,
> VALENTIAM CLXXX, AD FRETVM AD
> STATVAM CCXXXI, REGIVM CCXXXVII.
> SUMA AF CAPVA REGIVM MEILIA CCCXXI.
> ET EIDEM PRAETOR IN
> SICILIA FVGITEIVOS ITALICORVM

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[120] Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.1.1

CONQVAEISIVEI REDIDEIQVE
HOMINES DCCCCXVII EIDEMQVE
PRIMVS FECEI UT DE AGRO POPLICO
ARATORIBVS CEDERENT PAASTORES.
FORVM AEDISQUE POPLICAS HEIC FECEI

(I built the road from Rhegium to Capua, and on that road I erected all the bridges, milestones and tabelarii. From here (Forum Popilii) it is 51 miles to Nuceria, 84 to Capua; [it is] 74 to Muranum, 123 to Cosentia, 180 to Valentia, 231 to the Strait at the statue, 237 to Rhegium. Total from Capua to Rhegium 321 miles. And likewise, as Praetor in Sicily, I rounded up the fugitive slaves of the Italians and returned 917 men. Likewise, I was the first to make the shepherds depart from the Ager Publicus in favor of farmers. I built the Forum and the public buildings here)[121]

These statements work on the "objective" markers. They are intended to be informative and contain the undisputed truths derived from the various private accounts of the narrators. In this form, the "practical" knowledge of Space becomes "theoretical" under the process of "institutionalization". The maps are produced from the spatial narratives; in other words they are the institutions established upon individual practices.

On the urban fabric there are lacunae where human activity is not allowed or restricted. The abstract meaning and synonyms of the term *lacuna* make it possible to interpret it in various ways. In French, lacuna (*lacune*) meant a lack of words in a linked text until the 17th century. One of the authors of this concept was the art historian Tito Vespasiano Paravicini who compared monuments with documents, seeing them as a reflection of different periods of time, with all their shortcomings and advantages: "The loss of such a monument would leave a lacuna in history, but even more serious would be its falsification as a document."[122] Comparison of the

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[121] Gordon, 1983, pp. 87-89
[122] Jokilehto, 1999, p. 200

monument with the document as a mirror of history makes it possible to call the loss of a monument a lacuna in history.

The lacuna is likened with moth holes on an old precious tapestry. Paravicini's view is that these holes are losses from the configuration that deteriorates the general composition. According to Cesare Brandi, a contemporary art critic and historian, "A lacuna in regard to a work of art is an interruption of the figurative pattern."[123] But in Brandi's opinion, "…the most serious aspect in regard to a work of art is not what is missing but what is inserted inappropriately. The lacuna, in fact, will have a shape and color that are not relevant to the figurative aspect of the represented image; it is inserted into the work of art as a foreign body."[124]

Brandi's discovery is based on Gestalt psychology, where a lacuna independently starts to depict figures and destroys the integrity of an image or form[125]. Relying on the structure of perception in Gestalt psychology, man's spontaneous perception receives the lacuna as a dominant real figure, whose original figuration becomes the background.

A lacuna is a fracture in the spatial-temporal continuum. As indicated earlier, the spatial-temporal continuum is composed of Being, Space and Events. Some events are weightier than others: A battle, a natural disaster or the birth of a god affects more people than someone accidentally breaking a window. Although all these events are phenomenologically equal in constituting the continuum, the impression of the first three events is greater than someone breaking a window. This is because the causal chain between the effector and the affected is shorter and therefore easier to trace.

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[123] Brandi, 1996, p. 341
[124] Ibid.
[125] Jokilehto, 1999, pp. 239–240

The impact of this sort of event is also increased by the narrative. Like a rolling snow-ball which starts from an initial state of small significance an event may build upon itself, becoming larger, heavier, and more contagious. The weight of such an event causes it to collapse itself. This collapse stretches the spatial-temporal continuum to infinity where a lacuna becomes constituted. In the lacuna, the continuum pauses; the human activity and practices stop. Although a collapse, a waste land in the continuum, the lacuna surpasses the continuum by taking over the general attention from around on itself. It becomes the centre of interest.

Therefore unlike Paravicini's view that the loss of a monument results in a lacuna in the urban fabric and collective memory, it is the creation of such type of building that constitutes the lacuna. The monuments are the embodiment of the accumulated events emanating from the event horizon. They are intended to keep the memory of those events alive. In addition to their reminding role, they increase the impact of the events. Lefebvre states that ".... monumentality... always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message.... Monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought."[126] He also adds "By building in monumental terms, we attempt the physical embodiment of an eternal and imperishable social order, denying change and transmuting 'the fear of the passage of time, and anxiety about death, into splendor."[127]

A good model for marker space is a temple. A temple is located where a very significant event occurred. At that moment the marker space is extensional. Probably this event was once relatively smaller in scale

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[126] Lefebvre, 1991, p. 143
[127] Ibid., p. 221

but after the countless times of retelling, its impact increased. Every narrator developed the story by adding his own vision. Hence, as the event becomes a narrative, the scene, the place of event, which was once an ordinary tract of soil, becomes the sacred ground. At the very beginning, the memory of the event must have been kept alive by certain individual practices on and around the place of event: The visits to the place of event, some words of reverence, naive efforts of dramatization of the event and dedications must have constituted the ceremony. Since the scene is sacrosanct, it must have been isolated with a sort of fence and those practices must have occurred in a modest structure out of the fences.

While the impact of the event continues to increase, so do the importance of the place of the event and the number and the sorts of commemorative practices. After a while, these practices need to be regulated. The reasons for this regulation are numerous; most possible scenarios involve the efforts of maintaining the sanctity of the place of the event, preventing physical damages to it, avoiding the conflicts between the visitors due to the different types of commemorating practices, state's desire to gain pecuniary advance from this place and so on.

No matter why it happens, in the end, individual practices as well as the place of the event become institutionalized. From this important but modest and immaculate place new institutions emerge. A class of priests whose responsibility is performing those practices on behalf of the individuals starts to preach the event which has now became an epopee. Now the sacred ground is inscribed with the temple which serves as a landmark while maintaining the original spirit of this place, inactivity and impenetrability.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL FORMATION AND SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

That space is a social product was the essence of the inquiry in the 2nd chapter. In that chapter, Space was treated conceptually with its various connotations, ending up with a deductive account of its relation to human activities. It was shown how Space became a formless entity in the realm of ideas; as such the material attributions to it, boundaries, designations, allocations, if any, were fully literal. On the other hand, this chapter focuses on more concrete forms of space. This chapter takes space as the built environment and aims to reveal the practical influence of the social environment on its production.

The social environment considered here is the setting composed of various social formations. The making of these formations, their configuration, their interrelation as well as their evolution and decline inscribe certain marks on the built environment. The account of these social formations with respect to those factors is an essential tool to evaluate the interaction between the built environment and the social environment. Here, the social formations, in other words, social organizations, are categorized according to their organizational scheme as simple organizations and complex organizations. Generally, these organizations tend to proceed from simple to complex forms. Even so, the relation is reversible, that is to say, certain complex organizations may yield simple organizations. For the sake of appellation, I utilize 'communities' for simple organizations while I reserve 'institutions' for complex organizations. The Early

Christian community and its relation to Roman institutions are the focus of the investigation in this part.

4.1 The Phases of Social Formation: From Community to Institution

There are certain phases in the evolution of social formations. Coming together is the starting act of every society. All social structures are based on this principle of socialization. With respect to this principle, a picnic and a family are equivalent. What differentiates the latter is the motive of coming together. Therefore the first phase is *the constitution of the motive*. The frequency of coming together, whether occasional or periodic, depends on the motive. Strong motives are likely to produce repetitive meetings. Thus there can be some changes in the motive to enhance it. In most cases, the motive rises from a tension or as a response to an impulse often created by the state or power groups.

Therefore, the *repetition* of coming together is the second phase that distinguishes a regular meeting from an occasion. Repetition as habitualization is discussed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) as "all human activity is subject to habitualization. Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern, which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort and which, *ipso facto*, is apprehended by its performer as that pattern."[128]

Repetition, likewise coming together requires a motive. A group of people coming together repeatedly with a certain motive, is the simplest definition of a community. Similar to its definition, a community is very simple in its organizational scheme. Even so, this simplicity should not be considered as triviality. Indeed, behind the

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[128] Berger and Luckmann, 1966, pp. 70-71

primitivism in the organizational scheme, these organizations are established on very crucial subjects.

Nevertheless, this simplicity does not endure and becomes subdued under the process of sophistication. Indeed, repetition is responsible for this sophistication. At least for practical reasons, periodical meetings of a community necessitate a meeting place and a meeting schedule. Through these agents, the community gains regularity. With regularity comes fixedness in space and time. The articulation of space (the place instead of a place) and time (the time instead of sometime) ensures the community's realization and recognition in the society. This is essential for the satisfaction of the member's sense of belonging. Belonging is a key issue for membership in those communities. What people seek for and what those communities provide them with eventually constitute the fulfillment of the sense of belongingness.

Till now, the outline of a community has been described. To reiterate, a community is a group of people meeting regularly for a certain reason in a certain place, in a certain time. But, what are the features of these meetings? We must assume that at least in this initial phase, the meetings are mostly made up of conversations and discussions including informative sessions in which the members can express their point of view freely and participate equally. The equal participation and freedom of self expression are the two essential principles for a community.

The third phase is the *reformation* to bring order to the community to provide its continuation. Almost all communities are based on an opposition to the routine flow of events and norms in an ordered society. The repetition of meetings in the fixed time and fixed place after a while generates banality. The stressed modesty in the acts as

well as the visual environment adds to the dullness. The enthusiasm in the beginning leaves its place to boredom. This is so critical that the members even start to question the community and its motive. Thereafter the continuation of the community becomes a vital concern so that it surpasses even the initial motive and supersedes it. Now the community is on the horns of a dilemma; it either remains the same and then declines or it evolves into a stronger structure. The second requires a reformation process in the community to bring order to many aspects of it.

First of all, the internal mechanism of the community is ordered. The collaboration which was based on the voluntary contributions of the members should be arranged so that every member does the best he does. Another word for this is the 'professionalization'. For instance, before the professionalization process, the meetings of the community are most probably composed of the discussions and exchange of the ideas of the members but then they turn to lectures where a speaker or speakers instruct the audience. Certainly the speakers are chosen from among those with eloquence and education. Although professionalization is beneficent, it also causes stratification among the community members; that is, the professionals gain prominence over the ordinary members. Therefore the mutuality between the participants turns into a hierarchy.

When the three phases are completed, the community becomes an institution. "An institution was defined as an interlocking double-structure of persons-as-role-holders or office-bearers and the like, and of social practices involving both expressive and practical aims and outcomes."[129] An institution is the opposite of a community. The most significant features of a community are replaced with their opposites. A community is based on the voluntary participation and

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[129] Harre, 1979, p. 98

contribution of its members but an institution requires compulsory attendance and responsibilities. The collective collaboration becomes the hierarchy of professionals. The most significant change is the modification of the motive. The initial motive that brings people together and starts the organization shifts to the continuation of the organization. Institutionalization is thus the final and inevitable process that reshapes all amateur enterprises. In an institution, amateurs[130] should leave the stage to the professionals and watch the rest of the show from their seats, silent and respectful.

Until now, an account of how simple organizations, communities evolve to complex organizations, institutions has been given. However this is not a one-way linear development. On the other end, simple structures derive from complex ones as the denial of their complexity. The communities are ruptures or ramifications of institutions or they come into being as the oppositions to them. The deeper study of the reasons behind these transformations is made by other disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology. Here this limited insight on the social organizations is adequate to examine their reflections on the built environment.

4.2 The Transformation of Space

The architectural reflections of these social organizations are parallel to their formations. Architecture interferes principally as the gathering place of the organization. The selection of the building, its allocation in the urban fabric, its architectural program and visual configuration are all determined by the requirements and demands of the organization. Therefore in the beginning of an organization, when the first call for the meeting is announced, its place is not the primary concern. The most efficient one corresponding to the

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[130] From Lat. *amator,* 'lover'

requirements of the meeting such as the space, equipment or centrality among many public centers is expected to be chosen. For the first several meetings, those public centers serve the community well.

By the completion of the second phase, that is to say, when the meetings become habitualized, a suitable place is appointed for continuous meetings. One of those public spots where the previous meetings were held may be used or it may be an edifice belonging to a member of the community. Additionally, several places fulfilling the purpose may be used alternately. The important thing is to have an address to go to. In this study, this type of space is designated as "shelter space" in which architecture acts as a boundary between the inner space and outer environment (Figure 7). Here the role of architecture is to define an isolated space that can be used for numerous occasions as well as for meetings. The interior features of the place are not important. Some necessary modifications may be carried out but most of these are temporary arrangements. A few chairs are put here or a table is added there; a clean, warm and silent place is satisfying. Two factors underline the internal organization: Modesty and equality. Modesty is a stimulus that shades almost all aspects of the community. Therefore modesty in architecture is as significant as the modesty in apparel or behavior. The reason for the emphasis on modesty is to prevent any issue other than the motive to overshadow the meetings. Similarly, equality between the members can be observed in the internal setting. The interior space is organized in a way that endorses equal participation and freedom of self expression of the members in the meetings.

Later on, when the community declines due to the aforesaid reasons, this modest place ceases to meet the new demands of the community. As mentioned before, the community enters into a

process of reformation through which its initial characteristics are changed. The new meeting place needs to be be configured in harmony with the new program of the community. These configurations become more and more stationary as the community turns into an institution so that architecture is the solid, visible erection of those abstract structures.

The first modification in the meeting place is acquisition of it. There are certain advantages of possessing a meeting place rather than using someone's house or renting it: First of all, it can be renovated as desired. Secondly, and more importantly, unlike the former place/s of meeting, the new one belongs to the community. There is the sense of confidence, most humane, attached to the property. It is the enjoyment of calling a place home, the sense of belonging stirred by it. The house of the community is at the same time the house of each member holding them together like a family. It is more functional social glue, at least in practice, than those intangible common values of the community. This is how 'cosa nostra' (our cause) turns to 'casa nostra' (our house).

The second modification is made in the configuration of the building. In addition to the necessary reconstructions made for fulfilling the needs, such as opening up the space for more members or adding new service lots, the whole place is redesigned so as to be harmonious with the new dictums of the community. As part of the reformation process, the spatial arrangement of the meeting place should support the new mechanisms of professionalism, stratification and hierarchy. The most typical consequence of the reformation on the architectural setting is the disposal of the equally organized inner setting and the crystallization of the hierarchically divided space out of it. In practice, the stand of the speaker is separated from the

audience and elevated to increase its dominance and conspicuousness.

Another modification occurs in the general refurbishment of the meeting place in order to restore it as welcoming and encouraging for the members. This is very important for reviving the spirit of the declining community. In order to achieve this, some concessions from modesty need to be made. To recall, modesty was stressed to tune the minds of the members monotonous and this tone was the motive. Now the motive is veiled and the minds are bedazzled with the charm of architecture. Architecture acts like a prism that refracts the monotony and forms a colorful spectrum out of it. While refracting the monotony into polytony, the architecture and decoration are also used to engrave the principles of the community on the member's minds. That is to say, they are not chosen aimlessly for their aesthetic value but installed purposefully as the visual manifestation of the community and its principles.

But this pedagogic move of making architecture the solid declaration of the community is irreversible. From then on, the architecture of the meeting place is paid more importance than the meetings. The architecture levels up to a greater degree so that it surpasses the essentials of the community, the motive and meeting. This is an existential change; before, the meeting place was a co-existence that it could exist only as an escort to the community inside but then it becomes a self-existence.

Finally, the transformations in the built environment parallel to the transformations in the social organization yield a specific place. This place is the exact visual conjugation of the social organization that completed its evolution. The social and architectural measures taken to provide the continuance of the organization lead it and its place to

change radically. Therefore the community becomes the institution while its place becomes the "marker space" (Figure 8). Contrary to "shelter space", the principal role of "marker space" is not to cover up, but rather to identify and commemorate the entity inside while defining its place in the world. In the further phases of marker space, the space transcends the entity, expels it and stands autonomously.

4.3 Case Study: The Formation and Development of the Early Christian Community and its Spatiality

Parallel to the premise of the entire study, the aim of this section is to reveal the congregational value of the Early Christianity. This is the most important factor in the spatial formation of its assembly place that is the house-church.[131] To date, Early Christianity has been examined extensively by various disciplines ranging from archaeology to sociology. The general consensus of these multidisciplinary studies has been to embrace Early Christianity as a communal movement.

The movement that later became Christianity was heralded by Jesus around the 30s of the Common Era.[132] The historicity of Jesus is a subject of another study however what is sure is that the followers of Jesus did believe he lived. The primary sources for Jesus, his teachings and his ministry are the four canonical gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John which are based on the testimonies. The secondary sources include the Pauline Epistles, the Epistles of Peter, Jacob, Titus and John and also the Revelation of John, where his teachings and his words are cited in short passages. Tertiary sources are the extra-biblical accounts and attestations composed of the Christian apocrypha and the letters and works of the Apostolic

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[131] This term is used in accordance with Krautheimer's categorization (1965, pp. 27–30) to mean its most primitive stage, distinguishing it from its further renovated form, *domus ecclesiae.*

[132] Maier, 1991, pp. 113-129; Hoehner, 1983, p. 131; Evans, 2008, p. 115

Fathers including Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus of Lugdunum.

These three groups of sources reveal a great deal about Jesus and his ministry. However, what should be highlighted for the scope of this study is the charismatic figure of Jesus gathering his followers around him. This coincides with what is described as 'the first call' in the previous paragraphs. Beyond its miraculous and religious character, Jesus' call was very political or at least taken as so for a very long time by some of his followers.[133] Jesus preached an enigmatic 'kingdom of God'. Besides, he criticized contemporary Jewish institutions, blaming them for diverging from the essence of the Old Testament. His message was received with great enthusiasm in Judea under Roman rule. Galilee, the region where Jesus concentrated his ministry was famous for being a hotbed of anti-Roman political activity, so that it has been analogously called as "60s Berkeley of Palestine" by A. Callahan.[134] What Jesus implied to the people at first was that he was the long anticipated Messiah who would re-establish the Kingdom and save his people from Rome.[135] However this turned out to be 'the kingdom of heaven' which Jesus never wanted to equalize with an earthly kingdom.

Thus the general activity of Jesus and his disciples involved wandering from one city to another, preaching the people that the kingdom of heaven would come and that they should repent their sins. Gerd Theissen calls these roamers as the "itinerant charismatic

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[133] E.g. Matt 21:9 "And the crowds that went before him and that followed him shouted, 'Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!'"; Matt 27:11 "Now Jesus stood before the governor; and the governor asked him, 'Are you the King of the Jews?' Jesus said, 'You have said so.'"; Matt 27:37 "And they set up over his head his accusation written, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS."

[134] From the transcription of "From Jesus to Christ: The First Christians", written and produced by M. Mellowes, air date: April 6, 1998

[135] Acts 1:6 "Then they gathered around him and asked him, 'Lord, are you at this time going to restore the kingdom to Israel?'"

leaders".[136] There is no a social formation that could be called a community at this very early time yet. Keeping with the the evolution of the organizations described earlier, there was neither a motive nor were there repetitive meetings yet. The call of Jesus should not be taken the motive because at this point there was no clear understanding of sayings among the followers. It was his charisma based on his miracles and parables that attracted people like a magnet.

Certainly there were gatherings; mostly in open places, sometimes near the Sea of Galilee,[137] sometimes in a city square[138] or rarely in a house or in a synagogue,[139] crowds gathered together to listen to the words of Jesus and people followed him in order to witness his miracles. However these gatherings were far from being the regular meetings of a community, rather, they were occasional campaigns. The communal meetings started with what is known as the 'Last Supper'. The Last Supper is the final meal that Jesus shared with the Twelve Apostles in Jerusalem on the eve of his crucifixion.[140] The Last Supper provided the ground for the subsequent regular meetings of the Early Christian community.

The Last Supper was not an ordinary meal but it was Pesach (Passover), the anniversary of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt being celebrated for generations every year on the 14th of Nisan in the Jewish calendar.[141] This old tradition with its essentials such as

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[136] Theissen, 1978, p. 9
[137] Matt 4:18
[138] Mark 6:56
[139] Matt 9:35
[140] Matt 26:17-30; Mark 14:12-26; Luke 22:7-39; John 13:1-17:26
[141] Lev 23:5-8 "5In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at twilight, is the Lord's Passover. 6And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the Feast of Unleavened Bread to the Lord; for seven days you shall eat unleavened bread. 7On the first day you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not do any ordinary work. 8But you shall present a food offering to the Lord for seven days. On the seventh day is a holy convocation; you shall not do any ordinary work"

breaking unleavened bread and the drinking of wine became Christianized in the form of the Eucharist. Due to its deep-rooted context and its date marking the death of Jesus, the Eucharist constituted the initial motive for his first followers to gather together again. First of all, it was kept for "the remembrance" of Jesus as he instructed; secondly, it was the time when Jesus had sown the seeds of the community and third, it offered the linkage with the Jewish tradition for ex-Jew adherents of Jesus. No other ritual in Christianity could present an identical drive for the repetitive meetings.

The Early Christian community whose basis was laid on the Last Supper was established fifty days after the crucifixion of Jesus, again on a Jewish holiday, on the Pentecost which commemorates God giving the Ten Commandments, in Jerusalem at the same *cenacle*, the upper room where Jesus and the disciples held the Last Supper. There, according to the Biblical account, the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples, gave them the gift of prophecy and speaking in alien tongues.[142] This came to mean God's approval of them as his new nation.[143]

Leaving aside the miraculous phenomena, what was aimed in the Biblical account was to declare the establishment of the Christian community,[144] the church. The historical associations with the Old Testament provided the fulcrum for this new community signifying that they were to keep up with the canon, the Old Testament but to break up from institutionalized Judaism. Through the initial motive, the last supper was enhanced with the addition of some Old Testament elements as well as the teachings of Jesus mixed with

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[142] Acts 2:1-4
[143] Eph 1:13-14
[144] From Greek κοινωνία which is often translated as "fellowship".

certain supernatural flavours to form the perfect motive, which came to be known as the Good News.

Naturally, this break up was not welcomed by the Jews and resulted in hostility and even persecutions. Due to the aggressions from around, Christians went underground.[145] There was certainly no specific meeting place; it was not needed nor was it allowed. The meetings were held in different addresses. Until forbidden for them to enter, the Temple (in Jerusalem) courts were where they congregated most.[146] In addition, they came together in houses belonging to fellows. In these meetings they acted all together, eating, praying and singing hymns.[147]

At about that time, Paul who was one of the persecutors, converted to this new belief. By Paul's conversion, the community which contained only the Jews and proselytes extended themselves to spread the word to the other nations. This expansion was narrated allegorically in Acts 10:11-17.[148] Behind this allegory, the passage implies the bending of the law in favour of the gentiles. In this respect, Paul made three missionary journeys to Asia Minor, Cyprus and Greece, organized new congregations in these lands and then went back to Jerusalem. Indeed, it was in Antioch where the followers of Jesus were first called Christians.[149] Paul's last journey was to Rome as a prisoner. From Jerusalem and from his prison in Rome he wrote

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[145] Acts 8:1b "On that day a great persecution broke out against the church at Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria."
[146] Acts 2:46,
[147] Acts 2:42-46
[148] "[11]He saw heaven opened and something like a large sheet being let down to earth by its four corners. [12]It contained all kinds of four-footed animals, as well as reptiles of the earth and birds of the air. [13]Then a voice told him, Get up, Peter. Kill and eat. [14] Surely not, Lord! Peter replied. I have never eaten anything impure or unclean. [15]The voice spoke to him a second time, Do not call anything impure that God has made clean. [16]This happened three times, and immediately the sheet was taken back to heaven."
[149] Acts 11:26

letters to those congregations which are known as the Pauline Epistles. In these epistles, in addition to the first accounts of Christian theology and ethics, there are also the accounts of internal tensions and conflicts of those congregations and Paul's instructions to solve these crises.

According to Paul, much of the controversy among the fellows sprang from the lack of proper conduct in gatherings.[150] Paul was afraid of unregulated meetings that might lead to disorder in the community.[151] In his first letter to the community in Corinth, he reminded the old form of meetings where people had "a hymn, or a word of instruction, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation"[152] to declare. He did not immediately prohibit the people from articulating their own views but he insisted that the conversation and behaviour in the community should be in an appropriate manner.[153] Additionally, he brought limitations to equal participation by giving precedence to men in teaching over women.[154] Women were not to engage in any public speaking in the church.

However, the new regulations on speech and conduct in the community seem not to have satisfied Paul, since when he later wrote to Timothy and Titus, he prescribed them to appoint officials in those congregations.[155] The reason for this was the doctrinal confusion caused by the multitude of the contradictory understandings of the

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[150] 1 Cor 11:17-22
[151] 1 Cor 14:33
[152] 1 Cor 14:26
[153] 1 Cor 14:29-30 "Two or three prophets should speak, and the others should weigh carefully what is said. And if a revelation comes to someone who is sitting down, the first speaker should stop." The mention of revelation in 30th verse suggests that the prophecy in mind involved a revelation, a special deep teaching, which, however, was distinct from the kind of revelation of inspired Scripture.
[154] 1 Cor 14:34-35 "... women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law says. 35If they want to inquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church."
[155] 1 Tim 3:1-13, Tit 1:5

motive.[156] Lacking the references due to the absence of written documents at this early period and fellow's freedom of expressing their own views must have added to this doctrinal confusion.[157] These officials were namely elders (*presbuteroi*), overseers (*episkopoi*) and deacons (*diakonoi*). The overseers and elders were interchangeable offices. The persons to be assigned to these offices should have met some criteria such as being "the husband of but one wife", being "above reproach" and being "able to teach". Among other character specifications, being able to teach was much stressed in order to control the spread of the doctrine and its centralization. This check of teaching and the assignment of officials correspond to what was described before as professionalization. The fellows were expected to be obedient and submissive to those officials.[158]

Despite Paul's efforts to bring order to the Christian communities and their practices in the assembly, these efforts did not result in the desired goal immediately. In addition to the tardiness of the communication in this era which must have limited the spread of these instructions to the congregations considerably, stubbornness of the people in approving these instructions must have caused long delays in the transformation of the communities. Besides, the legal status of the Early Christian community and the relations with the surrounding social environment required them to be very portable and mobile. Before being exposed to radical internal transformations, this dynamic community must have rested. Even so, Paul's instructions provided the ground for the long term transformations in the community.

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[156] If anyone teaches false doctrines and does not agree to the sound instruction of our Lord Jesus Christ and to godly teaching, he is conceited and understands nothing. He has an unhealthy interest in controversies and quarrels about words that result in envy, strife, malicious talk, evil suspicions
[157] 2 Cor 11:4, Gal 1:7
[158] Heb 13:17 "Obey your leaders and submit to their authority. They keep watch over you as men who must give an account. Obey them so that their work will be a joy, not a burden, for that would be of no advantage to you."

The meetings continued to be held in available places, often in member's houses.[159] For instance, there were at least five or six different congregations of Christians in Corinth; each gathered at someone's home in some different suburb of the city. There were people like Chloe and Gaeas and Stephanus and a very prominent woman Phoebe who lived in the nearby port city of Cenchreae, all of whom had congregations gathered in their homes.[160] Depending on the conditions of the community or the reactions from the neighbourhood, the meetings were held in changing addresses. According to the literary sources, Early Christians used other places for meetings as in the case of Tyrannus' *schole,* 'hall' at Ephesus[161] and *horrea,* warehouses at Rome.[162] These meetings were different than before as they were being transformed to lectures. That the houses being used for meetings belong to the fellows, that they were being used alternately and that they were being used actively apart from the meetings may be interpreted to mean there were no or only temporary additions to the interior architecture. It is almost certain that there was not any exterior architectural intervention due to the same reasons.

Paul, Peter, John and James, just like many other leaders of the Christian community, passed away before the end of the first century. In addition to the disappearance of the first generation of the Early Christian community, there were other influencing events such as the First Roman-Jewish war that started in 66 C.E. and ended with the sack of Jerusalem and deportation of its population by the

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[159] Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19; Col 4:15; Phlm 1:2
[160] Acts 18:3, 7; I. Cor. 1:11, 16; 16:15; Rom. 16:2, 23
[161] Acts 19:9
[162] *Mart. Paul* 1 "Now there were awaiting Paul at Rome, Luke from Galatia (Gaul, Gk.) and Titus from Dalmatia: whom when Paul saw he was glad: and hired a grange outside Rome, wherein with the brethren he taught the word of truth, and he became noised abroad and many souls were added unto the Lord, so that there was a rumour throughout all Rome, and much people came unto him from the household of Caesar, believing, and there was great joy."

emperor Titus in 70 C.E.[163] In parallel with the decreasing Jewish political influence, this era witnessed two significant changes for increasing efforts in Early Christianity to break with Judaism and a corresponding shift in doctrinal paradigm. This separation involving the embracement of Jewish scripture while rejecting their institutions had already been in progress since Pauline times and passed on to this century and subsequently. Indeed, an entire *adversus Judaeos* literature developed during this time with stock features, accusing the Jews of rejecting Christ, which resulted in God's consequent rejection of the Jewish people. Indeed the Jewish defeat in the First Roman-Jewish war and subsequent Jewish revolts (Kitos War 115-117, Bar Kohba Revolt 135), were considered as the outcome of this dismissal. At the end of the second century, Christianity was just a generation removed from its historic Jewish-Christian roots with a still sizeable – if shrinking – number of Christians coming from a Jewish heritage. Additionally, the insistence on the commitment to the Jewish scripture and its practices was causing important fragmentations in the community. In this period, many groups split from the mainstream due to the aforesaid reasons, including Gnostics,[164] Marcionites, Montanists, Ebionites,[165] Elchasites,[166] Cerinthians and Carpocratians among many. These sects were considered as important threats to the community.

While Jews were declining and Early Christianity was diffusing more and more into the Roman lands, the source of antagonism was gradually shifting from Jews to Romans. For a long time, Christians did not cause trouble to Romans: For instance, the Roman governor Gallio in Achaea convicted Paul not for breaking any Roman law but

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[163] Josephus, *J.W.* 1.8.11; 2.13.7; 2.14.4; 2.14.5; 2.14.5; 6.9.3; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.10-14
[164] The term Gnostic refers to various groups with similar philosophies whose main quest was for the *gnosis*, knowledge.
[165] Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2
[166] Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.9.1

because of the Jewish claimants against him. However, only a few decades later, in an early and oft-cited second-century letter, Pliny, the Roman governor of Bithynia, seeks the advice of Emperor Trajan regarding how to deal with those who were denounced as Christians. While doing this, Pliny unwittingly reveals the lack of Roman legal provisions concerning these newly emerging Christians.[167] The sanctions he was to impose were actually adaptations of the sanction against rebellions and forbidden cults:

> [...] this is the course I have taken with those who were accused before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians, and if they confessed, I asked them a second and third time with threats of punishment. If they kept to it, I ordered them for execution; for I held no question that whatever it was that they admitted, in any case obstinacy and unbending perversity deserves to be punished.[168]

Pliny continues by stating that the suspects who were accused of being Christians would be tested by giving a prayer to the Roman gods, pouring out a libation to the statue of the emperor, and cursing Christ. Those able to perform these actions were to be released. Trajan expressed his agreement with Pliny's policy against the Christians, writing that:

> [...the Christians] are not to be sought out; but if they are accused and convicted, they must be punished – yet on this condition, that who so denies himself to be a Christian, and makes the fact plain by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, shall obtain pardon on his repentance, however suspicious his past conduct may be.[169]

The Roman governmental attitude against Christians continued the example of Trajan for some more time. For instance in a prescription to Minucius Fundanus, the proconsul of Asia, Hadrian declares:

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[167] Barnes, 1968, pp. 34-38
[168] Pliny the Younger, *Ep. Tra.* 10.96
[169] Pliny the Younger, *Ep. Tra.* 10.97

> If then, anyone accuses them [Christians], and shows that they are acting illegally, decide the point according to the nature of the offence, but by Hercules, if anyone brings the matter forward for the purpose of blackmail, investigate strenuously and be careful to inflict penalties adequate to the crime [of blackmail].[170]

Antoninus Pius (138-161) followed the policies of his predecessors. During Antoninus' reign, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was martyred in 155 at the age of 86. A famous account of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* survives in the collection of *Apostolic Fathers*. In this account, Polycarp's trial and his defense are extraordinary. When forced to "swear by the genius of Caesar", Polycarp answered: "If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a day and listen."[171]

In his determination and bravery, Polycarp must have followed the example of Christian martyrs before himself. For instance, in his letter to the congregation in Rome, Ignatius asks the Christians not to intercede on his behalf, or else he would not be able to taste the splendours of martyrdom.[172] Behind this passion of martyrdom rests the replacement of the source of oppression from Jews to Roman officials. This change which was described as 'the paradigm shift' earlier in this study provided the stimulus for the self-conflicting and fragmenting Christians to stick together as a community. It also

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[170] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.9.3
[171] *Mart. Pol.* 10.1
[172] *Ign. Rom.* 5.2–3 "I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; ... I will even entice them to devour me promptly ... Grant me this favour ... Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, rackings of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ!"

produced the sense of belonging and identity while enhancing the idea of nationhood.[173]

The organizational scheme of the Christian community continued in similar ways according to the instructions of Paul. Congregations were governed by elders and deacons. As documented in the written sources of the time, the meetings and organization were remarkably not yet formalised.[174] Hence, the use of private houses and similar residential buildings for meetings also continued in this period. The tone of narrative in the sources is far from describing a specific place of assembly, and continues in vagueness. Similarly, Justin and other Christians were probably meeting in an *insula* which was "above the baths of so-and-so".[175] Not only the meetings but also the baptisms were being held in any adequate place.[176]

Even so, certain changes in the sense of urban location had been occurring since the Pauline era. When Paul wrote to his readers at Corinth as "the church (assembly) of God which is *in Corinth* . . . with all those who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ *in every place*",[177] he was reminding the triviality of particular physical locations and introducing a new bond for Christians beyond those geographical borders. However, a generation or so after Paul, the author of *1 Clement* writing to Corinth, demonstrates a striking change of some of the spatial locators. The local congregation is no longer "the church of God in Corinth" but "the church of God sojourning in Corinth" or "in Rome".[178] The language of sojourning spread fast in the 2nd century Christian literature when addressing

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[173] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.1 "Also Sanctus, a serving brother... did not even say what his name was, or his race or native city, or whether he was a slave or free. To every question he gave only one answer, in Latin, 'I am a Christian.'"
[174] e.g. *Did.* 12–14; Just. *1 apol.* 61–7
[175] *Passio Sancti Justini et socii* 3 in Musurillo, 1972, p. 65
[176] White 1996–7: I, 110
[177] 1 Cor 1.2
[178] *1 Clem.* 10. 1

the congregations.[179] What can be deduced from these literal evidences is that the mobility of the meeting place, that is to say using changing addresses increased.

Additionally, by the early second century, some shifts in the way that Christians thought about their assembly space in terms of its religious and communal significance were revealed. For example, in the Epistles of John, likely to have been written in Asia Minor, a localized house-church run by a patron is mentioned.[180] The local patron, Diotrophes, did not accept some travelling Christians with letters of recommendation into the assembly; he also dismissed some of his own congregation who wished to host them.[181] Diotrophes was instructed to do so by the writer of the 2 John to avoid the spread of false doctrine to the congregations but this account also indicates that some tensions were emerging between several different house-church cells, and the role of local patrons was significant.

The third century was the time when Roman oppression against Christians increased sharply. Ironically, however, the spread of Christianity also increased. By the midst of the century, the Christian population reached 1,171,356, or 1.9 % of the total world population, more than five times higher than the registry of fifty years before (see table below).

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[179] e.g. *Mart. Poly.* 5.1; 8.1; 19.2 in Musurillo, 1972, p. 34; *Ign. Magn.* 7.2; *Ign. Trall.* 7.2; *Ign. Smyrn.* 8.2
[180] Malherbe, 1983, pp. 103-9
[181] 3 John 9-10

Table 1. Early Christian expansion: quantitative growth[182]

Year	The Number of Christians	Percentage
40	1,000	0.0017
50	1,400	0.0023
100	7,530	0.0126
150	40,496	0.07
200	217,795	0.36
250	1,171,356	1.9
300	6,299,832	10.5
350	33,882,008	56.6

The relative increase of the Christian community's influence caused by the rapid increase in numbers must have brought about the intensification of the sense of space. According to Judith Lieu, "The conviction of belonging to a specific territory, whether real or imagined, as inseparable from the conviction of shared origins, is surely one of the irreducible components in a sense of identity, particularly of ethnic identity".[183] Referring to A. D. Smith, she reminds the essential definition of *ethnie* as 'named human populations with shared ancestry, myths, histories and cultures having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity.'[184] This territory was for a long time the kingdom of heaven for the scattered small groups of the Early Christian community. However having made a great stride in becoming a nation, they could now look forward to more concrete forms of space.

The reflections of this heightened sense of space were the gradual increase of demands for the specification of the meeting place. Being surrounded with many voluntary associations, not surprisingly, Christians followed other groups' customs. By coincidence, in this

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[182] Stark, 1996, p.7
[183] Lieu, 2004, p. 211
[184] Guibernau and Rex, 1997, pp. 27–33

period, the Roman cities were becoming re-urbanized.[185] With respect to architecture, the adaptation and renovation underlined this re-building activity. Influenced from these events, the traces of the renovation may be seen in the churches of San Clemente and San Giovanni e Paolo, Rome.[186] Before being rebuilt in basilical form in the early fifth century, these two buildings were a depot and a house respectively but in the third century some of their inner walls were removed to open up more space.[187]

As the evidence indicates, the heightened sense of space was in fact in the minds of third century Christians, especially those who lived in more prominent cities. It is very probable that living in such cities added to the development of this sense of space. In those cities people were continuosly exposed to the influence of urbanism physically and mentally. For instance, Titus Flavius Clemens who also known as Clement of Alexandria was born and grew up in Alexandria (or Athens); he travelled to Greece, Italy and lived in the metropoleis of the era such as Antioch and Caeserea. In 7 *Stromata,* Clement felt in need to clarify his terminology due to the interchangeable connotations of the term *ekklesia,* an assembly and a building. Thus he emphasized "...not constructed by mechanical art, nor embellished by the hand of an impostor...is...not the place, but the assembly of the elect, the *church.*"[188]

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[185] This rebuilding period started by the 2nd century C.E. with the reign of Trajan (98-117 C.E.) and continued to mid 3rd century to the end of Severan Dynasty (193-235 C.E.). For the detailed account of this period see Chapter II, pp.26-27

[186] White, 1996–7, I: p.114–115; II: pp. 52–53. Certainly more evidence has been found since 1996, when White's book was published.

[187] In San Clemente, there is not any archaeological evidence for the existence of *domus ecclesiae.* The information is based on the tradition mentioning congregations gathering in the previous Roman depot. See Krautheimer, 1979, pp.29-30; White, 1996–7, II:pp.1-6; Snyder, 1985, p. 76

[188] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.5. It has to be known that *ekklesia* is often translated into English as 'church'. However 'church' (old Eng. *cirice*) is a derivation of the Greek word *kyrios* (Lord), from the 3rd century phrase *kyriakon doma* "Lord's house".

On the other hand, in *3 Paedogogus* Clement uses the same term *ekklesia*, this time to mean a building, the meeting place. Giving some instructions about the behaviour and dressing under the subtitles of 'going to church' and 'out of church' he aims to regulate the lives of his fellow Christians inside and outside of this definite place.[189]

It seems that, in Clement's environment, the meeting practices had already been established: In *2 Paedogogus,* Clement makes the distinction between the *eucharistia,* suppers including the assembly meals and those held for the support of poor, and the *agape,* Lord's Supper: "...the supper is not love (agape); only a proof of mutual and reciprocal kindly feeling...But love (agape) is in truth celestial food, the banquet of reason."[190] Nevertheless this systematization of rituals was not widespread in all Christian congregations. For instance, Tertullian writing in Carthage considers both *eucharistia* and *agape* are the same: "Our feast explains itself by its name The Greeks call it *agape*, i.e., affection. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy..."[191] Even so, the meeting practices were institutionalized, as expected, within two decades. Hippolytus in *Traditio Apostolica* cites the banqueting practices of Apostles to his Christian readers in Rome.[192] It is likely that such localized patterns of liturgical development were reflected in the physical arrangements and adaptations.

While the intact material proofs for *domus ecclesiae* have disappeared due to the subsequent building activity in the west, the visible evidence comes from the Roman east from Dura-Europos. The details

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[189] Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.11; Esler, 2002, p.20
[190] Ibid. 2.1
[191] Tertullian, *Apol.* 39
[192] Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.* 26.21–6; Bobertz, 1993

of Dura-Europos house-church are given in the 6th chapter of this study.[193] In brief, the renovations indicate a conscious plan to adapt the building for particular patterns of religious usage. One area was for assembly and worship, presumably including a Eucharistic liturgy and teaching. The Dura-Europos house-church thus marks a full transition to a specialized church edifice, *domus ecclesiae.*

Other literary and documentary sources provide important historical indicators to support this shift. *Chronicon Edessenum* (Chronicle of Edessa), a sixth-century Syriac record from the city archives Edessa, states that in 201 C.E. the heavy rains caused the river Daisan to flood which "...destroyed the temple of the church of the Christians."[194] Later, the *Chronicle* mentions the construction o a new church in 313 initiated by bishop Kune.[195] Given the nature of these references, a more formal type of architecture is not suggested in the year 201, but rather the wording of a door plaque from an earlier type of *domus ecclesiae.*[196]

The Oxyrynchus Papyri made important contributions to the Christian epigraphy. The documents from the end of the third century indicate that the church buildings were officially recognized in some villages. For example, there are letters between Christians often starting with a formula of good wishes and then discussing Christian estates and transfers.[197] Additionally, in a military account concerning on the assignment of town's watchmen, two 'church

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[193] p. 113
[194] *Chron. Ed.,* 8
[195] Ibid., 12
[196] White 1996–7: I, 118
[197] *P.Oxy.* 12.1492: Greeting, my holy son Demetrianus. I, Sotas, salute you. Our common ... is plain, and our common salvation (is secure?); for these are the objects of Divine providence. If then you have decided in accordance with ancient custom to give the arura to the place, see that it is separated, so that they may use it ; and however you may decide about the work be of good cheer. Salute all who are in your house. I pray to God for your continual good health in every respect. (Addressed) To my holy son Demetrianus from Sotas. *P. Gen. Inv.* 108 in Mullen, 2004, p. 284

buildings' are mentioned.[198] There are also references for appropriation of Christian belongings in Diocletianic persecution and a Christian petition for recovery of those belongings.

Besides, there are court reports of the investigation of local Christians and their property. For instance, a court document from Cirta recording the investigation of the church building reports the "*triclinium,* dining hall, a library, and a large cache of clothing, apparently for charitable distribution; however, no description is given of the assembly room proper."[199] Even so, these mentioned spaces might refer to *domus ecclesiae.* Finally, Lactantius mentions the destruction of the "lofty" church building in Nicomedia on which "Diocletian and Galerius" disputed long "whether it ought to be set on fire". [200]

M. White suggests that there was a transition period "between the renovation of existing structures to form *domus ecclesiae* and the building of monumental basilicas after the peace of Constantine", during which independent church edifices with various sizes were erected.[201] White places this period to the second half of the 3rd century and continued in some provinces, including Rome, through the fourth century. He associates this period with what Eusebius describes as a period of growth regarding the increase of congregations and rebuilding of older church buildings before the Great Persecution.[202]

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[198] *P.Oxy.* 1.43; 6.903; *P. Gen. Inv.* 108 in Mullen, 2004, p. 284
[199] *Acta Munati Felicis* from the *Gestae apud Zenophilum*; White 1996–7: II, no. 31
[200] Lactantius, *Mort.* 12; White 1996–7: II, no. 24
[201] Esler, 2002, p.21
[202] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.5: "With what favour one may observe the rulers in every church being honoured by all procurators and governors. Or how could anyone describe those assemblies with numberless crowds and the great throngs gathered together in every city as well as the remarkable concourses in the houses of prayer? On account of these things, no longer being satisfied with their old

Basing on Eusebius' account "they erected from the foundations churches of spacious dimensions in every city", White further suggests that these church buildings must have had large halls. Thus he designates the term *aula ecclesiae* (or 'hall of the church') with reference to Harnack's "saalkirche".

The written evidence often fails to mention the interior features of these church edifices. Even so, from several passages some information may be derived. For instance, Cyprian indirectly describes the meeting place. In *Ordination of Celerinus as a Reader*, Cyprian spoke of placing Celerinus "...on the pulpit, that is, on the tribunal of the Church; that, resting on the loftiness of a higher station and conspicuous to the whole people for the brightness of his honour..."[203] Again, in another passage Cyprian mentions Aurelius was appointed "to read the Gospel of Christ whence martyrs are made; to come to the desk after the scaffold (*ad pulpitum venire*)"[204]

Thus, White's suggestion for the transition period during when the church buildings developed seems valid for many regions. Even so, there were also relatively simpler edifices in the same period. For instance the house-church at Dura-Europos was comparably more modest than other contemporenaeus buildings in Antioch and Carthage. Besides, the meetings were continued to be held in the private houses.[205] This is an expected result of institutionalization progress that his thesis argues. It is not a coincidence to observe architectural development of church edifices in metropoleis such as Nicomedia, Antioch and Carthage. In addition to high population rate, there were a sophisticated social life and established norms in these cities. Exactly for this reason, *Didascalia*, the earliest known

buildings, they erected from the foundations churches of spacious dimensions in every city."
[203] Cyprian, *Ep.* 33.4; White 1996–7: II, no. 16.a
[204] Cyprian, *Ep.* 32.2
[205] White 1996–7: I.126; II, nos. 21, 36

church canon which besides many instructions also regulates seating of church members according to their prominence, could only be written in Antioch.[206]

The absolute institutionalization of Christianity started in the fourth century, when Galerius issued an edict in 311 to end the Diocletianic persecution of Christianity.[207] After halting the persecutions, Galerius reigned for another two years. He was then succeeded by Constantine the Great. Although Constantine's creed in Christianity was uncertain, his policies and deeds in favour of Christians were distinctive. Eusebius, while celebrating Constantine for dealing with idolatry, unwittingly informes that the emperor stood idle for near a decade. Roman coins minted up to eight years subsequent to the battle of the Milvian Bridge still bore the images of Roman gods.[208] Nonetheless, the accession of Constantine was a turning point for the Christian Church. After his victory, Constantine supported the Church financially, built various basilicas, granted privileges (e.g., exemption from certain taxes) to the clergy, promoted Christians to some high ranking offices, and returned property confiscated during the Great Persecution of Diocletian.

In breaking the communal mechanisms of the church organization, Constantine played an active role in the leadership of the Church. In 316, he acted as a judge in a North African dispute concerning the Donatist controversy. More significantly, he summoned the Council of Nicaea, the first Ecumenical Council in 325, to deal with the Arian controversy, but which also issued the Nicene Creed, which among other things, professed a belief in "One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church". Constantine thus established a model for the emperor as responsible to God for the spiritual health of his subjects, and thus

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[206] *Did. Ap.,* 12; White 1996–7: II, no. 18
[207] Gerberding and Moran-Cruz, 2004, p. 55
[208] Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.54

with a duty to maintain orthodoxy. The emperor was to enforce doctrine, root out heresy, and uphold ecclesiastical unity.[209]

In 380, with the Edict of Thessalonica issued under Theodosius I, the Roman Empire officially adopted Christianity as its state religion. After its establishment, the Church adopted the same organisational boundaries as the Empire: geographical provinces, called dioceses, corresponding to imperial governmental territorial division. The bishops who were located in major urban centres as per pre-legalisation tradition thus oversaw each diocese. The bishop's location was his 'seat', or 'see' (episcopy). Among the sees, five came to hold special eminence: Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. The prestige of most of these sees depended in part on their apostolic founders, from whom the bishops were therefore the spiritual descendants. Though the bishop of Rome was still held to be the First among equals, Constantinople was second in precedence as the new capital of the empire.

The institutionalization of the meeting space started with the large building projects launched by Constantine. Constantine's architectural interference was crystallized in two significant events: First, between 324 and 330, Constantine built, virtually from scratch, a new imperial capital that came to be named after him, Constantinople. The new Capital was noted for its state supported Christian buildings within the city walls.[210] Second, the rise of the basilica as the church building. A number of earlier theories regarding the origins of the Christian basilica attempted to find a genetic progression from houses (and the house-church) or other non-public type of architecture.[211] Some relatively recent studies

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[209] Richards, 1979, pp. 14–15
[210] For instance, *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae,* an ancient regionary from 5th c. C.E. includes eleven churches but not any pagan temple.
[211] White, 1996-7: I, 11–17

continue to argue that the basilica had already been introduced into Christian usage during the third century.[212] Typically, these theories have carried two underlying assumptions: a) that the basilica as monumental church architecture consciously avoided traditional Roman religious forms, and b) that Christian liturgy was the determining factor in shaping its distinctive architectural plan.

Greater consensus has emerged since the work of Richard Krautheimer (1939, 1979) and J. B. Ward-Perkins (1954). Both have argued instead that the basilica was a conscious feature of Constantine's policy towards the Christians in the years following 313. The plan was adopted from the standard forms of monumental civic architecture in Rome. Constantine and Maxentius had only a little earlier (306–310) built a new public audience hall in the *Forum Romanum.* Christian basilicas derived their basic plan and construction from such civil and imperial halls; they were then adapted self-consciously under imperial patronage to fit the new social and legal status of Christianity. This monumental type of architecture was intended to make a statement about the public acceptance and imperial favour of Christianity and to give it a formal style within the urban landscape. None the less, this shows continuities with earlier patterns of architecture, where a 'hall' of assembly had already emerged. Thus, the basilica as an accepted form of public 'assembly' architecture was a natural choice. Given its traditional civic and military functions, not to mention specific rituals employed in imperial usage, the basilica may properly be considered a type of religious architecture for corporate activity long before its Christian adaptation.[213] It thereby offered more grandiose elements of style as well as notions of sacred space. Liturgy was also anticipated

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[212] Rordorf, 1964: 127–8
[213] Krautheimer, 1979, p.42

in the choice of the architecture, but at the same time it was transformed by this choice.

The first Christian basilica in this strict sense was the church of St. John Lateran in Rome. Originally an imperial palace and barracks complex donated by Constantine himself, the church was begun in 314, the same year that the emperor called for the church council at Arles to consider the Donatist question. The construction was completed by 319-320.[214] A five-aisle hall measuring 75 metres by 55 metres with an apsidal sanctuary and *synthronon,* bench of clergy extending 20 metres more, it soon became the seat of the bishop of Rome. The exterior was finished in plain plaster while the interior was lavishly decorated, no doubt from imperial gifts.

Constantine was also engaged in the commemoration of Christian sacred sites by building the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition, he supported the building of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. He also gave permission to others to build churches at sites associated with events in the life of Jesus, such as the site called the house of St. Peter at Capernaum where a memorial was built by Joseph of Tiberias.[215]

Thus with his political, legal and social regulations as well as his architectural projects, Constantine was a starting figure of the institutionalization process that took several centuries. Christianity which began somewhat as the 'Jesus movement' became a community in the first century; it was exposed to many hostilities and threats but survived and developed and then in the end became an institution in the hands of its opponent. It went under a social synthesis where its thesis was beaten by its antithesis. Certainly,

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[214] Ward-Perkins, 1954, pp. 85-7; Krautheimer, 1979, pp. 42–9
[215] White, 1996-7: II, p. 155

there occurred important spatial consequences of this social transformation as space is produced socially. Once Jesus told a follower that "foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head."[216] But at the end no building was found to be large enough to dwell in.

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[216] Matt 8:20

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION OF DURA-EUROPOS HOUSE-CHURCH

5.1 A History of Dura Europos

The ruins of the ancient city of Dura-Europos stand on the edge of the steppe plateau located near the modern village of Salhiye on the way between Deir ez Zor and Abu Kemal (Figure 9, Figure 10). It dominates the right bank of the Middle Euphrates from a vantage point 40 meters above the river plain. Except the outskirts of the city that is well irrigated by the river Euphrates, the city itself is barren and arid. The absence of wells in the city or water springs nearby suggests that water was carried up from the river to the city.[217] According to papyri, some veteran soldiers in the Hellenistic period were given arable lands close to the riverside; however the main purpose of the city was to provide shelter for the merchant caravans. The city was on the junction point where two important historical trade routes intercepted: one starting from the western capital of Antioch to the eastern capital of Seleucia and the other starting from Tyre passing Palmyra and leads to Ctesiphon (Figure 11).

The history of Dura prior to the Hellenistic era is not fully revealed: an evidence of a cuneiform clay tablet dating from c.1900 B.C.E. found in the city speaks of an earlier Assyrian citadel bearing the name Dawara established on or around this location.[218] This suggests

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[217] Hopkins, 1979, pp. 251-253
[218] Francis, 1971, p. 424; Reeves, 2004, p. 29 & Note 4; Stephens, 1937, pp. 183-90. Stephens considering the uniqueness of the tablet points out the possibility that it might have been transferred from another location perhaps from Doueir, five kilometers to the north, but, as P. Leriche (1997, pp. 191-210) points out, the tablet

that the site and the surroundings had been populated since the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. Fortresses for the protection of the Euphrates caravan route must have stood on the banks of the river from the earliest times, and Dura was probably one of these; since the name, similar to several Assyrian fortress towns, is derived from the Assyrian word *düru,* meaning a fort or burgh.[219]

The recorded history of the city starts with the Hellenistic settlement established in 303 B.C.E. by a certain Nicanor, probably a general of Seleucus I Nicator, the lieutenant of Alexander the Great and the founder of the Seleucid Dynasty and was named as Europos probably after Seleucus' birthplace in Greece.[220] In his *Mansiones Parthicae* (Parthian Stations), the Greek geographer Isidore of Charax (1st c. B.C.E.-1st c. C.E.) identifies the site as "… the city of Dura Nicanoris, founded by the Macedonians, also called by the Greeks Europus…"[221] In Isidore's days the city must have been alive since the stations he recorded were the caravan stops.

In the 4th c. C.E., while mentioning his memories in the army of Julian the Apostate, Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman ex-legionary and geographer, refers to the deserted city named Dura:

> Leaving Circesium, we came to Zaitha, the name of the place meaning an olive-tree. Here we saw the tomb of the emperor Gordian (Gordian III), which is visible a long way off, whose actions from his earliest youth, and whose most fortunate campaigns and treacherous murder we related at the proper time, and when, in accordance with his innate piety he had offered due honors to this deified emperor, and

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could easily have been fabricated from local clay. Additionally, few fragments of pottery found at Dura have been identified as Assyrian.
[219] Rostovzeff, 1932, p.93
[220] Ibid.
[221] *Man. Part.* 1

was on his way to Dura, a town now deserted, he stood without moving on beholding a large body of soldiers.[222]

In his *Historia Nova,* late 6th century Byzantine historian Zosimus also locates the tomb of Gordian in the vicinity of Dura: "Then advancing sixty stadia he arrived at a place called Zautha and from thence to Dura, where were perceived the ruins of a city, which was then deserted, and the sepulcher of the emperor Gordianus."[223] In the 19th century, Gertrude L. Bell visited the site and stated that "At 10.40 we were opposite Es Salihhiyyeh (Qal'at as Salihiyah) which stands high up on the hills of the opposite bank."[224]

According to the archaeological evidence, the city used coins minted at Antioch and in other nearby Greek cities, except for the first three decades of the third century B.C.E. when it minted its own coins.[225] The city was founded to control the trade road linking the two capitals of the Seleucid Empire, Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia on the Tigris. It was "a small military garrison on the citadel hill" for the veterans of the Seleucid army.[226] In this period, within its ramparts, the internal space was regimented into identical rectangular blocks separated by straight roads perpendicular to each other.

Dura Europos' population under the Seleucids consisted of two major groups: wealthy land-owning Greek colonists who maintained the city's security and acted as representatives of the Hellenistic way of life, and indigenous Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia.[227] Additionally, a small part of the population consisted of changing identities, with a stream of merchants, soldiers and other officials, as well as civilians,

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[222] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rer. Gest.* 23.5.7
[223] Zosimus, *Hist. Nova,* 3.14
[224] Bell, 1911, p. 121
[225] Downey, 2000, p.13
[226] Ibid., p.155; Reeves, 2004, p.31
[227] Pollard, p.216; Rostovtzeff (1932), p. 94

all using the city as a stop in their travels.[228] Because of its geography and the very nature of its inhabitants, Dura Europos enjoyed a polyglot, urban, and religiously complex culture. Indeed, evidence suggests that the citizens of Dura Europos mixed freely together. Many Greek colonists, for example, married or employed their non-Greek neighbors, and in some families one could find not only Greek names, but also Persian and local Semitic ones, as well.[229] Furthermore, because Semitic religions were tolerated under Seleucid rule, the spiritual life of the city was marked early on by the worship of both Greek and eastern deities who were sometimes fused together.

In 2nd c. B.C.E., the city was captured by Arsacid Parthians and except for a short period when Trajan briefly took control (115–117 C.E.) belonged to the Parthian Empire for almost three centuries. The city did not change radically in character under the Parthians, but remained predominantly Hellenistic in its institutions and its administrative rulers, since the Parthians left them largely in place to govern on their behalf. The traditional structure and rights by inheritance of the Macedonian aristocracy was also apparently left undisturbed.[230] Greek remained the official language of use in the city.

Indigenous peoples throughout the period were also increasingly attracted to Dura and were gradually assimilated into the city's mixed culture. Across the desert terrain, the main road led to the city of Palmyra, 225 km. or a five day camel ride away, an important city that was thriving on Roman support and the profits of its rich trading community. In Dura, there was much new building and construction

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[228] Rostovtzeff, 1932, p.94
[229] Matheson, 2001, p.7; Rostovtzeff, 1932, pp.206-207
[230] Dirven, 1999, p.5

to accommodate the new arrivals. The city's townspeople prospered from trade in the fruits of their agricultural produce, grown and harvested on the banks and plains of the Euphrates to which the city had easy access (Figure 12, Figure 13).

In the Parthian period, trade taxes were instituted for the first time in Dura; however, the wealth these taxes brought in was limited to a small portion of residents, mainly Parthian officials and aristocratic Greek landowners and merchants.[231] Much of the city's indigenous Mesopotamian population, which worked as independent artisans or were employed by the wealthier citizens of Europos, continued to live on a very low income.[232] As the seat of the local Parthian governor, the city acted as a minor political center, while relations with neighboring Palmyra developed, and the Semitic and Persian elements expanded within the city's growing cultural milieu.[233] Despite this, however, Hellenistic culture and the Greek language continued to dominate Europos.[234] We know that by the 1st century B.C.E., if not earlier, the religious mosaic of Europos included Jews because archaeologists have discovered coins dating to the Hasmonean[235] period at the site.[236]

In the time of the Severan dynasty, almost 300 years after the Parthians had arrived, the city, retaining its Hippodamian plan but otherwise Parthian in architecture, finally came under sustained Roman occupation. It was taken in the Parthian campaign of Lucius

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[231] Matheson, p.35; Rostovtzeff, 1932, pp.104-105, 197-198
[232] Matheson, p.35; Rostovtzeff, 1932, pp.197-198
[233] Jensen, p.179; Matheson, p.15; Welles, p.253
[234] Rostovtzeff, 1932, p.104; Welles, p.253
[235] The Hasmonean dynasty ruled Judea and surrounding regions during 140-37 B.C.E. The dynasty was established under the leadership of Simon Maccabaeus, two decades after his brother Judas the Maccabee ("Hammer") defeated the Seleucid army during the Maccabean Revolt in 165 B.C.E. The Hasmonean Kingdom survived for 103 years before being replaced with the Herodian Dynasty in 37 B.C.E. (Jewish Encyclopedia: Hasmoneans)
[236] Gates, pp.167-168; Matheson, p.31

Verus in 165 C.E. under the command of the Syrian born senatorial commander Avidius Cassius, possibly by siege.[237] From this point forward it was to be retained under Roman military occupation, becoming a *colonia* probably also under Septimius Severus.[238] The Romans however, are a small part of the city's long history, having been resident there for less than a century, a century that was in fact to be the last of the city's existence.[239]

In the transition from Parthian to Roman occupation and in the early days of the Roman presence, the town changed little outwardly. The city's Parthian temples continued to be important, as did her Greek institutions, and although there were subtle modifications to everyday life, there was probably not large scale reorganization, a new building program or any "deliberate attempt to Romanize Dura" initially.[240] In any case, at first, the Roman presence in Dura was small, and following Lucius Verus' conquest until sometime in the 180s, the majority of soldiers in the town were native Palmyrene archers.[241] These men may have formed the base of what became the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum, the unit responsible for the production of most of the papyrus documents found at Dura, but they seem not immediately to have been regulated officially into the army and were part of "the municipal militia of Palmyra".[242]

Palmyra had been part of the Roman Empire since the first century.[243] As a city, it had long been an important trading centre

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[237] Dirven, 1999, p.9; Edwell, 2008, p.116
[238] Reeves, 2004, pp.42-3; Sartre: 2005, p.196
[239] Reeves, 2004, p.33
[240] Downey, 2000, p.172
[241] Millar, 1993, p.115
[242] Dirven, 1999, p.14
[243] Millar, 1993, p.35

and it was prosperous with a growing population. For the Durenes[244], their city's proximity to Palmyra continued to be important.[245] However, Dura's own more strategic location was to make this later settlement increasingly important to Roman control of the Middle Euphrates region. The above-mentioned military success of Lucius Verus had marked the stepping-up of Roman pressure not only over Dura itself, but over the wider Middle Euphrates-Khabur rivers region to which it was central. On the accession of Septimius Severus, this Emperor's similar desire for the conquest of the region and for expansion of his territory was exemplified in his own engagement in a Parthian war, co-fought and continued under Caracalla. Severus marched his army down the Euphrates, sacked Ctesiphon (south of Dura) and formed the new province of *Mesopotamia*.[246] From this time forward there was correspondingly a greater military presence in Dura itself. The first known regular unit in Dura, probably in town from the end of Verus' Parthian War but attested there only in 193 C.E., is the Cohors II Ulpia Equitata.[247]

Early in the Roman period only a few buildings were put up in the city, including the training ground and perhaps a small temple to the Imperial cult, these being, according to Downey "judged essential for the functioning of the military".[248] Considering their risky position in the region, this evidence is compatible with the urgent needs of the Roman army.[249] The archaeological details remain unclear, but it is possible also that in circa 205-208 C.E. a more substantial building program was embarked upon related to the growing military

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[244] The modern use of this designation for the people of Dura by the scholars is based on the similar cognomen recorded in the Greek and Roman papyri found in the city.
[245] Edwell, 2008, p.144
[246] Butcher, 2003, p.48; Sartre, 2005, p.511; Edwell, 2008, p.31
[247] TEAD-P&P, pp.24-5; Speidel, 1998, p.172
[248] Downey, 2000, p.173
[249] Herz, 2007, p.310

requirements.[250] Certainly, henceforth the evidence of army occupation becomes more apparent. Patterns of life in the city at the time, however, probably still remained relatively undisturbed.

With the accession to the throne of Ardashir in 226 C.E., the first Shah of the Persian Sassanids, the Romans came under attack from his army throughout the region. Over the next few years, therefore, they gradually moved more troops into Dura and the general vicinity.[251] Persian pressure on Dura was sustained from that time onward. And in its later days, Dura undoubtedly housed a large Roman army, the total troop number in the third century there being, according to James's broad estimate, "probably between 3,000 and 5,000".[252]

In 211-212, the Roman army demarcated itself more clearly in the city's north-western quarter by putting up a mudbrick wall several meters in height, separating their camp from the rest of the town.[253] The key military buildings, in a space about half the size of a legionary base, were situated within the fifteen blocks of houses it enclosed and the garrison henceforward could now function more formally.[254] The *principia*, the southern boundary wall and the complex known as the Palace of the Dux Ripae (Duke of the River Bank) were all built together in 211-212 and several other important military buildings are also datable to within 211-216 C.E. including new barracks.[255] The construction of the small amphitheatre, also inside the camp area, marks the end of the building phase.[256] Most of the new camp buildings were built over earlier buildings belonging to

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[250] Dabrowa, 1981, p.65
[251] Potter, 2004, p.166
[252] TEAD-Arms, p.19; see also Pollard: 1996, p.212
[253] Edwell, 2008, p.48; also Reeves, 2004, pp.140-142
[254] Pollard, 2000, pp.104-109
[255] Edwell, 2008, p.119
[256] Downey, 2000, p.163; TEAD-VI, pp. 68-80

the Parthian city, although some Parthian constructions were modified according to military needs.

The end of the city was brought by the Sassanians who made a probing attack in 238 and were repelled by Julius Terentius, the tribune of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum,* who, according to the funerary inscription (in Greek) put up for him by his wife, was killed in the battle.[257] Eventually the Sassanians did prove a match for Roman Dura, and it fell to them in its final siege in or after 256 during long decades of struggle throughout the Eastern provinces.[258] The walls were broken down and the city destroyed. The early abandonment of the city and the well preserved artifacts led scholars to call her the "Pompeii of the Desert".

5.2 The Development of Urban Planning in Dura

After its establishment at the end of the 4th c. B.C.E. Dura saw many changes in its urban configuration. Excavators have proposed two hypotheses for the date of the development of the city and the establishment of the urban plan and its ramparts the. Rostovtzeff believed that the establishment of the urban plan followed shortly after the foundation of the city[259].

A second suggestion, coming from P. Leriche, proposes a later date, in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C.E. According to him, until that time Dura was a military base with the citadel and a group of houses surrounding it.[260] At the time when the city was taken by the Parthians (113 B.C.E.), only the agora, the fortifications and some monuments had been erected. After being ruled by the Parthians, the city was taken by the Romans in 165 C.E., and was occupied until

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[257] Welles, 1941,
[258] Lieu, 2007, p.50
[259] Rostovtzeff, 1938, p.21
[260] Leriche, 1997, pp. 191 – 210.

256, the date of the fall of the city to the Sassanians. At that time, the city was definitively abandoned.

5.2.1 Hellenistic Era

The plan of Dura-Europos, inspired by the Hippodamian model, is composed of a wider main street and secondary streets, which are theoretically of the same width, cutting the urban space into regular blocks of about 35×70m. In a block of 35×70m each plot measured 17,5×17,5m; that is a surface area of 306,25 sq.m. All public or private buildings fit into this pattern. Thus, in the center of the city, the project of a large agora - spanning the location of eight blocks - had been achieved only in its northern part (Figure 14, Figure 15).[261]

Besides the fortifications of the city and the citadel, most of the monuments of the Hellenistic age were significantly modified over time and offer a face mostly dating from Roman times. These were the two main temples of the city; one dedicated to Zeus Megistos, and the other to Artemis. The palace of the citadel - left unfinished because of the collapse of the cliff - and the palace of the Strategos which overlooked the road opposite the inner citadel were the only two non-military buildings that had retained some of their original appearance. The first was modest in size - about half a block - and its design did not differ from that of houses. Organized around a central courtyard surrounded on two sides by columns, it was built of mud brick on a high plinth of stone.[262]

5.2.2 Parthian Era

The city experienced a period of unprecedented peace and prosperity in contrast with the negative image that the Romans gave Parthians. Dura-Europos established trade relations with cities in the valley of

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[261] Rostovtzeff, 1938, p.23
[262] Leriche, 1997, pp. 199

the Euphrates and west of Syria. The population grew; the city walls with the exception of the Palmyra Gate, became partly occupied with civilian and religious buildings erected in large numbers. While strictly adhering to the plot of the Greek period - apart from the agora, which was occupied by houses - new buildings were inserted into the entire space available inside the enclosure (Figure 16).[263]

With the exception of palatial residences, which occupy half or even an entire city block, the houses of Dura-Europos, whether rich or small, had a great unity of design. Each building, closed to the outside, was usually accessible only through a single door opening onto a long corridor that led at right angles to a central courtyard decorated with columns sometimes but never a peristyle. One or two rows of rooms, often equipped with benches, were along the court. The reception room was generally located south of the court, out of direct sunlight. The upper floor of the houses generally did not cover the entire building area; instead terraces were added which were reserved for family life, especially in the hot season.

5.2.3 From Roman Times to the Sassanian Conquest

The city was conquered by Roman troops in 165 C.E. and the north of the city became transformed into a Roman camp; Dura was one of the supports of the border facing the Parthian Empire (Figure 17). A number of buildings were erected. At the center of the Roman camp were located the *principia*, and the palace of the Dux Ripae to the east. These were associated with a temple dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and the baths. The main sanctuary of the camp was the old temple of Bel, which was then embellished with a Mithraeum that was built near the ramparts. Finally, an amphitheater was built at the edge of the camp. In the city itself, the construction of a military

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[263] Gates, pp.167-168; Matheson, p.31

temple, three baths and a closed market can be attributed to the Roman army. Also the synagogue and the Christian house church were built in this period.[264]

The religious buildings were built according to the Greek and Roman tradition, or in that of the architecture of the preceding period. Thus, the military temple has the form of a simple room with four pillars preceded by a colonnade. The Dolichenum consists of series of small chapels of many different deities spread around a colonnaded courtyard. The plan of the synagogue derives directly from the house that it replaced. Only the Mithraeum, a plan identical to that of other temples of its kind in the Mediterranean world - vestibule with two columns, an elongated *cella* nave with seating and with bas-reliefs of the cult in a niche - is an exception that it is elevated and not underground. Outside the city, indigenous tower-tombs were scattered in the necropolis.[265]

5.3 The Spatial Analysis of the City

5.3.1 The Residential Program and House Typologies

The houses of Dura and the residential program of the city have never been studied entirely. The interest in homes started as a result of the discovery of the synagogue and the Christian home, both created by the transformation of private houses. F. Brown, who led several excavations of houses, including the agora, provided extensive documentation on their various construction phases. However, the results of the 1937 campaign, which focused mainly on houses, like that of Lysias and the barracks of Block E8, have not been

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[264] Dirven, 1999, p.9; Edwell, 2008, p.116
[265] Leriche, 1997, pp. 199

published.[266] Still several studies were made to fill this important gap in the residential program of the city.

In *Haus und Stadt im Klassischen Griechenland* (1994), W. Hoepfner and E. L. Schwandner studied a few cities including Olynthus, Cassope, Abdera, Priene, Halikarnassos, Alexandria, Dura-Europos and Delos and made an important contribution to the discussions on the population and housing of Dura-Europos. According to them, the number of homes can be estimated at about 600 and accordingly, the total population to about 6000, including 1000 to 2000 men capable of bearing arms.[267]

The estimation for the number of houses was made according to a standard model of the same house settlement area (310 sq.m), eight of which constitute an islet measuring 70.56 x 35.28 m. In their city plan there were 99 islets, 15 of which were reserved for public buildings. Thus the remaining 84 islands would correspond to 672 homes, a rounded figure by the authors. On the other hand, F. Brown presented a different plan of smaller islets, only 67, which might hold ten public buildings, the remaining 57 corresponding to 456 habitations.[268] Yet, the estimation of 600 houses proposed by Hoepfner and Schwandner is a good probability considering the other Seleucid foundations in Syria, such as that of about 600 houses in Seleucia Pieria and 530 in Antioch.[269]

The estimation for the number of settlers is also questionable. Hoepfner and Schwandner reached the overall number of people as 6000, by assuming 10 persons per dwelling. This is a maximum which is generally not allowed. If each house was occupied by the

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[266] Only a preliminary communication has been published: CRAI, 1937, p. 195-204.
[267] Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1994, pp. 207-223
[268] Brown, 1944, p. 43
[269] Downey, 1988, pp. 80-82

recipient of the lot with his family and his servants, we can assume an average minimum of two parents, two children and two slaves; the figure of 10 was probably rarely achieved, hence it would be more cautious to speak of a population between 3600 and 5500 people. Besides, Hoepfner and Schwandner drew these numbers with reference to the Greek *poleis* in the Greek mainland. Considering the low number of Greco-Macedonian elite in contrast to the indigenous majority, these estimations can be far from the reality.[270]

Another study on Dura's residential program and house typology was made by Anny Allara, the results of which she published in *Les maisons de Doura-Europos: Questions de Typologie* (1986). In this study, Allara first introduced the distribution of explored residential units according to their chronological development. Accordingly, in the Hellenistic period when Europos was a military base and the population was formed mostly by Seleucid soldiers, the residential units were few and mainly composed of the army barracks and the palace of the Strategos. The transformation from the Europos stronghold to the town of Dura occurred after the arrival of the Parthians. From this period until its sack by Sassanians, the city was populated with Mesopotamian people, therefore, the number of the residential units increased. As being the main element of the Durene residents, these newcomers determined the residential program of the city.[271]

The most consistent element of the residential architecture of Dura according to Allara is the central court. All sections of the house are collected around this hub and connected to it with doors. This rectangular centre acts as a crossing between the interior spaces ordering the interior circulation. The plan is devoid of any Greek

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[270] The authors were inspired by the comparison with Priene, whose population is estimated in 5000 inhabitants grouped in 60 blocks.
[271] Ross, 1989, p. 57

element. The court did not have a peristyle, the most important feature of Hellenistic houses. The only Greek aspect is the molded cornice, which adorned the doors of 76% of houses of the final period. In addition, the houses of Dura also did not have an *iwan* which is the typical component of Parthian architecture. Thus, in the absence or scarcity of Greek and Parthian elements, we can deduce that the domestic architecture of Dura is linked to a local tradition. This type of organization of the interior space is no doubt a Mesopotamian element rather than the Greco-Roman or Parthian influence.[272]

By conjoining the one hundred buildings for which the excavators attributed a residential function including palaces and living quarters of sanctuaries, Allara could develop a categorization for the houses. Her categorization depends on four 'modules' which she determined according to the spatial organization of the houses. The relationship of interior spaces to the central court was the base of her designation. Accordingly Module 4 is the house plan where the central court was surrounded with other spaces on four sides. Module 3 is the courtyard surrounded with three sides; Module 2 is with two sides and Module 1 is with one side.

The distribution of these modules in 100 residential units is as follows: 25% of cases are Module 4, another 25% are Module 3, 14% of cases Module 2 and very rarely (1%) is Module 1. The remaining 35% are undefined or have transitional typologies. Module 4 is typical of palaces and large palatial houses. The house-church falls to this module with slightly reduced sizes. Module 2 is a house type of average size naturally lower than the Module 4, and the courtyard is on the outside (71% of the cases in this module), while Modules 3 and especially 4, have an intermediary vestibule. The modules are formed with respect to several factors including the size of the house,

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[272] Downey, 1986, pp.34,37

the type of the block where it is located (more than half of the modules 3 and 4 belong to islet type, while the majority of the two modules appear in irregular groups) and the economic conditions of the occupants. The houses of Module 4, even if smaller than palaces or palatial houses, offered more signs of wealth than other modules.

The location of the modules leads to the following conclusions: Module 4 houses were more concentrated around the Redoubt and the Roman camp where the rulers and the wealthiest families lived. The rest of the city (the area near the walls or the agora, for example) was frequented with the modules distributed among the Modules 2, 3 (the largest group) and rarely 4 (house-church), which shows the association mixture of several different social levels.

5.3.2 The Circulation and the Street Network in the City

The most recent documentation of the urban form of Dura was made by Christophe Benech and his team between 2001 and 2003 by using the methods of spatial analysis. The major study for mapping the circulation in the city was held on the urban layout and on the streets. (Figure 18) Accordingly, among the latitudal streets, Street 1 that starts from the Palmyra Gate is the main street of the city since it gives access to the most important plots. Similarly, Street D plays the same role among the longitudinal streets.

The visibility graph analysis that Benech and his team employed, shows the visibility relationships between locations.[273] The visual connectivity is the quantity of locations visible from a given point; it is a local measure, because it does not depend on the whole structure of the city plan. In the case of an orthogonal plan, the visualization is very interesting because the connectivity emphasizes small variations

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[273] Benech, 2007, p. 6-7

in the linearity of the streets. Even though the urban plan maintained certain regularities, the visibility graph analysis enables the observation of variations, which are not inconsiderable in terms of width and linearity in the street network. Of course, the main street possesses the strongest visual connectivity (in red) as it is much wider than the other streets. Another strong connectivity is observed for the nonconstructed space near the southern gate (Figure 19).

In regard to the transverse streets, Street D constitutes the main axe of the city, possessing the strongest visual connectivity; however this connectivity is not homogenous and weakens in its east and west extremities and the section beyond the junction with Street 1. These results are compatible with its dominant role in the circulation in the city circulation. Its linearity and the width of the road were preserved in the most accessible part, in order to ensure a good circulation of people and goods. It must be known that the city was inaccessible for vehicles. During the 1997 campaign of Franco-Syrian excavations, it is discovered that the Palmyra Gate was only accessible with stairs.[274]

5.3.3 Dura-Europos Mithraeum

Dura mithraeum is the first excavated example of mithraeums in the East and is noteworthy because of the colourful frescoes and inscriptions offering invaluable information on the local Mithraists and the features of the cult. The plan of the building is very similar to those which were discovered in other Roman cities. (Figure 20, Figure 21). On the long sides of the assembly room there are benches for members where they could sit and participate in the banquets and other rituals. On the rear wall there is an arched niche in which ritual objects might have been put. The blue painted vault of the

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[274] Leriche and Gelin, 1997, pp. 21-46.

arcosolium is ornamented with stars. Under the vault two stone reliefs are placed in the centre. On the larger relief, famous Tauroctony scene is depicted. The torch bearers, Cautes and Cautopates, stand on the two sides of the relief. (Figure 22)[275]

The right half of the relief shows the dedicator Zenobios pouring a libation on an altar and two small figures standing on a base supported by two Atlas-like figures. The standing figures are Zenobios' ancestors, Barneadath and Jariboles. Around the Arcosolium are painted thirteen pictures illustrating the Mithraic cosmogony and legend. The signs of the zodiac are also represented. Above, on the outer surface of the niche, seven burning altars and seven cypresses are painted. As a unique feature, two bearded men wearing Persian dresses are depicted. These were interpreted as Zoroaster and Osthanes, the founders of the Mithraic mysteries. Another exclusive frescoe depicts Mithras riding a horse, escorted by his lion and snake, hunting wild animals with his arrows.

Beside the frescoes, the walls and columns are covered with painted or incised texts not found elsewhere which increased the information on the Mithraic cult. The four types of these inscriptions involve the prosopographic texts of the higher dignitaries and their titles, lists of names, lists of purchases and fragments of religious texts.

The dating of mithraeum and the evolution of the edifice were revealed via archaeological data and two inscriptions. Accordingly, the first phase of the edifice was a private house, which probably contained the office of the commander of the local militia of archers. It is known from the papyri and inscriptions that the majority of the worshippers were the soldiers of Cohors XX Palmyrenorum. The commander built a small shrine and dedicated the smaller of the two

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[275] Pollard, 1996, p.222

reliefs, which has a Greek and a Palmyrene inscription giving his name, Ethpanai, his title and the date, 168 C.E. Later, Zenobios, the subsequent commander enlarged this shrine and dedicated the larger relief in 170 C.E. An entirely new sanctuary of the ordinary type was erected by the Vexillationes of the legions IV and XVI between 209 and 211, as another inscription indicates.[276] The two earlier cult reliefs were reused. In the time of Alexander Severus or later, alterations were made and the podium with niche was built.[277]

5.3.4 Dura-Europos House-Church

5.3.4.1 General Background

The House-Church[278] of Dura-Europos, the earliest identified Christian building, is located by the 17th tower on the Wall Street,[279] (I designate it as the Ecumenical Street). One typical Durene house which was built in circa 230s C.E. was renovated to serve the local Christian community in the early 240s C.E.[280] There are two other religious edifices along the same street - the synagogue and the mithraeum - that underwent several renovation processes. During the Sassanian incursions, the street and the buildings on it were filled with rubble to strenghten the fortifications of the city. This helped the house-church and the other edifices to stay intact after the ultimate destruction of the city.

It is also significant that along the same street were found two other houses that had been remodelled by religious groups – one is the mithraeum that went through three phases of adaptation; the other, synagogue that went through two (Figure 23). In both cases, donor

[276] Dirven, 1999, pp.260-1; Pollard: 2000, pp.144-6
[277] Rostovtzeff, *TEAD-Prel. Rep.,* 1934, pp. 180
[278] Some scholars (e.g. R. Krautheimer, M. White) prefer *Domus Ecclesiae,* 'house of the church' to 'house-church' for naming the building. In this thesis the 'house-church' is continued to be used for its commonality.
[279] Perkins, 1973, p.12
[280] White, 1996–7, I: pp. 120–2; II: pp. 18–24 and no. 36; Kraeling 1967

inscriptions commemorated the renovation work.[281] The last phases of renovation in the mithraeum and the synagogue were contemporaneous with the single phase of renovation in the house-church. The Dura house-church is also important because it appears that the edifice had become the *property of the church*[282] and was publicly identifiable even though it had not yet become a distinctive church building.

During the excavations in 1933, a deposit of papyri and parchment fragments was found outside the Palmyra gate in the rubble infill. Among them, a parchment of an unknown Greek harmony of the gospel accounts is important. It is very similar to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, an important treatise in Syriac Christianity. Fragments of parchment scrolls with Hebrew texts were also unearthed in the House-Church, being one of the oldest Christian Eucharistic prayers. They are closely connected with the prayers in *Didache* that were once believed to be lost a long time ago.[283]

5.3.4.2 Physical Description

Pre-Conversion

Among private dwellings at Dura, the house was fairly large but otherwise typical with several rooms grouped around a central courtyard.[284] The dimensions of the house were 20m (East) 19m (West) 22,5m (South) and 18m (North).[285] Before it was converted to a

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[281] White, 1996–7: II, 10–18; II, nos. 58–61
[282] Although there is not any registry or similar evidences, this view is proposed in this thesis deducing from the the renovations and the other interventions in the building. This extensive reconstruction work seems less likely to be allowed in a tenement house.
[283] Teicher, 1963, pp. 99-109
[284] See p.104
[285] White, 1996, p. 37 In the site survey the measurements were as follows: 20,35m (East), 18,90m (West), 22,40m (South) and 18,15m (North). The estimated average wall thickness was 95cm in the foundations.

Christian meeting place, the house consisted of eight rooms and a courtyard (Figure 24).

In the south side, a formal door led from the court into room 2, originally the dining room of the house. With plaster benches and a brazier box, the dining room was typical of the Durene domestic *diwan*. Room 1 was most likely a storeroom, while room 3 was connected to other living areas of the house. On the west side of the courtyard, another formal doorway led to room 4. Originally, rooms 3 and/or 4 might have served as the women's quarters. Room 5 had originally been only a modest chamber.

A graffito of a *clibanarius* and another of a *cataphractarius* both found under the renovation plaster suggest the Parthian usage of the house.[286] Considering that the house was built around 230-231 C.E., two decades after the city became a Roman colony (211 C.E.), these Parthian graffiti should belong to a preceding Parthian building. Thus the Christian era reconstruction is not the first attempt in the history of the building.

Post-Conversion

On the exterior, the house was almost untouched and retained its domestic appearance. In the interior, the main structural modifications occurred in three areas: (a) the courtyard, (b) the rooms in the south (rooms 1, 2, and 3), and (c) the rooms in the west (rooms 4 and 5) (Figure 25, Figure 26, Figure 27, Figure 28, Figure 29). Renovation of the courtyard was minimal; it included raising and paving the floor and installing two banks of L-shaped benches, and various finishing touches. In the remodelling of the edifice, the partition wall between rooms 2 and 3 was removed. The floor was

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[286] Rostovtzeff, 1939, p.130

then filled up to the height of the benches to create one large room for assembly measuring about 12x5m[287] with a platform installed at its east end. Room 1 continued to serve as a storage or preparation area. Other than the plastering of the walls and memorial graffiti, there was little or no decoration in this area. A low shuttered window opened to the courtyard.

Only minimal changes were made in room 4; another shuttered window to the courtyard was added, and the door opening to room 5 from room 4 was fitted with more elaborate trim. Such formal trimwork is unusual for an interior doorway and suggests that this door had become part of a new pattern of movement through the edifice.

Room 5 received the most extensive change of all. It was converted into a formal baptistery (Figure 30). A pond basin nearly 1m in depth was set into the floor on the west end of the room. A decorated canopy carried by pilasters and two plaster columns painted to look like marble was above. Above the canopy, a new ceiling/floor structure divided the space vertically to create an upstairs apartment. On the south wall, a small niche between the two doors was enlarged and arcuated, and low steps or benches were set along the east and west ends of the room. The entire room was then decorated with an extensive pictorial programme containing some of the earliest datable examples of Christian biblical illustrations. There were two registers along the east and north walls of room 5. In the borders of this scene two Christian graffiti were incised, and a similar text appeared in Room 2.[288] The individuals commemorated by these graffiti might have been martyrs or, more likely, Christian leaders or those who assisted in the renovation of the building.

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[287] Measured as 12,30x5,10m in the field survey
[288] White, 1996–7, II: p. 37

The Decorations

There is an *aedicula* over a rectangular depression in the floor extending into the assembly room from its west wall. On the west wall behind the *aedicula*, visible only through its barrel vaulting, are two scenes, the lower one depicting Adam and Eve, the upper one the Good Shepherd (Figure 31); in other words, the terrestrial and the celestial paradise. The scene of the Good Shepherd is unique. With a huge ram on his shoulders he is approaching a flock of seventeen rams. On the upper part of the north wall are two scenes, one depicting the Miracle of the Lake, and the other, the Paralytic where the sick man lying on his bed over which stands Christ in the act of performing the miraculous cure and also the cured paralytic walking away with the bed on his back is to the left (Figure 32). He holds the bed upside down. To the right of this scene is the ship of the apostles sailing over a stormy sea. The apostles are seated on the deck and are looking in wide-eyed astonishment at Christ and Peter who are walking on the water. Peter is sinking and Jesus gives a hand to rescue him.[289] The figure of Peter is in an excellent state of preservation, and is of special importance because it is the earliest known illustration of that apostle. Unfortunately the head of Christ and the half of the boat are absent. Below these two scenes is the main picture of the north wall, the women visiting the Christ tomb (Figure 33). Here again, much of the picture is destroyed. According to the Gospel of Mark, there were three Marys, who were approaching the sepulcher of Christ, which is represented as a huge sarcophagus in the picture. Above are two stars of twelve and eleven rays respectively. Each Mary wears a white dress and a white veil, and holds torches and bowls of myrrh. The angel and the guards of the Biblical version are not depicted. The hair dress of each Mary is

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[289] Baur, 1933, pp. 377-380

identical with that introduced by Julia Mamaea who died in 235 C.E.; this makes it possible to date these scenes to the beginning of the third century.[290]

On the south wall between the two doors which lead into the chapel from the *iwan* and the court of the house is a scene representing David and Goliath; both have explanatory inscriptions in Greek. The episode of David slaying the giant seldom occurs in early Christian art. Our picture is by far the earliest known representation of the subject. It follows the eastern tradition in which the giant is much larger than David. Wind and weather have damaged this painting almost beyond recognition. The final picture is on the west end of the south wall, and depicts the Samaritan Woman. With arms outstretched, the woman grasps a rope with both hands to raise a pail from the pithos-shaped mouth of a well. Christ is not represented.

5.3.4.3 Interpretation

Before focusing on the Dura-Europos house-church, the evolution of the Early Christian meeting place was thoroughly examined in the fourth chapter. Levels of this evolution were exemplified with more than two literal instances based on the written sources. Contrary to the plenitude of the scattered literal evidence, Dura house-church constitutes the major material evidence. In this respect, it may be asked if the Dura-Europos house-church was an exceptional case or the only but expected instance of the aforesaid evolution.

The first half of the question, whether Dura-Europos house-church was an exceptional case, requires special attention which is beyond the scope of this study. On the other hand, the reasons for the shortage of concrete evidence may be discussed at this point to fill

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[290] Ibid.

the gaps in the story. The oneness of Dura-Europos house-church may be explained with other probabilities. The first and most likely scenario is that other potential house-church edifices would have been demolished during the countless invasions and takeovers, all of which were witnessed in the city of Dura-Europos. The chance of the house-church similar to many other buildings in the city surviving partially was that the city was not populated after the Sassanian sack in 257 C.E.

Another possibility is that many Early Christian edifices especially those in the prominent cities of the Roman Empire were converted to bigger church buildings after Christianity became an officially recognized religion. As a matter of fact, the development of these later examples tallies with the suggested pattern of transformation of space from shelter space to marker space (Figure 7, Figure 8). If it had not been deserted after the Sassanian invasion, the Dura house-church might have followed the same track.

Yet Dura house-church differs from the other cases in some specific aspects. First of all, it seems to emerge in the city rather suddenly. For many other instances (see Table 2) there was the prevailing social background that gave way to the formation and transformation of those edifices. In Rome for example, the Christian community existed from the 1st century C.E. and grew in the next two centuries. But in Dura, the existence of Christians prior to the renovation of the edifice is dubious. Similar to the house-church, the community also seems to emerge rather suddenly. This situation triggers some questions: Did Christians migrate to Dura as a community? Did they increase in number in the city? Had they ever preached in Dura?

Table 2. Pre-basilical church buildings: an archaeological survey of adaptation and renovation[291].

Site	No. of phases	Building type	Dates (ce.)	First phase date
Syria (including Arabia)				
Dura-Europos	2	$^{1-2}$house/house-church	231-256	2/c. 240
Qirqbize	5	$^{1-2}$house/hall, $^{3-5}$basilica	330-VI	1/c. 330
Umm el-Jimal	3	$^{1-2}$house, ^{3}basilica	IV-VI	2?-3/IV
Palestine				
Capernaum	3	^{1}house, ^{2}hall, ^{3}octagonal church	IV-VI	2/IV
Macedonia				
Philippi	3	^{1}Heroon, ^{2}hall church, ^{3}octagon	IV-VI	2/c. 334
Istria				
Parentium	5	$^{1-2}$Roman edifice, ^{3}hall, ^{4}basilica, ^{5}cathedral	III-V	3/IV
Aquieleia	4	^{1}house, ^{2}commerc. bldg. ^{3}hall cmplx., $^{4-5}$basilica	III-VI	3/IV
Italy (Rome)				
Ss Giovanni e Paolo	6	$^{1-3}$insula, ^{4}hall, $^{5-6}$basilica	II-V	3/III
S. Clemente	5	$^{1-2}$Mag./domus, ^{3}hall?, $^{4-5}$basilica	I/III-V	3/III
S. Martino al Monti	4	$^{1-2}$commerc.bldg. $^{3-4}$hall/basilica	III-VI	4/IV
S. Crisogono	4	$^{1-2}$hall, $^{3-4}$basilica	IV-VI	1/c. 310
Britain				
Lullingstone	5	$^{1-4}$villa/chapel	IV-V	4/c. 350

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[291] Retrieved from White, 1996–7: II, p. 27

The material or archaeological evidence to elucidate these questions is lacking. Nevertheless, some cautious assumptions may be made with regard to the dating of the building. The exact date of the renovation work in the house-church is unknown. The second half of the 230s C.E. or early 240s is suggested for the construction of the baptismal pond with respect to the fresco of Women visiting Christ's tomb where the head dresses of the three Marys are very similar to that of Julia Mamaea who died in 235 C.E. This date can also be considered as the date of whole renovation work, if it was held in a single course.

Dating the construction of the house is another issue. One commemorative inscription in Greek which was found in room 2 on the west wall incised onto the earlier plaster layer reads as "Remember Dorotheos; Year 544."[292] Since this was incised upon the previous plaster layer, it should predate the renovation work and belong to the construction period. Dorotheos may have been the plaster worker who desired to be remembered. Year 544 is in the Seleucid calendar and corresponds to 232/233 C.E.

If the house was built up around early 230s C.E. and the renovation work was held around 240s; then a time gap of about five to ten years emerges through which the house was used in its original layout. During these years, the house might have been used as the meeting place of the local community.

On the other hand, the city itself had been exposed to very crucial changes in the past two decades. Dura had served as a Roman garrison for about fifty years since 165 C.E. and around 211 C.E. the city was declared as a Roman colony. The Roman population in the city increased subsequently which in turn influenced future building

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[292] White, 1996–7, II: p. 132, n. 6

activities. In 211 C.E. the palace of Dux Ripae was constructed. In parallel, the Roman military existence also grew. The construction of the military camp was finished around 217 C.E.

All these events must have added to the population of the city, making it a magnet for very different groups. In this period, the city underwent a residential building boom which may not have been programmed but which emerged from the demand for more space to dwell in. Besides the archaeological evidence, the written sources indicate many court cases, petitions and papers of selling and transferring of tenements.[293] Christians may have migrated to city with these groups also.[294] It is also probable that one of them bought this house to live in and also to host his Christian fellows. The commemorative inscription found on the south wall of in the decorative framing reads "Jesus Christ (be) with you. Remember Proclus." After the recovery of the inscription, some suggestions have been made concerning the identity of Proclus.[295] He is supposed to have been a patron, a donor or an artisan. What is sure is that Proclus was a Roman and he was Christian.

Besides the existence of Christians in the city, their social status may also be analysed. In Dura, in addition to the settled population, there were also numerous itinerant groups of people many of whom were merchants or Roman legionaries. It is probable that some of these were Christians stopping by the city for some time, then leaving.

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[293] Welles, Fink and Gilliam, 1959, pp. 45-51, 56, 59

[294] The comperative analyses of the epigraphic materials found in Dura may support this view: For instance, except the Hebrew liturgical texts, other fifty-six written materials are composed of Aramaic (twenty-two), Greek (nineteen) and Persian (twelve) and Parthian (three) which demonstrates the Eastern links of Jewish settlers. On the other hand, Christians seem to have originated in the Near-West, such as in Antioch or Edessa. All the Christian inscriptions are in Greek, except one abecedary talisman written in Syriac Estrangela. Additionally, the Greek spelling of the names of David (Δαουιδ) and Goliath (Γολιοδ), in the frescoes of house-church are similar to the spellings of these names in the Syriac Bibles. For more information, see: Millar, 1993, p. 471; Kraeling, 1956, pp. 261–320.

[295] Kraeling, 1967, p.96

However three points about Christians are fairly certain for the later period around the end of 230s C.E. when the house-church was renovated: First, there were settled Christians in the city. Second their number increased to about sixty or seventy persons that makes %1 of the city necessitating a new meeting place which could accommodate the whole congregation. And third, they owned the house, so that they could renovate it in the way they desired.

However it cannot be only the increase of numbers and settling down that necessitated the renovation work. In addition to the enlargement of the assembly room, a *pulpitum* was installed upon which the preacher could give his sermons. This supports the assumptions of our study about the evolution of the meetings and meeting place. Firstly, the scheme of meetings must have shifted from communal conversations to lectures. In parallel with this shift, the assembly room was configured in a way that the places of the speaker and audience became distinguished from each other.

Moreover, a new element was introduced in the Dura house-church: the baptistery. Reserving a particular space for baptism and including a specific armature, a baptismal pond, was first seen in the Dura house-church according to the material evidence. This installation indicates the gradual formalization of the practice, elevating it to a ceremony. The renovations in room 4 to turn it into a teaching and catechism area also support this view. Before entering the baptismal chamber, the initiate must have passed through this room where he had taken his education and where he was going to be catechized before being baptised.

Building a baptismal chamber must have been related to the status of Durene Christians and the social atmosphere in the city against their congregation. There had to be expectations among the

Christians about the increase of the congregation so that they found it necessary to build a baptistery. Hence it is to be expected that there had to be a relatively pleasant atmosphere in the city and even sympathizers, which caused the Christians to anticipate those new attendances despite the strong Roman rule.

All these noted regulations in space comply with *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Teaching of the Apostles), the most important Syriac treatise of the period.[296] *Didascalia* probably originated from Antioch around the 230s C.E. and it was considered to be a derivative of an earlier treatise *Didache* (Teaching)*. Didache* is generally dated to late first or early second century. The existence of Didache among the Dura congregation was confirmed with the recovery of some prayers on parchments. *Didascalia* on the other hand, could easily reach Dura as the city was on one of the main routes between the Mediterranean and Persia.

Taken together, these deductions which point to the establishment of a relatively crowded and settled Christian congregation in Dura, their being in possession of a house to renovate it, the background reasons for the renovation and aspects of this renovation work and lastly the insistence on the written edicts while making these renovations are all signs of social and spatial transformations in the community and their meeting place. The account of these transformations was outlined in the fourth chapter of this thesis. In this respect, it is shown that the house-church corresponds to the second phase of the shelter space which is one stage before the marker space. To recapitulate, this phase is distinguished with several important aspects: Specification of space, its division according to the ordering and restriction of participation and interior interventions. All these

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[296] Connolly, 1956, p. 44b-46b

are embodied in the Dura house-church, making it highly significant among its counterparts.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Looking back to the thesis as a whole, it is seen that the significance of the house-church in Dura-Europos arises from the special configuration traced in the production of social space and architectural space respectively. This is why two extensive chapters on space and community in its wide and narrow aspects were deemed necessary as a background.

Hence, the second part of the thesis focused on the contextual framework of the study. In this respect, the Roman social order and urbanism were briefly treated to provide the background information for further investigation. The different social classes of the Roman society, the statuses and their formation triggered by certain agencies such as patronage were emphasised in order to reveal the contemporaneous social and political environment of the Early Christian community. Additionally, Roman urbanism in its general outline was briefly treated as a morphological and social background to contextualize the subsequent analyses on the city of Dura-Europos.

Christianity was born in Palestine at the dawn of the Common Era. Although this Roman province was at the periphery and the local authorities had certain weight, Roman political institutions and Graeco-Roman culture dominated the social environment. Similar to its pagan counterparts, Christianity, especially afterby the Pauline

era was a Roman religion and it grew in the same soil, Roman Empire. The social and economical inequalities and miserly life conditions were the constituted the outline of this highly stratified social environment. The social and political institutions were benefitted by state in imposing the Roman ideologies. The institutionalization of social practices gave way to rise of many communities including Christianity. Roman elements deeply influenced Christianity, not only in its construction, but also in its evolution. Christianity followed the example of 'voluntary associations' in its community formation likewise it was influenced from their spatial practices.

The institutionalization of social environment extended to spatial environment. In addition to social atmosphere, state also manipulated space. The layouts of cities as well as the public building programmes were state's tools in controlling society. Under these circumstances, house was the only place left untouched. It was the realm of individuals and families and impenetrable by the state. Precisely for this reason, houses were used as headquarters by many social organizations. Early Christians repeated the same practice.

The role of the house as a gathering place is also important for this thesis' spatial premises expressed in the third chapter. The third chapter constituted the theoretical grounds for the discussions on space. After considering the various meanings of the term etymologically including the accounts of the philosophers' perception of space, the bridges between space and mankind were delineated, underlining the significance of the human act in shaping the production and formation of space. Centering on the social production of space, the examination was carried out to a further level in order to inquire the extent and results of this production. Depending on the human act, two types of space were asserted as the

possible categories of social space. These categories were a) shelter space and b) marker space.

In the fourth chapter where the types of social organizations and corresponding spaces were investigated, the ideal definition of shelter space was emphasized as the space which is free from all extra-spatial attributions. On the other hand, it was shown how in actuality a house can epitomise the concept and how shelter space accomodates simple social organizations. Here, these organizations were designated as communities. Communities constitute the people assembling around certain motives continuously. It is the activity that underlines the community. Communities do not consider issues of space other than for practical reasons. Space remains as an instrument for their opinions. Certainly, there are phases of communities; due to the various reasons they inescapably evolve into more complex forms.

On the other hand, marker space was designated as the opposite of shelter space as being full of extra-spatial attributions. Since it emerges as the result of high sophistication in the community which modifies it to an institution, the institution represents the conceptualization and tabooing of the motive and values of the community. Contrary to the community, the institution is passive. Due to this passiveness, the space loses its functionality and increases in monumentality. Monumentality implies not the physical sizes but the declarative and marking aspects of the space. At the end of this transformation, the space becomes a bulk of connotations and attributions, so massive that it can gravitate its surrounding upon itself.

The thesis demonstrates that Early Christianity fits the highlighted aspects of the proposed spatial model in its emergence, development,

transformation and institutionalisation. In this respect, starting in the Common Era, Christianity arose from internal and external controversies in the Jewish society under Roman occupation. It developed in the community fashion, was exposed to crises and at the end became an institution. The space, the meeting place, since it was used for this very act – meeting - was influenced and shaped by these changes in the community. In the beginning, it was any adequate place; public spots, corners, houses were utilised for the purpose of meeting. Afterwards, it was restricted to the members' houses for the sake of privacy and protection. Yet the addresses were changing. Later on, the meeting place acquired a specific address, letting some interior renovations for the better use of the community. In the end, parallel with the institutionalization of the community, it managed to acquire its specific edifice, which became known as the church.

The demonstration of this sequence was made in the Dura-Europos house-church. The account of this realization was given in the fifth chapter. Using the historical information on the city and its urban planning, it was shown how the house-church was actually an adaptation of a pre-existing courtyard house, a typology composed of a central courtyard surrounded with rooms, five in this case, which is very familiar in Dura in the Parthian and Roman eras. The house that was first built around 130s C.E. and converted to house-church around 230s C.E. had a noticeably large scale fitting, the second largest group coming after the public and governmental buildings. The thesis reveals how this was accomplished by the demolishment of a wall to open up space for the assembly hall and the addition of a baptismal pond. Additionally, crude wall paintings on the walls of the baptistery including the depictions of some stories from the Bible constitute the decoration program of the newly created house-church.

The thesis demonstrates that the Dura-Europos house-church belongs to the second phase of shelter space. Accordingly, it had a specific address in the city and was subjected to partial interior reconstructions. However it was not a marker space, neither for the city population, nor for its Christian assembly. That the house-church was not a marker space for the city population is confirmed by the spatial analysis of the city. In this analysis, the street network and the visibility graph were investigated to pinpoint the significance of the edifice in the urban setting. Accordingly, it was seen that the house is located on the edge of a block (M8), defined by four streets. Two of these streets have secondary circulatory significance and the other two, one of which the house-church faced, were seen to have only a fourth grade significance (Figure 18). This means that the house-church was located on a rather peripheral and insignificant part of the city. This significant result is supported also by the visibility graph analysis of the city.

The conclusion that the Dura house-church was not a marker space for its users was also proven with the poor interior architectural renovations and rudimentary decorative program of the edifice. All the renovations were seen to have been functional and crucial. The enlargement of space as well as the addition of the baptismal pond were all necessary constructions for performing the community meetings appropriately. Yet, different than an ordinary house, the division of space was introduced in the edifice. To recall, in the first phase of shelter space, the space is shared equally by the group members directly related to principles of equal participation and the freedom of self-expression. However this spatial equalization gradually pales down due to increasing sophistication. This division of space is apparent in the second phase of shelter space which is clearly revealed in the Dura-Europos house-church.

In sum, the house-church in Dura-Europos reflects all the qualities of the second phase of shelter space and it is one step ahead of marker space. Yet, today it has become a marker space in progress due to the various studies made and increased attention related to its contemporary albeit ruined context. Today it does not have the influence and impact it once had at the time when it was being actively used, yet it constitutes a rather unique historiographic demonstration of the house-church at hand hence proving the fluidity of architectural history.

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APPENDIX A: The Chronology of Dura Europos[297]

About 300 B.C.E.
Foundation of Dura Europos: introduction of the urban scheme rectangular; defining the layout of the city walls, built of small; first building of the citadel; beginning of the realization of the agora.

120-65 B.C.E.
Construction of the walls of the citadel.

About 113 B.C.E.
The Parthians conquered Dura Europos.

100 B.C.E.
Start of the enlargement of the agora and its transformation into oriental bazaar.

65-19 B.C.E.
Erection of the city walls and some of its towers.

50 B.C.E.
Second building of the citadel.

33 B.C.E.
Consecration of the Temple of Bel and Iarhibol in the necropolis outside the walls. Dura Europos particular became the seat of the governor of the province.

17-16 B.C.E.
Beginning of the erection of the great gateway to the city.

29 C.E.
Temple of Zeus Kyrios.

31 C.E.
Temple of Atargatis and Hadad. Start of construction of the temple of Artemis-Nanaia.

54 C.E.
Relief to Aphlad. Hall dedicated to Aphlad.

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[297] Retrieved from Welles, 1956, pp. 467-474

114 C.E.
Foundation of the Temple of Zeus Theos.

115 C.E.
Commemoration of Zeus-Bel, temple of the Palmyrene gods.
Temporary conquest of Dura Europos by the Romans.

116 C.E.
Triumphal Arch of Trajan.

About 121 C.E.
The Parthians recaptured the control of Dura Europos.

Before 159 C.E.
Last phase of the temple of the Gadde.

160 C.E.
Earthquake.

165 C.E.
The Romans, under the command of Lucius Verus, conquer Dura Europos.

168-171 C.E.
Construction of the first Mithraeum.

About 165-200 C.E.
Transformation of a private home in the synagogue.

About 210 C.E.
Expansion of the Roman garrison.

210/211 C.E.
First phase of Dolichenum.

About 211 C.E.
Dura Europos becomes a Roman colony.

After 211 C.E.
Palace of the Dux Ripae

211-217 C.E.
Boarding of the Roman camp.

After 216 C.E.
Elevation of the city walls.

218 C.E.
Nebuchelus the merchant's house.

231-256 C.E.
Conversion of a private house in a house church
Christian wall paintings.

238 C.E.
Graffito: "The Persians have attacked us."

About 240 C.E.
Final restoration of Mithraeum.

243/244 C.E.
New roof of the synagogue expanded.

243/244 - 253/254 C.E.
Paintings in the synagogue.

251 C.E.
Last phase of the Dolichenum.

253 C.E.
First Sassanian attack on Dura Europos.

After 254 C.E.
Early construction of the embankment.

256 C.E.
Widening of the embankment within the walls of the city. Sassanid attack and fall of Dura-Europos

APPENDIX B: Index of Biblical References and Abbreviations

OLD TESTAMENT,

Lev   Leviticus

23:5

Dan   Daniel

7:21

NEW TESTAMENT

Matt   Matthew

4:18; 8:20; 9:35; 21:9; 26:17-30; 27:11, 37

Mark   Mark

6:56; 14:12-26

Luke   Luke

22:7-39

John   John

13:1-17:26

Acts   Acts

1:6; 2:1-4, 42-46; 10:11-17; 11:26; 12:5; 20:28

Rom   Romans

1:7; 12:1, 4-5

1 Cor   1 Corinthians

1:2; 3:8; 7:24; 10:17; 11:22, 17-22; 15:9; 12:12,13; 14:26, 29, 30; 14:33, 34, 35

2 Cor   2 Corinthians

1:1; 11:4

Gal   Galatians

1:7, 13; 3:28; 5:13

Eph   Ephesians

1:13-14; 3:10; 4:4-6

Col   Colosseans
 3:12

1 Thess   1 Thessalonians
1:1-4; 2:14

2 Thess   2 Thessalonians
1:1

1 Tim   1 Timothy
3:1-13, 15; 5:16

 Tit   Titus
1:5

Phlm   Philemon
1:2

Heb   Hebrews
12:23; 13:17

1 John   1 John
4:11

3 John   3 John
9-10

Rev   Revelation
17:1, 15

Figure 1. Roman Empire around 120 C.E. (Millar, 2004, p.33)
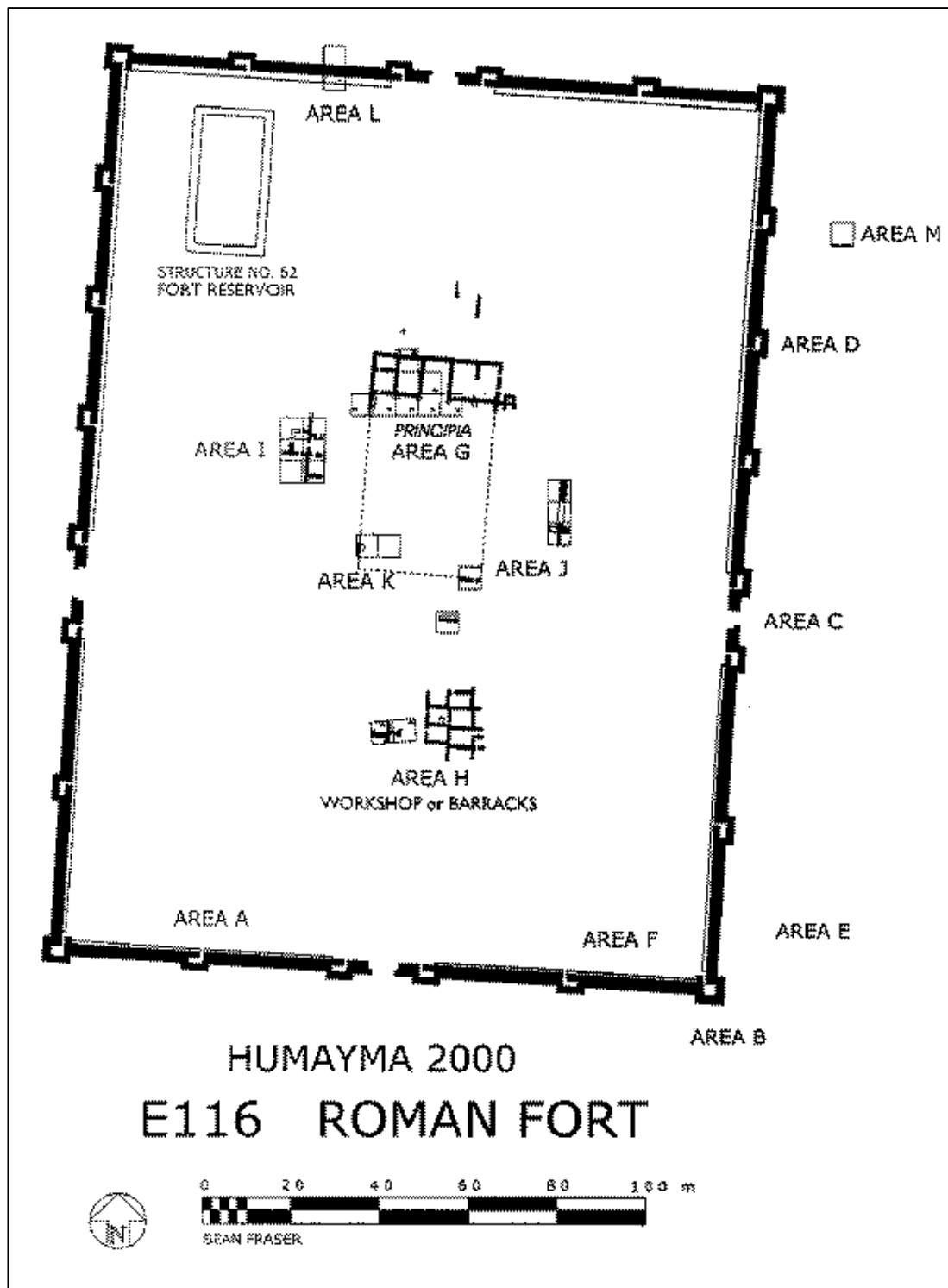
Figure 2. Typical Roman castrum in Humayma, Jordan (Butcher, 2003, p.28)
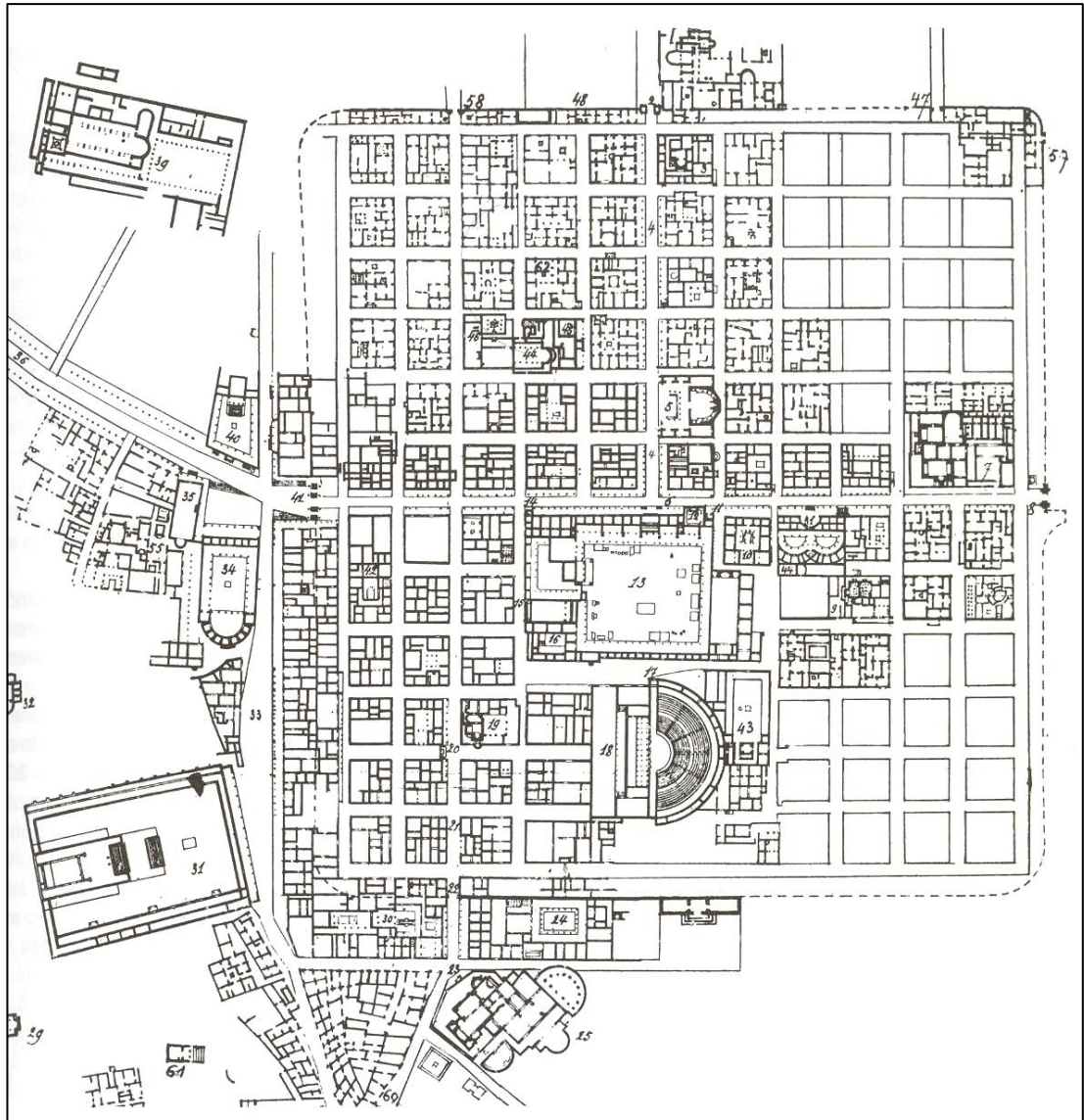
Figure 3. A Roman city developed from a *castrum*, Timgad, Algeria
(Lassus, 1969, p. 35)

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Figure 5. Main gate and outside installations. Timgad, Algeria
(Lassus, 1969, p. 66)
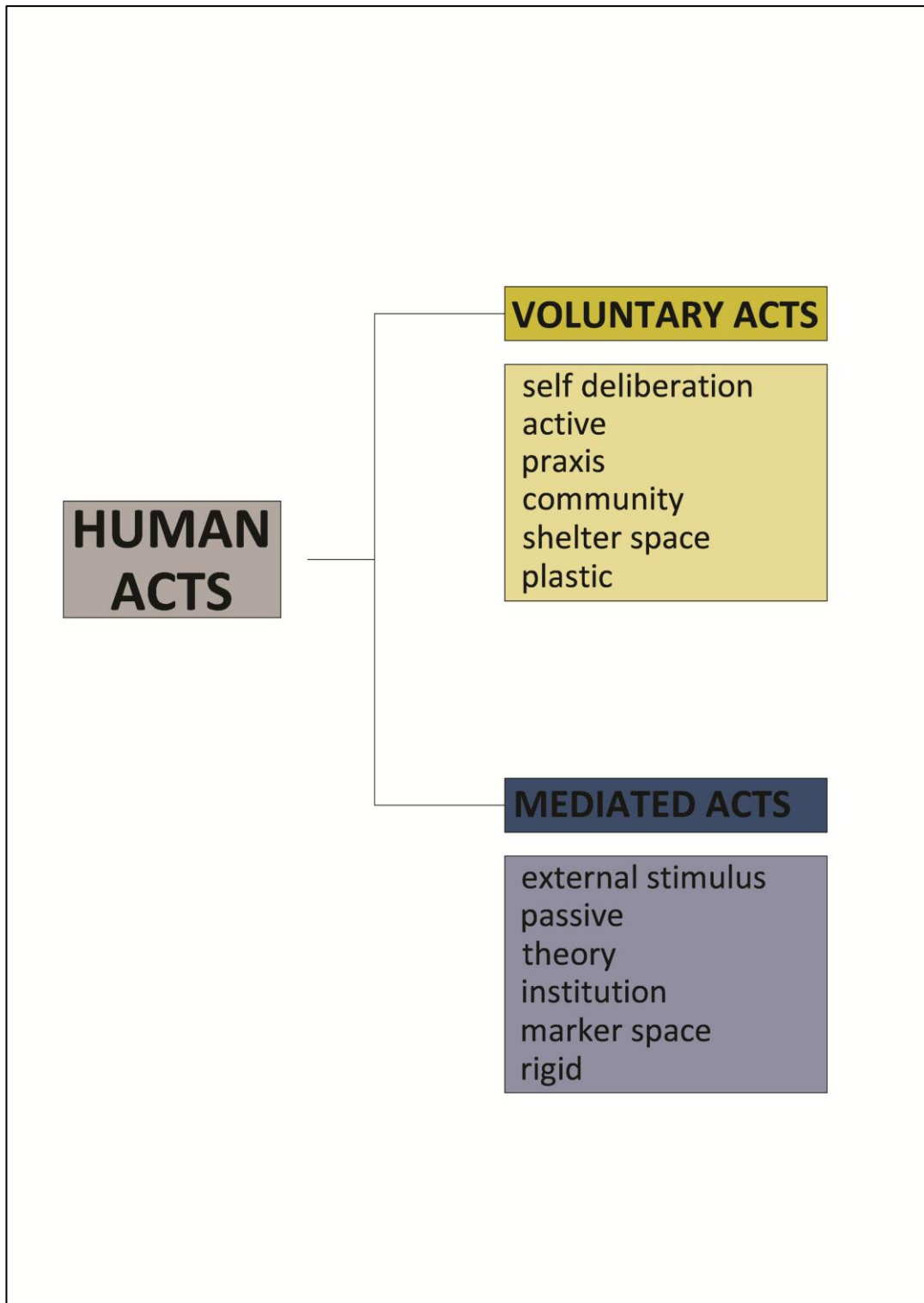
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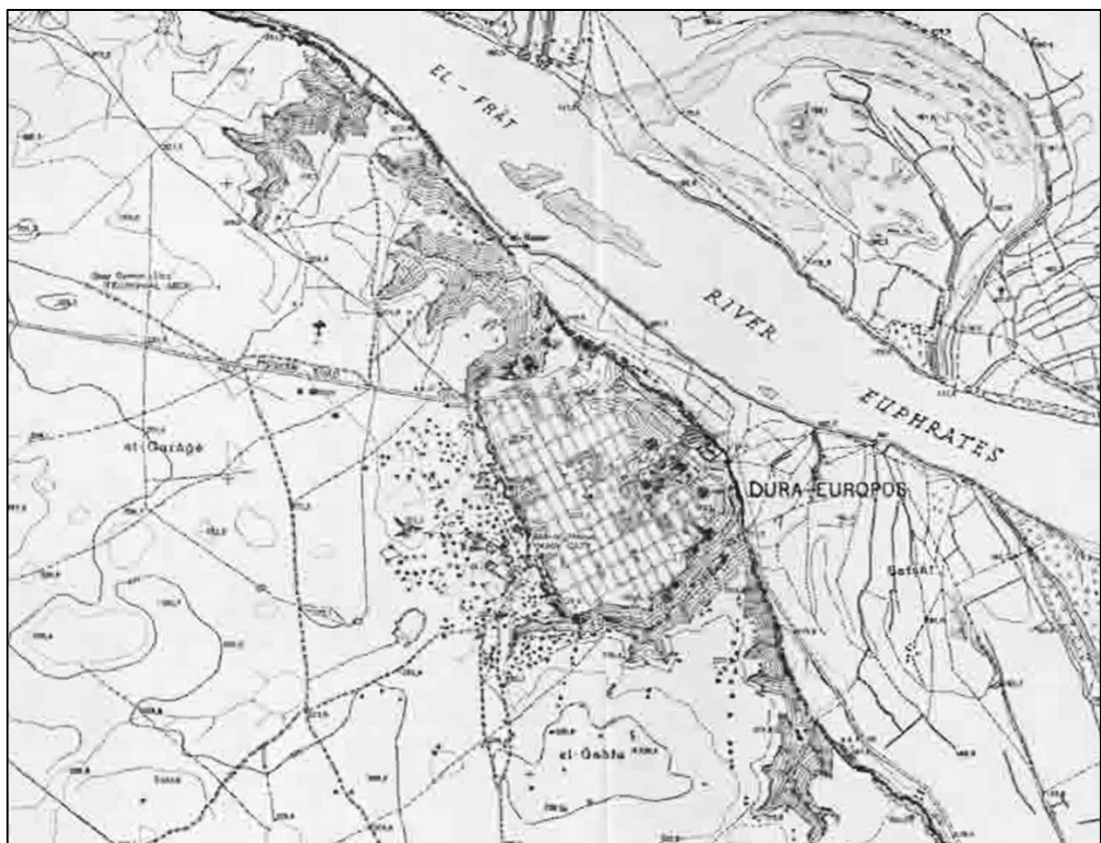
Figure 10. Dura-Europos and its vicinity (Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 33)
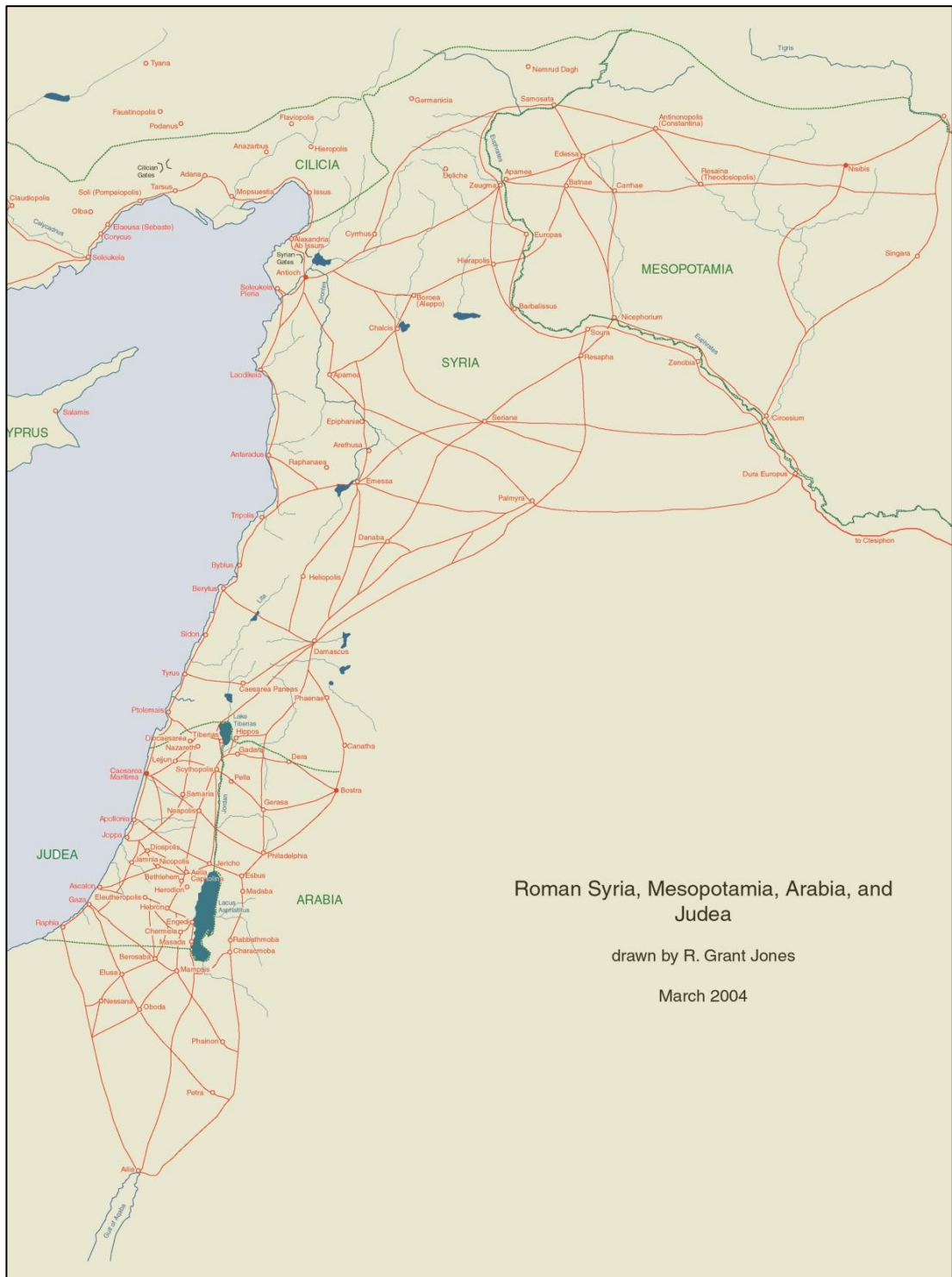
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Figure 12. Air-photograph of Dura Europos. At left the river
Euphrates (www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)

Figure 13. Air-photograph of Dura Europos. At left the river
Euphrates (www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)
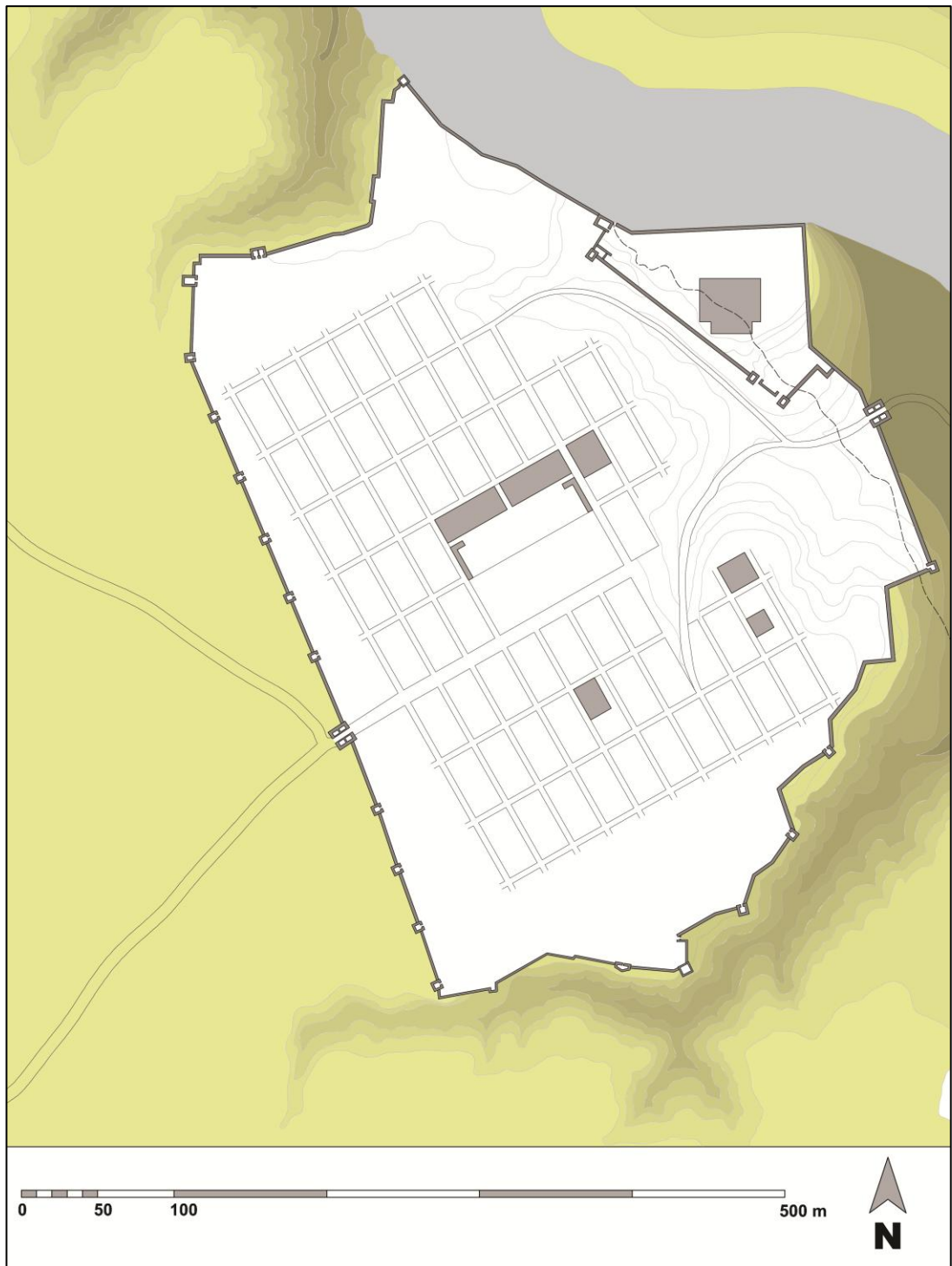
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FORTIFICATIONS

1. Citadel and its Palace
2. Main Gate
3. Subsidiary Gate on the Desert Front
4. South Gate
4a. Brick wall of the Roman Military Camp

TEMPLES

5. Temple of Artemis-Nanaia
6. Zeus Megistos
7. Atargatis
8. Azzabathcona
9. Bel (?) NW corner
10. Zeus Kyrios
11. Aphlad
12. Gadde
13. Zeus Theos
14. Adonis
15. Tyche
16. Military Chapel
17. Christian Church
18. Synagogue

MILITARY BUILDINGS

24. Praetorium
25. House of a Higher Officer
26. Palace of the dux
27. Mithraeum
28. Dolicheneum
29. Amphitheatre
30. Barracks

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

19. Acropolis Strategion
20. Agora
21. Sukhs
22. Khan
23. Baths

PRIVATE HOUSES

31. House of Lysias
32. House of the Scribes

◯ Location of House Church

N

0 50 100   500 m

Figure 16. The plan of Dura Europos in Roman and Parthian times (after Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 41)

PUBLIC AND MILITARY BUILDINGS

C9 Strategeion
E7 Principia
F3 Ampitheater
G1 and G8 Agora
G3 Chreophylakeion
G6 Macellum
H4 Bouleuterion - Odeon
L4 Caravansarai
X3/X5 Macellum
A. T Truimphal Arch

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

A1 Military Temple
B3 Temple of Zeus Theos
C4 Temple of Zeus Megistos
E7 Temple of Azzanathkona
H1 Temple of Gadde
H2 Temple of Atargatis
H4 Temple of Artemis
J7 Mithraeum
L5 Temple of Adonis
L7 Synagogue
L8 Tychaion
M5 Sanctuary of Main Street
M8 Christian House
M8/N7 Temple of Zeus Kyrios
N8 Temple of Aphlad
Tour 1 Temple of Bel
X7 Dolicheneum
X9 Temple of North

HOUSES AND SHOPS

B2 Insula of Potters
B8 House of Nebuchelos
C7 Lot of Paintings / Painters
C11 House of Artists
D1 Residence of Lysias
D5 Lot of Grand Atrium
H2 House of Priests
J1 House of Commanders
L7 House of Scribes

BATH BUILDINGS

C3, E3, M7, X10 Roman Baths
F3 Bath of Parthes

CONTEMPORARY BUILDINGS

C5 Roman Houses
C10 Excavation House
(not to be visited)

UNEXCAVATED BUILDINGS

○ Location of House Church

N

0 50 100   500 m

Figure 17. The plan of Dura-Europos in Roman and Parthian times (after Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 41)

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DENSITY HIERARCHY OF THE STREETS

- ▬ 1st Degree
- ▬ 2nd Degree
- ▬ 3rd Degree
- ▬ 4th Degree
- ▬ 5th Degree
- ▬ 6th Degree

Longitudinal Streets (N-S): A-K
Transverse Streets (E-W): 1-10

◯ Location of House Church

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N

0   50   100   500 m
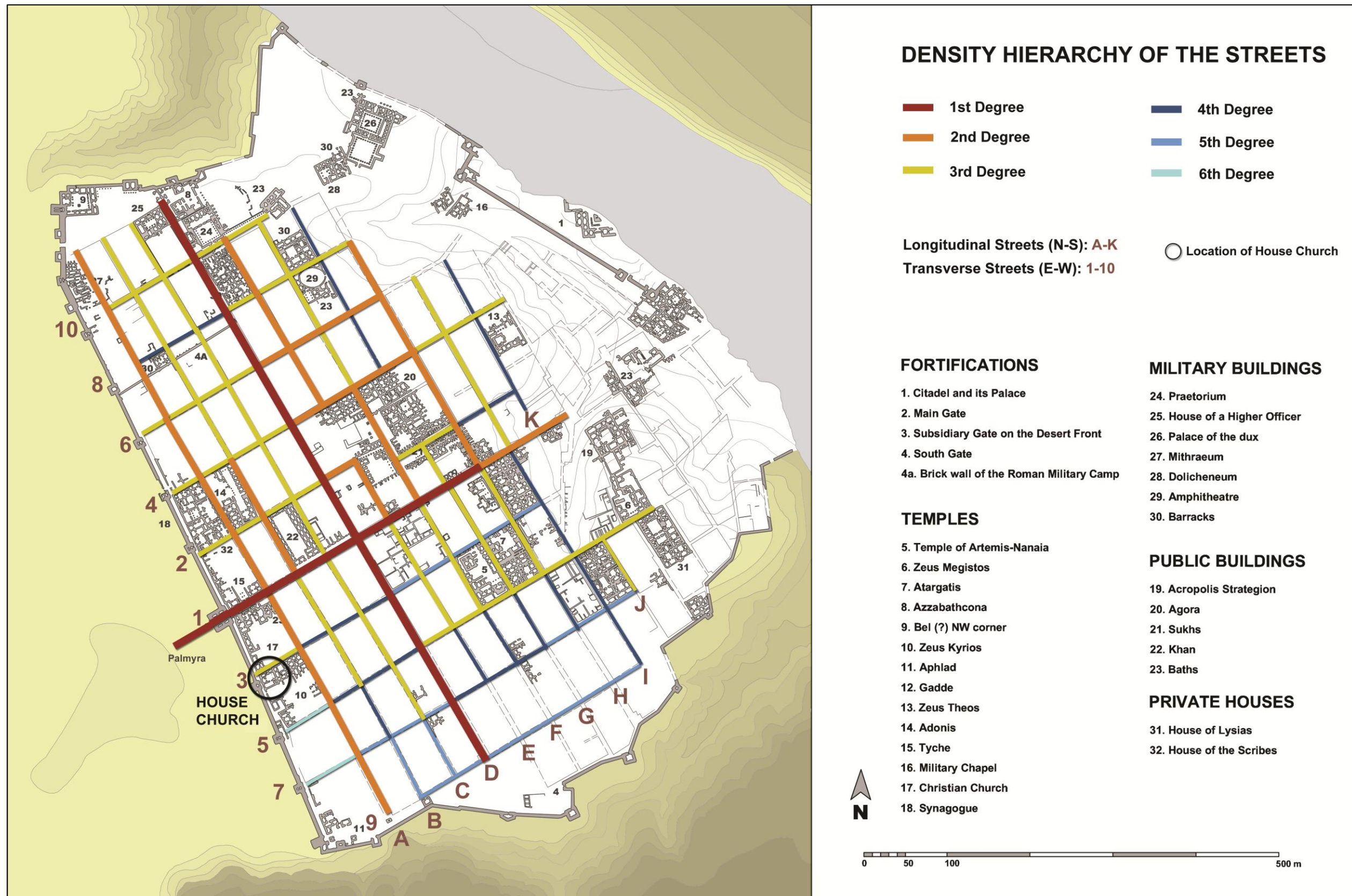
Figure 18. Circulation and street network in Dura Europos (after Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 41)

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VISIBILITY HIERARCHY OF THE STREETS

- 1st Degree
- 2nd Degree
- 3rd Degree
- 4th Degree
- 5th Degree

○ Location of House Church

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22. Khan
23. Baths

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31. House of Lysias
32. House of the Scribes

N

Figure 19. Visibility graph analysis of the street network (after Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 41 including information from Benech, 2007, p. 10)

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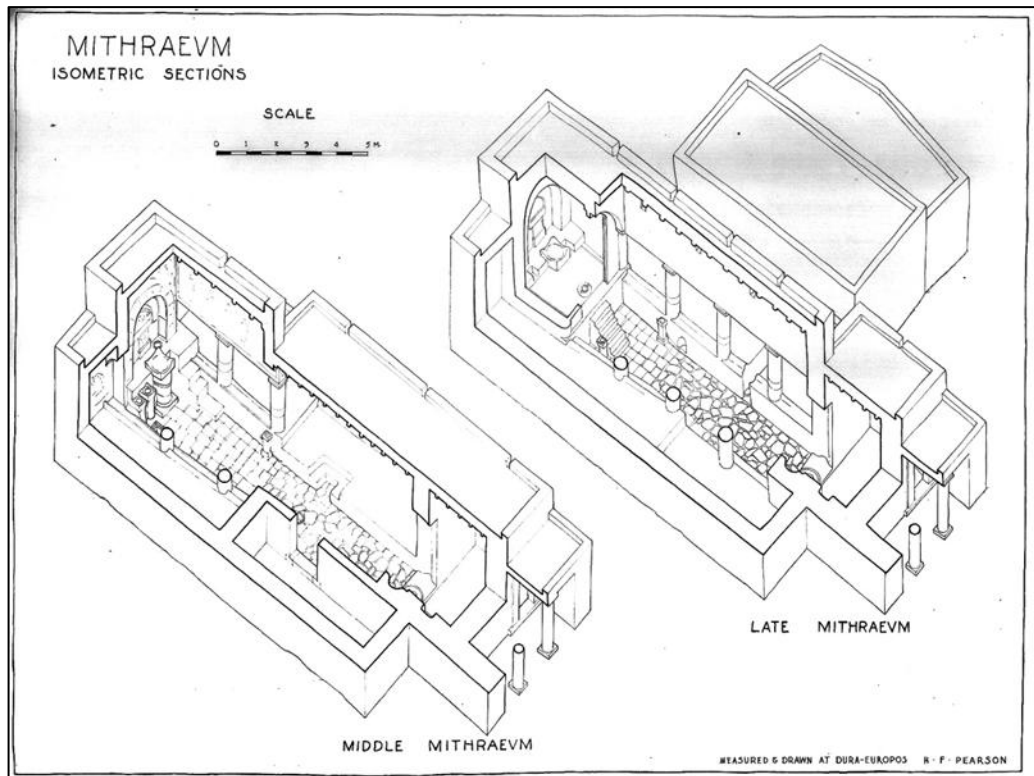Figure 20. Mithraeum plan as excavated (Rostovtzeff, 1944, p. 41)

Figure 21. Isometrics of middle and late Mithraeum
(www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)

Figure 22. Tauroctony scene in Dura Mithraeum
(www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)

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Figure 23. Dura general plan placement of Mithraeum, Synagogue and the House-Church (after Rostovtzeff, 1938, p. 41)
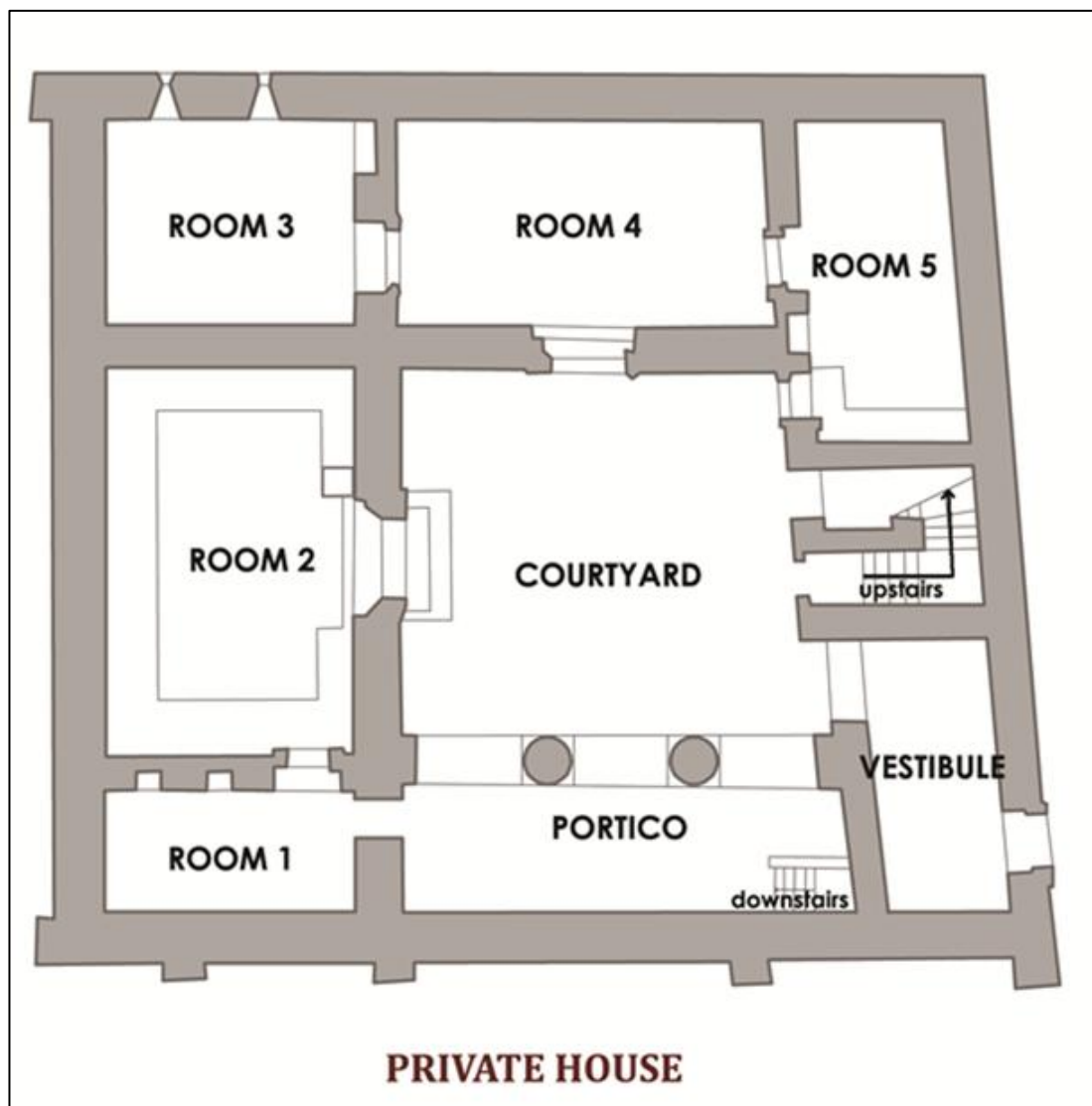
Figure 24. Plan of the private house in Dura Europos (after Kraeling, 1967, p. 35)
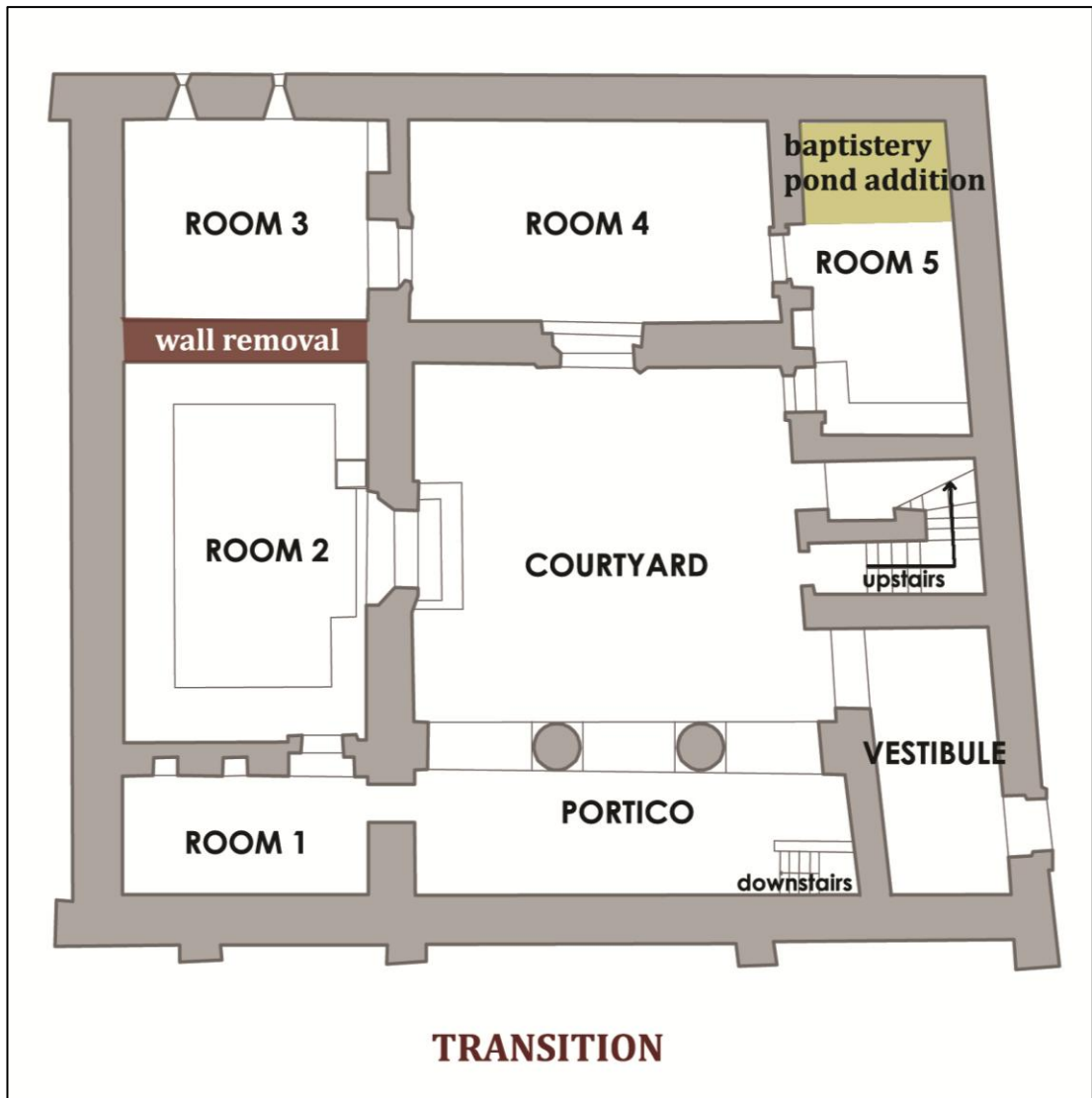
Figure 25.The plan demonstrating the transition in the House-Church (after Kraeling, 1967, p. 35)
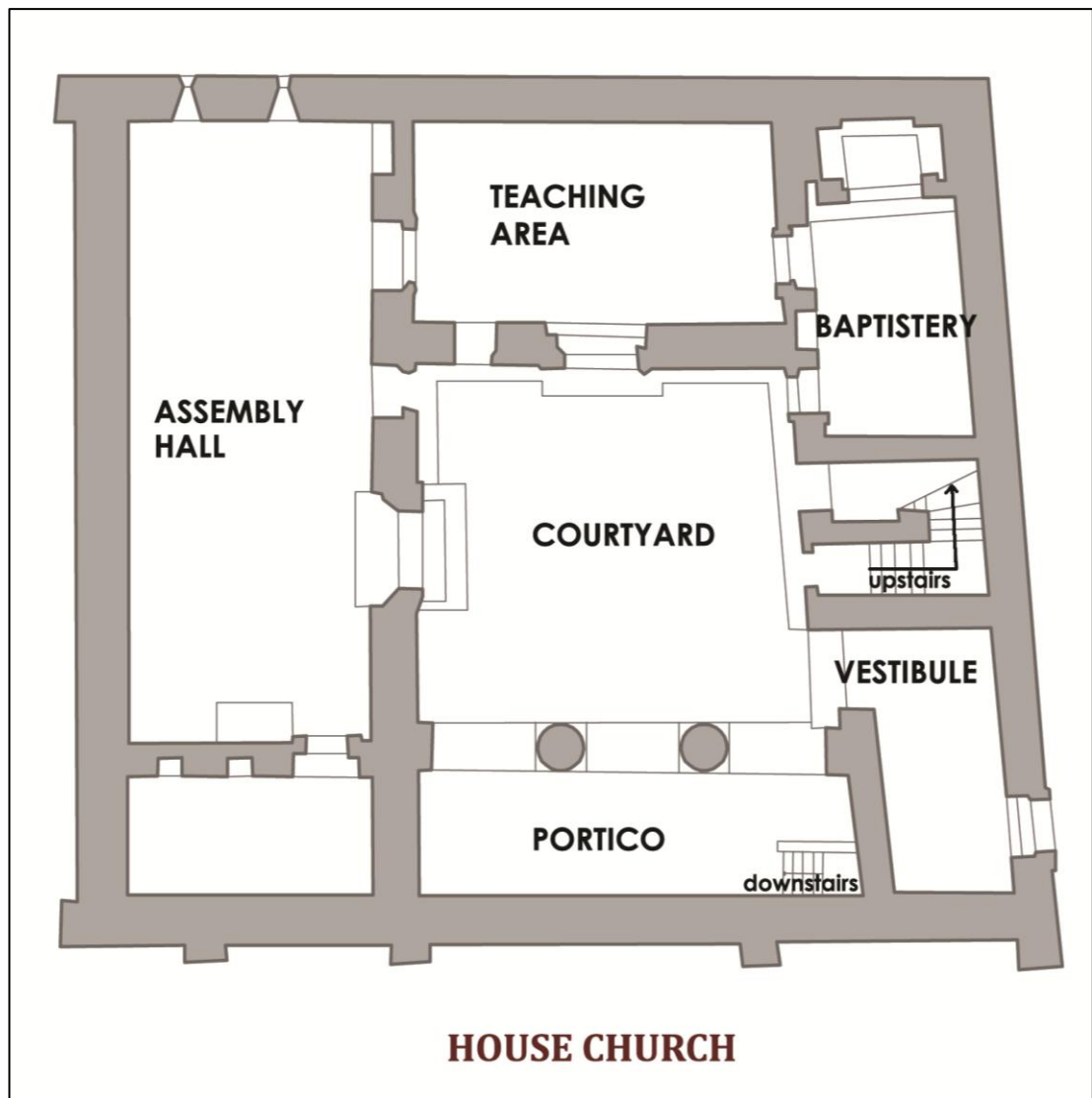
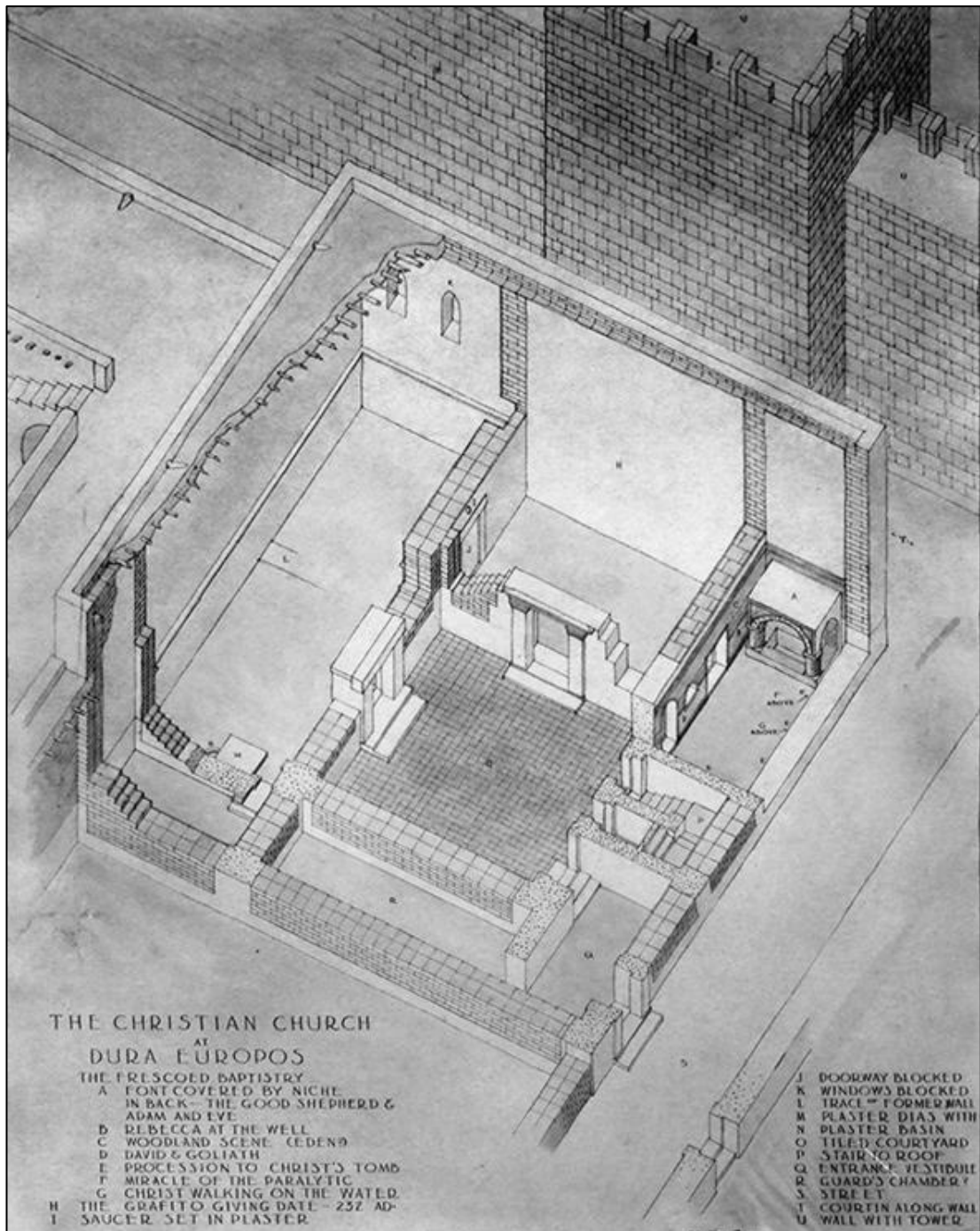Figure 26. The plan demonstrating the conversion to the House-Church (after Kraeling, 1967, p. 35)

Figure 27. Isometric drawing of house-church(www.
artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)
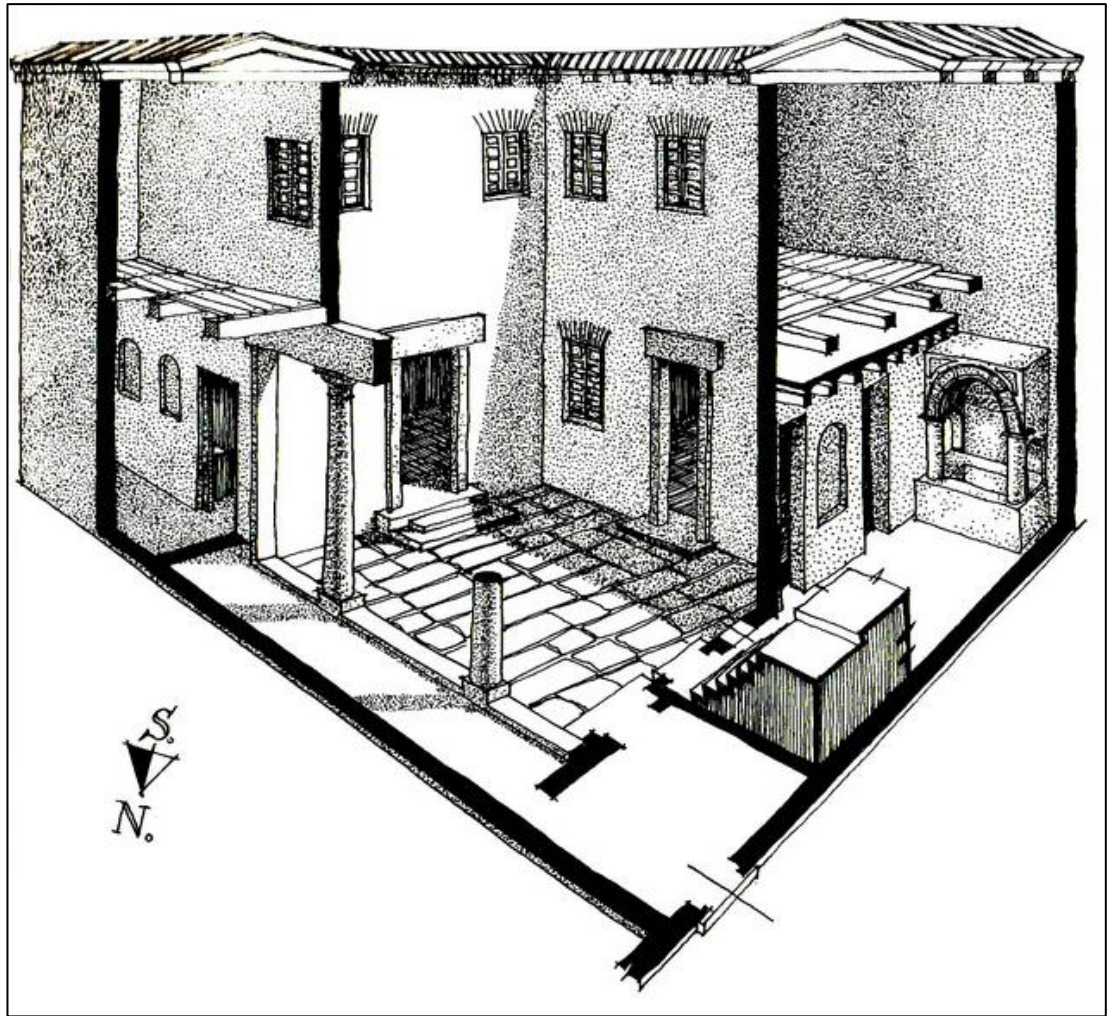
Figure 28. Isometric drawing of house-church (www.
artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)
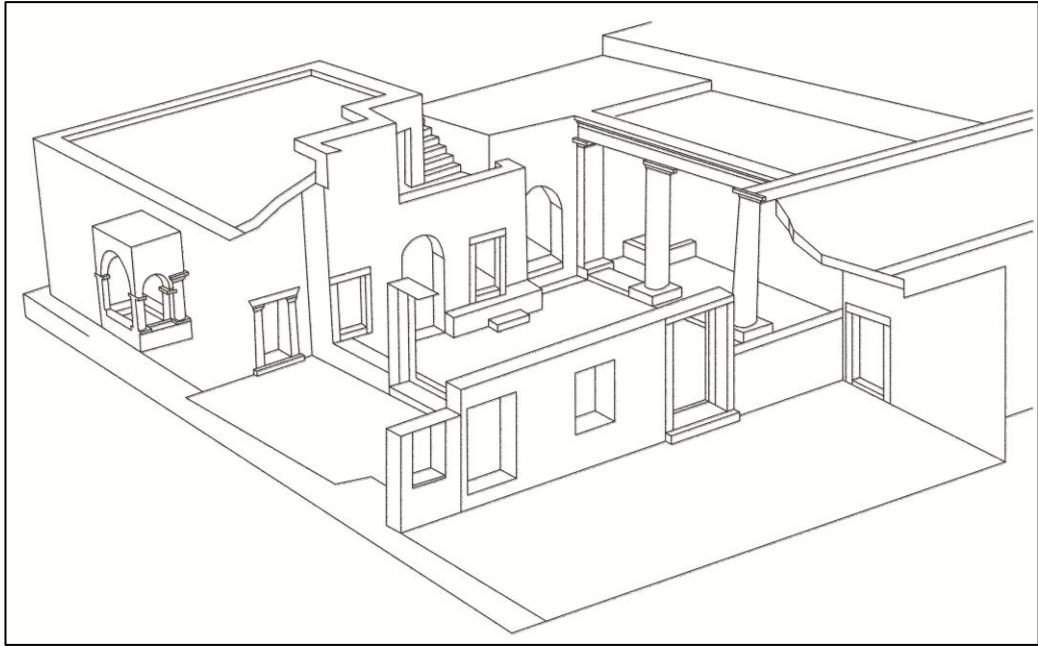
Figure 29. Isometric drawing of the House-Church (after MacMullen, 2009, p.5)

Figure 30. Baptismal pond (www. artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)
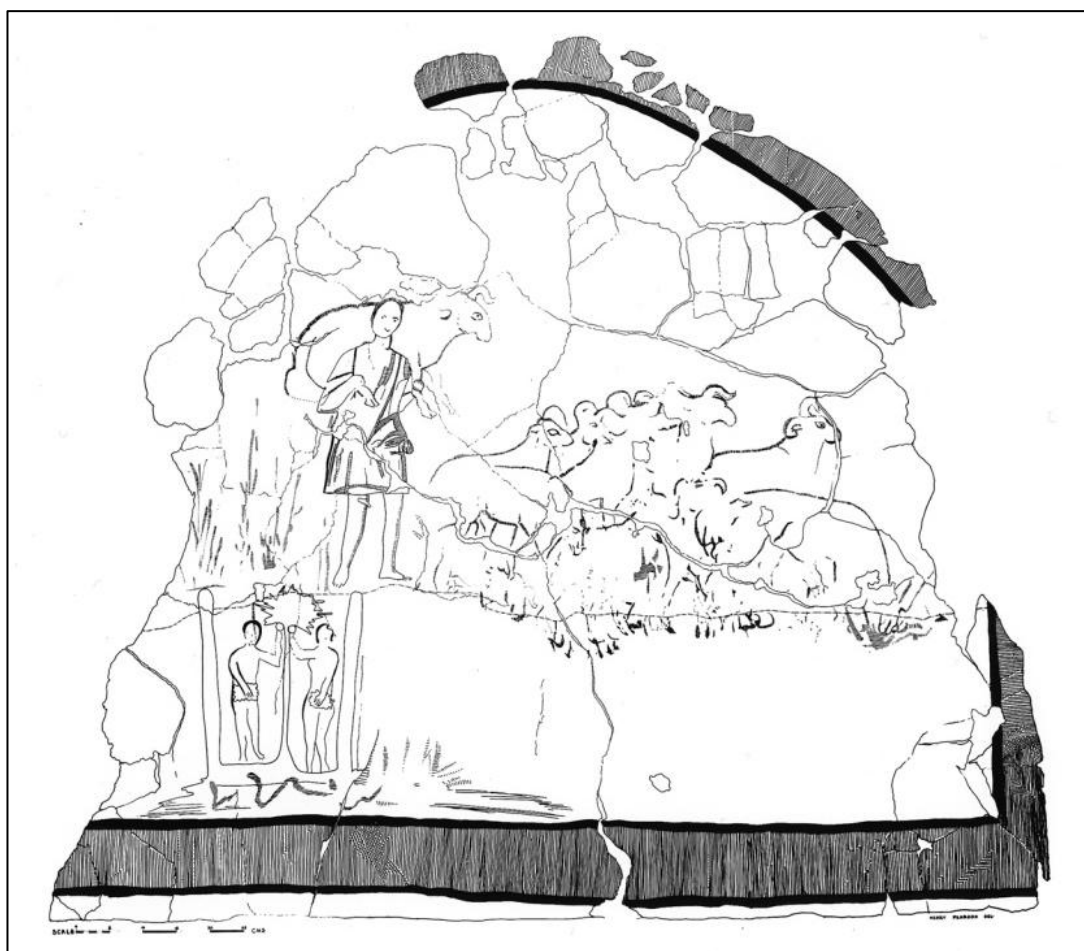
Figure 31. Good Shepherd (www. artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)
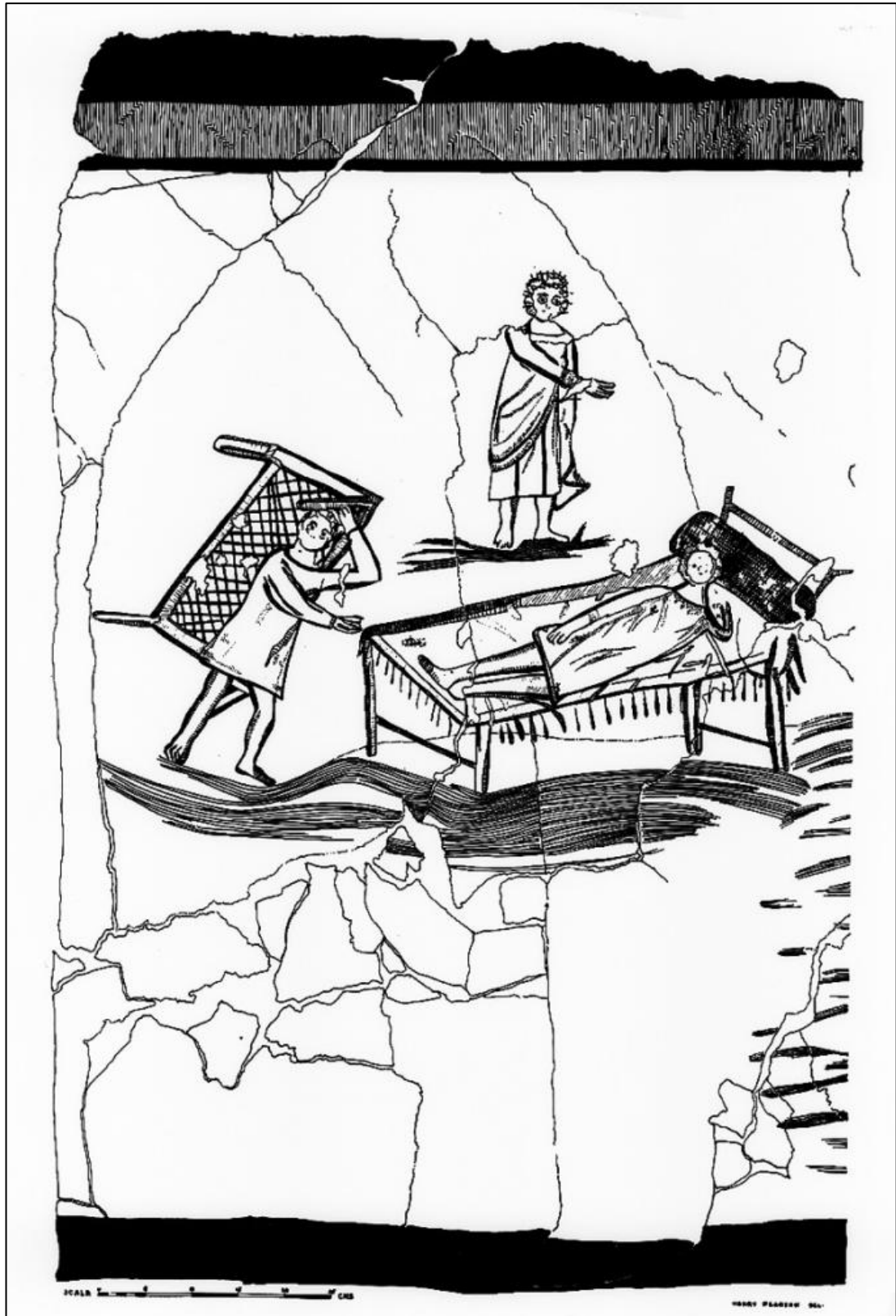
Figure 32. Christ healing the paralytic
(www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)

Figure 33. Women visiting Christ's tomb. The hair dress of Mary resembles that of Julia Mamaea
(www.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos)

Figure 34. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)

Figure 35. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)

Figure 36. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)

Figure 37. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)

Figure 38. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)

Figure 39. Dura-Europos House Church (author, March 2010)