

Characteristics of the Christianisation of Space in Late Antique Rome

New Considerations a Generation after Charles Pietri's Roma Christiana

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In 1976, Charles Pietri's *Roma Christiana* outlined a complete and almost definitive picture of the general configuration of the *Urbs*, marked increasingly, before the end of the 5th century, by the emergence of Christianity in spaces both *intra* and *extra moenia*.¹ Thirty-six years later, the work of the French historian can still be regarded as unsurpassed or even unsurpassable, and remains a standard reference work for students of the Christian topography of the city, which should be set alongside the other important monograph by R. Krautheimer² and the valuable recent synthesis by V. Fiochi Nicolai.³ However, several discoveries from recent archaeological excavations and, above all, topographical analyses, which do not consider Christian buildings in isolation from the urban fabric, but read them in terms of their deeper relationship with their particular contexts, stimulate new reflections on the Christianisation of urban space in Rome during Late Antiquity.

It is now possible to broaden the area of research in order to define the complex phenomena of transformation, not of individual buildings, but of the entire urban landscape within the Aurelian Walls (fig. 1).⁴ This paper proposes some preliminary suggestions towards that aim on the basis of analysing specific districts of the city, in particular two predominantly residential areas, the Caelian and Aventine hills, which belonged to the first and second ecclesiastical regions respectively, and one area of more public and monumental character, the Campus Martius, which corresponded to the fifth and sixth ecclesiastical regions.⁵ The evidence based on a topographical and diachronic examination of these three regions will be placed in the context of the general reconstitution of the urban network. In this way we can see more easily the criteria that govern the positioning of various types of Christian installation in relation to the overall urban plan, the relationship between the new *tituli* and traditionally residential zones, and the presence of Christian cultic sites along-

side buildings connected with other religions.

CAELIAN

During the 4th century, the Caelian seems to have preserved virtually the same appearance as in the previous two centuries (figs 2-3).⁶ The pre-existing primary and secondary road networks were almost completely retained: the Via Tusculana; the Clivus Scauri and its continuation beyond the Servian walls, conventionally known as the Via Caelemontana; and the Vicus Capitis Africae.⁷ The district is particularly known for its residential character,⁸ with limited public and religious buildings: the Castra Peregrina;⁹ the barracks of the Fifth Cohors Vigilum;¹⁰ the Macellum Magnum;¹¹ the temple of the Divus Claudius;¹² and the Basilica Hilariana.¹³ Some of these buildings survived beyond the reign of Constantine, as literary sources or archaeological evidence confirm: Ammianus Marcellinus recalls how in 357 the king of the Alamanni, Chnodomarius, was imprisoned in the *castra peregrinorum*,¹⁴ and the mithraeum can reasonably be considered to have been still active around the same time.¹⁵ The same goes for the Basilica Hilariana, seat of the school for the college of tree-bearers (*dendrophori*) of the Magna Mater,¹⁶ which was situated in the area of the Military Hospital. This certainly indicates a continued concentration in this zone up to the beginning of the 5th century,¹⁷ which was also likely to have been favoured by the patronage of pagan aristocratic families such as the Symmachi, who were still resident on the Caelian (fig. 4).¹⁸ Similarly, a building of commercial character exposed in recent excavations on the same site of the Military Hospital showed traces of activity throughout the 4th century.¹⁹

At the same time, the rich texture of residential buildings is evident from the general survival of former *insulae*, with limited building phases, and the exceptional presence of very large luxury res-

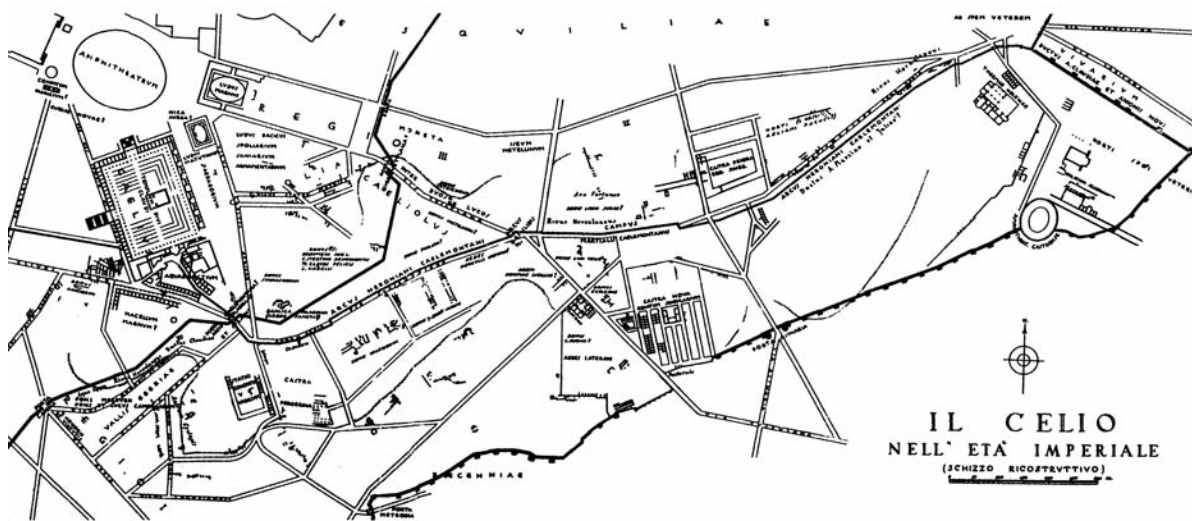


Fig. 2. The Caelian in antiquity (from Colini 1944).

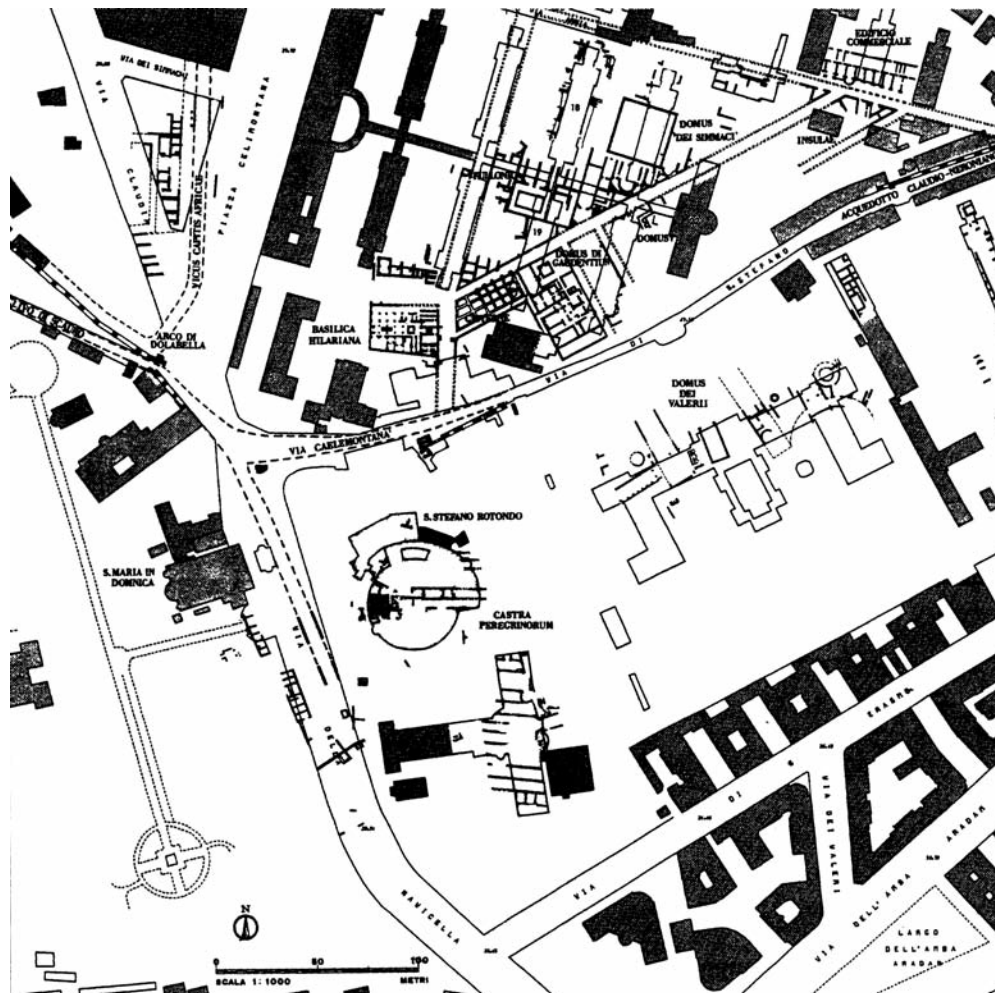


Fig. 3. Archaeological evidence on top of the Caelian (from Pavolini 2004).



Fig. 4. Plate of the Symmachi' from the Basilica Hilariana (from Pacetti, in *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, 2001).

idences associated with important families in Rome during Late Antiquity.²⁰ The *insulae* of Flavian date situated along the Vicus Capitis Africae were in continuous use,²¹ as were the buildings along the Clivus Scauri, constructed mainly between the 2nd and 3rd centuries.²² Some *insulae*

were transformed into more refined dwellings belonging to single owners, through probable amalgamations of discrete residences,²³ for example the *domus* attributed, thanks to a floor mosaic, to Gaudentius,²⁴ the friend and colleague of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (fig. 5).²⁵ Already in the late Antonine period this house had brought together two *insulae* by means of an intermediate covered alley.²⁶ The house of the Symmachi itself is probably identifiable with an enormous and prestigious residential site at the summit of the hill (covering between 6,300 and 8,500 square metres).²⁷ According to a recent hypothesis, it may formerly have been the Domus Vectiliana known from the *Historia Augusta* to have belonged to the emperor Commodus.²⁸ The other dominant family on the hill were the Christian Valerii, whose house was identified from discoveries made between the 16th and 18th centuries in the area of the Addolorata Hospital²⁹ and has recently been the site of some remarkable finds.³⁰

There was thus very little change to the urban landscape as Christianity became embedded in the city. In the course of the 4th century a Christian presence was certainly visible in the residential structures along the Clivus Scauri.³¹ If in this context of changes at the end of the 3rd century such a presence does not definitively prove the existence of a *domus ecclesiae*,³² it must be seen as one of many multicultural elements typical of the age, with references to philosophy, to the pleasure of



Fig. 5. House of Gaudentius: reconstruction from the Museum of the Crypta Balbi (photo author).



Fig. 6. Wall painting in the domus under SS. Giovanni e Paolo (photo author).

bucolic life, and to Egyptian religious elements (fig. 6). The meaning of the building becomes more obvious towards the end of the 4th century with the construction of a *confessio*: a brick receptacle for the relics or tombs of martyrs, decorated with scenes from the passion of SS. John and Paul and also associated with SS. Crispus, Crispinianus and Benedicta. Although it is still debated whether this element was public or private, and whether the setting was a gathering place for the community

or a private chapel,³³ it is hard not to see a connection with the *titulus Byzantis et Pammachii*, which scarcely a few years later would play a significant role in the topography of the zone in the form of a church building proper (fig. 7).³⁴

With regard to the future *titulus* of the 'Quattro Coronati' there are no elements to help us see the first stages in its becoming a major part of the urban network. Yet it is recalled in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* that the worship of these cults was celebrated on the Caelian Hill at the beginning of the 5th century.³⁵ It is generally thought that this should be connected with the *titulus Aemiliana* of the synod held in AD 499.³⁶ To be sure, the buildings of the early Christian institution cannot be traced with certainty, but it is reasonable to infer from the discovery towards the end of the 18th century of thermal structures at the back of the Carolingian basilica that the first foundation was simply incorporated within a residential context.³⁷

From the beginning of the 5th century, however, the process of Christianisation assumed a larger meaning in the urban history of the Caelian Hill. Information from recent excavations and written sources indicates a decisive break in activity at this time:³⁸ most of the public and private complexes show traces of neglect and sometimes

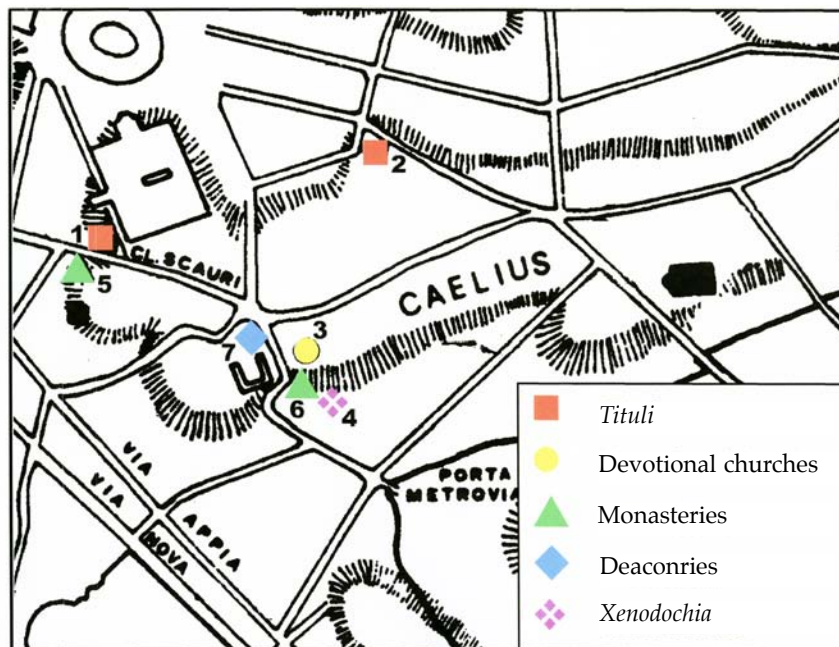


Fig. 7. Map of the archaeological evidence on the Caelian up to the 7th century (1. *titulus* Pammachii et Bizantis; 2. *titulus* Quattuor Coronatorum; 3. S. Stefano Rotondo; 4. xenodochium a Valerii; 5. S. Andrea in clivum Scauri; 6. S. Erasmo; 7. S. Maria in Domnica) (drawing author).

changes of function, for example the *Castra Peregrina*,³⁹ the Basilica Hilariana, the commercial structure in the area of the Military Hospital, and the 'insulae' of the *Caput Africae*.⁴⁰ The forms of reoccupation were varied and sometimes very modest: enclosures for animals; hearths on the abandoned strata of the commercial building;⁴¹ a bleaching plant with small artisan workshops within the Basilica Hilariana;⁴² partial reuse for residential purposes of the service area of Gaudentius' *domus*;⁴³ and a series of tombs arranged in small groups within the abandoned buildings.⁴⁴ The archaeological data are confirmed by literary accounts of the early impoverishment of the area. Thus a passage in the life of the young Melanie,⁴⁵ wife of Valerius Pinianus and with him the last owner of the *domus* of the *gens Valeria*,⁴⁶ indicates the drastic depreciation of this prestigious residence, which was sold by the couple well below its real value after Alaric's sack of Rome in AD 410.⁴⁷ From this moment, Christian foundations became the dominant form of evidence in the urban landscape.

At the beginning of the 5th century, the three-aisled church of SS. John and Paul (*Titulus Byzantis et Pammachii*) became the visible manifestation of the ancient 'domestic' Christian presence.⁴⁸ The establishment during the pontificate of Pope Sim-

plicius (468-483) of a devotional church connected to the cult of Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity,⁴⁹ is of particular importance because of its use of a distinctive architectural form, with a centralized design developed around a cruciform pivot, as H. Brandenburg has demonstrated. The monumental scale of the church and its strong impact on the landscape needs no further commentary (fig. 8).⁵⁰ What is most significant from a topographical point of view is the fact that this new Christian building was superimposed on the structures of the *Castra Peregrina*, which, now almost totally abandoned, were razed to ground level and covered with earth fill, to all appearances on public ground. It is impossible to know how the Roman Church acquired this site; it should perhaps be ascribed to an imperial donation.⁵¹

In the 6th and 7th centuries these three churches - the two *tituli* of SS. John and Paul and the SS. Quattro Coronati and the new church of St. Stephen - continued to expand, while the focus of Christianisation shifted towards the provision of charity. The zone was enhanced with two monasteries: St. Andrew in *clivum Scauri* founded by Pope Gregory I in his own family residence, re-using an ancient *domus*;⁵² and St. Erasmus, which appears to have existed by the end of the 7th century according to information from the biography

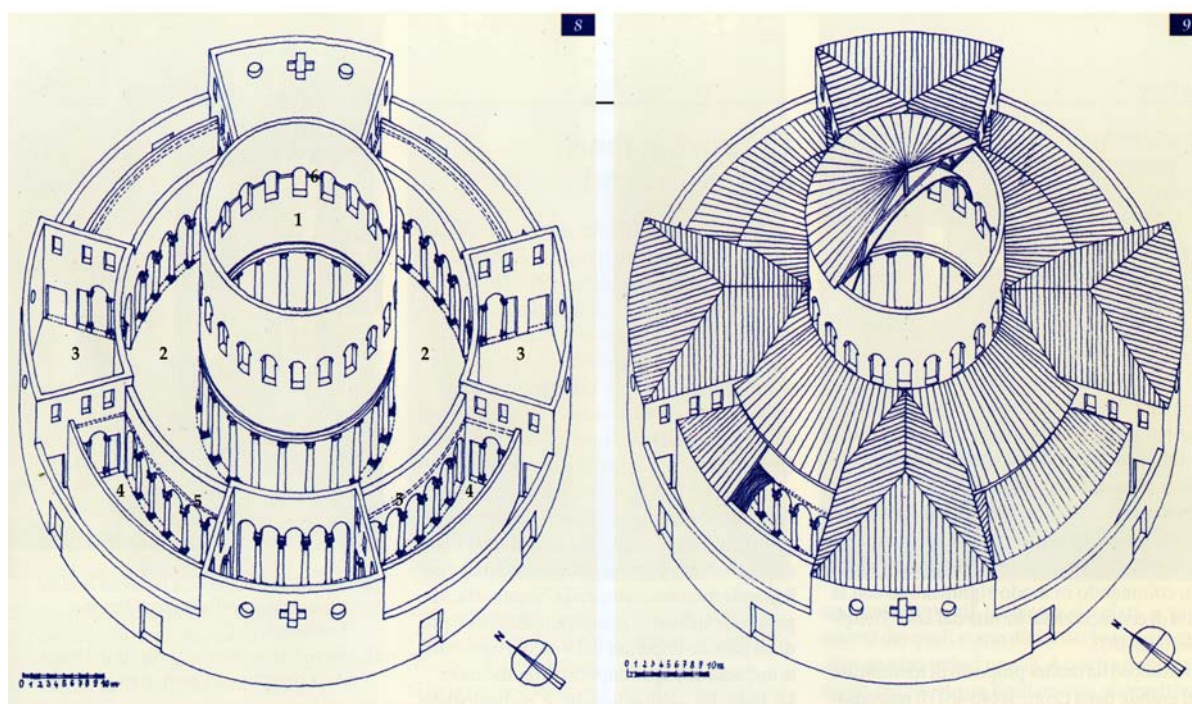


Fig. 8. S. Stefano Rotondo (reconstruction by H. Brandenburg).

of Pope Adeodatus (672-676).⁵³ A lodging for pilgrims (*xenodochium*) was also installed in the area, which is mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great. The significant toponym *a Valeriis*, which it held up to the beginning of the 9th century, seems to indicate that it lay on the site of an ancient noble *domus* belonging to that family.⁵⁴

AVENTINE

The profile of the adjacent territory of the Aventine differs strikingly from the Caelian both in its residential character and in the processes by which it was transformed in Late Antiquity. It should be admitted, however, that some of these variations might also reflect a discrepancy in the types of documentation available.⁵⁵

In this urban area the process of Christianization took place within an urban network that consisted predominantly of residential buildings, which had become almost exclusively aristocratic from the middle imperial period.⁵⁶ The literary sources, such as the correspondence of Jerome, together with epigraphic data and phase of constructions, indicate that this situation remained substantially the same throughout the 4th century and also during the succeeding period. Some changes in the *domus* under S. Sabina must belong to the 4th century,⁵⁷ and to the second half of the same century can be attributed the introduction of the apsidal hall in the complex attributed to Fabius Cilo on the so-called 'Little Aventine'⁵⁸ and changes to the complex under S. Saba.⁵⁹ But the owner of the *domus* in the 5th century was still Flavius Iunius Quartus Palladius,⁶⁰ praetorian prefect in AD 416-421, whose statue with an inscription on the base came to light at a site to the north-west. Other known proprietors include some members of the Caecinae Decii family, like Caecina Decius Albinus iunior, city prefect in AD 402, mentioned in an inscription,⁶¹ and Flavius Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius, praetorian prefect in 483, whose name is found on a water pipe.⁶² In view of these signs of stability in patterns of residential ownership, the list of archaeological data is of particular interest with the discovery of seals of Theodoric in the house under the medieval church of S. Prisca⁶³ and the *opus sectile* pavement of the 7th century in a *domus* excavated in Largo Arrigo VII.⁶⁴ The written sources add the valuable information that among those living on the Aventine were Sylvia, the mother of Gregory the Great,⁶⁵ and some popes, including probably Boniface IV (608-615)⁶⁶ and Eugene I (654-657); the latter, according to his biographer, hailed *de regione Aventinense*.⁶⁷

This interesting picture of continuity in some residential areas is situated within a road network that was unchanged since early and middle imperial times: the most important thoroughfares of the Clivus Publicius and the Vicus Armilustri persist alongside the system of adjoining streets that follow the contours of the hill.⁶⁸ This should be related to the protracted survival of public structures such as the Baths of Decius, restored again in AD 414 after the sack of Alaric,⁶⁹ from which a series of statue bases dedicated by members of senatorial families between 331 and 402 suggests a period of lengthy use and a particular connection with the wealthy *domus* in the area.⁷⁰

To complete the topographical picture the intricate network of non-Christian religious buildings should be mentioned, some of them of particular antiquity, and which are often not fully documented: the well-known temple of Diana; the large precinct of the triad Minerva, Jupiter Libertas, and Juno Regina; and the sanctuaries of Mercury, Ceres, Liber and Libera, Flora, Luna, Consus, Vertumnus, the Bona Dea Subsaxana, Silvanus Salutaris, and Jupiter Elicius.⁷¹ They show the other aspect of the Aventine and complement a range of oriental sanctuaries with 'domestic' characteristics, such as the Iseum installed in the first half of the 2nd century in a house under S. Sabina.⁷² In most cases it is difficult to establish their continued use and location, but those which were definitely in use in the 4th century go beyond the Constantinian period in the case of the temple of Flora, which was restored by Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus, praetor in AD 401⁷³ and is mentioned in the *Carmen contra paganos* and on a slave's collar dating from the end of the 4th century.⁷⁴ A prolonged use can also be established for the important temple of Jupiter Dolichenus, discovered in 1935 by Colini on the Via di San Domenico, which provides evidence of a series of construction phases belonging to the late 4th and traces of use beyond the 5th century;⁷⁵ the same presumably applies to the mithraeum within the complex under S. Prisca. According to the finds the latter would have been in use throughout the 5th century.⁷⁶

The process of Christian monumentalisation (*fig. 9*) does not start before the early years of the 5th century and can perhaps only be admitted in the case of certain private properties. Jerome's letters recall on several occasions the assembling of widows and virgins in a *domus* on the Aventine belonging to a certain Marcella.⁷⁷ This was probably a descendant of the *praefectus Urbi* from AD 292-293, Claudius Marcellus, and a grandson of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul in 335.⁷⁸



Fig. 9. Map showing the distribution of archaeological evidence on the Aventine up to the 7th century (1. titulus Sabinae; 2. titulus Priscae; 3. titulus Balbinae; 4. S. Saba; 5. S. Bonifacio; 6. Monastery of Euprepia) (drawing author).

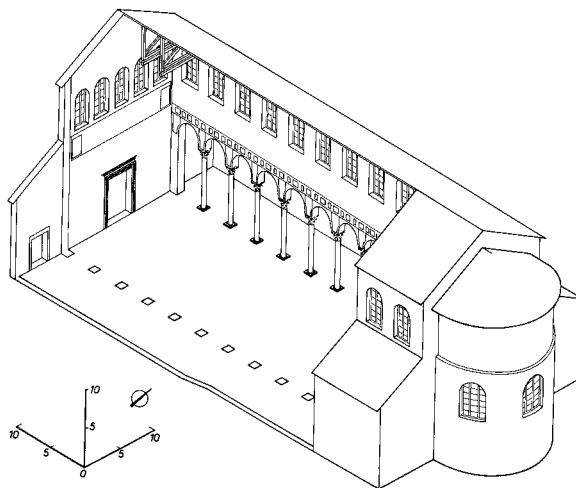


Fig. 10. S Sabina: axonometric drawing (from Brandenburg 2004a).

The radicalisation of 'institutional' Christianity occurred only after the decades following the sack of Rome, during which the urban network received three titular foundations, the *titulus Sabinae*, the *titulus Priscae* and the *titulus Balbinae*, the first two situated in the so-called 'Great Aventine', and the third on the eastern offshoot

of the hill. This evidence of dedication to the *cura animarum* only confirms the area's residential profile. If the chronological limits of the first parochial institution are fixed at the period of the pontificates of Celestine I and Sixtus III (AD 422-440),⁷⁹ the earliest mention of the church of Prisca on a site that was probably different from that of the 12th-century building, is given by the synod of 499.⁸⁰ There too is included for the first time a *titulus Tigridae*, which is almost unanimously identified with that of Balbina recorded for the synod of 595.⁸¹

In general, there may be some basis for the idea that on the Aventine as on the Caelian the planning of the Church of Rome was inserted to some extent within 'empty spaces' that began to appear in the urban network after the destabilising event of the sack of the City. But the two best known foundations reflect different methods of creation. The triple nave basilica of S. Sabina (fig. 10) was constructed in a district that comprised at least four different residential areas, distinct in both character and chronology, brought together in a single property for the building of the church: this was supposedly in an abandoned state and probably of depreciated value after 410 and was subsequently obliterated by a significant raising of level, which the church respected only in relation

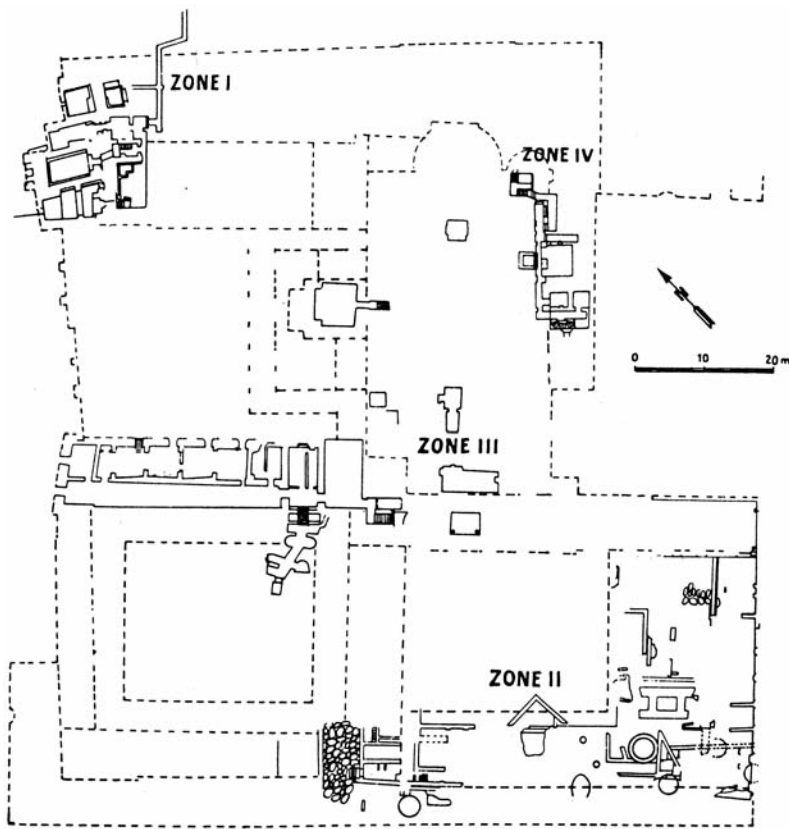


Fig.11. S. Sabina: archaeological evidence under the church (from Darsy 1961).

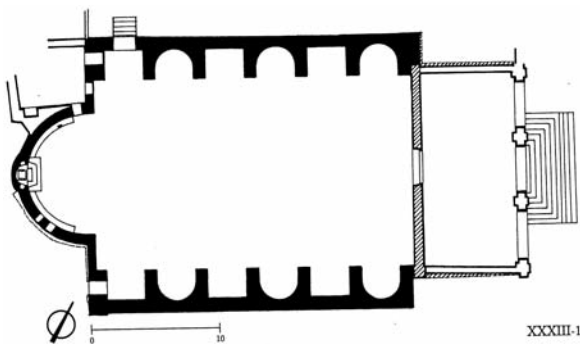


Fig. 12. S. Balbina: plan (from Brandenburg 2004a).



Fig. 13. S. Balbina (photo author).

to the urban plan imposed by the existing road network (fig. 11).⁸² S. Balbina, on the other hand, was installed in a 4th-century hall of the complex of the ancient *domus Cilonis*, of which it is thought that the church completely retained the architectural forms (figs 12-13)⁸³.

During the 6th and 7th centuries the urban picture became more diverse and changeable. The evidence suggests the occurrence of new phenomena, such as the inclusion of cultivated areas, a logical result of the abandonment of built-up

sectors, the use of non-active spaces as rubbish dumps, the employment of old buildings for new functions, and the presence of intra-mural graves.⁸⁴ In this period Christianisation is manifested in new forms, above all the creation of monasteries, those of St. Saba, whose origin, whether Greek or Latin, is debated,⁸⁵ St. Boniface,⁸⁶ and possibly a third near S. Sabina, which is known from a letter of Gregory the Great.⁸⁷

In the northern and north-western area of the city, almost completely occupied by the plain of the Campus Martius,⁸⁸ the Christianisation of urban spaces appears to have followed the topographical context. In defining the development of a Christian presence in this zone it is particularly evident how the means of installation during the 4th and 5th centuries differed sharply in function and positioning from the succeeding period. These phenomena should be interpreted in the light of the area's general urban transformation.

The first introduction of ecclesiastical buildings, clearly recognizable in the urban fabric, is represented by at least four titular churches: the basilica of Pope Marcus, inaugurated in AD 336, the oldest titular foundation mentioned by the sources;⁸⁹ the uncertain basilica of Pope Julius (AD 337-352) *iuxta forum divi Traiani*, which Pietri regards as a *titulus* that disappeared at an early stage;⁹⁰ and the *tituli Lucinae*,⁹¹ *Damasi*,⁹² and *Marcelli*, the last of which was built at the beginning of the 5th century.⁹³ Thanks to recent excavations, the buildings are well-known; they were constructed to provide a complete *cura animarum*, as the presence of baptisteries reveals, documented by excavation at S. Marco,⁹⁴ S. Lorenzo in Lucina (fig. 14),⁹⁵ S. Marcello,⁹⁶ and presumably S. Lorenzo in Damaso.⁹⁷ In terms of the transformative effect on the urban landscape it is worth noting that in their initial phases these buildings tend to adapt pre-existing arrangements with minimal changes, and in general involved little destruction of the previous structure: at S. Marco an apse was added to an existing hall (fig. 15); at S. Marcello the apse of a *domus* hall was reused; at S. Lorenzo in Damaso a colonnaded building was restored. The triple nave construction of the *titulus Lucinae* seems to have been the result of a mid-5th century rebuilding, but it is not clear where the older *titulus* was located.⁹⁸ What is striking is that such structures were not situated on the main highways (the Vicus Pallacinae for the *titulus Marci*, the Via Lata-Flaminia for S. Marcello and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and the axis corresponding to the Via del Pellegrino for S. Lorenzo in Damaso),⁹⁹ but systematically preferred secondary axes, perhaps also because of the conditions imposed by the pre-existing building.

Particularly significant was the creation within a prestigious private residence on the Pincio of an oratory dedicated to the martyr Felix of Nola. This perhaps took place when the property still belonged to the aristocratic family of the Anicii,

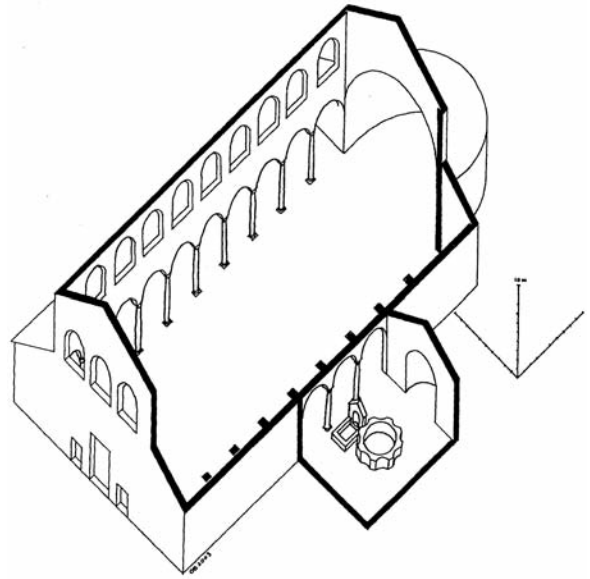


Fig. 14. S. Lorenzo in Lucina: axonometric drawing of church and baptistery (from Brandt 2004).



Fig. 15. S. Marco: palaeochristian apse (photo author).

before the sack of 410. Relics of the martyr might have been sent to Rome through the family's direct dealings with Bishop Paulinus. Although

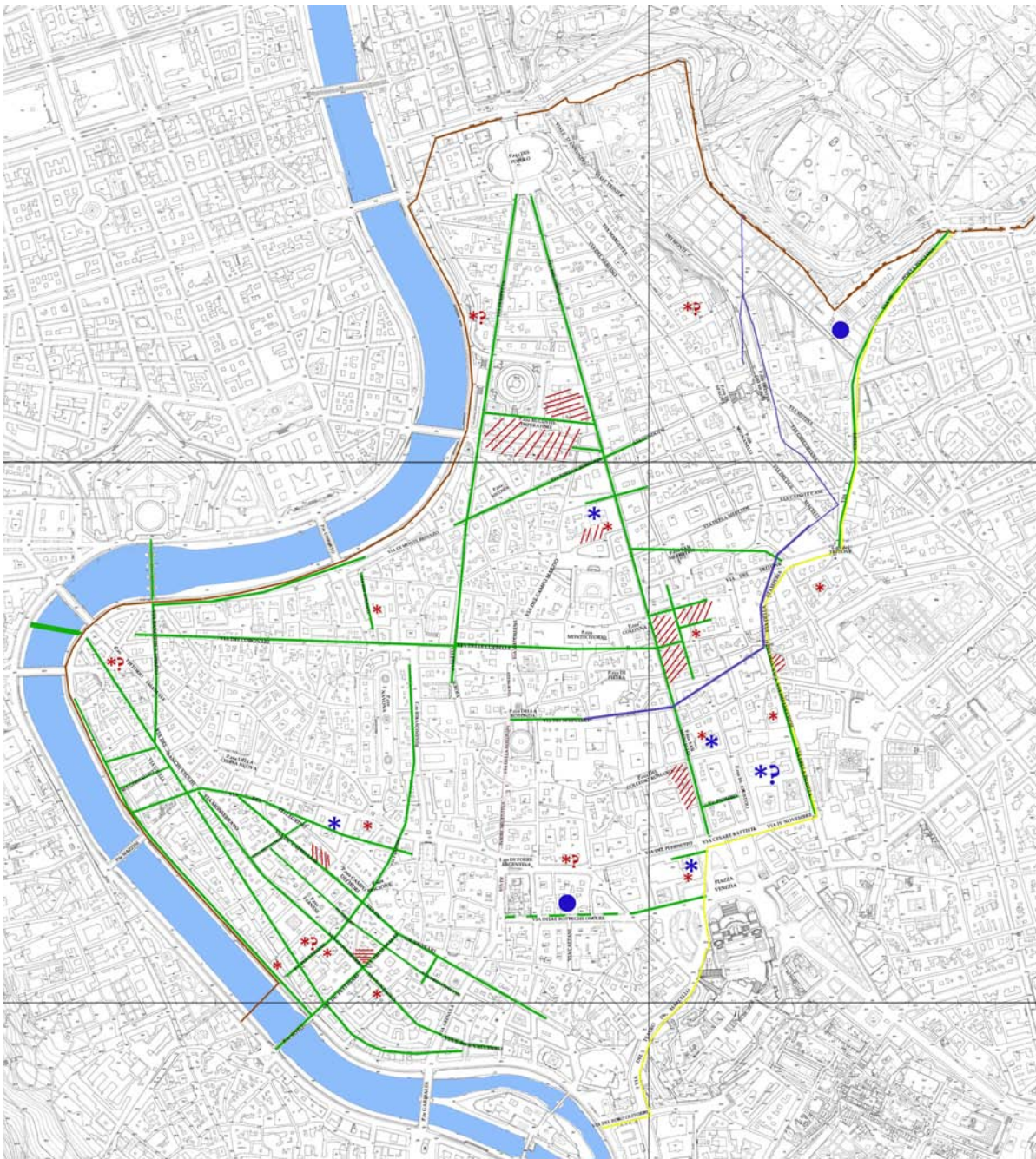


Fig. 16. Map of the Campus Martius with tituli (large *) and housing areas (hatch and small * for isolated evidence) (Author).

this structure is only later attested by sources, including especially the Einsiedeln Itinerary, the recent convincing interpretation by Claire Sotinel may lend weight to the idea that it functioned as an imperial chapel after the property passed into

the imperial demesne and the complex became an imperial residence up to the Gothic Wars.¹⁰⁰

The high number of *tituli* and distribution of these buildings in the urban fabric should be read in connection with the residential character of the

districts (fig. 16), particularly dense along the via Lata-Flaminia, in the western area near the Tiber, and in the south, in the area known as *Pallacinae* near the Fora and Capitolium.¹⁰¹ A vast array of archaeological material allows the reconstruction of substantially enduring landscape in these areas for the 4th and 5th centuries. In many cases, however, there is an unmistakable increase in the quantity of high-status residential building to the detriment of the more common multi-habitation blocks (*insulae*).¹⁰²

The distribution of *tituli* shows that in this period Christianisation did not affect the central area of the Campus Martius, which demonstrates exceptional continuity in public monuments. Early signs of de-structuring on a very limited scale can be seen in two adjacent complexes which had become functionally obsolete, the Diribitorium¹⁰³ and the portico north of the Theatre of Balbus, which is generally identified as the Minucia Frumentaria.¹⁰⁴ During the 4th and much of the 5th century this urban area saw the continual maintenance of monuments of imperial celebration like the Ara Pacis,¹⁰⁵ the systematic upkeep of public buildings used for entertainment (the theatres of Pompey,¹⁰⁶ Balbus,¹⁰⁷ and Marcellus,¹⁰⁸ Domitian's stadium and Odeon,¹⁰⁹ and probably the Trigarium and Circus Flaminius),¹¹⁰ and the continued use of public baths (of Agrippa and Alexander Severus),¹¹¹ The pagan temples (of the Bonus Eventus where the portico was restored in AD 374,¹¹² the temples in the sacred area of the Largo Argentina,¹¹³ the Pantheon,¹¹⁴ Aurelian's temple of the Sun,¹¹⁵ the Iseum Campense,¹¹⁶ and the temples of the Circus Flaminius) were extraordinarily persistent.¹¹⁷ There is an uninterrupted sequence of restoration programmes undertaken by the city prefects, who were often members of noble families such as the Anicii well ensconced in Late Antique Roman society.¹¹⁸ They appear to have taken charge, one might even say beyond the functional workings of the state apparatus, to safeguard the very image of urban propriety.

Between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century the central zone of the Campus Martius enhanced its monumental appearance with the creation of new triumphal arches, one on the Via Lata, dedicated by the Senate to the emperor Honorius according to a recent hypothesis of Paolo Liverani,¹¹⁹ and then two, close to one another, honouring Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius (AD 379-383) and Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II (402-409). Their location was particularly meaningful, situated on the thoroughfare leading to the principal focal point of Late Antique

Rome, the basilica of the Apostle Peter.¹²⁰

It is interesting to note that in this area of the Campus Martius Christianity did not take root before the 6th and 7th centuries. Then new typologies of buildings appeared, which corresponded no longer to the requirements of liturgical organisation,¹²¹ but to new and different needs, connected mostly with welfare and hospitality, but also with premeditated strategies of occupation and restoration of urban spaces (fig. 17). The picture of Christianisation sees a wealth of devotional churches: in the second half of the 6th century the inauguration of the church of the Apostles Philip and James;¹²² and at the beginning of the 7th century the dedication of the Pantheon to the Virgin and all the martyrs by Phocas' imperial concession¹²³ and of *diaconiae* (S. Maria in via Lata,¹²⁴ S. Maria in Aquiro),¹²⁵ monasteries (one known from the letters of Gregory the Great close to Agrippa's baths,¹²⁶ another in the 6th century in the sacred area of the Largo Argentina,¹²⁷ and two near the Crypta Balbi),¹²⁸ and *xenodochia* (the Xenodochium Aniciorum and another on the site of S. Maria in Trivio).¹²⁹

The remarkable intrusion of Christian settlements within public buildings was the result of profound changes in the urban landscape and of the slow and progressive decay of the ancient city fabric. These developments are indicated by alterations in building structures and, in the case of the most important complexes, in the abandonment deposits and secondary functions (burials, crafts, and habitation).¹³⁰ In this situation it can be seen that residential zones became less compact and more scattered in public areas adopting new and more humble typologies, which used whatever structures and materials were available and alternated with areas of cultivation. It should be stressed that Christian buildings did not change their relationship to the overall built-up area. Rather, it was the actual topographical form of those areas that changed.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From the analysis of these urban districts it is possible to outline some common elements of the processes that determined the Christianisation of intramural spaces in Rome between the 4th and 7th centuries. Within this period the functional distribution of churches appears clearly to reflect the renewal of the managerial needs of the community and of the urban territory of the church. The creation of the *tituli*, which falls almost exclusively in the 4th century and the first half of the 5th, was suc-

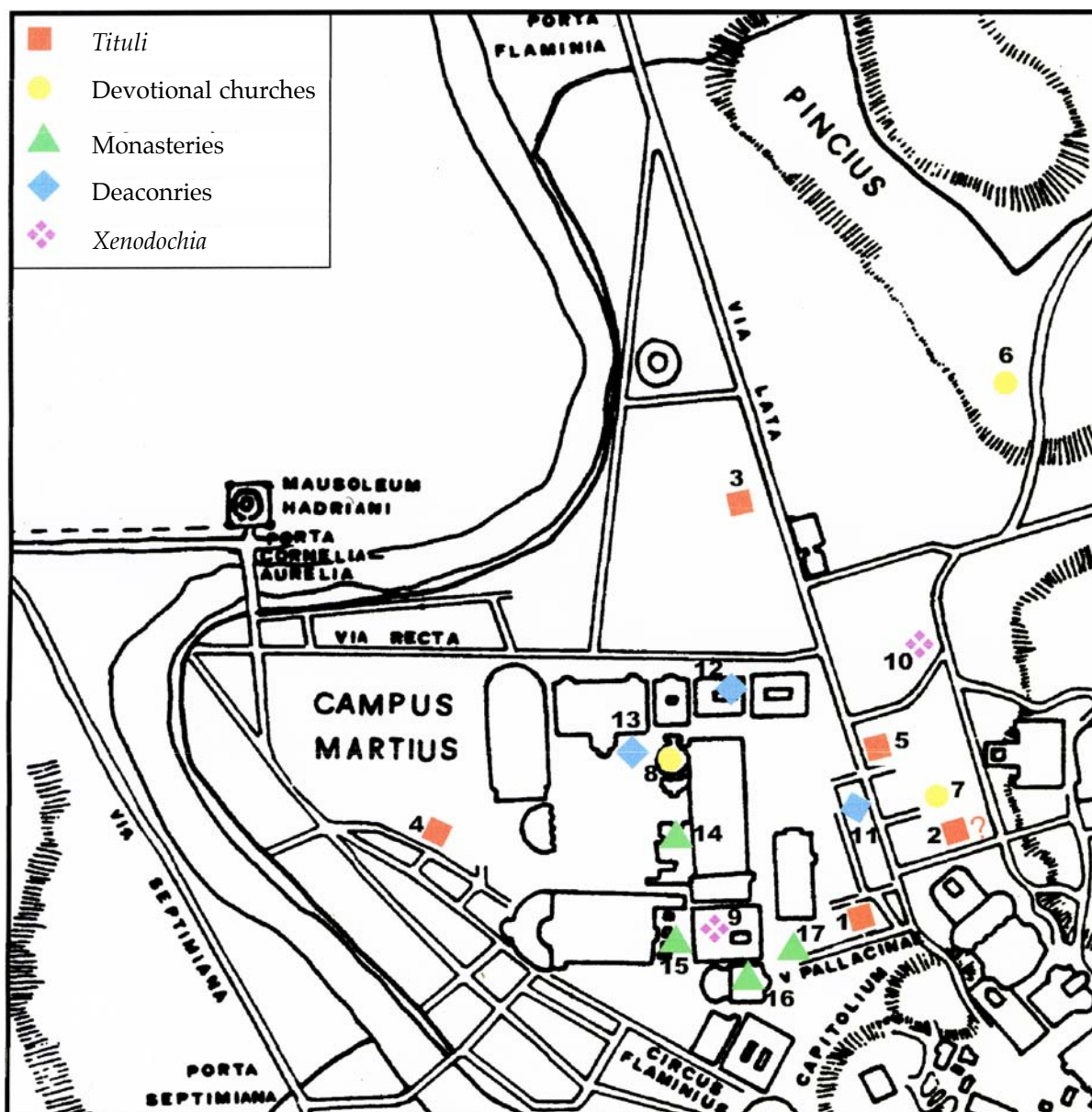


Fig. 17. Map of settlements in the Campus Martius up to the 7th century (1. titulus Marci; 2. basilica Iulia; 3. titulus Lucinae; 4. titulus Damasi; 5. titulus Marcelli; 6. S. Felice; 7. SS. Felice e Giacomo; 8. S. Maria ad martyres; 9. xenodochium Aniciorum; 10. xenodochium in Via; 11. S. Maria in Via Lata; 12. S. Maria in Aquiro; 13. S. Eustachio; 14. Monastery near the baths of Agrippa; 15. Monastery in the sacred area of Largo Argentina; 16. S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis; 17. S. Stefano Vagauda) (drawing author).

ceeded in the early medieval period by the foundation of institutions of charity and hospitality such as *diaconiae*, *xenodochia* and, above all, monasteries.¹³¹ The last of these started to develop principally as self-contained nuclei¹³² and were able to survive also in those parts of the city that became progressively depopulated and ruralised.

The distribution of devotional churches, like S. Stefano Rotondo on the Caelian or the Pantheon in the Campus Martius re-consecrated to Mary and the Martyrs, appears instead to indicate the existence on the part of the Church of precise strategic and ideological plans to put down roots.¹³³ The evaluation of the initial process of Christiani-

sation, as we have seen in different areas, can help to identify a later phase in the mainly residential sectors and an early presence in the more populated quarters.

Analysis of the relationship between Christian buildings and pagan meeting places provides further evidence. At least until the end of the 5th century Christian sites were not installed exclusively within the religious buildings of Late Antique Rome, but systematically co-existed with pagan structures, although in a process of progressive abandonment, encouraged by various imperial laws, and with a very developed network of 'domestic' sanctuaries of eastern origin, mainly mithraea.

The criteria of distribution of Christian buildings are perfectly consistent with the processes of transformation of urban space up to the early medieval period. It is clear that if, after the Constantinian peace, the new religion progressively took over new spaces through imperial and aristocratic euergetism that was to prove ideal for its own communal organisation. In the wake of the abandonment and structural dismantling that occurred after the Gothic Wars, the development of Christianisation took place in the context of successive desertion and changing of structures and was thus to a certain extent favoured in the processes of occupying new spaces by the decay of the ancient city. At the same time, however, the foundation of churches created new urban focal points and encouraged the process of conserving the urban network, which is so evident in the continued use of the principal routes, and assisted the development of urban regeneration.

NOTES

- ¹ Pietri 1976. Pietri's detailed historical summary ends at 440 with the pontificate of Sixtus III.
- ² Krautheimer 1980.
- ³ Fiocchi Nicolai 2001.
- ⁴ The present author is currently undertaking a total analysis of the phenomena of settlement in Late Antique Rome, of which the primary focus is the role played by the process of Christianisation of spaces in the overall transformation of the settlements.
- ⁵ The problem of the ecclesiastical administration of the city is complex in certain respects even after the most recent re-examinations by Pietri 1975 and 1989; the earlier studies of G.B. de Rossi (de Rossi 1864-1877, I, 197-210 and III, 514-526), L. Duchesne (Duchesne 1878 and Duchesne 1890) and C. Re (Re 1889) had a substantial influence on those that followed, by Cecchelli in Castagnoli/Cecchelli/Giovannoni/Zocca 1958, 195-199 and by Testini 1966, 226-227. On this topic see also Pani Ermini 1974, esp. 19-20. The scarcity of sources makes it difficult to reconstruct the defined boundaries, but there are also significant doubts about the continuity

between the end of the 3rd and the 11th century of such an administrative system which would imply inevitable variations with regard to the expansion of 'Christian space'. The limits adopted here, therefore, are the conventional ones (for a map showing the traditional proposal, see Pani Ermini 2000, 26 fig. 12).

- ⁶ The Lateran, which formed its eastern offshoot, was from a geomorphological perspective a part of this long east-west oriented hill (Colini 1944, 5-11), but this area including the enormous episcopal foundation is excluded from the scope of the present paper.
- ⁷ See Colini 1944, 67-78 and Pavolini 1991-92.
- ⁸ Excavations have repeatedly brought to light an interrupted sequence of *insulae* and *domus*: see Colini 1944, Pavolini 1993; Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993; Pavolini 1994-95; Insalaco 2003; Pavolini 2003; Pavolini 2006, 31-53, 65-77, 81-88, 93-106 (with extensive bibliography for the various complexes).
- ⁹ A full bibliography for this structure is provided in E. Lissi Caronna, *LTUR* I, 249-251; see also the clarification by Pavolini 2006, 55-61.
- ¹⁰ Colini 1944, 228-231, and Astolfi 2003.
- ¹¹ Most recently, see Sampson 1971; G. Pisani Sartorio, *LTUR* III, 204-205; Pavolini 2006, 19-22.
- ¹² C. Buzzetti, in *LTUR* I, 277-278 and Pavolini 2006, 29-31. For cults and shrines on the Caelian, see also the up-to-date picture of Pavolini 2006, 14-18.
- ¹³ Carignani/Gabucci/Palazzo 1990; Pavolini 1990; Carignani 1993; Danti 1993. Compare, for full bibliography and a general reconsideration of the complex, Pavolini 2006, 78-81.
- ¹⁴ Amm. Marc. 16.12.66. See Colini 1944, 419; Lissi Caronna 1979, 211-212; Lissi Caronna 1986, 46. Also Pavolini 2006, 58-59.
- ¹⁵ See Colini 1944, 419; Lissi Caronna 1979, 211-212; Lissi Caronna 1986, 46. Also Pavolini 2006, 58-59.
- ¹⁶ Aurigemma 1910.
- ¹⁷ Most recently, Pavolini 2006, 87-88.
- ¹⁸ The discovery in the basilica of a fragment of glass plate with the effigy of Q. Aurelius Symmachus and his son Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus is significant (fig. 5): Pacetti 2001, but also Spinola 1992, 977-978.
- ¹⁹ Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993, 465-466.
- ²⁰ In general, Pavolini 2000.
- ²¹ Pavolini 1993, 299-301 and Pavolini 2006, 96.
- ²² Krautheimer 1937-1980, I, 268-274, 281-284, 290-294, 297-300 and Colini 1944, 164-195. See Pavolini 2006, 31-41 for a recent revision following restoration work, in anticipation of a complete edition and thorough examination of the data in *Caelius* II.
- ²³ Compare Pavolini 2003 for the context of the Clivus Scauri.
- ²⁴ For the identification of this character with the *vicarius Africae* of AD 409 (*PLRE* II, *Gaudentius* 3) rather than with the homonymous *agens in rebus* of 384 (*PLRE* I, *Gaudentius* 5), see Spinola 1992, 966-969.
- ²⁵ *PLRE* I, *Symmachus* 4.
- ²⁶ Spinola 1992 and Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993, 473-483; also Spinola 2000 and Carignani/Spinola 1995 for the mosaics.
- ²⁷ Information about the existence of a *domus* of the Symmachi on the Caelian can be found in passages of letters by the famous orator (*Symm. Epist.* 3.12, 3.88, 7.18) and from the discovery of two bases dedicated by Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus (*CIL* VI 1699 and 31903; *CIL* VI 1782; Veletstino 2000a and b). After Colini 1944, 273, 281-283, for the recently investigated

- archaeological context on the summit of the Caelian, in the area of the Military Hospital, see Spinola 1992, 966-969; Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993, 483-502; Carignani 2000. More recently, Pavolini 2006, 84-87 and 110 (for a comment on Hillner 2003, 135-137).
- ²⁸ SHA, *Comm.* 16.3. For the hypothesis, see Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993, 497-502.
- ²⁹ Colini 1944, 253-258; Guidobaldi 1986, 186-188; Brenk 1999. See also Hillner 2003, to which Pavolini 2006, 109-110 responds with valid arguments. An extensive history of research in this area and a profile of the owners can be found in Lega 2003.
- ³⁰ Up-to-date studies in Barbera/Palladino/Paterna 2005 and in Palladino/Paterna 2006.
- ³¹ On the complex, besides the studies quoted in note 22, see Prandi 1953 and also Brandenburg 2004, 155-162.
- ³² See especially Cecchelli Trinci 1978.
- ³³ For a recent interpretation, capable of re-opening the debate, see Brenk 1995 and 2000.
- ³⁴ Krautheimer 1937-80, I, 265-300; Prandi 1953; Pietri 1976, 476-477, 481-490, 570-571; Brandenburg 2004a, 155-162.
- ³⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. II, 2, 590.
- ³⁶ MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi*, XII, 410-415. L. Spera, in *LTUR* I, 20.
- ³⁷ A summary of the discoveries to the west of the apse is given by Pavolini 2006, 101-103; see also Pavolini 1994-1995. On the *titulus* see Krautheimer 1937-1980, IV, 1-36; Apollonj Ghetti 1964; L. Spera, *LTUR* IV, 177-178; Brandenburg 2004a, 195-196.
- ³⁸ A general picture is offered in Pavolini 1993a; Pavolini 2001; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 151-155.
- ³⁹ Well before the church of St. Stephen was built above (below), the area contained buildings whose use is unknown and which had at least partly obliterated the *castra*: see Brandenburg 2004b, 485-486 and Pavolini 2006, 60-61 for a general reconsideration of the problem.
- ⁴⁰ Pavolini 1993, esp. 301-302.
- ⁴¹ Pavolini/Carignani/Pacetti et al. 1993, 465-466.
- ⁴² See especially Pacetti 2004 and finally Pavolini 2006, 88-90.
- ⁴³ Pavolini 2006, 88.
- ⁴⁴ Pavolini 1993a, 62-63 and Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 103-125.
- ⁴⁵ *Vita Melaniae iun. lat.* 14.3, ed. Rampolla del Tindaro 1905, 11.
- ⁴⁶ *PLRE* I, *Melania* 2 and *PLRE* I, *Pinianus* 2.
- ⁴⁷ F. Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 207; Brenk 1999, 72-74. For a different hypothesis, see Hillner 2003, 140-143, in contrast with Lega 2003, 82 n. 25 and with Pavolini 2006, 110-111, the latter also based on archaeological data.
- ⁴⁸ For the bibliography of the titular building, see note 31 above.
- ⁴⁹ Stephen's relics became important after his tomb was discovered in a Jerusalem suburb in 415: Gordini 1968, 1380-1382.
- ⁵⁰ A significant number of studies have been dedicated to this important monument; among the most fundamental are Corbett 1960, Ceschi 1982, and the recent works by H. Brandenburg, especially Brandenburg 1992; Brandenburg 1998; Brandenburg 2000; Brandenburg 2004b. See further the collective volume Brandenburg/Pal 2000.
- ⁵¹ Brandenburg 2004b, 483-485. On the problems posed by the intermediate building stage between the *castra* and the church, see note 39 above.
- ⁵² Ferrari 1957, 138-151 and Pani Ermini 1981, 35-39. More recently Giuntella 2001, esp. 644-646.
- ⁵³ *LP* I, 346 (... in *monasterio sancti Herasmi situm in Coeliononte, in quo concrevisse visus est sanctissimus vir, multa nova aedificia augmentavit...*). See Ferrari 1957, 119-131 and the synthesis by G. De Spirito, in *LTUR* II, 233-234.
- ⁵⁴ See De Rossi 1886 and Gatti 1902 for its location in the area of the *Domus Valeriorum*, and, more recently, Giuntella 2001, 657, 665-667; for a different hypothesis, see Santangeli Valenzani 1996-1997, 207-210.
- ⁵⁵ For a general topographical picture of the Aventine Merlin's study (Merlin 1906) is still fundamental, to which Andreussi's updated account should be added (Andreussi, in *LTUR* I, 147-150); see also Di Gioia 2004.
- ⁵⁶ Suffice to mention private dwellings of the emperors such as the (*domus*) *privata Traiani*, in Merlin 1906, 318, 326, 343; Vermaseren, van Essen 1965, 15-24; Santamaria Scrinari 1979; Coarelli 1984, 157-175. For other contexts: Darsy 1968, 13-88; Krautheimer 1937-1980, IV, 78-83; Pani Ermini/Giordani 1983; Pani Ermini/Giordani 1984: structures brought to light during excavations beneath and around the area of S. Sabina; Colini 1938; Chini 1997: residential buildings on the N-W slope; Chini 1996: *domus* beside the *Dolocenum*; La Follette 1994, 56: *domus* existing before the baths of Decius under the Torlonia country house and under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana; Cappelletti/Cipollone 1984; Boldrighini 2000; Taviani et al. 2002, 200, 213-214: *domus* under Largo Arrigo VII; Vermaseren/van Essen 1965; Vermaseren 1975: *domus* under St. Prisca (of L. Licinius Sura); Santamaria Scrinari 1979: buildings in the area of the Accademia di Danza; Merlin 1906, 447-455: *domus* under Via Marcella and under Via di Sant'Alessio; Morpurgo 1935; Chini 1997, 759-772; Taviani et al. 2002, 203: *domus* under the modern 'Domus Vergiliana', Via Aventina 31; Cavallo 1982-1983; Grandi/Olevano 1995: *Domus Pactumeiorum*; Visconti 1859; Di Manzano/Quinto 1984; Guidobaldi 1986, 181-184; Taviani et al. 2002, 200-202: *domus* of L. Fabius Cilo. A full summary of discoveries is provided in Quinto 1990.
- ⁵⁷ Darsy 1968, esp. 79-88; Krautheimer 1937-80, IV, 81-83; Pani Ermini/Giordani 1983; Pani Ermini/Giordani 1984.
- ⁵⁸ Krautheimer 1937-80, I, 84-93; Heres 1982, 212-214; Guidobaldi 1986, 181-184; F. Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 95-96. But see Cecchelli 2001, 24, 31-33, 89, 217-222 for a different chronological focus.
- ⁵⁹ Krautheimer 1937-80, IV, 52-57; Guidobaldi 1986, 203-205; Cecchelli 2001, 95, 350-352.
- ⁶⁰ *AE* 1928, 80; for the character *PLRE* II, *Palladius* 19. Traces of the *domus* were found in 1926 in the area of St. Anselm's monastery (F. Guidobaldi, in *LTUR* II, 151).
- ⁶¹ *CIL* VI 1192; *PLRE* I, *Albinus* 10.
- ⁶² *CIL* VI 7420; *PLRE* II, *Basilius* 12. Based on the origin of these objects De Rossi (1855) conjectured that the *domus* was situated between S. Alessio and S. Sabina; see F. Guidobaldi, in *LTUR* II, 29.
- ⁶³ Vermaseren/van Essen 1965, 241-337, esp. 299, 305.
- ⁶⁴ Vendittelli et al. 1990; Fontana/Munzi 2001; Fontana et al. 2004. See also Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 147.
- ⁶⁵ Johannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii* I, 9 (*PL* 75, 66). On the connection between Silvia's residence and St. Saba's monastic institution, see the bibliography below, n. 85.
- ⁶⁶ *LP* I, 317 (*Hic domum suam monasterium fecit, quem et ditavit*). But with regard to the location on the Aventine, see Ferrari's doubts (Ferrari 1957, 76-77).
- ⁶⁷ *LP* I, 341. The interpretation of Papal dwellings as signs of the persistence of outstanding residential buildings is stressed by Santangeli Valenzani 2001-2002.
- ⁶⁸ Merlin 1906, esp. 95-98, 246-250, 295-297. For these two

- road axes see respectively F. Coarelli, in *LTUR* I, 284 and M. Andreussi, in *LTUR* I, 126-127.
- ⁶⁹ *CIL* VI 1703.
- ⁷⁰ See in general L. La Follette, in *LTUR* V, 51-53; for epigraphical evidence, *CIL* VI 1651, 1159, 1160, 1167, 1672, 1192.
- ⁷¹ A summary of the religious buildings on the Aventine is given by Merlin 1906, 42-52, 140-244, 362-377. For individual contexts, the following should be consulted: on the temple of Diana, the recent studies by Vendittelli et. al. 1990; Liou-Gille 1992; Colonna 1994; Schreiter 2000; Turcan 2000; and, for a recent revision of problems of location, Armellini/Quaranta 2004; on the temple of Juno Regina, Weigel 1982-1983; on the temple of Mercury, Zevi 1987; on the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, van Berchem 1935. For these and other religious buildings details can be found in *LTUR* I-V.
- ⁷² De Rossi 1855; Darsy 1968, 26-55; Coarelli 1982, 65; Solin 1982; Volpe 1982.
- ⁷³ *PLRE* II, *Symmachus* 10 (see also above, and n. 18).
- ⁷⁴ *Anth.* I.1.22 and *CIL* XV 7172. On the temple, see the synthesis by E. Papi, in *LTUR* II, 253-254 with full bibliography.
- ⁷⁵ Colini 1935; Colini 1938; Coarelli 1982, 50; Hørig/Schwertheim 1987, 222-263, nn. 355-405; Bellelli 1996; Chini 1996; Chini 2000.
- ⁷⁶ In advance of a re-publication, compare Vermaseren/van Essen 1965; Vermaseren 1975; Coarelli 1979.
- ⁷⁷ Hier. *Epist.* 47.3 (*a sancta Marcella quae manet in Aventino*). For this character, see *PLRE* I, *Marcella* 2.
- ⁷⁸ *PLRE* I, *Marcellus* 10 and *PLRE* I, *Albinus* 14. See Merlin 1906, 421-428; Pietri 1976, 147, 435, 639-640; F. Guidobaldi, in *LTUR* II, 136. On the 'circle' of the Aventine, see Testard 1996.
- ⁷⁹ On the *titulus Sabinae*, see Darsy 1961; Darsy 1968; Krautheimer 1937-1980, 69-94; Pani Ermini/Giordani 1983; Pani Ermini 1984; Krautheimer 1987-1988; Bellanca 1999; Brandenburg 2004a, 167-177. Full summary in S. Episcopo, *LTUR* IV, 221-223.
- ⁸⁰ MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi* XII, 413. See van Essen 1957; Sangiorgi 1968; Krautheimer 1937-80, III, 263-279; Cecchelli 2003, 345-356; a synthesis is offered by M.G. Zanotti, in *LTUR* IV, 162-163.
- ⁸¹ MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi* XII, 412 and *Epist.* I, 367. See Krautheimer 1937-80, I, 84-93; Cecchelli 1985, 303-304; Guidobaldi 1986, 181-184; S. Episcopo, in *LTUR* I, 155; Ferreri 1996; Cecchelli 2001, 24, 31-33, 89 (and 217-222); Flaminio 2002.
- ⁸² For the results of the excavations, see especially Darsy 1968, esp. 13-88, as well as Pani Ermini/Giordani 1983; Pani Ermini 1984.
- ⁸³ See above, and nn. 56, 58 and 81 and especially Guidobaldi 1986, 181-184.
- ⁸⁴ According to available evidence. Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 145-149 present the complete picture.
- ⁸⁵ Ferrari 1957, 281-290; Testini 1961; Krautheimer 1937-80, IV, 281-290; Pani Ermini 1981, 42-45; Delle Rose 1986-87; M. Delle Rose, in *LTUR* I, 257-259.
- ⁸⁶ Ferrari 1957, 76-87.
- ⁸⁷ Greg. I, *Reg. epist.* II, 10; Ferrari 1957, 136.
- ⁸⁸ For a general plan of the area in antiquity, see Coarelli 1977; Quilici 1983; La Rocca 1984; Muzzioli 1992; Coarelli 1997; Sediari 1997; Rinaldoni 2004; Muzzioli 2006.
- ⁸⁹ Krautheimer 1937-80, II, 218-249; Cecchelli 1995; M. Cecchelli, in *LTUR* III, 212-213; Cecchelli 2004.
- ⁹⁰ Pietri 1976, 22-23 and Pietri 1989, 1040-1041; Verrando 1985, 1028-1031. The *status quaestionis* on the problems of identification (with bibliography) is given by G. De Spirito, *LTUR* I, 180-181; for the context of SS. Apostoli, Leonardi/Ferdinandi 1989-1990.
- ⁹¹ According to the *Libellus precum* (*Collectio Avellana* I.5) this was the place where Pope Damasus was elected in 366: Pietri 1976, 28-29. There are still doubts about identifying it with the three-aisled basilica of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, perhaps reconstructed in the middle of the 5th century: Bertoldi/Mitchell/Conforto 1992; Bertoldi 1994; Hillner 2002; Brandt 2004a, 20-22.
- ⁹² Krautheimer 1937-80, II, 145-151; Scalia 1978; Krautheimer 1995; Blair-Dixon 2002; Brandenburg 2004a, 135-136.
- ⁹³ Most recently, and with full bibliography, Episcopo 2003; further, Brandenburg 2004, 165-166.
- ⁹⁴ Cecchelli 1995, 643-644; M. Cecchelli, in *LTUR* III, 213; Cecchelli 2004, 314.
- ⁹⁵ See especially Brandt 1995.
- ⁹⁶ Nestori 1982.
- ⁹⁷ According to an inscription (*Ich* II, 1, n. 6) reading *ad fontem*.
- ⁹⁸ See above, n. 91.
- ⁹⁹ On *vicus Pallacinae* and on *via Flaminia-Lata*, see, respectively, C. Lega, in *LTUR* IV, 51-52 and G. De Spirito, in *LTUR* V, 139141. On the road system of the western Campus Martius compare Quilici 1983 and Rinaldoni 2004.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sotinel 2002. For the Late Antique residence, see Jolivet/Broise 1994; Broise/Dewailly/Jolivet 1999-2000; Broise/Dewailly/Jolivet 2000.
- ¹⁰¹ For the settlements along the Via Lata, see Gatti 1961; Leonardi/Ferdinandi 1989-1990; Bertoldi/Mitchell/Conforto 1992; Laurenti 1992; Lissi Caronna 1985 and Lissi Caronna 2006. For the western Campus Martius, see Quilici 1982-1983; Attilia 1985; Rizzo 1985; Quilici 1986-1987; Virgili 1987; Rinaldoni 2004. For some discoveries of residential structures in the area of the Vicus Pallacinae, see Cecchelli 2004, 312.
- ¹⁰² Considerable data suggesting continuity can be found in the studies quoted above, note 101. One of the most significant contexts is the *Domus Artemiorum*, reconstructed within the block of an *insula* (Meneghini 1999), the *domus* under the Museo Barracco (most recently, Le Pera Buranelli 2004) and under Palazzo Altamps (De Angelis d'Ossat 2005).
- ¹⁰³ The area of the building was partly covered between the 4th and 5th century by structures considered by most scholars as foundations of habitations. See in particular Guidobaldi 1986, 175-181 and Manacorda 1993, 33. Compare, however, Hülsen 1910, 43 n. 15 and Muzzioli 1995.
- ¹⁰⁴ For the most recent data about the periods of abandonment of the portico and the formation of a thoroughfare, see Vendittelli 2004, to whom the reader should be referred for the preceding bibliography. A complete diachronic picture is given by Manacorda 2001. For a different interpretation, see Zevi 1993 and 1994.
- ¹⁰⁵ If Prudentius (*Contra Symmachum* 1. 245-248: see Simpson 1994) seems to describe its outline, Hannestad's hypothesis of a re-elaboration of some of its forms under Maxentius is more doubtful (Hannestad 2000).
- ¹⁰⁶ Various restorations are attested between the fourth and fifth century, one of which relates to Arcadius and Honorius (*CIL* VI 1191; see Hülsen 1899) and probable interventions by Aurelius Anicius Symmachus, who dedicated a statue to Honorius (*CIL* VI 1193). For the theatre, see now Gagliardo/Packer 2006 for previous bibliography.
- ¹⁰⁷ Besides the quotation from Ausonius (13.2.35-41), the

- construction of two rooms within the Crypta might also be compatible with continuity of use of the theatre (Manacorda 2001, 38-42).
- ¹⁰⁸ Statues continued to be set up in the theatre as late as 421 by the prefect Petronius Maximus (CIL VI 1660). On the building, see P. Ciancio Rossetto, in *LTUR* V, 31-35.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus (16.10.14) interestingly mentions these buildings as among the most admired buildings during Constantius II's visit to Rome in 357. For the complex, see, most recently, Colini/Virgili 1998.
- ¹¹⁰ Continuity in the western Campus Martius is questionable. La Rocca 1984, 57-58 argues that the *Trigarium* survived into the 4th century on the basis of the continued inclusion of the Equus October feast by the Chronographer 354; however, an inscription (CIL VI 8461) attesting to *officinae plumbariae* in the area might suggest a change of function. The continued existence of the Circus Flaminius is also problematic, since it was undoubtedly at some time overrun by buildings and occupied by new forms of settlement (A. Viscogliosi, in *LTUR* I, 269-272).
- ¹¹¹ Sidonius Apollinaris (23.496) recalls both bath complexes; Agrippa's baths are also mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (29.6.19) and reported by an inscription (CIL VI 1165) to have been restored by Constans and Constantius II (G. Ghini, in *LTUR* V, 40-42).
- ¹¹² Ammianus Marcellinus (29.6.19) reports the restoration by the Urban Prefect C. Hermogenianus Cesarius (PLRE I, *Caesarius* 7). See C. Buzzetti, in *LTUR* I, 202-203.
- ¹¹³ Marchetti Longhi 1970-1971; Coarelli/Kajanto/Nyberg 1981, esp. 117, 301.
- ¹¹⁴ The building was still intact in structure and decoration when it was consecrated as a church at the beginning of the 7th century (see below).
- ¹¹⁵ A group of inscriptions dating from the period between 357 and 376 (CIL VI 749-754) show a significant continuity. On the temple, see Moneti 1990 and 1993; compare Gallo 1979 on the related cult of Mithras.
- ¹¹⁶ Ensoli 1998 and 2000. Some interesting archaeological evidence of continuity can be gleaned from Lanciani's 1883 analysis.
- ¹¹⁷ A restoration of the temple of Apollo is recorded between 356 and 359, undertaken by the Urban Prefect Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (PLRE II, *Orfitus* 3): see La Rocca 1985, 17 and A. Viscogliosi, in *LTUR* I, 49-54. On the temple of Bellona, see the hypothesis by Guarducci 1954.
- ¹¹⁸ See especially Guarducci 1954 and Guarducci 1969-1970. New observations are made by Orlandi/Panciera/Virgili 2006.
- ¹¹⁹ Liverani 2004 and 2005.
- ¹²⁰ As a definitive placement of the two arches Liverani's reflections (Liverani 2007) are wholly convincing.
- ¹²¹ The existing *tituli*, among other things, continue full steam up to the early Middle Ages with architectural and cultic activity from significant interventions.
- ¹²² Leonardi/Ferdinandi 1989-1990.
- ¹²³ See in general de Blaauw 1994, with further bibliography. Interventions in the external area documented by recent excavations are attributable to this phase (Virgili 1997-1998; Virgili/Battistelli 1999).
- ¹²⁴ Bertelli/Galassi Paluzzi 1971; most recently, Arena 2001.
- ¹²⁵ Falesiedi 1995, 121-135.
- ¹²⁶ Ferrari 1957, 176-178; Pani Ermini 1981, 32; Giuntella 2001, 643.
- ¹²⁷ Santangeli Valenzani 1994.
- ¹²⁸ Manacorda 2001, 50-52.
- ¹²⁹ Santangeli Valenzani 1996-1997, esp. 205-207, 210.
- ¹³⁰ For a general picture of changes in the Campus Martius, see Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 200-205 with detailed bibliography.
- ¹³¹ The general problems regarding these institutions are summarised particularly in the fundamental contribution of Giuntella 2001.
- ¹³² Suffice to mention St. Andrew's monastery in *clivum Scauri*, which is described as having an extremely complex plan, with a porch with *nimphaeum* and *fons*, a *curtis monasterii*, a *cellarium*, the *stabula equorum*, and a *triclinium* (Vita Gregorii IV, 83, 229-230; 84, 230; 89, 234; 97, 240).
- ¹³³ The installation of Marian churches seems to correspond to a precise, 'ideological' strategy in the renewal of cities, promoted by the Popes; compare Pani Ermini 2001, esp. 315.

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