CONSTANTINE'S TWIN BASILICA AT TRIER

BY

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ABSTRACT

Founded during the reign of Augustus, most probably during the Emperor's presence in Gaul in 16-13 B.C., Trier became a colonia during the reign of Claudius around 50 A.D. The Colonia Augusta Treverorum became the seat of the Roman administration in the first century A.D. and prosperity and wealth made her one of the most important cities in the northern Roman Empire, and one of the capitals of the western Empire in the late third century. Constantius Chlorus became Caesar of the northern Empire in 293 and with him began a close relationship between the House of Constantine and the City of Trier, which was to last well over fifty years. Constantine the Great lived here for ten years until 315 and his sons resided in the city after him until 348. An immense building program marked the late great flowering of the Roman city, and in 326 A.D. the huge twin basilica was built on the ruins of an imperial palace.

Legend has linked Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, with the foundation of Trier's cathedral and also with the translation of the Holy Robe from Jerusalem to the cathedral at Trier.

Excavations in the area of Trier's cathedral, undertaken by Dr. Th. K. Kempf since 1943 have revealed remains of a twin basilica built on the site of a Constantinian palace between 326 and 348. It was also established that the
square sanctuary of the North Basilica was expanded and rebuilt by Gratian in 370-380 A.D. on foundations of a Constantinian square sanctuary. In the past archaeologists had assumed that this part, dating from the reign of Gratian was a single unit and only more recently did scholars speculate that this square structure was possibly a part of a larger basilica. However, it was not until the year 1943 that the foundations of a basilical hall were discovered below the cathedral square, confirming the assumptions made by archaeologists in the 1920's. With the extensive destruction suffered by the Dom and Liebfrauen church (cathedral and Church of Our Lady) during the last year of World War II further opportunity was given to the archaeologists to excavate. In 1948 and subsequent years Roman foundations of Constantinian age were discovered also below the neighbouring Liebfrauen church, which confirmed the presence of a twin basilica, a fact which had been assumed since 1943.

Trier's twin basilica was large; each church holding about 6000 people. The whole complex covered an area of a double insula in the street system along the north-eastern part of the Roman city within a huge palace district. The twin basilica comprised two longitudinal halls of equal length and almost equal width; each had an atrium and a transept-type narthex to the west and a rectilinear termination to the east. The two basilicas were joined by a three-aisled
hall in the east and a square baptistery in the west. The north basilica was slightly larger and had a monumental, triumphal arch-type entrance toward the street. Bases of an altar were discovered in the south basilica but not in the north. A polygonal structure within the square sanctuary was added to the north basilica soon after the basilica was built which has been interpreted as a *memoria*.

The complex was built between 326 and 348 and the south basilica was finished first. Whereas the basilical halls remained almost unaltered throughout the Constantinian era, the sanctuaries in both churches underwent three, even four building phases. Germanic invasions left their mark on the City of Trier and also the twin basilical complex, and under the late great flowering during the reign of Valentinian and Gratian the square sanctuary of the north basilica was expanded and rebuilt. The rising walls of this building are still visible, in parts up to about 100 feet high, and are the oldest part of the present Dom.

The Twin Basilica at Trier is unique among Constantinian church foundations both in dimension and importance. Each single basilica of the complex can be likened to St. John Lateran in Rome in their first building phases and accommodating only slightly less people than the Lateran church. With the erection of the Polygon in the north basilica comparisons can be made between it and the martyrrium-basilicas in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. A convincing argument concerning
a christological relic at Trier put forward by Dr. Th. K. Kempf in his article on The Robe at Trier's Cathedral, describes the north basilica as such a martyrium-basilica, the south basilica retaining its form and function as before.

It has now been firmly established that both basilicas were restored during the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs and existed as a complex until the Norman invasions and the sacking of the city in 882 A.D. Thus the author of the Vita S. Helenae, Almann von Hautvillers, actually saw the Constantinian twin basilica, a fact which makes the legend of the donation by Helena of her palace to the city of Trier more credible. The discovery of the ceiling frescoes from a palace below the Constantinian north basilica and dating from before 326 A.D. gives further credence to the Helena tradition. The frescoes were discovered in an excellent state of preservation and three of the panels were interpreted as being portraits of members of Constantine's immediate family. Comparisons have been made with the donor mosaics in the south hall of the twin complex at Aquileia which are most probably contemporary with the Trier frescoes.

Other twin basilicas of the fourth century, as catalogued in the Appendix, appear to have been confined to the Adriatic and northern Italy with one in North Africa and possibly two in the Holy Land. But it is evident that the
Twin Basilica at Trier stands out as a unique monument among Constantinian church foundations presenting a different dimension.
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The Twin Basilica at Trier - 326 A.D.

Etching by Ria Rowe, 1973
CHAPTER I

Treveris

Long has Gaul, mighty in arms, yearned to be praised, and that royal city of the Treveri, which, though full near the Rhine, reposes unalarmed as if in the bosom of deep profound peace, because she feeds, because she clothes and arms the forces of the Empire. Widely the walls stretch forward over a spreading hill; besides her bounteous Moselle glides past with peaceful stream; carrying the far-brought merchandise of all races of the earth.

(Ausonius. Liber XI. Ordo Urbium Nobilium.)

There are but few areas in Western Europe which can account for richer historical background than the Rhineland with its three ancient cities, Trier, Cologne and Mainz, all Roman foundations from the first century A.D. Of these three, Trier was and remained up to the twelfth century the gateway to Germania, and during the late third and through the fourth centuries was one of the capitals of the Roman world.

Situated on the river Mosel - or Moselle - near the border of modern France, Trier occupied a most advantageous position (fig.1). The river, being navigable, formed an important means of transport and communication and the numerous trade routes and cross roads - the two main Roman roads from Lyon to Cologne and from Rheims to Mainz intersected at the city - made the location an obvious choice by the Roman procurators for an administrative and residential centre. Trier was of equal distance (four days' journey)
The Roman Empire

Fig. 1 From M.P. Charlesworth, The Roman Empire, pp. 22-23.
from Cologne to the north and Mainz to the south, but unlike the latter two cities, remained safely sheltered behind the frontier from many of the Germanic incursions during its four hundred years existence as a Roman city.

Trier enters into written history with Caesar, who had already mentioned the tribe of the Treveri - but not a tribal centre - in his Commentaries. The Treveri were a Celto-Germanic tribe known for their skill as horsebreeders and horsemen, who as early as 57 B.C. had sent a body of cavalry to serve among Caesar's army during one of the latter's campaigns across the Rhine. The site of Trier may have been chosen by Agrippa, who was the appointed legate to the three Gauls in 39-38 B.C. and again in 20-19 B.C. to deal with centuriation and settlement of tribes; and of organizing the tribes into administrative units, each centred on a town. Trier, then, was a new tribal centre founded according to the policies of Augustus after whom it was called Augusta Treverorum. It is likely that Augustus himself, during his presence in Gaul in 16-13 B.C. would "give an impetus to the implementing of his policies", and certainly the city was beginning to grow by the latter part of his reign.

During the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.) the city was elevated to the rank of colonia and was now known as Colonia Augusta Treverorum. It acquired the character of an Italian city with a rectangular street plan (fig. 2) and remained an open city until the late second century. Trier became the
Fig. 2

Trier: Roman Street Plan mid-first century A.D.
A and B - Triumphal arches
1-11 - Oldest street sections
+ - early burials
e - early Roman finds
... - location of later town wall (late 2nd c)

(from Schindler, 1972, p.263)
place of residence for the imperial procurators of the province of Gallia Belgica (later of Belgica and the two Germanias), but the colonia's strength lay in trade and commerce. As a vital supply centre the city served the Rhine army along the Limes and the civilian population in the entire area.

Trier became even more important in the late third century A.D. under the Emperor Diocletian. During the emperor's reorganization of the Empire the city became one of the four capitals, and a period of rebuilding designed to give the city an appearance appropriate to its new status as capital of Belgica Prima helped to earn for the city the title of "Rome of the North."

Despite gaps in our knowledge it is possible from the many ruins still extant and the numerous artifacts in Trier's museums, to build up a general picture of the appearance of this prosperous and wealthy city during the first three centuries of its existence. In recent years archaeology has provided ample evidence of the urbs opulentissima as the city was already called in the first century A.D.

The cosmopolitan character of Trier is manifested in the variety of background of its citizens. The people of the colonia included not only the tribal Treveri and the administrative staff of the procurators, but also craftsmen and merchants from the whole Roman Empire. Trier's civilians
travelled widely and have been documented throughout the Roman Empire (fig. 3). The lifestyle of the citizens is expressed in a high standard of quality and taste in architecture, sculpture (pl. I), painting, and in particular in the numerous mosaics that adorned private homes as well as public buildings (plates II, III, IV). The Trierer Landesmuseum displays innumerable examples of these artifacts, and a distribution map of mosaics (fig. 4) will illustrate the point. Whereas the museums exhibit an abundance of artifacts it is in the Roman buildings, still visible though mostly in ruins, that the splendour of the city is most apparent. Buildings no longer extant are known through extensive and intensive archaeology, and research is still continuing to uncover more every year to give an even greater illustration of this Secunda Roma.

Probably the earliest monuments still visible are the Amphitheatre and the Roman Bridge, both built in the second century A.D. (pl. V. These structures had wooden predecessors and the present Roman Bridge rests on piles dating from the second century.

The so-called Barbarathermen (Barbara Baths) of mid-second century date are among the largest sets of baths known in the Empire and almost as splendid as the Imperial Baths, also at Trier, built in the fourth century.
Fig. 3.
E. Wightman, p. 49.
Fig. 4.
Distribution map of mosaics found at Trier in third century A.D.

R. Schindler, p. 265.
Of the Barbarathermen very little remains above ground, but even the ruins give an indication of the monumentality of this public building.\textsuperscript{15}

It can be assumed that there were numerous other bath establishments in a city the size of Trier - estimated to have had a population ranging between 60,000 and 80,000 in the fourth century A.D. - but it is not easy to ascertain whether they were public baths or private bathrooms.\textsuperscript{16} Aqueducts supplied the city's water; the best known came from the Ruwer Valley, a few miles north of the city, and was eight miles long. The water ran in an entirely enclosed channel and manholes were provided at intervals, some were found still covered with their flagstones.\textsuperscript{17}

The Forum, centre of administration, justice and business, stood at the intersection of the cardo maximus and decumanus maximus as in most towns based on Mediterranean models. The ground plan of the Forum has in recent years been fully established (pl. VI)\textsuperscript{18}. It was very large indeed - 300 m long and 140 m wide - and occupied a sizeable area in the city centre. The impressiveness of the structure was further increased by the fact that its ground level was artificially raised above the surrounding area.\textsuperscript{19} One of its unique features was the Cryptoporticus around three sides of the Forum, a feature also known from Bavai and Arles and quite widespread in Gaul.
Most probably the city was an open city until mid-second century when it was decided to build a city wall. In Wightman's opinion the wall could not have been built earlier than the second half of the second century, because it cuts through a cemetery on the north side which was still used for burials in the second century. The wall was over 6 km long, enclosing more than 700 acres and was about 3 m thick and 6 m high. Very little remains today above ground but its location and appearance are known from excavations, such as the many towers along its perimeter and the four main gates. The most famous of its gates, and the only one still extant, is what has become the landmark of the City of Trier, the Porta Nigra (pl.VII). Its date has been disputed for many years but through excavations undertaken in 1966-1968 it has become even clearer that this tower belongs to the last third of the second century.

Trier lies in a fertile area; the valley of the Moselle had even in Roman times a flourishing wine industry which catered to the needs of even the most sophisticated tastes, and the rich farming lands around the valley and along the hillsides encouraged intensive cultivation by Romans and Treveri alike. Numerous villas sprang up throughout the countryside and especially along the rivers; many of them still delight today's visitor. A map of the villas and sanctuaries might better explain the situation at that time in the region (fig.5). The city and the countryside together
Villas and Sanctuaries in the Trier Area (E. Wightman p.158-9.)

Fig. 5. Villas △
Shrines ★

City of Trier
provided the citizens, both Roman and Treveri, with all the amenities one associates with a prosperous Roman city.\textsuperscript{23}

This buoyant development and prosperity were abruptly terminated during the Germanic invasions from the middle of the third century onward, of which the most devastating was the invasion of north-eastern Gaul by the Alemanni in ca. 275 A.D.\textsuperscript{24} Probable evidence for destruction are layers of ash in third century strata, in particular in the area of the present Trier Cathedral, where recent excavations confirmed that late third century and early fourth century structures were built on the charred rubble of earlier houses.\textsuperscript{25} This was a heavy blow for the prosperous city and many of her leading citizens left for southern Gaul.\textsuperscript{26} Ewig feels that the indirect consequences of these years of terror and unrest were even more devastating than the invasions of the fifth century.

Despite what must have been almost complete destruction, Trier was to rise again to a great late flowering under the emperors of the late third and the fourth centuries. It is from the time of the Diocletian "Reform" in the late third century that the Colonia Augusta Treverorum is called Treveris, and that a period of over hundred years begins as an imperial residence and one of the four capitals of the late Roman Empire.
NOTES - CHAPTER I


2Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*, 1,1; 2,4; 6,2,3.


4Ibid., p.36.

5Ibid., p.37.

6Ibid., p.43.


8Ibid., p.15.


10Ibid., p.40.


12Ibid., p.37 and p.74.

During excavations in the episcopal palace at Trier in the late 1940's an inscription from a memorial for Lucius Caesar was found. Lucius Caesar was a grandson of Augustus and the memorial itself dated from between 3 B.C. and 2 A.D.

A series of limestone reliefs depicting a battle between Romans and Barbarians was found not far from the Roman bridge, and it is assumed that they belonged to an archway spanning the main road. The sculpture has been given a Flavian date (69 - 96 A.D.).

The Amphitheatre has been dated about 100 A.D. on inadequate evidence.

The second Roman Bridge, which was built about 25 m up river parallel to the first wooden structure, has been dated by Schindler (Augusta Treverorum, Bonner Jahrbücher, 172 (1972), p.263) 140 A.D.

The Barbarathermen measured 240 x 172 m. There was an open palaestra at one end surrounded by porticoes. The Baths were richly decorated and part of the area served as an art gallery. Remains of statuary were found, also mosaic floors, marble wall revetments and wall decorations. Until the 17th century the caldarium of the Baths survived as a dwelling house of a noble local family, and there exists a description of it in a manuscript of A. Wiltheim, a 17th century local historian, with a drawing of the building attached to it before it was pulled down.

Population figures are based on F. Lot (La Gaule, Paris, 1947) and F. Vercauteren (Etude sur les Civitates de la Belgique Seconde, Brussels, 1934) - see also Footnote 11 in Chapter II.


Wightman, Roman Trier, p.77.

As evidence for a late second century dating Zahn cites datable sherds found in the Roman strata below the Romanesque apse. Zahn also compares the gate at Trier with the Porta Praetoria at Regensburg and its inscription of A.D. 179 (CIL III, 11965) indicating that the wall and gates were built in that period. Zahn feels that the building methods are alike.


CHAPTER II

(Treveris) appears to be solemnizing a new foundation day, so completely is she, by thy beauty, renovated throughout her whole extent. I see the mighty circus which I believe to be equal to that of Rome; I see the basilica and the forum, truly imperial works; and I see the seat of justice—all so towering on high that they seem to promise to be worthy neighbours of the stars in heaven, to which they evidently aspire to rise. (Panegyrici, 6.22).

The Late Roman City

When Diocletian reorganized the Roman provinces in 284 A.D., he made Trier the capital of Belgica Prima and Northern Gaul. Maximian, who was given the rank of Caesar in 285 and of Augustus in 286, made Trier his residence when not in Milan or Aquileia. When in 293 Constantius Chlorus came to Trier as the newly elevated Caesar of the West, Trier became a capital of the Roman Empire and to signify this event a mint was opened.

As the military and political centre of the West European sphere, Trier's power reached as far north as Britain and south to include Spain.

Rebuilding of the destroyed city had started soon after A.D. 275, but with Constantius Chlorus a new building phase of unprecedented dimension began in keeping with the splendour of the imperial court and lasted well over a hundred years. (fig. 6).
Fig. 6.
Plan of Trier in Late Roman times, from 275 A.D.
E. Wightman, p. 121.

A 10/11 - Barbarathermen  C7 House of Victorinus
D/F 8/9 - Forum  G/H2 Twin Basilica H/J 4/5 - "Basilika"
H/J 8/9 Imperial Baths  V - Porta Nigra  X - Circus (?)
Y - Amphitheatre  Z - Roman temple  J 11/12 - Temple District
To make room for a large palace complex, an area in the north-eastern part of the city was cleared and levelled, and among the buildings of that period, still extant, are the Kaiserthermen or Imperial Baths, and the so-called Basilika, *Aula Regia* (pl. VIII). The baths were at the eastern end of the complex and one of the largest bath establishments known outside Rome itself. From the ruins of the *Caldarium*, still visible to almost its full original height, it is possible to gain some idea of its monumentality. Although never completely finished it was a building worthy of the emperor and the capital of the northern Roman Empire.

The 'Basilika' is another magnificent example of that monumentality. It has been completely restored in recent years and now serves as a church for the Lutheran community. Believed to have been the seat of justice it is of massive brick construction and measures 67 x 27,5 m and is 30 m high.

Both monuments were erected under Constantine and it would seem that the emperor himself and the state were the builders, as evidenced by the panegyrist's eulogy extolling the remarkable achievements of the emperor during the city's birthday celebrations in 310 A.D. Traces of paved streets and colonnades give evidence of the city's rank, reputed to have then had in the neighbourhood of 60 000 to 80 000 people.
With Constantius Chlorus (293-306) begins a long period of close relationship between the imperial house - in particular the House of Constantine, and the City of Trier, and with it new progress and a great flowering of Christianity was experienced. While Constantius Chlorus was not actually a Christian he showed great tolerance and sympathy towards Christian ideology. It is said that he not only sheltered Christians during Diocletian's persecution but also had Christian priests at his court. Constantine, on the other hand, was ostensibly a Christian in his later life.

Constantius Chlorus made Trier his permanent residence in 293 and died in 306 at York during a campaign to Britain. Upon his death Constantine I, his son by his concubine Flavia Julia Helena, was proclaimed emperor of the West. Shortly after his election Constantine married Maxima Fausta, daughter of Maximian, at Trier. Maximian had been in residence at Trier before Constantius but preferred Aquileia which had also been a favourite with Constantine. But from 307 to 315 Trier became Constantine's preferred residence; and of his sons Crispus resided in the city from 317 to 324, Constantine II from 324 to 340 and Constans from 340 to 350. Helena, the mother of Constantine, was proclaimed Nobilissima Femina in 306 and Constantine gave her a palace and her own court. It is believed that she became a Christian
at that time. In 317 the great teacher Lactantius, the "Christian Cicero," was called to Trier to tutor Constantine's eldest son Crispus. In the same year Crispus and his stepbrother Constantine II were proclaimed Caesars in the West. A tragic event in the imperial family involving Crispus and his stepmother Fausta brought death to both in 326. It is believed that the imperial palace was destroyed in that year an event which was to be so decisive for the future Twin Basilica.

It can be assumed that Trier enjoyed the favours of the Imperial House and that the state was the principal builder. But her wealthy citizens, the "Trevererbarone" as they are locally termed, undoubtedly played an important role in the building program. Some of the monumental funerary monuments found at Trier and nearby Neumagen, a small and rich town on the Moselle, which were erected by wealthy wine merchants, speak their own mute language.

This era of the late Roman imperial city eclipsed all previous epochs in the history of the town. The monuments and artifacts give ample evidence of a high degree of refinement and taste, and since Constantine the city on the Moselle was not only a capital of the West and imperial residence but also the Christian metropolis north of the Alps.

It is in this setting that the great Twin Basilica was built during the reign of Constantine and his sons. The
discovery of this monument was undoubtedly one of the most important events in the field of Christian archaeology in recent years (pl.IX).
Christianity in Fourth Century Trier

Christianity, it would appear, was established in the City of Trier by the middle of the second century, and most likely the early Christian communities in the Moselle-Rhine area were administered from Lyon, then the metropolis of Gaul. Irenaeus of Lyon mentions "churches" in the Rhine area in 180 A.D., and it is likely that he referred to Trier as well as to Cologne and Mainz. The first evidence specifically relating to Trier belongs to the third century. A grave monument, dating from 258 A.D. of a Trier citizen was found at Bordeaux, bearing Christian symbols; and around the same time the first bishop of Trier, Eucharius, is documented. His immediate successors were Valerius and Maternus, the latter also linked with Cologne. Dr. Th. K. Kempf suggests that Maternus may have left Trier to establish a see at Cologne, but he and also his predecessors Eucharius and Valerius are buried in the southern cemetery at Trier, now St. Matthias. Maternus was followed by Agricius, who is documented as a participant at the Synod of Arles in A.D. 314. It is Agricius who is associated with the building of the Twin Basilica and whose name is linked to the Empress Helena from whom, according to legend, he received her royal palace to establish a church.

The successors of Agricius, Maximus and Paulinus, were both very strong defenders of orthodoxy against Arianism which
was gaining popularity in the Empire, and when Athanasius was an exile at Trier from 335 to 337 he was befriended by the bishop of the city.28

The presence of some form of monasticism is documented by St. Augustine, recounting the experiences of his friend Ponticianus, who when visiting Trier with some of his friends found some servants of God "poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven" and "where they had found a little book in which was written the life of Anthony."29 Whether the dwelling where the friends found the monks was a monastery is not known. It could have been St. Maximin Abbey, which is outside the walls, but since no certain date can be established for the founding of the abbey this information must be treated with caution.30

Ausonius, a Christian who was born at Bordeaux in 310 and became lecturer of rhetoric at the university there, was called to Trier in 365 by the Emperor Valentinian I to teach his son Gratian. Ausonius is best known for his poem *Mosella* in which he praises the city, the river and the splendid people of the Moselle valley. He also describes in great detail and with relish the many villas and palaces which adorned the banks of the river and the hills surrounding it.31

St. Martin of Tours was a frequent visitor to Trier, even an honoured guest at the court of Valentinian.32

Some of the early churches are known from excavations,
others from chronicles. With the exception of the Twin Basilica they are all outside the city walls within the burial grounds, and it is quite possible that Trier's first cathedral may have been in the south cemetery St. Matthias, where remains of Roman foundations and numerous Early Christian sarcophagi were found. In the cemetery under the Chapel of St. Quirinus the so-called *Cella Eucharii* has recently been excavated, dating from the third century and believed to have been the burial place of St. Eucharius, the first Bishop of Trier. This *cella* could well have been the first cathedral and was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.

A map showing the location of the Early Christian churches and also the pagan cult sites and villas around the city might demonstrate the slow growth of Christianity outside the city (fig. 7), although it is best to be cautious since very little has been excavated there. However, since Christianity is believed to have been spread by merchants of Greek or Syrian origin who came to the City of Trier from Gaul, it can be assumed that paganism was still very active in the countryside. In the city the growth of Christianity left its mark not only on the buildings but also on small artifacts and especially on sarcophagi. One of the best known and splendidly decorated is the so-called Noah Sarcophagus (pl. X) found in the vicinity of St. Matthias. From all this it is evident that Christianity was well established in the city when Constantine decided to build his Twin Basilica.
2 and 10 — Twin Basilica (the south church was later also known as St. Laurentius)

E. Wightman, p. 233.
NOTES - CHAPTER II


Although the identity of the panegyrist is unknown, Wyttenbach, a 19th century historian, associated Eumenius with this eulogy, which the latter recited in 310 during the city's "birthday" celebrations in the presence of the Emperor Constantine.

When Wyttenbach wrote his Stranger's Guide in 1839, neither the circus nor the forum had been discovered; but excavations during the past thirty years have brought to light the forum and the possible site of the circus. (Wightman, Roman Trier, pp. 102-3). The discovery of the well preserved Polydus mosaic in the peristyle house near the Imperial Baths perhaps provides further proof of the existence of a circus in the second century (plates XI, XII). (Wilhelm Reusch, "Wandmalereien und Mosaikboden eines Peristyl-Hauses im Bereich der Kaiserthermen," Trierer Zeitschrift, 29 (1966), p.220). Another source is St. Augustine who, although he never actually visited Trier, recalls the story of his friend Ponticianus and three of his companions who "just when I do not know, but it was at Trier, one afternoon, when the emperor was attending the games at the circus..." (Saint Augustine, The Confessions, trans. by John K. Ryan (New York: Image Books, 1960), p.192).

Wyttenbach suggests that the "basilica" referred to by the panegyrist may have been the royal building which preceded the present Dom. He did not, of course, realize in 1839 that the present Dom stands on foundations of an earlier church complex, the Constantinian Twin Basilica, which indeed was built on the ruins of a royal palace. The seat of justice could have been the aula palatium or aula regia now known as the Basilika and used since 1856 as a church. It is generally believed that this magnificent and towering building was a royal audience hall and most probably formed part of the imperial palace complex. (Wilhelm Reusch, Die römische Basilika als Palastaula Kaiser Konstantins des Grossen, (Trier: Volksfreund-Druckerei, 1956, p.2). Little did Wyttenbach know that his faith in the panegyrist would be confirmed by archaeology a mere hundred years later. He feels that, allowing for "rhetorical flourishes" and "exaggerated imagery of the language and thoughts" one cannot doubt that the facts reported were founded on truth. (Wyttenbach, Stranger's Guide, p.23, footnote).

2 Wightman, Roman Trier, p.58.

3 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Wightman, Roman Trier, p.98.


8 Ibid., p.28.

9 Eiden, Ausgrabungen, p.344.

10 Ibid., p.366, footnote 12.

Video circum maximum, aemulum, credo, Romano, video basilicas et forum, opera regia, sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari, ut se sideribus et caelo digna et vicina promittant. Quae certe omnia sunt praesentiae tuae munera...

11 Eugen Ewig, Merowingerreich, p.79, footnote 93.

The population figure of 60 000 was based by Ewig on calculations made by F. Lot and F. Vercauteren. F. Lot (La Gaule, Paris, 1947) states that approximately 200-250 people can be assumed per hectare(2.5 acres) and F. Vercauteren (Étude sur les Civitates de la Belgique Seconde, Bruxelles, 1934) feels that only 110-200 people per hectare should be allowed. Trier in the fourth century had grown to envelop an area approximately 300 hectares(750 acres) and could well have accommodated 60 000 people.

Eiden (Ausgrabungen, p.366, footnote 8) suggests a figure of 70 000 - 80 000, and comments that the present-day City of Trier with a population figure of 85 000 in 1958 had not really surpassed the size in late Roman times.


13 Ewig, Merowingerreich, p.79.

14 Kempf, Legende, p.8.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., p. 9.
19 Ibid., p. 365.
20 Ibid.
27 Kempf, *Legende*, p. 16.
29 St. Augustine, *Confessions*, p. 192.
31 Ausonius, *Liber X, Mosella*, ed. by C. Hosius (Marburg: 1894)
33 Ibid., p. 229.


CHAPTER III

The Location of the Twin Basilica in the City Plan

The Plan shows the Twin Basilica in the double insulae at the north-east corner of the city grid, about 300 metres from the Roman city wall (fig. 8). Excavations undertaken by Kempf in 1958 revealed that this part of the city had been settled continuously from the second half of the first century A.D. and became quite densely populated in the third century.¹

Under Constantius Chlorus and his son Constantine I a number of buildings, which had suffered severely during the Germanic invasions of 274-275, were dismantled and levelled to make room for a comprehensive building program in that part of the city which was later to accommodate the Twin Basilica. At that time part of the cardo between the two insulae of the present Dom-Liebfrauen complex was closed.² As the plan clearly demonstrates, the site of the Twin Basilica is located on the same north-south axis as the aula regia (the present 'Basilika'), the Imperial Baths (Kaiserthermen) and the Altbach Sanctuary (Tempelbezirk). Scholars now agree that the whole area must have been at least planned as a coherent palace complex across the eastern half of the city (pl. XIII).³
Plan of late Roman (4th century) Trier with location of Twin Basilica, built under Constantine 326 A.D.

Fig. 8

The "Roman Core"

Tradition of a Roman origin of the Dom at Trier has never been lost. The oldest source is the *Vita S. Helenae* written in the ninth century by a monk, Altmann of Hautvillers, in which he associates the Empress Helena with the origin of the cathedral. According to the *Vita*, Helena gave her palace to Bishop Agricius of Trier to convert into a church. Although the story of the donation may not have any historical credence it is, nevertheless, an important proof that the cathedral was at that time considered a Roman building. The story of the palace gift was subsequently transmitted into later chronicles.

What the monk Altmann saw in the ninth century and what came to be known as the "Roman Core" was that part of the Roman basilica which is still visible today to a height of almost thirty metres, forming part of the present east choir (pl. XIV) and which gives the present Romanesque Dom an overwhelming sense of space and an un-medieval air (pl.XV).

The "Roman Core" has been the subject of much research and speculation during the past two hundred years. Scholars have tried to establish its date as well as to interpret its function, which indeed appears to be the key factor in understanding the whole idea of the Twin Basilica at Trier and its uniqueness and importance in the context of fourth-century
Christian architecture in general and Constantinian church building in particular.

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that scientific research began into the history of Trier's Dom, and it was the architect, Ch. W. Schmidt, who in 1839 first associated the "Roman Core" with a Constantinian church foundation. However, a few years later in 1852, Wilmowsky undertook excavations in the same area of the Dom and found a Gratianic coin embedded in the Roman strata which appeared to make a Constantinian date doubtful, and seemed to prove that the Helena story was historically unacceptable.

In 1922 F. Oelmann published his findings in a comprehensive work which at the same time summarized previous research. He offered a new interpretation of the "Roman Core" by considering the four main elements of the structure: spatial form, façade, font and tribune in order to find the building genus for which these elements were typical in Roman days. He saw in the structure a royal audience hall, modelled on the imperial palace at Constantinople, which was later used as the court of justice when, most probably in 390 A.D., the city ceased to be an imperial residence. It was only when the whole administration moved to Arles at the beginning of the fifth century, Oelmann thought, that the bishop of Trier converted the hall into a church.
Since Oelmann's publication of the book on the Dom, speculations on the function of the building have continued. As late as 1922 Kentenich still favoured a secular designation, a palatial residence of a high Roman official. Krencker, however, had already suggested in 1925 that from the outset a three-aisled Early Christian basilical hall was at least planned, if not executed. He argued that "from an architec­tonic perception of space the unusually wide arches of the west front of the 'Roman Core' forced him into the assumption that such a basilical hall was indeed planned." He drew attention to Early Christian churches such as St. Menas in Egypt and St. John in Damascus. The polygon in the centre of the "Roman Core" he interpreted as an altar base or the remains of a martyrium. Krencker expressed the desire to excavate below the cathedral square where he hoped to find remains of the basilical hall, a wish that was not granted to him, but to Dr. Kempf some twenty years later, after foundations of buildings of Constantinian age were discovered during excavations for a water reservoir outside the Dom in the cathedral square. Plates XVI and XVII might give some idea of two scholars' attempts to reconstruct the "Roman Core" (plates XVI and XVII).

Permission was granted to Dr. Kempf and his team of archaeologists by the city's works department to excavate from April to September, 1943. The ensuing results surpassed
all expectations. Traces of a basilical hall were found - the north-east corner and two column bases from the centre aisle - as well as remains of an atrium. A very important discovery during these excavations was made which enabled Dr. Kempf to date at least part of the complex firmly. A canal leading from the centre of the atrium towards the street and most probably coming from a fountain contained a number of coins. Fourteen of these, dating from 337 to 348, were embedded in the soil surrounding the trench and one, dating from 324, was found in the canal itself. Kempf now suggests the period 324 to 348 as the certain terminus ante et post quem non for the building complex. Thus Athanasius' statement that in 346 he found the cathedral church at Trier unfinished, would be confirmed. What Athanasius actually saw was the unfinished first expansion of the north church.

The excavations of 1943 cleared a number of misconceptions about the origin of the Dom and Liebfrauen, and it was established that the "Roman Core", the square sanctuary, was from the outset a part of a larger church, dating from Constantinian times and completed not later than 348 A.D.
The Discovery of the Ceiling Frescoes

Although many problems were left unanswered when further excavations were interrupted in September 1943 because of the war, the essential part of the mystery of the so-called "Roman Core" was solved with Kempf's discovery of the basilical hall and atrium.

War took its toll and on August 14, 1944, Liebfrauen, the church south of the Dom and connected with it, was damaged by bombs and badly burnt. On November 2, 1944, shells hit the western apse of the Dom and three further raids in December of that year destroyed much of the Dom - Liebfrauen complex including the treasury and the cloisters. As with many things these tragic events had a positive result in that permission was given to Kempf and his team in October, 1945, to continue their investigations.

During the excavations in the choir area of the Dom the polygon inside the "Roman Core" was brought to light again; (it had originally been discovered by Wilmowsky in 1874). It was now established that the polygon was twelve-sided and not ten-sided as previously believed and that it was round inside. Close comparison to the Anastasis in Jerusalem and the Nativity in Bethlehem now led Kempf to suspect that the basilical hall uncovered in 1943 might have terminated in a memoria holding an important relic of Christ.14

Further excavations in the choir area created great
excitement among the archaeologists and art historians. Below the polygon, remains of a palace ceiling with frescoes were found which Kempf justly called "the most important discovery at Trier to date" (fig.9).  

Some 50,000 pieces of painted plaster fragments were collected and a five-year project of restoration began. Seven of the panels have now been completed (plates XVIII and XIX). Unfortunately the size of the room which the ceiling covered could not be established because of subsequent building phases. But on account of the position in which the fallen frescoes were found they were recovered in an excellent state of preservation. Scholars generally agree that the busts in the panels alternating with dancing putti are portraits of three royal ladies of Constantine's immediate family: Helena, wife of Constantine's son Crispus, Helena, mother of Constantine, and Fausta, his wife. There does not seem to be a consensus among scholars as to the identity of the busts in the individual panels, although Kempf and A. Alfoldi agree that the lady holding the jewels (pl. XIX) is Fausta and that the bust in the centre is a portrait of Helena, mother of Constantine. Kempf sees in this discovery further proof that the Helena legend of the palace donation can no longer be dismissed as "mere medieval fantasy."
TRIER, DOM:
OSTABSCHLUSS DER ALTCHRISTLICHEN BISCHOFSKIRCHE

Fig. 9

The Discovery of the Twin Basilica

During the 1945-46 excavations in the Dom traces of a south portal in the south-west corner of the square sanctuary were found as well as a wall almost identical to the one discovered earlier in the atrium. This led to the assumption that much more was yet to be uncovered and that the traditional linking of the Dom with Liebfrauen might rest on solid ground. Kempf had already suggested the presence of a double basilical complex at Trier like that known at Aquileia through excavations and at Primuliacum in Aquitaine through a letter of Paulinus of Nola to his friend Sulpicius Severus. Since a baptistery had already been discovered in 1906 by Kutzbach to the south of the "Roman Core", the supposition of a twin basilica gained further credence and was finally confirmed in 1948 when remains of a south basilica of Constantinian date were excavated.

A report was published on June 14, 1946 by a special commission of the Cathedral Chapter of Trier acknowledging the work that had been done since 1943 and recognizing the importance of doing further research into the origin of Trier's cathedral. In the report the commission pointed out that the numerous Christian remains already found in the Dom area made it imperative to investigate thoroughly the whole terrain. "There is every possibility" the report continues, "that an Early Christian double church complex
of the nature of those at Aquileia, Grado and Salona, will come to light.\textsuperscript{19} The commission also felt that Trier was the only possible area in Germany (presumably because it had been an imperial residence) where one could expect such a complex, and that any research would be of great significance.

Thus began a period of intensive and extensive excavations, which are still continuing, and which led to the confirmation of a Constantinian Twin Basilica in 1948 when foundations of a second basilica were exposed below the present Liebfrauen church. During the following year the whole plan of this second basilica became clear and a building date of 326 established. A heating system was also found below a raised \textit{tribuna}. Changes in liturgical rites were attributed to three alterations in the altar area, and pieces of screen from two separate building phases contained graffiti, many with a Constantinian monogram.\textsuperscript{20} Further research in 1949 established the extent of the south basilica together with \textit{atrium}, \textit{narthex} and non-apsidal eastern termination. What was now established was a twin basilical complex of huge dimensions (150 x 112 m), a complex unique in the Early Christian world. A \textit{bema} and \textit{ambo} of medieval dates were also found, similar to the ones previously discovered in the north basilica, now the Dom.

The most important discovery of the 1961-63 excavations in the Dom interior clarified the various building phases of the
"Roman Core" hitherto thought to belong to the Gratianic era. It was now verified that the first square sanctuary was built over the polygon in late Constantinian times, probably shortly after 330 A.D., when the south basilica had been completed. It was rebuilt soon after completion of the first phase some time before 348. It was not possible to reconstruct precisely the appearance of the square sanctuary with the polygon but there are indications that the polygon stood in the sanctuary sub divo. The Constantinian sanctuary was demolished or destroyed, then rebuilt under Valentinian and Gratian. The reasons for the demolition are not known but the restless years of 353-356 may have been responsible.

Investigations also confirmed that the rebuilding of the sanctuary in the sixth and eleventh centuries did not produce any marked changes, and the building described by Altmann of Hautvillers as the Helena palace was indeed Gratian's rebuilding of the Constantinian square sanctuary. This discovery seemed to have filled a most agonizing gap in the history of the origin of the Dom.
The Complex

The complex as shown in Plate XX (pl.XX) reveals two longitudinal basilicas, each of 48m length, parallel to each other, both with a large atrium and a transept-type narthex. Both basilicas terminated in a non-apsidal rectilinear sanctuary. The sanctuaries in both basilicas underwent at least three building phases during the Constantinian era, leaving the basilical hall with transept and atrium unaltered. The south basilica housed an altar from the outset and the area around it could be heated; the north basilica contained in its sanctuary a polygon, but not until the second building phase. It is not certain whether in its first building phase the north basilica may have had an altar.

Connecting the two basilicas were a square baptistery to the west and a three-aisled hall to the east. Both structures are from the second building phase of the twin basilica, and the three-aisled hall was provided with galleries. The purpose of this hall has not yet been established.

Both basilicas were surrounded by a number of chambers, and the whole complex including the porticoed entrances measured 150 x 112 m. It is believed that the south basilica was completed and consecrated by 330, but the north basilica took longer to complete.
During the reign of Gratian (375-383) the sanctuary of the north basilica was rebuilt and strengthened and monolithic columns carried a baldachino over the polygon. In the south basilica the altar also received a ciborium surrounded by four marble columns, with steps leading to the sanctuary from the sides. The eastern three-aisled connecting hall had an oval structure added in the centre; no purpose has been suggested for this feature (pl.XXI).
The South Basilica

Phase I

Building started in 326 and was most probably completed by 330. The south basilica was rectangular and entered from the west through a portico which led into the three-aisled atrium. This in turn led into a transept-type narthex. Steps and a screen divided the narthex from the baptistery situated on the north-west wall. The basilica proper, measuring 32 x 48 m. terminated in a sanctuary slightly elevated with a rectangular projection towards the east (pl. XXII). Two small chambers on each side were accessible only from the sanctuary. An altar screen divided the sanctuary from the nave; the altar itself was in the centre of the sanctuary.

The sanctuary had three building phases during the fourth century, but the basilical hall, the transept-type narthex and the atrium did not change significantly until the Germanic invasions of the fifth century when the whole complex suffered extensive damage and was almost completely burnt.

Phase II

In about 350 A.D. the sanctuary was reduced in size. The altar screen was moved back to the altar perhaps to accommodate the ever growing Christian community. Traces of marble columns were discovered in the screen; these had marble capitals both
white and green with acanthus pattern. Access to the two side chambers was now possible from the side aisles.

Thus the two first building phases belong to the Constantinian era, and the numerous graffiti found in the altar screens had Christian acclamations such as Vivas In Deo Christo and even Constantinian monograms. Nearly all carried the Christogram.

Phase III

Under Gratian the sanctuary was again rebuilt. In order to erect a ciborium around the altar, the screen was now moved back again towards the west some six feet into the basilica proper. A new screen of tubuli was now built to make the screen lighter than its predecessors.
The North Basilica

The building history of the north basilica is more complex. It has always been known that the so-called "Roman Core" was the square sanctuary which terminated the east end of the basilica. It is this sanctuary that has posed so many problems to the archaeologists and art historians throughout the past hundred years and was for a long time the main focus of extensive research. Not until the basilical hall and atrium were exposed in 1943 were some of the controversies removed.

Phase I

The north basilica measured 37 x 48 m and was approached in the same way as the south basilica through a porticoed entrance in the west. From here the worshipper was led into a narthex and three-aisled atrium. The entrance, however, took the form of an elaborate arch. From the atrium the three-aisled basilica was reached which terminated, as did the south basilica, in a rectilinear sanctuary. It, too, was flanked on each side by two chambers and was elevated. The sanctuary had four building phases during the Constantinian reign but the basilical hall received few changes (pl. XXIII).

Phase II

Probably soon after 330 the eastern terminus was extended (marked blue on the plate) towards the east but the basilical hall retained its old form. Kempf suggests that the polygon
may have been built at this time.

**Phase III**

In the third phase the north and south walls of the sanctuary were strengthened and strong pillars added to the east wall. The sanctuary, now consolidated to the square structure, was to become the unusual and much debated feature of the basilica. The polygon in the centre of the square sanctuary was surrounded by six 12 metres high granite monolithic columns with marble capitals (green on the plate). The basilical hall remained unchanged.

**Phase IV**

The square sanctuary was rebuilt on the old foundations (red on the plate) adding exterior piers with springing arches. Two towers with interior staircases and piers were added to the north and south walls. The basilical hall was abandoned at this time and the church may have appeared as suggested by Krencker in 1923 (pl. XVII).

Parts of the foundations of phases II and IV allowed for dendrochronological examinations, and initial reports have confirmed building dates in the first half of the fourth century.26

The reasons for the destruction of the Constantinian square sanctuary are not clear, but calcine pieces of marble of a large pilaster capital of late Constantinian date suggest
a fire which might be linked to the unrest and disorder during the reign of Magnentius from 353-356. There may also have been architectural reasons for the rebuilding of this part of the basilica as the Constantinian structure had apparently sagged and tilted under its own weight.

Valentinian and his son Gratian (367-383) dismantled the old structure and rebuilt the square sanctuary. It is this part that is still visible in the present Dom up to a height of almost 30 metres. The Valentinian/Gratian date had been confirmed by Wilmowsky (p.33) on account of a coin which he had discovered embedded in the Roman strata, dating 382 A.D. Kempf uncovered bricks whose marks are at present being carefully studied in an attempt to give further proof to the dating.

The square sanctuary now had four inner columns of granite with marble capitals taken from the earlier Constantinian building. (The other two columns had presumably been damaged during the unrest in mid-fourth century; one of these columns can still be seen outside the present west entrance of the Dom.) The eight interior piers were made of grey sandstone with springing arches; the two eastern ones still exist up to a height of 18 metres; of the others only the foundations are recorded. The two piers of the triumphal arch on the western wall still exist, also the foundations and part of the elevation of the two towers on the north and south walls.
On the eastern wall the Roman stone-work can still be seen over a late Romanesque arch of the east choir and the north and south walls expose about 18 metres of Roman wall with piers and the springing of the arches.
The Twin Basilica from the Fifth to the Ninth Centuries.

During the Germanic invasions of the fifth century the whole complex was destroyed but rebuilding began towards the end of the century. The south basilica, with the exception of the atrium, was first to be rebuilt, and it was under Bishop Nicetius (525-566) that a bema and ambo were added.

In the north basilica the four granite columns of the square sanctuary had toppled and with it the whole upper structure. The sanctuary was not rebuilt immediately but only the polygon with its baldachino. Thus, in the centre of the burnt-out shell of the church emerged a small round martyrium; only the high walls of the Gratianic structure had miraculously withstood the onslaught. Bishop Nicetius restored the square sanctuary with the aid of masons called from Lombardy. Instead of the granite columns four limestone piers were erected using bases and capitals of a ruined second-century pagan temple. Major parts of the pier arches and some of the stone-work of the towers from that period are preserved and bear witness to the extraordinary architectural achievements north of the Alps at that time.

To overcome the varying ground levels between the square sanctuary and the nave and aisles of the basilica proper four steps and new screens were built. The latter in their simple decoration reflect the merging of Roman and Germanic styles.
With the basilical hall restored in the north church, two additional features belong to the Merovingian and Carolingian periods: the horseshoe-shaped bema and ambo, similar to the ones in the south basilica (pl. XXIV). These features are well known from Byzantine churches and demonstrate the continuing influence of the Mediterranean.

Both basilicas stood essentially in this way until the Norman sacking in 882, after which the south basilica was rebuilt on a smaller scale under the dedication aula sanctae Dei Genetricis. The side aisles were no longer restored and walled in, and the church plan now resembled a cross with a long nave, a transept and no apse. The north basilica retained the atrium but not the elaborate porticoed entrance (pl. XXV).

In fact the year 882 can be regarded as the termination of the Twin Basilica at Trier.
During the Norman sacking of the city in 882 the churches were again destroyed, and it took almost a hundred years before even the rubble was cleared. Under Archbishop Egbert (977-993) the square sanctuary in the north basilica was rebuilt but the remainder of the basilica abandoned. Only the south basilica was completely restored but here, the side aisles of the basilical hall were abandoned, the inter-columniation walled in and a shortened transept erected in front of the east choir.

The whole complex was walled in during this period, giving immunity to the episcopal territory around the complex of one thousand Carolingian feet. The wall was reinforced by gates and towers, and in 958 Archbishop Heinrich erected a cross on a Roman column in the centre axis of the north basilica, which stood some 17 metres over the ruined hall. Today, this column with its cross stands in the centre of the main market square as a reminder of the Roman and Christian heritage of the city (pl. XXVI).

The present Romanesque Dom had its origin in the 11th century when Archbishop Poppo began to rebuild the north basilica, then known as the *domus Dominae Helenae*. In the year 1028 Poppo went to the Holy Land and brought back with him, one presumes, an architect who was familiar with Byzantine building techniques. The Popponian Dom still retained the Gratianic square sanctuary incorporating it in the new cathedral (pl. XXVII).
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From the second century onward the settlement on the site became denser and traces of palatial homes were found. Most of the mosaics found in Trier come from this area. There were signs of more building activity in the third century, also paved roads flanked by colonnades. More use was made of the local sandstone in these third century buildings, which was less expensive than the lime stone of earlier building periods. The destruction of the city left a thick layer of ash, but from the soil layer on top of the ash it is evident that building took place soon after the fires.

2 Ibid., p.371.


5 Ibid., p.139.

6 Ibid., p.140.


8 Oelmann, Bonner Jahrbücher, pp. 130-142.


10 Ibid.
It has been suggested that Fausta and Crispus were assassinated by Constantine because of an incestuous relationship; or that political expediency and ambitions on the part of Helena, mother of Constantine, were the reasons.


25 Kempf, Das Münster, 21, pp.1-6.

26 Kempf, Kunstchronik, 21, pp. 165-6.

27 Kempf, Das Münster, 21, pp.1-2.


30 Kempf, Neue Ausgrabungen, p.379.

31 Kempf, Das Münster, 21, p.6.
But his greatest gifts were to the churches of God. (Eusebius IV, 28)

"Ever since Augustus, public monumental architecture has been the major concern of Roman emperors;" these were Richard Krautheimer's opening remarks to the Congress for Christian archaeology at Trier in 1965, which had as its theme "The Constantinian Imperial House and Christian Art in the Fourth Century." Krautheimer states further that Roman public building became a powerful instrument of political propaganda designed to impress the world and to enhance the genius of the emperor. The emperor appeared as the planner and builder of these monuments as reflected in dedications and this concept reached its peak in the late Roman Empire.

Constantine's immense building program must be seen in this context. Whereas in pre-Constantinian days religious building did not play a predominant role - as much emphasis was put on public secular building complexes, such as the forum basilicas, the baths and the places of entertainment - Constantine's major concern, however, was religious building, and this became a powerful political tool for him. He certainly appears to be the builder of many of the great churches of the fourth century, and Eusebius his biographer, speaks of gifts to churches, sometimes in the form of land grants, of donations of palaces and of precious gifts for the
enrichment and decoration of churches. Although Eusebius has often been accused of being biased he is an important source for that period, and archaeological discovery in recent years has often proved him to be correct. Constantine, in his role as the Protector of Christianity, wanted to raise the church from obscurity to the highest public sphere of influence, and thus the house of God, hitherto inconspicuous, now had to be an exalted place and to be conceived of as public monumental architecture.

We see in Constantine the principal builder of at least the large churches and church complexes, such as St. John Lateran and St. Peter's in Rome, the Holy Sepulchre and Nativity in the Holy Land, and the early Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene in Constantinople. His involvement with the actual building program extended to providing expertise and labour; he admonished bishops to see that churches were erected or enlarged; and, as in the case of Jerusalem, the bishop was told to make the basilica at Golgotha "the most beautiful anywhere and to outshine the finest structures in any city." The maintenance of the buildings was guaranteed by imperial donations, and the lavish decorations came from the imperial coffers. In the case of Trier, Kempf feels that the emperor was indeed the builder, and to the palace is added a church.
Despite Eusebius' claims of Constantine's generosity to
the Church and his gifts of land for the building of churches,
it is unfortunate that so few are known from excavations. However, those that are known are monumental structures, such as the Lateran Basilica, St. Peter's and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome, Golgotha, Bethlehem and Mamre in the Holy Land, and the Twin Basilica at Trier. Of his churches in Constantinople little has remained and they are only known from literature. There were other churches built during the reign of Constantine, but in Krautheimer's opinion they were "locally financed." For instance, he does not feel that the twin halls at Aquileia were founded by Constantine.

In the context of Constantinian church architecture the twin basilicas at Trier in their first building phase fit into the category 'basilica' as seen in St. John Lateran in Rome (pl. XXVIII). This does not mean that all Constantinian basilical churches were exactly the same. Despite many foundations, the variety in plan and construction is striking. There are churches with single halls, such as Aquileia, or aisled halls as in Trier. Ashlar was used at Aquileia and concrete faced with brick at Trier. In the Lateran Basilica the nave terminated in an apse, at Trier in a rectangular chancel bay. It seems fairly obvious that local custom is involved here. At Trier, most of the late Roman monumental buildings were constructed of concrete and the locally made
brick, such as the aula regia and the Kaiserthermen (pl.VIII).

Thus, with the Peace of the Church after the Edict of Milan in 313, Christian cult building comes into the sphere of public monumental architecture, and it is not surprising that the liturgy of the Church, which had been formulated in the third century - and has not changed since in its fundamental aspects - had some rites added with the aim of emphasizing the ceremonial of the service. Considering the impressive ecclesiastical structures in the Empire's capitals, and the numerous clergy who took part in the worship, it is clear that the first entrance procession of the clergy from the secretarium to the altar was an act of great importance and significance.

Egger sees in the change of the ritual a continuation of Roman custom and in particular of imperial ceremonial and emperor cult.

The Roman emperor cult manifested itself mainly in the deification of the dead emperor, symbolized by the apotheosis; and in the late Empire this deification was already accorded to the living emperor. Christianity now assumes this cult role under the auspices of Constantine. Egger feels that because of this, similarities exist in the expression of the ceremony in the liturgy. He goes on to speculate that the solemn processions were only possible in a longitudinal hall which afforded a natural route from the entrance to the focal point, which was either the cathedra or later the altar. And as is well known from still existing Constantinian churches
or those known from excavations, a great number of these new churches were basilicas of the kind that were known from the Roman secular architecture.

It is known that there were variations in the liturgy of the fourth century, not only in the eastern or western rites, but also regional differences, especially in the west. The problems of liturgical customs and their influence on the House of God are by no means easy to solve, since written records are extremely scanty and inaccurate, and local ritual and importance of the city must be considered along with liturgical practices.

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace the origin of the Christian basilica; most scholars now agree that the genus sprang from Roman public architecture with the exception of the central-plan martyrria which belong to a different category. Krautheimer feels that the Constantinian churches "are but variants on the age-old genus of Roman basilica which for centuries had sprouted in dozens of variants, both in function and design." By the fourth century basilicas with side aisles went out of fashion and, instead, decidedly longitudinal buildings with well-lit interiors and entrances on the short side came to the fore. "The early years of the fourth century witness a break-up and a renewal of the category basilica," and Constantinian church building finds its place within this renewal. In Krautheimer's terms the genus basilica refers to a function rather than a structure,
an assembly hall for meetings of any kind. In these terms, all fourth century churches were basilicas in that they were assembly halls whose function it was to serve Christian religious meetings. However, the preponderant type of those actually known to have been founded by Constantine seems to have been the longitudinal basilica with nave and aisles and the entrance on the short, west side, opposite the apse; the latter was usually at the east end. The West, from Rome to Trier, seems to have favoured a plan with a very long nave and aisles, whereas in Palestine and possibly at Constantinople a shorter nave and aisles were preferred. There seems to have been no normal type of basilica; the parish churches and provincial basilicas seem to have been simple halls, as for instance in the first building phase at Aquileia (Appendix) but it appears that in the important cities during the reign of Constantine, churches were constructed on a more lavish and grander scale. True, the halls at Aquileia were richly decorated with mosaics, and despite Krautheimer's comments with regard to Constantine's patronage (p.58), the mosaics show definite connections with the Imperial House. Kähler's work on the so-called Donor Mosaics at Aquileia's double church gives convincing evidence of Constantine's and his family's involvement with the church at Aquileia. A case could, for instance, be made for the similarity between the Donor Mosaics at Aquileia and the Ceiling Frescoes below the polygon at Trier's north basilica. Both cities were imperial
residences in the late third and fourth centuries, and Maximian favoured Aquileia over Trier. Maximian's daughter Fausta married Constantine, and it is believed that during one of the latter's visits to the imperial residence at Aquileia he became engaged to Fausta. Kähler, in contrast to Krautheimer, feels that the mosaics give proof of Constantine's founding of the churches at Aquileia. It could be argued that the halls were not built at the same time; in fact the north church has now been given a date of 308 by most scholars, and that the south church, in which the Donor Mosaics were found, may have been founded by Constantine soon after the Peace of the Church in 313. In this connection it may be interesting to note that soon after the south church was completed the north church at Aquileia was expanded and followed a basilical plan of nave and two aisles. This was after the Lateran Basilica had been built.  

In Krautheimer's view the Christian basilica evolved in A.D. 313 with Constantine's building of the Lateran Basilica. From that date basilicas with longitudinal naves and flanked by aisles, either two or four, became common-place among church buildings, and by 325-330 it was widely accepted in the capitals and the Holy Land.

In Trier, as in Rome, the basilica was built on the site of an imperial palace, and as such Trier's Twin Basilica takes prominence over Aquileia and the other known twin basilicas of the fourth century. In size, Trier's basilica compares
with St. John Lateran, and its two halls were designed to seat a congregation not much smaller than the Lateran's. Not only in size did Trier differ from the "modest bishops' church at Aquileia," but its construction and decoration were significantly richer. Trier's basilical complex measured 112' x 150 m, both halls were three-aisled longitudinal halls with a high nave and clearstory windows; each hall had a vast atrium in front, the north church also a narthex west of the atrium, and both were flanked by porticoed courts. The north basilica was entered through a monumental gate, probably in the shape of a triumphal arch, facing the street. In both halls, a section near the entrance was screened off, possibly for the withdrawal of the catechumens.

Trier, then, can be linked firstly with the architecture of the Lateran Basilica through both basilicas in their first building phase, although each is a variant on the Lateran. As Krautheimer puts it, the actual plan of the Lateran was never copied. Up to 330 Rome was the undisputed capital of the Empire and Trier the capital of the North, including Gaul. Trier also was a favourite residence of Constantine and his family. The Lateran plan was not only a prestigious fountain head but also most suitable for Christian ritual, especially in an imperial city where the emperor cult was a dominant factor. Krautheimer suggests that connotations of the emperor cult are most patent in churches subsidized
by the imperial house.\textsuperscript{27} It should also be remembered that although Christianity had been given freedom from persecution and was even encouraged, the great majority of the population were still pagan and steeped in Roman imperial cult ideology. The Christian church, and the foundation of the Emperor had to be a monumental and prestigious structure, which could be adapted to the varying liturgical conditions.

St. Peter's Basilica in Rome may also have served as a model for the north basilica at Trier, if the latter is considered a martyrium. Kempf supports this view since he sees in the polygon a memoria holding a precious relic. In the same way the Twin Basilica at Trier, and especially the North Basilica in its third and fourth Constantinian building phases, can be likened to the churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem over the holy sites.\textsuperscript{28} (plates "XXIX and XXX).

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was begun in 327 and the complex consisted of a monumental propylaea at the east, a shallow atrium, a five-aisled basilica of reversed orientation – the Martyrion – and beyond it an arcaded court with the Calvary and the Tomb, cut free in the centre of a hemicycle at the west. The Tomb, Eusebius reports, was decorated with columns, and a number of Early Christian ivories and paintings show a building which could well be a true representation of Constantine's building of the Tomb. Later on a Rotunda was built over the tomb, for which the dating has
posed many problems. Eusebius ascribes the Rotunda to Constantine and gives it a date of 335-337; the Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions only the Martyrium in 333. The Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem would seem to give clear evidence that the Rotunda existed in 348. His Mystagogical Lectures give proof that the Rotunda was an enclosed space, since these lectures could only be given to the baptized and had to be given in an enclosed area. It is suggested that Constantine at least planned and authorized the building of the Rotunda before his death in 337.

The Church of the Nativity had - like Jerusalem and possibly Trier - a christological martyrium, the Nativity Grotto at the end of the east apse of the basilica. It was built around 325-330 and the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw "a basilica built on orders of Constantine." The Grotto is octagonal and built over the cave where tradition places the birth of Christ. The inside of the octagon is circular, just as is the interior of the polygon at Trier.

Comparing the two Palestinian basilicas and in particular their christological martyria with the plan of the north basilica at Trier in its second building phase, the similarities are indeed striking and, as Kempf puts it, these are the only churches with which Trier can be compared as a Christian cult structure (pl. XXXI). The interpretation by Kempf of the polygon at Trier as a christological martyrium is convincingly argued, when he associates the cloth relic
of the Holy Robe, the most precious relic of the Trier Dom, with the polygon. Kempf's attempted reconstruction of the polygon in its first building phase will demonstrate a great similarity with the Holy Sepulchre, and possibly with the Nativity (pl. XXXII).

The cloth relic, known as The Holy Robe, is very similar to other cloths, which have been documented in Roman churches since early medieval times. These relics seem to have been extremely popular in the fourth century when the cult of the relics spread throughout the Christian church. The actual robe, now in the Dom Treasury at Trier, is wrapped in silk and gauze, and its material has been identified as cotton which was an expensive and precious material during the time of Christ. The wrapping material has been dated to the eighth - ninth centuries. Kempf sees in this proof of the presence of The Robe at that time; that it was not exhibited however, at that time but kept in a secret hiding place. It was common practice in the early church not to exhibit relics uncovered and this custom was not changed until the thirteenth century. One of the reasons for this was fear of the consequences of such a "sacrilegious" act.

The story of the Holy Robe can be traced directly from written records back to the eleventh century; and indirectly by archaeological evidence to the fourth century; and this is borne out by the subsequent architectural history of the
Dom which, from its origin to the present day, is determined by the possession of a precious Christian relic. The question here is not whether it can be proved that the relic is indeed the genuine tunic of Christ; it is necessary only to show that it was venerated as such by the Christians of the fourth century. The Church has never asked the faithful to believe in the authenticity of any relic. What is important is the credibility of the tradition, and in Kempf's view this is well established. He feels that an important relic, such as The Robe, would not have been acquired by the Trier church as late as the twelfth century. At that time the city was not a very important place, either politically or ecclesiastically. The relic could only have come to the church at Trier at a time when the city was at its zenith, in the fourth century, when Trier was one of the most important capitals in the Western Roman Empire. Further proof could be found in the fact that Helena, mother of Constantine, had very close ties with the city and its bishop, Agricius. The *Vita S. Helenae* suggests that the mother of Constantine donated her palace to Agricius to build a church. 37 Helena visited the Holy Land in about 327 and tradition associates this and subsequent visits with the discovery and transfer of christological relics. Also according to tradition, Helena gave these relics to churches in Rome, Constantinople and Trier. How much of this is legend and what can be proved is a problem still and
may one day be solved by further research. Whatever the truth about the Holy Robe, it is a fact that the square sanctuary in the north basilica at Trier, now the Dom, with its polygonal memoria in its centre, was never dismantled or abandoned. Throughout the troubled years between 400 and 1100, when invasions, sackings and fires left the Twin Basilica in complete ruin many times, the memoria was always the first part to be rebuilt. Finally, when the basilical hall was abandoned, the square sanctuary, walled up against the empty shell of the basilical hall, still stood until the eleventh century, when it was incorporated into the new Romanesque Dom. It is presumed that the shrine with The Robe was at that time taken out of the polygon and enshrined in the new high altar, and the polygon then buried beneath the floor of the choir of the new Dom.

Trier then fits into the Early Christian architecture of the fourth century in the context of what Krautheimer calls the "massing in a complex of several structures" which he feels is "basic to Constantinian thermae and palaces, no less than to double cathedrals"... Apart from the twin basilicas known from northern Italy Krautheimer was no doubt referring to the complexes in the Holy Land and also to St. Peter's. Trier can be seen in two ways: one would be the twin basilica in the context of massing two structures of
almost identical plan, and of combining the basilica with a martyrrium, the case in the North Basilica at Trier. A comparison with the plan of the early Sepulchre at Jerusalem as it appears to have been in 335 with the plan of the north basilica at Trier in its second phase, also around that time, will demonstrate this position (plates XXX and XXXI). 41

Twin basilicas of the fourth century are known also from Istria, Dalmatia and Carinthia with the earliest, the two halls at Aquileia, dating from 308 and 314 respectively. The only other twin basilica where two halls are side by side and of almost equal size, known to have been built in the fourth century, is Trier's. More significantly, the only one for which a Constantinian foundation is assured is the one at Trier. The foundation of Aquileia by the Emperor Constantine is doubtful, and it may only apply in the case of the south hall which has the so-called donor mosaics, and which was most probably built in 313 or 314. Most of the other known fourth century twin basilicas, found in the northern Adriatic area, are modelled on Aquileia, and the Appendix gives a detailed description of them. The only exception in this list is Kirchbichl/Lavant, where the halls are built on the same axis behind each other. It is probable, however, that practicality or necessity dictated by the topography were considered, since a parallel construction would have been almost impossible. As in Aquileia, only one of the halls had an altar, and this characteristic is most probably
shared with Trier. A brief observation of Trier might suggest that it fits into the category of the Adriatic churches, but on closer scrutiny the differences are very obvious. The first feature is its enormous size, not matched by any of the other churches and comparable only to the Lateran Basilica. Also, it would appear that the two types of "massing of complexes" are combined at Trier in a coherent and impressive edifice. Krautheimer's definition of a twin basilica excludes the type of massing of complexes where the components of atrium, basilica and martyrrium — as in the north basilica at Trier — are placed on the same axis; in his view they are only "peripherally connected." This point could be argued, especially in view of his earlier statement that the genus 'basilica' refers to a function rather than a structure. It seems reasonable to assume that a duplication of edifices in a single unit alone may constitute a twin basilica.

The only other known twin basilica of the side-by-side type is at Djemila, North Africa. However, the dating is not firmly established and it may have been built in the early fifth century.

Outside the western part of the Empire and North Africa, no twin basilicas were found unless the type of structure in one axis, behind each other, is taken into consideration. Then the two complexes in Palestine, the Holy Sepulchre and the
twin basilicas at Ephesos and Gerasa could also be classified as such. The latter two, however, fall most probably outside the fourth century, and the basilica at Ephesos was not built as one unit at the same time.

It seems fairly clear that the twin basilicas of the fourth century, with the exception of Trier, were confined to Istria, Dalmatia and Carinthia, and that they all came under the influence of Aquileia. Aquileia was a very important ecclesiastical centre in the early part of the fourth century and her influence would still be felt in the more remote areas into the fifth century. It seems also evident that Trier, although generally in the same category, is a unique structure in Constantinian church building and most probably served different functions in comparison to the Adriatic churches. Trier enjoyed a prominent position in the Empire and her influence, both politically and ecclesiastically encompassed the northern Empire from Britain to southern Gaul, and the presence of the emperors during the whole of the fourth century demanded a splendid edifice. Since the Twin Basilica at Trier was a Constantinian foundation and as such subsidized by the imperial house, the connotations of the Imperial cult would have been prominently manifest. The doubling of churches in Istria and Dalmatia may have been local tradition, since in Krautheimer's view double temples had been frequent.
in that area. In Trier, such tradition has not been documented, thus the building of a twin basilica must have had different reasons. This does not preclude the possibility that the idea of the twin might have originated at Aquileia, a city well known to Constantine.

Trier stands out as a unique monument in a line of Early Christian twin basilicas; Trier presents a different dimension.
NOTES - CHAPTER IV


2 Ibid., p. 238.

3 Eusebius, The Life of Constantine, IV, 28.

4 Krautheimer, Kongress, p. 238.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 241.


8 Krautheimer, Kongress, p. 242.

9 Ibid.


11 Ibid.

The sectarium is the room near the entrance of the basilica opposite the apse, where the ministers prepared their robes for the divine service.


13 Ibid., p. 127.
14 Krautheimer, Kongress, p.245.


16 Krautheimer, Kongress, p.246.

17 Ibid., p.245.

18 Ibid., p.240.

19 Ibid., p.243.


22 Krautheimer, Kongress, p.250.

23 Ibid., p.251.


25 Ibid.

26 Krautheimer, Kongress, p.252.

27 Krautheimer, ECBA, p.25.


29 Ibid., p.44.
Lecture XIV speaks of the site and "this holy Church of the Resurrection of God the Saviour." The Lecture was given at "this very place: of the Resurrection." On the face of it this text would seem to be clear evidence that the Rotunda existed in 348.

Pope Gregory admonished the Empress Constantia when she requested a relic of St. Paul for the new basilica she was building. Gregory referred to Roman law and practices in the Empire that the touching of bodies (and relics) was sacrilegious. He recalled an incident to her of Pope Pelagius II's time. When the tomb of San Lorenzo was accidentally opened during construction work in the basilica, all those who saw the body of San Lorenzo died within ten days. In Trier it was said that under Bishop Agricius - who according to tradition received the Holy Robe from Helena for the church at Trier - a monk of the "highest piety and holiness" was sent to see the "mystery of the Lord" and to report on what he saw to the bishop. As soon as he looked into the shrine which held the relic, he was blinded.

The Robe had never been exhibited prior to 1512; up to that time the relic had been stored in the High Altar of the Romanesque Dom since 1196. It was housed in a simple wooden shrine decorated with ivory slabs, typical of shrines of the fourth or sixth centuries but not typical of the jewel-encrusted elaborate reliquaries of the medieval and Romanesque periods. Kempf sees in this a further proof that The Robe must have been at Trier since the sixth century at least if not at the time of Helena; the latter becomes even more credible.


39 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, p.43.


43 Krautheimer, *Kongress*, p.245.

44 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, p.25.

The functions of twin basilicas have been the subject of speculation and much research in recent years, and no clear answer has yet come forward. Most scholars seem to agree that the division—at least in the fourth century—into separate places of worship for the faithful and the catechumens is a logical interpretation of the phenomenon. This view is supported by the fact that in almost every case only one of the halls had an altar. Lehmann interprets this hall as the church of the faithful or the congregation, in other words the parish church, and the other that of the catechumens or the bishop's church.\(^1\) He stresses also the dedication of the former to the Virgin and the latter to a martyr.

J. Hubert, in contrast, feels that the precise purpose which the Christians in the fourth century had in mind in erecting the twin cathedrals, is not known.\(^2\) He goes on to say that the rites of initiation had lost much of their original rigidity in the fourth century and the use of relics was not yet widespread. Krautheimer contends that the initial dedication of most churches of the fourth century is not known and that the title of Mary did not come into use in the West until the middle of the fifth century.\(^3\) At about the same time, dedications of churches to martyrs became widespread. Thus the twin dedication of Mary and a martyr may have played a part in the churches from the fifth century
onward. Hubert points out that Constantine had given the beautiful names of Eirene and Sophia — peace and wisdom — to the twin basilica at Constantinople, his new capital. 4

It is known that many churches of the Early Christian era had been dedicated to Christ in one of His attributes, and it may well be that the early twin cathedrals were in fact dedicated to the Saviour. Later, during the fifth century, the one which contained the altar was dedicated to the Virgin and the other to a martyr, who was St. Peter in most episcopal churches. The latter is not surprising since St. Peter has always held a special place in Christian martyrology.

Another meaning is suggested by Paulinus of Nola, who wrote to his friend Sulpicius Severus in 403 on the occasion of celebrating the erection of a twin cathedral at Primuliacum. 5 The twin cathedral — "le temple a deux toits" — with the baptistery in the centre, is symbolized by Paulinus with the Old and New Testaments; the Old and the New Covenant are united through the grace of Christ in baptism. The stressing of the Old and New Testaments is expressed in many ways in the early church, and an example is the decoration of the churches at Nola by Paulinus in the early fifth century. He placed épisodes of the New Testament in the old church and of the Old Testament in the new church. 6 In Rome another arrangement became usual; here opposite walls of the nave were assigned to the scenes of the two testaments. The
Trinity as another symbolic meaning for the twin cathedral and baptistery has been suggested by Hubert in an earlier work. 7

Ancient texts say little about these twin structures and the liturgy of the early church does not assist much in explaining the doubling of edifices and why they seem to be favoured in some regions and in some epochs. It is reasonable to assume that the liturgy did play its role in shaping the Christian architecture but, unfortunately, the sources are scanty and not very clear. 8

The first description of the Roman mass-rite comes from Justin, a philosopher and martyr who wrote in Rome in the latter half of the second century. He describes the features most prevalent in Rome but, with the exception of small changes, it is reasonable to assume that these rites were common throughout the Christian church and travelled from east to west. 9 In the second century there is already a division between the faithful and the catechumens, those who are not yet baptized and are under instruction; "no one may partake of it [the Eucharist] unless he is convinced of the truth of our teaching and is cleansed in the bath of baptism." 10 Later in the third century and the fourth century the liturgy changed and from now on there is a division between east and west. The Latin rite appears first in North Africa though its origin is very hazy, but there are still many coincidences with oriental usages. 11
In general — and this is known also from the eastern rites — mass begins with the entrance of the clergy, then prayers, readings and the homily. After the homily and the prayers for the catechumens, the latter are asked to withdraw, and after further prayers over the penitents — in the early church the 'sinner' was in penitence for three years — they are dismissed. The mass proper now begins with the clergy carrying the offertory gifts in solemn procession to the altar. (In the early church this was a movable table.) The procession is symbolic of the entrance into Jerusalem of the triumphant Christ.

The Gallic rite, a variant of the Roman and used in Gaul and the Rhenish provinces, leans toward splendour and ceremonial and this would certainly explain to some extent the impressive basilical complex at Trier. Although the origins of Christianity in Trier are far from clear, it is thought that it was introduced in the second century through the Gallic church at Lyon and spread by Gallic and Syrian merchants in whose hands most of the trade lay. When in the late third century Trier became the capital of the province Belgica Prima and Imperial residence throughout the fourth century, she also ranked high in church hierarchy. Kurzeja assumes that although lack of sources make it impossible to be certain of the liturgy celebrated at Trier in the fourth century, the rites were those of the Church of
Rome. There was no Gallic liturgical centre during these early days, and it is of some significance that in the eighth century one reads of Roman-Treveri liturgy. There is a description by Gregory of Tours of services in the cathedral at Trier during the reign of Bishop Nicetius (525-566). Apparently during a Sunday service King Theodobert and some of his aides entered the cathedral where the bishop was celebrating mass. The king had been excommunicated at the time and the bishop refused to continue until the king and his aides had left the church.

It seems fairly conclusive that the fundamental philosophy in the early church was uniform, and that the catechumens and penitents were not permitted to attend the Eucharistic rites. Whether the liturgy had already been formalized in the fourth century into separate parts of the mass, that of the catechumens and that of the faithful, is not pertinent; only the fact that the catechumens and penitents were asked to withdraw after the homily and prayers. Separate halls could have been the logical result of this usage, especially where the congregations were large and where the church enjoyed special status. The latter would be true of Trier, which in addition was under Imperial patronage. In other areas the atrium or narthex, or some adjacent room might have filled that need.

In the early fifth century, Chrysostom, Bishop of
Constantinople, indicates the presence of catechumens in the congregation, but does not mention a specific location. "If you do not yet profess that Christ is God, stand outside and do not listen to the readings nor count yourself among the catechumens." This suggests that the catechumens stand inside the church but in some far away corner "do not hear the words of the mysteries, but stand somewhere far off." From Chrysostom it is also known that converted heretics had to go through the catechumenate before being re-admitted into the church. The number of catechumens who were thus preparing for baptism was still considerable at the end of the fourth century. It is for instance known that when Bishop Chrysostom was expelled from the see of Constantinople in 404 there were 3000 awaiting baptism.

Very little is known about the early ceremonial, but here too there are indications that the liturgy was more public in the early days. The ceremonies were structured around a series of full-scale processional movements which required the participation of either the whole congregation (the first entrance) or the bishop and his deacons. These solemn entrances required fairly large buildings with a multiplicity of entrances and constant use of the atrium. The liturgy was less dramatic than the later medieval form, but more classical and Roman in its sense of Imperial display. The centre of importance was the apse with the cathedra where
the bishop presided surrounded by the deacons. Only later during the fifth century it is the altar, hitherto a movable table, which becomes the focal point, but still always visible.

"Like the planning of the church building itself, the liturgy was conceived as an open action. It involved more active participation by the faithful and was performed more publicly than the medieval liturgy."²¹

Mathews feels that the veneration of relics was not important in the early church; the significant part of worship was the liturgy.

Krautheimer puts forward another possible reason for the bi-partition as the division into basilica hiemalis (winter church) and the basilica aestivalis (summer church).²² This is documented from the late ninth century and seems to have been prevalent in northern Italy. Arrangements like this are found throughout the ages in monasteries such as Mariawörth, Montecassino and S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and a passage in the Talmud distinguishes between winter and summer synagogues.²³ No liturgical reason can be found for such a division. One explanation is suggested by Krautheimer which might be considered, and that is the fact that the smaller, and usually the south church, is dedicated to Mary, and that this church may have been designated as the winter church because the main feast to Mary falls in the winter (Christmas). However, little is known of church dedications in the fourth and fifth
centuries and the title to Mary only appears after 450.²⁴ Yet at Trier the south church, later documented as dedicated to Mary, had from the outset a heated chancel area, and as such could easily have functioned as a winter church. Krautheimer does not suggest such a division for Trier but it would not be unreasonable to assume that such a function may have been planned from the beginning. An added argument in favour of such a theory is the absence of an altar in the north church. The rites of baptism and confirmation were held at Easter in the spring, so that the north church could have been used for this ceremony. The north church would have been most suitable for such a ceremony which no doubt was celebrated with great splendour. Most scholars seem to agree that the north basilica at Trier was in fact the episcopal church – and in the fourth century only the bishop could perform the rites of baptism and confirmation. When the polygon and huge square sanctuary converted the north basilica into a martyrium-basilica its function may have changed but this is not necessarily the case. By that time, however, the cult of relics had become widespread in the Christian Church and visiting holy sites was the goal of many pilgrims. The martyrium-basilica in Kempf’s opinion must have held a very important and precious relic to merit such an elaborate structure and Trier must have become an important pilgrimage centre in the north.²⁵
Apart from baptismal and confirmation rites the north basilica may have been used for court ceremonials. It may even have served as a meeting hall for instructing the catechumens and penitents. The division into seasonal halls may not be too speculative in view of the heating system in the south church and the inclement climate of the region in winter. The absence of an altar in the north basilica gives even more credence to this assumption. Whether the north basilica had an altar from the outset, which was later replaced by the polygon is now almost impossible to ascertain.

Grabar comments that the twin cathedral type can only be explained through liturgy. In his opinion the south basilica at Trier was the parish church - the *ecclesia mater* - and the north basilica the martyrium, the latter the more elaborate of the two, also known to be the case at Primuliacum. It is known from liturgy that the catechumens and penitents were not allowed to see the Eucharist but were permitted to listen to the whole celebration of the Mass. Thus, they could have withdrawn into the atrium where they would still have been able to listen. In a separate building this may have been difficult, especially in a complex as large as the one at Trier. And it is known from other churches that the atrium was used for that purpose.

During the fifth century the catechumenate gradually disappears and all members of the community were permitted to attend the full service, yet a great number of twin
basilicas are known to have been built after the fifth century. It has now been established at Trier that during the fifth and sixth centuries a bema and ambo were added in both basilicas, which may indicate that both churches were used for the Eucharist, but that the north basilica was also used for the more elaborate ceremonies and the cult of relics.

Krautheimer sums up the debate in his comments that "recent discoveries have both clarified and complicated the problem of the twin cathedrals." This is particularly true of the functions, which will most certainly have differed from one region to another and from one epoch to another. Changes in the liturgy at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries may have brought about changes in function. The gradual abolition of the catechumenate was one of these changes. At Trier the prominence of the city, the importance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the patronage of Constantine and the Imperial house during the fourth century must have been decisive factors influencing the function of the twin basilica.

The answer at Trier could be at once simple and complex, and unless more literary sources are discovered the problem will remain.
NOTES - CHAPTER V


3 Krautheimer, Studies, p.171.

4 Hubert, Genava, p.110.

5 Ibid.


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., pp.46-7.

12 Mathews, Early Churches, p.126.


The Council of Nicaea in 325 states in Canons 4 and 6 that a provincial capital should at the same time be an ecclesiastical metropolis. The Synod of Antioch in 341 reiterates these Canons.

16 Ibid., p.7.

17 Ibid., footnote 28.


19 Mathews, Early Churches, p.178.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Krautheimer, Studies, p.164.

23 Ibid., p.170.

24 Ibid., p.171.


28 Krautheimer, Studies, p.177.
PLATES
a) Inscription for L. Caesar

b) Limestone relief: Battle between Romans and naked Barbarians
R. Schindler, 1970, plate 175.
Leda Mosaic
Leda Mosaic - Detail
Ennius - Detail of Monnus Mosaic
a) Trier - Roman Bridge from the South-West

b) Trier - Amphitheatre
Plate VII

Trier - The Porta Nigra, City side

Trier - the Porta Nigra - Country side
a) Trier - Imperial Baths

b) Trier - Basilika
Reconstruction attempt (according to state of research in 1958)  
From Th.K. Kempf, Legende Überlieferung Forschung, 1959, p.15.
Noah Sarcophagus
R. Schindler, 1970, plate 258
Floor mosaic from Peristyle-House below Imperial Baths - Detail - Wilhelm Reusch, 1966.
So-called "Basilika"

Cathedral and Church of Our Lady (Dom-Liebfrauen)

View from the east over the City to the Eifel Mountains in the west.
The Cathedral at Trier in the 19th century, showing "Roman Core" incorporated. N. Irsch, p.148.
Cathedral Trier - East Choir/Sanctuary
evidence of un-medieval appearance due
to incorporation of "Roman Core"
a) Roman Remains in the Cathedral at Trier
(according to Wilmowsky, 1874)

b) The West Front of the "Roman Core"
Right: Reconstruction after Wilmowsky, 1874
Left: Reconstruction after Krencker, 1923
The "Roman Core" Cathedral at Trier

a) According to Wilmowsky, 1874

b) According to Krencker, 1923
Trier - Twin Basilica

Ceiling frescoes of palace audience room, below north basilica - 318 - 324 A.D.
Trier - Twin Basilica

Portrait Bust of lady, believed to be Empress Fausta (wife of Constantine)
First Building Phase 326-330 - Twin Basilica Trier

Location of Ceiling Frescoes (Palace Ceiling)

Sanctuary

Basilica

Transept Narthex

Atrium

Three-aisled Hall

Altar Screen

Basilica Screen of Baptistry

Gratian Expansion after 380 - Twin Basilica Trier

Trier South Basilica — Three building Phases from 326 – 380 A.D. Phase IV is Merovingian and Carolingian Expansion of Sanctuary, plus bema in nave, and St. Andrew Chapel to the South.

The Square Sanctuary: Its four Building Phases 326-348.
North Basilica of Twin Basilica Complex Trier

Merovingian and Carolingian building phases - Twin Basilica Trier

Ottonian Building phase and Development of Cathedral Immunity
Twin Basilica Trier

The Market Cross

Trier/Germany - 958 A.D.
Trier - Cathedral St. Peter and Church of Our Lady
Trier: Twin Basilica, 326 A.D.
(From Th. K. Kempf, 1958, p. 372)

Rome: Lateran Basilica, after 313 A.D.
(From G. Eggert, JÖAI 1956-58, p. 120)
a - Old St. Peter's Rome
b - Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem
c - Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem

(From J. Conant, Speculum, 1956, p.39)
a - North Basilica
   Trier

b - Sepulchre
   Jerusalem

c - Nativity
   Bethlehem
   (From Kempf, 1959)

d - St. Peter's
   Rome
   (From G. Eggert, 1956-58)
BETHLEHEM  JERUSALEM  JERUSALEM  TRIER  TRIER

BASILICA MIT MEMORIA  HERRHAFTHSKIRCHE  GRABESKIRCHE  NORDKIRCHE (HEUTE DOM)  KONSTANTINISCHE DÖPPELKIRCHE 
ÜBER DER  REKONSTRUIERTER  BASISLICA MIT  (HEUTE DOM UND LIEFRAUEN) - BAULEN, EN 1/4, 
GEBURTSGROTTE  GRUNDRISS  POLYGONALER MEMORIA  Polygonaler Memoria  NACH EINBAU DER QUADRATISCHEN 
UM 330  UM 330  327-325  UM 340  ÜBER DER POLYGONALEN MEMORIA 

From Kempf, Legende Überlieferung Forschung, 1959, plans are to scale.

Trier: ca. 340 shows hypothetical apsidal termination. This has now been recognized as being incorrect. Eastern termination was rectilinear.
Trier: Twin Basilica

Reconstruction of Polygon after 330 A.D.
(From Th. K. Kempf, 1959, p.15)

Jerusalem: Holy Sepulchre

c - 335 A.D.
d - 348 A.D.
(From J. Conant, Speculum 1956-58 p.17)
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Catalogue of Twin Basilicas - parallel to each other or one behind the other - known to have been built during the fourth and early fifth centuries.

* * * *

MAP of Roman Empire during the fourth century with sites of the Twin Basilicas.

- AQUILEIA...
- GRATZERKOGEL...
- HEMMABERG...
- KIRCHBICHL/LAVANT...
- GRADO...
- TRIESTE...
- NESACTIUM...
- PARENZO...
- POLA...
- SALONA...
- SALONA - MARUSINAC...
- MILAN...
- DJEMILA...
- CONSTANTINOPLE...
- EPHESES...
- GERASA...
AQUILEIA

Northern Italy, north-east of Venice near the Adriatic coast. In Roman times the shore was just outside the city.

Diocese: Aquileia - archdiocese.
Early Christian Twin Basilica, two rectangular halls with no apses, each having three pairs of supports dividing the halls into three parts. The north and south halls are parallel to each other and connected by a third hall and adjoining chambers, one serving as a baptistery.
Dedication: not known.

The site was first extensively excavated by Count K. von Lanckoronski in the late 19th century (1898). Further research was undertaken in 1909 by the Austrian Central Commission for Ancient Monuments, and by the Italians since 1915. Count Lanckoronski's comprehensive book Der Dom von Aquileia. Sein Bau und seine Geschichte, Wien: 1906 was not accessible to me but from contemporary sources it was quite apparent that this work is still considered the major key to the problems at Aquileia.

The dating also presents several problems, but it is now generally accepted that the North Hall was the one which was first built, and most scholars will put it around 307 by the Bishop Theodorus, who also was responsible for building the South Hall soon after the Milan Edict in 313.

North Church

Rectangular hall measuring 37,40 x 17,25 m with three pairs of supports/columns dividing the hall into three aisles. The support bases are still visible in the mosaic floor and are too small to have carried columns. Kühler suggests that they must have been slim pillars. The mosaic floor is in very good condition with the exception of that part which was taken up by the base of the 9th century campanile. It was built by Bishop Theodorus and most probably used for the catechumen only after the south hall and the connecting vestibule were built. Some scholars suggest that this hall was originally an oratorium and not a proper church. Towards the second half of the 4th century this hall was expanded to 73,40 x 30,95 m to accommodate the growing Christian community. This is commonly called Aquileia II, and some scholars suggest that only with this expansion can one speak of a twin basilica at Aquileia. (J. Fink).
Kühler feels that the north hall is the oldest autonomous church structure. All older churches were houses converted for Christian rites, and he refers in particular to the house church at Dura Europos; and if there have been purpose-built churches, such as are assumed in North Africa, they are no longer known.

**South Church**

Rectangular hall measuring 37.40 x 21 m, again with three pairs of supports dividing the hall into three aisles. The south hall is almost 4 m wider than the north hall and lies 28 m from the smaller and older church. It is generally agreed that this hall was built around 313. The mosaic floor in this church is extremely well preserved and of high quality, and still preserved in the present cathedral at Aquileia.

Connecting the two hall churches is another hall in the west of 13 m width, also divided into three spaces by four columns. This room may also have served for religious services; there are traces of a chancel screen and bases which may have belonged to a mensa. This suggests that the hall may have been used for the *agape*, the meal for the whole congregation.

In the centre of the complex was a long corridor about 4.50 m wide which had a door at each end (the north door was destroyed when the campanile was built). Kühler suggests that the eastern side chambers were most probably used by the bishop as living quarters and administration offices. All these rooms had mosaic floors. The northeastern opening was the actual entrance to the complex.

Of the ceilings only fragments remain. It appears to have been a stuccoed coffered ceiling, octagonal and square coffers alternating in dark and light red, blue and yellow. (The same pattern or similar was found also in the Trier twin basilica).

The complex at Aquileia could probably be the connecting link between the house church complex at Dura Europos and the twin basilica complex at Trier. Aquileia does not appear to have the basilical character that Trier shows and was built before the first Constantinian church in Rome, the Lateran. Kühler comments that if the idea of the basilical church as seen in the Lateran had already been conceptualized, the foundation at Aquileia would have been built in the same basilical form. Kühler goes on to say that after the Lateran all Constantinian foundations were basilical churches, such as St. Peter's and St. Paul's in Rome, Holy Sepulchre and Nativity.
Bibliography


Abb. 1. Aquileia, Theodorianische u. vorteodorianische Bauten (Ergänzungen punktiert)

A Oratoriumskirche mit den Mosaiken des Presbyteriums
B Unterirdischer Gang, durch den man die Oratoriumskirche betrat
C Osteingang zur Oratoriumskirche und zum Katechumenon mit Mosaikfeld
D Brunnen für die Fußwäsche
F Baptisteriumsfundament
G Abflußrohr mit Eingangöffnung
H Korridor (mosaiert) zur Aula Theodoriana

I Aula Theodoriana mit Mosaikboden
J Räume im Norden der Aula Theodoriana mit Mosaiken
K Raum mit unbekannter Bestimmung
N Gepflasterter Hof
O Vestibül oder Atrium
P Verlängerung der Oratoriumskirche
Q Eingang zur Kirche
Q₁ Eingang zum Katechumenon

NORDLICHER KULTSAAL

SÜDLICHER KULTSAAL
Aquileia. Post-Theodosian Basilica
(Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst, p.298)
GRATZERKOGEL

Carinthia - now Austria. Situated north of Klagenfurt, the Roman Virunum.

Diocese: Virunum (Klagenfurt)
Twin basilicas, fortified
Dedication: Unknown

The episcopal see at Virunum is documented in 591 shortly before the destruction of the ancient Roman city. No trace of a cathedral has so far been found within the city walls. Twin churches were, however, discovered and excavated by Dr. E. Novotny in 1904 at Gratzerkogel, a hill situated about 3 km north of Virunum. These were most probably built towards the end of the 4th century, at the same time as the wall which surrounds the hill. The churches were used as refuge in times of trouble, and no doubt other structures still lie buried. Christianity is well documented in the area in the 4th century from numerous sarcophogi, and the presence of twin churches suggest an episcopal see at Virunum in the 4th century.

South Church

Rectangular but irregular hall, measuring 22.55 x 11 m with 0.70 m thick walls. On the east end is a freestanding presbyter bench, its wall about 1.35 m thick. On the north side some remains of a wall have been found which might have belonged to a side chamber, possibly a sacristy.

North Church

Apsidal hall of which only the choir has been excavated. Some remains of vaulting were found. The apse has a 7.50 m diameter and its wall is 0.75m thick. Parallel to the apse remains of another wall have been found, probably belonging to a presbyter bench.

During the late 5th century the whole church complex was surrounded by a 2.50 m thick wall. For this purpose a number of spoils were used, one of which contained writing which could point to the existence of an even earlier cult structure, but not believed to be Christian.
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Grätzerkogel, Frühchristliche Kirchen. Nach Egger

R. Egger, p.108
HEMMA BERG

Carinthia — now Austria. Situated to the southeast of Roman Juenna within a late Roman hill fort. The name Hemmaberg is of fairly recent origin. The hill is called after a church dedicated to Saint Hemma. Excavations were conducted by Dr. Winkler in 1908, and again by Dr. Winkler and Dr. R. Egger in 1914.

Diocese: Juenna (not certain)
Twin basilicas and baptistery — fortified
Dedication: Unknown

The complex is on a walled plateau with a sharp slope towards the north. There are two rectangular churches, one with an eastern apse, of almost identical size, with an octagonal baptistery joined to the south church by a walkway.

North Church

Rectangular hall with a presbyter bench and altar. There are small chambers on each side of the hall, most probably sacristies. The apsidal presbyter bench is raised approximately 2 feet above the floor surrounding it. The floor was covered in mosaics, well preserved in parts. In front of the bench a rectangular slab was found with an altar space in the centre; two recesses on the sides of about $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The hall is $21,30 \times 8,90$ m and the walls approximately $0,60$ m thick (2 feet); the distance from the presbyter bench to the east wall 3 feet, its wall about 1 ft. thick.

South Church

Parallel to the north church, it is also rectangular with an eastern apse. It lies about $1,70$ m south and $1,20$ m lower than the north church. Parts of the mosaic floor in the apse are preserved and one square bears a dedication inscription. The southern and western walls were destroyed and very little of the interior decoration and arrangements are preserved. The north half of the presbyter bench is preserved up to a height of 4 inches, also the bases for two columns of the screen. The width of the paved floor on the north side is $1,45$ m and it is presumed that the hall was about $18$ m long. The presbyter bench and screen are slightly raised, the hall floor may have been wooden or paved. The church is $18,50 \times 8,20$ m, the apse has a diameter of $2,75$ m and its wall is 20 inches thick.

Baptistery

Regular octagon, each side $2,35$ m long and the walls $0,60$ m thick. Only the foundations and some of the mosaic floor are preserved. In the centre is a square slab with four recesses to take the 5 inch thick and 3 ft high revetments
of the hexagonal font. The centre of the font has a drain hole. On each corner of the slab are recesses to take wooden stakes, probably to support a baldachino for the font. The font is only 0.60 m deep suggesting that baptism was done by pouring water over the catechumen, not by immersion.

Linking the baptistery with the south church is a paved walkway. Parts of this were discovered but no wall remains.

Egger suggests that the complex was built well before the middle of the 5th century and most probably belongs to the fourth century. The structures were destroyed in the 6th century. In Egger's view the north church was used as the parish church and the south church as a consignatorium - the hall where the bishop performed baptism and confirmation. The presence of the second cult building suggests an episcopal see, especially in connection with the baptistery. The baptistery alone does not necessarily point to a bishop's see; there were numerous baptisteries attached to churches throughout the early Christian world, but the fact that there was a second building is further evidence. The name of the city, which must have existed there in the 4th century, is not known; only legend speaks of such a city. However, the discovery of the twin churches at Hemmaberg seems to prove that such a city once existed.

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Mauern walls
Estrich floor
Mosaik mosaics

77: Die altchristlichen Kultbauten am Hemmaberge (Grundrissaufnahme).

R. Egger, page 77
South Church. R. Egger, page 81
Baptistery. R. Egger, page 85
KIRCHBICHL/LAVANT

Carinthia situated on the river Drau, the present day Lienz, the Roman Aguntum.

Diocese: Archdiocese Aquileia, bishop in Aguntum
Early Christian Twin basilicas, one behind the other, fortified
Dedication: Unknown

The site has been excavated by F. Miltner between 1948 and 1955.

The earliest remains found probably date from the first decade of the 4th century and belonged to a simple chapel complex. Two apsidal structures were found below the twin basilica which is dated toward the end of the 4th century. The twin basilica comprises two rectangular halls, not parallel to each other but one behind the other, and forms a large rectangular complex measuring 40 x 9,75 m, both churches east - west oriented.

East church

Rectangular hall 14,75 x 9,75 m with raised semi-circular bema on eastern end. The semicycle has a subsellium (low bench) and a cathedra for the clergy. This is the usual presbyter bench, well known from Hemmaberg and Gratzerkogl. Before the bema, which may have had a small screen, was a deep pit with two chambers. The square chamber disclosed a marble slab of 4 inch diameter and a drainage hole. Miltner interpreted this as the baptismal font in view of the drainage, but a problem arises in that no steps leading into the font have yet been discovered. Miltner also designates this building as the consignatorium. The deep pit is in the location where normally one would find the altar, and the cathedra in front of it suggests the presence of a bishop who baptises and confirms the catechumen. (Up to the 8th century only the bishop had the right to baptise and to confirm.) This church then was also the place where the catechumens were instructed and prepared to be received formally into the church, and was also used for the penitents during that part of the mass, in which they were not allowed to participate - the Eucharist.

West Church

Also a rectangular hall measuring 25,10 x 9,75 m. It, too, has a raised bema with a cathedra. Some marble blocks found in front suggest a chancel screen and in front of it is the altar. Fragments of what must have been a large
marble slab suggest the location of the mensa (table or altar). In front of the large bema is the ambo of 1,6 m diameter.

A rock fall sometime in the 5th to 7th centuries damaged the baptismal font in the East Church and during the 7th century a new baptistery was built at the end of the West Church (marked C on the plan).

From remains outside the twin basilical complex, suggesting an episcopium (bishop's palace), it is clear that this was a church complex permanently used by the bishop, the clergy and the congregation. It is known that in the early 5th century the bishop had to leave the city to seek refuge in the fortified sanctuary.

It is suggested that the earliest remains probably belong to the first decade of the 4th century, and it is thought that the chapel complex was built on the ruins of a pagan cult temple. Some of the remains carried inscriptions which would point to a Romano-Celtic cult area. The twin basilica was built towards the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century, most probably as a result of the invasions by Attila.

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F. Miltner, pages 93/94
GRADO

Northern Italy, situated on north coast of the Adriatic, just south of Aquileia. It was a very important port in Roman times and the main harbour for Aquileia which was upriver. Excavations were conducted by Brusin and Zovatto.

Diocese: Aquileia
Twin basilicas, parallel to each other
Dedication: Original dedication not known, but later dedicated to Santa Maria and Sant'Eufemia

Abb. 10: Basilica di S. Maria: Grundriss (nach Brusin-Zovatto)

Abb. 2: Basilica di Sant'Eufemia: Grundriss der unterirdischen Kirche (nach Brusin-Zovatto)

Realexikon für Byzantinische Kunst
page 913

page 932
Basilica di Sant' Eufemia

The 6th century basilica stands on the remains of an earlier 4th century simple basilica with an eastern apse. It is probably of the same type as known from Norikum, but very little remains other than the foundation walls. This early Christian basilica was rebuilt by Bishop Elias (571-586).

Basilica di Santa Maria

It is situated parallel to Sant' Eufemia and was most probably built by Bishop Chromatius of Aquileia (388-408). It measures 16.81 x 11.50 m and had two building phases. At the end of the 4th century/early 5th century it was a three-aisled structure with an inside apse terminating in a straight eastern wall.

It was burnt down in the early 6th century and rebuilt by Bishop Elias.

It is suggested that the two basilicas, together with a baptistery formed a unified complex. However, the baptistery was not built until the second half of the 5th century.

The basilicas could have been a twin cathedral, but the plans are uncertain thus their function can only remain a conjecture.

Bibliography:


Basilica di Sant' Eufemia. Ground Plan of 6th century basilica with remains of the early 4th century church.

Reallexikon für Byzantinische Kunst, pages 915/16
TRIESTE

Istria, North Adriatic

Diocese: Aquileia (not certain)
Twin Basilica, similar to Aquileia
Dedication: Unknown

A. Gnirs assumes that the two halls, similar to the ones at Aquileia in their first building phase, were built shortly after 313 A.D. Foundations of one hall, measuring approximately 16.6 x 13 m were discovered, also bases of columns. It is conjectured that three pairs of columns divided the two halls into three aisles.

On the plan below, drawn up by Gnirs, A denotes the North Church, S. Silvestro and F the site where the twin building would have been.

E. Dyggve mentions a double church of uncertain date, but probably built in the late fifth century. He mentions an older North Church dedicated to Mary and a South Church which held precious relics of S. Justus, a martyr of the late third century who had suffered death under Diocletian.

It is possible that the church mentioned by Gnirs was rebuilt in the fifth century and then dedicated to Mary.

A. Gnirs, p.184.
Bibliography:


NESACTIUM

Istria, on southern tip of the Istrian Peninsula, near Parenzo.

Diocese: Parenzo (not certain)
Early Christian Twin Basilica
Dedication: Unknown

The complex was excavated in 1906/7 by A. Puschki.

South Church

Rectangular hall with nave and two aisles, measuring approximately 28 x 16 m. At the eastern end is a presbyter bench with chancel screen in front, separating the space for the clergy from that for the congregation. A door on the north wall leads to three rooms, and from these another door leads into the smaller North Church.

North Church

Situated parallel to the South Church, measuring 21 x 9 m. The eastern end again has a screen, and the space behind it accommodated the altar and is raised about 5 inches above the level of the hall. The rectangular hall is not divided into aisles. The altar space terminates in an 18 inch thick semi-circular wall, the space within the hemicycle is raised about 16 inches. This was most probably another presbyter bench. A door on the north/west wall leads into other rooms, one of which has a square piscina and served as the baptistery.

Concerning the semi-circular interior structures, Liesenberg suggests in 1928 that they are apses, probably following Puschki's excavation report and interpretation. Liesenberg further suggests that the larger, south church was the parish church, and the smaller, north church the consignatorium, where the bishop performed the rites of baptism and confirmation. Egger does not comment on the function of the churches but does not agree with Puschki's interpretation (and Liesenberg's). However, Egger does not offer any alternative view other than to state that the Twin Basilica at Nesactium belongs to the same group as the 5th century buildings at Parenzo, in which freestanding apses were not possible. The plans of Parenzo are, however, quite different and perhaps one should compare Nesactium with the churches in Noricum, where the free-standing presbyter bench was a common feature. Comparison with Hemmaberg, built about the same time, will show a similar arrangement, which has been recognized as presbyter bench.

The Twin Basilica was most probably built in late 4th or early 5th century.
Bibliography:


R. Egger, page 117
PARENZO

Istria, situated on the north-eastern shores of the Adriatic. It was an episcopal see and an important city in the fourth century. The episcopal palace was near the Twin Basilica.

Diocese: Parenzo
Twin Basilica, similar to the arrangement at Aquileia in its first building phase
Dedication: Unknown

North Hall

Rectangular hall, no apse, with rooms on the north side. The hall is divided into three large and colourful mosaic fields. The floor mosaics show geometric designs and also an inscription. It is the oldest structure of the two halls and is dated in the first half of the fourth century.

South Hall

Rectangular hall, no apse, divided into three aisles. On its north wall there is an atrium and more rooms, connecting the two halls. It is dated soon after completion of the North Hall.

Plan 1: A Roman road, later used as porticoed entrance to the fifth century church
B Rooms on north side of North Hall
C South Hall
E North Hall
DD' Atrium and rooms connecting both Halls

Plan 2 shows the location of the discovered mosaics. B is the site where the geometric pattern was found, and H the large mosaic of approximately 600 sq.ft. with donor inscriptions by several people. C shows the remains of another design, a vase with a donor inscription. E marks the site of the mensa (altar), in front of two of the gaps in the mosaic design two fish symbols were found.

The whole structure resembles Aquileia, and here, too, the South Hall was added later. Again, it was not planned as a Twin Basilica, and the second hall was added presumably to accommodate the growing Christian community.
Bibliography

Plan 1

Parenzo, Euphrasian Basilica with remains of oldest structures. mid-4th century
Gnirs, p.167
Plan 2
A. Gnirs, p.174
78: Mosaikrest (Abb. 76 B).

80: Der Standplatz der Mensa in dem nördlichen Kultsaal der ältesten Anlage in Parenzo (Abb. 76 E).
POLA

Istria — situated at the south-eastern corner of the peninsula.

Diocese: Parenzo (?)

Twin Basilica; two churches parallel to each other, similar to Parenzo, connecting the two churches was a baptistery

Dedication: Not known for cathedral; St. Mary at later date; parallel church dedicated to St. Thomas but date of dedication unknown.

North Church

Rectangular hall with nave and two aisles and apsidal structure, probably a presbyter bench, on eastern end but inside the church. The hall terminated in a straight wall. Church was entered from the west through a door, in front of it an atrium. Remains of a marble screen have been found.

Baptistery

On same axis with the north hall. It is presumed to have been a square structure with a polygonal font.

South Church

Very little is known about this church which was at some time dedicated to St. Thomas.

The north church measured approximately 42 x 22 metres and on the plan EB denotes the Roman town wall with later reinforcements, whilst CD marks the approximate line of the harbour during medieval times.

Anton Gnirs dates the twin basilica in the early fourth century.

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A. Gnirs, 1919
SALONA

Dalmatia, situated on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the present-day Split. It was an important Roman city, and became especially known under Diocletian, who built a grandiose palace at Split in the late third century.

Diocese: Salona

Twin Basilica, parallel to each other, in style linked to others known in Istria and Dalmatia. Both basilicas were three-aisled

Dedication: Basilica Urbana to Christ, later to Mary.

North Church – Basilica Urbana –

Traditional longitudinal basilica with wide nave and two aisles, and a free-standing presbyter bench in the eastern apse, a feature known from Noricum. It had mosaic floors and dated late fourth century. The inscription in the floor mosaic relates to the building of the church by the Bishop Symferius and his nephew Esychius.

South Church

Almost identical to the North Church but without the presbyter bench. On its north-eastern wall was a rectangular room, probably a sacristy.

Baptistery

It is detached on a low terrace to the north of the North Church. In its first building phase it was a rectangular building, later to be replaced by an octagonal one. Its groups of rooms illustrates in a unique way the process of the early baptismal rite. The large domed hall was adorned with stucco reliefs, wall paintings and golden mosaics. In front of the baptistery was an open forecourt with marble columns. It also had several rooms adjoining, one for the catechumens (B), one for the bishop (C) next to the bishop's palace. The plan shows the process of baptism marked with an arrow.

On the site of the South Church a later cruciform church was built in the sixth century, probably by Bishop Honorius II. It was called Basilica Episcopalis and is of interest in that it shows a mingling of two art styles – the Greek Cross and longitudinal basilica – the Latin West and the Greek East – in one building complex.


Fig. 90. BASILICA URBANA AND CRUCIFORM 'TWIN' BASILICA, SALONA.

R.F. Hoddinott, page 40
Plan of original Twin Basilica, Late fourth century  
E. Dyggve, II,14

Reconstructed plans of the Twin Basilica Complex in the sixth century  
E. Dyggve, II,13

Plan of the Baptistery in its second phase  
E. Dyggve, II,25
Diocese: Salona
Mausoleum and two basilicas, parallel to each other
Dedication: Mausoleum and basilica to St. Anastasius Bishop of Aquileia

Anastasius Mausoleum
Located to the west of the basilica. A simple structure with eastern apse, preceded by a large porticoed atrium. According to Ward-Perkins, it was built in 306 by a local matron for the body of St. Anastasius of Aquileia who was martyred in 304. It remained in use until 395.

Anastasius Basilica
Traditional basilica, three-aisled with eastern apsidal termination, similar in style to the Basilica Urbana in the city of Salona. The entrance on the western small wall is through a narthex, which in turn is joined to the atrium of the Mausoleum. There is also a door on the north longitudinal wall into an open area, through a prothyron. On either side of the apse are two rooms which is usual in some early Christian architecture. One of these rooms was used for the clergy, the diaconicum for robing and preparation for the mass. The other room may have been used for the preparation of the wine and bread for the Eucharist.

Basilica Discoperta
Almost parallel to the Anastasius Basilica is a structure of similar dimensions and shape. Krautheimer in 1965 calls the whole complex a double cathedral although the north building is a roofless structure. However, an open courtyard with colonnades or porticoes can be considered a Roman basilica, especially in a location such as Salona, where a warm climate would make such an open hall pleasant. Krautheimer (ECBA, page 20) claims that "sometimes, though rarely, an open area surrounded by porticoes may have served as a basilica." But in 1969 (Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art, p.76) he feels that "rather than forming a twin cathedral, it consisted of a funerary basilica accompanied by a memoria courtyard enveloped by porticoes and chapels."

Dyggve puts forward the thesis that this type of structure derives from the classical Heroon, and may thus well be a
prototype of the Christian basilica. He also feels that
the Basilica Discoperta at Salona forms a link with the
classical Herron.

Dyggve argues that one could say the plan is that of a double
basilica but in fact the structures are sepulchral. He also
maintains that both buildings, though similar in plan, are
different. In the Basilica Discoperta cult dances may have
been performed before the martyr's grave.

Milenovic claims that the so-called Basilica Discoperta
may well have been a traditional basilica. He tries to prove
that the columns could have carried a roof. The original
claims of a roofless structure apparently arose from a passage
in an ancient pilgrim's source, but Milenovic feels that the
"roofless" reference could be interpreted as belonging to the
atrium and porticoes but not to the basilica proper.

It is certain that the Basilica Discoperta functioned as a
martyrium and the Anastasius Basilica as a church, perhaps
a martyrrium basilica. Although one of the structures may
have been roofless, the complex could still be considered a
twin basilica since its function could have been that of
other twin basilicas.

Trier is an example of this hypothesis: At least in the
third building phase the North Basilica was a martyrrium
basilica, whereas the South Basilica functioned as the
traditional basilical church.
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Schneider, A.M. "Basilica Discoperta." *Antiquity* vol. XXIV, No. 95 (September, 1950), 131-139.

38: Grundriß der basilica discoperta und der basilica coperta (nach Forsch. i. Sal. III S. 16 Abb. 23)
JÜAI, Beiblatt (1956)

Abb. 35. Rekonstruktion der sog. Basilica discoperta in Marusinae
Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Band 1.
Figure 56. Salona-Marusinac, Anastasius Basilica, as c. 426, Anastasius Mausoleum, c. 300, and martyrion precinct, 426. Isometric reconstruction (1:1000)

Salona-Marusinac. Isometric reconstruction (Krautheimer, R. ECBA, p.136.)
MILAN

Lombardy, the Roman Mediolanum. From 350 the city had frequently been an Imperial residence and became, in effect the capital of the West. In 373 it became the see of St. Ambrose and for some years was the spiritual centre of the West as well. Recent discoveries have demonstrated that Milan was a great architectural centre and three of the huge churches dating from that period are still standing to almost their full height.

Diocese: Milan
Twin basilica, known primarily from literary sources.
Dedication: Cathedral dedication not known at foundation but to S. Tecla in the Middle Ages (date unknown)
           Second basilica dedicated to S. Maria, also not known when the dedication took place.

Cathedral S. Tecla

Was first excavated in 1943 and again in 1961. These excavations brought to light the outlines of a nave, flanked by two aisles on either side. The nave continued as a chancel to the spring of the apse. Behind the apse rose the octagonal baptistery. An altar enclosure, a bema, slightly raised above the level of the nave, filled the chancel area and projected into the nave. This projection was most probably the ambo. Krautheimer dates this basilica between 350 and 370, together with the baptistery.

S. Maria Maggiore

Nothing definite is known about the early Christian origin of S. Maria, but it stood to the south of the cathedral in 803.

Krautheimer states that a Milanese missal of the 5th century prescribes two masses to be said in all churches of the city after the example of the cathedral. Thus, so Krautheimer suggests, there must have been a twin basilica there in the 5th century. The mention in 803 of the twin basilica could have referred to a rebuilding of S. Maria. Also, the dedication to Saint Mary of the south structure may point to the twin characteristic, as the same occurred in Trier.

Finally, both St. Ambrose (Epist.1,20) and Paulinus (Vita Sancti Ambrosii, cap.48) refer with S. Tecla, the basilica nova quae maior, to the basilica vetus (or minor) nearby. In Krautheimer's opinion this latter structure antedated S. Tecla and was in fact S. Maria. Also, he connects the baptistery to S. Maria, and since its date is the last quarter of the 4th century, S. Maria must be of the same date.
Bibliography:


Figure 22. Milan, S. Tecla, fourth century (third quarter). Plan
DJEMILA

Algeria - situated in the Kabyle Mountains, the ancient Cuicul.

Diocese: Djemila (?)
Twin basilica and baptistery
Dedication: Unknown

North Basilica

Nave and two aisles, ending in an apse, which is long and narrow and extends into the nave, ending in a chancel screen. Single columns divide the aisles, and the entrance is on the western wall through a colonnaded narthex. Floor mosaics were found in situ showing animals in large octagons framed by geometric and floral designs. The basilica measured approximately 37 x 15 m.

South Basilica

This basilica is larger than the North church and it has been suggested that it may have been built some time after the north church. Février, however, feels that both halls are contemporary.

The basilica measured 42 x 30 m and had a nave and four aisles. The columns were paired in contrast to the single supports in the north church. The floor mosaics have a rich design and are very similar to the ones found in the smaller basilica. The apse arrangement is also similar. The main entrance was through a porticoed narthex on the western wall; there was a door leading to the north basilica and the baptistery.

Both churches have spacious crypts, accessible from the outside through a connecting corridor extending below the apses of both basilicas.

Baptistery

This lies to the west of the North Basilica and is connected to its narthex. The building is expressive and among the best preserved in North Africa, both in size and monumentality. It is round and domed, the centre columns carry a square canopy rising above the font. The core is enveloped by a barrel-vaulted corridor, its two walls moulded by niches, pilasters and a strong cornice. The columns surmounting the font rise from high pedestals, their shafts fluted and ending
in capitals. There is also a richly decorated mosaic floor. Krautheimer feels that this building "breathes the spirit of a classical survival."

Both basilicas have been dated in the late fourth or early fifth centuries under Bishop Cresconius.

Bibliography:


Abb. 7 Djemila (Algerien), Doppelbasiliken, Grundriss
Djemila: View of the excavated ruins of double basilica
From P. Février, Djemila, fig.46.
CONSTANTINOPLE

There is not much known about the plan of the churches which Constantine built in his new capital of Constantinople, the one dedicated to the Peace of God - Hagia Eirene - and the other dedicated to the Wisdom of God - Hagia Sophia. Krautheimer feels that the two basilicas were a twin structure from the beginning, "since still in the early fifth century H. Sophia and H. Irene 'the Old' were 'enclosed in one precinct and bear the name of one church' (Socrates, HE II.16)". Possibly the two churches were not built at the same time, the twin formation resulting from the construction of a new next to an older church.

Both churches of the Constantinian era are mainly known through literary sources, since there are but few remains. Matthews feels that these churches are "still for the most part beyond archaeology's horizons." He assumes that the foundations lie more or less intact under the present churches but that excavations are almost impossible.

Hagia Sophia was most probably timber-roofed, oblong with a kind of ambulatory around the east end. The existence of galleries is well established through Chrysostom's reference in a sermon to the women "up above." The entrance was on the west side, attached was a baptistery and a skenophylakion, all mentioned in literature, and the latter is known through archaeology. Also mentioned is an ambo and a cathedra, so presumably the latter stood on the ambo.

Hagia Eirene was located about 110 m from the north side of Hagia Sophia, its apse aligned with that of the great church, oriented along the same axis. Matthews mentions that the two churches were regarded as a single sanctuary during Justinian's reign and probably later as well; both churches belonged to the patriarchate and were administered by the same clergy. He feels that Hagia Eirene was first constructed and that it served as the cathedral church before Hagia Sophia was built and after the latter was destroyed by fire in 404.

From the little information it would seem that the twin church at Constantinople was built in the tradition of those in Syria and Palestine, i.e. along the same axis one behind the other. Hagia Sophia was at least started under Constantine and completed in mid 4th century, so that Hagia Eirene must also have been built by Constantine.
Bibliography:


Figure 2. Old Hagia Sophia. Plan of skeuophylakion

T.F. Mathews, page 16
Figure 3. Old Hagia Sophia.
South-north section of skceuophylakion

T.F. Mathews, page 17
EPHESUS

Turkey - situated on the western Aegean coast, once the capital of the Roman province of Asia. The city was largely destroyed during the Gothic invasions in the 4th century but restoration and rebuilding took place under the emperors Valentinian and Gratian.

Diocese: Ephesus. Large basilical complex comprising the Basilica of Our Lady with a baptistery and large atrium. In the past the complex had always been considered a twin basilica, but excavations in the 1920's have revealed a complex of buildings, belonging to the Basilica of Our Lady.

The complex was erected on a Roman monumental building which was destroyed during the latter part of the 3rd century. A long basilical complex was erected, using spoils of older buildings.

Basilica S. Mary

A standard basilica with nave and two aisles with a stress on the longitudinal axis. The long hall ends in an eastern apse, with two rooms off this apse, a narthex in front of the western entrance, which in turn led into a large atrium, also ending in an apse. To the north of the atrium lay the baptistery with more rooms attached to it.

The masonry was concrete, anchored by large vertical blocks and faced with alternating bands of brick and small stone. All walls rested on the foundations of a second-century building. Krautheimer suggests that it is uncertain whether the colonnades carried an entablature and arcade but other sources feel that there might have been galleries. The baptistery was octagonal and domed, enveloped by a square ambulatory.

The whole complex measures about 150 x 30 m (excluding the baptistery) and the basilica alone was about 85 m long. Krautheimer dates the basilica between 350 and 400.

One could consider it as a twin structure in the same way as the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the atrium may well have functioned as a withdrawal place for the catechumens during the celebration of the Eucharist. The presence of an apse in the atrium may have led to the assumption that this was indeed a twin basilica. Keil (1964) certainly appears to think that this falls into the category of twin basilica.
Bibliography:


Abb. 2: Marienkirche, Gesamtplan (nach F. Knoll)

Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst
Figure 27. Ephesus, St Mary, c. 400. Plan (1 : 1250)

Krautheimer, ECBA

Abb. 3: Marienkirche. II. Baustand: Basilika. Langs- u. Querschnitt
(nach F. Knoll)

Ephesus, St. Mary's
Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst
GERASA

Jordania, situated about 60 km north of Amman, present day Jerash.

Diocese: not known
Twin cathedral and fountain court, said to be modelled on Jerusalem. Both churches and fountain court are on the same axis one behind the other, grouped on terraces.

Cathedral dedication not known, twin church dedicated to St. Theodore.

Cathedral

Was built in 375 adjoining the fountain court which was erected over the miraculous spring. The spring is connected with the Miracle of the water turned into wine at the Wedding of Cana.

The cathedral has a wide nave and two aisles with 12 columns on each side (three of which are still in situ). The nave is nearly three times the width of the side aisles. The columns and capitals are spoils from a late 2nd century building. The building material is lime stone and some of the side rooms had marble wall facings. The cathedral is south-east/north-west oriented with an apsidal termination on the eastern end, two side rooms, and the whole eastern wall straight across the apse and side rooms. In the apse is a bema raised by one step, the ambo is to the side toward the south wall. No stairs have been discovered so it is assumed that the church had no galleries.

There is an atrium in front of the west entrance, followed by the Fountain Court.

The Fountain Court was most probably built prior to 375 if we can believe Epiphanius who reported to have seen the annual miracle of the water of the fountain changed into wine in the year 375.

St. Theodore

This church was built by Bishop Aenas in 494-496. It also consists of a nave and two aisles terminating in an apse. The interior is similarly arranged to the cathedral, with side rooms off the apse and the ambo again placed to the side toward the south wall. Many floor mosaics were found in situ.

The whole complex measures approximately 300 x 45 m and is grouped on terraces. It cannot be considered to be a true twin cathedral because of a time span of 120 years between the foundation of these churches. Since the complex was not planned from the outset the functions must have been
different from a true twin basilica.

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Abb. 1. Gerasa, Stadtplan (schemat. Nachzeichnung nach Krading)
Abb. 2. Gerasa. Kirchenbauten um den Brunnenhof. Grundriß (nach Crowfoot)
Figure 50. Gerasa (Jerash), cathedral (right), c. 400, and St Theodore (left), 494-6. Isometric reconstruction (1:1250)
Gerasa - The Cathedral 375 A.D.
Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst
Gerasa - St. Theodore 494-6
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