

Hendrik DEY & Elizabeth FENTRESS
eds

WESTERN MONASTICISM
ANTE LITTERAM

THE SPACES OF MONASTIC OBSERVANCE
IN LATE ANTIQUITY
AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

— EXTRAIT —

2011
BREPOLS

INVENTING ASCETIC SPACE: HOUSES, MONASTERIES AND THE 'ARCHAEOLOGY OF MONASTICISM'

KIM BOWES

Introduction

In the history of early monasticism in the Roman west, domestic settings play a starring role. Augustine spent his formative Cassiciacum retreat in a friend's villa; Paulinus of Nola made the decision to renounce his senatorial fortune while ensconced on his wife's Spanish estates; and Sulpicius Severus, Martin of Tours and Benedict of Nursia are all said to have founded monasteries in houses or villas.¹ Houses, it would seem, have an intimate, if not formative role in the evolution of early ascetic communities. Indeed, general histories of western monasticism often trace its origins – its cloister-based architecture, its combination of labor and contemplation, and its beginnings among the Roman elite – to the late Roman elite house and villa.²

And yet the search for origins in religious studies has fallen into justifiable disrepute.³ The path from beginnings to the object of inquiry is rarely a direct one and in their attempts to straighten its manifold twists and turns, scholars have been tempted to carve wholly imagined courses of cause and effect. The search for monastic 'origins' has been similarly critiqued in recent years: the early ascetic experiments of the late fourth century can no longer be viewed as 'proto-monasteries'; scholars have rejected a direct line between Roman love of *otium*, or contemplative leisure, and regimes of ascetic contemplation; and the many late antique theologies of sexual abstinence are now rightly disentangled from their early medieval successors.⁴ The house-to-monastery progression, however, has proved somewhat more resilient, not least because it would seem to have some archaeological evidence in its favor.⁵

This essay will attempt to unpack the relationship between houses and monasteries, focusing particularly on the material evidence and its interpretations. It will address the issue only as it appears in the western Mediterranean (largely excluding the Balkans, Britain and Ireland) of the fourth through sixth centuries; the eastern material, both domestic and monastic, has a wholly different character, historical context and chronology, and deserves

(1) Augustine, *Conf.*, 8.3; Ausonius, *Ep.* 27-31; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 31, 32; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita s. Martini*, 1.155-58 and ff; *id.*, *Vita Sancti Hilarii*, 12.41; Gregory, *Dialog.* 2.1-8.

(2) Lorenz 1966; Lienhard 1977; Cantino-Wataghin 1997.

(3) Smith 1990.

(4) See Rousseau 2005; Trout 1988; Brown 1988; Hunter 1987, respectively.

(5) The alleged evolution from atrium/peristyle to cloister is the most oft-cited: Caillet 2004; Jacobsen 2004.

a separate study in its own right.⁶ This essay will suggest that like other monastic origins theories, the relationship between houses and monasteries in the West has been somewhat misconstrued. As a century of archaeology has now made clear, there existed no particular physical or functional relationship between houses and what we term 'monasteries' in the late antique West. Indeed, this essay further suggests that no 'archaeology of monasticism' existed in western late antiquity. This evidence of silence is in part due to a persistent cognitive disconnect surrounding the term 'monastery': the 'monasteries' that dominate the archaeological imagination are defined by qualities which appear principally in the eighth century or later. Even if we speak more appropriately of 'ascetic communities,' rather than monasteries, such communities do not seem to exhibit any special spatial or functional relationship with houses, demonstrating instead an extraordinary flexibility of placement and physical form. This essay further suggests that late antique ascetic practice had no materially distinct expression, and that no uniquely ascetic material culture existed in the fourth through sixth centuries. Ascetic identity was thus reliant on a particular interpretation of a shared material world. The contemporary texts that focus on spatial distinction, gender separation and shared wealth thus did not describe a special ascetic material culture, but rather sought to impress a particular ascetic hermeneutic into a largely homogeneous and undistinguished material world. Words and ideas were thus asked to do what things did not.

Houses and monasteries: The archaeological evidence

The association between houses and monasteries has long been remarked upon in studies of early monasticism.⁷ The earliest, or at least the earliest famous practitioners of ascetic withdrawal in the West were aristocrats, and those aristocrats had for centuries used their rural villas as places from which to escape the pressures of political life, to compose poetry and engage in philosophical debate. Similarly, fourth- and fifth-century ascetics like Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus, Martin of Tours, Hilary of Poitiers and Augustine spent important moments in their ascetic careers in villas – penning ascetic treatises, engaging in learned discourse with like-minded friends and living materially-simplified, prayer-filled lives, either alone or in the company of others. Later, sixth- through ninth-century hagiographies often credit local holy men with founding monastic communities in their houses and villas.⁸ These texts were traditionally read as describing early or proto-monastic communities, and houses were thus positioned as sites of *ur*-monasticism.

An earlier generation of archaeologists thought to have found material confirmation of this 'special relationship' in the later phases of Roman houses.⁹ Just as the discovery

(6) 'Western Mediterranean' here includes the provinces of Gaul, Hispania, Italy and the western parts of North Africa. The essay largely excludes the evidence of sixth- and seventh-century Ireland, and makes reference to British developments only as they inform epistemological issues. On eastern monastic developments that address the issues of houses, see Brenk 2003; *id.* 2008.

(7) Lorenz 1966; Rousseau 1978, 81; Zelzer 1998; Dunn 2000, 90.

(8) See for example the problem of Saint Clastor, bishop of Apt in Gaul: Février 1986.

(9) E.g. Courcelle 1938; Coquet 1954; Carosi 1956; Reichert 1961.

of churches beneath the titular churches of Rome seemed proof positive of the pre-Constantinian 'house-church,' the frequent discovery of house and villa remains beneath or near medieval monasteries seemed general material proof of a villa-monastery evolution.¹⁰ Thus, as excavations revealed Roman and late antique phases at sites such as Ligugé or Subiaco, the foundation legends linking those monasteries to Martin and Benedict, and the late antique texts describing their early house-based communities together seemed to offer material proof of the house-monastery connection.

John Percival was first to inject a note of caution into this confident narrative, pointing out that at least for Gaul, all of the proposed villa-monasteries showed a certain discontinuity of occupation between villa and church, sometimes by as much as several centuries.¹¹ If a monastic church was simply built over a defunct villa or reused its ruined remains, the reasons for the palimpsest were legion – the reuse of land which ruins rendered unsuitable for agriculture, the association of ruins with sanctity in the early medieval imagination, or simply coincidence. In short, Percival called for chronological precision in evaluating villa-to-monastery claims, while drawing attention to the many other meanings, beside that of origins, such a pairing might have.

The last twenty years have seen a dramatic surge in late antique archaeology, particularly the archaeology of house and church. The corpus of sites making some claim to be house-turned-monastery has grown concomitantly. These claims are far more cautious than those of the previous generations, and most ponder carefully the problems of chronology, reuse and memory raised by Percival.¹² Thanks to this careful work, we are now in a position not only to ask if there was a physical link between houses and the earliest monasteries, but just as importantly, to ask what precisely defined the archaeology of late antique monasticism more generally.

Most of the potential candidates for house-turned-monastery are possible monastic churches built into abandoned villas or houses. In the villa of Saõ Cucufate in central Portugal, for example, a twelfth-century royal concession speaks of a monastery dedicated to the saint of that name: the modern toponym applies to the site of a great fourth-century Roman villa, and the monastery has been identified as a church built into the villa's old triclinium.¹³ While the date of the church is uncertain, it seems to post-date the eighth century, whereas the villa was abandoned by the late fifth century: if the small chapel did serve the monastery of São Cucufate, it did so amongst villa ruins. Similar is the situation at the villa of Anthée in Belgium, said to have been given an oratory by the ascetic Hadelin in the seventh century.¹⁴ A possible villa temple went out of use in the late empire, and seems to have been converted to use as a church in the seventh century. The villa itself ceased to serve as a site of elite occupation already in the third century, although some sixth-seventh century ceramics and a nearby necropolis may document a residual popula-

(10) On the titular churches, see Kirsch 1918; cf. Duval 1978.

(11) Percival 1997b; anticipated somewhat by Février 1994.

(12) See for instance Cantino Wataghin 1997; Chavarría 2004.

(13) Alarcão, Étienne and Mayet 1990, 265-8; *ibid.* 1995.

(14) Dierkens 1988.

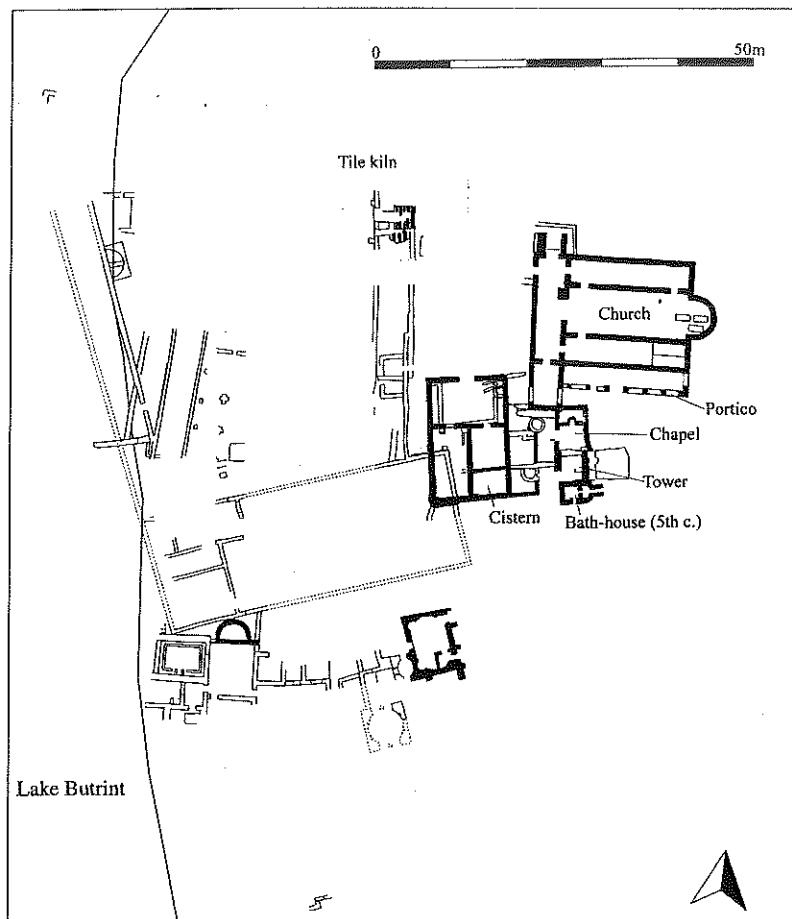


Fig. 1 – Diaporit. Plan of fifth-century remains (black), showing plan of earlier villa (white) (Bowden and Përzhita 2004, fig. 11).

tion. While the repeated return to a sacred site is notable (and not untypical),¹⁵ the hiatus between the fourth- and seventh-century occupation is just as significant. Furthermore, in both cases, archaeology has revealed only the churches in question, not any associated monastic habitation.

This is not the case at the possible example in Diaporit in southern Albania (fig. 1).¹⁶ Here a maritime villa of late Republican date was abandoned by the third century; in the late fifth or early sixth century, a large church containing monumental tombs in its apse was built adjacent to the villa ruins. To the south was added a tower, chapel, storerooms and a small bath complex. Attached to the church's south wall was a long portico that had no direct connection to either the church or the residential complex. The excavators have tentatively identified the site as a locus of pilgrimage, owing to the major tombs in the

(15) On the reuse of villa-temples as churches in Gaul and Spain, see Bowes 2006.

(16) Bowden and Përzhita 1994.

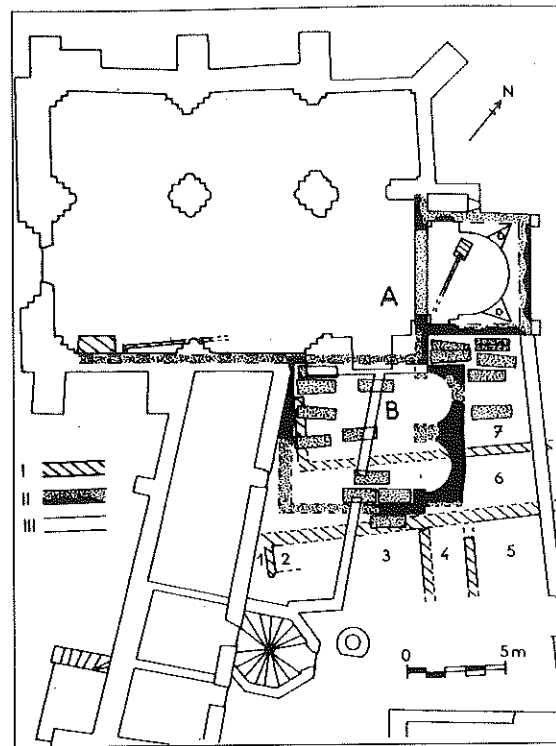


Fig. 2 – Salagon. Plan showing I: villa; II: later fifth-century church (Guild and Vecchione 1995, p. 82).

apse, but suggest that a monastic community may have also inhabited the portico/tower area. Whatever the nature of the occupation, the villa was clearly defunct by the time it began.

Other candidates are churches built into villas no longer used for elite occupation, but transformed to serve other functions. At Salagon, in Provence, the church of Notre-Dame in Mane is documented as a monastery in the eleventh century (fig. 2).¹⁷ Excavations around the medieval church have revealed a villa of the first century AD constructed around a courtyard; in the fifth century, residential functions gave way to lower-scale occupation indicated by silos and beaten earth floors, while at the end of the fifth century, a church was built over the courtyard while occupation continued to either side. Whether or not the church served a specifically monastic community, or simply a small rural agglomeration, is less clear.

A somewhat more convincing case of possible monastic occupation is the example of Saint-Julien-en-Genevois near Geneva.¹⁸ The villa remains unexcavated but surface survey indicates a large estate occupied through the fourth or fifth centuries. About 100 m away a

(17) Guild 1990; Guild and Vecchione 1995; *id.* 1996.

(18) Colardelle 1977; *id.* 1983; M. and R. Colardelle 1995.

small building, probably a late antique mausoleum, held a single late antique tomb, while a later agglomeration of huts grew up alongside it. In the late fifth century, the mausoleum was converted into a church through the construction of aisles which partially destroyed the huts: the habitation in this period, found through surface remains, moved some distance away. A cemetery, seemingly contemporary with this first church phase, contained a high percentage of male burials (84% of the sexed adults), leading the excavators to wonder if the church was used by a nearby monastic community. The relationship, physical and chronological, with the nearby villa remains unclear.

Another interesting, but less convincing case is the complex at Monte da Cegonha in central Portugal.¹⁹ A modest villa of high imperial date with a small bath complex was destroyed and overlaid by a square church with a tripartite east end containing a reliquary beneath the altar, and a nave filled with graves. At the same time and adopting the same orientation, a residence was constructed adjacent to but separate from the church. Fronted by a long corridor overlooking the valley below, it seems to have been organized around a small courtyard. The excavators dated the church/residence complex to the fourth century and tentatively wondered if it might be a small monastery. The absolute dating, however, has no ceramic basis, while the graves in the church produced ceramics of fifth- through seventh-century date and ¹⁴C dating of the mortar from both church and residence yielded consistent seventh-century dates.²⁰ Even if this later date is accepted, however, there is nothing from the skeletal collection or any other archaeological evidence indicative of a monastery as opposed to a private church complex.

Other examples have problematic spatial relationships with their concomitant villas. In the excavations at Parc Central outside Tarragona in Spain, a modest peristyle house was excavated along one side of a minor road leading out of the city, constructed in the later fourth century with no estimate of its duration (fig. 3).²¹ On the opposite side of the road, a complex of agricultural buildings and a small church were built in the mid-fifth century, adopting the same orientation as the house. The church had an attached atrium of unusual size (24 m long to the church's 22 m), around which clustered a series of small rooms. The church was enlarged in a second phase, when a large western tomb or counter-choir was built partially over the atrium. These small rooms, coupled with the discovery of a funerary inscription mentioning Thecla, the ascetic saint of Egyptian fame, lead the excavators to wonder if the church complex might be a monastic establishment, linked to the nearby house. Yet the house and the church need not be related at all, but simply neighbors in a crowded *suburbium*, while the monastic identification is, even by the excavators' estimation, only tentative. As at Diaporit, a pilgrimage complex has also been suggested on the basis of the counter-choir/tomb and direct access from the road.

With the exception of examples like Saint-Julien, the most convincing instances of villas-turned-monasteries are those which rely entirely on textual evidence for both the

(19) Alfenim and Lopes 1994; *id.* 1995; Lopes and Alfenim 1994.

(20) On the ¹⁴C dates, Bowes 2008, 135 n. 39.

(21) Mar *et al.* 1996; Mar and Salom i Garreta 1999.

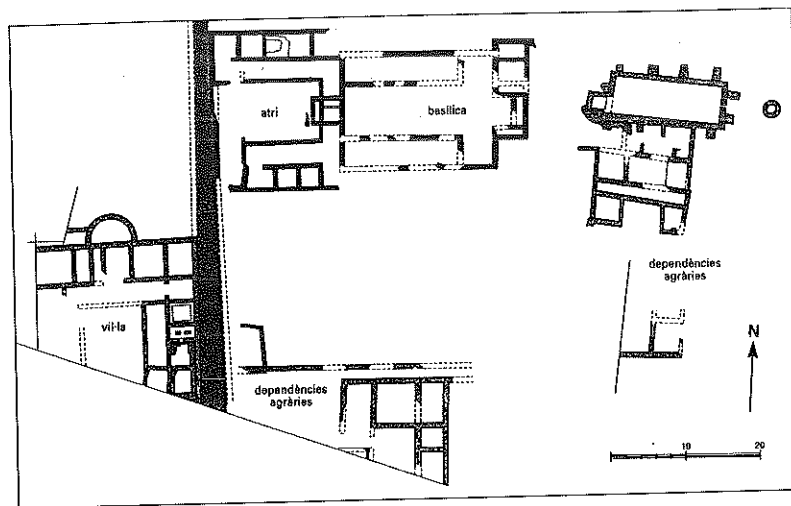


Fig. 3 – Parc Central. Plan showing villa, church and agricultural dependencies (Mar and Salom i Garreta 1999, p. 176).

identification of the monastery and the contemporaneous functioning of the villa. The archaeology in these cases is largely irrelevant to the postulated evolution. Cassiodorus' Vivarium on the Calabrian coast is known from his fulsome descriptions of his ancestral properties with its fishponds.²² The ruined church of San Martino di Copanello has been plausibly identified as one of the monastery's churches through topographic clues and the eighth-century illustrated copies of Cassiodorus' works which include a church of Saint Martin (fig. 4). Re-excavations in the late 1980s discerned two pre-seventh-century building phases.²³ The structure originated as a triconch, with a western rectangular component of unknown size. No liturgical installations were detected from this phase and the excavators have identified this building by its plan as either a villa *triclinium* or mausoleum. The next phase saw the narrowing of the entrance to the triconch and the extension of the 'nave' to the west. A longitudinal annex was built against, but seemingly separate from this nave, and an enclosure of unknown dimensions was appended to the southeast, this later identified as a possible 'cloister.' Unfortunately, the new excavations produced little material that would definitively date any of these phases: the early triconch was generally dated to the late antique period because of its plan, and was thought not to be a church, but rather some part of Cassiodorus' villa. Only in the second phase, with the western extension and partial closing of the triconch entrance, is there potential evidence of Christian cult, and this is placed in the mid-sixth century, seemingly to correspond with Cassiodorus' foundation of Vivarium rather than any compelling independent evidence. Of the remainder of the villa nothing has been found.

The extensive literary corpus on Benedict's life, and the understandable interest in finding the earliest Benedictine monasteries, has led to two notable excavations. The first

(22) Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.29; Courcelle 1938; *id.* 1954.

(23) Bougard and Noyé 1986; Bougard and Noyé 1989; Zinzi 1994.

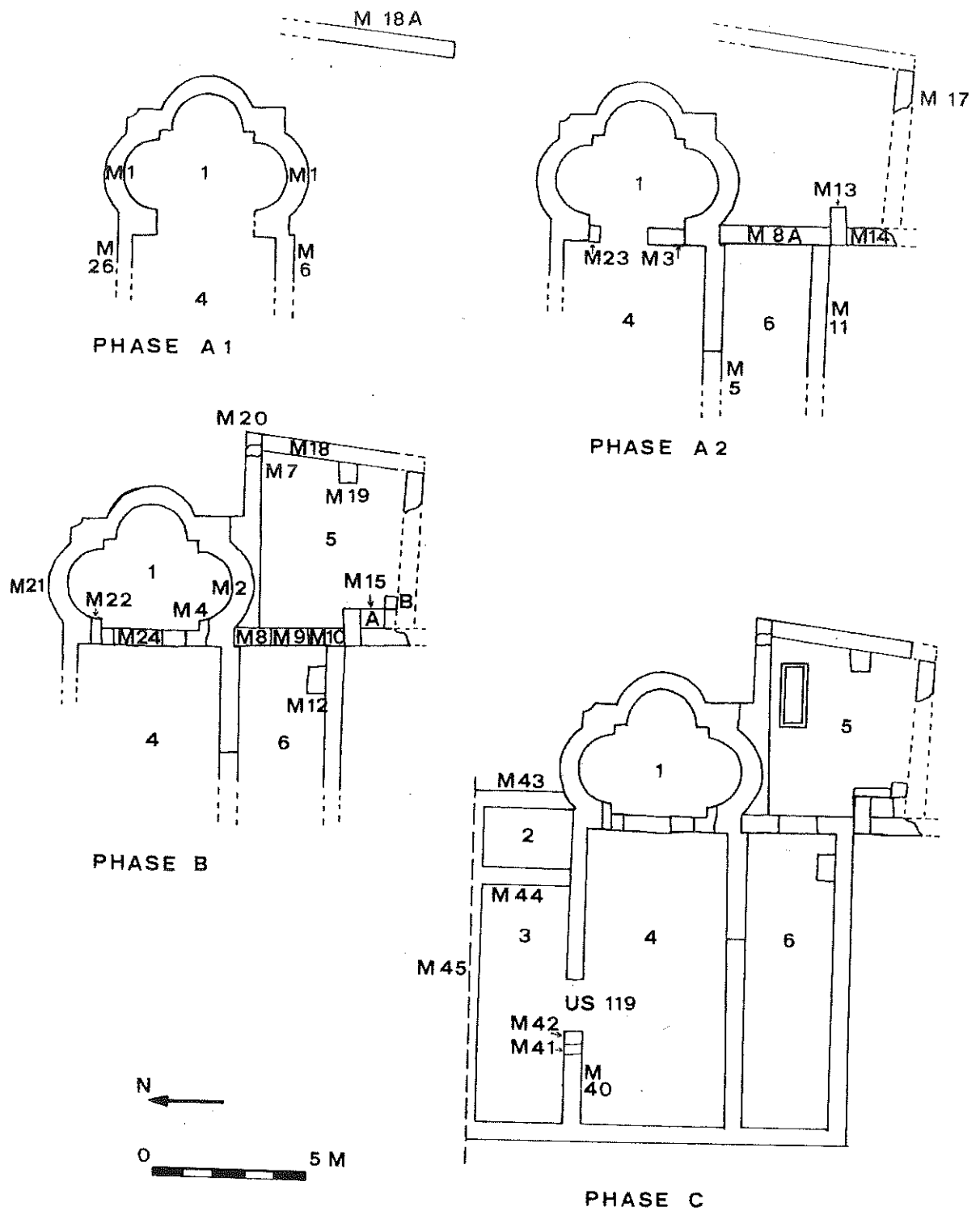


Fig. 4 - San Martino in Copanello. Phased plan (Bougard and Noyé 1986, fig. 10).

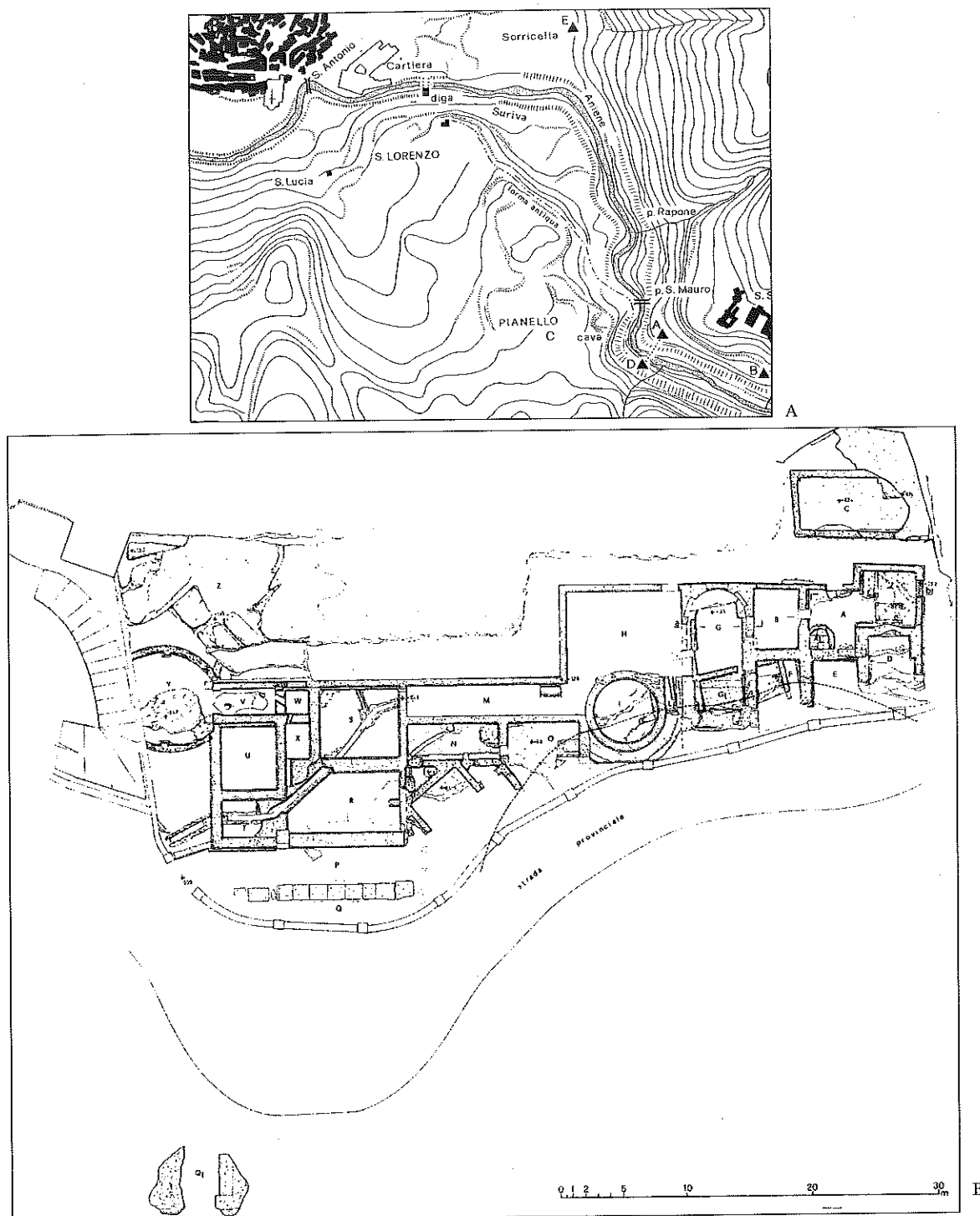


Fig. 5 – A. Subiaco. Overall plan of Nero's villa and later monasteries. Nucleus A is site of alleged Benedictine monastery (Fiore Cavaliere, Mari and Luttazzi 1999, fig. 1).
 B. Subiaco. Detail of Nucleus A (Fiore Cavaliere, Mari and Luttazzi 1999, fig. 4).

was the investigations at Subiaco, the site of Benedict's second retreat from Rome and his first monastic foundations (fig. 5).²⁴ Subiaco was home to one of Nero's villas, spread out in a series of panoramic nuclei along an artificial lake. Benedict is said to have made his home in a cliff-side cave above the lake, while his later foundations were installed in the valley below. Gregory's *Dialogues*, the main contemporary source for these monasteries, is vague on their location and makes no mention of the villa.²⁵ The fourteenth-century *Chronicon Sublacense*, however, describes one of these monasteries, San Clemente, as having been erected near an ancient bridge, and archaeologists have used this and other textual clues to locate San Clemente in a terraced bath nucleus (termed 'A') near the possible bridge remains.²⁶ Excavations in this nucleus revealed quantities of fifth-sixth century ceramics and a possible kitchen area, but virtually no mural modifications. An earlier nymphaeum has been identified as the church, seemingly because of its apsed shape, but early excavations had stripped it of all stratigraphy and any indications, if they existed, of ritual use. Other fifth-sixth century occupation has been found in bath nucleus 'C' and nearby catacombs, possibly associated with the local lay population mentioned in the *Dialogues*. Archaeologically, there is little or nothing to distinguish the possible 'monastic' settlement in nucleus A from such local populations, and the textual evidence associating San Clemente with nucleus A of the Neronian villa is similarly fraught with assumptions.

Also relying principally on textual evidence is the monastery of San Sebastiano in Alatri. The monastery is described in the *Dialogues* and letters of Gregory the Great as having been founded by Liberius: the textual record is mute on its context, but it has been assumed to have been one of Liberius' Campanian properties, plausibly located as the medieval monastic site of San Sebastiano (fig. 6).²⁷ A careful history of the site and mural analysis have produced the most complete plan of a proposed late antique monastery, including a church, a large rectangular building identified as a residential block, a precinct wall and a tiny possible triconch chapel or martyrion.²⁸ However, the absolute dating of these phases has been disputed: as the dating is based on masonry styles alone, it is not clear if these remains are late antique or, as has been countered, late-eighth century in date.²⁹ A possible villa itself was only evidenced through a few preserved walls some distance away, and no estimate of its chronological span was possible: the excavators suggested that it may have been a small farm in ruins by the sixth century.

Richer in archaeological material, but still highly enigmatic is the foundation associated with Martin of Tours at Ligugé (fig. 7). Around 360, Martin is said to have followed his mentor Hilary to Poitiers, where he lived the life of an ascetic and gathered around him a group of disciples. The town of Ligugé, located about 10 km south of Poitiers, has been identified as the *vicus Locoteiacus* described by Gregory and Venantius Fortunatus and

(24) Fiore Cavaliere 1994; *id.* 1996; Fiore Cavaliere, Mari and Luttazzi 1999; Mari 1994; Tomei 1994.

(25) Gregory, *Dialog.* 2.1-8.

(26) *Chronicon Sublacense*, 28 (ed. Morghen); Carosi 1956.

(27) Gregory, *Dialog.* 2.35; *Ep.* 9.163; 9.165.

(28) Fentress, Goodson, Laird and Leone 2005, 33-70.

(29) Hodges 2007 on the dating.

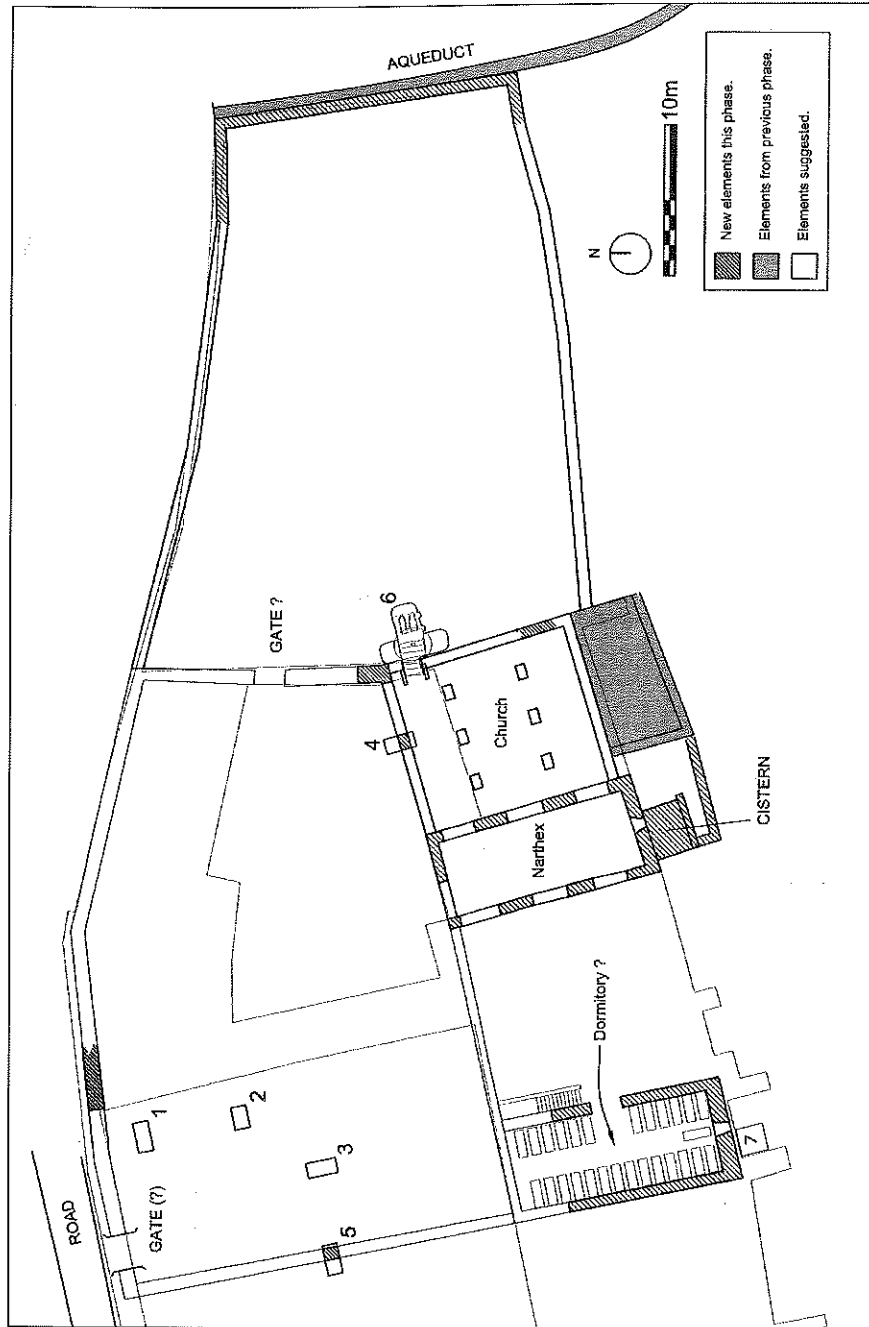


Fig. 6 – San Sebastiano, Alatri. Reconstructed plan of late antique site (Fentress, Goodson, Laird and Leone 2005, fig. 11).

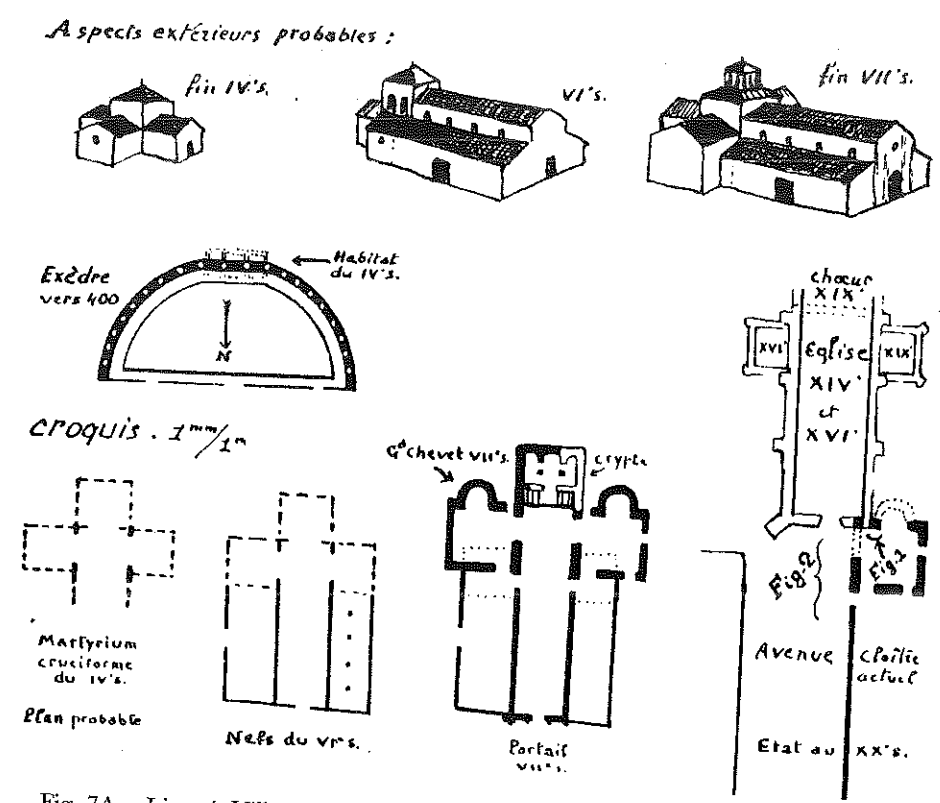


Fig. 7A – Ligugé. Villa and phases of church proposed by Coquet (Coquet 1960).

assumed to be one of Hilary's estates. Here Martin is said to have performed two miracles, one of which, the raising of a dead catechumen, was by Gregory of Tours' time commemorated by a *memoria*, and the other of which took place on a nearby estate.³⁰ Excavations in and around the Benedictine monastery during the 1950s and 60s unearthed a variety of structures, whose interpretation as the Martinian monastery came under almost immediate fire for its total reliance on the historical text.³¹ Subsequent reevaluation has identified a hypocaust system, replaced by a large semicircular exedra, as the remains of a large villa dating to the later fourth or early fifth century. Nearby and beneath the medieval church were the remains of a large cistern, inside of which was constructed an apsed hall, probably an early church or funerary structure. The date of its earliest phases is unclear, while the subsequent construction of a proper three-aisled basilica dates to the sixth through eighth centuries. Thus, while the site may be that associated with Martin's early ascetic experiments, the archaeology has produced nothing of clear Martinian date.

(30) Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 7.1; Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus s. Martini*, 4.30; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita s. Martini*, 1.155-58 and ff; idem, *Vita Sancti Hilarii*, 12.41.

(31) Camus 1989; Coquet 1954; *id.* 1955; *id.* 1977; Février and Duval 1996.

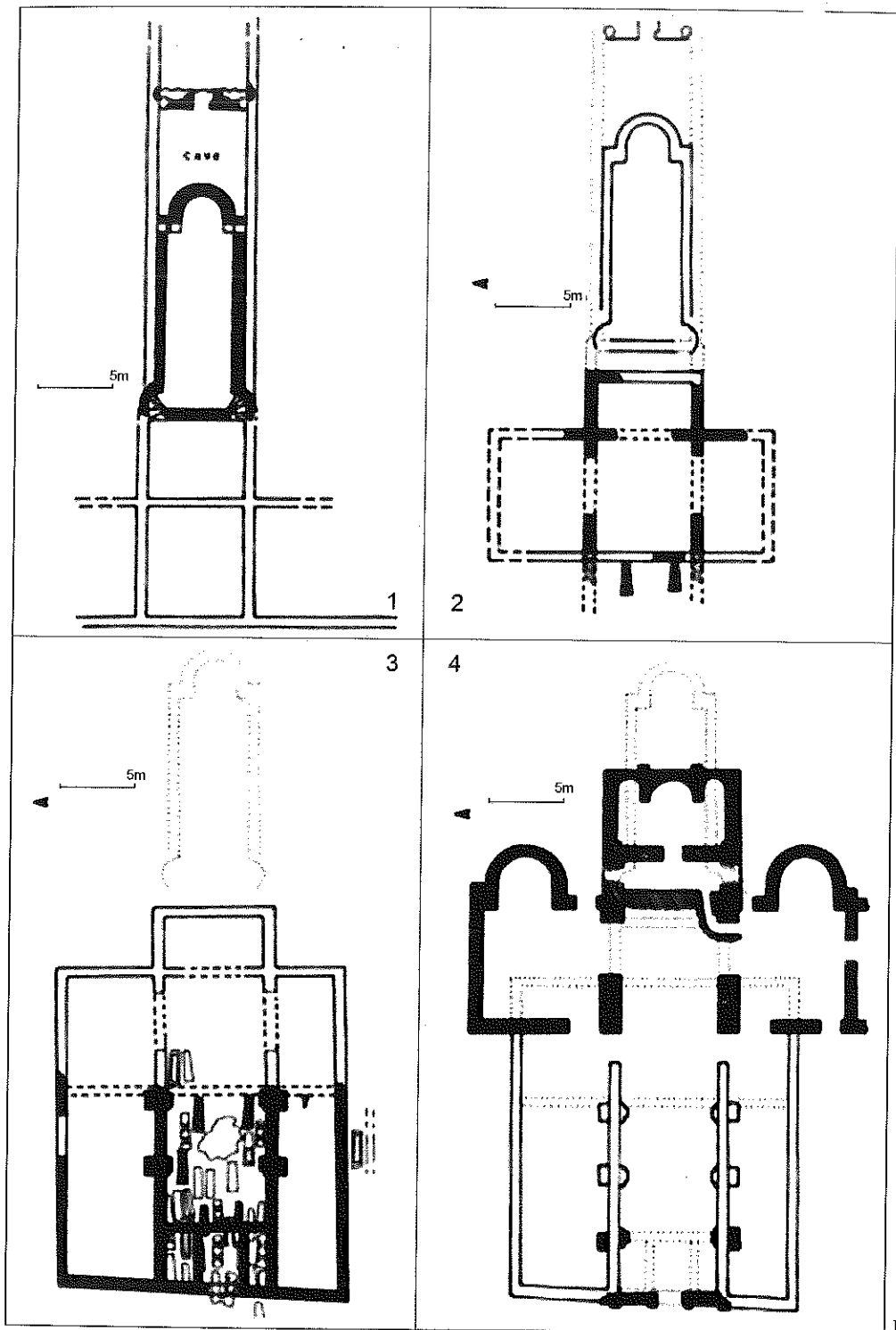


Fig. 7B – Ligugé. Church phases proposed by Février and Duval (Février and Duval 1006, p. 281).

Like his hero, Martin of Tours, the sixth-century Martin of Braga is credited with constructing a monastery within a Roman villa or palace. And like Ligugé, the site of S. Martinho de Dume in northern Portugal provides little evidence for a villa, and even less for any kind of continuity between the site's Roman structures and its later church. According to Gregory of Tours, the Suevian kingdom was converted to Catholicism when the son of the king was cured of leprosy by the relics of St. Martin of Tours, in thanks for which a basilica was built in the saint's honor, presumably near the royal palace.³² Martin of Braga later not only established a bishopric in Dume, but also built a monastery at the site.³³ A restoration campaign and a series of excavations in the parish church of Dume in 1987 revealed not only a large basilica of unusual plan, but also fragmentary Roman-period remains.³⁴ These discoveries prompted the excavators to identify the site as the monastery founded by Martin of Braga and to claim that this monastery was installed in an occupied villa, converted for the purpose. This alleged villa is attested by three or four walls and associated mosaics dating to the first or second century AD. Later modifications to these spaces, and the reconstruction of the walls and pavements are said to stand at the same stratigraphic level as the church, and are thus assumed to be contemporary with it. This posited church has a single nave and triconch east end, while some sculptural fragments of a plaque and frieze, dated generally to the fifth-eighth centuries, were the only datable remains recovered. Thus, while the initial construction of the church, as well as the later phase of the 'villa,' have been dated to the mid-sixth century by historical evidence, there is no archaeological support for this interpretation, nor for the idea that the church was built in an inhabited villa. Furthermore, even if one assumes that the church does date to the mid-sixth century, as is claimed, it is not clear to which of the Dume foundations – the episcopate, the royal chapel, or the monastic church – the triconch basilica pertains.

No discussion of house/villa monastic transformation would be complete without mention of Augustine's community at Hippo. Sometime after his ordination as bishop, Augustine gathered together a heterogeneous mix of non-ordained young men (*dei servi*) from all backgrounds, and installed them near the cathedral church in Hippo in a place he termed a *monasterium*.³⁵ He later formed a community of ordained ascetics, also living near the church, which he called a *monasterium clericorum*. His letter to a community of female ascetics, also in Hippo, is presumed to reflect his management of his own communities and was later combined with other texts to form what is known as the Rule of Augustine.³⁶ The discovery of a large church and its surrounding *insula* in Hippo was long-age identified as Augustine's cathedral, his martyrdom of St. Stephen and the accompanying *monasteria*, but this interpretation, too, has been criticized (fig. 8).³⁷ As many as eight houses comprised the original *insula*, one or two of which were destroyed to build the church. The fate of

(32) *De virtutibus S. Martini*, 1.11; 4.7; *Divisio Theodomiri* (ed. Da Costa 1965, no. 551).

(33) See Tenth Council of Toledo (656) (ed. Vives 1963, 322).

(34) *Fontes* 1987; *id.* 1992.

(35) Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 5.1; Augustine *Serm.* 355; Aug. *Ep.* 20*.2.

(36) Augustine, *Ep.* 211.

(37) See Février 1972, 145-50; Bizot 2005.

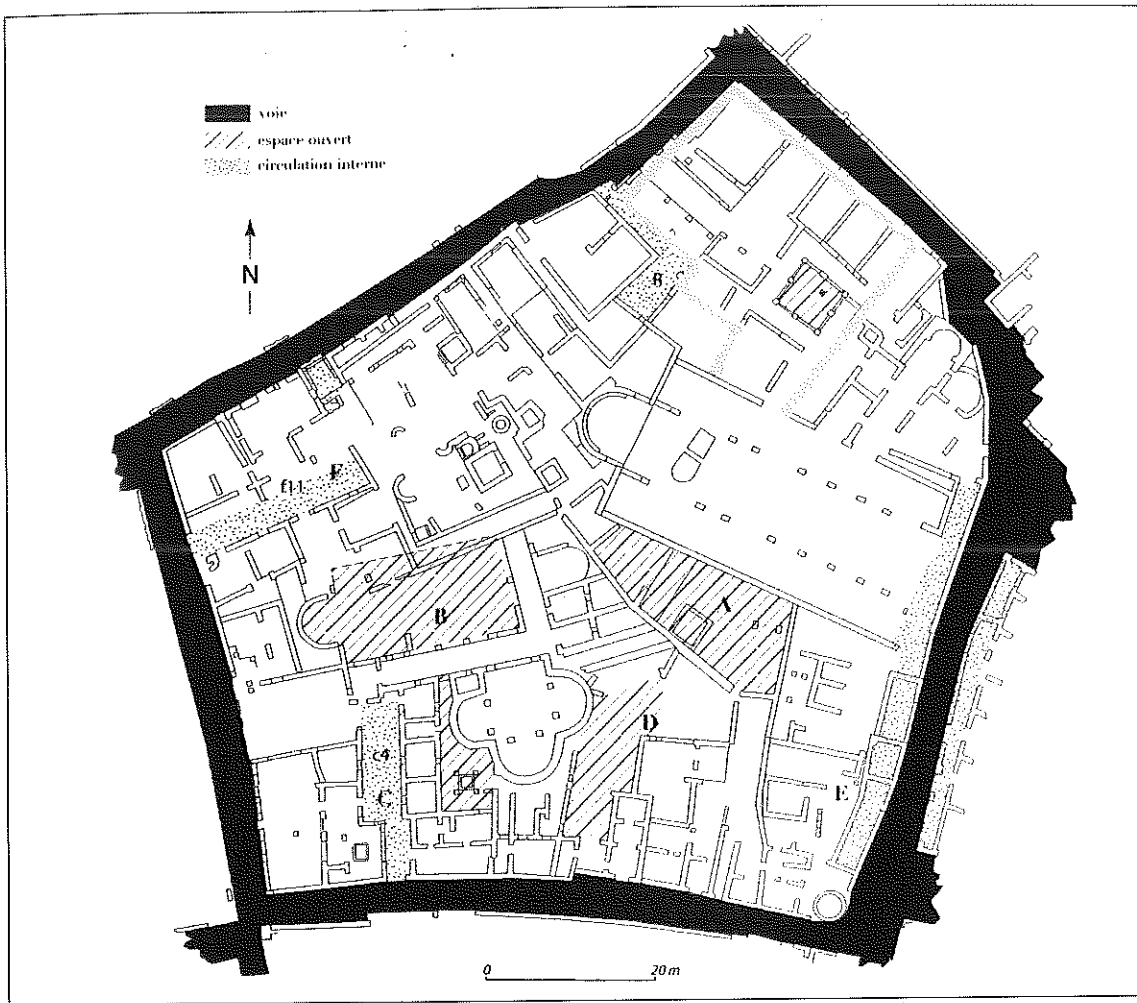


Fig. 8 – Hippo, ‘cathedral’ insula with proposed monastery outlined (after Bizot 2005, p. 197).

those on the west side is uncertain, but in any case, these remained spatially separate from the church. To the east, a large *domus* was subdivided, one part being used to construct a baptistery and small chapel, while the second, northern part, with rooms set around a small peristyle, seems to have continued in use and was connected to the church. Was this the home of Augustine’s ascetic communit(ies)? First, we cannot be sure that the church in question was, in fact, Augustine’s cathedral; as the only church excavated in Hippo, it is the obvious, but not certain, candidate.³⁸ The connection of the north-east house to the church is the most provocative clue, but is that connecting hallway a purposeful addition or a relic from earlier house passageways? The remains of walls and floors, the only clues from the early excavations, are largely mute.

(38) Février 1972, 149-50.

An archaeology of monasticism?

The above summary does not pretend to be complete, but it does provide an overview of the types of sites and contexts in which late antique monastic occupation has been claimed or suggested. Most notable about the list is that none of the proposed sites provides unambiguous, or even moderately convincing evidence for monastic occupation of a Roman house or villa. In many cases, the synchronous occupation of house/villa and church is unclear; in others, the late antique date of the church and/or site is unclear; and in every case the justification for specifically monastic or ascetic occupation is problematic. The later problem is most significant, and most revealing: in only two cases – that of Saint-Julien-en-Genevois with the somewhat skewed sex-ratios in its necropolis, and perhaps Parc Central with its small rooms clustered around the church atrium – is there material justification offered for ascetic occupation. The remainder of the material evidence, typically a late antique church exhibiting some relationship with a late antique residence, lends itself to a variety of possible interpretations – pilgrimage center (Diaporit and Parc Central), private villa-church (Monte da Cegonha), or local church for nearby farms and villages (Salagon, Athenée, Ligugé).

The most convincing candidates for monastic function owe that status almost entirely to textual evidence, San Martino in Copanello and Subiaco being among the most convincing on the grounds that the textual evidence and physical remains are well-dated and more or less contemporary. In all of these cases, however, the archaeological evidence is particularly thin – no habitations have been uncovered and/or no clear church is present. In short, archaeology, even in combination with textual evidence, has yet to document a particular tie between houses and monasteries, or an evolution from house to monastery.

These problems, and the reliance on texts, are not restricted to the specific question of house-to-monastery transformation. Among the whole of proposed fourth- through sixth-century monastic sites, it is likewise difficult to locate anything we can term a distinct 'monastic archaeology.' For the best textually-attested foundations – Marmoutier, Primuliacum, the Jura monasteries, Lérins, the famous Burgundian and Frankish royal foundations, and most of the early attested monasteries of North Africa, Iberia, Italy, and the Alps – either no contemporary (i.e. fourth-sixth-century) physical evidence exists or only the church building is known.³⁹ Thus, no excavated evidence for the spaces of monastic life currently exists for these sites. There are, however, some exceptions. Near Poitiers, at Radegund's monastery of Saint-Croix, early excavations revealed a single-aisled church flanked by a building containing two small rooms – the alleged oratory and cell of the saint (fig. 9). The dating and function are both highly speculative.⁴⁰ Slightly later, at the monastery of Cybard d'Angoulême, founded by the early-seventh-century hermit of that name, a

(39) See James 1981; Sapin 2008; Duval 1986a; Caballero Zoreda 2005; Chavarría 2004; Cantino Wataghin 1997; Cantino Wataghin, Destafanis and Uggé 2000; Sennhauser 2008. The 1988 summary of monastic archaeology in France by Bond and Maines is illustrative: late antique/early medieval excavations merit one paragraph: Bond and Maines 1988.

(40) Sapin 2008.

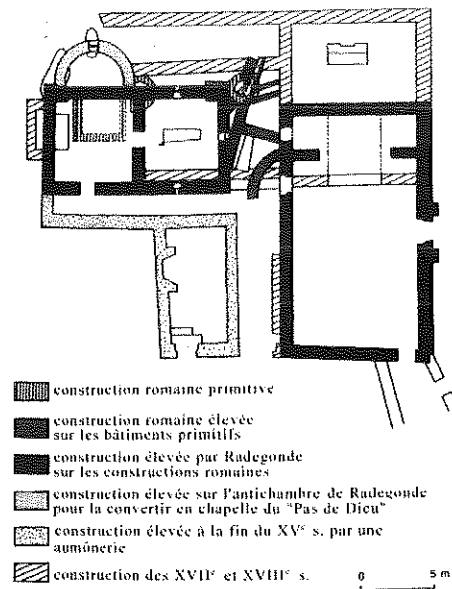


Fig. 9 – Saint-Croix, monastery of Radegund (Sapin 2008, fig. 3).

probable (but undiscovered) small church was accompanied by four square buildings built on terraces, and a larger rectangular structure, containing a hearth.⁴¹ These were assigned broad sixth- through eighth-century dates: is this the site of the first monastery and its buildings?

In Tunisia, two different sites in the Kneiss archipelago have been identified as a monastery inhabited for a time by Fulgentius of Ruspe. The various identifications have been based on topographic clues from Ferrandus' *Life of Fulgentius*, and on the presence of material remains.⁴² Neither of these sites is well dated, and while one (on the island of Dzirat el Laboua) has Christian remains, neither is distinguishable from the other rural sites found on these islands. Other alleged North African monasteries, like the rural church and atrium complex at Ain Tamda and the urban cathedral complexes at Theveste and Timgad (the so-called 'Catholic' and 'Donatist' cathedrals), have been contested on the grounds that their courtyards surrounded by small rooms, often without direct access to the church, may be better identified as pilgrimage complexes or habitation for clergy.⁴³ As Dossey has pointed out in this volume and as the case of Augustine's Hippo pointedly illustrates, parsing 'monastic' versus 'clerical' occupation assumes categorical distinctions – of both identity and lifestyle – which were often non-existent in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁴

(41) Sapin 2008.

(42) Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii* 12; Troussel *et al.* 1992. See also Dossey in this volume.

(43) On Ain Tamda, Seston 1934; on Theveste, Ballu 1897; for the critique, Duval 1986a. See also Dossey in this volume.

(44) See Cooper 1999.

In Spain, at L'Illa de Cullera, south of Valencia, excavations have revealed a possible church (composed of three rectangular rooms, identified as a church based on the discovery of three liturgical crossés) and neighboring rooms containing large amounts of sixth-century amphorae and imported unguentaria of sixth or seventh-century date.⁴⁵ The site as a whole is enclosed by what appears to be a contemporary wall. The site is identified as the monastery founded by Justinian, bishop of Valencia (d. 546) through a combination of textual evidence and the contemporary finds. In Mérida, near the basilica of Santa Eulalia, was found a dedicatory inscription for a female monastery, and another inscription mentioning a *domus* dedicated to the same saint interpreted as a male monastery. No archaeological remains of either foundation have been found, but the remains of an aisled, porticoed complex of late sixth-century date, interpreted as the *xenodochium* described in the contemporary *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*, has been suggested to have perhaps served double-duty as a monastery. A series of other Spanish/Portuguese churches of fifth- through sixth-century date with accompanying, often well-dated contemporary habitations, have also been tentatively identified as monasteries on largely archaeological grounds.⁴⁶ At Bovalar (Lérida) or Casa Herrera (Badajoz), rural sixth-century churches, often of large size and/or material wealth, have surrounding complexes of rooms, hearths, kilns and other installations;⁴⁷ at Montinho das Larajeiras (Portugal), a late antique church of uncertain date was built into a Roman river-side agglomeration whose equally-sized rooms suggested monastic function;⁴⁸ at Mosteiros and Monte do Mosteiro (both in Portugal) toponyms and/or later medieval traditions had suggested a monastic identification for rural churches;⁴⁹ while at the São Gião di Nazaré (Portugal) the high mural choir screen separating choir from nave suggested to one scholar a 'monastic' church form, a designation which has since been rejected even as the date of the church has been pushed considerably later.⁵⁰

While possessed of fewer sites and less documentary evidence, Anglo-Saxon archaeologists have been assiduous in not only excavating beyond the church, but in pondering the nature of 'monastic archaeology' itself. Recent work has cast doubt on whether the previous yardsticks of post-Roman or Anglo-Saxon monastic presence – enclosures, churches, a wealthy material culture – are not in fact shared by other kinds of elite sites.⁵¹ At Flixborough and Brandon, sites with complex seventh- through tenth-century phases, previous monastic attributions have been contested. Chris Loveluck's work at the former site has looked carefully at shifting patterns of consumption and production as seen through the animal bone and small-finds records, and posited major shifts in such patterns, perhaps

(45) Rosselló Mesquida 1995.

(46) Summarized and critiqued by Chavarría 2004; Caballero Zoreda 1988; *id.* 2005; Moreno Martín 2009a; *id.* 2009b. Thanks to Francisco Moreno for supplying several pieces of bibliography.

(47) Bovalar: Palol 1999a; *id.* 1999b; Casa Herrera: Ulbert 1978, 3-79.

(48) Maciel 1996, 91-100; *id.* 2000.

(49) Mosteiros: Alfenim and Lima 1995; Monte do Mosteiros: Maciel and Martins 1995.

(50) Schlunk 1971; cf. Godoy 1995, 308-11; Caballero 2005, 118-19.

(51) Cramp 2008; Loveluck 2001. The implausible identification of the site at Llandough as a villa-turned-monastery would benefit from the same critique: Knight 2005.

indicative of vacillation between lay and monastic occupation, or perhaps simply produced by new tenurial relationships.⁵²

In sum, despite several decades of careful excavation and some pleas to the contrary, Loveluck's skepticism about a specifically 'monastic' archaeology in middle-Saxon England might well apply to the whole of the later Roman West.⁵³ This is not to argue that the identification of any or all of the above-listed identified monastic sites is necessarily wrong, but rather that the uncertainty which surrounds each of these claims is relieved only by relatively reliable textual evidence locating a monastic settlement on the site in question. The archaeology of these sites plays virtually no role in their monastic identification, for in almost every case, alternative functional identifications based on the archaeology are possible. In short, I would argue that *on its own*, archaeology has failed to document any late antique monastery.

Assumptions of distinction

Given the abundant textual evidence, why have we not located the physical transformation of house to monastery or indeed, an archaeology of late antique monasticism generally? It is certainly not for lack of trying and indeed, it may be the trying itself that lies at the root of the problem. In other words, is our failure to find the archaeology of the earliest western monasteries due to an erroneous set of assumptions about 'monasteries,' 'monasticism,' and the material products that those terms imply? It is important to begin by asking what we thought we were looking for. That is, what were the expected archaeological criteria for early monasticism? The criteria have been largely tacit, and rarely the subject of clear methodological deliberation. They can be summarized, however, as a set of material 'checklists,' which tend to form the basis of most archaeological evaluations. The first and most basic is the paired presence of a church and habitation. The church is assumed to be requisite for the daily round of prayers and devotions, and/or as a general cultural symbol of piety. The church-habitation pairing would seem material reflection of asceticism as a lived, daily praxis, and close physical connection of habitation and church is read as a material manifestation of a spiritually- and ritually-directed life. We should pause to note that placing the church-habitation pairing at the top of a checklist *a priori* privileges the villa or the house as potential site of monastic life simply because it is an archaeologically recognizable form of habitation. That is, if we assume that habitation and church are an essential aspect of monastic archaeology, we are bound to privilege houses and villas as objects of inquiry and units of assessment.

The assumption of an egalitarian communal life also lingers behind many interpretations: small, equally-sized rooms, shared eating or cooking facilities, even the use of a shared space like a courtyard has suggested monastic use at Parc Central, L'illa de Cullera, Montino das Laranjeiras, or Ain Tamda. Single-sex communities are also presumed to be

(52) Loveluck 2001.

(53) For a similar interpretation of 'monastic' archaeology (or its absence) in the southern Balkans, see Snively 2001.

the norm, as witnessed by the Saint-Julien-en-Genevois excavations: the proportionally larger number of male burials makes the case for monastic occupation, while fewer, but present female and infant burials are passed over in silence.

Archaeologists are often convinced that an archaeology of monasticism ought to document a shunning of the world – an increasing need for ‘privacy,’ and particularly physical barriers, such as walls, between the monastic world and the *saeculum*.⁵⁴ The sixth-century rules of the Master and Benedict never mention walls explicitly, although some *realia* may be glimpsed behind their allusion to gates and thresholds; more often, images of confinement appear as metaphorical invocations of the ‘closed’ ascetic life. Yet the development of monastic enclosures, at least by the sixth century, is still held up as one of the hallmarks of monastery identification. Inside the posited villa/house-turned-monastery, spaces are meant to become more inward looking – their doors narrowed, their dimensions shrunk, their separation from collective spaces like the peristyle complete. These are, in part, the criteria by which the house near the cathedral in Hippo has been identified as Augustine’s monastery. Indeed, Yvon Thébert long ago proposed that all late antique houses underwent such changes in late antiquity as society as a whole became more ‘modest’ and inclined towards ‘privacy.’⁵⁵

The most prevalent criteria are, of course, not material, but textual: house-monasteries and monasteries in general are identified through textual attestations, and topographic clues, typically place names, are used to match text to physical location.⁵⁶ This is not true only of late antique monasticism: the vast majority of excavated monasteries of any date prior to the twelfth century owe their attribution entirely to textual evidence, and in the vast majority of cases, only the church has been excavated. Textual criteria thus form the most important and oft-used tool in monastic archaeology.

We ought thus to ask what sorts of texts have shaped the hunt for an archaeology of monasticism, and what sorts of archaeologies those texts really imply. Images of Martin, Augustine, Caesarius and Benedict loom large in that search and examples of their monasteries are among the most frequently cited representatives of late antique monasticism writ large. Yet all these men are described, or described themselves, as radicals, making new kinds of communities distinct and better than other options available at the time, each overturning a set of ‘norms.’⁵⁷ Martin’s asceticism is framed as both a rejection of local clergy’s worldliness and a surpassing of Egyptian models.⁵⁸ The *Rule of the Master* and Benedict all frame their ascetic advice within the context of other, rival communities whose practices are denounced or sidelined, while Lérinian and Columbian communities of seventh-century Gaul were self-styled rebellions from each other and from local ascetic

(54) James 1981, 38-41; Bonnerue 1995; Dey 2004.

(55) Thébert 1987, 391.

(56) As noted by Sapin 2008; Dey 2004; Moreno Martín 2009.

(57) Markus 1990, 167-81; Leyser 2000.

(58) Stancliffe 1983.

experience.⁵⁹ By their own self-conscious construction, none of these communities were representative or 'normal,' but rather intentionally structured to be the opposite.

Their later fame, particularly that of Benedict, also makes it difficult to remember that these men and their communities were the tip of a much broader, more amorphous ascetic iceberg. As the last two decades of work on late antique asceticism has shown, and as Hendrik Dey, Leslie Dossey, Lindsay Rudge, and Albrecht Diem have suggested in this volume, theirs was an age of infinite ascetic variety, of thousands of different ascetic habits, of contested ascetic theologies and of dozens of rival claims, often heated, of discernment and correctitude.⁶⁰ That is, Augustine's epistolary advice to ascetic women, Cassiodorus' *Institutes* and the *Rule* of Benedict do not describe existing monastic lives: they seek to invent them, to lend order – physical, spiritual and authorial – to a messy world of many ascetic practices, and many claims to ascetic authority.

Of course, it is one of those visions of ascetic life which eventually 'won.' Benedictine monasticism's emphasis on all-encompassing sense of community, strict hierarchies within that community, temporal ordering of the day, division of monastic labor, and separation from the world would gain gradual acceptance over the following two centuries, culminating in the Anianian reforms of 816 and 817. Yet this consensus, uneasy even in the ninth century, was unthinkable in the age of Benedict himself, let alone in the restless days of the late fourth and early fifth centuries when Augustine gathered his mixed band of orphans and aristocrats' sons, when celibate men and women cohabited, and when Sulpicius Severus retreated from public life in the company of his mother-in-law. Neither the fourth century nor the sixth was an age that agreed upon what 'monasticism,' or even correct ascetic practice meant, and we use texts of the period to look for a representative 'late antique monasticism' at our peril.

Further, the very criteria that have framed the hunt for an archaeology of monasticism are, if not completely lacking in these texts, hardly central to their basic meaning and function. Most of the texts in question, even the more loquacious *Rule of the Master*, are largely reticent on matters of physical space, focusing instead on spiritual orientation, community hierarchies and behavior.⁶¹ The detailed injunctions putting precept into praxis, so evident in the Anianian canons and other Carolingian-period regulations, are restricted to a few topics – prayer, eating, sleeping and relationships with the outside world.⁶² Thus, while Augustine and Caesarius advise 'assiduous' prayer in an *oratorium* and mandate separation from the opposite sex in the public basilica, and Caesarius, the *Regula Magistri* and Benedict are rich in detail on the hours of prayer, psalms, and the hierarchies of entrance and exit into the church, the details of liturgical observance that would imply fixed physical settings, such as location of the ritual space, its layout, liturgical furnishings or even the

(59) *RM* 1; *RB* 1; on southern Gallic communities, see Dubreucq and Lauranson-Rosaz 2003.

(60) For a variety of approaches to the problem, Brown 1988; Elm 1994; Clark 1999; Leyser 2000; Caner 2002.

(61) Heuclin 1998; cf. Bonnerue 1995.

(62) For the 816-7 Aachen synods, see the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 433-563. For a summary of their precepts and results, see Horn 1979, 20-21.

details of communion, are absent.⁶³ That is, the form, placement, or in the case of the fourth- and fifth-century texts, even the need for a special 'monastic' church building, remain largely unstated.

The texts are even less forthcoming on the ordering of physical life: Augustine and Caesarius provide great detail on clothing and its distribution, Benedict and the *Regula Magistri* are similarly preoccupied with food supply, cooking, the ordering of beds and prescriptions for bedtime clothing, but in general, the images of lived experience are sporadic.⁶⁴ In Augustine, the few moments of detailed material prescription are framed by references to the specific strife which made his interference in this female community necessary, while in Benedict and the *Regula Magistri*, they are framed by metaphorical connotations that ultimately diminish the specific prescriptive force of the detail.⁶⁵ Through such scriptural framing devices, the bed arrangements, nighttime clothing or the qualifications of the cellarer become physical ciphers for the authority of the abbot, the alertness of the spiritual mind, or theologies of shared property.

Even imposed material equality often remains an elusive ideal.⁶⁶ Augustine insists that those from different backgrounds cannot be expected to endure the same material conditions immediately – the weakness of the wealthy will be visible in their better material conditions – an injunction picked up by Benedict.⁶⁷ When the local poor had the temerity to build huts in the middle of Paulinus' fine marble peristyle at Nola, God saw fit to burn them down for the eyesore that they were – the hierarchies of material excellence were not lightly to be trammelled.⁶⁸ The continued tensions produced by material inequality lurk similarly behind accounts of the revolt of nuns against their superior at Radegund's Saint-Croix.⁶⁹

The notion of separation from the world, spatial and gendered, was likewise highly regional, slow in developing, and framed in contestation with a long tradition of its opposite. As Leslie Dossey has argued in this volume, fourth-century North African urban ascetics defined the challenge of their calling precisely through their non-enclosedness – their proximity and embrace of crowded martyr cults, their urban location, and their sharing of church space with both genders. The wandering monks and nuns, monastic couples and other 'undesirables' that appear in Augustine's (and Benedict's) later injunctions not only allude to the diversity of ascetic practice throughout our period, but frame those very injunctions to correct practice in terms of that heterogeneity.⁷⁰ Walled enclosures, as Hendrik Dey has noted, were not a common part of fourth- and fifth-century

(63) Augustine, *Ep.* 211.7; *Reg. Mag.* 28-58; *Reg. Ben.* 9-20. Caesarius of Arles, *Reg. ad Virg.* 36, 44, 45, 50, 59, 66-70. See also Dossey in this volume.

(64) Augustine, *Ep.* 12; Caesarius of Arles, *Reg. Virg.* 28, 44, 46, 55, 60; *RB* 31, 35, 39-40; *RM* 29.2; 11.109-21.

(65) Cf. Caldwell 1991.

(66) See Caner 2008.

(67) Augustine, *Ep.* 211.9.

(68) Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 28.

(69) Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* 9.38-43; 10.14-17, 20.

(70) Augustine *Ep.* 13*.2 and 18*; *Reg. Ben.* 1; *Reg. Mag.* 1. See also Dossey's contribution to this volume.

ascetic practice or discourse, and even the sixth-century authors such as Benedict and Caesarius who describe such enclosures as normative do so in language which is often as metaphorical as it is descriptive, invoking the need for autarchy, spiritual excellence and chastity.⁷¹ The absence of any convincing evidence for perimeter walls or an inward-looking cloister even in many ninth-century Benedictine monasteries like San Vincenzo al Volturno, highlight how misleading the inevitable march towards separation and standardization conveyed by these texts might be for understanding practice on the ground.⁷² In general, then, the notions of physical enclosure and separation were neither consistently invoked, nor straightforward in their meaning.

If we thus read our late antique texts not as normative, but as invocative, we are forced to imagine a far more nebulous material context for early ascetic experience. It is far from clear, for instance, that ascetic communities required a church with archaeologically-visible liturgical equipment. It is far from clear that they lived in egalitarian accommodations – indeed, one gets the sense from Augustine's rules and Paulinus' poems that social hierarchies and wealth inequalities were still expressed. It is wholly unclear that such communities, even in the sixth and seventh centuries, required walls or other devices to separate them from the world and even gender-separation seems to have remained a goal, not a prerequisite.

In short, one possible reason that we have failed to find an archaeological link between houses and monasteries, or even an archaeology of late antique monasticism, is that we have been overly, and erroneously preoccupied with symptoms of order. Order – both liturgical and communal – and distinctness – particularly from the non-monastic world – are signposts of monastic identity in the early Middle Ages. That they were in late antiquity, however, is far from clear. Thus, the material checklists which late antique archaeologists have unconsciously adopted in their search for house-monasteries, or for monasteries in general, run the risk of being overly narrow and exclusive.

Asceticism and domestic life in late antiquity

Over two decades ago, Colin Renfrew framed a now-canonical checklist for an archaeology of cult practice.⁷³ At the top of the list were material signs of specialness and consistency and/or repetition. Our search, focused on signs of order and separateness, has been similarly oriented, and, as the critiques of Renfrew's checklist have warned, may have run aground atop these very criteria.⁷⁴ What is harder to dismiss is Renfrew's insistence that 'an archaeology of cult,' or, in our case, 'an archaeology of monasticism,' be distinctive, different from other categories of material culture. The category 'archaeology of monasticism' need not demand a material culture defined by churches, egalitarian habitation, same-gender communities and the like, but it does demand a distinguishable material

(71) Cf. Bonnerue 1995, 58-61; Dey 2004 who read these metaphorical injunctions as rooted in a physical reality.

(72) Cf. Dey 2004; Dunn 2000, 56-58.

(73) Renfrew 1985.

(74) Insoll 2004.

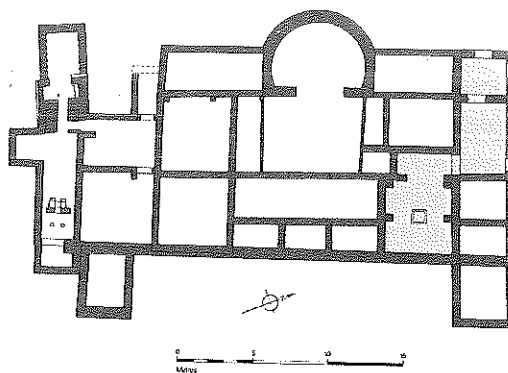


Fig. 10 – Lullingstone. Plan of villa with church area shaded (after Neal 1991, p. 26).

culture of some kind, distinct from other kinds of material cultures. Difference, in other words, is the *sine qua non* not simply of a scholarly topos, but of the whole notion that late antique ascetics lived ‘differently’ from non-ascetics. If we jettison our restrictive early medieval assumptions and examine the evidence with a more flexible eye, can we locate such a distinct archaeology?

We might begin first by assuming that at least some of our contemporary texts are reliable indicators of previous ascetic occupation, and thus that the sites associated with those texts probably hosted ascetic communities. Is there anything about their material culture that is distinctive compared to other kinds of sites?

It turns out to be difficult, if not impossible, to find any distinctive characteristics among those sites that are not shared with other late antique domestic sites. Churches, chapels, mausolea or other liturgical installations juxtaposed with contemporary habitations appear in a whole variety of rural sites. They can be found in or near rural ‘villages’ like Roc de Pampelune in Languedoc, where they served proto-parish functions. They appear in or near elite villas like Lullingstone in England (fig. 10) where a small church complex was built at one side of a residence over an earlier basement/shrine.⁷⁵ Circuit walls also appear in sites of all kinds – from the pseudo-fortifications of some late fourth-century villas to elevated villages like Roc de Pampelune.⁷⁶ The spatial arrangements in our textually-attested monasteries – equally-sized rooms, unequally-sized rooms, huts and caves – can also be identified in a whole range of different types of sites: villas like Séviac in Aquitaine (fig. 11) or Ramière on the Rhone and urban *domus* like those of the Moreiría in Mérida, saw the rooms and porticos around their peristyles subdivided into smaller,

(75) On Roc de Pampelune, Schneider 2001; *id.* 2005; on Lullingstone, Meates *et al.* 1987; on the context of rural churches generally, see the essays in Fixot and Zadora-Río 1989; Pergola 1999; Brogiolo 2003; Delaplace 2005; Bowes 2008.

(76) On ‘fortified’ villas, see Duval 1986b; Chavarría 2007; on the fortification of elevated sites, Schneider 2005; Brogiolo 1994.

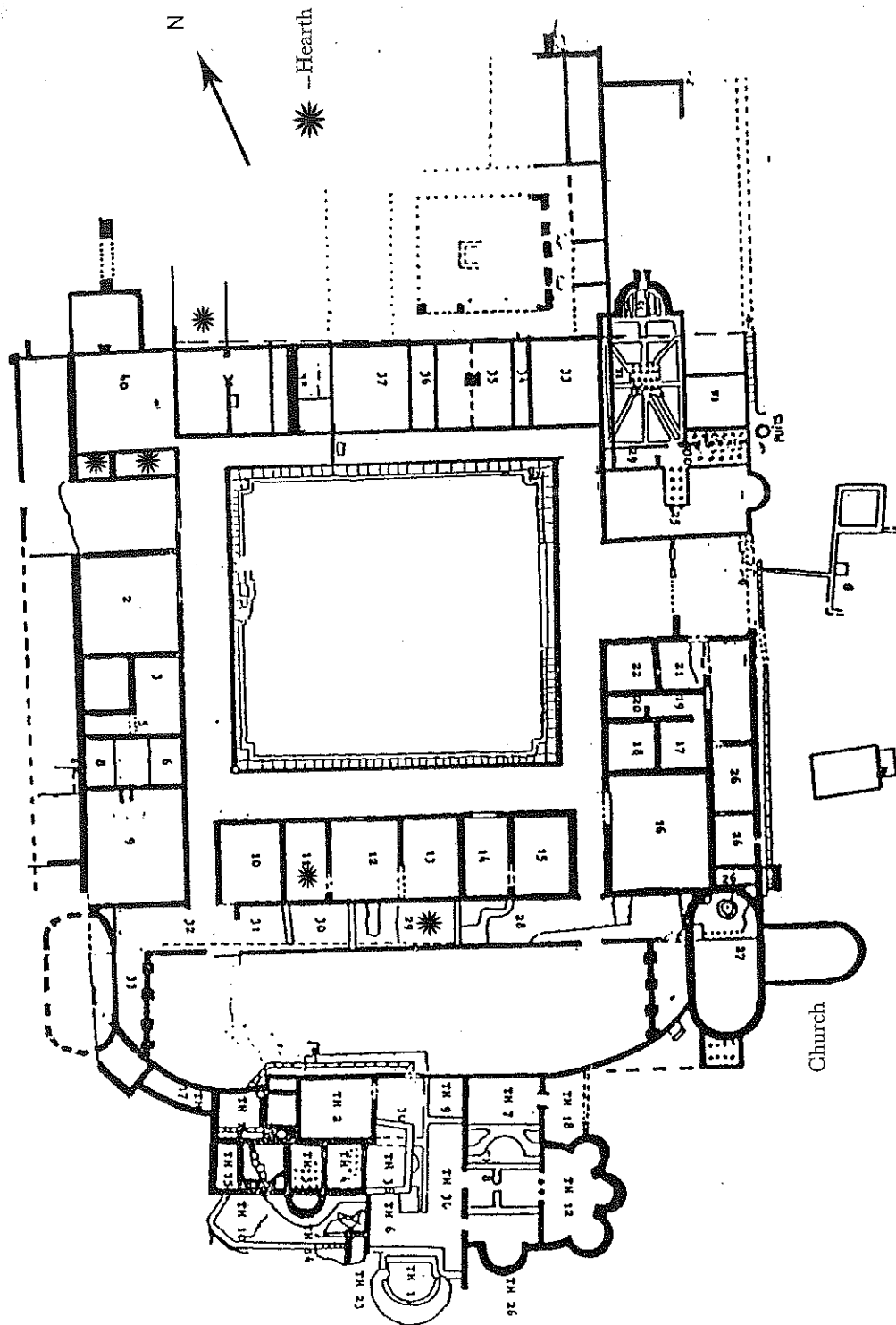


Fig. 11 – Séviac. Plan of sixth-century phase of villa. Hearths indicated by * (After Gugole 1991).

more inward-looking units.⁷⁷ Multiple hearths and shared wells often suggest the presence of multiple families sharing common space. At Roc de Pampelune, a common building module was used to build most of the site's tiny habitations, while at Diaporit, the excavators were understandably torn between a monastic and pilgrim hostel-oriented interpretation for communal spaces of bath and portico. At Hippo, on the other hand, the proposed monastery saw no adjustments to its room arrangements but remained, pagan-themed mosaics and all, as it was before the construction of the basilica. The converse interpretation, advanced by Thébert – that the “ascetic turn” prompted a more general social urge towards privacy and thus smaller, more intimate living quarters in all kinds of buildings – is also belied by the near-constant expansion, subdivision and break-up of domestic space with each generation, a phenomenon not limited to late antiquity but visible in the houses of Pompeii and the villas of the high empire.⁷⁸ Many of the sites in question show an impoverishment of material wealth during the ‘monastic’ phase of occupation: this is likewise hardly distinctive. At Subiaco, where there seems every chance of a Benedictine resettlement of the Neronian villa, the rude floors, the local ceramics, the fragile mural modifications to extant structures are indistinguishable from ‘transformed’ villas like Séviac or Monte Gelato which undergo the same process, and indeed, from the proposed non-monastic agglomerations in the other Neronian nuclei.⁷⁹ Even the ready-made space of caves, with and without what appear to be ritual installations, became again preferred spaces of late antique habitation in certain regions: parts of Sicily, Calabria, Catalunya, Lombardy, and Languedoc.⁸⁰ Thus, with our current state of knowledge, we cannot locate in our textually-identified ascetic sites any characteristics which can be said to be distinct or different from the range of late antique sites without such attributions.

Even if we jettison the texts and look beyond the corpus of traditionally-attributed sites, we find ourselves in the same dilemma. Lullingstone villa is not typically considered an ascetic project,⁸¹ but it has many potentially suggestive elements: its small ‘chapel’ had no permanent ritual installations and its frescoes cannot be made to yield any common biblical narratives. Rather, the whole side of the villa dedicated to Christian use conveys the sense of a highly personalized project; the rows of praying figures, chi-rho images, the possible continuation of devotions in an earlier familial cellar shrine, describe intense statements of faith combined with ritual flexibility. Yet as much as this material image might match a kind of Sulpician or Paulinian ascetic habit, we must also admit that it could just as well describe a non-ascetic British landowner, practicing his faith in a province with very little episcopal supervision and very much according to his own dictates.

(77) Séviac: Balmelle 2001, 121-2; Ramière: Barberan *et al.* 2002; Morciría: Alba Calzado 1999; various interpretations of subdivision in general: Ellis 1988; Lewit 2003; Bowes and Gutteridge 2005.

(78) Bowes 2010.

(79) On Monte Gelato: Potter and King 1997. On impoverishment of material culture, Ward-Perkins 2005.

(80) Blake 2004; Cuteri 1994; Navarro Sáez 1999; Brogiolo and Ibsen in this volume; Raynaud 1988, respectively.

(81) Exceptions: Morris 1989, 97; Dunn 2007, 677.

The lesson from all these sites is not that their monastic or non-monastic attributions ought to be challenged. It is rather that late antique domestic sites of all kinds, from villas and houses to proto-villages and caves, do not lend themselves easily to taxonomies of any kind.⁸² Even the most basic types of functional distinctions are belied by a broad base of shared, rather than exclusive, characteristics – the proliferation of churches, the subdivision of space, the general impoverishment of material culture beginning in the later fifth century. As even a careful, totalizing archaeological inquiry like that employed at Flixborough makes us aware, efforts to categorize sites by their monastic function run against the grain of a material culture in which form and objects do not readily indicate such function.

I would argue that it is not simply the coarse tools of archaeology that are to blame.⁸³ That is, the absence of an archaeology of monasticism is not due to bad digging or insufficient data. Rather, the non-correspondence between form and site-function reflects a real ‘democratization’ of material culture in the late antique West, particularly after the mid-fifth century and particularly in the domestic sphere, in which distinctions of wealth, class, and social and familial structure increasingly lacked specific material footprints.⁸⁴ We have difficulty labeling all sites, not just ascetic ones, because the physical and the spatial were ceasing to be the most important signifiers of social distinction. We have not located the archaeology of late antique monasticism, in short, because no such particularized archaeology existed.

Indeed, more nuanced readings of texts outside the early monastic ‘canon’ have already pointed toward similar conclusions. As new work on texts as diverse as the *Apocryphal Acts* to the *vitae* of holy men and women have made clear, the ideological construction of late antique monasticism and monastic communities was often deeply rooted in domestic footings.⁸⁵ Calls for the rejection of blood-family ties and property were paralleled by equally strong claims for the maintenance of celibate households composed of both sexes, and the careful stewardship of property.⁸⁶ As a new book on Christian Rome argues, the discourse of household and estate management was central to late antique Christian communities of all kinds, from the Roman papacy and its administrative apparatus to ascetic groups.⁸⁷ Even the *Rule of the Master* relied on the image of the household to invoke the ideally-managed monastic life.⁸⁸ This discursive bond between households – traditional, clerical and ascetic – seems to have had spatial manifestations as well. For instance, with increasing calls for clerical celibacy and an increasingly popular career path from monk to bishop, clerical households also readily overlapped with ascetic communities. The *episcopium* or *domus ecclesiae* adjacent to cathedrals often also served as a *monasterium*.⁸⁹ Even the innermost rooms of the house, the *cubicula*, were simultaneously distrusted as spaces of

(82) E.g. Bowes 2007; Schneider 2005 on urban/rural and villa/village/*castrum* distinctions, respectively.

(83) Cf. Caballero Zoreda 2005, 120-1; Moreno Martín 2009b.

(84) Cf. Bowes and Gutteridge 2005.

(85) Jacobs 2003; Jacobs and Krawiec 2003b; Krawiec 2003; Rousseau 2005.

(86) Trout 1999, 133-58; Barlett 2001; Cooper 2007.

(87) Sessa forthcoming. Thanks to the author for sharing her work before publication.

(88) *RM* 11.16-35.

(89) On the latter site and the problem generally, see Moreno Martín 2009a.

sexual activity and praised as super-sites of ascetic retreat.⁹⁰ Just as the same domestic spaces might accommodate a variety of group identities, individuals might live out a variety of different life-identities in the same houses: Gregory the Great's Sicilian correspondent Venantius spent his early adulthood living an ascetic life in his Syracusan *domus*. Later abandoning the ascetic vocation, he married a local noblewoman, managed her properties and served imperial interests in Sicily.⁹¹ Gregory's own house on the Caelian would have likewise witnessed his own transformation from urban prefect to monk to bishop. Furthermore, fourth- through sixth-century ascetic 'households' were often allied, spiritually as well as physically, with martyr shrines: making distinctions between the heterogeneous, seamy crowds of pilgrims and local ascetics was as troublesome for late antique people, particularly bishops, as it is for the excavators of sites like Diaporit or Parc Central.⁹²

Thus, I would suggest that ascetic practice in late antiquity took place in a world physically indistinguishable, certainly to us and perhaps to its contemporaries, from everyday life. That is, we should imagine that a visitor to Augustine's Hippo, Paulinus' Nola, or even Benedict's Montecassino would encounter a physical world that looked very much something he or she encountered regularly – a house, a villa, a cave, a village. The types of spaces inhabited by ascetics, their spatial layouts, the wealth or poverty of their material culture, in many cases their gendered make-up – none of these would have set these communities apart, and none would have communicated ascetic belonging and identity.

Material, interpretation and identity

The implications of this proposition are two-fold. The writings on late antique asceticism are preoccupied with the ascetic's physical world: Augustine worried over glances and touches exchanged in crowded basilicas; Paulinus reprimanded Sulpicius for failing to trade his silver serving platters for wooden ones; Benedict prescribed single-beds for his monks.⁹³ Materiality and space are immensely important categories of late antique ascetic thought, and if our narrow band of writings are any indication of a broader *mentalité*, late antique ascetics of all kinds looked keenly at the objects and spaces of their world, alert to their form and meaning.⁹⁴

At the same time, we are confronted with a seemingly unbridgeable gap between thing and word, between physical praxis and hermeneutic practice. This dissonance is apparent not only in the general gap between a particularized ascetic textual discourse and homogeneous material culture, but also in the gap of known lifeways and textual discourse which seems to elide, or even contradict those lifeways. The villas of later fourth- and fifth-century Gaul, like Chiragan with its great sculpture collection, or Seviac with its acres of mosaics and multiple baths and reception rooms, stand resolutely against local landowner-

(90) Sessa 2007.

(91) Gregory, *Ep.* 1.33, 9:232; 9:236; 11:25; 11:59. See also Sessa forthcoming.

(92) See Caner 2002.

(93) Augustine, *Ep.* 211.10; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 5.20; *RB* 22;

(94) See Markus 1990, 61; Keily 2004; Conybeare 2000; Krawiec 2009.

cum-ascetics like Sulpicius' portrayals of physical denial.⁹⁵ Just so, the resolutely permeable spaces of late Roman *domus* and the impossibility of segregating sexes in any ancient domestic spaces seem to give the lie to descriptions of seclusion or hermetically-sealed single-sex environments.⁹⁶ We are tempted to assume that ascetic men and women could not live in such surroundings, to identify 'poorer' or 'subdivided' houses as their ascetic lairs, or to simply shrug off the texts as mere fantasies.

There are always, I would suggest, potential gaps between seeing and writing, between the object in the world and its ascribed meaning. We must be careful, in other words, not to read words about things as reflections or stand-ins for the things themselves. If, as I have suggested here, the physical world of the ascetic resembled very much that of his or her non-ascetic neighbors, and if textual discourse rarely matches physical reality, the gap itself should draw our attention. It was precisely the interpretation of this world, the meanings attributed to space and thing, which defined ascetic belonging. Indeed, the things themselves – the layout of bedrooms, the boundaries between monastery and *saeculum*, the liturgical equipment of the church – were ultimately obviated by an interpretive gaze that rendered them transparent.⁹⁷ It was hermeneutic, not material, that helped produce ascetic identity.

Interpretation, then, would have had a particularly weighty job. For a late antique ascetic could not rely on walls, cloister, or refectory, or even physical divisions between the sexes or separation from the world, to lend physical confirmation of his/her ascetic vocation. Even an ascetic's clothes, their most outward physical badge of difference, were frail distinctions, for symbols of poverty might be misleading, the assumed get-up of a fraud or the boastful garb of a prideful mind.⁹⁸ Interpretation, thoughts, and above all words, were the stuff that transformed the common clay of a shared material culture into a spirituality of renunciation. The authority behind those interpretations, the character of the interpreter, and his or her theological pedigree were thus of no small import, for it was upon that bedrock that the legitimacy of such interpretations rested.⁹⁹

The urgency of the fourth- through sixth-century debates and prescriptions over correct ascetic space and material, richly described in this volume, thus appear in an even stronger, if somewhat different light than we are perhaps accustomed to see them. Augustine's and Caesarius of Arles' struggle to create distinctly gendered spaces within the crush of urban life; the Galician efforts to separate the world of the house from that of the monastery; the constant worry over the ascetic without a physical address: this avalanche of worry over the ascetic *physis* rumbled through a landscape almost wholly lacking the physical distinctions of gender, of community and increasingly, of wealth, that so preoccupied ascetic thinkers. In a world in which material culture provided no clear markers of

(95) For a summary of the debate, see Balmelle 2001; Percival 1997a.

(96) On sexual segregation in the Roman *domus*, see Wallace-Hadrill 1996.

(97) Cf. Conybeare 2000 on Paulinus' tendency to see through the thing to the symbol beyond; Elsner 1995 on late antique 'seeing' in general.

(98) Krawiec 2009; Harlow 2007.

(99) On reading authority in ascetic texts, Leyser 2000; Clark 1999.

spiritual dedication, it was urgently important to get the meaning of things right, to craft the correct spectacles with which to transform an otherwise undistinguished material world so that it appeared in sharp, particularized relief. The flurry of ascetic texts that linger on the physical world, and on domestic space, do so not to describe it, but to transform it.

Finally, and by way of conclusion, if late antiquity had no distinct ascetic material culture, the monastic archaeology of the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries represents not so much an evolution as a revolution. The archaeology of seventh- and early-eighth-century monasteries is almost as undistinguished as that of late antiquity.¹⁰⁰ It is only in the very late eighth century and above all the first decades of the ninth century that the beginnings of a particularized 'monastic archaeology' appear. Its birthplace is almost certainly in the Carolingian north and the reforms spurred by Benedict of Aniane, while its most complete excavated expression remains the remarkable site at San Vincenzo al Volturno.¹⁰¹ Here one finally finds a distinctly monastic world – of distinct buildings for distinct functions, of careful partitioning of monastic from lay space through long corridors, of rigorous egalitarianism reinforced through communal spaces of refectory and dormitory.¹⁰² As the careful stratigraphy of that site shows, there is no continuity between the monastery and the late antique *vicus* that preceded it, and even the early eighth-century monastic phase, with its two tiny churches, has yet to reveal anything that anticipates the utterly distinct late-eighth and early-ninth-century plan.¹⁰³ Yet even here, despite San Vincenzo's resemblance to the 'normative' St. Gall Plan, the monastery remains very much a local product of local patronage relationships. As such, it reveals that even with the beginnings of a genuine monastic archaeology in the late-eighth century, variety continued to be as notable as standardization.¹⁰⁴ As the smaller monastic foundations of that period begin to come to light, the frailty of even this more specifically 'monastic' archaeology will doubtless become still more apparent.

WORKS CITED

- Alarcão, J., R. Étienne, and F. Mayet (1990): *Les villas romaines de São Cucufate*, Paris.
 — (1995): "Os monumentos cristãs da villa de S. Cucufate," in *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispánica*, Lisbon, 383-87.
 Alba Calzado, M. (1999): "Sobre el ámbito doméstico de época visigoda en Mérida," *Mérida. Excavaciones Arqueológicas*, 3, 387-418.

(100) On Spain in the seventh century, see also the comments of Moreno Martín 2009a and 2009b.

(101) On the 'Carolingian achievement,' Horn 1979 is still a good overview. On the excavations at San Vincenzo, see Hodges 1993; *id.* 1995b; Marazzi 2008.

(102) See now Hodges, Mitchell and Leppard forthcoming. Thanks to the authors for sharing their work prior to publication.

(103) On the *vicus*, Gilkes 2001; on the late-seventh and early-eighth-century phases, Hodges 1995a.

(104) See the comments of Cramp 2008 on the English situation; Sapin 2008 on France; cf. Cantino Wataghin 1997.

- Alfenim, R., and P. Lima (1995): "Breve notícia sobre a campanha arqueológica de 1992 na igreja visigótica do sítio dos Mosteiros, Portel," in *IV Reunión d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispánica*, Lisbon, 463-69.
- Alfenim, R., and C. Lopes (1994): "La villa romaine de Monte da Cegonha," *Dossier d'archéologie* 198, 64-67.
- (1995): "A basílica paleocristã/Visigótica do Monte da Cegonha (Vidigueira)," in *IV Reunión d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispánica*, Lisbon, 389-99.
- Ballu, A. (1897): *Le monastère byzantin de Tébessa*, Paris.
- Balmelle, C. (2001): *Les demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine. Société et culture de l'antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule*, Bordeaux.
- Bartlett, R. (2001): "Aristocracy and asceticism: The letters of Ennodius and the Gallic and Italian churches," in R. Mathisen and D. Shanzer (eds.), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, 201-16.
- Barberan, S. et al. (2002): "Les villae de La Ramière à Roquemaure, Gard," in *Archéologie du TGV méditerranéen, fiches de synthèse*, Lattes, 889-919.
- Bizot, B. (2005): "La basilique et ses abords," in *Hippone*, ed. X. Delestre, Aix-en-Provence, 193-215.
- Blake, E. (2003): "The Familiar Honeycomb: Byzantine Era Reuse of Sicily's Prehistoric Rock-Cut Tombs," in R. V. Dyke and S. Alcock (eds.), *Archaeologies of Memory*, Malden – Oxford, 203-20.
- Bonde, S., and C. Maines (1988): "The Archaeology of Monasticism: A Survey of Recent Work in France, 1970-1987," *Speculum* 63, 794-825.
- Bonnerue, P. (1995): "Éléments de topographie historique dans les règles monastiques occidentales," *Studia Monastica* 37, 57-77.
- Bougard, F., and G. Noyé (1986): "Chronique. Squillace," *MEFRM* 98:1, 195-1212.
- (1989): "Squillace au Moyen Âge," in R. Spadea (ed.), *Da Skyllation a Scolacium. Il Parco Archeologico Della Roccelletta*, Rome, 215-29.
- Bowden, W., and L. Përzhita (2004): "Archaeology in the Landscape of Roman Epirus: Preliminary Report on the Diaporit Excavations, 2000-3," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17, 413-34.
- Bowes, K. (2006): "Building sacred landscapes: Villas and cult," in A. Chavarría, J. Arce and G. P. Brogiolo (eds.), *Villas tardoantiquas en el Mediterráneo occidental*, Madrid, 73-95.
- (2007): "Out of Pirenne's Shadow? Late Antique San Vincenzo Reconsidered," in K. Bowes, K. Francis and R. Hodges (eds.), *Between Text and Territory: Survey and Excavation in the terra of San Vincenzo al Volturno*, London – Rome.
- (2008): *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- (2010): *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*, London.
- Bowes, K., and A. Gutteridge (2005): "Rethinking the late antique countryside," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18, 405-18.
- Brenk, B. (2003): *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt. Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Wiesbaden.
- (2008): "La progettazione dei monasteri nel Vicino Oriente, ovvero quello che i testi non dicono," in F. De Rubeis and F. Marazzi (eds.), *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*, Rome, 21-42.

- Brogiolo, G. P. (1994): "Edilizia residenziale di età gota in Italia settentrionale," in *I Goti*, Milan, 214-21.
- Brogiolo, G. P. (ed.) (2003): *Chiese e insediamenti nelle campagne tra V e VI secolo*, Mantova.
- Brown, P. (1988): *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York.
- Caballero Zoreda, L. (1988): "Monasterios visigodos. Evidencias arqueológicas," in *Primer seminario sobre el Monacato*, Aguilar de Campo, 31-50.
- (2005): "El conjunto monástico de Santa Maria de Melque (Toledo), siglos VII-IX," in *Monjes y monasteros en la alta edad media*, Madrid, 99-145.
- Caillet, J.-P. (2004): «Atrium, péristyle et cloître," in P. Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang. The medieval cloister. Le cloître au moyen âge. Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, Regensburg, 57-65.
- Caldwell, E. (1991): "An Architecture of the Self: New Metaphors for Monastic Enclosure," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 8, 15-22.
- Camus, M.-T. (1989): "Abbaye de Ligugé," in *Romains et Barbares entre Loire et Gironde – IV^e-X^e siècles*, Poitiers, 34-36.
- Caner, D. (2002): *Wandering, Begging Monks. Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley.
- (2008): "Wealth, Stewardship and Charitable 'Blessings' in Early Byzantine Monasticism," in S. Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, Grand Rapids, 221-42.
- Cantino Wataghin, G. (1997): "Archeologia dei monasteri nell'altomedioevo," in S. Gelichi (ed.), *I^o Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence, 265-67.
- Cantino Wataghin, G., E. DeStefanis, and S. Uggé (2000): "Monasteri e territorio: L'Italia settentrionale nell'alto medioevo," in G. P. Brogiolo (ed.), *II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence, 311-16.
- Carosi, P. (1956): *Il primo monastero benedettino*, Rome.
- Chavarría, A. (2004): "Monasterios, campesinos y villae en la Hispania visigoda: la trágica historia de la abad Nancto," in C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier and G. Ripoll (eds.), *Studiola in honorem Noël Duval*, Turnhout, 113-25.
- (2007): *El final de las villae en Hispania (siglos IV-VII D.C.)*, Turnhout.
- Clark, E. (1999): *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity*, Princeton.
- Colardelle, M. (1977): "Une basilique funéraire mérovingienne à Saint-Julien en Genevois," *Archéologia* 111, 64-71.
- (1983): *Sépulture et traditions funéraires du V^e au XIII^e siècle ap. J.-C. dans les campagnes des Alpes françaises du nord*, Grenoble.
- Colardelle, M., and R. Colardelle (1995): "Saint-Julien-en-Genevois. Chapelle Saint-Martin," in N. Duval (ed.), *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, Paris, 301-3.
- Cooper, K. (1999): "The martyr, the *matrona* and the bishop: the matron Lucina and the politics of martyr cult in fifth- and sixth-century Rome," *Early Medieval Europe* 8, 297-317.
- (2007): "Poverty, Obligation and Inheritance: Roman Heiresses and the Varieties of Senatorial Christianity in Fifth-Century Rome," in K. Cooper and J. Hillner (eds.), *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900 A.D.*, Cambridge, 165-89.
- Conybeare, C. (2000): *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola*, Oxford.
- Coquet, D. (1954): "Découvertes archéologiques à l'Abbaye de Ligugé," *Revue Mabillon* 44, 45-94.

- (1955): "Les édifices religieux du haut moyen âge à l'abbaye de Ligugé," *Revue Mabillon* 45, 75-147.
- (1977): "À Ligugé. Un ensemble exceptionnel d'art chrétien primitif," *Archéologia* 113, 23-30.
- Courcelle, P. (1938): "Le site du monastère de Cassiodore," *MEFR* 55, 259-307.
- (1954): "Nouvelles recherches sur le monastère de Cassiodore," in *Actes du V^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, Aix-en-Provence, 511-28.
- Cramp, R. (2008): "Monastic settlements in Britain in the 7th-11th centuries," in F. De Rubeis and F. Marazzi (eds.), *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*, Rome, 113-33.
- Cuteri, F. (1994): "La Calabria nell'Alto Medioevo (VI-X sec.)," in R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.), *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, Siena, 339-57.
- Delaplace, C. (ed.) (2005): *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (IV^e-IX^e siècles)*, Paris.
- Dey, H. (2004): "Building Worlds Apart: Walls and the Construction of Communal Monasticism from Augustine through Benedict," *Antiquité Tardive* 11, 357-71.
- Dierkens, A. (1980): "Un aspect de la christianisation de la Gaule du nord à l'époque mérovingienne. La 'Vita Hadelini' et les découvertes archéologiques d'Anthée et de Franchimont," *Francia* 8, 613-28.
- Dubreucq, A., and C. Lauranson-Rosaz (2003): "De l'ermitage au monastère: aux origines de l'espace monastique en Gaule à partir de deux exemples: *Burgondie* et l'Auvergne (fin V^e-début VIII^e siècle)," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9, 278-94.
- Dunn, M. (2000): *The Emergence of Monasticism*, Oxford.
- (2007): "Asceticism and monasticism, II: Western," in A. Cassiday and F. Norris (eds.), *Cambridge History of Christianity: Vol. 2. Constantine to c. 600*, Cambridge, 669-90.
- Duval, N. (1978): "Les édifices de culte des origines à l'époque constantinienne," in *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Rome, 513-37.
- (1986a): "Les témoignages archéologiques du monachisme en Afrique du nord," in *Le site monastique copte des Kellia. Actes du colloque de Genève*, Geneva, 273-87.
- (1986b): "L'iconographie des 'villas africaines' et la vie rurale dans l'Afrique romaine de l'antiquité tardive," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. Actes du III^e colloque international*, Paris, 163-76.
- Ellis, S. (1988): "The End of the Roman House," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, 565-76.
- Elm, S. (1994): *Virgins of God*, Oxford – New York.
- Elsner, J. (1995): *Art and the Roman Viewer*, Cambridge.
- Fentress, E., C. Goodson, M. Laird, and S. Leone (2005): *Walls and Memory: The Abbey of San Sebastiano at Alatri (Lazio), from Late Roman Monastery to Renaissance Villa and Beyond*, Turnhout.
- Fontes, L. (1987): "Salvamento Arqueológico de Dume – 1987. Primeiros Resultados," *Cuadernos de Arqueologia, Series II*, 4, 111-48.
- (1992): "O norte de Portugal no período suevo-visigótico. Elementos para o seu estudo," *CARB* XXXIX, 217-48.
- Février, P.-A. (1972): "Les sources épigraphiques et archéologiques et l'histoire religieuse des provinces orientales de l'Afrique antique," *CARB* XIX, 131-58.
- (1986): "Saint Castor, évêque d'Apt et son culte," *Provence Historique* 146, 379-98.

- (1994): “La marque de l’Antiquité tardive dans le paysage religieux médiéval de la Provence rurale,” in *L’environnement des églises et la topographie religieuse des campagnes médiévales*, M. Fixot and E. Zadora-Rio (eds.), Paris, 27-35.
- Février, P.-A., and N. Duval (1996): “Ligugé. Église Saint-Martin,” in N. Duval (ed.), *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, Paris, 278-83.
- Fiore Cavaliere, M. G. (1994): “Monachesimo prebenedettino e benedettino: note di topografia monastica,” in M. G. Fiore Cavaliere (ed.), *Sublaqueum – Subiaco. Tra Nerone e S. Benedetto*, Rome, 13-24.
- (1996): *Un ninfeo riutilizzato. Scavi in un piccolo monastero di Subiaco*, Rome.
- Fiore Cavaliere, M. G., Z. Mari, and A. Luttazzi (1999): “La villa di Nerone a Subiaco e la fondazione del monastero benedettino di S. Clemente,” in Z. Mari, M. Teresa Petrarà and M. Sperandio (eds.), *Il Lazio tra antichità e medioevo. Studi in memoria di Jean Coste*, Rome, 341-67.
- Fixot, M., and É. Zadora-Rio (eds.) (1989): *L’église, la campagne, le terroir*, Paris.
- Gilkes, O., and M. Moran (2001): “San Vincenzo Without the Walls – Excavations 1996-97,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69, 385-91.
- Godoy Fernández, C. (1995): *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII)*, Barcelona.
- Gugole, J. (1991-92): “Fouilles archéologiques de la ville gallo-romaine de Séviac en 1991,” *Actes des treizième et quatorzième journées des archéologues gersois* 13-14 (1991-92).
- Guild, R. (1990): “Notre-Dame-De Salagon,” in M. Fixot and É. Zadora-Rio (eds.), *L’église, la campagne, le terroir*, Paris, 150-51.
- Guild, R., and M. Vecchione (1995): “Mane. Église Notre-Dame,” in N. Duval (ed.), *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, Paris, 81-84.
- (1996): “Mane. Salagon,” in C. Pellecuer (ed.), *Formes de l’habitat rural en Gaule Narbonnaise. Spécial villa romaine*, Valbonne.
- Harlow, M. (2007): “The Impossible Art of Dressing to Please: Jerome and the Rhetoric of the Dress,” in L. Lavan, E. Swift and T. Putzeys (eds.), *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity. Late Antique Archaeology*, 531-49.
- Heuclin, C. (1998): “Recherche sur la notion d’espace dans le monachisme gaulois primitif,” in R. H. Bautier, H. Platelle and D. Misonne (eds.), *Pratique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à l’époque moderne. Actes du colloque de Liessies-Maubeuge 26, 27 et 28 septembre 1997*, Lille, 13-21.
- Hodges, R. (ed.) (1993): *San Vincenzo al Volturno 1: The 1980-1986 Excavations*, London.
- (1995): *San Vincenzo al Volturno 2: The 1980-1986 Excavations*, London.
- (1995): “San Vincenzo al Volturno and the Plan of St. Gall,” in R. Hodges (ed.), *San Vincenzo al Volturno 2: The 1980-86 Excavations*, London, 153-75.
- (2007): “Making Memory into History? A Re-interpretation of San Sebastiano at Alatri,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20, 705-12.
- Hodges, R., J. Mitchell, and S. Leppard (forthcoming): *San Vincenzo 5: San Vincenzo Maggiore and its Workshops*, London.
- Horn, W. (1979): *The Plan of St. Gall*, Berkeley.
- Hunter, D. (1987): “Resistance to the Virginal Ideal in Late-Fourth Century Rome: The Case of Jovinian,” *Theological Studies* 48, 45-64.
- Insoll, T. (2004): *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*, London – New York.

- Jacobs, A. (2003): "Let Him Guard *Pietas*: Early Christian Exegesis and the Ascetic Family," *J ECS* 11, 265-81.
- Jacobs, A., and R. Krawiec (2003): "Fathers Know Best? Christian Families in the Age of Asceticism," *J ECS* 11, 257-63.
- Jacobsen, W. (2004): "Die Anfänge des abendländischen Kreuzgangs," in P. Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang. The medieval cloister. Le cloître au moyen âge. Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, Regensburg, 37-56.
- James, E. (1981): "Archaeology and the Merovingian Monastery," in H. B. Clarke and M. Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, London, 33-55.
- Keily, M. (2004): "The Interior Courtyard: The Heart of Cimitile/Nola," *J ECS* 12, 443-79.
- Kirsch, J. P. (1918): *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum*, Paderborn.
- Knight, J. (2005): "From Villa to Monastery: Llandough in Context," *Medieval Archaeology* 49, 93-107.
- Krawiec, R. (2003): "'From the Womb of the Church': Monastic Families," *J ECS* 11, 283-307.
- (2009): "'Garments of Salvation': Representations of Monastic Clothing in Late Antiquity," *J ECS* 17, 125-50.
- Lewit, T. (2003): "Vanishing Villas: What Happened to Elite Rural Habitation in the West in the 5th-6th c.?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16, 260-74.
- Leyser, C. (2000): *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, Oxford.
- Lienhard, J. T. (1977): *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism*, Bonn.
- Lopes, C., and R. Alfenim (1994): "A villa romana do Monte da Cegonha," in J. Campos et al. (eds.), *Arqueología en el Entorno del Bajo Guadiana*, Huelva, 485-502.
- Lorenz, R. (1966): "Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 77, 1-61.
- Loveluck, C. (2001): "Wealth, Waste and Conspicuous Consumption. Flixborough and Its Importance for Middle and Late Saxon Rural Settlement Studies," in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain*, Oxford, 79-130.
- Maciel, J. (1996): *Antiguidade Tardia e Paleocristianismo em Portugal*, Lisbon.
- (2000): "Do romano ao islâmico: as escavações de 1997 na 'villa' do Montinho das Laranjeiras (Algarve)," in *Actas do III Congresso de Arqueología Peninsular*, Porto, 665-67.
- Maciel, J., and J. P. Martins (1995): "Monasterium e ecclesia de S. Salvador no Monte do Mosteiro (Mértola)," in *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica*, Lisbon, 499-506.
- Mar, R. et al. (1996): "El conjunto paleocristiano del Francolí en Tarragona. Nuevas aportaciones," *Antiquité Tardive* 4, 320-24.
- Mar, R., and C. Salom i Garreta (1999): "Via, villa i basílica del Parc Central," in *Del Romà al Romànic*, Barcelona, 175-77.
- Marazzi, F. (2008): "San Vincenzo al Volturno. L'impianto architettonico fra VIII e XI secolo, alla luce dei nuovi scavi della basilica maior," in F. De Rubeis and F. Marazzi (eds.), *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*, Rome, 323-90.
- Markus, R. A. (1990): *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge.
- Meates, G. W. (1979): *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent. Volume 1. The Site*, Maidstone, Kent.
- Mari, Z. (1994): "La villa di Nerone," in M. G. Fiore Cavaliere (ed.), *Sublaqueum - Subiaco. Tra Nerone e S. Benedetto*, Rome, 4-12.

- Moreno Martín, F. (2009a): "Arquitectura y usos monásticos en el siglo VII. De la recreación textual a la invisibilidad material," in L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz and M. Utrero Agudo (eds.), *El siglo VII frente al siglo VII. Arquitectura*, Madrid, 275-307.
- (2009b): "La configuración arquitectónica del monasterio hispano entre la tarde antigüedad y el alto medioevo historiográfico y nuevas perspectivas," *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 199-217.
- Morris, R. (1989): *Churches in the Landscape*, London.
- Navarro Sáez, R. (1999): "El territori el món rural," in *Del Romà al Romànic*, Barcelona, 103-23.
- Palol, P. D. (1999a): "Basílica, baptisteri i necròpoli del Bovalar," in *Del Romà al Romànic*, Barcelona, 188-92.
- (1999b): "Poblat del Bovalar," in *Del Romà al Romànic*, Barcelona, 145-46.
- Percival, J. (1997a): "Desperately Seeking Sidonius: the Realities of Life in Fifth-Century Gaul," *Latomus* 56, 279-92.
- (1997b): "Villas and Monasteries in Late Roman Gaul," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48, 1-21.
- Pergola, P. (ed.) (1999): *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV-VIII sec.)*, Rome.
- Potter, T. W., and A. C. King (eds.) (1997): *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato. A Roman and Medieval Settlement in South Etruria*, Rome.
- Raynaud, C. (1988): "Les campagnes du Languedoc oriental à la fin de l'Antiquité et au début du Haut Moyen Age (IV^e-VII^e s.) Continuité, transition ou rupture?," in *Actes des IX^e journées d'archéologie mérovingienne: Gaule mérovingienne et monde méditerranéen*, Lattes, 125-29.
- Reichert, F.-J. (1961): *Die Baugeschichte der Benediktiner-Abteikirche Tholey*, Saarbrücken.
- Renfrew, C. (1985): "Towards a Framework for the Archaeology of Cult Practice," in C. Renfrew (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary of Phylakopi*, 11-26.
- Rosselló Mesquida, M. (1995): "Punta de L'illa de Cullera (Valencia): Un possible establecimiento monástico del s. VI d.C.," in *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica*, Lisbon, 151-61.
- Rousseau, P. (2005): "The Pious Household and the Virgin Chorus: Reflection on Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina," *JECs* 13, 165-86.
- Sapin, C. (2008): "L'archéologie des premiers monastères en France (V^e-début XI^e s.), un état des recherches," in F. De Rubeis and F. Marazzi (eds.), *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*, Rome, 83-102.
- Schlunk, H. (1971): "La iglesia de S. Gião, cerca de Nazaré," in *II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia*, Coimbra, 509-28.
- Schneider, L. (2001): "*Oppida et castra* tardo-antiques à propos des établissements de hauteur de la Gaule méditerranéenne," in P. Ouzoulias et al. (eds.), *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité*, Antibes, 443-48.
- (2005): "Dynamiques spatiales et transformations de l'habitat en Languedoc méditerranéen durant le haut moyen âge (VI^e-IX^e s.)," in G. P. Brogiolo, A. Chavarría Arnau and M. Valenti (eds.), *Dopo la fine delle ville: le campagne dal VI al IX secolo*, 287-309.
- Sennhauser, R. (2008): "Monasteri del primo millennio nelle Alpi Svizzere," in F. De Rubeis and F. Marazzi (eds.), *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*, Rome, 43-65.
- Sessa, K. (2007): "Christianity and the *Cubiculum*: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome," *JECs* 15, 171-204.
- (forthcoming): *The Household and the Bishop: Estate Management and Episcopal Authority in Late Antique Rome*.

INVENTING ASCETIC SPACE

- Seston, W. (1934): "Le monastère d'Aïn-Tamda et les origines de l'architecture monastique en Afrique du Nord," *MEFR* 51, 79-113.
- Smith, J. Z. (1990): *Drudgery Divine. On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, London.
- Snively, C. (1991): "Invisible in the Community? The Evidence for Early Women's Monasticism in the Southern Balkan Peninsula," in S. McNally (ed.), *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism*, Oxford.
- Stancliffe, C. E. (1983): *St. Martin and His Hagiographer*, Oxford.
- Thébert, Y. (1987): "Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa," in P. Veyne (ed.), *A History of Private Life. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, Cambridge, MA, 313-410.
- Tomei, M. A. (1984): "La villa di Nerone a Subiaco: Scavi e ricerche," in *Archeologia Laziale VI*, Rome.
- Trousset, P., H. Slim, R. Paskoff, and A. Oueslati (1992): "Les îles Kneiss et le monastère de Fulgence de Ruspe," *Antiquités africaines* 28, 223-47.
- Trout, D. (1988): "Augustine at Cassiciacum: *Otium Honestum* and the Social Dimensions of Conversion," *Vigiliae Christianae* 42, 132-46.
- (1999): *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters and Poems*, Berkeley.
- Ulbert, T. (1978): *Frühchristliche Basiliken mit Doppelapsiden auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1996): "Engendering the Roman House," in D. Kleiner and S. Matheson (eds.), *I Claudia. Women in Ancient Rome*, New Haven, 104-13.
- Ward-Perkins, B. (2005): *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford.
- Zelzer, K. (1998): "Klöster und Regeln in den ersten Phasen des abendländischen Mönchtums," in *Il monachesimo occidentale dalle origini alla Regula Magistri*, Rome, 23-36.
- Zinzi, E. (1994): *Studi sui luoghi cassiodorei in Calabria*, Catanzaro.