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Foreword

I thank my teachers, the first of whom was my mother, Claudine Elizabeth Balch, even though she no longer recognizes how I read scripture. She and my father sent me from their north Texas farm to Abilene Christian College, where I studied with two more great teachers, Everett Ferguson and Abraham J. Malherbe. They are friends, who studied together and earned doctorates at Harvard Divinity School; our group of eager students learned from them how exciting such study can be. In conversation with Everett, I decided to attend Union Theological Seminary in New York City, where James A. Sanders and J. Louis Martyn were teaching. In their persons they posed a problem with which I have continued to struggle: how are early Judaisms and early Christian authors and culture related? At Union I once heard Reinhold Niebuhr lecture and also danced the hora with Abraham Heschel, a visiting professor from Jewish Theological Seminary.

A Fulbright scholarship enabled me to travel to Tübingen, Germany, to study with Ernst Käsemann, the most influential teacher with whom I ever studied, whose Lutheran critique of the "law" intensified the problem of how we as Christians (Protestants) relate, now not only to Jews but also to Roman Catholics. It is fitting that the book that follows this Foreword is being published in Tübingen. During those years both Hans Küng and Josef Ratzinger, later to become Pope Benedict XVI, taught in the Catholic faculty in Tübingen. Later, I was given a second Fulbright Grant to Tübingen; Martin Hengel was my gracious host.

From Germany I returned to Yale University, where I again studied with and wrote a dissertation for Abraham Malherbe. His colleagues at Yale, Wayne A. Meeks and Nils A. Dahl, are among the world's most creative teachers and authors in the field.

Scholarly interests later took me from northern to southern Europe, to Rome, Italy, where I heard lectures of Frederick E. Brenk, S. J., now retired from the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Fred is uncommonly kind and generous in sharing his knowledge of the Greco-Roman world in relation to the New Testament. I want to acknowledge his help in editing the present volume, especially making the spelling of words that occur in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, and English sources more consistent. The inconsistencies that remain are my own.

In Rome I also came to know Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Director of the British School, from whom I have learned much about Roman housing. I am grateful that he took time to critique chaps. 6 and 7 below, which does not mean, of course, that he agrees with my specific interpretations. John Clarke has also been a knowledgeable mentor.

Looking back on my research, the study of early Christian house churches may give some unity to my academic fascinations. With the help of Abraham Malherbe, I related Greek philosophy (Aristotle and the Stoics) to household codes in 1 Peter and Colossians. The household code in 1 Peter is indirectly apologetic, which involved me in the study of Josephus' Hellenistic Jewish apologetic, and in the study of Josephus' model, Dionysius of Halicarnassus. These political and rhetorical historians returned me to a study of house churches in the early Christian biographer/historian who wrote Luke-Acts.

Research grants teamed me with Carolyn Osiek to write on early Christian households/families. The reader will notice that I have not repeated here what Carolyn and I wrote in the volume that we co-authored, nor the interpretations in our second volume, conference papers that we co-edited, except to reprint my own revised contributions, now chaps. II and III below.

I thought of returning to the study of Josephus and Luke-Acts. Edwin A. Judge advised me that in order to complete this kind of study, I needed to learn Italian. So I set off for Rome to study Luke-Acts – and found Pompeii, Fred Brenk, and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. A decade later, this book on Roman domestic art is the consequence. Incidentally, the book is also an argument that Judge is correct: more New Testament scholars would benefit from learning Italian.

This revised collection of essays is also the idea of Jörg Frey, Editor, and Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Director of Theology and Jewish Studies, Mohr Siebeck, whom I thank warmly for their initiative. I have revised all the essays and coordinated them with the hope that they now become a unified book.

Finally, I caution readers. I have not censored or excluded scenes of sex and violence visually represented in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome. Greco-Roman artists typically painted domestic walls and figured mosaics on floors with nude gods, goddesses, and heroes, and they graphically represented the bloody, lethal entertainments that Romans enjoyed in amphitheaters. Seeing domestic visual representations that many early believers experienced daily in their own or their masters' or patrons' Roman living spaces assists in comparing and contrasting the gospel with contemporary culture, visually represented by hundreds of examples in this book and the accompanying CD.

Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary
Berkeley, June 2008 *David Balch*

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This book contains a CD with pictures.

List of Plates

Explanation: The number on the left designates the CD photograph. If the CD photograph is also printed in the book, the Plate number follows. Then follows the name of the building, e.g. Casa del Fauno. The first series of numbers inside the parenthesis gives the physical location of the house. Modern archaeologists have divided Pompeii into nine "Regions" (I–IX), beginning in the south central of the city, and counting counter clockwise around the edge of the city, with region IX in the middle. Within each Region archaeologists speak of "insulae," a block of buildings encircled on all (typically four) sides by streets. For example, VI 12,2 refers to Region VI, insula 12, door number 2. Finally I give a reference to the Italian encyclopedia *Pompei: pitture e mosaici* = PPM, volume and page, where the reader may find more information about the house and the visual representation. The page number on the right is the place where this can be found in the book.

Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.* Berlin
AAAd	Antichità altoadriatiche. Udine / Trieste, Italy
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BARS	British Archaeological Reports Series
CÉFR	Collection de ÉFR
CMT	*Corpus des Mosaiques de Tunisie,* Margaret A. Alexander and Mongi Ennaifer, co-directors. 1973
Domus	Mazzoleni, Donatella, ed., Essay and texts on the sites by Umberto Pappalardo, Photographs by Luciano Romano. *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004
ÉFR	l'École Française de Rome
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
HTRHDR	Harvard Theological Review, Harvard Dissertations in Religion
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* Zurich: Artemis, 1981–97, 8 vols., each vol. in two parts, the first text, the second plates, plus *Indices* (1999)
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. Eva Margarete Steinby. Rome: Quasar, 1995, 4 vols.
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993, 4 vols.
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary. 1996, 3rd ed.
OEANE	*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. Eric M. Meyers. New York : Oxford University, 1997, 5 vols.
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PIAC	Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana
PPM	Baldassarre, Ida, ed. *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; Rome: Arti Grafici Pizzi, 1990–2003, 10 vols., plus *La documentazione nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, 1995
PW	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RAC	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum
RivAC	Rivista di archeologia cristiana
RM	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes, Römische Abteilung = Römische Mitteilungen

SAC	Studi di antichità cristiana
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series
SuppNT	Supplements, Novum Testamentum
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum.* Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004–2006, vols. I–V.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die altestamentliche Wissenschaft

Introduction

This discussion of frescoes and of some mosaics in Roman *domus* (houses) and *insulae* (typically called apartment buildings), that is, of Roman domestic art, occurs in the context of recent, stimulating scholarly discussion that includes the following. The foundational work is a collection of earlier articles by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill[1] and a book by John R. Clarke.[2] Two further books by Clarke focus on Roman domestic art,[3] as does a decisive one by Roger Ling.[4] Shelly Hales published a dissertation written while studying with Jaś Elsner.[5] A wonderful book that focuses on domestic frescoes of dining is by Katherine Dunbabin,[6] and two recent crucial works are by Jens-Arne Dickmann and Eleanor Winsor Leach.[7] Two larger-sized books have stunning plates: *Pittura romana*[8] and *Domus*.[9] Many of these books have glossaries.

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[1] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994).

[2] John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space and Decoration* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991) with extraordinary color plates.

[3] Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998, 2001), as well as *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representations and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy*, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315 (Berkeley: University of California, 2003). The former is reviewed by William S. Anderson, *BMCR* 1998.08.12, and the latter by Matthew B. Roller, *BMCR* 2005.04.68 and Richard Neudecker, *Gnomon* 78/8 (2006) 716–21. Now also *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C. – A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007).

[4] Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991); also Ling's "The Decoration of Roman Triclinia," 239–51 in *In Vino Veritas*, ed. Oswyn Murray and Manuela Tecuşan (Oxford: Alden, 1995). Now also Roger and Leslie Ling, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, vol. II: *The Decorations* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005). Compare the important chapter by Erika Simon, "Mythologische Darstellungen in der pompejanischen Wandmalerei," 239–47, in *Pompejanische Wandmalerei*, hrsg. Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli, Masanori Aoyagi, Stefano De Caro, and Umberto Pappalardo (Stuttgart: Belser, 1990) with 175 color plates, a book also published in Italian and French, but not English.

[5] Shelley Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003), reviewed by Timothy O'Sullivan in the *BMCR* 2004.06.31.

[6] Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003).

[7] Jens-Arne Dickmann, *domus frequentata*: *Anspruchsvolles Wohnen im pompejanischen Stadthaus* (Studien zur Antiken Stadt, 4/1–2; Munich: Dr. Friedrich Pfeill, 1999) and Eleanor Winsor Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004).

[8] Ida Baldassarre, Angela Pontrandolfo, Agnes Rouveret, and Monica Salvadori, *Pittura romana: Dall'ellenismo al tardo-antico* (Milan: Federico Motta, 2002).

Finally, it is possible for a New Testament scholar to enter these discussions because of the Italian encyclopedia *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*,[10] which publishes ten thousand pages that detail floor plans for hundreds of Pompeian houses as well as of insulae and thermopolia, indicating the exact location of frescoes and mosaics in relation to the floor plans and including previous bibliography on each building. I am grateful for the editors' and authors' efforts and can only hope to have used their work of art responsibly. I repeatedly cite PPM with volume and page, occasionally adding plate number, but to make reading the text easier, I typically place these references in footnotes.

The most recent introduction to Roman/Pompeian wall painting is by Eleanor Winsor Leach, and she also has an intense interest in social history. With notes referring to her many contributions, I employ her book as the basis of the following two sections (A and B) of this introductory sketch, noting some of the differences from earlier interpretations. My brief notes do not do justice to her book, which I recommend to readers interested in Roman housing, the setting for many early Christian house churches. She more systematically relates literary sources to archaeological finds than do earlier studies,[11] itself a debatable method.[12] The German scholar August Mau (1904) first outlined the chronology of the four styles of Roman/Pompeian domestic art, but his dates are reliable, Leach notes (15), only for the Republic and early Empire, when the related masonry can be dated. Mau also argued that the originality involved must be foreign, that is, Greek, whereas most art historians now hold that the genius of the changing art styles is Roman and that the painting itself as well as the aesthetic changes depend in a fundamental way on patronage (16).

As is noted in several chapters below, Roman domestic life differs from our con-

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[9] *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*, ed. Donatella Mazzoleni, Essay and texts on the sites by Umberto Pappalardo, Photographs by Luciano Romano (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), critically reviewed by John R. Clarke, *BMCR* 2005.08.32. The remarks on architecture by Mazzoleni must be taken with a grain of salt. See also Filippo Coarelli, ed., Photographs by Alfredo and Pio Foglia, *Pompeii* (New York: Riverside, 2002), very critically reviewed by Larry Richardson, *BMCR* 2003.03.30.

[10] *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, ed. Ida Baldassarre (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; Rome: Arti Grafici Pizzi, 1990–2003), 10 vols., abbreviated PPM, plus a supplementary volume: *PPM. La documentazione nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX* (1995), which I abbreviate as PPM, vol. XI. Now see *Pompei (Regiones VI-VII). Insula Occidentalis*, eds. Masanori Aoyagi and Umberto Pappalardo (University of Tokyo Center for Research of Pictorial Cultural Resources; Naples: Valtrend, 2006) and their unbelievably helpful digitalization of *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte* (1757–1792), 8 vols. (http://www.picure.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/arc/ercolano/index.html), or Google "University of Tokyo" and search for "Ercolano."

[11] Leach, *Social Life of Painting* (2004); on literary sources see 7, 8, 20, 47–48, 97, 105, 124, 130, 132, 153, 157, 167–76, 182. She discusses the Elder Pliny, *Natural History* (pp. 8–9, 169–70), Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture* (pp. 9–10), historians and orators (e.g. Polybius, Vergil, Cicero, Philostratus, Suetonius, Tacitus, esp. Plutarch, *Lucullus*), and poets (e.g. Homer, Horace, Martial, Propertius, Ovid, Statius). On method compare Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, foreword by Jaś Elsner (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2004).

[12] See references to the debate in chap. VI below.

temporary assumptions about houses, with which we automatically associate the adjective "private." Roman domus were not retreats for private lives, but rather showcases, in many cases like stunningly beautiful museums, built to attract public, social, economic, and political life into the domestic spaces of their owners. Greek houses were built to exclude and never achieved the decorative complexity of Roman houses,[13] while Roman houses contributed to their owners' political activity as legal offices and social centers (19). Leach (34) follows several authors in observing that a house in the middle-sized, unimportant town of Pompeii, the Casa del Fauno (c. 31,000 sq. ft.[14]), exceeds the size of the king's palace in the earlier Greek city of Pergamon!

A. Names and functions of rooms in Roman domus and insulae

Describing the function of diverse rooms in such houses, Leach (20, 40) cites a passage in Vetruvius (6.5.1), which distinguishes spaces that are *communia*, open to all comers, from others that are *propria patribus familiarum*, which visitors cannot enter without an invitation, the majority of which would be for dining and sleeping.[15]

On building suitably for different ranks of society. 1. When we have arranged our plan with a view to aspect, we must go on to consider how, in private buildings, the rooms belonging to the family, and how those which are shared with visitors, should be planned. For into the private rooms no one can come uninvited, such as the bedrooms, dining-rooms, baths and other apartments which have similar purposes. *The common rooms are those into which, though uninvited, persons of the people can come by right, such as vestibules, courtyards, peristyles* and other apartments of similar uses. Therefore magnificent vestibules and alcoves and halls are not necessary to persons of a common fortune, because they pay their respects by visiting among others, and are not visited by others. 2. But those who depend upon country produce must have stalls for cattle and shops in the forecourt, and within the main building, cellars, barns, stores and other apartments which are for the storage of produce rather than for grand effect. Again, the houses of bankers and farmers of the revenue should be more spacious and imposing and safe from burglars. Advocates and professors of rhetoric should be housed with distinction, and in sufficient space to accommodate their audiences. For persons of high rank who hold office and magistracies, and whose duty it is to serve the state, we must provide princely vestibules, lofty halls and very spacious peristyles, plantations and broad

[13] Paolo Bonini, *La casa nella Grecia romana. Forme e funzioni dello spazio privato fra I e VII secolo* (Antenor Quaderni 6; Rome: Quasar, 2006).

[14] Paul Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1998) 34. Adolf Hoffmann and Mariette de Vos, "Casa del Fauno (VI 12,2)," PPM V (1994) 80–141, at p. 80: 3,000 square meters, comparable to the size of the Hellenistic palace in Pella, Macedonia, and with palaces of the Ptolemies.

[15] Leach follows Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994), 45, 47, who discusses Vitruvius, *De Arch*. 6.5 on pp. 10–11, 38–39. Wallace-Hadrill's book was also decisive for Carolyn Osiek and David L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997), esp. chap. 1: "archaeology."

Plate 1 (CD 4): Casa di D. Octavius Quartio (II 2,2; PPM III 43): doorway, client benches, view into atrium (2); to the viewer's right from the doorway, a thermopolium (1) that is both open to the street and also has back door into atrium (2) of the house.

avenues finished in a majestic manner. … (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 6.5.1–2, trans. Granger in Loeb; my emphasis)

Astoundingly for modern readers, this means that "all comers" might walk through the open front doors of Roman houses into the central gardens / peristyles and gaze into their dining rooms, which typically open off the gardens, so that describing even the dining rooms as "private" in a modern sense is problematic. Paul Zanker, emeritus Director of the German Archaeological Insitute in Rome, rather employs a category of the American sociologist Veblin, writing of "conspicuous consumption."[16]

Some Pompeian houses have grand portals (CD 1–2), but few have the formal waiting areas for clients (Plate 1 and CD 4; see CD 3 and 7) found in Rome (23). Typically, one walks through the front doorway,[17] which leads through a narrow hall (*fauces*, literally "jaws"; CD 5–6) into an atrium (CD 8, 9), typically the first large room of a domus, usually having a large opening in the roof, all four sides of which slope inward (compluvium) in order to drain rain water into a basin (impluvium) in the floor of the atrium below.

Visitors, including clients who arrived in the wee hours of the morning, sometimes filled these atria. Leach (20–21) quotes Horace who with tongue in cheek urges

[16] Zanker, *Pompeii* 12, citing Thorstein Veblin, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899).

[17] Many houses also have a side or rear door (CD 10).

his addressee to "slip out the back door and leave your client keeping his eye on the atrium" (*Epistle* 1.5.30–31).[18] Decorations in atria are typically simpler than other rooms, "intended to make a momentary impression on persons walking through" (54; see 25). Atria and peristyles are to be traversed rapidly, so function as corridors or walkways. Clarke[19] calls these "dynamic" spaces as distinguished from "static" spaces decorated more elaborately for the enjoyment, for example, of diners who will remain in them for the evening hours of a symposium / convivium. One might see landscapes at some height, above the heads in a crowd (Leach 25; see CD 11–12). According to Polybius (6.54.2–3) and Pliny the Elder (35.6; Leach 26), Romans placed ancestral portrait masks (*imagines*) in the atrium, although modern archaeologists have found none remaining in these spaces. Elaborate atria might have columns: a tetrastyle has, of course, four, a Corinthian atrium six to twelve (Leach 29)!

Rooms called alae ("wings") open off the sides of atria, some of which are elaborately decorated (CD 13–17), while others seem to have been closets or storage spaces. At the opposite end of the atrium from the entrance, typically there is a tablinum, for which Leach notes (21, 26–28) that Vitruvius (6.5.1) is an isolated commentator; he names it the owner's office, the goal, most modern writers have assumed, of a client's visit. The more complex decoration indicates that tablinia were "static" areas where owners would spend time. Penelope Allison[20] notes, however, the common presence of cupboards and chests in these spaces, so suggests that they (also) served to store household goods.

Vetruvius calls peristyles (CD 18–25) the core of the house (Leach 34): I record again his shocking observation that "all comers" were welcome in this core of Roman houses. Leach denies the common assumption that Roman houses simply adopted peristyles from earlier Greek houses: "Examples to be seen in Delian houses in the Greek style and at Olynthus are paved with mosaic and do not strike one in the manner of Roman peristyles as spaces intended for walking" (35). She then develops Varo's fascinating observation[21] that the name and the inspiration of Roman

[18] For references to houses full of clients and/or visitors see Leach, *Social Life* 23–24, 32, 41, 46–47, 295, n. 12.

[19] Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy* (1991) 16, 28, 172–73, 243, 367. For terms and descriptions of atria see L. Richardson, Jr., *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1988) 387: "In Pompeii far the commonest type of atrium is the Tuscanic, columnless, while the tetrastyle and the Corinthian, in which the compluvium is supported, respectively, by columns at the corners and multiple columns, are variants used only sparingly, often in conjunction with a Tuscanic atrium."

[20] Penelope Allison, "House contents in Pompei: data collection and interpretive procedures for a reappraisal of Roman domestic life and site formation process," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1995) 145–76, at pp. 159–60. Also Allison, *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture* (Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 42; Los Angeles: University of California, 2004) 80–82, 168.

[21] Leach 35 refers to Gilles Sauron, "*Templa serena*: à propos de la 'Villa dei Papiri' d'herculaneum: contribution à l'étude des comportements aristocratiques romains à la fin de la République," Mélanges d'archeologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité 92 (1980) 277–301. For philosophers and statesmen visually represented in the Villa dei Papiri, many