The Journal

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Second Issue Dedicated to Roman Archeology

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Wilson W. Crook, III, Editor

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Foreword

The ***Journal of the Houston Archeological Society*** is a publication of the Society. Our Mission is to foster enthusiastic interest and active participation in the discovery, documentation, and preservation of cultural resources (prehistoric and historic properties) of the city of Houston, the Houston metropolitan area, and the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region.

The Houston Archeological Society holds monthly membership meetings with invited lecturers who speak on various topics of archeology and history. All meetings are free and open to the public.

Membership is easy! As a nonprofit organization, membership in the Houston Archeological Society is open to all persons who are interested in the diverse cultural history of Houston and surrounding areas, as well as the unique cultural heritage of the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region. To become a member, you must agree with the mission and ethics set forth by the Society, pay annual dues and sign a Code of Ethics agreement and Release and Waiver of Liability Form.

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Editor's Message

I am pleased to present Issue #140 of *The Journal*, the first issue to be published by the Houston Archeological Society in 2019, the 60th year of the Society. Based on the extreme popularity and feedback from last year's special issue dedicated to Roman archeology and history, we decided to publish a follow-on edition. This issue builds on the topics explored in Issue #138 of *The Journal* and covers a wide range of subjects from Rome, Greece (Corinth and Philippi), Constantinople, and the Holy Land (Caesarea Maritima and Capernaum). The papers included herein again reflect the widespread and global archeological interests present among members of the Houston Archeological Society.

The first paper covers the origin and organizational structure of Roman legions. We hear the term "Roman Legion" often without really understanding all that it entails, so I asked HAS member Josh Farrar to use his military background and give us an understanding of the topic. This paper is followed by an article by our two resident Roman experts, Louis Aulbach and Linda Gorski, on the Victory Temples of Rome's Largo Argentina, which covers a period before the Empire during Rome's Republic. Next are papers which deal with the archeology and history of four major cities within the Roman Empire during the first century A.D. These articles cover Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, Corinth and Philippi in Greece, and lastly, Capernaum on the Sea of Galilee. These are followed by three papers written by Louis Aulbach and Linda Gorski which discuss some of Rome's first Christian structures built after the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity in the fourth century A.D. The issue closes with a thought provoking paper by Josh Farrar on the parallels of stadium preservation from the days of ancient Rome to modern day Houston.

This issue continues to demonstrates our new publishing policy which has expanded the range of subjects covered in *The Journal* to include any topic of archeological interest that is studied and written by a HAS member. First preference will be given to subjects along the Gulf Coast / Houston area, followed by archeological subjects within the State of Texas. Material from outside Texas and within the U.S. will receive next consideration followed by any research elsewhere in the world. So if you have worked on a site in North America, Europe, Africa, Meso-America, etc., please write it up and submit it to *The Journal* for publication. We publish promptly and I can guarantee your paper will be in print within the year that it is submitted.

Do not worry that your paper may not be "perfect;" your editor is more than willing to work with you to create a publishable result. *The Journal* is the ideal vehicle for young and older authors alike to either begin or expand your published resume. Please send all submissions and inquiries to Dub Crook at the following email address:

dubcrook@kingwoodcable.com

Or call me if you have questions at 281-360-6451 (home) or 281-900-8831 (cell).

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THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ROMAN LEGIONS AND AUXILIARIES

Joshua R. Farrar

Introduction

There are few images more striking than those evoked by the word 'legion.' In modern minds, it denotes thousands of soldiers, angels, demons, or mythological creatures spreading out over the land – all-encompassing, unstoppable, and all-consuming. Conversely, the word 'auxiliary' in modern English is defined as "a person or thing providing supplementary or additional help and support" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2018) and suggests an assistant or a back-up to the lead personage.

And thus through imagery, definitions, and words passed down to English from Latin, one already has a simplistic understanding of how the Roman Army functioned. Broadly speaking, the Roman legions were the bedrock of the army while the auxiliaries supported the legions with cavalry and skirmishers.

How did the once unstoppable Roman Army evolve and change throughout the rise and fall of the Western Roman Empire and how was this army structured and restructured throughout this time period?

Background

First, it is important to note that when discussing military numbers for ancient Roman armies, modern armies serve as an imperfect yet effective tool for keeping the unknowing civilian historian from erring in their numerical conclusions. As many veterans know, one cannot place too much stake in modern military numbers, much less ancient numbers. Ancient Roman centurions are often compared to modern army captains. When asked how many men a centurion commanded, many popular movies, books, and video games will answer with 100. It is obvious is it not? The English word 'century' is right there in the name, thereby meaning 100. But the real answer is a much less satisfying – it depends. Again, let's look at a modern U.S. Army captain as an imperfect comparison.

The modern U.S. Army is a professional army with strict standardization through standard operating procedures. A company is generally commanded by a captain. So if a captain is similar to a centurion, and the U.S. Army is a rigid system with rules and regulations, then a captain should command 100 soldiers, correct? Again, it depends. Companies vary wildly in size. I have personally seen companies with as few as 88 soldiers and with as many as 221 soldiers. And these are peacetime companies without any sustained battlefield casualties.

Again this is an imperfect analogy, but should make a crucial point. If one asks how many soldiers are in a modern U.S. Army company, one is wrong if one answers 15 and also wrong if one answers 800, but anything within at least the range of 88 to 221 is acceptable because there is not one, single answer. Looking beyond companies, divisions are made of brigades, which are made of battalions, which are made of companies. If the size of companies varies wildly, then the size of every larger unit size varies largely as well. For instance, a modern brigade varies from 1500 to 3500 soldiers and a division varies from 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers (U.S. Military Unit Size 2018).

Applying this to Roman legions, historians and archaeologists have argued *ad nauseam* about the official, genuine, certified size of a Roman Legion (Roth, 1994). For example, Keppie remarks, "surprisingly the precise total [of men in a legion] is nowhere reliably attested (Keppie, 1984). It should be clear to the reader at this point that just a brief glance at modern military structure shows that finding 'the precise total of men in a legion' is a ridiculous goal. Roman legion size was variable and this is clear from study of the ancient texts. Whether a Roman legion consisted of about 1000, 2500, 5000, or even 7000 soldiers depended on the historical time period, the role of that specific legion, the needs of the commander, and casualties sustained in previous engagements (Roth 1994).

I must also add that while it may be tempting to trust the interpretation of military history to modern historians who have military service experience such as myself, modern military experience presents a new problem. It gives the historian a false sense of familiarity with the Roman Army which leads to

subconscious anachronisms – an act of attributing a custom, event, or object to a period to which it does not belong (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2018) – being applied to interpretations of ancient texts.

The Roman Army was not the modern U.S. Army, a centurion was not a captain, and a legion was not a brigade or division. Roman soldiers were all expected to fight on the line during battle. There was not the permanent stratification of forces seen in modern armies. The latrine digger today would be on the line tomorrow with sword and shield for the battle. Roman soldiers fought to expand an empire while serving a demigod emperor. While clearly an army made up of soldiers, the Roman military gets stranger and less familiar the more intensely it is studied. Only in studying this strangeness can a historian be sure to be studying the actual Roman Army (as close as one can get through the clouded lenses of texts and artifact interpretation) instead of studying the Roman Army as played by the U.S. Army, with modern thoughts, tactics, doctrines, stratagems, reasons for fighting, and structures thrown into the mix.

The peoples of the past were the same yet different, humans yet wholly alien, just like us yet completely unlike us in many ways. This struggle is why studying ancient history takes work. This is precisely why becoming a professor of ancient history generally includes earning a Ph.D. and the study of ancient history is a profession. If one reads an ancient text or about an ancient people and instantly thinks that they understand its meaning and feel familiar with the people group, one should think again.

As a final example, how out of place would you feel if you were suddenly dropped off in modern Papua New Guinea, Mongolia, or even Italy itself? How long would it take before you felt that you understood the intricacies of the language, people, and culture around you? How much more out of place do you think you would feel in the Ancient Roman Empire, a location and culture separated both spatially and *temporally* (in time) from modern America? What differences of fashion, religion, justice, language, diet, transportation, social interaction, societal stratification, employment, lodging, etc. would you face? Remember this as you study history and you will be more faithful to the memory of those you study instead of recreating them in *your* own image.

The Republican Army (ca. 753 to 27 B.C.)

Early Republic: 6th-2nd Centuries B.C.

The founding myth of Rome states that the city was established on 21 April 753 B.C. The city grew and eventually became a kingdom, which, according to Livy, ended in 509 B.C. when the last king was deposed and the Roman Republic formed. While these early dates are highly questionable, the Roman Republic lasted until 27 B.C. when Octavian became sole leader, assumed absolute powers, and claimed the name Augustus (Rich & Shipley 1993; Keppie 1984).

The word 'legion' comes from the Latin verb for 'to choose' or 'to select' (Pollard & Berry 2012). Polybius provides the earliest contemporary description of Roman legion organization sometime between 150-120 B.C. In this description, he describes this military organization as specifically Roman and even applies the terminology of 'legion.' He defines the legion as consisting of 4200 infantry that would

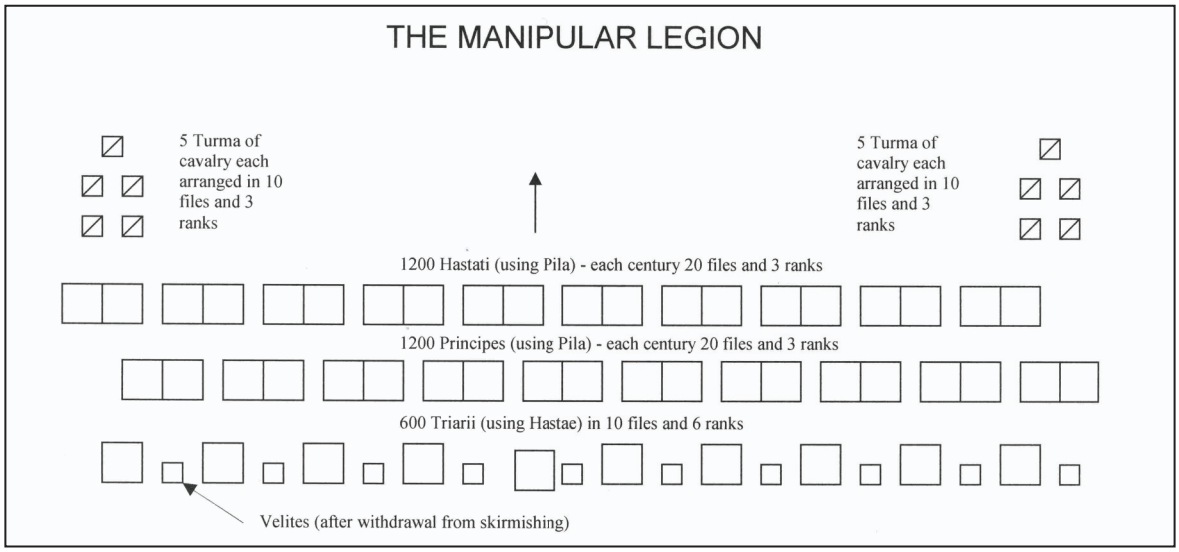

Figure 1. The 'Manipular' Legion organization. (Source: Department of History, Penn State University).

be expanded to 5000 infantry in times of emergency. Writing much later, during the time of Augustus Caesar (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), Livy states that a legion in 340 B.C. had 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry (Coello 1996; Keppie 1984; Roth 1994; Sumner, 1970).

The early Republican legion was divided into maniples (translates as 'handfuls') of 120 or 60 men. Historians commonly call this legion type the 'Manipular' Legion (Figure 1) to separate it from later legions that were subdivided into cohorts instead of maniples. The legion itself consisted of four types of infantry, three of which were heavy infantry and one of which was light infantry. The heavy infantry consisted of 1200 *hastati* ('spearman'), 1200 *principes* ('leading men'), and 600 *triarii* ('third-line men'). The light infantry consisted of 1200 *velites* ('skirmishers'). Each legion also included 300 cavalry drawn from the social elite since cavalryman had to outfit their own mount (Pollard & Berry 2012; Coello 1996; Judson 1961; Keppie 1984; Sumner 1970).

The *hastati, principes, triarii,* and *velites* were all further subdivided. The *hastati* and *principes* were divided into ten maniples of 120 men, the *triarii* were divided into ten maniples of 60 men, and the *velites* were divided into ten different groups and attached to the ten subunits of the heavy infantry for redeployment. The legion was commanded by six tribunes and each maniple was commanded by two centurions, voted upon by the men of the maniple itself (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Sumner 1970).

The 'Manipular' Legion as described by Polybius probably evolved from hundreds of years of Romans fighting against Italians, Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites, and Carthaginians on rough terrain ill-suited for the tight formations of the traditional Greek phalanx. It also should be noted that this Republican army was a citizenry force raised in times of war, though war came often and citizens could expect to serve 10 to 20 years in total throughout their lifetime. As a citizenry force, one had to supply one's own weapons and be a Roman citizen in order to serve. This rule was based on the belief that only soldiers fighting for their homeland and personal property could be trusted during the horrors of battle (Pollard and Berry 2012; Sumner 1970).

As the city-state of Rome eventually expanded through the capture of territory throughout the Italian peninsula, Rome compelled allies to provide *auxilia* ('auxiliaries') to fight alongside the Roman legions. *Auxilia* were supplied by both Roman allies and subjects. While often more-lightly equipped than the Roman legionnaires, the biggest difference was that *auxilia* lacked Roman citizenship and therefore could not serve in the legion proper (Erdkamp 2007; Cheesman 1975).

On the battlefield, 'Manipular' Legions fought in three separate lines of *hastati, principes,* and *triarii* with gaps between the various maniples. Each maniple was further subdivided into three or four ranks. While specific details of how maniples maneuvered on the battlefield do not survive, it is clear that the great flexibility of the maniple commanded by the two centurions allowed for the first rank to be extended by the following ranks, to be relieved by the following ranks, or to hold in place while the following ranks out-flanked the enemy. The *velites* acted as skirmishers, engaging the enemy with javelins as they made their way to the main Roman force (Pollard and Berry 2012; Sumner 1970).

Marian Reforms: 2nd-1st Centuries B.C.

Over time, Romans legions remained citizenry forces of around 5000 infantry, but the basic subunit of the legion shifted from the maniple of about 120 or 60 men to the cohort of about 500 men. Additionally the eagle became the primary legion symbol and the troop types were homogenized. General Gaius Marius (156-86 B.C.) (Figure 2) has been traditionally credited with this structural shift though the changes may have actually taken place gradually over several decades (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984; Erdkamp 2007; Roth 1994).

By the 1st century B.C. *hastati, principes, and triarii* no longer were distinguished by equipment or tactics, but were preserved in centurion titles. The *velites* disappeared as a force so that Roman legions were entirely heavy infantry by the late 2nd century B.C. This homogenization of troop types was probably accelerated by the tribune Gaius Gracchus who granted state provision of military equipment to soldiers from 123 B.C. onward. Furthermore, mention of Roman cavalry and even allied Italian cavalry disappears at the same time as mention of the *velites* in the late 2nd century B.C. (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984; Erdkamp, 2007).

Under Marius, in 107 B.C., the property requirement for joining the legions was dropped and legionnaires were recruited from the poorest classes, equipped using state funds, and offered booty from battle. In 91-88 B.C., Rome's Italian allies revolted and were only placated through being offered Roman citizenship. With citizenship Italians were full Romans and joined the legions instead of the *auxilia* (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984; Erdkamp 2007).

Now that the legion consisted entirely of heavy infantry, *auxilia* were fully responsible for light in-

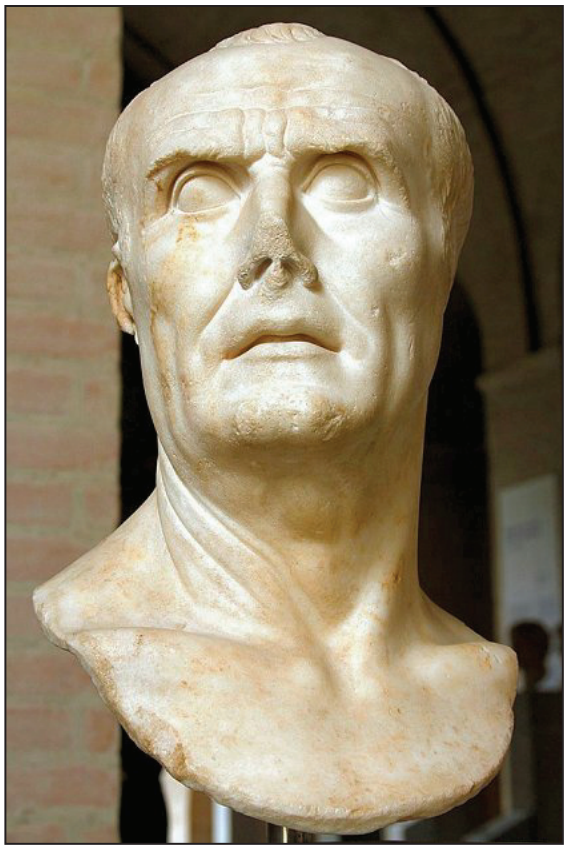

Figure 2. Bust of General Gaius Marius (156-86 B.C.) from the Glyptothek Museum in Munich, Germany. (Source: Jose Luiz, Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain).

fantry and cavalry roles. Auxiliary troops from the first century were made up of non-Italian allies and subjugated peoples including "slingers from the Balearic Islands, archers from Crete, and cavalry from Numidia and Gaul" (Pollard and Berry, 2012). Each of these areas were noted for their superior skills in specific weapons and the Romans took advantage of those skills by incorporating them into their legions.

The exact number of legionnaires in a cohort varied but again, averaged around 500 men. Numbers from the Marian period are uncertain, but by the early Imperial period about 80 years later, each cohort had a nominal strength of 480 men and was divided into six centuries of 80 men. Late Republican legions consisted of about 5000 legionnaires so 10 cohorts of about 500 men depending on the need of the commander and availability of troops (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984; Erdkamp 2007).

Julius Caesar's Legions: 58-44 B.C.

After serving as *Consul* in 59 B.C., Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) became *Proconsul* in Cisalpine Gaul (modern northern Italy) and began a conquest of Transalpine Gaul (France, north of the Alps). Starting with four legions, he recruited eight more, peaking with 12 legions by 52 B.C. Returning from Gaul, civil war broke out between Caesar and Pompey Magnus as Caesar completed his famous 'crossing the Rubicon,' bringing legions within the demilitarized confines surrounding Rome (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Erdkamp 2007).

By the climax of the civil war, Caesar wielded at least 30 legions in the field, spread throughout the Roman domain. Thirty legions should have numbered about 150,000 men, but this amount is clearly wrong as battlefield casualties from years of warfare must be taken into account. At the battle of Pharsalus (central Greece) in 48 B.C. (Figure 3), Caesar records that he had 80 cohorts but only 22,000 men in his army. This places average cohort strength at 275 instead of 480, and average legion strength at 2750 instead of 5000. Caesar specifically remarks that his Tenth, Ninth, and Eighth legions were so understrength that he combined them into one legion for the battle (Pollard and Berry 2012; Coello 1996). Additionally, Judson argues that Pompey's legions were also understrength, averaging 4000 men per legion (Judson 1961).

At Pharsalus, Caesar deployed in four lines instead of the typical three lines. The fourth line was made of one cohort per legion. Though Pompey's cavalry routed Caesar's and flanked Caesar's force, Caesar's fourth line fought off the cavalry and flanked Pompey's forces in turn (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

The Roman Army during this period was distinctly divided into *auxilia* and legions and there was a vast social division separating the two force types. At this time, the non-citizen *auxilia* was not a regular, standardized portion of the Roman Army and did not generally conform to standard unit troop strengths. To be in the legions, one had to have Roman citizenship, but that person was not necessarily from the Italian peninsula. Citizenship could be won or earned for a number of reasons and therefore thousands of legionnaires were now of Greek, Iberian, Gallic, or other origin (Roxan 1973). Citizenship was also hereditary, passed down through the father (Simkins 1984; Judson 1961).

In a classic biblical example of hereditary citizenship, Saul of Tarsus in Cilicia, later known as Paul, was born a Roman citizen, therefore his father must have been granted or born a Roman citizen. Cilicia fell under the *provincia* of Pompey Magnus and later Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) during the 1st Century B.C. In Acts 18:1-4, Paul acts as a *skçnopoioi* ('tentmakers') as both part of his ministry and a way to make money to support his ministry

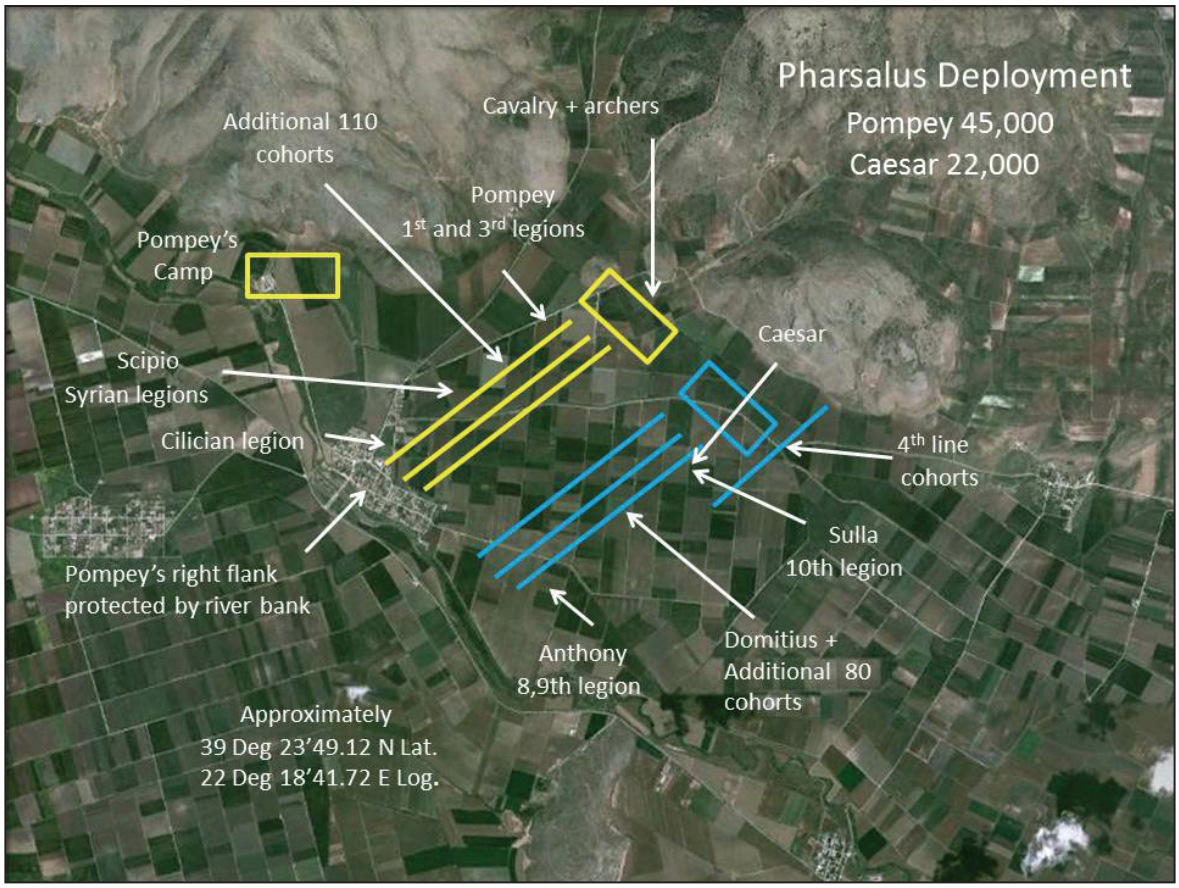

Figure 3. The deployment of the forces under Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C. (Source: Mike Anderson, Society for Classical Studies).

(Baker and Burdick, 1985). Pure speculation by scholars includes the idea that Paul's father became a Roman citizen through tent-making in support of a Roman general. Paul used his rights of Roman citizenship on multiple occasions, including a legal appeal to the Emperor, but never served in the legions himself (Simkins 1984).

Triumviral Period: 44-31 B.C.

Julius Caesar was assassinated by opposition members of the senate on March 15th, 44 B.C. and a new power struggle ensued. First, Caesar's lieutenant Mark Antony, his great nephew and adopted son Octavian, and patrician supporter Marcus Lepidus, combined forces to defeat the armies of Caesar's assassins. They then turned on each other until Octavian ultimately defeated Mark Antony in 31 B.C. at the battle of Actium (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

Actium was principally a naval battle in which Antony's forces were defeated when the Egyptian naval forces failed to support them, but it had huge consequences for the Roman Army. Following two decades of successive civil wars, Roman forces were in utter disarray. Legions and other forces had been raised by Pompey, Pompey's sons, senators, Cleopatra, Mark Antony, Julius Caesar, Octavian, Lepidus, and many other more minor actors on the world stage. Many legions had changed hands multiple times. Legion numbers were repeated and the idea of a part-time citizenry force had been shattered by non-stop, protracted, all-out warfare. In the first years of his reign, Octavian, now Augustus, saw the need to disband many of the existing legions, but also to keep a professional standing army made up of legions that could pride themselves in building *esprit de corps* through individualized histories (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984).

The Imperial Army (27 B.C. – ca. A.D. 476)

Augustan Reforms: 30 B.C. – ca. A.D. 250

Augustus (Figure 4), as the first Roman Emperor from 27 B.C. onward, reduced the amount of legions to 28. This number would not climb above 33 until the crises of the 3rd century A.D. Augustus created a

Figure 4. High marble statue called Augustus of Prima Porta now displayed in the Vatican Museums. Discovered at the villa of Prima Porta outside Rome in 1863 where Augustus Caesar's wife Livia Drusilla retired after the death of her husband. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain).

professional, standing army of about 150,000 legionnaires and 150,000 auxiliaries with fixed terms of service, fixed rates of pay, and a retirement bonus provided by the state to legionnaires (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984; Erdkamp 2007; Campbell 1994).

On paper, the organization of Imperial legions was similar to that of the late Republican period. A legion consisted of about 4800 legionnaires and was organized in ten cohorts, each cohort was made up of six centuries, and each century consisted of 80 men. The centuries were further subdivided into *contuberia* of eight men. The *contuberia* acted like a modern infantry squad and were typically housed in the same tent. Additionally each legion had an attachment of 120 *equites legionis* ('horseman'), which were not used as cavalry, but as messengers, scavengers, etc. (Pollard and Berry 2012; Coello 1996; Roth 1994; Campbell 1994).

According to 'Pseudo-Hyginus' in *Concerning the Fortification of a Camp*, Vegetius, and archaeological evidence from the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil, Scotland, in some periods, the first cohort of the legion was double-strength and was split into five instead of the normal six centuries. Therefore the first cohort would consist of 800 instead of the typical 480 men and total legion strength would increase from 4800 to 5120 (Breeze 1969). Scholarly debate continues of how wide-spread and long-lasting the double-strength first cohort was in practice (Coello 1996; Pollard and Berry 2012; Roth 1994).

When only a detachment of 1000 or 2000 men was needed from a particular legion, it could be broken off and was defined as a *vexillation. Vexillations* were commanded by senatorial commanders called *dux, praepositus, or legate* and seem common during the 2nd century A.D., but are also evidenced by Josephus during the Jewish revolt of 66-70 A.D. (Pollard and Berry 2012; Saddington 1970).

Concerning auxiliary units, the Augustan military reforms integrated *auxilia* permanently, defining an annual recruitment and standard unit organization. Each legion of ten cohorts (5120 men) was assigned three units of *auxilia,* each of differing type (Figure 5). The first unit was a cohort of 480 infantrymen broken down into the standard six centuries of 80 men each. The second unit was called an *ala* ('wing') and consisted of 512 cavalrymen broken down into 16 *turmae* ('troops') of 32 riders each. The third unit was a mixed infantry and cavalry unit called a c*ohors equitata* and was seen as inferior to the other two units which was reflected in its lesser equipment. A *cohors equitata* consisted of one infantry cohort (480 men) and four cavalry *turmae* (128 men). Overall, a legion with its attached *auxilia* would number about 6720 soldiers at full strength (Simkins 1984; Coello 1996; Cheesman 1975).

Auxilia infantry cohorts were usually named after their tribal or regional origin while cavalry *ala* tended to be named after their first commanding officer. *Auxilia* soldiers generally joined in order to obtain honorable discharge and Roman citizenship after a usual period of 25 years of service (Haynes 1999). Again, as Roman citizenship was hereditary this would improve the prospects of this soldiers' family for generations. *Auxilia* were often known for their valor in combat, as generals were apt to reward deserving units with early honorable discharge and citizenship if they served with distinction throughout a particularly successful campaign. One such example is the Dacian Wars under Emperor Trajan of A.D. 101-102 and A.D. 105-106 (Simkins 1984; Cheesman 1975).

In the early days of the Empire, *auxilia* were usually posted close to home to help morale and prevent mutiny. While *auxilia* were regarded as inferiors, it should be noted that *auxilia* forces single-

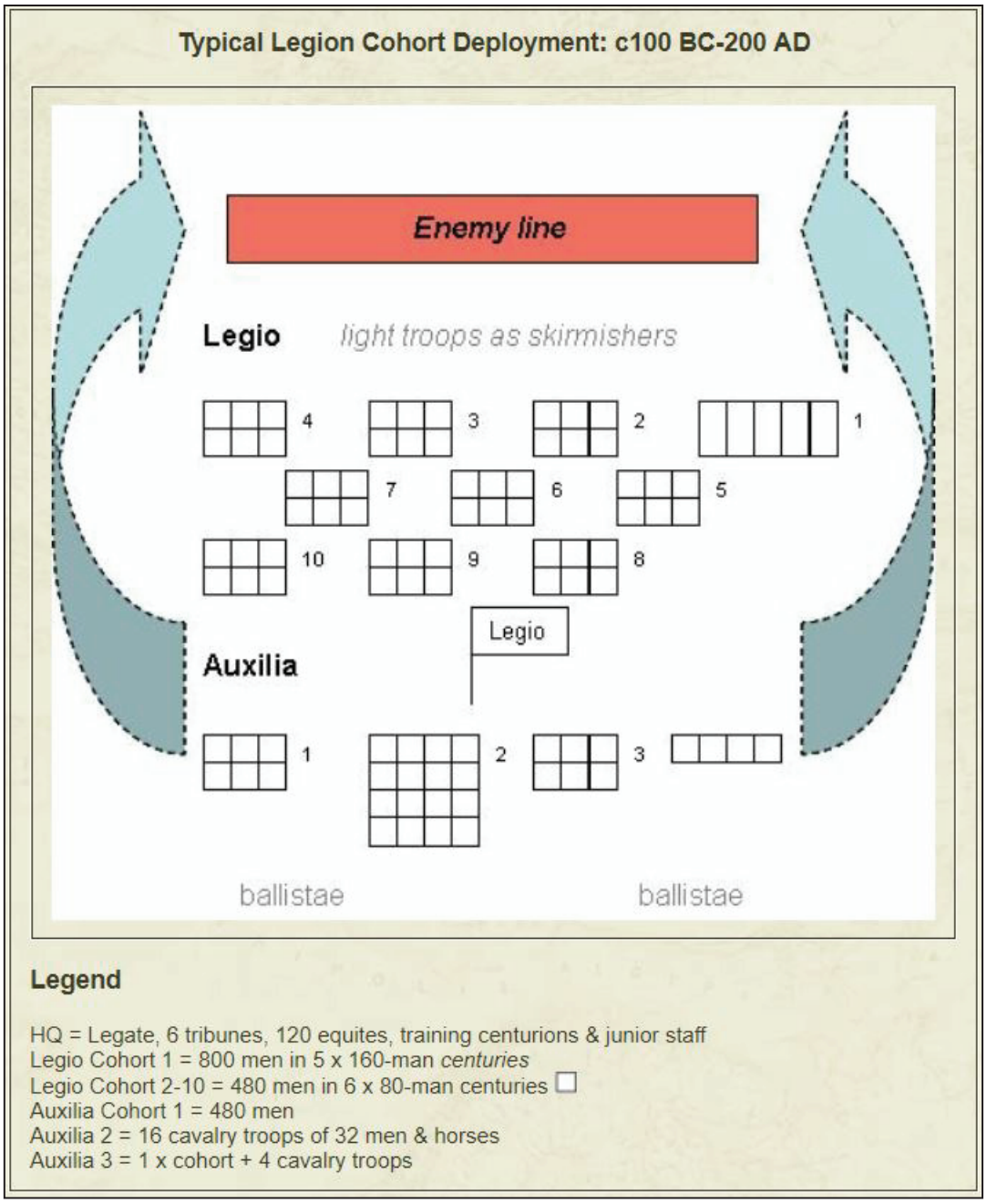

Figure 5. Imperial legion with attached auxilia organization and deployment. (Source: Peter Mackenzie, Public Domain).

handedly won the final battle in the invasion of Britain, and many of the frontiers of the empire were maintained and defended by *auxilia* forces (Cuff 2010). *Auxilia* contribution has been oft overlooked in favor of the legions. As evidence of this, during Emperor Vespasian's reign (A.D. 69-79) *auxilia* units were actually enlarged. Some *auxilia* cohorts were increased to ten centuries (800 men), cavalry *alae* were increased to 24 *turmae* (768 cavalrymen), and the mixed infantry/cavalry c*ohors equitata* was increased to a ten-century cohort (800 men) and eight cavalry *turmae* (256 cavalrymen). The old, smaller *auxilia* units were then called *quingenaria* ('five hundred strong') and the new, large units were called *milliaria* ('thousand strong') (Simkins 1984; Coello 1996; Cheesman 1975).

The Emperor was commander-in-chief of the Roman military. Provincial governors of the various *provincia* of the Empire were titled *legatus Augusti pro praetore* ('Imperial legate with praetor's pow-

ers') and commanded the legion within their *provincia* if the *provincia* had only one legion. This governor was usually of *praetorian* status. If there were multiple legions in the *provincial* then each legionary commander was delegated by the provincial governor and was given the title *legatus legionis* ('legionary legate'). This governor was usually of *consular* status (Pollard and Berry 2012; Cromwell 1998).

The men commanding armies were typically senators as no military specialists or high command existed. Throughout their careers, senators would typically serve as a junior officer (tribune), then alternate between administrative posts and brief tenures of command. As previously discussed, the legionary or senatorial legate commanded a legion (Figure 6). Junior officers within each legion included tribunes and centurions. Tribunes were Rome's political elite of the senatorial and equestrian orders, who juggled political, military, judicial, and administrative duties. Tribunes were not professional soldiers while centurions served as career soldiers (Pollard and Berry 2012; Cromwell 1998).

One tribune per legion came from the senatorial order and five tribunes per legion came from the equestrian order. The senatorial tribune typically served for a year to give him brief exposure to military life before engaging in his political career. The equestrian tribunes usually had more experience as they were required to command a cohort of auxiliary infantry and an auxiliary cavalry unit before becoming tribune. During combat, the five equestrian tribunes likely commanded two cohorts each, as testified by Josephus' account of the Jewish War (Saddington 1970). The *praefectus castrorum* ('prefect of the camp'), a member of the equestrian order, was third-in-command of the legion after the senatorial legate and the senatorial tribune, and was responsible for fortifications, sieges, and artillery (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

Using a ten cohort legion as a typical example, each of the ten cohorts had six centurions each except for the first, double-strength cohort which possibly had five centurions. The titles of the centurions for Cohorts II-X included *pilus prior, princeps prior, hastatus prior, pilus posterior, princeps posterior,* and *hastatus posterior*. *Pilus* derives from spear, *princeps and hastatus* derive from *principes* and *hastati* from the old 'Manipular' Legion, and *prior* ('former') and *posterior* ('latter') refer to the order that centurions were chosen when two centurions served each maniple in the old army. Most scholars

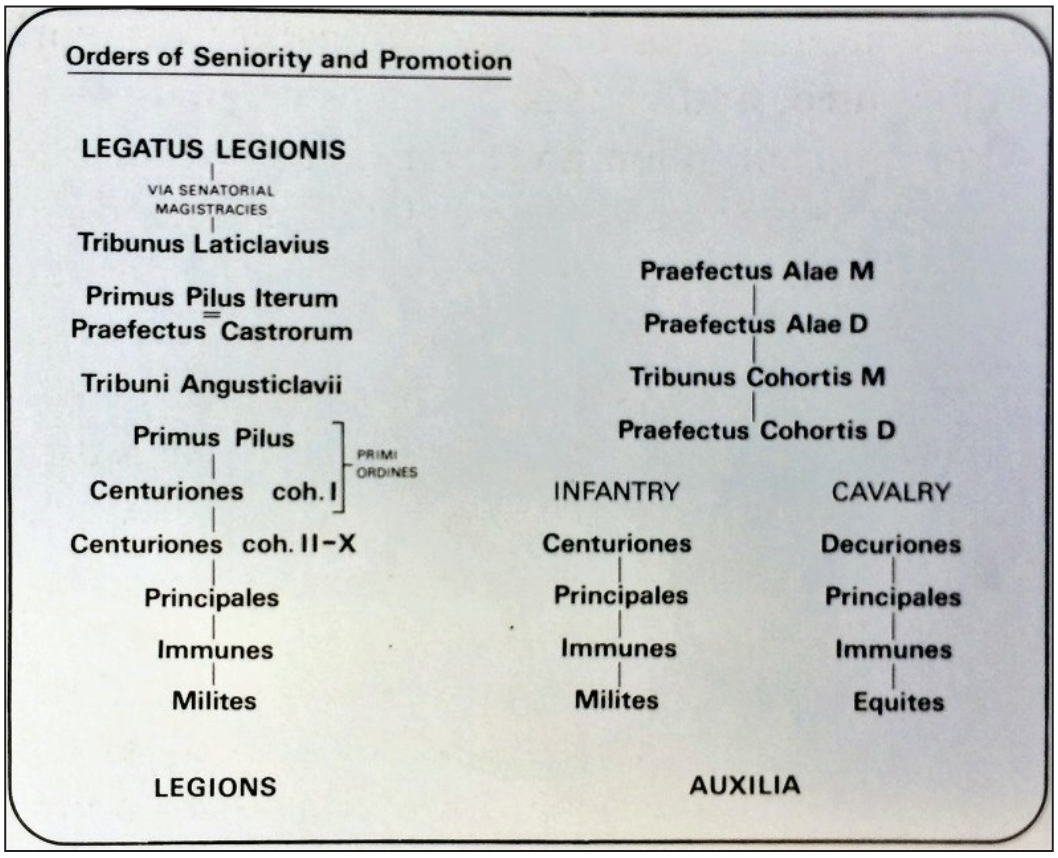

Figure 6. Order of seniority in an Imperial legion. (Source: Simkins 1984).

believe that these titles did not denote any specific rank, seniority, or order of centurions in Cohorts II-X (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Cromwell 1998).

Promotion from Cohorts II-X was to the first cohort. The five centurions of Cohort I, known as the *pimi ordines*, were ordered by rank and included the *primus pilus, princeps prior, hastatus prior, princeps posterior,* and *hastatus posterior*. (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Cromwell 1998). According to Brian Campbell:

> …the centurion commanding the first century of this cohort was the chief centurion of the legion (*primus pilus*), with responsibility for the legionary eagle. The *primus pilus* was appointed for one year and usually gained equestrian rank immediately afterwards; then he could advance to the prefecture of the camp (ranking immediately below the senatorial tribune), or a tribunate in the praetorians, urban cohorts, or *vigiles*. After one or more of these posts, the way was now open to the most favored ex-chief centurions for promotion to procuratorships [civilian financial officials] and equestrian governorships; sometimes a man was first posted back to a legion to hold the chief centurionate for a second time [and was known as] *primus pilus bis* (Campbell 1994).

Some centurions were promoted from the ranks while others were recruited from the municipal landowning class or even the equestrian order. Centurions spent about three years with a legion before moving on to new legions. A centurion was responsible for his century in both combat and administrative matters. A centurion was responsible for conveying orders to his legionnaires, leading them in battle, training troops between battles, and maintaining discipline within the century. (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Campbell 1994).

Training was vital to the success of Roman legions and the core of this training was led by centurions at the century level. Much like the British infantry during the Napoleonic Wars which were the only infantry of that time period to practice with live ammunition (because their factories produced enough to "waste" in practice), the Roman Army was the only ancient army which practiced every day of the year. Drilling included formations, thrusting with the *gladius*, throwing the *pilum*, forming the *testudo*, etc. Thus the Roman Army maintained its position of the most ordered, professional army in the ancient world. This high level of training and professionalism allowed for spectacular victories over uncoordinated enemies even when vastly outnumbered (Campbell 1994; Cuff, 2010; Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

For example, during the British revolt of A.D. 60 or 61, Queen Boudica of the Iceni tribe led multiple tribes numbering an estimated 230,000 combatants. Ancient historians including Tacitus and Dio Cassius claim that the Roman governor, Gaius Suetonius Paulinus had only 10,000 soldiers available, yet was able to decisively win what has become known as the Battle of Watling Street. This single battle crushed the rebellion and returned Britain to Roman control (Campbell 1994; Cuff, 2010; Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

Ordinary legionnaires were called *milites*, but these men in turn were split into semi-ranked groups (formalized from the 2nd century A.D. on) through titles. *Immunes* were men with specific skillsets that were excused from heavy labor. These included medical orderlies, surveyors, metalworkers, clerks, and musicians. *Principales* received pay-and-a-half, or double-pay and served with the title of *optio* ('orderly' assisting a centurion), *tesserarius* (password bearer), *aquilifer, signifier, imaginifer* (standard bearers), or senior clerks (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961; Cromwell 1998; Alston 1994).

Chain of command of the *auxilia* forces was similar to that of the legion. The *Legatus Legionis* was in command of his legion and all *auxilia* forces attached to his legion. Infantry cohorts were split into the same centurions, *principales, immunes, and milites*. Cavalry *alae* were split into decurions, *principales, immunes, and equites.* Just as a centurion commanded one century of 80 men, a decurion commanded one *turma* of 32 cavalrymen (Simkins 1984; Coello 1996; Judson 1961; Cromwell 1998; Cheesman 1975).

If the *auxilia* infantry cohort was a *cohors quingenaria* ('five hundred strong') it was commanded by a *praefectus cohortis* while if it was a *cohors milliaria* ('thousand strong') then it was commanded by a *tribunus cohortis*. If the cavalry unit was either an *ala quingenaria* or *ala milliaria* it was commanded by a *praefectus alae*. Like the infantry cohort, if the *cohors equitata* was a *cohors equitata quingenaria* it was commanded by a *praefectus cohortis* while if it was a *cohors equitata milliaria* then it was commanded by a *tribunus cohortis*. Overall chain of command for the tribunes and praefects (if applicable) was *praefectus alae (milliaria), praefectus alae (quingenaria), tribunus cohortis, praefectus cohortis, tribunus cohortis (equitata),* then *praefectus cohortis (equitata)* (Simkins 1984; Coello 1996; Cheesman 1975).

Obtaining skilled soldiers and celebrating their skills with relief from hard duties was useful for the

Figure 7. Imperial Roman legionnaire reenactors. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain).

legions as it allowed them to be self-sufficient (Figure 7). The legion was able to make its own forts and fortresses without sacrificing manpower on the battlefield. Additionally, many engineering skills were necessary for the success of the legion while campaigning. These included building bridges, roads, and war machinery for sieges (Simkins 1984).

Imperial legions employed artillery. Vegetius claims that each legion had 55 *carroballistae* (small bolt shooters) and ten *onagers* (stone-throwers). Josephus describes the Roman artillery in the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and Tacitus describes it at the battle of Bedriacum in northern Italy in A.D. 69. There is evidence that all Roman legionnaires were expected to man the artillery and there was not a specific artillerist distinction (Pollard and Berry 2012; Judson 1961).

Late Republican and early Imperial tactics included placing the legions at the center of the battle line with auxiliary infantry on the sides and auxiliary cavalry at the extreme flanks. The legions were typically deployed in with cohorts in multiple lines. *Triplex acies* ('triple battle-line') was the most commonly used configuration though *duplex acies* ('double battle-line') and other variations were used as well (Pollard and Berry 2012; Keppie 1984).

The 3rd Century Crisis: A.D. 235-293

From A.D. 235-293, historians have painted Rome as in upheaval and crisis. Rome was attacked on all sides, regions were breaking away to form semi-autonomous kingdoms, usurpers were attempting to consolidate power, and emperors lived short, bloody lives. Diocletian ascended to the throne in A.D. 284 and created the Tetrarchy in A.D. 293, a coalition of two senior and two junior emperors split between west and east, to bring peace and stability to the Empire (Pollard and Berry 2012; Cromwell 1998; Erdkamp 2007; Campbell 1994).

Late Antiquity to the Fall of the Western Empire: A.D. 293-476

From the creation of the short-lived Tetrarchy in A.D. 293 to the much-debated end of the Western Roman Empire in or around A.D. 476, the Roman Army underwent significant changes. As generations had lived and died, the descendants of honorably discharged *auxilia* soldiers had become citizens, yet still wanted to join the locally-based units that their ancestors had served in. The lines between legions and *auxilia* began to fade and had fully disappear from the textual evidence by Emperor Caracalla in

A.D. 212 (Simkins 1984; Cromwell 1998; Campbell 1994).

The distinction between legion and auxiliary units was replaced with a distinction between *comitatus* ('field armies') and *limitanei* ('frontier troops'). Legions were part of both of these army types, but in some cases, cavalry units were placed at the same elevated status as legions. A new type of elite infantry appeared called Palatine infantry after Palatine Hill, the location of the Imperial palace in Rome. Both legions and auxiliaries bore the prestigious mark of Palatine (Pollard and Berry 2012; Coello 1996).

By the second half of the 4th century A.D., the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Figure 8) lists 180 units as legions which compares to the maximum of 33 during the earlier Principate Period starting with Augustus. This would add up to almost one million men if legions were still made up of about 5000 legionnaires. Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that legions were reduced to 1000-1500 men during Late Antiquity, while *vexillations* only num-

Figure 8. Cover of the Notitia Dignitatum detailing the shield emblems of various Roman legions. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain).

bered about 500 men. Late Antiquity fortresses are about a fourth the size of Imperial forts from the Principate Period, further reinforcing this conclusion (Pollard and Berry 2012; Coello 1996; Erdkamp 2007).

Gone were the days of legions made up of only Roman citizenry. The late Roman Army began to have recruitment problems and legions started to be made up of conscripts. Some of these 'barbarian' (non-Roman citizen) conscripts made up auxiliary units, but many were allowed into the legions themselves (Pollard and Berry 2012; Erdkamp 2007).

Though the prestige of cavalry had increased, the legions were still the backbone of the Roman army until the end of the Western Roman Empire. Sieges and fortifications became an increasing part of Roman warfare in the 4th century A.D.. Legions built fortified cities to hold the line against German invasions in the West and Sasanian Persian attacks in the East. Though the Goths soundly defeated the Roman infantry at Adrianople in 371 A.D., now seen as the beginning of the end of the Western Roman Empire, it is important to remember that Roman power in the West held on for another century and the Eastern Roman Empire flourished for another millennium as, what historians now call, the Byzantine Empire (Pollard and Berry 2012; Erdkamp 2007).

Conclusion

The composition of the Roman Army, including both legions and *auxilia* changed throughout the history of the Roman Republic through Empire. Roman legions were the backbone of a military force that created one of the largest empires the world has ever seen. Legions and *auxilia* brought stability to the Mediterranean region leading to massive advances in a plethora of academic, engineering, and technological pursuits. When the legion entered the field, more often than not, it tended to sweep aside all resistance. Replacing the Greek phalanx as the preeminent military formation in the Western world, the legion, along with its accompanying *auxilia* was not invincible, but for a time, the tenacity of the Roman people and their allies certainly was irresistible. For a period, Rome reigned supreme and unchallenged, and Roman military organization was the envy of the world.

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THE VICTORY TEMPLES OF ROME'S LARGO ARGENTINA: A WINDOW INTO THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

The Sacred Area of Largo Argentina

In a portion of the *Campus Martius*, near the base of the Capitoline Hill, there are ancient temples that portray the political and religious customs of the Republican era of Rome. In the northern part of the *Campus Martius*, the late first century B.C. buildings of Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, the structures of Nero and Domitian of the first century A.D., and the works of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines of the second century A.D. reflect aspects of the political and religious system of the Roman Empire that are distinctly different from those of the Roman Republic.

The world of Republican Rome comes into view when one approaches the Largo di Torre Argentina. Although somewhat hidden until one reaches the railing, the ancient temples and other structures of the Sacred Area of Largo Argentina (*Area Sacra di Largo Argentina*) emerge from the subterranean archeological site lying about fifteen feet below the street level.

The temples of Largo Argentina were unknown for centuries since they lay under the medieval buildings on the site. Then, in 1926, the demolition of the old buildings in preparation for the redevelopment of the area uncovered the head and arms of a colossal marble statue. The initial excavations at the site revealed the exceptional nature of the ruins, and the project archeologist, Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi, asked Benito Mussolini, the Prime Minister of Italy, to intervene in the demolition and construction project to preserve the site. The building permit was suspended, and extended archeological work exposed the temples and other features on the site. Subsequently, the sacred area designation was authorized by Mussolini on April 21, 1929 in order to preserve the Largo di Torre Argentina, one of the most important archeological complexes of Rome (Tourist in Rome 2016; Claridge 2010:241; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina 2016).*

The archeological excavations during the 1920's uncovered four Republican era victory temples and fragments of the Portico of Pompey. The temples in Largo Argentina are set side by side, and each of them faces east, toward the rising sun. They were built at different times during the Republic when

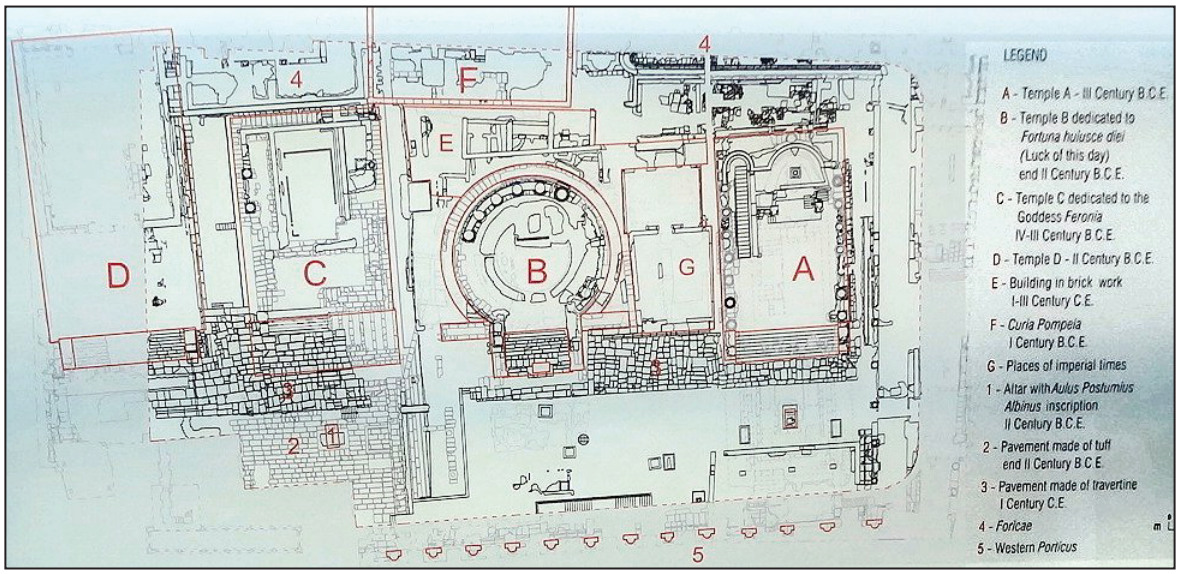

Figure 1. Site map for the Sacred Area of Largo Argentina. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Rome was extending its influence across the Italian peninsula, in North Africa and in the East. The military conquests of Roman generals led to construction of many temples, especially in the *Campus Martius* from the Punic Wars to the beginning of the first century A.D. The wealth and the art from the foreign conquests were used to build temples that added prestige to both the city of Rome and the victorious general. Of the approximately eighty victory temples built in Rome during the Republic, about twenty of the temples were built in the *Campus Martius* (Claridge 2010:241; Jacobs and Conlin 2016:Ch 3; Orlin 2002:5).

Unfortunately, the locations of nearly all of the early temples are unknown since no visible remains exist. Therefore, the importance of these four Republican victory temples cannot be overstated.

The discovery of the four temples in Largo Argentina has led to ninety years of debate over the identification of the temples and the deities to whom they were dedicated. As a result of the uncertainty regarding the identities, the Largo Argentina temples have been labeled with the first four letters of the alphabet. Beginning from the north, near the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, and proceeding south, the temples are designated as A through D (Coarelli 2007:275; Claridge 2010:243; Aicher 2004:223) (Figure 1).

The research and scholarship of recent decades has provided the identities for each of the Republican temples in Largo Argentina that are generally accepted, and we will use those identities in our discussion. However, the archeological investigations in Rome are continuing even today, and future excavations and research may provide evidence that could alter any of the generally accepted deity assignments. With that in mind, let us begin by examining the temples in the chronological order of their construction so that the progressive development of the temple area over time can be seen.

Temple C

The oldest temple of Largo Argentina is Temple C that dates from the early 3rd century B.C. The temple was dedicated to Feronia, a goddess of fertility associated with the Sabine tribes, whose cult was introduced to Rome by Marcus Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C. after his defeat of the Sabines (Coarelli 2007:280; Claridge 2010:244; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina 2016).*

Figure 2. Although Temple C is the oldest of the temples in Largo Argentina, the visible features today date from the restorations by Domitian after the fire of 80 A.D. The brick walls of the cella of the temple from that restoration are seen in the photo at the left. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Excavations have shown that Temple C was built on the clay and gravel of the original level of *Campus Martius*. A primitive sanctuary was built on a podium of solid *tufa* (volcanic tuff) blocks that measured 17.1 meters by 30.5 meters (56 feet by 100 feet). Columns of the temple went around three sides with a solid back wall, thus classified as a temple that is *peripteral sine postico*. The high *tufa* podium is decorated along the sides with heavy upper and lower moldings, the simplest and oldest type of molding crowns. The appearance of the building, along with the fragments of terra cotta architectural decoration, are typical of the early third century B.C. (Coarelli 2007:275, 278; Claridge 2010:244; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016) (Figure 2).

The high podium of Temple C was approached by an impressive staircase of twenty steps. The columns along the front were plastered and most likely painted with vivid colors, giving the Temple of Feronia an aura of majesty and importance. A fitting tribute to the incorporation of the Italic deity of the Sabines into Roman state religion (Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016; Claridge 2010:244).

Restorations to Temple C were done by Aulus Postumius Albinus who was consul in 181 B.C. At this time, a platform and an altar were added to the Temple of Feronia. The inscription on the altar (which is still in place in front of the temple) tells us that the restoration of the altar was made by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the *duovir* (joint magistrate) (Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013; Claridge 2010:244).

A great fire devastated a large part of the *Campus Martius* in 80 A.D. Many buildings and temples, including those in Largo Argentina, were damaged or destroyed. The restoration of many of these structures was undertaken during the reign of the Emperor Domitian. A new pavement of volcanic tuff (*tufa*) was installed throughout the temple complex that raised the ground level and buried the altar of Temple C. The floor and the superstructure of Temple C were replaced. The brick walls of the cella of the temple and the black and white mosaic floor date from Domitian's restoration (Coarelli 2007:275; Claridge 2010:244).

Figure 3. The two white travertine columns of Temple A date to the repairs after the fire of 80 A.D. The darker Anio tufa columns date to the early first century BC. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Temple A

Temple A in Largo Argentina was built by Gaius Lutatius Catulus after his a naval victory over the Carthaginians in the Battle of the Aegates Islands, off Sicily. For this victory, Lutatius Catulus celebrated a triumph in 241 B.C., and he then built the Temple of Juturna in what is now the Largo Argentina. Juturna is a water goddess. The poet Ovid wrote, in 8 A.D., that the Temple of Juturna was near the terminus of the Aqua Virgo at the Baths of Agrippa, a nearby location appropriate for the water goddess Juturna (Coarelli 2007:280; Claridge 2010:244; *Encyclopedia Romana*; Aicher 2004:224).

Temple A, the second oldest temple in Largo Argentina, was built on the same level as Temple C, the earlier temple. The two temples shared a similar feature in that each temple had an altar in front of it. The altar of Temple A only survives in a remnant of its lower frame (*Sovrintendenza Capitolina 2016*).

The original Temple A of the middle of the third century B.C. was a relatively small temple measuring 9.5 meters by 16 meters (31.2 by 52.5 feet) that was set on a podium of *tufa* slabs standing four meters (13.1 feet) high. A staircase of between ten and eighteen steps approached the podium from the front. The *peripteral, hexastyle* temple had six columns across the front and back, and nine columns along each side. The columns were made to look like marble with a coating of white stucco (Claridge 2010, 243; Tourist in Rome 2016; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013).

The second phase of Temple A in the early first century B.C. included the construction of a 12.5 meter by 14 meter (forty-one feet by forty-six feet) rectangular platform over the foot of the original staircase. The altar of the temple was raised 1.5 meters (five feet) to deal with the frequent flooding caused by the Tiber River overflowing its banks. The temple was transformed at this time into a *peripteral* temple on a large *tufa* podium measuring 15 meters by 27.5 meters (49.2 feet by 90.2 feet). Six columns of Anio *tufa* with travertine capitals across the front and back and nine similar columns on the sides enclosed the cella of the temple. The columns, again, were coated with white stucco to simulate marble (Coarelli 2007, 277; Claridge 2010, 243; *Encyclopedia Romana*).

Repairs to Temple A were also required after the fire of 80 A.D. The whole temple area, including around Temple A, was raised about a meter with a new pavement of white travertine. The restoration of the temple itself included the replacement of the two columns in the front on the right side with the travertine columns that are still in place on the podium today (Coarelli 2007:277; Claridge 2010:243; Tourist in Rome 2016).

Of the four temples in Largo Argentina, the one that is in the best state of preservation is Temple A. This is probably due to its use as a church. Between

Figure 4. The wall paintings and the altar are features of the medieval church in Temple A. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., a church was constructed within the ruins of former temple. In 1132 A.D., the church in Temple A was dedicated to San Nicola dei Cesarini. The surviving features of this medieval church can be seen in the apse on the right. A white memorial altar and a wall of paintings depicting a procession of saints have survived the demolition of the medieval structures in 1929 A.D., and they remain in the ruins of Temple A (Figure 4). The Cosmatesque floor of the apse, that is reportedly still in place, is not readily visible (Claridge 2010:243; Tourist in Rome 2016; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016).

Temple D

Temple D in Largo Argentina is the one temple for which the identity is most provisional and less certain that the other three. Nevertheless, until new information becomes available, the general consensus of scholars is the sanctuary is the Temple of the Lares Permarini. Much of the debate on the identity of Temple D revolves around the location of the *Porticus Minucia (Vetus)*. There is no firm evidence of the location of the *Porticus Minucia (Vetus)*, however, many scholars argue that it was the portico that surrounded the four temples in the area now known as Largo Argentina. The ancient sources tell us that the Temple of the Lares Permarini was within the *Porticus Minucia (Vetus)*. If one accepts the idea that the temple complex was surrounded by that portico, then the only one of the four temples within the portico that dates to the period of Temple D is the temple dedicated to the Lares Permarini.

The Temple of the Lares Permarini, the household guardian deities who protected sailors, was vowed by Lucius Aemilius Regillus during the naval battle with the fleet of Antiochus the Great in 190 B.C. About a decade later, in 179 B.C., the temple was dedicated by his kinsman Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. Temple D is the only one that has the characteristics of a temple built in the 2nd century B.C. Specifically, since the podium is made of concrete, the temple cannot be earlier than the 2nd century B.C., and 179 B.C. is in the correct time frame

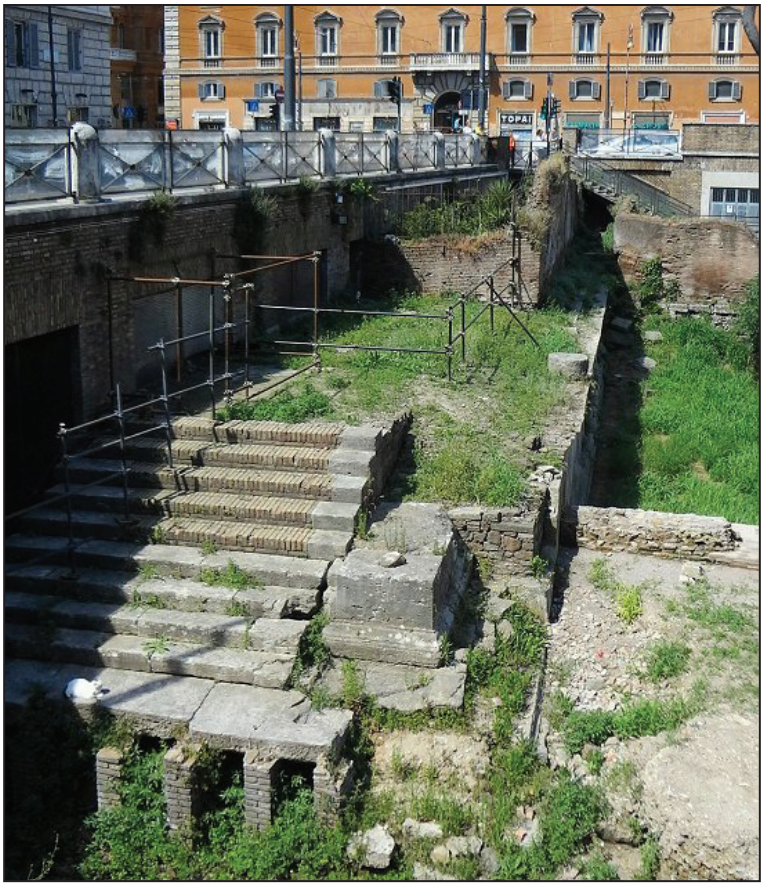

Figure 5. Temple D, the largest of the four temples, has only been partially exposed and excavated, so the details of its structure are not fully known. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

(Coarelli 2007:277, 279; Aicher 2004:223-224; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016; Platner and Ashby 2016).

The other possible temples for Temple D are the temples to Juno Curitis, to Jupiter Fulgur or to the Nymphs. Each of these alternate selections has its own deficiencies, and the current identification with the Temple of the Lares Permarini remains generally accepted (Claridge 2010:245; Tourist in Rome 2016; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016).

Temple D is the largest of the four temples in Largo Argentina. Only a corner of the temple is exposed and has been excavated (Figure 5). Most of Temple lies under the *Via Florida* and the *Via di Largo Argentina*, so the descriptive details of the structure are only fragmentary. Nevertheless, we know that Temple D covers an area of 23.5 meters by 37 meters (77.1 feet by 121.4 feet). The facade of Temple D is not aligned with the other temples of Largo Argentina, and its orientation is slightly rotated in comparison to the other temples (Claridge 2010:244; Tourist in Rome 2016; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013).

As is the case with the other temples, it appears that Temple D was also damaged by the fire of 80 A.D., and it was restored to some degree during the reign of Emperor Domitian or later. The cella walls occupy the full width of the podium, and the columns of Temple D were only across the front of the temple. In addition, the columns are made of brick-faced concrete. These construction features suggest that there was a reconstruction of the temple after the fire of 80 A.D. (Claridge 2010:244).

Temple B

The discovery of the head, the right arm and a foot of the colossal cult statue during the demolition

Figure 6. As a round temple, Temple B stands out from the other three temples in Largo Argentina. It is one of the few round temples in Rome, as well. As a result of the fragments of a huge cult statue that were found near the ruins of Temple B, the temple has been identified as a temple to the goddess Fortuna Huiusce Diei, loosely translated as "the good luck of this day" – an appropriate response to divine intervention on the day of battle. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

of the buildings in the Largo di Torre Argentina in 1926 was nothing less than remarkable. The archeologist Giuseppe Longhi looked at the four foot tall marble head and recognized the iconic face of the goddess Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The quest to uncover the full extent of the temple complex at Largo Argentina had begun (Tourist in Rome 2016).

The pieces of the cult statue were found between Temple B and Temple C, and it was clear that the statue had stood in Temple B, a round temple known as the *Aedes Fortunae Huiusce Diei*. The temple was vowed to the goddess of Good Fortune on this Day by Quintus Lutatius Catulus at the Battle of Vercellae on July 30, 101 B.C. In celebration of his victory over the Germanic Cimbri tribe, Quintus Lutatius Catulus erected the temple adjacent to Temple A, the Temple of Juturna, that was built by his ancestor Gaius Lutatius Catulus. The close proximity of the two temples was intended to enhance the reputation of the *gens Lutatia*, as well as the prestige of Quintus Lutatius Catulus himself (Coarelli 2007:279; Claridge 2010:243-244; Wikipedia 2016b; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016).

About a decade before Temple B was built, a new pavement was laid throughout the temple complex after the fire in 111 BC had burned the area. Temple B was built on top of the new *tufa* pavement (referred to as Largo Argentina Level II) in the empty space between Temple A and Temple C. The circular temple was built on a high base preceded by a travertine staircase flanked by two Anio *tufa* bases for statues offered as gifts (*donaria*). Eighteen Corinthian columns of Anio *tufa*, with bases and capitals of travertine, surrounded the small cella that was 9.3 meters (30.5 feet) in diameter. The columns were covered with white stucco to appear like marble (Coarelli 2007:277; Claridge 2010:243; Wikipedia 2016b; Tourist in Rome 2016; *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project* 2016).

The dedication of Temple B to the goddess Fortuna occurs during a period of religious innovation in Rome. New cult titles are given to traditional Roman deities, and the Romans begin to embrace foreign gods, especially those from the Greek traditions. The form of Temple B, as a round type (*tholos*), is fairly rare in Rome at the beginning of the first century B.C., but it is similar to the Temple of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium, a round temple that dates from the same period (Wikipedia 2016b) (Figure 6).

About 50 B.C., the free standing cella of Temple B was demolished. The gaps between the columns were filled in with slabs of *tufa* to enlarge the cella to a diameter of 15.5 meters (50.9 feet). The podium was enlarged, too, as an outer ring of *peperino tufa* slabs was added. The enormous base was built for the

Figure 7. The restorations after the fire of 80 A.D. can be seen in the photo of Temple B. The central cella of the temple was removed and the space between the columns was filled in with a brick wall. That wall was then faced with brick so that the columns could not be seen. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

addition of a colossal cult statue (Claridge 2010:243; Wikipedia 2016b; Tourist in Rome 2016).

The cult statue of Temple B was a composite sculpture of the goddess Fortuna *Huiusce Diei*. A composite sculpture, known as an acrolith, was a combination of stone and other materials, usually metals. The eight meters (26.2 feet) tall statue of Fortuna had a head, arms and feet made of Parian marble while her drapery was fashioned from metal, probably bronze. The head, and possibly the arms and feet, are attributed to the Greek sculptor Skopas Minor. Since the statue was found in fragments on the ground and the metal pieces were missing, it is not known whether she was posed in a standing or seated position (Claridge 2010:243; Wikipedia 2016b; Jacobs and Conlin 2016).

At some point, the colossal statue of Fortuna *Huius Diei* ran out of luck. The statue was toppled and the marble pieces were tossed on the ground where they would be found centuries later. The metal parts of the statue were most likely scavenged during the Middle Ages and melted down. The marble head, the right arm and the foot of Fortuna *Huiusce Diei* are now on display in the Museo Centrale Montemartini in Rome (Claridge 2010:243; Wikipedia 2016b; Tourist in Rome 2016).

After the fire of 80 A.D., the restorations included some major changes to Temple B (Figure 7). A new staircase and porch were added to the front of the temple. The central cella of the temple was removed and the space between the columns was filled in with a brick wall. The walls were faced with brick so that the columns could not be seen, and the *peripteral* temple with columns all round was transformed into a circular cella on a pedestal (Claridge 2010:243; Tourist in Rome 2016; *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project* 2016; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013).

Office of Waters

With the dedication of the Temple of Juturna, Temple A, in 241 B.C., the *Campus Martius* became associated with the presence of water and its distribution. The poet Ovid verifies the connection with the city's water services in his poem of 8 A.D. (Ovid 0008:463-64; Thynne 1833:22-23) when he notes that Temple of Juturna was near the terminus of the Aqua Virgo at the Baths of Agrippa, only about one block north of Temple A. This information suggests that the first century A.D. structures situated between Temple A and Temple B can be identified as the Office of Waters (*Statio Aquarum*). The Office of Waters was the administrative office of the magistrates who were in charge of the aqueducts.

Figure 8. In the first century A.D., the offices of the administration of the city's aqueducts and water supply system were moved to this structure built between Temple A and Temple B. The Office of Waters operated from this site until the fourth century A.D., when Emperor Constantine moved the office to the Roman Forum. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Under Emperor Septimius Severus, in the end of the second century A.D., the Office of Waters was consolidated with the office of the superintendent of the aqueducts and the office of grain distribution (*Curator Aquarum et Minuciae*). A century later, under Emperor Constantine, the Office of the Waters was moved to a location in the Forum Romanum near the ancient sanctuary of Juturna (Figure 8). The recent excavations in the temple complex, in 2011 and 2013, have confirmed the long time connection between the temple cults of Largo Argentina and the presence of water and the administration of its distribution (Coarelli 2007:280; Claridge 2010:244; Aicher 2004: 224; 060608 Information Service 2016a; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013).

The Torre Argentina

In the southeast corner of the Largo di Torre Argentina is a small tower at the modern street level. This tower is the Torre del Papito, a fourteenth century A.D. tower-house built by the Papareschi family. The tower, called "del Papito," is frequently thought to be the tower for which the Largo di Torre Argentina is named. The Torre Argentina, however, belonged to the Palazzetto del Burcardo that is a block west of the temples at Via del Sudario, 44. The Torre Argentina was demolished years ago, however, the palazzo still survives (Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013; *060608 Information Service* 2016b; Claridge 2010:241; Tourist in Rome 2016).

On the other hand, the Torre Argentina, the tower of Argentina, was not named for the country in South America. The name comes from the owner of the palazzo with the tower, Johann Burchard.

Johann Burchard was a clergyman working in Rome as the Papal Master of Ceremonies. His career spanned the reigns of five popes from 1483 A.D. to 1506 A.D. Burchard is best known for his *Liber Notarum*, an official record of the papal ceremonies that offered insights into the papal court in the decades prior to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation (Wikipedia 2016c).

Burchard was born in Strasbourg (France) about 1450 A.D., and after moving to Rome about 1467 A.D. Burchard was ordained a priest in 1476 A.D. He was appointed the Master of Ceremonies to Pope Sixtus IV in 1483 AD, and he built his residence with the tower in 1491 A.D. (Wikipedia 2016c; *Sovrintendenza Capitolina* 2016).

The city of Burchard's birth, Strasbourg, had originally been a Roman military town that was established about 12 B.C. by Nero Claudius Drusus and was called Argentoratum. Although the name of the town was changed to Stratisburgum (Stasbourg) in the fifth century A.D., the educated Romans ten centuries later still remembered the connection to the Roman town of Argentoratum. Johann Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, was known to his friends as Argentinus, "the man from Argentoratum." And, so it followed that the tower at his residence was known as the Torre Argentina. The nearby square was given the name Largo di Torre Argentina, and the name persists today (Wikipedia 2016c; Wikipedia 2016a; Area Sacra di Largo Argentina [site exhibit] 2013).

Conclusion

The monumental edifices that portray the glory of Imperial Rome are easily identifiable to the modern visitor to the Eternal City. The spectacular Colosseum, with its companion the Arch of Constantine, stands to the south of the Forum Romanum that is flanked by the triumphal arches of Titus, on the south, and Septimius Severus, on the north. To the east are the imperial *fora* of Nerva, Augustus and Trajan, while the reconstructed Pantheon from Hadrian's reign is the imperial centerpiece of the *Campus Martius*.

The social, political and religious system of the Republic is scarcely in view in Rome today. During the Republic, the triumphant generals of Rome promoted their glory and prestige through the construction of public temples as monuments to their successful campaigns. The ambitions of those men were balanced by the interaction of the Senate in the control of the construction of new public temples and the addition of deities to the official state religion (Orlin 2002:4-5). Nevertheless, the physical vestiges of that prelude to the rise of Imperial Rome are few and far between. The victory temples of the Sacred Area of Largo Argentina provide the best window into that important time in the history of ancient Rome.

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CAESAREA MARITIMA: HEROD THE GREAT'S PORT TO THE ROMAN MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

Herod the Great, who ruled Judea from 37 B.C. to approximately 4 B.C. (the date of his death is uncertain) is well-known for his massive building projects. These include his expansion of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and extensive palace structures built at Masada, Jericho, Jerusalem, and the Herodium southeast of Bethlehem. The latter is a man-made cone-shaped structure that rises over 100 feet above the surrounding plain with an ornate palace complex built into the hollowed out center of the mountain (McRay 2001; Shanks 2011). While all of these projects show incredible planning and engineering skill, one of Herod's greatest architectural achievements was the construction of the port city of Caesarea Maritima, located on the Mediterranean coast about halfway between the modern cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa. While Judea has an extensive Mediterranean coastline, heavy siltation from both wind-blown African sands and discharge from the Nile Delta has resulted in few natural harbors. As a consequence, in 22 B.C. Herod the Great decided to create a new harbor to provide his kingdom with an entrance way for imported goods as well as a fast communication link to the rest of the Roman Mediterranean.

Herod chose the location for his new seaport at the site of an old Phoenician port known as Strabo's (or Strato's) Tower (McRay 2004). Construction on the port and an adjacent city began in 22 B.C. and was completed in 10 B.C. The city was named "Caesarea" in honor of Caesar Augustus (Herod was never shy about currying favor with the Roman

Table 1. Key Dates and Events for Caesarea through the First Century A.D.

Date	Event
22 B.C.	Herod the Great founds Caesarea (naming it in honor of Caesar Augustus) on the site of Strabo's Tower; purpose of the city is to provide Judea with a major port and a communication link to Roman Empire
10 B.C.	Construction is completed; city dedicated to Augustus
6 A.D.	Caesarea named as capital of Roman province of Palestine
26-36 A.D.	Pontius Pilate serves as Procurator of Palestine
ca. 38 A.D.	The Apostle Peter visits Caesarea and converts the Roman Centurion Cornelius and his family (Acts 10)
44 A.D.	Death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12)
52-59 A.D.	Marcus Antonius Felix serves as Procurator of Palestine
57-59 A.D.	Apostle Paul removed from Jerusalem to Caesarea where he remains in prison for two years (Acts 23-25)
59-62 A.D.	Porcius Festus serves as Procurator of Palestine
66 A.D.	Jewish revolt begins in Caesarea; spreads throughout Palestine
66-70 A.D.	Jewish War in Palestine; ends with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple

powers of the day) and it became not only the major port for Judea and a less-Jewish capital for Herod. Herod the Great was not Jewish by birth but an Idumean, a descendant of the Edomite people that traditionally lived to the south of Judea. When he was made "King of the Jews" by the Romans in 37 B.C., the Jewish people were less than thrilled to have an Idumean as their king. To placate the Jewish religious powers, Herod rebuilt the Temple Mount turning the Second Temple into one of the greatest structures in the known world. He also married into the Jewish royal family. Despite all this, he was still seen as an outsider and thus having a more secular seat of government suited Herod (Shanks 2011). Moreover, as Rome was clearly the power of the day, Herod needed a port city both for increasing commerce with the rest of the Roman world but also to ensure good communications with his masters in Rome. After his death in ca. 4 B.C. and the forced exile of his son Archelaus to Gaul in 6 A.D., the Romans turned Caesarea Maritima into their political and administrative capital for the province (Table 1) (Cornfield and Freedman 1976; McRay 2001; Shanks 2011).

Construction of Caesarea Maritima

Caesarea was everything that Jerusalem was not. Jerusalem was an old city by the first century A.D.; Caesarea was brand new. Jerusalem was in a remote place in the Judean Highlands; Caesarea was along the coast with links to rest of the Roman Empire. Jerusalem was the center of Judaism and Jewish worship in the Temple; Caesarea was the commercial and administrative center of Roman Palestine with temples to pagan gods, amphitheaters and a hippodrome. The two cities could not have been more of a contrast to one another. The Gospel writer Luke portrays this extreme difference in his account of Peter's travel to Caesarea to visit the Roman Centurion Cornelius and his family (Acts 10-11:18) (Ogilvie 1991).

Caesarea was also a major engineering marvel. To construct the artificial harbor, Herod's engineers built two massive, curved harbor walls reaching out into the sea (Figure 1). These were constructed using massive limestone blocks joined together by a relatively new invention, concrete. The Romans did not have a quick-setting concrete as is used in industry today; rather they used hydrated lime – created by heating limestone ($CaCO_3$) and driving off CO_2 to form lime (CaO). Lime does not act like concrete on

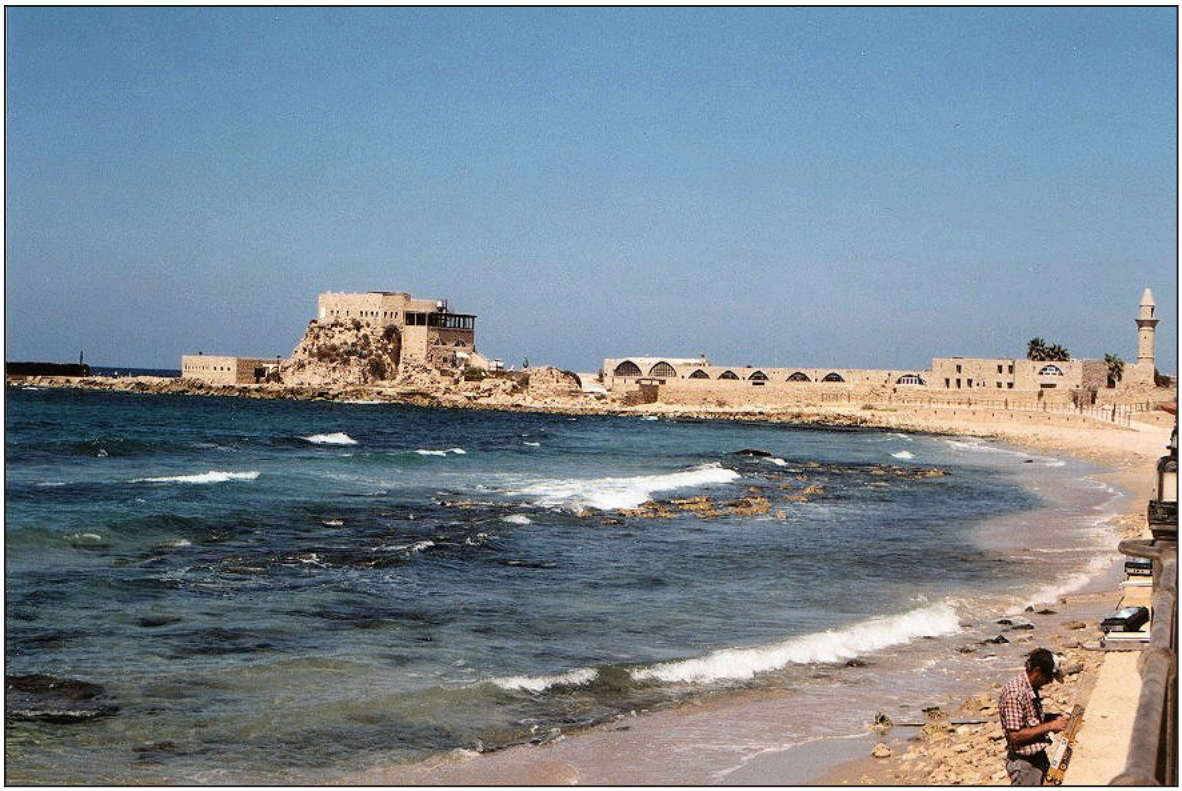

Figure 1. Remains of Herod's Harbor at Caesarea, Israel. The structure on top of the harbor wall dates from the Crusades but the basal wall extending out into the Mediterranean are from Herod's construction.

Figure 2. Remains of the major aqueduct system at Caesarea, Israel. (Photo Courtesy of Denis P. Wolf)

its own and will only form cement when mixed with water and the volcanic rock, pumice (also known as "pozzolan"). When lime and water are mixed with pumice, which is largely amorphous silica, nearly all of the lime is converted to Calcium Silicate Hydrate or "C-S-H". In modern Portland Cement, the hydraulic reaction that produces the C-S-H binder happens very quickly without the need of pumice but at a cost. A deleterious by-product, calcium hydroxide ($Ca(OH_2)$) is created which contributes nothing to the strength and durability of the concrete. Over time, calcium hydroxide migrates out of the cement via a fine-grain pore system leaving behind an interlaced network of holes that compromises the density and allows for the ingress of water containing sulfates, chlorides and other chemicals which over time attack the concrete. This means that modern concrete, while easy to produce and quick-setting, has a finite lifetime.

Figure 3. Detail of the major aqueduct system at Caesarea, Israel in which you can clearly see the two structures side-by-side within the arches.

Roman concrete, on the other hand, has been shown to last not just for centuries but for millennia. The addition of pumice (pozzolan) ignites a secondary reaction that changes almost all of the deleterious calcium hydroxide into additional C-S-H. This secondary C-S-H densifies and further strengthens the concrete, welding it into an almost impermeable matrix. At Caesarea, large wooden frames were built around the sunken limestone blocks which were then filled with pozzolanic concrete (Wright 1962; Walker 2008). Most of the original harbor walls lie offshore today, submerged just below sea level but still easily visible. The southern harbor breakwater measured 200 feet wide by 2,000 feet long and at its end was a large tower which probably served as a lighthouse (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

In addition to forming a breakwater and harbor wall, Herod's engineers designed a special sluice gate at the harbor entrance which prevented the harbor from becoming silted up and unusable, something that would plague other first century A.D. cities such as Ephesus (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008). They further devised a sewage system which took advantage of the tides and flushed away the city's waste materials out to sea twice a day. To ensure an abundant supply of fresh water to the city, a tunnel and a major aqueduct system were built to bring water from permanent springs six miles away at the base of Mount Carmel (Figure 2). A second aqueduct running side-by-side with the Herodian structure was built by the Emperor Hadrian in ca. 130 A.D. (Figure 3) (Wright 1962; Walker 2008).

The city of Caesarea was built inland from the harbor and laid out on a standard Roman Cartesian system with a north-south *Cardo Maximus* and a number of intersecting east-west streets (*Decamani*). Shops bringing items from Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome lined the major streets. Herod built a major defensive wall encircling the city which encompassed about 8,000 acres and included a theater (*odeon*), a *hippodrome*, and a major temple to Augustus (*Augusteum*) (Figures 4-5). The latter is obscured today by the remains of a Crusader church to St. Peter but is thought to have originally been about 100 x 165 feet in size. The theater had a seating capacity of about 4,000 and is still used for performances today. The hippodrome had a seating capacity for about 15,000 patrons. At its peak in the first century A.D., Caesarea was believed to have had as many as 30,000 inhabitants (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

In 1961, near the theater, Italian archeologists found a 32 x 25 inch block of limestone which contained a significant partial inscription. The inscription reads:

Figure 4. Roman Theater at Caesarea, Israel. (Photo Courtesy of Denis P. Wolf)

Figure 5. Roman Hippodrome at Caesarea, Israel.

[DIS AUGUSTI]S TIBERIEUM
[PON]TIUS PILATUS
[PRAEF]ECTUS IUDA[EA]E
[FECIT D]E [DICAVIT]

To the Divine Tiberieum
Pontius Pilate
Prefect of Judea
Has Dedicated This

The inscription was probably part of a temple dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius and dates to the time Pilate was Procurator (Prefect) of Judea (26-36 A.D.) (Figure 6).

Jutting out into the sea south of the harbor is the Promontory Palace, which may well have been the location of King Herod's palace (Figures 7 and 8). This palace was renowned for its beautiful bathing pool located near its center (Figure 9). After his death in approximately 4 B.C., the palace became the functional residence and seat of governance for the Roman Procurators of Judea including the Biblical figures of Pontius Pilate, Marcus Antonius Felix, and Porcius Festus.

The Apostle Paul visited Caesarea on several occasions including after his conversion on the road to Damascus and return visit to the apostles in Jerusalem, after the Council of Jerusalem, and after his

Figure 6. Copy of Pontius Pilate inscription found at Caesarea in 1961. The original is curated in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

Figure 7. Remains of Herod's Promontory Palace at Caesarea, Israel. (Photo Courtesy of Denis P. Wolf)

Second and Third Missionary Journeys (Cimak 2004). Each time, Paul's visit was short, primarily using Caesarea as a port to enter Judea and travel to Jerusalem or to catch a ship to return to Asia and his ministry. However, at the end of his Third Missionary Journey, Paul traveled to Jerusalem where he was accused of blasphemy and put on trial by the Sanhedrin. Realizing that he was not going to receive a fair hearing with the Jews, Paul appealed to the Roman Procurator at the time, Marcus Antonius Felix, to be judged under Roman law. As a Roman citizen, Paul had the legal right to appeal his case through the Roman legal system up to a hearing before Caesar. Felix had a detachment of 200 soldiers, 70 cavalrymen and 200 spearmen escort Paul under guard from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:23) (Ogilvie 1991) (Walker 2008).

For the next two years (ca. 57-59 A.D.), Paul was held at Herod's old palace in Caesarea, by this time being used by the Roman procurators (Walker 2008). Paul was kept nominally under guard but was allowed visitation rights so his friends could see to his

Figure 8. Remains of Herod's Palace at Caesarea, Israel.

Figure 9. Outline of Herod's pool in his palace at Caesarea, Israel.

needs (Acts 22:23) (Ogilvie 1991). During this time, Felix visited Paul on a number of occasions (Acts 24:22-26) (Ogilvie 1991). At the end of two years, Felix was called back to Rome and was replaced by a new Procurator, Porcius Festus. Unlike Felix who had a Jewish wife, Festus had neither ties to Judea nor any experience in dealing with Jewish legal matters. Faced with the prospect of being returned to Jerusalem to stand judgment before the Sanhedrin, Paul cited his right as a Roman citizen to appeal his case before the Emperor in Rome. To this request, Festus replied, "You have appealed to Caesar. To Caesar you will go!" (Acts 25:12) (Ogilvie 1991; Cimak 2004; Walker 2008). This begins the final part of Paul's life and his journey to Rome (Figures 10 and 11).

Interestingly, after making his appeal to Caesar, Festus discussed Paul's case with King Herod Agrippa II and his wife/consort, Bernice (she was Herod Agrippa II's sister). After hearing Paul speak, Agrippa commented to Festus, "This man is not doing anything that deserves death or imprisonment . . . This man could have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar" (Acts 26:31-32) (Ogilvie 1991).

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ms. Nanette Dawson of Adonde Travel in Houston who was largely responsible for designing three extended archeological trips for me – one to Israel and Jordan, a second one to Greece and Turkey, and a third trip to Israel including Caesarea Maritima – each focused on visiting and assessing many of the Roman cities of the first century A.D. Nanette, you are the best of the best. I would like to thank Dennis P. Wolf for permission to use of some of his excellent photographs of the structures at Caesarea. I would also like to thank my wife, Ginny

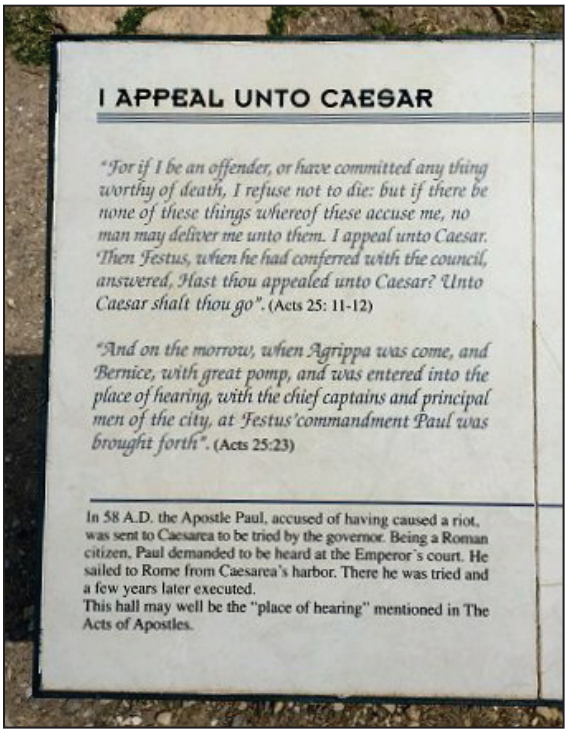

Figure 10. Plaque near the place which is believed to be the location of the Apostle's Paul appeal to be judged by Caesar in Rome.

Figure 11. The author standing at the location within Herod's Palace at Caesarea Maritima where the Apostle Paul made his appeal.

Crook, who took many of the other excellent photographs which appear in this paper.

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CORINTH: CAPITAL OF ACHAEA AND THE "SIN-CITY" OF ROMAN GREECE

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

Corinth was the capital of the Roman Province of Achaea and had direct communications with both the western (Rome) and eastern parts of the Empire. The city of Corinth was located where it is for a number of reasons. First, is its location at the isthmus between the Peloponnese and mainland Greece. This is not only a prime location for east-west sea trade, but is also the terminus for a major north-south trade route that linked Corinth with northern Thrace and everything in between (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000). Thus, Corinth became a major regional center for trade. In addition, the location gave rise to several significant industries including burnished bronze ("Corinthian Bronze") and fine pottery – both of which were prized all across the ancient world (Themelis 1984). The second was its location at the foot of a tall, rocky promontory known as the Acrocorinth. The Acrocorinth rises 1,887 feet above the surrounding plain and provides an extremely defensible position against any potential threat (Figure 1). Moreover, the mountain has a number of fresh water springs which could supply critical water supplies for a substantial population during a siege. Therefore, even with the city located at the base of the mountain, in times of attack the entire population could be moved to an almost impregnable position (Figure 2).

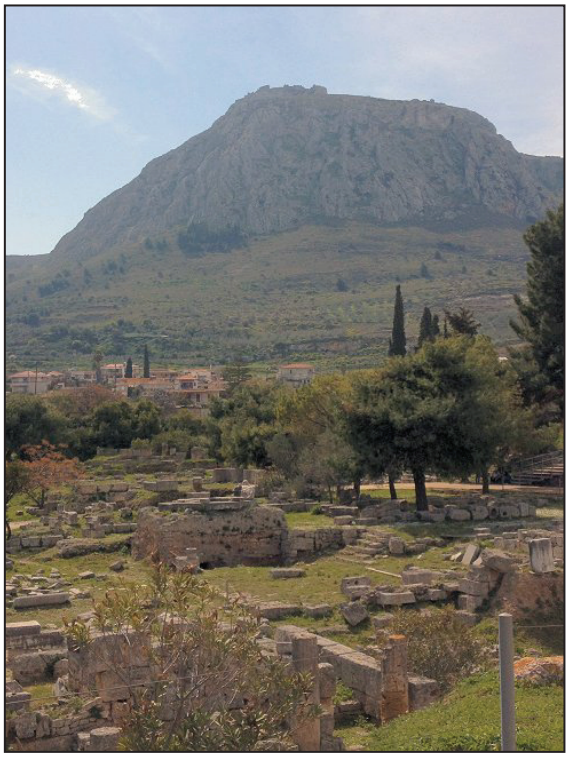

Figure 1. The Acrocorinth.

Cenchreae

Being located in the center of the Achaean peninsula, Corinth is serviced by two seaports, Cenchreae on the Aegean side and Lechaion facing the Gulf of Corinth. Cenchreae served as Corinth's port on the Aegean side of the isthmus (Figure 3). Its location was due to a deep natural harbor, the fertile plain surrounding it, and an abundance of oolitic limestone which made an excellent building stone (Figure 4). The port's name seems to come from the ancient Greek word for millet, referring to the area's capacity for agricultural production (Themelis 1984). As Poseidon was the Greek god of the sea, there are a number of temples to Poseidon in the area, including one at the harbor front which would have greeted seafarers as they safely made port (Figure 5).

Southern Greece, known as the Peloponnese or Achaea, is separated from mainland Greece by a narrow isthmus that separates the Saronic Gulf on the east (Aegean Sea) from the Gulf of Corinth on the west (Adriatic Sea). The land bridge between these two bodies of waters is only 4 miles wide. The city of Corinth was built in the middle of this four mile isthmus where it could control all east-west traffic. The reason the isthmus was so important to sea trade is that the waters on the southern end of the Peloponnese were notorious for high winds and violent storms. The Roman historian, Strabo, wrote "If they sail past the tip of Greece twice, they ought to forget their homes". Crossing the isthmus at Corinth not only saved time but lives and potentially lost cargo as well Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

Since the establishment of Corinth in ca. 700 B.C., the area's leaders had been looking for a way

Figure 2. View of Corinth from the summit of the Acrocorinth.

to construct a canal through the isthmus in order to directly connect the Aegean and Adriatic Seas. Periander, the first great ruler of Corinth (627-587 B.C.), was the first to attempt to dig a canal but efforts quickly failed. Periander was followed by the Macedonian King Demetrius Poliorcetes, then Julius Caesar (shortly before his assassination), and then the Emperors Caligula and Nero. Vespasian, then a general in Judea, sent 6,000 Jewish prisoners to dig the canal but work stopped when Nero committed suicide in 68 A.D. and the Jewish prisoners revolted against the hard work (Meinardus 1972; Papahatzis 2000; Gates 2011. A canal was not finished until the Greek government completed one in 1893 (Figure 6).

Since digging a canal proved to be impossible, Periander ordered the construction of a paved road across the isthmus in ca. 600 B.C. The road was known as the *Diolkos*, taken from the Greek verb *dielko*, meaning "to haul across." The road started near Cenchreae and then proceeded for about 5.3 miles to Lechaion, Corinth's other port on the Adriatic side of the isthmus, following the local geography so as to maintain a low gradient (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000). The width of the roadway varied from 11-20 feet (Figure 7).

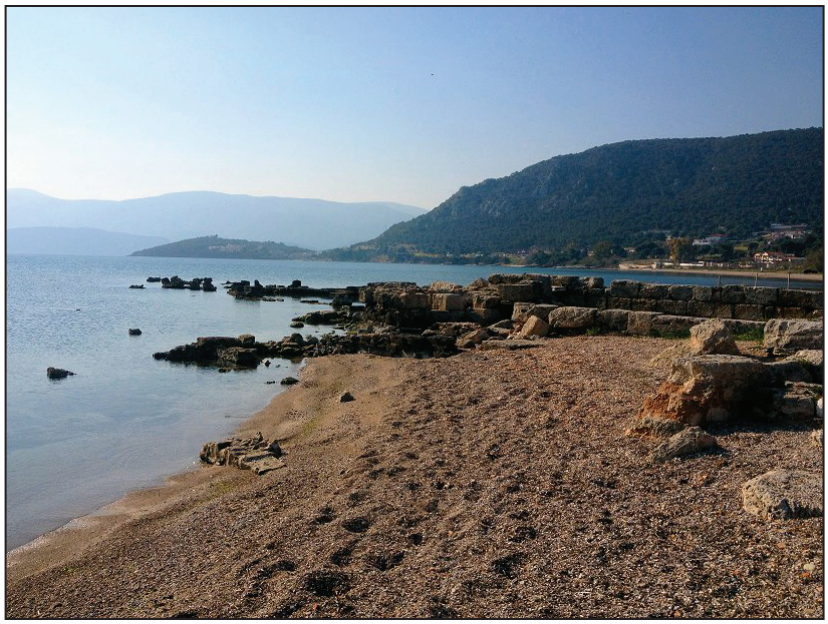

Figure 3. Ruins of the port of Cenchreae.

Figure 4. Submerged ruins of the port of Cenchreae.

In the middle of the road, two parallel grooves were cut about 63 inches apart. In between the grooves, a wooden trackway was laid, serving as a sort of railroad. Carts or sledges would haul ship cargoes from one side of the isthmus to the other on top of the trackway. The cargo would then be loaded onto another ship and continue the voyage west. Sometimes, if the ships were small enough, the entire vessel could be transported across the isthmus via the Diolkos. In the sense that cargoes were transported via a trackway for the trip, the Diolkos did in effect constitute a railroad – a concept that would not ap-

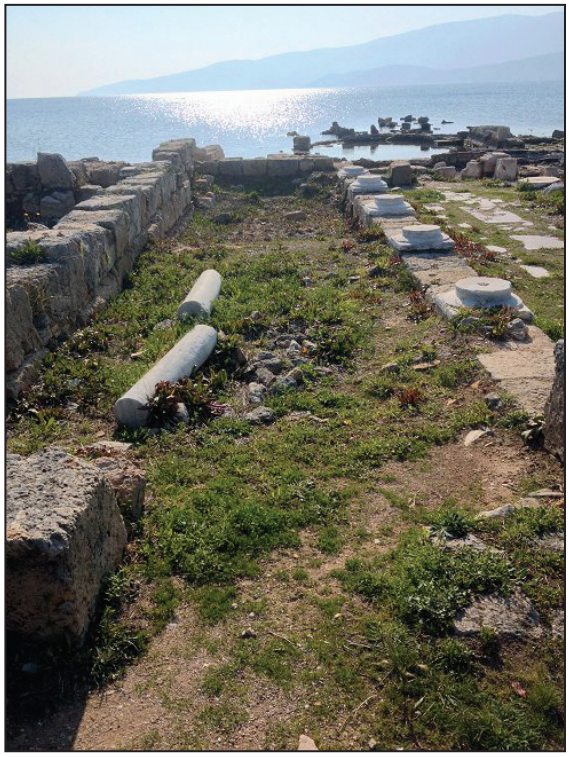

Figure 5. Temple of Poseidon at Cenchreae.

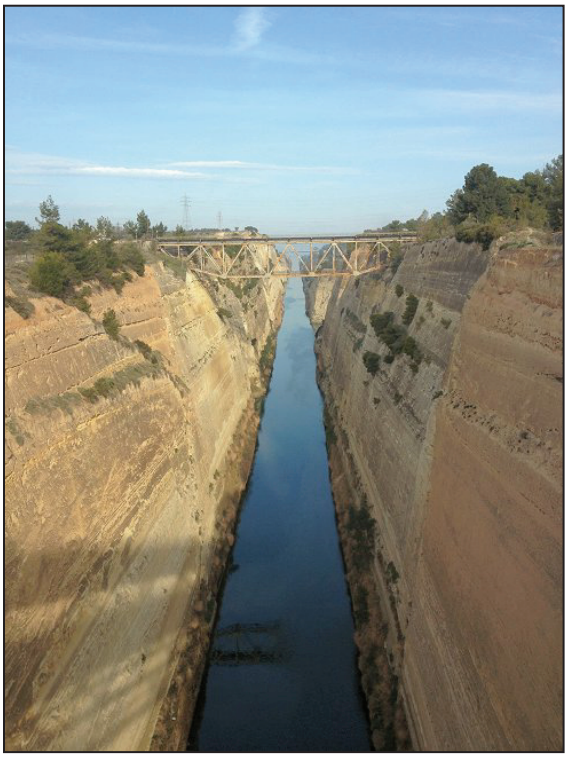

Figure 6. Modern canal at Corinth.

Figure 7. The Diolkos Road at Corinth.

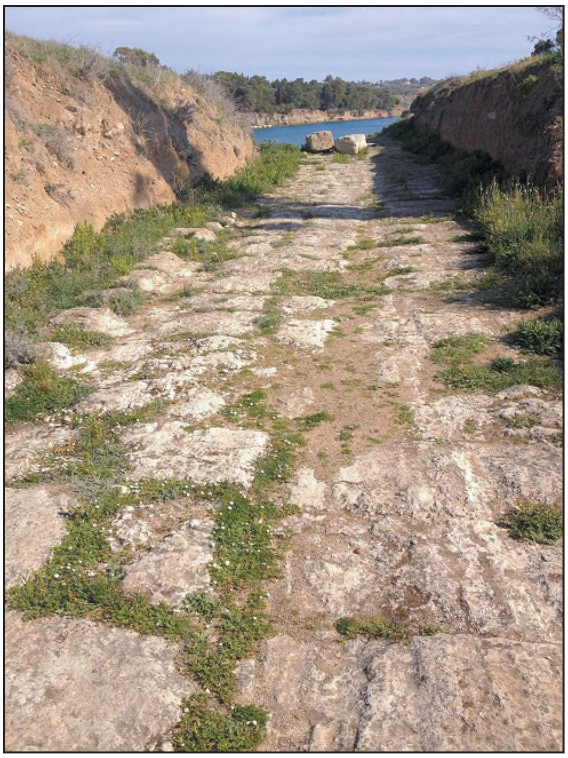

Figure 8. The Diolkos Road showing cart ruts in the limestone.

pear in Western Europe until about 1800 A.D. Even its gauge of about 63 inches is similar to modern standards. The worn ruts for the trackway can still be seen in some places along the Diolkos today (Figure 8) (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000).

CORINTH

The location of Corinth, especially its proximity to the Acrocorinth, had historical significance for a number of Greek deities and, as a consequence, for their worshipers. Corinth was the reputed home of King Sisyphus, the man who was punished by the gods for his conceit and self-aggrandizement to continually roll a large boulder up a hill only to see it roll back again once he reached the summit (Rose 1959). It was also the home to Bellerophon, the Greek hero whose famous winged horse, Pegasus, became the city symbol for Corinth. Jason and Medea reportedly settled in Corinth after his adventure of capturing the Golden Fleece (Rose 1959). Corinth also had significance for Zeus, Apollo, Demeter, Poseidon, Fortuna and a number of other gods and goddesses (Rose 1959). But it was especially sacred for the goddess Aphrodite (Figure 9). A small temple was built to the goddess near the summit of the Acrocorinth (Figure 10).

Although the temple itself is relatively small (ca. 52 x 33 feet), it was renowned for being extremely wealthy, largely due to the income brought in by the over 1,000 sacred prostitutes that worked for the goddess. In 20 A.D. the Greek historian, Strabo, wrote:

Figure 9. Bust of Aphrodite, Acropolis Museum, Athens.

Figure 10. Ruins of the Temple of Aphrodite.

> *The Sanctuary of Aphrodite was so wealthy that it possessed as slaves of the temple more than a thousand prostitutes, who were dedicated to the goddess both by men and women. And so by reason of them, the city was thronged and enriched for the sailors spent their money easily, and on that account the proverb says: "Not for every man is the voyage to Corinth."*

Excavations of the Acrocorinth by the American School for Classical Studies recovered a large number of votive offerings to the goddess including many clay figurines (Figure 11) and clay representations of wine-soaked cakes (Figure 12) (Themelis 1984). Apparently there was a substantial industry in the city of Corinth which manufactured these votive figures as a number of molds for making Aphrodite idols have been recovered (Figure 13). Due to the strength of the Cult of Aphrodite and its numerous prostitutes, the word "Corinthianize" became a byword throughout the Greek world for sexual immorality (Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015. Plato, in his *Republic*, states that "to keep a Corinthian girl is bad for a man's health." In short, to be called a "Corinthian girl" was not a compliment!

An oligarchy, consisting of a council of 80 men, began to control Corinth starting in ca. 585 B.C. (Table 1). Worried over war with rival city-state Argos, Corinth became an ally of Sparta. Later, the city leaders grew fearful of Sparta's rising power and began to side with Athens. Corinth fought with Athens against the Persian invasion led by Xerxes in 480 B.C. as it threatened not only Athens but the economy of Corinth as well (Walker 2008).

During the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.), Corinth first sided with Sparta against Athens and then later formed an alliance with Athens along with

Figure 11. Votive offerings recovered from the Acrocorinth, Corinth Museum.

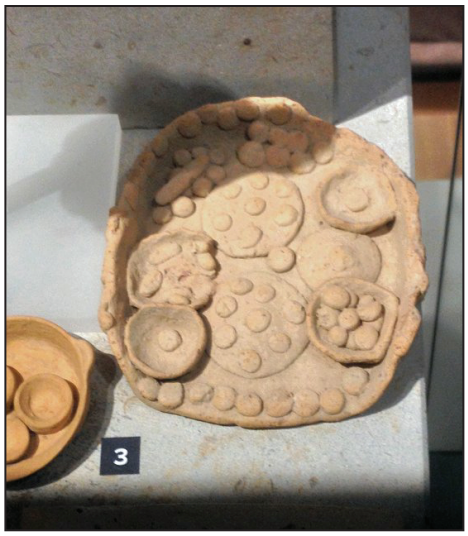

Figure 12. Votive offerings recovered from the Acrocorinth, Corinth Museum.

Figure 13. Molds used to make idols to Aphrodite.

Argos, Boeotia and Thebes to fight Sparta (Corinthian Wars 395-386 B.C.). All of these conflicts cost Corinth greatly and the city began to decline in wealth and status (Walker 2008).

In 338 B.C., Corinth sided with Athens against Philip II of Macedon and was defeated at the Battle of Chaeronea. Philip II, now Captain-General of all Greece, made Corinth the head of the Corinthian League, a council of Greek city-states which sent elected delegates to vote on all matters of foreign policy, under the strong guidance of Macedonia. An unfortunate consequence of this dubious honor was the stationing of a large Macedonian garrison on the Acrocorinth, effectively making Corinth a Macedonian colony. A succession of Hellenistic (Macedonian) kings controlled the city for the next two centuries (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

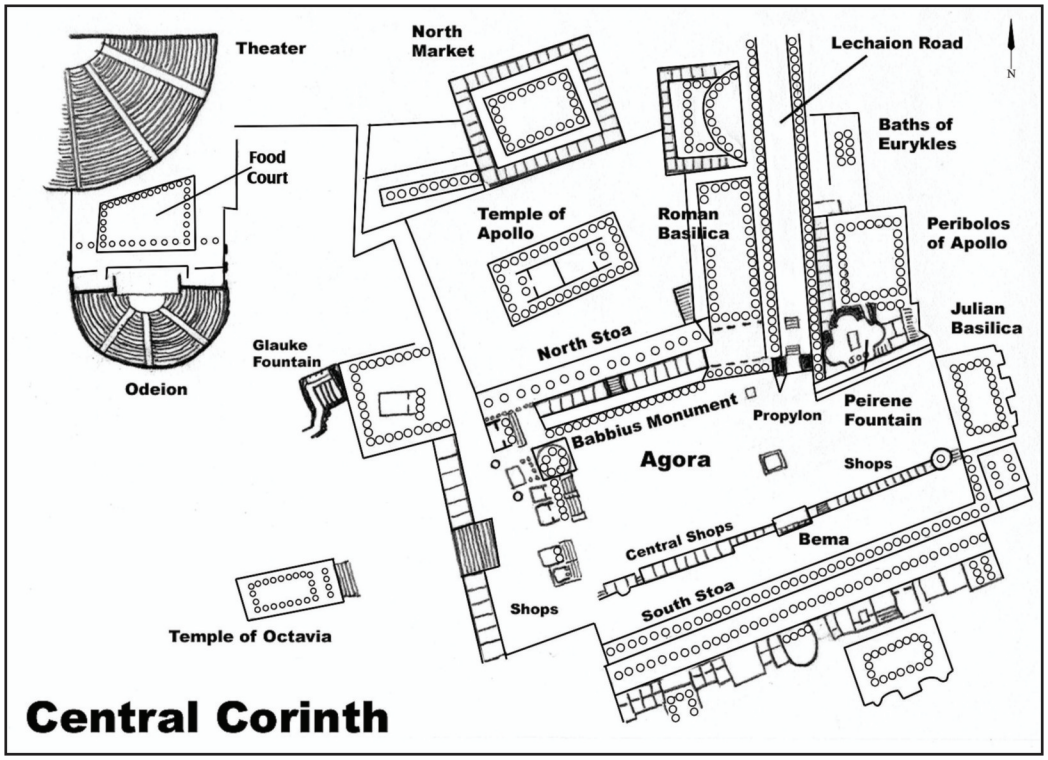

Figure 14. Map of Ancient Corinth. (Map Illustrated by Lance K. Trask)

Table 1. Key Dates and Events for Corinth Through the First Century A.D.

Date	Event
ca. 5000 B.C.	Area initially inhabited by farmers migrating from the Middle East
ca. 700 B.C.	City founded with a rich history in Greek mythology; reported the home of Sisyphus; Bellerophon (whose winged horse Pegasus becomes the city symbol); Jason and Medea reportedly settle in Corinth after his adventures to capture the "Golden Fleece"
627-587 B.C.	Rule by Periander; first attempt to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth
ca. 600 B.C.	The "Diolkos" road is constructed
ca. 550 B.C.	The great Temple to Apollo is constructed
ca. 480-350 B.C.	Corinth becomes renowned for its fine pottery and burnished bronze ("Corinthian Bronze")
ca. 400 B.C.	"Corinthianize" becomes a byword across the entire Greek world for sexual immorality; city is well known for its large number of prostitutes and taverns
338 B.C.	Philip II of Macedon places Corinth as head of the "Corinthian League"
146 B.C.	Romans under Lucius Mummius destroy Corinth
44 B.C.	City is rebuilt by Julius Caesar; Corinth becomes the most important city of commerce in Greece
27 B.C.	Corinth becomes the capital of the Roman Province of Achaea
ca. 40 A.D.	Emperor Caligula considers building the Corinthian Canal but Egyptian engineers fear the project will flood the city of Corinth so the project is abandoned
ca. 50-52 A.D.	Paul visits Corinth and stays for 18 months; he is brought before the Roman Proconsul Lucius Gallio for sedition but the case is dismissed without a trial
ca. 57 A.D.	After several prior visits, Paul returns to Corinth for three months where he is believed to have written the Epistle of Romans
67 A.D.	Emperor Nero decides to build the Corinthian Canal; Vespasian sends 6,000 Jewish captives from Galilee to work on the project but the attempt is abandoned after Nero's death in 68 A.D.

Corinth remained a free city-state in the Achaean League until Rome set its sights on incorporating Archaea into its Republic. In 146 B.C., Corinth tried to revolt against Rome and its takeover of the region. Lucius Mummius was elected Consul of Achaea and quickly crushed the revolt. All of the men of Corinth not killed in battle were put to the sword, and the women and children of the city were sold into slavery. All the statues, friezes and works of art were seized and shipped to Rome. Corinth was then reduced to ashes (Papahatzis 2000; Walker 2008). The city lay largely abandoned for a century until it was rebuilt by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. Because of its key location, the new Corinth quickly grew in prominence and prosperity. Corinth then became the capital of the Roman Province of Achaea in 27 B.C. and by the first century A.D., the city had an estimated population of over 300,000 inhabitants (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

The distance from the port of Cenchreae to the city of Corinth is about 6 miles and would have taken visitors a few hours to walk. Most visitors to the city would have passed through the Cenchreae Gate, and entered Corinth from the south. What confronted them could not have been more of a contrast, especially if they journeyed the 60 miles from Athens. Where Athens was refined and a center of philosophy, education and art, Corinth was vulgar and commercial. Shops and temples to various gods and goddesses were everywhere. When the Romans rebuilt Corinth in the latter half of the first century B.C., they laid the city out in the standard Roman Cartesian grid system (Figure 14). Two main roads entered the city, the Cenchreaen Road from the southeast and the Lechaion Road from the north. As the Lechaion Road was the principal north-south road into the city, it was designated as the Cardo Maximus (Figure 15) and was lined with a large number of shops (Figures 16-17). The average width of the Lechaion road, including sidewalks, was about 50 feet. To the east and west of the Cardo Maximus were 12 decumani (east-west streets), 6 on the north side of the forum and 6 on the south side (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000).

First and foremost, Corinth was a seafaring town with hundreds if not thousands of sailors arriving

Figure 15. The Lechaion Road (Cardo Maximus) at Corinth.

Figure 16. The Lechaion Road showing shops lining the road. Acrocorinth in the background.

daily. These men had been at sea for weeks to months under fairly Spartan conditions. Merchant ships during the first century A.D. typically did not have room to provide the crew with living quarters in the way merchants ships do today. Instead, the crew slept below in the hold where they could find space among the cargo or on the deck in warm weather. Sanitary conditions were virtually non-existent with seamen relieving themselves over the side of the ship and hoping the waves would wash the filth away. When they arrived at Cenchreae or Lechaion, they wanted to visit Corinth and enjoy the pleasures of its many taverns, eateries and prostitutes. The city elders, on the other hand, while happy to relieve the sailors of their money, did not want the city experience to smell like a stable for its residents. So the Romans built a large public bath, the Baths of Eurykles, at the edge of the city just off the Lechaion Road and strongly encouraged visitors to bathe first before coming into the forum to shop, dine or whatever (Figure 18).

Visitors entering Corinth would immediately have become aware of all the temples and shrines to various gods and goddesses that lined the central part of the city. Towering above all was the massive Temple of Apollo. From pottery sherds left by the masons who built the temple, the structure has been

Figure 17. Detail of shops lining the Lechaion Road.

Figure 18. The Baths of Eurykles (Spring of Peirene).

dated to about 550 B.C. (Papahatzis 2000). It was built to replace an earlier temple to Apollo which dated from the previous century. The temple was built in typical Doric style and is 174 feet long by 70 feet wide. There were 15 massive columns on each side and 6 at each end (only 7 of the original columns remain today) (Figure 19) (Walker 2008). Each column was monolithic, made from a single piece of limestone with a basal diameter of 5 feet 8 inches (Walker 2008). A surface of white stucco marble was applied to the column in order to present a brilliant white color in sunlight. One interesting feature of the temple is that the floor beneath each massive column was slightly raised in a convex curve. This architectural feature would later be used for the columns of the Parthenon in Athens. The inner building was divided into two rooms placed back-to-back. Each room was entered by a porch which had two columns in front of them. Inside the rooms were rows of smaller columns. According to the Greek geographer Pausanius, there was a bronze statue of Apollo inside one of the central rooms (Walker 2008).

Figure 19. The Temple to Apollo at Corinth.

Figure 20. Temple to Octavia at Corinth.

Walking around the city, visitors would have seen statues of the Asian goddess Artemis, Dionysus, Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Kthonios (of the underworld) and Athena. On the western side of the forum there were temples to Tyche (Fortuna), Heracles, Poseidon, Apollo and Hermes, as well as two precincts dedicated to the Egyptian goddess, Isis (Papahatzis 2000). The Cult of the Emperor was also present as above the forum on its western side was a temple to Octavia, deified sister of the Emperor Augustus (Figure 20). Outside the city was a major shrine to Apollo's son, Asclepius, the god of healing. People from all over Achaea and Greece came to this shrine to pray for healing, leaving votive clay replicas of the body part that needed healing at the shrine. Many of these have been recovered and can be seen today in the museum at ancient Corinth (Themelis 1984).

At the center of the city was the forum. The forum at Corinth was unusually large, being almost 500 feet in length by nearly 160 feet in width. The forum had originally been planned to be a *jugerum* in size (double of a square *actus* or about 240 Roman feet by 120 feet), but by the first century A.D., the forum was almost twice this size (Figures 21-22) (Papahatzis 2000; Cimak 2004; Walker 2008). On

Figure 21. Roman Forum at Corinth.

Figure 22. Roman Forum at Corinth.

three sides, the forum was lined with a large number of shops and taverns. Most of the shops were double story structures with a ground level shop for merchandise and a smaller upper story where either the shop owners or their slaves slept and watched over the shop after closing hours (Figure 23). On the western side of the forum, archeologists investigating the "long stoa" have found a row of 33 shops, each of which has a storeroom in the rear and a well (Figure 24). The well was likely used for the cold storage of perishable goods. On a door jam found in the same area, archeologists found an inscription in Greek which read "Lucius the Butcher" leading to the conclusion that this area of the forum was most likely the *macellum* or meat market (Walker 2008). Other specialty product areas have also been found including a major area of shops near the western wall of the city which was the area of pottery production.

A short distance from the forum to the northwest of the city was the Roman theater, or *odeon*. The *odeon* at Corinth is a typical Roman theater with a semi-circular *cavea* (auditorium) that had seating for

Figure 23. Shops lining the Forum at Corinth.

Figure 24. Shops along the Long Stoa lining the Forum at Corinth.

about 3,000 spectators (Figure 25) (Papahatzis 2000). The *cavea* was cut out of the natural slope of the ground and had both a lower and upper section. Only the lower section remains today. To the north of the *odeon* was the larger amphitheater. It too was cut out of the natural slope of the hillside (Figure 26). Originally built toward the end of the fourth century B.C., the amphitheater at Corinth had a long and complex history with numerous remodelings. By the end of the first century A.D., the amphitheater hosted gladiatorial games, complete with wild animals (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000).

In between the two theater structures, archeologists found a quadrangle that contained a large number of inward facing shops (Figure 27). Inside the shops were copious amounts of pottery including significant numbers of sherds of fine dinner ware known as "Samian Ware" or *Terra Sigillata*. In addition to the pottery, there were large amounts of animal bones, primarily rib bones from pigs as well as leg bones from chickens and other food animals. Given the location of these shops in between the two theaters, archeologists concluded that the area must represent the one of world's first "fast food courts"

Figure 25. Roman Odeon at Corinth.

Figure 26. Remains of the Greek Amphitheater at Corinth.

which offered a quick and easy way to eat meals for the theater patrons (McRay 2001). When the author visited the area in the spring of 2017, the ground was still littered with sherds of *Terra Sigillata* ware and there was even a pig rib bone in front of one of the small shops (Figure 28).

The total dimensions of first century A.D. Corinth were 7,430 feet (2,265 meters) east-west by 3,484 feet (1,062 meters) north-south. The area encompassed by this was 2.4 square kilometers, or 240 hectares (593 acres) – just a little smaller than a square mile (640 acres) (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2999; Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

Chapter 18 of the Book of Acts tells us that when the Apostle Paul arrived in Corinth, he met a Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla, who had recently been forced to leave Rome when the Emperor Claudius expelled the Jews from the city in ca. 48-49 A.D (Meinardus 1972; Mousteraki 2015). This fits with the timing of Paul arriving in Corinth from Athens in ca. 50 A.D.:

Figure 27. Remains of an apparent "Food Court" located between the theaters.

Figure 28. A pig rib bone found by the author in the Food Court Area.

After this, Paul left Athens and went to Corinth. There he met a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus, who had recently come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had ordered all the Jews to leave Rome. Paul went to see them, and because he was a tent-maker as they were, he stayed and worked with them. Every Sabbath he reasoned in the synagogue, trying to persuade Jews and Greeks. (Acts 18:1-4)

Pontus, the home of Aquila, was the region on the southern side of the Black Sea, east of Byzantium (Istanbul). He had traveled all the way to Rome to conduct business and then back to Corinth when his Roman business was forcibly shut down by the Emperor's decree. These facts show how widespread the Jewish business population was during the first century A.D. Acts 18:1-4 also shows that Paul was conducting his tentmaking business as a means of earning a living while preaching the Gospel in the local synagogue on the Sabbath (Ogilvie 1991). We do not know where Paul's business was precisely located within Corinth, but he, Aquila and Priscilla may have rented a space in one of the shops that lined the two main roads (Lechaion, Cenchreae) that entered the city.

The Apostle Paul remained in Corinth for about 18 months, which would equate to the years ca. 50-52 A.D. While he had stopped trying to convert the Jews in the local synagogue, that does not mean that Jews from the synagogue who disagreed with the Gospel of Jesus quietly sat by without confrontation. In fact, Acts 18 tells us that they tried to bring charges against Paul to the local magistrate, the Proconsul of Achaea, Lucius Junius Gallio:

While Gallio was proconsul of Achia, the Jews of Corinth made a united attack on Paul and brought him to the place of judgment. "This man," they charged, "is persuading people to worship God in ways contrary to the law."

Just as Paul was about to speak, Gallio said to them, "If you Jews were making a complaint about some misdemeanor or serious crime, it would be reasonable for me to listen to you. But since it involves questions about words and names and your own law – settle the matter yourselves. I will not be a judge of such things." So he drove them off. Then the crowd there turned on Sosthenes the synagogue leader and beat him in front of the proconsul; and Gallio showed no concern whatever. (Acts 18:12-17)

In an attempt reminiscent of those aimed against Paul in Antioch Pisidia, Philippi and Thessalonica, the Jews who opposed Paul's teaching tried to bring charges, probably of sedition, against him before the Roman authorities. In this case, instead of invoking a charge against Roman law or loyalty to Caesar, the Jewish charges were apparently that the Gospel of Jesus was different from what was taught in the oral and written Torah. Gallio, the Proconsul for all of Achaea, quickly saw that the case had nothing to do with Roman law and as such, dismissed it without ever seriously listening to the charges (Walker 2008).

The narrative of Paul's time in Corinth mentions several locations and people which have been shown by archeology to have existed exactly when, where and how Luke presented them in Acts. First of all, Acts 18 mentions that on multiple occasions, Paul, as was his custom, went into the local synagogue on the Sabbath in order to preach (Ogilvie 1991). Jewish custom was that visiting Rabbis and Pharisees would be asked to read from the scriptures and then afterwards, be invited to speak on a particular subject. Paul used these opportunities to preach the Gospel and show how Jesus was indeed the Messiah and the fulfillment of prophecy. So, was there a synagogue in Corinth?

We know from Roman sources that the estimated Jewish population of the city was approximately 20,000 – clearly more than enough to warrant at least one (if not many more) synagogue. In 1898, archeologists found a stone on the Lechaion Road which bore an inscription in Greek, "Synagogue of the Hebrews" (Figure 29). The stone appears to be from a door lintel and while it probably dates from the fifth century A.D. based on the type of script used, we know that Jewish synagogues were invariably built on top of pre-existing synagogue sites. The location of the main synagogue in Corinth was most likely somewhere along the Lechaion Road. Today, at the

Figure 29. Synagogue inscription found on the Lechaion Road.

Figure 30. Presumed location of the main Jewish Synagogue at Corinth.

northern end of the archeological site, there is a site where the ruins of shops along the road have stopped, leaving an open place with the remains of massive stone foundations (Papahatzis 2000). Many scholars believe that this was the location of the Jewish synagogue as it is only a few yards away from where the inscribed lintel stone was found (Figure 30) (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000; Walker 2008).

Acts 18 then mentions that the Jews brought Paul "to the place of judgment" to appear before the local magistrate (Ogilvie 1991). The typical place of judgment in a Roman city was the "*bema*". In ancient Greece, the *bema* was simply a raised platform used by orators. Many Hebrew synagogues had a similar structure known as the *bimah* from which Rabbis would read the scriptures to the congregation (Corn-

Figure 31. The Bema (Judgment Seat) as seen from the Forum.

Figure 32. Close-Up of the Bema in the Forum at Corinth.

field and Freedman 1976). In the first century A.D., the *bema*, or more correctly the "Bema Seat", was a raised platform from which magistrates would make both civic pronouncements as well as listen to civil cases and pronounce judgments. The Romans usually placed such platforms along one side of the city forum so that crowds doing their shopping might hear the pronouncements and then pass the information on to their fellow citizens (Gates 2011). In Corinth, the *bema* is a very prominent raised platform that is located in the center of the south side of the forum (Figures 31-33).

Figure 33. Sign for the Bema in the Forum at Corinth.

Acts 18 further tells us that the local magistrate who heard the case against the Apostle Paul was none other than the Proconsul for all of Achaea, Lucius Junius Gallio (Ogilvie 1991). Gallio was the brother of the famous Roman philosopher, Seneca, who was the tutor of the future Emperor Nero. In 1905, several fragments of a large stone inscription were found 120 miles northwest of Corinth at Delphi, the site of the famous Oracle (Meinardus 1972; McRay 2001). Since then, several more fragments have been found, both of the original inscription and a stone column which relates to the inscription. The inscription is part of a letter from the Emperor Claudius to the people of Delphi and reads:

> *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, in the 12th year of his tribunal power, acclaimed Emperor for the 26th time . . . sends greetings to the city of Delphi . . . but with regard to the present stories and those disputes of the citizens of which a report has been made by Lucius Junius Gallio, my friend and proconsul of Achaia . . .*

Figure 34. The Gallio Inscription at Delphi.

A second inscription on a stone column, also mentions Gallio as Proconsul of Achaea (Figures 34-35). The twelfth tribunal year of the Emperor extended from January 25th, 52 A.D. to January 24th, 53 A.D. From Roman sources, we know that the 23rd to the 27th acclamations of Claudius as Emperor occurred between January 25th, 51 A.D. and August 1st, 52 A.D. These acclamations typically occurred after a significant military victory by the Emperor or one of his officers. Scholars believe the 26th acclamation, the one mentioned in the above inscription, occurred sometime in the first half of the year 52 A.D. (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008). As the Gallio inscription implies that he had been Proconsul of the region for some time, Gallio probably received his appointment in 51 A.D. and his term extended through 52 A.D. We know that the Apostle Paul arrived in Corinth sometime during the year 50 A.D. and was there for 18 months. So the Gallio inscription, which confirms the man's presence in the region in exactly the office stated by Luke, fits precisely with the timeline of Paul's first visit to the city.

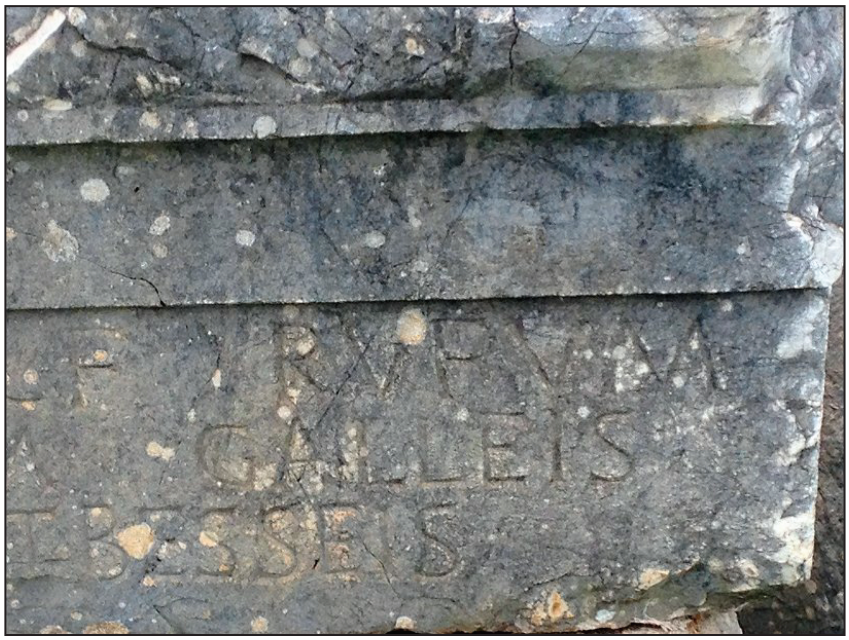

Figure 35. Close-Up showing the name of Proconsul Gallio.

Lastly, a Corinthian citizen, identified as Erastus, is mentioned three times in the New Testament:

> *And having sent into Macedonia two of his helpers, Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while. (Acts 19:22)*
>
> *Gaius, who is host to me and to the whole church, greets you. Erastus, the city treasurer, and our brother Quartus, greet you. (Romans 16:23)*
>
> *Erastus remained in Corinth, and I left Trophimus, who was ill, at Miletus. (II Timothy 4:20)*

These versus tell us that Erastus was no ordinary citizen of Corinth, but the City Treasurer, a man of great importance and status. In 1929, a stone inscription was found on a piece of pavement located between the two theaters at Corinth which says:

ERASTVS PRO AED S P STRAVIT

That is, "*Erastus Pro Aedilitate Sua Pecunia Stravit*" or "Erastus in return for his *aedilship* laid the pavement at his own expense" (Figure 36). A Roman *aedilis* was equal to what we would call the City Treasurer (McRay 2001; Sacks and Oswyn 2009). In the first century A.D., especially for a city the size and wealth of Corinth, this would have been a very significant position. The name Erastus was an unusual name in the first century A.D. The odds that there were two men, with the same unusual name, both of whom had the unique position mentioned by Paul in Romans, defy belief. So in the 17 short verses of Acts 18 (plus a verse from Romans and Timothy), it is awe inspiring that so many locations, features and names dealing with Paul's time in Corinth have been verified by archeology (Ogilvie 1991; Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

Isthmia

When the historian Strabo stated that Corinth was a wealthy city, he was not simply referring to the taxes it charged on transported goods or to the income generated by the city's many taverns and prostitutes. Corinth also controlled a small city located about 8 miles to the east named Isthmia. Isthmia is located four miles north of the Port of Cenchreae on the Aegean Sea. The city was founded in ca. 582 B.C. and soon thereafter, a Panhellenic festival known as the Isthmian Games was established. The games were held every two years in honor of the god Poseidon (Sacks and Oswyn 2009). The games attracted not only the top athletes from across Greece, but many visitors and merchants. With no hotels as such in the area, most of these visitors would have wanted to rent or purchase tents, so the Isthmian Games were a huge boon to those in the tentmaking business. When the games took place, an "Isthmian Truce" was put in place between Corinth and all the other Greek city-states until the games were completed.

The Isthmian Games were held in either April or May of 51 A.D. and it is almost certain that the apostles Paul, Silas, Timothy, Luke, Aquila, Priscilla and perhaps Crispus, Erastus and other converts as well attended the games (Walker 2008; Sacks and Oswyn 2009). Paul would have found the huge throngs of sports spectators a potential rich field for not only his tentmaking business but for new converts to the Gospel as well.

The Greek geographer Pausanius wrote that upon entering the sanctuary of the temple of Poseidon in

Figure 36. The Erastus inscription located near the "Food Court" area.

Isthmia, there were "on one side statues of the athletes who had been victorious in the Isthmian Games and on the other side a row of pine trees" (Rose 1959). Archeologists from the American School of Classical Studies have found what they believe was the office of the director of the Isthmian Games. The floor of the room is adorned with a well-preserved mosaic which depicts a victorious athlete on one side holding a palm branch in his hand and wearing a wreath of leaves (Walker 2008). On the other side is the goddess of good fortune, Eutychia, who is receiving the athlete's thanks for his victory. The Isthmian Crown given to victorious athletes was not made from fresh leaves but withered leaves of wild celery. This separated the Isthmian games from those held at Olympia and Pythia which bestowed wreathes of wild olive and laurel leaves, respectively. The fact that the wreath was made from withered leaves may have been the reason Paul referred to it as a "perishable crown" in his later letter to the Corinthians:

> *Do you not know that in a race all the runners compete, but only one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it. Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. They do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable. Well, I do not run aimlessly, I do not box as one beating the air; but I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified. (I Corinthians 9:24-27)*

Anyone living in Corinth during the first century A.D. would not only have been well aware of Isthmian Games but of all the events held there as well. Paul used sports metaphors frequently ("I have fought the good fight", "I have finished the race") – all of which would have had meaning to his Corinthian audience (Meinardus 1972; Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015).

At Isthmia, archeologists have uncovered the foundations of the large temple of Poseidon (Figure 37). The temple was originally built at the time of the city's founding but was destroyed and rebuilt several times. The latest rebuild was after 44 B.C. when Julius Caesar gave extensive funds to have Corinth and the surrounding area rebuilt. The foundation is approximately 131 feet by 46 feet wide with a number of large columns enclosing an altar to the god inside. The temple was surrounded by a courtyard which was enclosed by a portico on three sides (Papahatzis 2000).

All that has survived of the stadium in which the Isthmian Games were held is a section of the triangular starting point of the race track, which was paved with limestone slabs. The starting point was an isosceles triangle with the starter located at the apex. Grooves were cut into the starting gate to demark each runner's lane (Figures 38-39). The gate consisted of a series of vertical poles which held horizontal bars connected to the starter by a series of cords. The cords fitted within the grooves of the pavement and ran back to the starter. As he pulled on the cords, the horizontal bars across each lane fell and the race began.

Excavations at Isthmia have also uncovered what is believed to have been the finishing point of the races. The races of the Isthmian Games, like our

Figure 37. The Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.

Figure 38. The starting gate at Isthmia.

modern Olympics, included many distances but the race of races was the straight dash. At Isthmia, the dash was 181.15 meters (594 feet). This varied slightly from the other great athletic sites where the main sprint was 192.27 meters (Olympia), 178 meters (Delphi) or 184.96 meters (Panathenian) (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ms. Nanette Dawson of Adonde Travel in Houston who was largely responsible for designing three extended archeological trips for me – one to Israel and Jordan, a second one to Greece and Turkey, and a third trip to Israel including Caesarea Maritima – each focused on visiting and assessing many of the Roman cities of the first century A.D. Nanette, you are the best of the best. I would also like to thank my wife, Ginny Crook, who took many of the other excellent photographs which appear in this paper.

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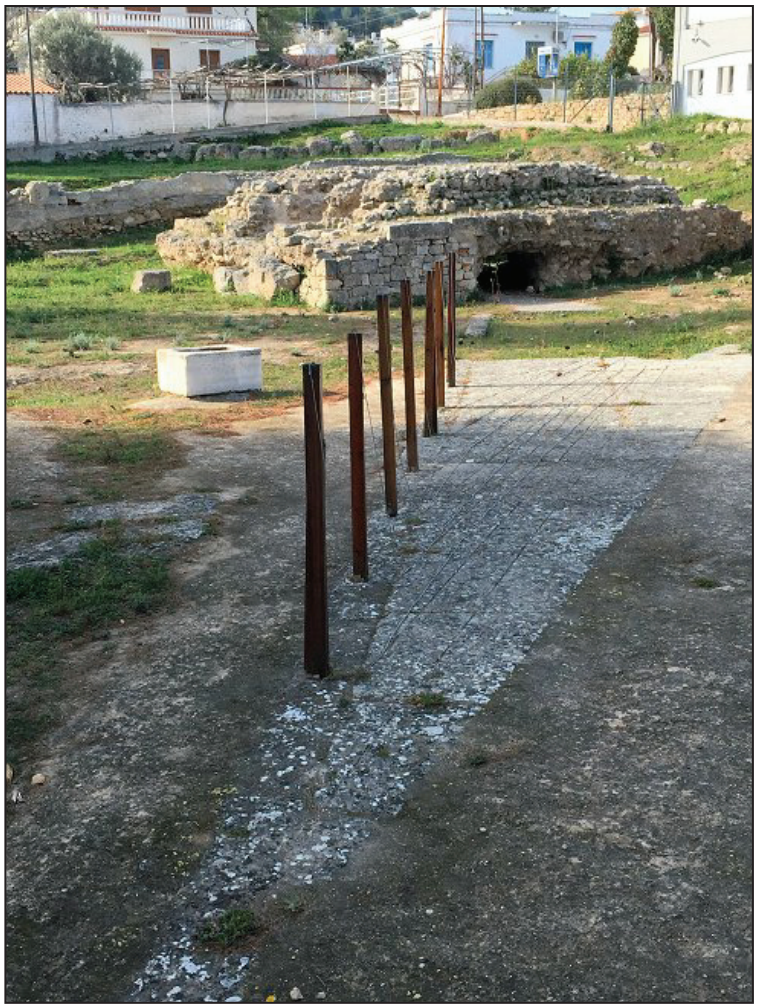

Figure 39. Detail of the race starting gate at Isthmia.

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PHILIPPI: AUGUSTUS' "MINIATURE ROME"

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

The ancient Roman city of Philippi is best known today for its visits by the Apostle Paul and his later letter to the members of the church he established there in the middle of the first century A.D. ("Philippians"). But the city had a long history dating back to Philip of Macedon, Alexander's father, who established the city around 356 B.C. The city is flanked by the Gangites River to the south and by the Pangaion Mountains to the north (Figure 1). The area that was to later become Philippi originally was a Thracian gold mining camp known as "Crenides" meaning spring or well (Meinardus 1972; Walker 2008). Veins of gold had been found throughout the Pangaion Mountains (Figure 2). To help finance his expansion of the Macedonian homeland, Philip II annexed the area in 356 B.C. and arranged for the region to provide him with an annual output of "over 1,000 talents of gold per year" (a Greek talent weighed about 57.3 pounds which would have generated over $1 billion in today's gold values) (Walker 2008). In exchange, Philip built a protective wall around the settlement which he named Philippi for himself. Unique among Philip's conquests, the Philippians were granted a degree of autonomy as long as the shipments of gold continued to be sent to Philip's capital at Pella.

Figure 1. The Gaggitas (Gangites) River at Philippi. This photograph was taken near the traditional site of the Apostle Paul's meeting with Lydia and her fellow believers.

In 168 B.C., Rome defeated the Macedonians and annexed the entire region as a Roman Province. Philippi had declined in importance as the gold mines had largely played out and it was not deemed to be of any major strategic importance. This situation dramatically changed in 42 B.C. when Octavian (later Caesar Augustus) and Marc Anthony cornered the forces of Julius Caesar's assassins on the plains west of the city. At the ensuing Battle of Philippi, Cassius was killed and Brutus committed suicide, effectively ending the rebellion. Although Marc Anthony engineered the victory (Octavian was ill in his tent for much of the battle), Octavian always attributed his rise to ultimately becoming Rome's first Emperor to the victory at Philippi. Accordingly, he settled the with the heroes and veterans of the XX-VIII Legion and poured finances into building Philippi into "a miniature Rome" (Scarre 1995). After Octavian defeated Marc Anthony and Cleopatra at the naval Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., Philippi was renamed Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis and was granted special privileges including a significant reduction in taxes (Walker 2008). Philippi was, in every sense of the word, a Roman city: its language was Latin, its laws were Roman, and the money bore Latin inscriptions. Thus when the apostle Paul first visited the city, he was truly entering an alien world, a culture very different from anything he had experienced up to this date Table 1).

Table 1.Key Dates and Events for Philippi Through the First Century A.D.

Date	Event
356 B.C.	City founded by Philip II of Macedon (Alexander the Great's father) on the site of an ancient gold mining settlements called "Crenides" (Spring or Well); Philip builds a defensive wall and grants the citizens a degree of autonomy (people of Philippi registered as Philippians and not as Macedonians)
168 B.C.	Region is conquered by the Romans; Philippi declines in importance
42 B.C.	Battle of Philippi; Octavian (later Augustus) and Mark Anthony defeat the forces of Cassius (who is killed) and Brutus (who commits suicide); city is settled and garrisoned by members of the XXVIII Legion; Octavian turns Philippi into a "miniature Rome" and it becomes the most famous city in Macedonia
31 B.C.	After Octavian's victory over Mark Anthony and Cleopatra at Actium, Philippi is renamed "Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis" and granted Imperial Favor
ca. 50 A.D.	Paul, Silas, Timothy and Luke arrive in Macedonia and travel through Philippi; Paul meets Lydia "by the river" and forms the first Christian church in Europe; Paul is beaten and falsely imprisoned; after threatening the rulers of Philippi for illegally beating a Roman citizen, Paul is escorted out of the city (Acts 16)
ca. 55-56 A.D.	Apostle Paul travels through Macedonia and visits the church in Philippi (Acts 20)
ca. 57 A.D.	Apostle Paul, in route to Jerusalem, stops in Philippi with Luke to celebrate Passover (Acts 20)

City Layout

Due to its historical importance, Philippi was located on the Via Egnatia, the road that ran west to east across Greece for a distance of 686 miles connecting the Adriatic coast to Byzantium on the Black Sea (Walker 2008). The road started at the port of Dyrrachium on the Adriatic and crossed the modern countries of Albania, the Republic of Macedonia, Greece and ended in European Turkey. The road was constructed as a super highway of its day, connecting the colonies of northern Greece (Macedonia, Thrace) with the Adriatic and the Bosporus. With a short sea voyage across the Adriatic, the road also provided a link with Rome itself. The Via Egnatia was constructed like most major Roman roads, being built in multiple compacted layers of sand and gravel which were capped by polygonal flagstones. The road was about 20 feet in width and was built with a slight crown and major gutters on each side to allow for

Figure 2. Pangaion Mountains overlooking ancient Philippi.

Figure 3. The Via Egnatia at Philippi, Greece.

Figure 4. Detail of the Via Egnatia at Philippi showing gutter system.

quick water runoff. The Via Egnatia ran through the center of Philippi and although it was an east-west road, it served as the Cardo Maximus for the city (Figures 3-4) (Charalambos and Koester 1989; Cimak 2004).

Because of its geographical location along the Via Egnatia, Philippi was not laid out in typical Roman fashion (Figure 5). As noted above, the east-west running Via Egnatia served as the Cardo Maximus for the city. The main Roman forum which

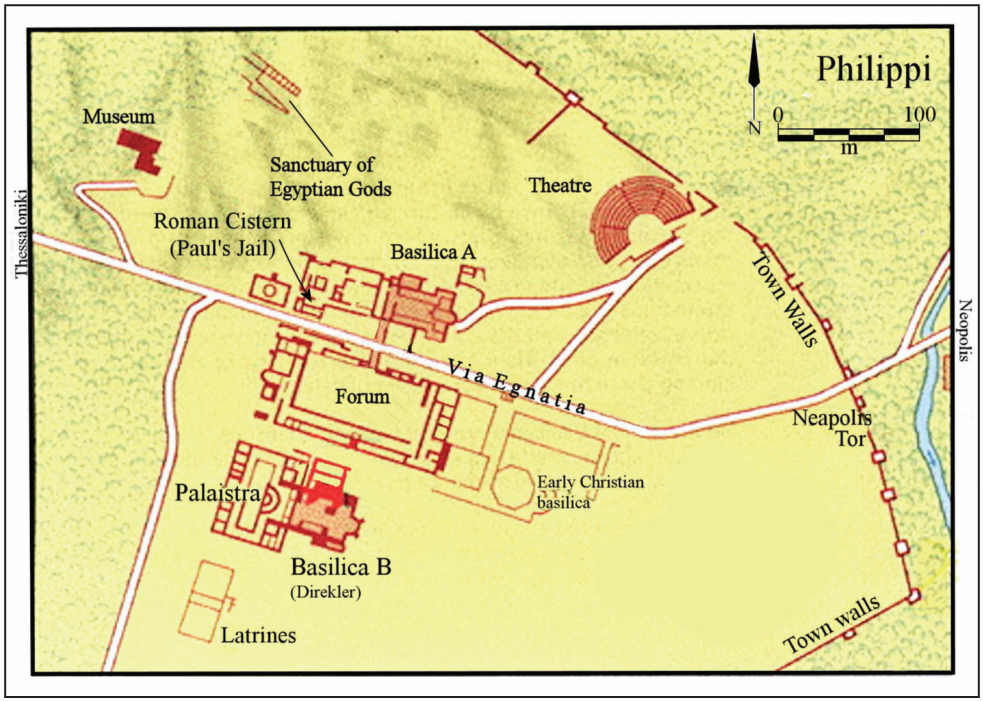

Figure 5. Map of Ancient Philippi. (Map Illustrated by Lance K. Trask)

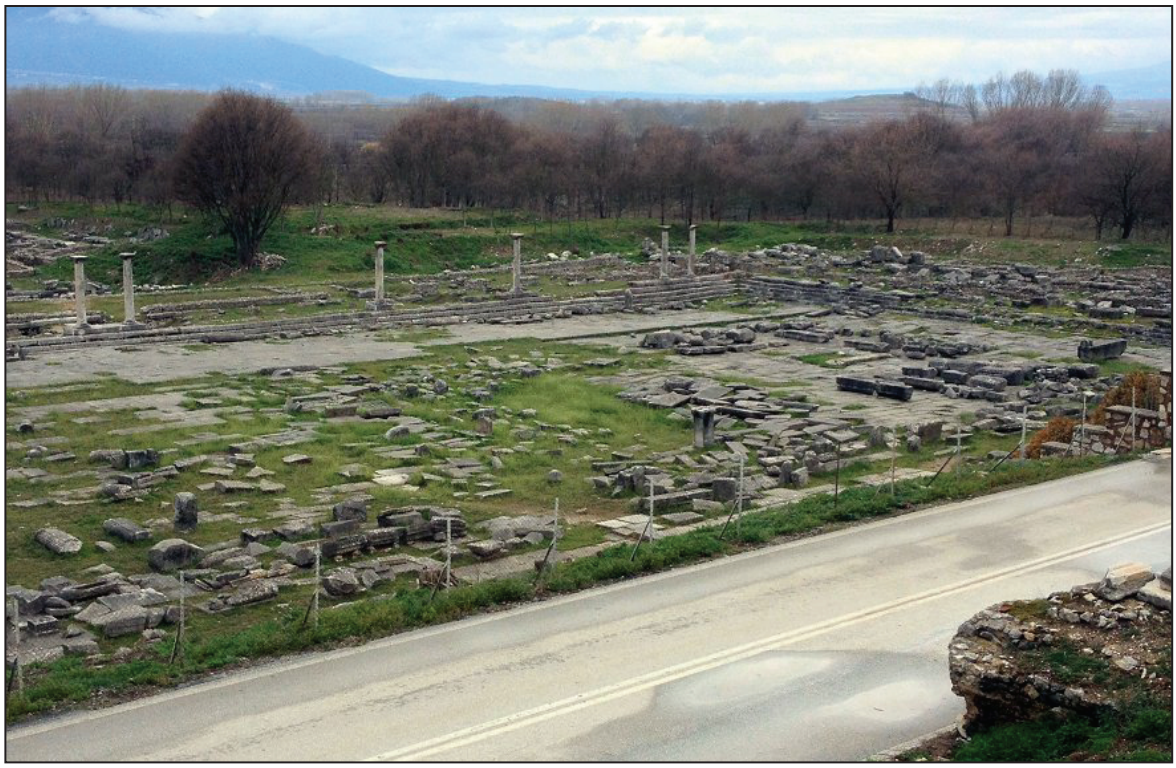

Figure 6. The Roman Forum at Philippi. Paul and Silas were severely flogged with rods here and then thrown into jail. The area at one end of the forum marked by four steps has been suggested as a possible location of the city's bema or judgement seat.

featured a colonnaded stoa on three sides, was situated immediately south of and adjacent to the Via Egnatia (Figure 6). A series of north-south side roads led to the old Greek agora, a large Greek amphitheater (Figure 7), and a series of small temples to the north of the Via Egnatia in the Pangaion Mountains. Augustus greatly expanded all of these structures out of his own pocket. The forum was expanded and with its favorable tax status (another rarity within the Roman Empire of the first century A.D.), Philippi

Figure 7. Large Greek Amphitheater at Philippi.

Figure 8. Remains of shops lining the Roman Forum at Philippi.

became a major center for trade and commerce, especially in dyed cloth imported from Asia Minor (Figure 8) (Mousteraki 2015). The Greek amphitheater was greatly expanded in size and major gladiatorial contests, again sponsored by Rome, were held in the new arena (Mousteraki 2015).

Christianity Comes to Philippi and Europe's First Christian Church

The evangelists Paul, Silas, Timothy and Luke arrived in Philippi in ca. 50 A.D. By this time, Paul had established an effective method of going to the local synagogue on the Sabbath, where as a visiting Pharisee, he would be invited to speak. He would preach the key elements of the Gospel showing how Jesus' life, death and resurrection were not only predicted by Jewish history but were the fulfillment of God's plan for all people. However, when the evangelists arrived at Philippi, they found that there was no synagogue in the city as the Jewish population was very small. Despite having no formal place to worship, the Jews that did live in Philippi met on the Sabbath at a place outside the city walls along the Gaggitas (Gangites) River:

> *On the Sabbath we went outside the city gate to the river, where we expected to find a place of prayer. We sat down and began to speak to the women who had gathered there. One of those listening was a woman from the city of Thyatira named Lydia, a dealer in purple cloth. She was a worshiper of God. The Lord opened her heart to respond to Paul's message. When she and the members of her household were baptized, she invited us to her home. "If you consider me a believer in the Lord," she said, "come and stay at my house." And she persuaded us. (Acts 16:13-15)*

Lydia was a dealer in purple-dyed cloth, a trade that had flourished since ancient times. The fact that no husband is ever mentioned in any of the Biblical sources probably implies that she was a widow, but unlike many widows throughout the first century A.D. Roman world, she was not destitute (McRay 2001). On the contrary, Lydia appears to have been a prominent business woman who likely owned her business and her own house. In 1872, a Greek archeologist found a piece of white marble in Philippi which bore the following inscription: "The city honored from among the purple-dyers, an outstanding citizen, Antiochus the son of Lykus, a native of Thyatira, as a benefactor" (Antonakis 2003). Unfortunately, this marble inscription has since been lost but it shows that the purple cloth dyers of Thyatira may have worked in Philippi as a guild and their profession was held in high esteem.

On an interesting side note, when I visited Philippi in 2017, there were still several households located to the west of the city that maintained the purple-dyed cloth industry, mainly for the tourists. They market all sorts of dyed articles, each one

Figure 9. Modern made "Lydian Purple" cloth produced by the dyed cloth makers of Philippi.

labeled as "Lydian Purple." However, the color is not what we today would call true purple (violet) but instead a purple red, almost magenta color (Figure 9). When questioned, the people insisted this is the true color of ancient Lydian Purple.

IIn Acts 16:13-15, Luke described Lydia as a "worshiper of God." This phrase is often used to describe someone who was not Jewish by birth but later came to worship God (a proselyte). When Lydia and her household came to believe in the Lord, they not only became the first European Christians, but Lydia's house became the first European Christian church. The area along the Gaggitas (Gangites) River where Lydia's conversion to Christianity took place is now commemorated with a baptismal area (Figure 10). A much larger baptistery in the name of Lydia has been built just to the north of the site (Figure 11). Tradition maintains that the location of Lydia's house was either on the site of the baptistery or on that of a nearby small hotel (Hotel Lidia) (Antonakis 2003).

After staying and preaching in Philippi for some time (perhaps several weeks), Paul and his companions encountered a young slave girl who, being possessed by an evil spirit, had the ability to predict the future. This girl followed Paul around shouting, "These men are servants of the Most High God, who are telling you the way to be saved" (Acts 16:17). While her message was certainly true, Paul probably did not want the Gospel to be seen as coming from a demon-possessed person. So in the name of Jesus Christ, he commanded the evil spirit to leave the girl (Acts 16:18). Unfortunately, this slave girl and her ability to see the future was the way her owners made their living and once the spirit left her body, she no longer had the ability for prophecy. Angry at losing their source of income, the owners of the slave girl brought charges against Paul and Silas before the magistrate of the city. In Roman law there was no statute that dealt with property that had been depreciated via an exorcism, so the owners of the slave girl based their charges against Paul and Silas on introducing new religious practices that had disturbed the peace of the city. Jews were not allowed to proselytize Roman citizens and it was probably on this basis that the owners' charges were based (Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015).

Figure 10. The author's wife at the modern baptistery along the River Gangites at Philippi.

Figure 11. The Lydia Baptistery at Philippi.

In most Roman cities of the first century A.D. magistrates did not have their own building but administered legal decrees from a judgment seat, or *bema*, usually located at a prominent place on one side of the city forum (Meinardus 1972; Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015). This site was often in the middle of an area of shops and when a decree or ruling was read out, the people would stop shopping and gather to listen to their city leaders. Paul and Silas were dragged through the forum to the location of the bema, where the magistrate pronounced that they should be stripped and beaten with rods (Figures 12 and 13). The jailer was given strict orders to make sure that the two foreign trouble makers would spend an uncomfortable night in jail.

While sitting that night in jail, Paul and Silas began to sing hymns to God when a violent earthquake struck the city:

Figure 12. The Roman forum at Philippi. The Bema or Judgement Seat area was probably on the right side of the photo where four levels of stones remain today.

Figure 13. The Bema or Judgement Seat area at Philippi.

About midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God, and the other prisoners were listening to them. Suddenly there was such a violent earthquake that the foundations of the prison were shaken. At once all the prison doors flew open, and everyone's chains came loose. The jailer woke up, and when he saw the prison doors open, he drew his sword and was about to kill himself because he thought the prisoners had escaped. But Paul shouted, "Don't harm yourself! We are all here." The jailer called for lights, rushed in and fell trembling before Paul and Silas. He then brought them out and asked, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" They replied, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved – you and your household." Then they spoke the word of the Lord to him and to all the others in his house. At that hour of the night the jailer took them and washed their wounds; then immediately he and all his household were baptized. The jailer brought them into his house and set a meal before them; he was filled with joy because he had come to believe in God – he and his whole household. (Acts 16:25-34)

The statement that the jailer was scared to the point of committing suicide is not an exaggeration by Luke. Roman prison laws were very harsh and typically maintained that if a prisoner escaped due to carelessness on the part of the jailer, the jailer would then take the place of the escaped criminal and carry out the remainder of the prisoner's sentence, whatever the degree of the crime (McRay 2001; Mousteraki 2015). Since the magistrate had given very strict orders to the jailer before releasing them to his custody, he could be assured of being tortured at best, and executed at worst.

The traditional site for this miracle is a small building located immediately north of the forum on the north side of the Via Egnatia (Meinardus 1973; Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015). When excavated by French archeologists in the early part of the twentieth century, the structure was found to be the remains of a Roman cistern (Figure 14) (McRay 2001). That does not mean that the cistern could not also have been used as a jail sometime during the life of the structure. Roman prisons often had either an outer

Figure 14. Roman Cistern that is the traditional site of Paul's prison at Philippi.

and an inner room, or a street level room and a small, dark, subsurface room where the prisoners were kept. The cistern structure at Philippi has an outer room and an inner room that has no windows, so it certainly qualifies as to what a Roman prison cell would look like on all accounts (McRay 2001).

The next morning, the local magistrate sent word to the jailer to release the prisoners and escort them out of the city. Paul, however, decided to turn the tables on his tormentors. He sent word to the magistrate that first, both he and Silas were Roman citizens, not Greeks, some other nationality or slaves, and secondly, as such, they had been beaten and imprisoned without trial, something which was against Roman law. The shoe was now on the other foot and under Roman law, the magistrates could be liable for serious penalties should higher authorities hear of their illegal actions against a pair of Roman citizens. They therefore apologized to Paul and Silas and asked them to please quietly leave the city. Having made his point, Paul first went to Lydia's house to strengthen the members of the new church in Philippi, and then left the city heading west along the Via Egnatia for Thessalonica.

Paul would maintain a strong relationship with the Philippians throughout his life. He would visit the city at least twice more: at the beginning of his Third Missionary Journey and before sailing for Jerusalem at the end of the same trip (Acts 20) (see Table 1). Moreover, during Paul's long stay in Ephesus between 54-57 A.D., he was visited by Epaphroditus, a member of the church in Philippi. Epaphroditus brought gifts and probably sustaining funds from his friends in Philippi (Philippians 4:18). Later when Epaphroditus fell ill (Philippians 2:25-30), news of his illness reached Philippi and his friends and fellow church members were very distressed. After his recovery, he returned to Philippi carrying a letter of love and encouragement from Paul which is believed to form the basis for most if not all of the Book of Philippians.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ms. Nanette Dawson of Adonde Travel in Houston who was largely responsible for designing three extended archeological trips for me – one to Israel and Jordan, a second one to Greece and Turkey, and a third trip to Israel includ-

ing Caesarea Maritima – each focused on visiting and assessing many of the Roman cities of the first century A.D. Nanette, you are the best of the best. I would also like to thank my wife, Ginny Crook, who took many of the other excellent photographs which appear in this paper.

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CAPERNAUM: CROSSROADS OF TRADE AND DIVERSITY IN ROMAN GALILEE

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

Flavius Josephus wrote "the people of the country call it Capernaum" (Josephus 2010). In Hebrew, Capernaum (*Kfar Nahum*) translates to the "village of Nahum". However, there is no known connection between the town and the Old Testament prophet, Nahum. More than likely, it is named for a man who settled the area and has since become or lost to history. Nahum also translates to "comfort" or "consolation", so the village could also have been named for its peaceful location in a turbulent world (Thomas 2004).

Capernaum is located on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee (Figure 1). While a few artifacts from the Late Bronze Age have been found in the area, the village itself seems to have originated from the second century B.C. during the pre-Roman, Hasmonean period (Jewish rule) (Loffreda 2001; Thomas 2004). Occupation of the site lasted more or less continuously to the 11th century A.D. when Capernaum was abandoned. The city was rediscovered in the 19th century and the eastern part of the site purchased by the Franciscans; the western part of the site was purchased by the Orthodox Church. Excavations on the Franciscan side of the side began in the 20th century and have continued up through the 1990s. The initial excavation of the town was conducted by the German team of Kohl and Watzinger (starting in 1905) with the majority of the work conducted by the Franciscans (Stanislao Loffreda) since 1968. The excavations have uncovered two Jewish synagogues, one built on top of the other, and a number of first century A.D. house structures, one of which tradition says is the house of the Apostle Peter. The city has no defensive wall and is spread out, east-to-west, along the coastline of the Sea of Galilee. A cemetery has been found 200 meters north of the synagogue and outside the inhabited area of the city as would be expected for a Jewish town of the first century A.D.

Figure 1. Map of the Sea of Galilee during the First Century A.D. showing the location of ancient harbors. Capernaum is located on the northwestern shore of the Sea. (www.ritmeyer.com/2014/4/12/04/harbours-of-the-sea-of-galilee)

Figure 2. Aerial view of Capernaum showing the centrally located synagogue (white structure) and the city surrounding it. Note the two north-south running main streets that lead down to the Sea of Galilee. (www.BibleWalks.com)

Capernaum is mentioned in all four Christian Gospels where it was reported to have been near the hometown of the Apostles Simon Peter, Andrew, James and John, as well as the tax collector Matthew. Jesus conducted the majority of his earthly ministry in and around Capernaum and the Gospels record that he taught in the synagogue, healed a man of an unclean spirit, healed Peter's mother-in-law of a fever, and healed the servant of a Roman Centurion.

City Layout

The layout of Capernaum is quite regular, mainly on both sides of two prominent north-south streets (Figures 2 and 3). On both sides of the central north-south streets are small districts of houses bordered by cross-streets. The main building in the city is the large Jewish synagogue which is constructed of white limestone blocks brought from the mountains of Lower Galilee some 10 kilometers to the south (Thomas 2004). Synagogues, unlike the Temple in Jerusalem, were not considered special religious places ordained by God. As a result, there were no specific rules regarding their construction. As can be seen in Figure 4, the synagogue at Capernaum consists of two large chambers; the one on the left (west) contains rows of seats on three sides of the structure with a series of columns separating a central courtyard and a northern portico (Figures 5 and 6). The large room on the eastern side of the structure (see Figure 4) is believed to have been for teaching (school) (Chen 1986; Loffreda 2001). Behind the north wall are several small rooms which may have been used for the storage of scrolls containing the scriptures or they served as guest rooms for visiting rabbis (Hill 2018). Given the size of the support columns and the remaining north wall, a second story was likely present which may have served as

Figure 3. Aerial view of Capernaum looking north. The unexcavated part of the city can be seen to the right. The breakwater along the shore of the Sea of Galilee has been constructed with large basalt boulders and the fill from many of the house structures. It is filled with artifacts from the first to fourth centuries A.D. (Wikipedia Commons)

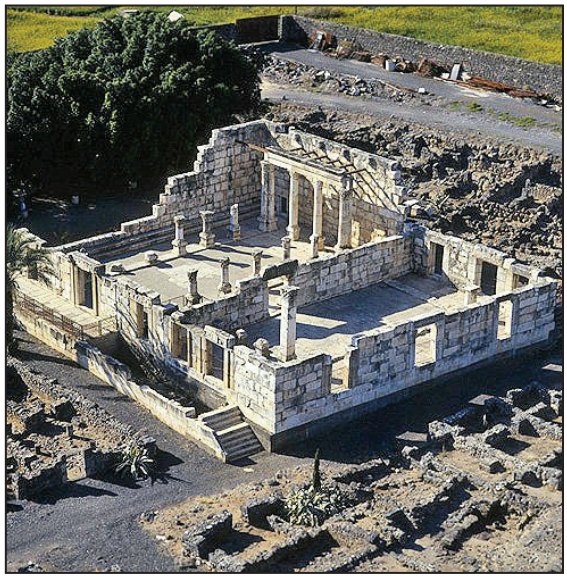

Figure 4. Aerial view of the large synagogue at Capernaum. The main part of the synagogue is on the left (west) side. The room on the right (east) side was probably for teaching. There are several small rooms on the north side which were for visiting rabbis. (Sonia Halliday Photo Library, IS518-9-36)

the worship area for women and children (Chen 1986; Thomas 2004). The large synagogue at Capernaum dates from the Byzantine period (third to fifth centuries A.D.). However, excavations below the white limestone foundation blocks shows an earlier structure made of local black basalt (Figure 7 and 8). Since it was common for synagogues from different time periods to be built on top of one another, it is logical to assume that these stones represent an earlier synagogue. Coins and pottery sherds recovered from this level date it to the first century A.D. thus this would have been the synagogue that Jesus attended and taught in (Loffreda 2001; Hill 2018).

Figure 6. Central support columns inside the synagogue at Capernaum.

Figure 5. Benches for seating inside the synagogue at Capernaum.

The houses inside Capernaum are all constructed from local dark-colored basalt which was reinforced

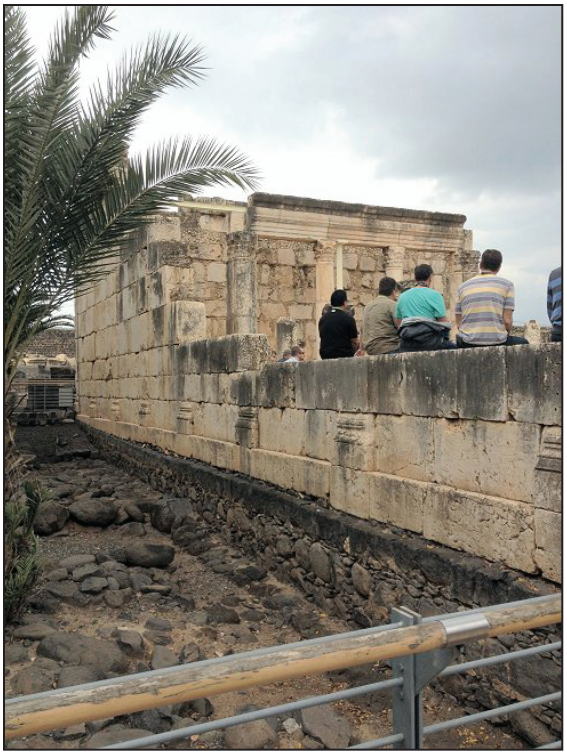

Figure 7. Black basalt foundation of first century A.D. synagogue below the more elaborate Byzantine period structure.

Figure 8. Black basalt foundation of first century A.D. synagogue below the Byzantine period structure.

by small stones and mud (Figures 9-11). The stones are not dressed and no mortar was used (Foerster 1971; Loffreda 2001). Given the coarse nature of the stonework, there was likely no second story to any of the typical Capernaum house structures. The archeological remains of small poles and straw supports the idea that the roofs were fairly ephemeral and needed to be repaired seasonally. Most house structures consist of small, single rooms clustered around a central courtyard feature. Based on the number of excavated and unexcavated room blocks (see Figure 1), Capernaum is believed to have had a population of about 1,500 during the first century A.D. (Loffreda 2001; Hill 2018).

On the south side of the village near the shore of the Sea of Galilee, excavators found a small octagonal church which dated to the 5th century A.D. Inside and below the octagonal structure, was a cluster of small, one rooms houses built around an open courtyard (Figure 12). Graffiti from the fifth and sixth century asserted that site had a long tradition of veneration as being the location of the Apostle Peter's house (Loffreda 2001; Hill 2018). Excavation showed that the pottery recovered from the structure dated to the first century A.D. A large, modern Catholic Church resembling a flying saucer has been built over the structure. The church has a central glass floor so that worshipers can see the remains of the first century A.D. house below.

Capernaum's Location

Josephus referred to Capernaum as a "fertile spring" (Josephus 2010). The village is located immediately to the east of a triangular-shaped piece of land on the northern end of the Sea of Galilee known as the Plain of Gennesarat(h). This is an area about one mile wide by two and a half miles long that is shielded by mountains on two sides and fed by a large number of natural springs. The area has a ten month growing season and a long tradition of being extremely fertile, producing large amount of fruit and wheat (Hill 2018). Today, the area is full of fruit groves including olives, date palms, figs, bananas and pomegranates (Figure 13). A large number of basalt grinding stones found in the ruins at Capernaum indicates that the locals exploited the fertile land of the Plain of Gennesarat both for their own use as well as probable export (Figure 14).

Figure 9. Basalt foundations for houses in central Capernaum.

Figure 10. House structures at Capernaum. The small upright stones with lintels may have served as some type of window opening.

Based on both the Biblical account through the Gospels as well as from the writings of Josephus, one of the primary industries of Capernaum was fishing. The Sea of Galilee region was extremely important economically, both as a source of fresh water and for its fish. The Sea, which is the product of a down-thrown graben fault at the northern end of the Great African rift system, is shaped like a frying pan – relatively wide and shallow (it is 13 miles long by 8 miles wide and averages only 84 feet in depth) (Wright 1962; McRay 2001). As a result, winds funneling through valleys from the eastern side of the lake (the Golan Heights) can cause sudden and violent storms. Fishing was typically done at night when the sea was more quiet and net and boat repair work was done during the day. There are eighteen species of fish found in the Sea of Galilee, of which ten are considered economic. The most abundant commercial fish include sardines, carp (three species), catfish, and tilapia (Hill 2018). The latter is

Figure 11. Small one room house structure on the north side of Capernaum. Most house blocks consist of small single rooms clustered around a central open courtyard.

Figure 12. Remains of a cluster of houses from the first century A.D. surrounded by the foundation of an octagonal Byzantine church. The house structure is traditionally ascribed to be the house of the Apostle Peter.

known today as "St. Peter's fish" and is served all over the region (Figure 15). Sea of Galilee fish were placed on leaf-covered racks and smoked and dried, then shipped over the entire Roman world (evidence of Sea of Galilee fish has been found in places as far west as Spain) (Korb 2010).

In 1986, after an extended period of drought which significantly lowered the water level of the Sea of Galilee, two workers from the Kibbutz Ginosar on the northwestern shore of the sea discovered the remains of an ancient wooden boat. A coffer dam was built around the boat and the area surrounding it drained and excavated. Shelley Wachsmann,

Figure 13. The fertile Plain of Gennesarat located immediate west of Capernaum.

Figure 14. Basalt grinding stones found during the excavation of Capernaum.

then of the Israeli Department of Antiquities and Museums and now a professor at Texas A&M University, in conjunction with volunteers from the U. S. Embassy and from Kibbutz Ginosar, excavated the boat. The boat, which took 12 days and nights to carefully recover, measured 27 feet in length, 7.5 feet wide and had a preserved height of 4.3 feet (Figure 16) (McRay 2001; Korb 2010). In order to preserve the fragile remains, the wood was soaked for seven years in a chemical bath. Radiocarbon dating of the wood yielded a date of 40 B.C. +/- 80 years and pottery found inside the boat was estimated to be from the period of 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. (McRay 2001). Since these dates cover the period of time that Jesus was active along the Sea of Galilee and the boat's location was only five miles from Capernaum, the boat was dubbed by the press as "the Jesus boat" (although there is absolutely no proof that Jesus ever came near the boat). It is now on exhibit in a special museum at Kibbutz Ginosar.

Figure 15. St. Peter's fish (Tilapia galilea) served today in restaurants lining the Sea of Galilee.

During the excavation, one of the volunteers from the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv was Karen Sullivan. Karen (who later married archeologist Shelley Wachsmann), received a small group of wooden pieces that could not be refitted into the boat. She gave three of those fragments to her U.S. Embassy colleague, Mr. Sebastian Failla. Mr. Failla has since donated two of the fragments to museums in the United States and upon hearing of the author's teaching of Biblical archeology, agreed to give me one of the small fragments which is shown in Figure 17 (Jason Failla, personal communication 2016).

Archeology supports the presence of an active fishing industry at Capernaum in the first century A.D. Large amounts of bronze fish hooks as well as large needles for sewing and repairing nets and sails have been recovered (Figure 18).

In addition to fishing and agriculture, Capernaum benefited greatly from its location on the major east-west trade route known as the Via Maris (Shanks 2011; Hill 2018) . This was the road which connected Damascus in the north to Egypt in the south and passed through Capernaum. Moreover, being located within the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea which was controlled by Herod Antipas (under roman overlordship), Capernaum was near the boundary with the tetrarch controlled by Herod Philip. As such, Capernaum was important enough to be a Roman garrison town with at least a Century of soldiers stationed there (Hill 2018). The presence of a Century of Roman legionnaires in Capernaum is supported by the story of Jesus healing the Centurion's servant which is present in the Gospels of Matthew (Matthew 8:5-13) and Luke (Luke 7:1-10) (Cornfield and Freedman 1976). Trade goods passing from one territory to another were also subject to

Figure 16. First century A.D. boat recovered from Kibbutz Ginosaur in 1986.

taxation, which is the reason tax collectors, such as Matthew, were present in the village.

While primarily a Jewish village, the area's rich agriculture and fishing production made Capernaum a melting pot of the Roman Empire's rich diversity. In addition to Jews and Roman soldiers, Capernaum's population consisted of Syrians, Phoenician traders, merchants from Egypt, and Greeks from the Decapolis (Hill 2018). The official language of international trade in the region was Greek, but the inhabitants of Capernaum would have spoken, Hebrew, Aramaic, and probably some Latin as well. As such, Capernaum was a microcosm of the Roman Empire and a metropolitan city way beyond its size of only 1,500 people. Connected to the rest of the Empire by a superb transportation network, it becomes obvious why someone like Jesus would have chosen such a place for the majority of his ministry as preaching

Figure 17. Small wooden fragment from the "Jesus Boat" which has been dated to the First Century A.D. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

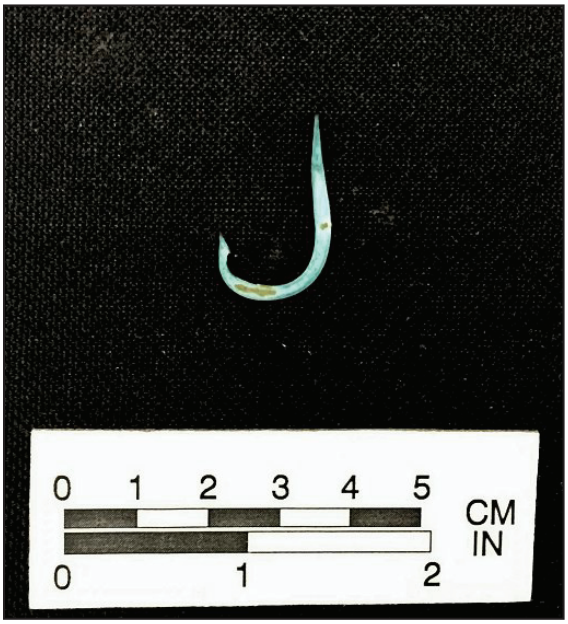

Figure 18. Bronze fish hook typical of the first and second centuries A.D. recovered by the author from the breakwater located at the southern end of Capernaum. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

within Capernaum would have assured the rapid spread of a new message to the rest of the Empire in a very short time.

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I would like to thank Ms. Nanette Dawson of Adonde Travel in Houston who was largely responsible for designing three extended archeological trips for me – one to Israel and Jordan, a second one to Greece and Turkey, and a third trip to Israel including Caesarea Maritima – each focused on visiting and assessing many of the Roman cities of the first century A.D. Nanette, you are the best of the best. I would also like to thank my wife, Ginny Crook, who took many of the other excellent photographs which appear in this paper.

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EMPEROR CONSTANTINE'S CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM: ROME'S FIRST CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

Introduction

In the fall of 312 A.D., the Emperor Constantine had a religious conversion experience as he and his legions marched across the Apennine mountains by the *Via Flaminia* to Rome to confront the usurper-emperor Maxentius. Believing that the Christian God assisted him in his victory over Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28th, Constantine initiated a number of construction projects in Rome to legitimize his authority over the city and to offer cultural unity to Roman society through his conversion to the Christian religion (Odahl 2004:83).

Besides his civic projects, such as the appropriation of the Basilica Nova that was begun by Maxentius and the erection of a grand triumphal arch near the Flavian Amphitheater (the Colosseum), Constantine began the construction of a series of grand Christian buildings that would continue for the next half century. Among the structures built during this program were two monumental "residential" basilicas - basilicas that provided residential and administrative functions in addition to religious functions, two "apostolic" basilicas - monumental basilicas dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul and associated with their respective burial sites, and at least four of the six known circiform funerary basilicas.

The circiform funerary basilicas appear to have been a specialized type of worship space that was closely associated with the burial places of Christian martyrs. Some of them also have an Imperial mausoleum adjacent to the basilica. The six circiform basilicas that date to the period of Constantine and his family are: (1) *Basilica Apostolorum*, (2) *Basilica Marcellino et Petro ad Duas Lauros*, (3) *Basilica Beato Laurentino Martyri*, (4) *Basilica Sanctae Martyis Agnae*, (5) the basilica at the *Villa dei Gordiani (6)* the basilica on *Via Ardeatina*. These basilicas will be covered in a paper on page 99.

In this paper, we will focus on the residential basilicas of the *Basilica Constantiana* (now known as St. John Lateran or San Giovanni in Laterano) and the *Basilica in Palato Sessoriano* (now know as the Basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme) and the apostolic basilicas of the *Basilica Beato Petro Apostolo* (now known as St. Peter's Basilica or San Pietro in Vaticano) and the *Basilica Beato Paolo Apostolo* (now known as the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Wall or San Paolo fuori le Mura). Although each of them has undergone extensive renovation or replacement, some of the remnant features of the fourth century A.D. structures are still visible. By seeing beyond the modern buildings to the original structures, it may be possible to better understand how Constantine used these buildings to raise the status of Christianity while also attempting to unify Roman society through the new religious paradigm.

Basilica Constantiniana
(Basilica of St. John Lateran)
(commissioned 313 A.D.; dedicated 318 A.D.)

When the Tetrarchy, established by the Emperor Diocletian in the late 3rd century A.D., began to unravel, a conflict between the Emperor of the West, Constantine, and the usurper Emperor of Italy, Maxentius, was destined to be resolved when Constantine marched on the city of Rome in 312 A.D.

On October 28, 312 A.D., the army of Constantine engaged the forces of Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge over the Tiber River north of Rome. Constantine's army triumphed, and the *Equites Singulares*, who remained loyal to Maxentius, were thoroughly routed. The actions of Constantine after he entered Rome were swift and direct. He disbanded the *Equites Singulares* and he granted Pope Miltiades the barracks of the *Equites Singulares* as the site for a Christian basilica. He also gave the pope the so-called Domus Faustae for his papal headquarters (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Claridge 2010:376). Some scholars have suggested that the choice of the barracks of the *Equites Singulares* for the site of the Christian basilica was motivated by Constantine's desire for retribution for the unit's disloyalty.

Construction on the new basilica began right away. The barracks of the *Castra Nova Equitum Singularium*, numerous residences and other structures on the Lateran estate were demolished for the

construction of the Basilica of St. John Lateran. The voids created by removing the roofs and the upper parts of the walls of the barracks and the adjacent "trapezoidal house" were packed with rubble to create a platform for the new basilica (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Coarelli 2007:216, 226). The basilica was designed like a typical Late Roman basilica, such as Basilica Julia in the Roman Forum. It had five aisles including a large nave, with each side aisle being half the width of central nave. Overall, the structure was 100 meters long and 54.5 meters wide, with a central nave of 90.55 meters long that was capped by a ten meter deep, semi-circular apse. Construction was completed in six years and the new basilica was dedicated on Sunday, November 9, 318 A.D. It is the oldest Christian basilica in Rome. At first, the basilica was simply known as the *Basilica Constantiniana*, but it was dedicated to Christ Our Savior from the very beginning (Claridge 2010:376; Coarelli 2007:226-227; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a) (Figure 1).

The erection of a grand religious structure for the Christian religion was a significant change for Christians in Rome. Archaeological investigations have found no instance of a dedicated pre-Constantinian Christian place of worship. Most likely, for nearly two hundred years, private houses were used for small Christian gatherings. Possibly, if early Roman Christians needed a bigger space for a larger gathering, they merely rented a meeting hall. The pope probably did not have a permanent, Church-owned cathedral before Constantine (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a). From this time on, however, Christian churches proliferated throughout Rome.

Constantine's motivations for his actions are more complex than they appear. His generosity toward the papacy and the Christian church was extraordinary. Nevertheless, his "conversion" to Christianity was more nuanced. In fact, Constantine was baptized only on his deathbed about twenty-five years later. His construction of a religious "temple" to the deity after a successful appeal for aid in battle is very similar to the "victory temples" that were vowed in Republican times. Although Constantine ended the official disapproval of Christianity when he published the Edict of Milan in February, 313 A.D., he did not suppress the Roman state religion in the Empire. He specifically chose a rather out-of-the-way suburban site for the Christian basilica that was some distance from the great public institutions of Rome (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

Figure 1. The façade of the Basilica of St. John Lateran dates from Baroque period of the 17th century A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Eusebius does relate an observation about Constantine that gives some insight into his personal beliefs regarding the Christian God who helped him in his time of crisis. Eusebius makes the comment about Constantine's use of the *Chi-Rho*: "...and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period (New Advent 2015b)."

The construction of this first Christian basilica in Rome seems to have been a special project supported by Emperor Constantine, based on the quality of materials used for the structure. The colonnades of the basilica were, most likely, *spolia* supplied from the imperial stockpile of building materials. The richness of the furnishings for the interior displayed a wealth far beyond what one might expect from the Christian church of the early 4th century A.D. The twenty columns of the central nave were composed of red granite from Aswan in Egypt. Each of the side aisles consisted of a row of twenty-one columns of green *verde antico* marble. The roof, however, was formed with trusses, instead of being vaulted in concrete in the style of the ancient Roman basilicas (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

The free-standing main altar at the apse of the basilica was surmounted by a canopy, called a *fastigium*, that was supported by columns of marble or porphyry. The purpose of a beautifully ornamented *fastigium* was to focus attention to the altar where the religious functions were performed, and in this first Christian basilica for Rome, the artisans excelled. On the front of the *fastigium* was a scene of Christ enthroned in the midst of the Apostles. All the figures were five feet tall, and the statue of Jesus, made of silver, weighed 120 pounds. The Apostles, also in silver, weighed ninety pounds each. On the opposite side of the *fastigium*, facing the apse, was another representation of Jesus Christ on the throne of heaven, but this time, he was surrounded by four Angels with spears. All of these figures also were made of silver. In total, the silver of the "roof" of the *fastigium* weighed 2,025 pounds (New Advent 2015a; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

The underside or interior of the *fastigium* was even more elegant. It was covered with gold, and from its center hung a chandelier "of purest gold, with fifty dolphins of purest gold weighing fifty pounds, with chains weighing twenty-five pounds (New Advent 2015a)."

Additional ornamentation of gold and silver decorated the nave of the basilica as well. Suspended from the arches of the *fastigium*, in close proximity to the altar, were four crowns of purest gold, with twenty dolphins, each weighing fifteen pounds. Forty-six hanging lamps in silver, donated by Emperor Constantine, lighted the central nave. The display of material wealth was such that the *Basilica Constantiniana* was nicknamed the *Basilica Aurea* or "The Golden Basilica" because of its rich interior decoration (New Advent 2015a; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

The glory of this spectacle of precious metals was fairly short lived. The Roman Empire was under stress from barbarian tribes from the north during the late 4th and early 5th century A.D. In 410 A.D., the Visigoth king Alaric invaded the city of Rome and thoroughly plundered the city's wealth, including the silver and gold of the *Basilica Constantiniana*. Although the *fastigium* of the basilica was replaced by Emperor Valentinian III during the reign of Pope Sixtus III (432-440 A.D.), Rome was sacked again by the Vandals in 455 A.D., and the basilica was once again stripped of its precious metals (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

The basilica, which by the middle of the 7th century A.D. was dedicated to Christ the Savior and to the two saints named John (John the Baptist and John the Evangelist), suffered from natural disasters as well as the ravages of human conflict. The Basilica of St. John Lateran (the name that the basilica is known by today) was severely damaged by an earthquake in 896 A.D. The entire roof of the central nave collapsed as a result of this major earthquake that probably also destroyed the ancient monuments of the Roman Forum and those elsewhere in the city (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a).

A serious earthquake in 1277 A.D. damaged the basilica, and the apse was completely rebuilt. On May 6, 1308 A.D., the basilica was gutted by a fire that burned for three days. A second fire in 1360 A.D. burned the roof of the transept and the nave. The altar was destroyed under the fallen debris. Restorations under Pope Eugene IV in the 1440's A.D. included the replacement of the colonnades of the central nave with brick piers and arcade arches because the ancient granite columns had been cracked and spalled by fires. The basilica, however, was rebuilt on its original plan (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a) (Figure 2).

Nevertheless, by 1646 A.D., the patched-up basilica was in danger of collapse, and Pope Innocent X hired Francesco Borromini to repair and restore the basilica in preparation for the Holy Year of 1650. The work took much longer than the estimated four years, and the project was finally completed in 1660 A.D. With this restoration, the Basilica of St. John Lateran was given its present Baroque appearance (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Claridge 2010:376).

As a result of the numerous restorations of the Basilica of St. John Lateran over the centuries, very little of the original structure survives today. However, a few items from Roman antiquity can be found at the basilica. The bronze doors of the main entrance

Figure 2. The nave of the basilica of St. John Lateran was rebuilt in the mid 15th century A.D. on its original plan. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

of Basilica of St. John Lateran were brought to the basilica from the ancient *Curia Iulia* in the Forum Romanum by Pope Alexander VII and installed during Borromini's restorations of the 1660's (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Claridge 2010:377).

The colossal marble statue in the south end of the narthex of the basilica was installed there by Ruggero Bescapè in 1737 A.D. The statue has been long thought to be of Constantine because it was found among the ruins of the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal about 1621 A.D. (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a). Recent scholarship indicates that it is actually a statue of Constantius II, the son and successor of Constantine, that came from a family group at the Baths of Constantine (Claridge 2010:377).

Basilica in Palato Sessoriano (*Basilica Hierusalem* or Basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem) (ca. 315 A.D.)

Although the Imperial villa at *Ad Spem Veterem* was not frequented by the Imperial family during the last part of the 2nd century A.D., the facility did not deteriorate significantly. When the Emperor Constantine moved to Rome after his victory over Maxentius, his widowed mother Helena and other members of the family also settled in Rome. The garden palace at *Ad Spem Veteram* became their principal residence, especially as the Emperor Constantine oversaw the development of the nearby Lateran complex (Claridge 2010:25, 381).

At this time, the garden palace became known as the *Palatium Sessorianum*, or Sessorium, meaning the "place of residence," that was probably derived from the Latin *sedeo* ("to stay"). Helena, Constantine's mother, lived there from about 315 A.D. until her death, at the age of 80, in 330 A.D (Claridge 2010:381; 060608 Information Service 2015; New Advent 2015c; Odahl 2004:133).

Under Constantine's influence, his mother Helena converted to Christianity late in her life. She would have been over sixty years old when she moved to Rome (New Advent 2015c). In 326 A.D., Helena visited Jerusalem to establish chapels at the Christian holy places. While in the Holy Land, Helena found what are believed to be the relics of Christ's Passion and the True Cross. Some of these relics were brought back to Rome and put on display at the palace (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015b).

An appropriate place for the sacred relics was needed very soon after they arrived in Rome, and the large arcaded hall built by the Emperor Elagabalus

Figure 3. The nave of the Basilica of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem retains the columns from the imperial palace of the Severan emperors of the early third century A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

was converted into a chapel that was called the *Basilica Hierusalem*. The chapel reused the shell of the monumental vestibule that was attached to the long portico of the Severan palace. The archways on the east side of vestibule were blocked, an apse was added to the south end, and a porch was added to the north entry arch (Claridge 2010:381-381; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015b).

Structurally, the *Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* is an excellent example of a paleo-Christian basilica. It is one of the few ancient Roman buildings that has never been in ruins. In the interior, nave trabeations between the pillars are supported by four pairs of ancient pink granite Corinthian columns from Aswan in Egypt. It is believed that the columns are the only features of the ancient church that are still visible. Supposedly, however, six additional ancient columns are embedded inside the pillars. The rectangular windows high on the walls on either side of the apse might possibly be remnants of the original vestibule (Claridge 2010: 382; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015b) (Figure 3).

Basilica Beato Paolo Apostolo
(Basilica of St. Paul Outside of the Walls)
(commissioned c. 319 A.D.; dedicated 324 A.D.)

During the Republican era, a Roman necropolis was located on the Via Ostiense about 2.6 kilometers (1.6 miles) south of the Servian Wall. Tombs from the necropolis can be seen in the park north of the Basilica of St. Paul, and the remains of other burials are beside the rock behind the apse of the basilica (Coarelli 2007:440-441). Needless to say, the large basilica marks the site of the most prominent burial, that of Paul of Tarsus whom we know as St. Paul the Apostle.

Taken into Roman custody in Jerusalem after an angry crowd reacted to his Christian teachings, Paul was sent to Rome in custody. He arrived in Rome in ca. 61 A.D. and lived under house arrest among members of Jewish Christians in Rome for about two years. Although the charges against him were dropped due to a lack of accusers, Paul was arrested again after the great fire of 64 A.D. when the Emperor Nero laid the blame for the fire on the Christians of Rome. Paul was held in chains at the Mamertine prison near the Roman Forum until he was con-

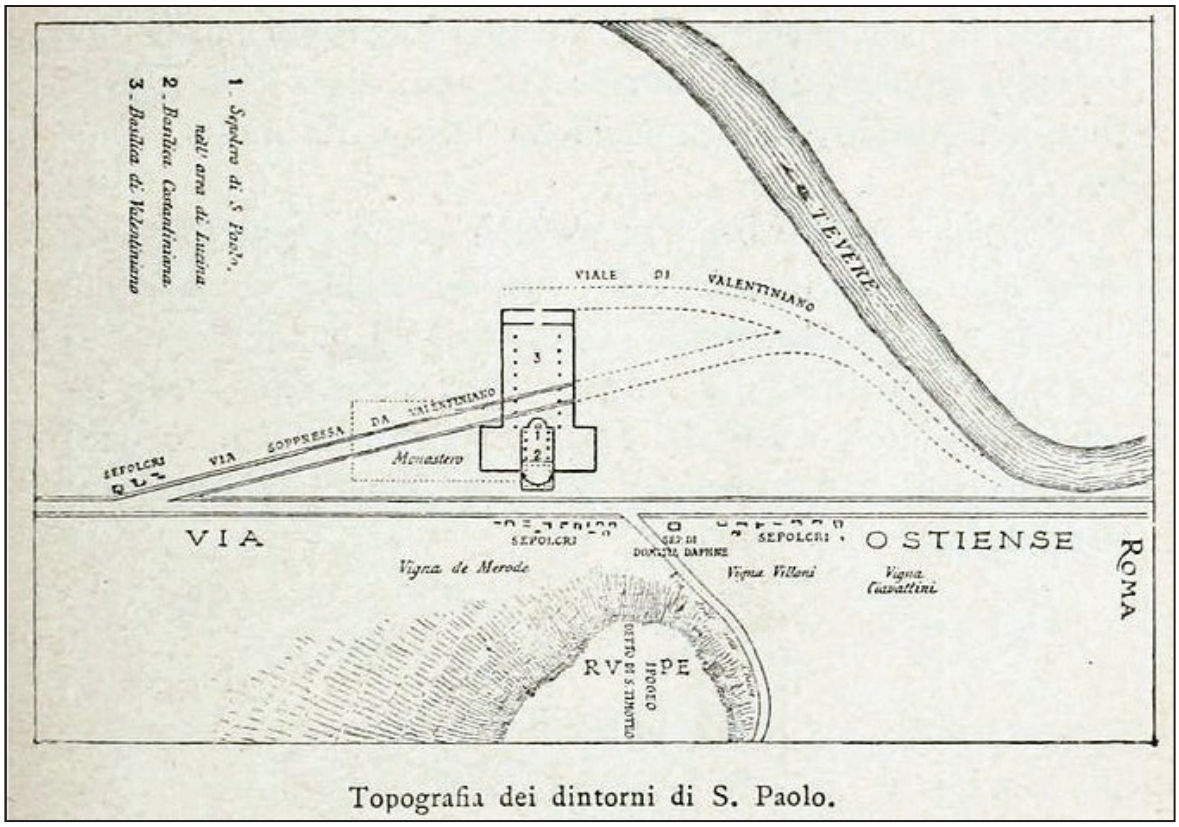

Figure 4. The map of the location of the basilicas of St. Paul shows the constrained area between the Via Ostiense on the east and the old road on the west in which the first basilica was built. The larger Theodosian basilica encompassed a much larger area to the west of the Via Ostiense (Marucchi 1905:87).

demned to death and beheaded about 65 A.D. The place of Paul's execution was the *Aquas Salvias* along the *Via Ostiense* about two miles south of the necropolis where he was buried in a sepulcher provided by a Christian woman named Lucina (The Vatican 2015b, 2015c).

From the beginning, the site became a place of worship and veneration. By the end of the second century A.D., a presbyter named Gaius reported that a *cella memoriae* or *tropaeum* had been erected on Paul's tomb where many in the Christian community and pilgrims would go to pray (The Vatican 2015c; Coarelli 2007:441). After Emperor Constantine had established the freedom of worship with the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D., he ordered the erection of a place of worship above the tomb of St. Paul at the request of Pope Sylvester (who reigned from 314 A.D. to 335 A.D.) (Coarelli 2007:441; Odahl 2004:137 138).

The tomb of St. Paul was situated in a huge Republian era necropolis that was located south of a bottleneck that occurs on the *Via Ostiense*. The old route of the roadway ran between the Tiber River on the west and the *Via Ostiense* that was situated at the base of the large hill of volcanic tuff (known today as the Rock of St. Paul) that rises steeply on the east. Because of the space limitations in this area, Constantine built a relatively small basilican chapel between the two roadways, the *Basilica Beato Paulo Apostolo* (Coarelli 2007:440; Odahl 2004:137-138; Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016a) (Figure 4).

This Constantinian basilica had a nave and two aisles with an apse at the west end. The apse was oriented eastward following the custom of the times, and it contained the ancient *tropaeum*, the commemorative monument that was erected above the tomb of the Apostle. The entrance to the basilica was through a courtyard, or atrium, on the east end (Coarelli 2007:441; Vatican 2015; Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016a) (Figure 5).

Although no specifications for the size of the Constantinian basilica have been published, the size of the basilica can be estimated from the floor plan produced by Lanciani. The nave of the current basilica is thirty meters wide, and the Constantinian nave is slightly narrower than that. An estimation of the size of the Constaninian basilica is approximately twenty-three meters wide by thirty meters long. The estimate of the size of the atrium is twenty-three

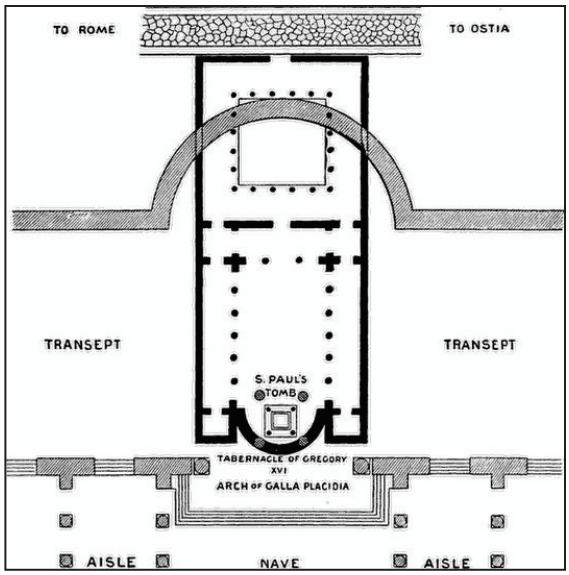

Figure 5. The floor plan of the small Constantinian basilica, with the tomb of St. Paul, can be seen in the overlay of the plan on the transept of the Theodosian basilica by Lanciani in 1898 (Lanciani 1893:150).

meters wide by twenty-two meters long. This small basilica was dedicated on November 18, 324 A.D. by Pope Sylvester I (Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016a; Coarelli 2007:441).

The basilica of St. Paul drew large numbers of pilgrims to the site and the small basilica was inadequate to handle the crowds. The construction of a larger basilica was begun in 384 A.D. under the patronage of the Emperors Theodosius I, Valentenian II and Arcadius. This Basilica of the Three Emperors (more commonly called the Theodosian basilica) had five aisles supported by eighty monolithic columns of granite and a transept. The Theodosian Basilica of St. Paul was roughly similar to the original Basilica of St. Peter with the equivalent dimensions of about 128 meters long and about 65 meters wide (although St. Paul's was slightly longer). The central nave had a high, coffered ceiling and the side aisles were lower with colonnades. To accommodate the continuous influx of pilgrims, it was also necessary to change the orientation of the basilica from east to west (Coarelli 2007:441-442; Odahl 2004:137-139; Vatican 2015a).

The Theodosian basilica of St. Paul was the largest basilica in Rome until the re-construction of St. Peter's in the 16th century A.D. A fire severely damaged the Theodosian basilica in 1823 A.D., and the long period of reconstruction was completed in 1928 A.D. (Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016a; Coarelli 2007:441-442) (Figure 6).

In 2006 A.D., the Vatican authorized excavations beneath the Papal Altar of the Basilica of St. Paul that led to the announcement that the tomb of St. Paul was most likely in that place. A large stone sarcophagus was found in association with a marble plaque or tombstone with the inscription "PAULO APOSTOLO MART" (Apostle Paul, martyr). A large window-like opening was made below the Papal Altar to allow visitors to view the Apostle's tomb (In the Trenches 2007).

The excavations around the tomb of St. Paul also uncovered a segment of the apse from the Constantinian Basilica of St. Paul that is visible today through a glass panel in the floor in front of the tomb (Figure 7). The discovery confirms the location of the ancient apse and that it faced to the east (Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016b).

Paul of Tarsus and Peter the Apostle came to Rome, the capitol of the world's greatest empire, to preach to the Hebrew community of Rome that numbered about fifty thousand persons at the time of Emperor Claudius. A few in that community were Jewish Christians. Yet, within three centuries, the sacred places of Christianity, such as the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls, took their place of prominence among the ancient temples of Rome, thanks to the Emperor Constantine.

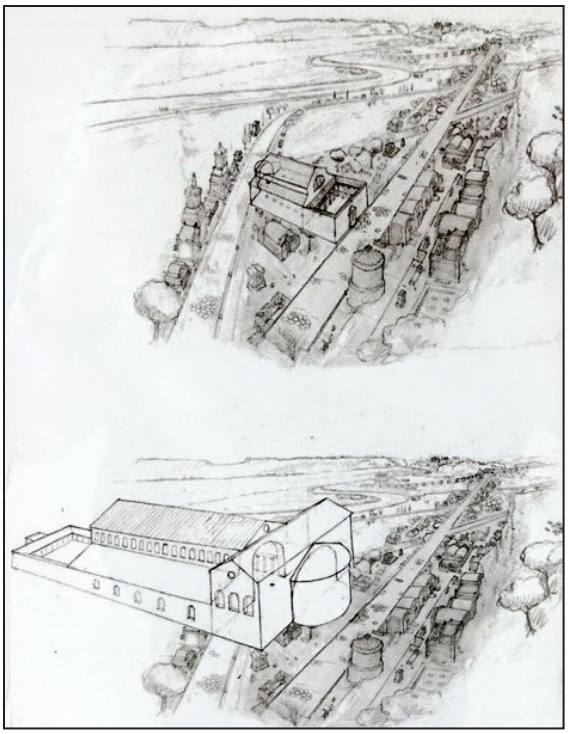

Figure 6. The two basilicas have been reconstructed in this drawing with the small Constantinian basilica of St. Paul at the top and the larger Theodosian basilica below. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach) (Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome 2016b).

Figure 7. The apse of the Constantinian basilica was exposed during excavations near the tomb of St. Paul in 2006 A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Basilica Beato Petro Apostolo
(Basilica of St. Peter)
(Commissioned c. 315 A.D.; completed c. 337 A.D.)

In the summer of 315 A.D., the Emperor Constantine, now the uncontested Augustus of the western Roman Empire, returned to Rome from his regional headquarters at Trier to celebrate his *Decennalia*, the tenth anniversary of his elevation to the imperial ranks. While in Rome, Constantine met with Pope Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome and the leader of the Christian community. During these discussions, Sylvester asked Constantine to build a church at the site of the tomb of Peter the Apostle. Constantine then authorized the construction of the *Basilica Beato Petro Apostolo*, the Basilica of St. Peter (Odahl 2004:134-135; Loomis 1916:53).

According to tradition, the Apostle Peter had been martyred by the Emperor Nero about 67 A.D. in a circus built by the Emperor Caligula in an area on the west side of the Tiber River known as the Vatican (*ager vaticanus*). Peter was subsequently buried in a simple grave in a necropolis near the foot of the Vatican Hill. In the mid-second century A.D., a monument, known as the Trophy of Gaius, was erected over the grave of Peter. Constantine, with the cooperation of Pope Sylvester, was convinced that the gravesite in the necropolis was the authentic location of Peter's grave, and that the basilica should be erected over the site (Boorsch 1982:4 ; Coarelli 2007:357-358; Walsh 1982:30).

The decision to build the basilica exactly over the tomb of Peter presented a difficult challenge for the Roman engineers. The cemetery that held the tomb of Peter was perched along the side of the Vatican hill, up about fifty yards from roadway that lay between the necropolis and the Circus of Caligula. Although the slope of the hill was relatively flat from east to west, the slope was fairly steep from north to south. To build a basilica in which the tomb of Peter was positioned at the head of the nave, a large section of the hill on the north would have to be cut away, and a huge terrace wall would have to be built on the south (Walsh 1982:28; Coarelli 2007:358; Boorsch 1982:4).

The plan called for a marble pavement on a platform large enough to support a basilica complex of over 120 meters (394 feet) in length and over 65 meters (213 feet) in width. The half of the pavement to the north rested on the natural hillside that was leveled. The other half to the south was carried on three enormous foundation walls that ran the entire length of the church. The three foundation walls, made of concrete faced with brick, were at least seven feet thick, and at their highest point, rose over thirty feet above the true ground level (Odahl 2004:137; Coarelli 2007:358; Boorsch 1982:4; Walsh 1982:29) (Figure 8).

Two rows of *mausolea* in the necropolis stood to the east of the tomb of Peter on a descending path, but at a somewhat lower level. These tombs were not demolished during the construction of the basilica's platform, but instead, they were incorporated into the

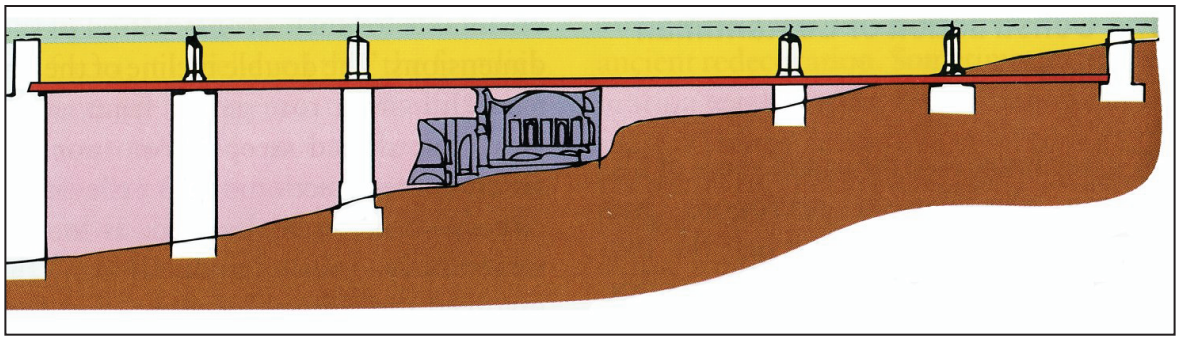

Figure 8. The cross section (north-south) of the basilica shows how Constantine's engineers covered the Roman tombs and leveled the slope of the hill (Wikimedia Commons 2018b).

foundation. The roofs of the tombs were removed, and the interiors were packed with earth and rubble, most of which came from the hillside above. The resulting box-like network of walls added extra strength to the foundations, and also helped to prevent the slippage of the soil on the hillside (Coarelli 2007:356; Walsh 1982:28-29).

The design of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter was based on the Roman basilica (Figure 9). It had a long central nave, flanked by two aisles on each side. Each of the five aisles was separated by twenty-two columns. A full transept, that extended beyond the width of the rest of the building, separated the nave from the apse in order to focus the shrine on the tomb of St. Peter. This Christian basilica was the first to be built in the shape of a cross. A gabled roof over thirty meters (100 feet) high covered the central nave, and windows in the upper walls of the nave provided light to the interior of the basilica. An impressive colonnaded atrium formed a courtyard at the east end (Coarelli 2007:358; Odahl 2004:137; Boorsch 1982:4-5) (Figure 10).

Construction on the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter began about 319 A.D. (Odahl 2004:137). Work continued for more than a decade. The foundations, and perhaps much of the basilica, were completed by 333 A.D. The splendid basilica was most likely

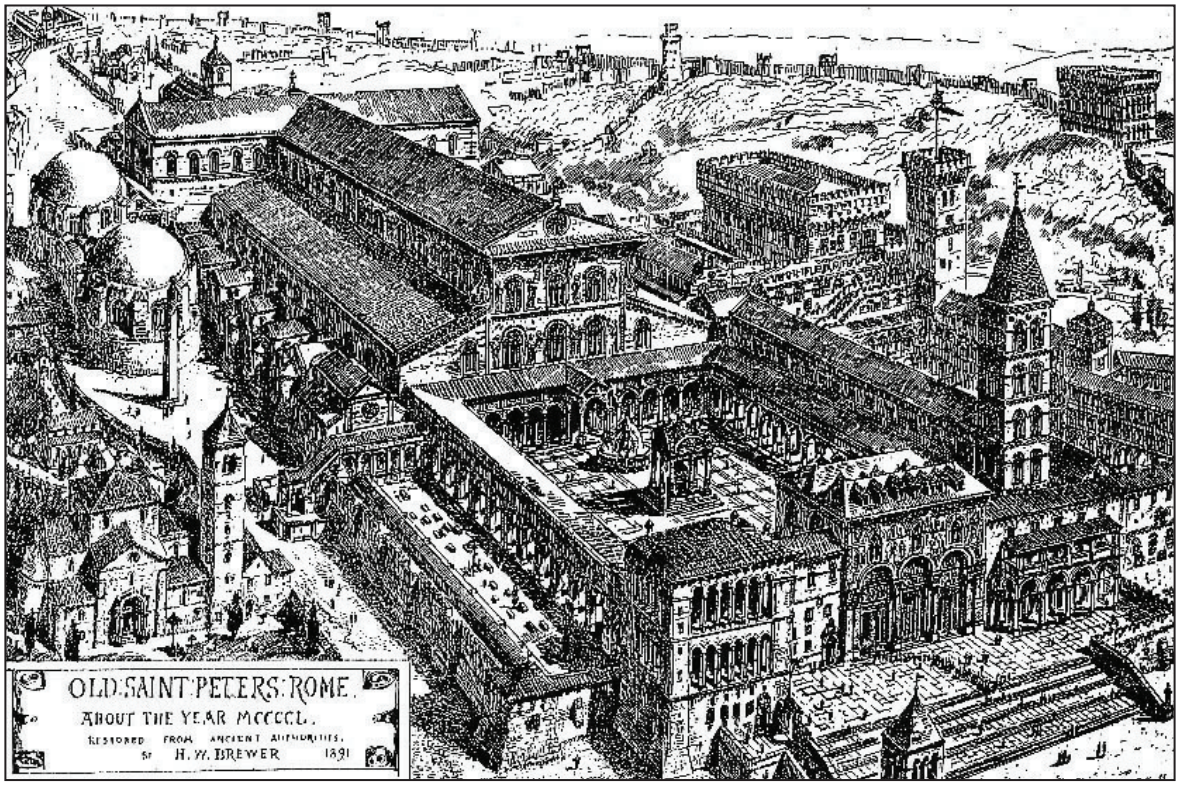

Figure 9. A graphic reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter from 1450 A.D, by H. W. Brewer in 1891 (Wikimedia Commons 2018a).

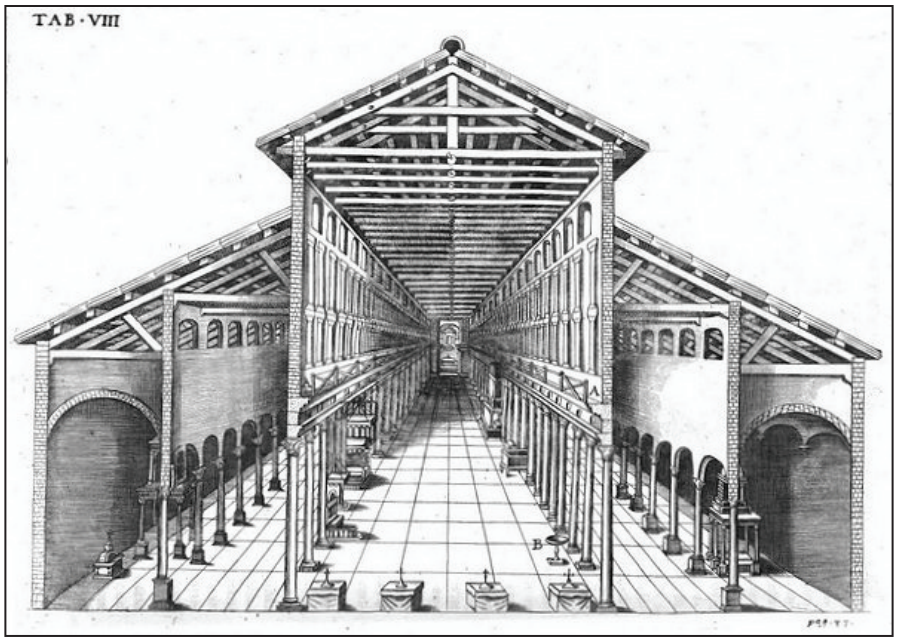

Figure 10. A graphic reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter with a view of the columns of the nave and the side aisles, c1693 A.D. (Ciampini 1693:Tab VIII).

finished before the death of Constantine in 337 A.D. (Boorsch 1982:4) (Figure 11).

The complexity of the construction activities involved in the building the Basilica of St. Peter, including the enormous task of creating the foundation for the monumental basilica, indicates the investment that Constantine had in Christianity and its status within the Empire. It was a project that spanned more than half of Constantine's imperial reign. It was a project that did more than provide a place of worship for the Christian community. It also put to work thousands of the citizens in Rome and gave them an economic livelihood. At the Emperor's direction, significant amounts of surplus materials (*spolia*) from Rome's deteriorated ancient monuments were collected and assembled as structural components and decorative furnishing for the grand basilica (Lanciani 1899:32).

In the sixteenth century A.D., as the old basilica was being torn down while the new basilica was being erected, the patchwork of borrowed materials seemed almost humorous to the officials and architects of the new basilica. A catalog listing of one hundred and thirty-six columns used in the old basilica revealed that the quality, size, color, and other details of the columns indicated that they came from nearly all of the ancient quarries. The mix of styles was so eclectic that it was difficult to find two capitals or two bases that were alike. Similarly, architraves and friezes differed from one inter column section to another, and blocks bore inscriptions from a wide range of Emperors from Titus, Trajan, Gallienus and others. In an odd juxtaposition of images, one of the entrances to the basilica of St. Peter was bordered with two granite columns with composite capitals, each showing the bust of the Emperor Hadrian framed in acanthus leaves! Apparently, it all went unnoticed for a dozen centuries, or it just did not concern the grateful faithful (Lanciani 1899:32).

What was noticed from the very beginning was the generous donations by the Emperor Constantine of opulent furnishings of gold and silver that adorned the interior of the basilica. Constantine enclosed the coffin of St. Peter on all sides with bronze and over the top, above the body of Peter the Apostle within, he set a cross of the purest gold, weighing 150 pounds. Upon the cross these words were inscribed in enameled letters: “Constantine Augustus and Helena Augusta beautify with gold this royal house which a court, shining with splendor, surrounds.” Above, the vaulted ceiling of the apse gleamed with polished gold (Loomis 1916:53-54).

Aware that the magnificent edifice of the basilica would require significant ongoing resources for its maintenance and upkeep, Constantine transferred several revenue producing properties from the Imperial estates to the church. Typical example were properties in the city of Anthiocia in the diocese of the East that included the house of Datianus, the little house in Caene, the barns in Afrodisia, the bath in Ceratheae, the mill in Ceratheae, and the cook shop in Ceratheae (Loomis 1916:55). The long list of properties donated by the emperor was certainly sufficient to keep the doors open for the steady flow of pilgrims to this holy site.

Nevertheless, after over a thousand years of service, the old basilica began to show signs of wear and deterioration. Structurally, the building was no

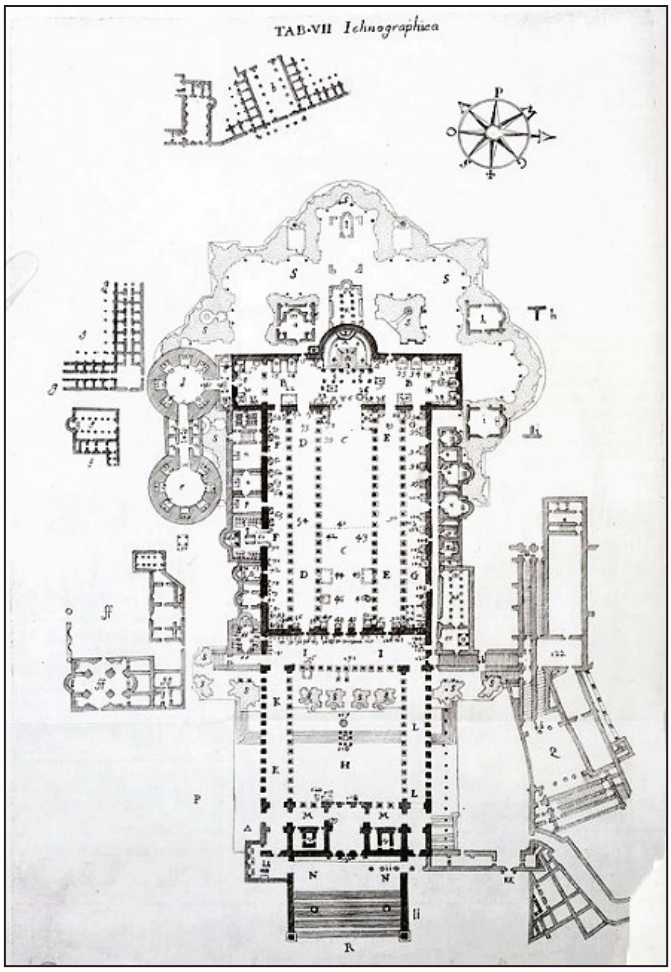

Figure 11. A floor plan of the Basilica of St. Peter of the 4th century A.D. superimposed on the floor plan of the basilica of the 17th century A.D. (Ciampini 1693:Tab VII).

longer stable. In the mid-fifteenth century A.D., Pope Nicolas V ordered that the basilica be rebuilt (Coarelli 2007:359).

Pope Julius II, who was elected in October, 1503 A.D., decided to entrust the task of rebuilding the basilica to Donato Bramante in 1505 A.D., one of the greatest architects of his time, who came up with a square design with a Greek cross and four prominent apses. The square formed a cubical space that was to be covered in the center by a hemispheric dome.

Work began with great ceremony on April 18, 1506 A.D., but the construction halted after the death of Pope Julius in 1513 A.D. and the passing of Bramante in the following year. New proposals were solicited amid a controversy over whether the basilica should follow the so-called central plan or the longitudinal plan of the original basilica. In 1547 A.D., Pope Paul III commissioned Michaelangelo to develop a new design, and he chose to keep Bramante's central plan, but add a vast dome to cover the central area of the basilica.

Michaelangelo died in 1564 A.D., and the Council of Trent expressed a preference for the longitudinal design. Carlo Maderno modified Michaelangelo's central design by extending the floor plan into a Latin cross pattern. Maderno completed the new basilica with the addition of a classical facade in 1612 A.D. That is the Basilica of St. Peter that we have today (Vatican City 2018).

Epilogue

For over 1700 years, the knowledge of the nature of the design and construction of the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter was limited to accounts in the *Liber Pontificalis* (written in the 5th or 6th century A.D.) and from the 16th and 17th century A.D. accounts from artists and Vatican officials who documented the structure during the demolition of the old building and the construction of the new building over the course of a hundred years. Several of those accounts have been used in this paper.

The untold story of how the Constantinian Basilica was built was finally revealed in the mid-twentieth century A.D. after decades of secret excavations were carried out under the crypt of the new basilica. An accidental puncture in the floor of the crypt exposed the existence of the ancient necropolis that

formed a portion of the original foundations of the basilica. The exploratory excavations, beginning during the war years of the 1940's and continuing through the post-war period of the 1950's and 1960's, has shed light on the construction techniques used to build the original basilica as well as the nature of the tomb of St. Peter (Walsh 1982).

Only recently has the final piece of the story been told. In 2018, the anonymous benefactor who financed the decades of secret excavations under the Basilica of St. Peter was revealed. With the consent of the family, the full account of how Texas oilman George Strake, Sr. was asked by Pope Pius XII to fund the secret excavations has been published (O'Neill 2018:19-21, 26).

Conclusion

Constantine entered the Imperial ranks at a particularly critical time in the Roman Empire. The Emperor Diocletian had recently retired as the senior Emperor of the Tetrarchy, a system of governing the Empire with three other colleagues. Through the Tetrarchy, Diocletian brought stability to the empire that had experienced decades of political anarchy in which over sixty men claimed to be the Emperor in the fifty years prior to 285 A.D. (Goldsworthy 2009:138, 157).

When Constantine's father, Constantius, the Emperor of the West in the Tetrarchy, died in Eboracum (York) in Britain, his son was proclaimed Emperor by the army on July 25, 306 AD. Constantine initially took the role of a junior Emperor in the Second Tetrarchy and spent over half his reign of thirty-two years in a state of rivalry with the other competitors for power. As the ultimate victor, the Emperor Constantine abandoned the concept of the tetrarchy, and he chose to rule as the sole emperor (Goldsworthy 2009:173-176, 179, 185).

During his reign as Emperor, Constantine built fifty-eight Christian churches and baptistries and two monasteries (Armstrong 1974:5; Ciampini 1693). These structures, both in Rome and throughout the empire, attest to his commitment to the promotion of the Christian religion as a unifying factor for a society that had endured a century of political and social upheaval. This construction program began in 313 A.D. with the monumental basilicas in the city of Rome that we have described above.

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THE CIRCIFORM BASILICAS OF ROME

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

Introduction

After the Emperor Constantine defeated the usurper Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge and established his authority over the western Roman Empire in 312 A.D., he initiated a grand construction program to confirm his imperial authority and to enhance his prestige throughout the empire. Over the next twenty-five years of his reign, Constantine's building projects would place him among the greatest of the imperial architects of the Roman Empire.

For the first dozen years of his reign, as the Emperor of the West, the focus of Constantine's construction projects was on the city of Rome. During the chaos of the last half of the third century A.D. and the tetrarchal rule establish by the Emperor Diocletian, the importance of Rome was diminished greatly. The power centers of the Roman Empire were the regional capitals along the northern frontier that stretched from Britain in the north through the Rhine and Danube River basins to the Black Sea. Constantine sought to re-establish aspects of the traditional imperial leadership by building public edifices to revitalize the ancient capital (Odahl 2004:83).

In addition to the civic buildings initiated or completed, such as the Basilica Nova, the triumphal arch near the Flavian Amphitheater (the "Colosseum"), and the public baths that bear his name, Constantine also authorized and built numerous places of religious worship for the Christian communities of Rome and the Empire. By the end of his life, Constantine had accounted for the establishment of fifty-eight churches in the Roman Empire (Armstrong 1974:5).

Constantine's building campaign began immediately after his victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. Within thirty days, he demolished the barracks of the Roman Imperial Guard (*equites singulares*) that supported Maxentius and he began the construction of the Basilica Constantiniana as a cathedral residence for the Pope, the Bishop of Rome and leader of the Christian community. This monumental basilica, the design of which was adapted to the needs of Christian worship, was built on the ruins of the former military barracks. Within the next few years, Constantine began to build monumental basilicas over the tombs of the renown martyrs of Christianity, the Apostles Peter and Paul, who were executed and buried in Rome in the mid-first century A.D. These grand churches greatly enhanced the visibility and status of the Christian religion in Rome, as well as throughout the Empire.

Less well-known aspects of Constantine's building program are the funerary basilicas that were erected near the catacombs on the outskirts of Rome and dedicated to the Christian martyrs of the city. To date, six of these funerary basilicas are known. Four of them have been attributed to Constantine in the *Liber Pontificalis*, a sixth century A.D. source. These basilicas provided places of worship for the veneration of several victims of the so-called Great Persecutions of the late third century A.D. and early fourth century A.D. These martyrs were especially revered by the Christians of Rome, and these specialized basilica-style churches are found only in Rome.

In this article, we will describe each of these basilicas in order to compare their similar and shared characteristics while identifying their individual differences. In this way, we can provide some insight into the nature and function of these uniquely Roman places of religious worship.

These funerary basilicas have one primary feature in common, namely, they are all built on a plan that replicates the outline of a Roman circus. The buildings are a variation on the standard Roman basilica plan in which there is an entrance on the east wall of the basilica that is aligned slightly off perpendicular at an oblique angle of about five degrees to imitate the angle of the circus starting gates (*carceres*). On the opposite end, the aisles curve around the nave's end to form an apse like the curved end of a circus (Johnson 2012:288; Hellström 2015:291). For these reasons, the basilicas are referred to as the circiform basilicas of Rome.

In addition to the circus-like plan of the circiform basilicas, the structures also have a number of other features in common. The circiform basilicas have a central nave with aisles on both sides. The outer wall of the side aisles extends around the apse and forms

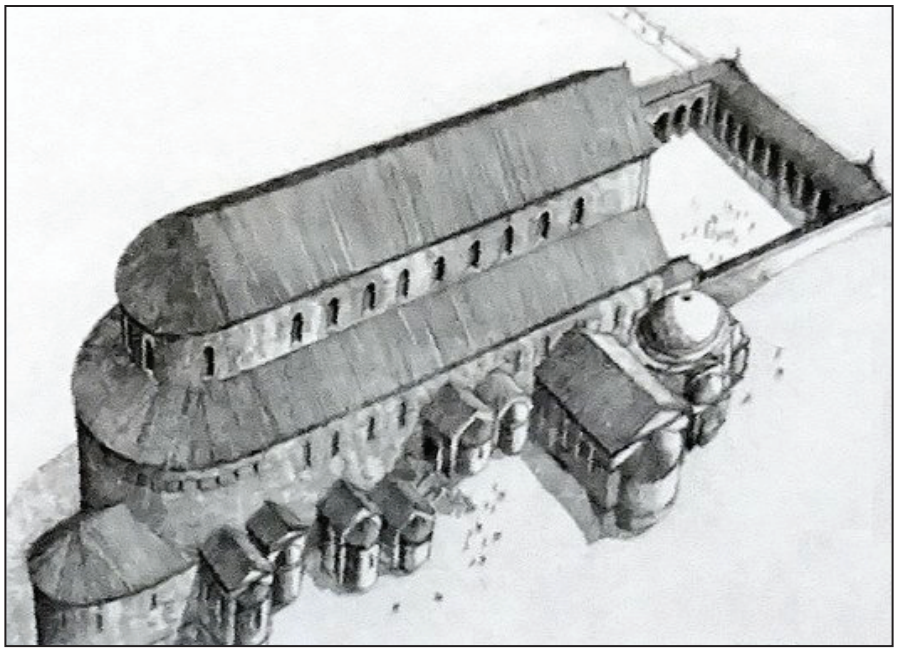

Figure 1. In this reconstruction of a typical circiform basilica, the central nave stands high above the lower roofline of the side aisles and the apse, forming a covered ambulatory. An atrium is in front of the entrance, and mausolea are attached to the side. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach, adapted from the Basilica Apostolorum exhibit, Catacombs of San Sebastian).

an ambulatory that continues down the other side aisle of the church. The nave is separated from the side aisles by piers that support arches and the upper story of the nave that rises above the lower roof of the ambulatory. The upper part of the nave may contain windows in the style of a clerestory. In some instances, a row of piers and arches delineates the nave from the apse proper (Figure 1).

All of the circiform basilicas were built near catacombs on the outskirts of the city, and the basilicas are located near the third milepost on six of the main roads leading out of Rome. Most of the basilicas are associated with a martyr or martyrs who were buried in the respective catacomb.

The interior space of the basilicas, both in the nave and in the ambulatory, was filled with burials. The floor is made up of the gravestones of the tombs of those who desired to be buried in the basilica that became a covered cemetery (*coemeteria coperta*).

Three of the six circiform basilicas have one additional prominent feature. There is an Imperial mausoleum built in close association with the circiform basilica.

The six circiform basilicas covered in this article are: the Basilica Apostolorum, the Basilica of Villa Gordiani, the Basilica of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus, the Basilica of San Lorenzo, the Basilica of St. Agnes, and the Basilica on Via Ardeatina. These

Table 1. The Circiform Basilicas of Rome.

Name	Latin Name	Italian Name	Location
Basilica Apostolorum	Basilica Apostolorum	San Sebastiano fuori le Mura	Via Appia
Basilica of Villa Gordiani	Unknown	Basilica dei Gordiani	Via Praenestina
Basilica Beatis Martyribus Marcellino et Petro	Basilica Beatis Martyribus Marcellino et Petro	Santi Marcellino e Pietro ad Duas Lauros	Via Labicana (Via Casilina)
Basilica of San Lorenzo	Basilica Beato Laurentio Martyri	San Lorenzo fuori le Mura	Via Tiburtina
Basilica of St. Agnes	Basilica Sanctae Martyris Agnae	Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura	Via Nomentana
Basilica on Via Ardeatina	Unknown	Basilica Anonima della Via Ardeatina	Via Ardeatina

basilicas are often identified in current publications with alternate names. We will refer to them by the names above, but the alternate names are provided in Table 1.

The chronology of the construction of the circiform basilicas is not precisely known due the lack of conclusive documentary evidence, however, the six basilicas can be separated into two groups. Three of the basilicas have similar dimensions that are slightly smaller than the other three. The general consensus is that the smaller three basilicas were built earlier, while the larger three basilicas date to a time later in the reign of Constantine (Hellström 2015:294). This discussion presents the basilicas in the chronological sequence as is shown in Table 1.

With a review of the specific characteristics of each of the circiform basilicas, it may be possible to understand how the form of these places of worship helps to explain their function. When an individual basilica differs from the general model, it may be possible to provide explanations for how the function of the circiform basilicas, in general, developed or changed over time.

Basilica Apostolorum

The Basilica Apostolorum was built on the Via Appia in the early fourth century A.D. on a site that had been active as a quarry for mining *pozzolana*, volcanic ash used in making cement, as early as the first century B.C. By about 30 B.C., the mineral resources of the underground quarry were exhausted and the caves that had been dug out during the mining activity were used for burials. The area of the cemetery was referred to as *ad catacumbas*, a phrase derived from the Greek *katà kymbas*, meaning "near the hollows," and subsequently, all of the underground cemeteries in Rome became known as catacombs (Coarelli 2007:383; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b; Catacombe San Sebastiano 2018).

A double row of columbaria or storage units for cremation ashes was built north of the quarry in the 1st century A.D., but about 125 A.D., the quarry collapsed to create a large open cavity, called the Piazzuola ("the Small Square"). The area was cleaned up, the pavement was raised about three meters, and three pre-Christian brick mausolea were built inside the small square. Later, the so-called Large Villa was constructed to the southeast of the columbaria, and the so-called Small Villa was built to the west. The Small Villa was built as a meeting place for funerary assemblies (Coarelli 2007:383; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b; Catacombe San Sebastiano 2018).

Further development of the site occurred in the mid-third century A.D. The Piazzuola was filled in, and the mausolea were buried to provide a platform for the Triclia, an open courtyard with large colonnaded galleries. The Triclia was used for funerary banquets and, as the center for the veneration of the Apostles Peter and Paul, it was known as the *Memoria Apostolorum* (Coarelli 2007:383; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b; Catacombe San Sebastiano 2018).

Early in the fourth century A.D., the whole funerary complex was renovated. The structures on the site, including the columbaria, the Small Villa and the Triclia, were partially demolished and filled with rubble to form the foundations of a new basilica. The new basilica was called the Basilica Apostolorum, the Basilica of the Apostles, because it was dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul (Coarelli 2007:383; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b; Catacombe San Sebastiano 2018).

The Basilica Apostolorum was constructed on an elongated U-floor plan that was 73.4 meters (80.3 yards) long and twenty-eight meters (30.6 yards) wide. The building had a high central nave and one lower side aisle that ran completely around the semicircular rear end or apse. The nave was separated from the aisles by piers that supported brick arches. The walls were constructed in *opus vittatum*, a masonry style consisting of courses of volcanic tuff (*tufa*) ashlar blocks alternating with brick. The entrance on the end opposite the apse had large arched portals on a pair of piers. The floor plan, reminiscent of the plan of an ancient Roman circus, has led to this basilica, as well as the others like it, being designated as a circiform basilica (Odahl 2004:140; Coarelli 2007:383; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b).

The date of construction for the Basilica Apostolorum is not precisely known, and it continues to be the subject of debate. The basilica is generally thought to have been built some time in the first two decades of the fourth century A.D. The primary question revolves around whether the date of construction is prior to the era of Constantine or after he became the undisputed Roman Emperor of the West (Hellström 2015:295).

The best account of Constantine's role in the construction of Christian churches is in the *Liber Pontificalis*, a series of biographical sketches of the popes written about 530 A.D. (Kirsch 2019). Of the six known circiform basilicas in Rome, four are attributed to Constantine's patronage. The Basilica Apostolorum is not mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Although that does not preclude Constantine's role in the establishment of the Basilica Apostolorum, it does suggest that the basilica may have been built earlier than Constantine's control of Rome, namely, during the rule of Maxentius who was de-

clared the Emperor of Italy in 306 A.D. (Johnson 2012:288-289; Odahl 2004:74).

A number of factors point to the construction of the Basilica Apostolorum during the time of Maxentius. Maxentius was known for his religious tolerance, especially as the persecutions of the Tetrarchy were winding down. The location of the basilica complex was only about one hundred fifty yards from the Villa of Maxentius on the Via Appia. When the work on the Villa was completed (around 307 A.D.), the workers were available for re-employment on the nearby project to build the basilica. The building techniques, architectural details and formal features of the basilica are similar to those in the Villa of Maxentius complex. Both structures were built in *opus vittatum*, and the distinctive alternating bands of brick and white stone are still visible in the curved end of the surviving remnant of the Basilica Apostolorum (the *Basilica di San Sebastiano fuori le Mura*) (Johnson 2012:288; Hellström 2015:296, 296fn17).

It is significant that the Basilica Apostolorum has no known patron. Had Constantine been the patron for the basilica, the authorization and funding of the construction would have been well advertised. Recent archeological findings from the *Memoria Apostolor*um, the structure that was destroyed so the basilica could be built above it, include numerous Christian graffiti reflecting the veneration of the apostles at the site, yet there was an absence of the *chi-rho* symbol, the Christogram formed by the first two Greek letters in the word Christ, among the ruins. The *chi-rho* symbol became a popular Christian sign after Constantine wore it on his helmet and had his soldiers mark their shields with it for the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. The lack of the *chi-rho* suggests a pre-Constantine date for the construction of the Basilica Apostolorum (Hellström 2015:296).

If these indications are correct and the Basilica Apostolorum is the earliest of the circiform basilicas, then it served as the model for the other Constantinian circiform basilicas of St. Agnes, Saints Marcellinus and Peter, San Lorenzo and the Anonymous Basilica on Via Ardeatina (Odahl 2004:140-141). The sixth circiform basilica is more problematic, and the discussion of the Basilica at the Villa of the Gordiani follows in the next section.

As early as the middle of the seventh century A.D., the Basilica Apostolorum was renamed for St. Sebastian, a solder who was martyred about 304 A.D. and buried in the catacombs at the site (Odahl 2004:140; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b; Coarelli 2007:383). Although the other circiform basilicas in Rome were abandoned around the end of the fifth century A.D., the Basilica Apostolorum (as the Basilica of San Sebastian) continued in use and is largely intact today. A restoration with major renovations of the basilica was done by Scipione Borghese in 1609 A.D. The church was narrowed to its central nave so that the nave of the modern church of San Sebastian corresponds to the ancient Basilica Apostolorum. The ambulatory of the side aisles was renovated with side chapels and the crypt of St. Sebastian (Johnson 2012:288; Coarelli 2007:383; Catacombe San Sebastiano 2018).

Basilica of the Villa Gordiani

On the Via Praenestina, an ancient consular road heading southeast from the center of Rome, there are the ruins of a circiform basilica situated in the midst of a city park that once was a large suburban imperial estate of the Roman Empire. Not much else is known about this basilica even though it has all of the characteristics of the five other circiform basilicas of Rome. The basilica is not mentioned in the ancient sources, such as the *Liber Pontificalis*, and it is neither associated with a patron nor dedicated to a martyr. In some sense, this circiform basilica is a mystery. Even the name of the property, the Villa of the Gordiani (the Gordian family), is speculative. It is inferred from a single reference in the *Historia Augusta* (Thayer 2019; Leone 2008:122). The only things that we know are from the findings that have been discovered during archeological investigations. Yet, without a doubt, this basilica belongs to the group of funerary circiform basilicas that were so popular with the Christian community of fourth century A.D. Rome.

The so-called Villa of the Gordiani is a monumental complex of residential, functional, religious and funerary structures that date from the beginning of the first century B.C. to at least the end of the Empire (Leone 2008:118, 118fn1; Johnson 2009:93). The core of the villa of the estate was constructed in *opus incertum* and *opus quasi reticulatum* that dates it to the beginning of the first century B.C. Extensive renovations were made to the villa in the mid-second century A.D., and further restorations were done in the first half of the third century A.D. (Leone 2008:118). A large octagonal hall was added in the mid-third century A.D., probably when the property was owned by the Gordiani family, an imperial dynasty that ruled the Empire from 238 A.D. to 244 A.D. (Coarelli 2007:416; Leone 2008:118). The octagonal hall was modified with a tall tower during the 16th century A.D. and has been known since then as the Tor de'Schiavi (Leone 2008:125).

A period of political instability, now referred to as the Crisis of the Third Century, followed the reign of the Gordians. After the Emperor Diocletian established the rule of the Tetrarchy and restored order to

the Empire, the so-called Villa of the Gordiani was enlarged with the construction of the two funerary structures that are relevant to this article, namely, the mausoleum and the circiform basilica (Goldsworthy 2009; Leone 2008:118fn5).

Three of the six circiform basilicas have adjacent imperial mausolea. The other two basilica sites with mausolea are closely associated with Constantine and his family, namely, the Emperor's mother, Helena, with the basilica of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, and Constantina with the basilica of St. Agnes. Since so little is known about the Villa Gordiani site, it is important to determine the date when the mausoleum and the basilica were built at the Villa Gordiani in order to understand their role in the Constantinian era and Rome's transition to Christianity.

There is much debate about the date of construction for both structures, but it is generally agreed that the monumental mausoleum and the nearby circiform basilica of the Villa Gordiani were built between the Tetrarchic and Constantinian periods (Leone 2008:118fn2, 122; Frazer 1969:45). Attempts to determine a more precise date for the mausoleum have focused on the brick stamps that have been found in the building and masonry styles used in its the construction. These features point to a date of construction within the first ten years of the fourth century A.D. (Leone 2008:123, 123fn19).

A further analysis of thirty-three brick stamps along with the masonry styles suggests that it may be possible to identify two periods of construction within that decade. According to this analysis, the first period of construction, from 305 A.D. to 306 A.D., includes the foundations, the *pronoas*, and the lower part of the mausoleum. A second period of construction completes the building by 309 A.D., the date that Maxentius began work on his mausoleum at the Villa of Maxentius using *opus vittatum*. The pre-309 A.D. date for the mausoleum at the Villa Gordiani comes from the fact that the masonry style *opus vittatum* is not found in the mausoleum (Johnson 2009:102).

Other aspects of the mausoleum also indicate that the building dates to the years before Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 A.D. The form and dimensions are nearly identical to the Mausoleum of Maxentius on the Via Appia. The fresco decoration of the dome of the mausoleum, the presence of a fully developed crypt, and the mausoleum's separation from the basilica suggest that the builder was not a Christian (Johnson 2009:102). Nevertheless, the mausoleum of the Villa Gordiani is considered to be the first of the mausolea to be built in conjunction with a circiform basilica (Leone 2008:123, 123fn22).

At some point, the circiform basilica was built at the Villa Gordiani in close association with the existing mausoleum. Although the basilica was built in *opus listatum*, a masonry style that suggests a fourth century A.D. date, the date of construction ranges anywhere from five, ten or fifteen years after 309 A.D. (Johnson 2009:103; Frazer 1969:45fn3). The proximity of the basilica to the mausoleum, however, indicates that the family of the original patron was Christianized during the fourth century A.D. (Johnson 2009:103). Some scholars have speculated that the patron of the mausoleum may have been an unidentified member of Constantine's family or an officer of the imperial court (Leone 2008:123, 123fn19; Coarelli 2007:417).

The circiform basilica, the last significant structure to be built at the Villa Gordiani complex, was constructed near the mausoleum on the east side of the property. The basilica is located only about 7.75 meters (8.5 yards) to the east of the mausoleum, and the main axis of the basilica is centered on the mausoleum and its *pronoas*. An entry to the apse of the basilica provided access directly from the mausoleum. These features confirm that the two structures were part of the same funerary complex, even though they were built at different times (Johnson 2009:102; Blanco et al. 2013:286).

The architectural characteristics of the circiform basilicas of Rome are present in the basilica of the Villa Gordiani. The basilica is oriented to the west, that is, the entrance is on the east end of the church and the apse is on the west end. The east end is set off at an oblique angle of about five degrees in a curiously unexplained fashion that recalls the starting gates of a Roman circus. The central nave is delineated from the side aisles by piers that support arches, and the side aisles wrap around the apse to form an ambulatory (Johnson 2009:94).

The exterior dimensions of the basilica, with a length of sixty-seven meters (73.3 yards) and a width of thirty-three meters (36 yards), are very similar to the other circiform basilicas in Rome. The central nave of the basilica of the Villa Gordiani was formed by thirty-one piers joined together by arches, and it was 11.8 meters (12.9 yards) wide. Several of the piers are still visible at the site today, and the stoutness of the piers that survive indicates that the nave had a high roofline. The ambulatory, that was only 5.8 meters (6.3 yards) wide, had a fairly thin perimeter wall of only sixty centimeters (two feet) thick, and it probably supported a roof that was much lower than the nave (Coarelli 2007:417; Blanco et al. 2013:286) (Figure 2).

Although no ancient documentary sources directly connect the basilica of the Villa Gordiani with the five other known Christian circiform basilicas and their functions in Christian funerary services, a number of findings do suggest an affinity with the other

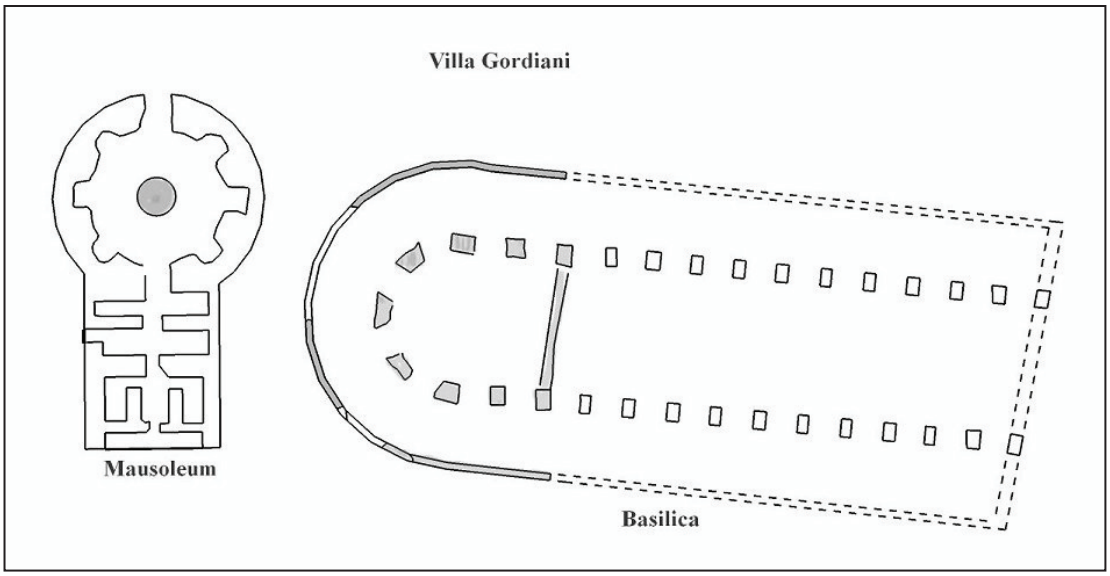

Figure 2. This sketch shows the relationship of the mausoleum of the Villa of the Gordiani to the circiform basilica on the site. Adapted from Blanco et al. 2013:287.

cemetery basilicas (Frazer 1969:45fn3). Excavations in 1953 A.D. discovered an underground cemetery or catacomb on the Villa Gordiani land. The catacomb and a nearby columbarium were an extension of the necropolis on Via Praenestina between the 2nd and 3rd milestones. The catacomb has now disappeared, but the original connection to a catacomb is very typical of the Christian circiform basilicas (Leone 2008:123, 123fn2, 124fn27).

In the 1960's, excavations documented forty-seven burials in the nave of the basilica of the Villa

Figure 3. The ruins of the mausoleum of the Villa of the Gordiani stand behind the stumps of the piers of the central nave of the circiform basilica of the Gordiani. (Photo: Wikimedia Commons)

Gordiani. Although no trace of the gravestone pavement of the nave was found, it was determined that each of the graves was oriented in the same way as the building, a pattern typical of the Christian funerary basilicas (Figure 3). The relatively small number of burials (forty-seven) indicates that this basilica was used much less intensively than the other basilicas. The question of why the basilica was abandoned so early remains unanswered (Blanco et al. 2013:286; Johnson 2009:94; Hellström 2015:295).

For seventeen hundred years, the ruins of the Villa of the Gordians have stood on the grounds along the Via Praenestina. Little is known about the site from antiquity other than the brief account of the villa in the third century A.D. when the Gordian family occupied the suburban estate. The octagonal hall on the estate was modified into a tall tower that has been known as Tor de'Schiavi since the sixteenth century AD when the dello Schiavo family acquired the property (Leone 2008:125). Today, the ruins are recognized as a significant phase in the transition of Roman society to Christian funerary practices and the association of the imperial family with them.

As we will see, the remaining four circiform basilicas are relatively well documented and closely associated with the Emperor Constantine and his family.

The Basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter

In 315 A.D., the Emperor Constantine returned to Rome to celebrate his tenth anniversary (*Decennalia*) as a Roman Emperor. After he had defeated the usurper Maxentius in October, 312 A.D., Constantine returned to his regional headquarters at Augusta Treverorum (modern Trier) to suppress incursions by Germanic tribes along the northern frontier. In addition to the imperial celebration, Constantine had other plans for his time in the capital of the Empire. He had initiated the construction of the Basilica Constantiana (later called the Basilica of St. John Lateran), and he wanted to oversee that important initial Christian project that had a twofold purpose. The *equites singulares* (the elite Praetorian Horse Guard of Maxentius) was disbanded and their barracks was completely demolished in order to lay the foundation for the new basilica. The basilica was to be a monumental Christian church intended to elevate the status of Christianity in Roman society (Odahl 2004:9, 129).

In order to oversee the projects in Rome, Constantine took up residence at the Sessorian Palace (*Palatium Sessorianum*), a suburban estate that had been in the imperial domain since the time of Septimius Severus. Constantine's mother Helena and the rest of his family also moved into this residence (Odahl 2004:133).

In this early period of his reign as the sole ruler of the Roman Empire of the West, Constantine engaged in projects to enhance the status of Christianity, including the construction of the papal seat of the Lateran basilica, the authorization of the apostolic martyrial basilicas dedicated to Peter and to Paul, and the promotion of the veneration of the Roman martyrs through the dedication of funerary circiform basilicas at the catacombs in which the martyrs are buried (Odahl 2004:134-135, 140-141).

Among the first of the funerary basilicas built by Constantine was the Basilica of the Blessed Martyrs Marcellinus and Peter (the *Basilica Beatis Martyris Marcellino et Petro*) on the Via Labicana. Marcellinus, a popular local priest, and Peter, a local exorcist, were executed during the so-called Great Persecution of the late third century A.D. (Odahl 2004:140).

Although it appears likely that the basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter was authorized about 315 A.D., it would take about a decade to complete the project since Constantine envisioned not only a circiform basilica dedicated to the two popular Roman martyrs, but he also wanted to build an elaborate complex that also included a monumental imperial mausoleum that he probably intended as his final resting place (Loomis 1916:63; Holloway 2004:87, 89-90; Coarelli 2007:419).

The basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter was built in the circiform style similar to that of the Basilica Apostolorum on the Via Appia. It was aligned on an east-west axis that was parallel to the Via Labicana to the south, with the apse on the west end. The basilica was sixty-five meters (71 yards) in length and twenty-nine meters (31.7 yards) wide. The central nave of the basilica was thirteen meters (14.2 yards) wide, and the side aisles formed an ambulatory that was 6.5 meters (7.1 yards) wide (Holloway 2004:87, 89-90; Coarelli 2007:419; Johnson 2012:289).

A northex, or vestibule, abutted the east end of the basilica, and it separated the church from the circular domed mausoleum of the complex. The 6.5 meter (7.1 yards) deep narthex was attached directly to the mausoleum to provide a structural, as well as a symbolic, connection between the imperial mausoleum and the funerary basilica (Holloway 2004:88; Johnson 2012:289).

The mausoleum was a rotunda style structure consisting of two superimposed cylinders that were capped with a cupola, or small dome. The external diameter of the mausoleum was 27.74 meters (30.3 yards) with an internal diameter of 20.18 meters (22.1 yards). The original height of the dome was

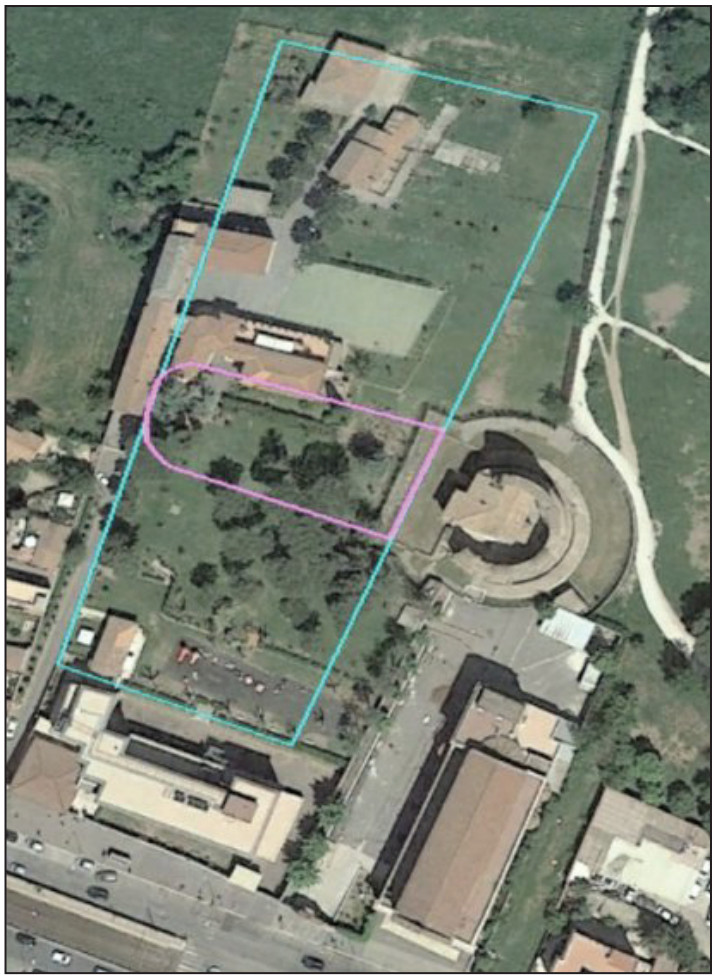

Figure 4. The outlines on the aerial map shows the locations of the basilica (in purple) and the portico on the south (blue) and the enclosure on the north (blue) that form the outline of the cemetery of the equites singulares. (Adapted from Google Earth)

25.42 meters (27.8 yards) (Holloway 2004:86; Coarelli 2007:419).

The core of the basilica-mausoleum complex was supplemented by two additional features, a large rectangular porticoed courtyard on the south side of the basilica and an enclosure, in the form of a perimeter wall, on the north side. The portico extended the length of the basilica, and its width toward the Via Labicana was about fifty meters (54.88 yards). The enclosure on the north was about twice as large as the portico south of the basilica, extending about ninety-eight meters (107 yards) north from the basilica. The portico and the large enclosure had formed the original boundary of the cemetery of the *equites singulares* (Holloway 2004:88-89, 91; Johnson 2012:289) (Figure 4).

In one sense, the basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter is much the same as the other circiform basilicas of Rome. Structurally, it shares the same circiform architecture. It is dedicated to the two Christian martyrs from Rome who were buried in the catacombs that are adjacent to the basilica. The ambulatory accommodated the funerary processions in veneration of the martyrs and the other Christians buried nearby. Excavations in the 20th century A.D. have found that the basilica served as a covered cemetery with possibly 1,000 graves in the basilica and another 1,000 graves in the southern portico (Holloway 2004:90-92).

On the other hand, Constantine played a significant role in the development of this basilica complex, and his actions suggest that he had other goals in mind as well. When Constantine returned to Rome in 315 A.D., he had begun the construction of the Constantinian Basilica on the demolished barracks of the *equites singulares*. He may have still chafed at the idea that the Praetorian guard would choose to support the usurper Maxentius in battle against him, especially when he realized that the cemetery of the *equites singulares* was located at the *ad duas lauros* ("near the two laurel trees") site on the imperial estate in which he had made his residence. Perhaps with some satisfaction, Constantine decided to build a martyrial basilica at that cemetery site that also contained the graves of the two Christian martyrs in the catacombs, and at the same time, he chose the site

for a spectacular mausoleum for himself. The basilica lay across the center of the former cemetery, and the foundations of its walls were made from rubble fill that consisted of fragments of *stelae* from tombs of the *equites singulares* (Hellström 2015:295, 295fn14; Holloway 2004:88; Subsaga 2013).

The mausoleum was elaborately finished with its interior walls covered with incrustation of porphyry and with marble. Niches in the walls and the interior dome were decorated with fine mosaics, and the exterior of the mausoleum was plastered. Inside, a huge sarcophagus made of the most exquisite porphyry was prepared for the eventual burial of the Emperor himself. Carved from a single block of porphyry from the quarry at Mons Porphyrites in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, the sarcophagus was decorated with figures in relief showing scenes of a victorious battle with barbarians -- clear evidence that the mausoleum was prepared to be Constantine's own tomb (Holloway 2004:86-87; Loomis 1916:64fn1; Coarelli 2007:419; Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a).

By the time that the basilica-mausoleum complex was nearing completion a decade later, Constantine faced a much different situation. A coin found embedded in the mortar of the interior of the mausoleum can be dated to the period from 324 AD to 326 AD, suggesting the date when the structure was in the very last stage of completion (Holloway 2004:89-90). At the same time, Constantine led a campaign against Licinius, the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, and defeated him at Chrysopolis on September 18, 324 A.D. (Odahl 2004:xiv). From this point, Constantine, as the sole Emperor of the entire Roman Empire, began to have grander visions for himself and the Empire. In particular, Constantine decided to establish a "new" Rome in the tiny village of Byzantium on the Bosphorus Strait that he would develop as the city of Constantinople. In that city, he would build a tomb for himself in the Church of the Holy Apostles (Holloway 2004:87).

In addition, Constantine's mother, Helena, was nearing eighty years of age by this time. As "Augusta" of the Empire, she was held in the highest esteem by the imperial family, and Constantine donated the mausoleum and the porphyry sarcophagus to Helena for her use. On her death in about 330 A.D., Helena was buried in the sarcophagus in the imperial mausoleum at the basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter (Claridge 2010:381; Odahl 2004:140) (Figure 5).

It appears that the funerary circiform basilica complex of Saints Marcellinus and Peter was actively used until the end of the eighth century A.D. Both the basilica and the mausoleum were abandoned after 850 A.D. (Coarelli 2007:419; Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a).

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the mausoleum of Helena was used as a small castle. About this time, an earthquake caused the collapse of the dome of the mausoleum, and the sarcophagus of

Figure 5. The porphyry sarcophagus of Helena is now on display in the Vatican Museum. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach).

Figure 6. The ruins of the Mausoleum of Helena are preserved at the site of the Catacombs of Sts. Marcellinus and Peter. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach).

Helena was removed from the rubble and transferred to the Basilica of St. John Lateran. In 1154 A.D., Pope Anastasius IV was buried in the recycled sarcophagus (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a; Loomis 1916:64fn1). It is not known what happened to the remains of Helena.

The sarcophagus of Helena was restored in 1777 A.D. by Gaspare Sibilla and Giovanni Pierantoni. It was then transferred to the Vatican by Pope Pius VI, and today, the spectacular sarcophagus is on display in the Pio-Clementino Museum (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a; Loomis 1916:64fn1).

It was during the Middle Ages that the partially destroyed mausoleum was nicknamed Tor Pignattara because the amphorae used in the construction of the dome were exposed as the decorative plaster deteriorated, and they looked like pine cones (*pigne*). By this time, the original basilica had completely disappeared (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a; Loomis 1916:63-64, 64fn1; Holloway 2004:87).

The first scholarly survey of the ruins of the mausoleum of Helena was carried out by Antonio Bosio in 1594 A.D. A half century later, in 1647 AD, a small church was built inside the mausoleum of Helena, and it was dedicated to the Saints Marcellinus and Peter. This church served the rural parish until the twentieth century A.D. The growth of the population after World War I made the little church too small to serve the local community. A new church in the Neo-Romanesque style was built in 1922 A.D. between the mausoleum and the Via Casilina (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019a) (Figure 6).

Today, nothing remains of the original circiform basilica of Saints Marcellinus and Peter except fragments of the foundations that were found during modern archeological excavations. The mausoleum of Helena stands in partial destruction, and the foundations of the narthex of the basilica can be seen in aerial photos of the area around the mausoleum (Lapidge 2018: 439).

The Basilica of San Lorenzo

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Emperor Constantine sponsored a basilica at the site where the martyr Lorenzo (or Laurence, in English) was buried (Loomis 1916:61). Lorenzo was one of the first seven deacons of Rome, and he was martyred in 258 A.D. during the persecution of Christians under the Emperor Valerian (Wikipedia 2015a; Wikipedia 2015b).

When Valerian's son Gallienus became Emperor in 260 A.D., the legislation was rescinded (Wikipedia 2015c). The veneration of Lorenzo began shortly after his death, and the Christian community made pilgrimages to his gravesite so frequently that about seventy years later, in 330 A.D., the funerary hall, ascribed by the *Liber Pontificalis* to Constantine,

was built alongside the catacomb to provide a place where pilgrims might gather for worship (Birch 2000:91).

Instead of trying to dig out the catacombs to incorporate the tomb within its own church, Constantine's architects simply built a *martyrium*, a free-standing hall close to the site of the catacomb (Birch 2000: 30). This funerary basilica, which was known as *Basilica Maior* in contemporary sources, was ninety-nine meters (108.2 yards) long and thirty-four meters (37.2 yards) wide, and it was built in the form of an ancient Roman circus (a "circiform" design) (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Coarelli 2007:421; Burton 1831:245). It had a central nave, 17.2 meters (18.8 yards) wide, with aisles separated by colonnades formed with twenty-four columns on each side. The nave ended with an apse on the west. Six columns marked off the curve of a walkway joining the two aisles, each 8.75 meters (9.6 yards) wide, around the curve of the apse. A path and staircase led from the basilica to the shrine of Lorenzo that was located down a slope. The basilica might have been built off to the side of Lorenzo's tomb rather than over the shrine, because of worries about its foundations sinking into the catacombs (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Holloway 2004:110; The Latin Library 2019:Ch34v24).

It seems certain that Constantine's circiform basilica was originally designed as a funerary enclosure instead of a church with an altar for the celebration of Mass. The floor of the basilica was almost completely covered with tomb slabs, suggesting that the structure was a funerary hall (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a; Holloway 2004:110; Krautheimer, et al. 1952:4). This site, with its structures built in association with the catacombs and the tomb of Lorenzo, has been referred to as "one of the most important paleochristian complexes outside of Rome" (Coarelli 2007:421).

Pilgrims had begun to travel to Rome by at least the end of the second century A.D. Peter and Paul, Apostles of Jesus Christ, had founded Christianity in Rome, and after their deaths in the late 60's A.D., Christians came to pay their respects at the tombs of these men. By the late fourth century, the popularity of Rome as a destination for pilgrims dramatically increased as the faithful developed a sense of devotion to those considered to be saints. A local martyr, such as Saint Lorenzo, was especially endearing to the pilgrims of Rome (Birch 2000:24).

In Rome, the pilgrims found that many of the tombs of the saints and martyrs were buried deep in the catacombs around the city. The descent into the dark winding passages of the catacombs to visit the tombs could be a hazardous situation, especially when the crowds grew large. In the late sixth century, the Christian officials embarked upon a program to incorporate the tombs of the popular martyrs each within its own church. Such was the case for the tomb of St. Lorenzo (Birch 2000: 91).

In the late sixth century A.D., Pope Pelagius II (579-590 A.D.) initiated a program to give pilgrims access to the tomb of St. Lorenzo. He built a second basilica alongside the funerary hall of Constantine. It was necessary, though, to cut into the hillside of the Ager Veranus cemetery and the tombs in and around that of St. Lorenzo were destroyed. The new basilica was erected directly over the tomb of St. Lorenzo (Coarelli 2007:421; Birch 2000:91).

The floor of the new basilica was now laid out on the same level as St. Lorenzo's tomb. This allowed the tomb of the saint to become the central focus of the church, and pilgrims had much easier access to the tomb of St. Lorenzo. The basilica, however, was less than a third of the size of the earlier funerary hall. Patrons of the church simply did not have the necessary funds for building on a grand scale as was done in the Late Empire. Nevertheless, the architects of the basilica tried to increase the basilica's capacity by making a large nave that was surrounded on three sides by galleries (Birch 2000:91-92).

The church built by Pope Pelagius II is the present sanctuary of the current basilica. The apse of Pelagius' church survives in the famous mosaic above the triumphal arch of the church today. The mosaic dates to the apse of Pelagius's *basilica minor* (Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a). The *basilica maior* of Constantine was demolished sometime between the ninth and the twelfth centuries A.D. (060608 Information Service 2015).

In the 13th century AD, Pope Honorius III, who reigned from 1216 AD to 1227 AD, commissioned the construction of another church in front of the *basilica minor* of Pelagius II. This new church is joined to the west side of the church of Pelagius II. The apse of the church of Pelagius II was demolished and a new nave was added along with an external portico on the west end. An elevated platform was built above the shrine of San Lorenzo, and the high altar was placed there. This modification has left the columns from the *basilica minor* of Pelagius II seemingly truncated since half their length is below the platform of the main altar (Figure 7).

The present Basilica of San Lorenzo is a somewhat awkward combination of the churches of Pelagius II and Honorius III. In addition, Honorius III's nave was not well aligned with the church of Pelagius II and there is a noticeable angle (Wikipedia 2015a; Coarelli 2007:421-422; Churches of Rome Wiki 2015a). It was only after World War II that the actual layout of the three basilicas was fully understood. By mistake, the basilica was one of the few

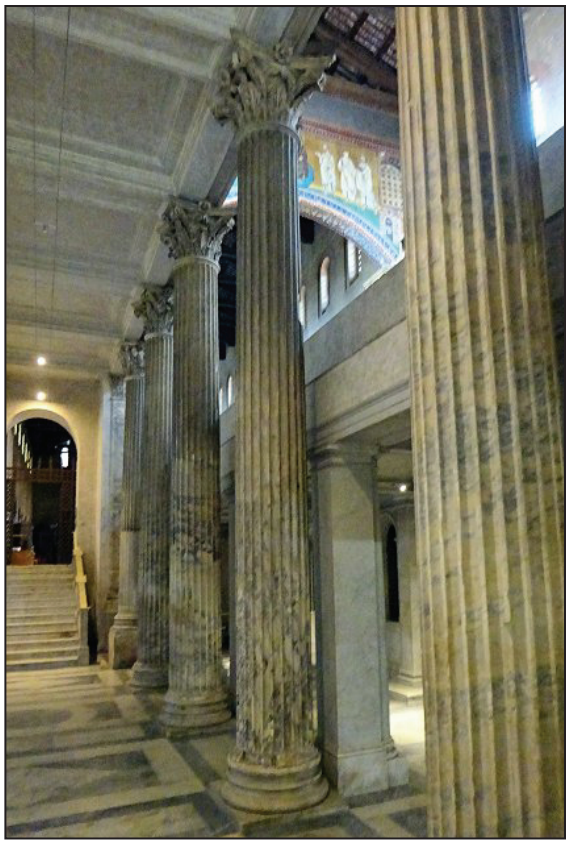

Figure 7. Ancient columns from the circiform basilica of San Lorenzo, built by Constantine, still stand in the remnants of the church of Pelagius II. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

ancient buildings bombed in Rome during the war. Archeological investigations carried out during the repairs revealed the location and plan of the Constantinian basilica that was built south of the existing structure. In addition, excavations in the nave of the current church exposed the foundations of the basilica of Pelagius II and its relationship to the structures built in the thirteenth century A.D. (Krautheimer, et al. 1952:4, 26; Holloway 2004:110, 112fig3-49).

The Basilica of St. Agnes

A circiform basilica was built on the Via Nomentana during the first half of the fourth century A.D. The basilica (*Basilica Sanctae Martyris Agnae*) has been attributed to the Emperor Constantine and his daughter Constantina who had a deeply felt devotion to the Roman martyr Agnes who was buried in the catacombs nearby (Odahl 2004;141). The story of this funerary basilica complex offers us an insight into the devotional values of Christians of Rome at this time when their religious practices were legitimized, but in addition, it reveals aspects of the tensions within the imperial family over their acceptance of this new religion.

Unfortunately, the ancient accounts of the basilica complex are few and often short on details. However, within the past eighty years or so, the renewed interest in the circiform basilicas, in general, and the basilica of St. Agnes, in particular, has produced extensive studies and archeological investigations that have improved our understanding of the history of the site. Although there is not a sense of total agreement on all of the issues, the article that follows presents a general understanding of chronology and the possible interpretations of this important early Christian funerary site.

The site today is known as the Monumental Complex of Saint Agnes Outside the Walls (*Complesso monumentale di Sant'Agnese fuori le mura*). It includes the catacombs of St. Agnes, the Constantinian basilica of St. Agnes, the mausoleum of Santa Costanza, and the Basilica of St. Agnes Outside the Walls (Figure 8).

The Circiform Basilica

The primary source of information on the development of the Christian buildings at the catacombs where the martyr Agnes was buried is a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, an early sixth century A.D. biographical sketch of the popes. The construction of the circiform basilica near the catacombs is attributed to the Emperor Constantine while the patronage of the project involved his daughter Constantina (Mackie 2003:154; Odahl 2004;141).

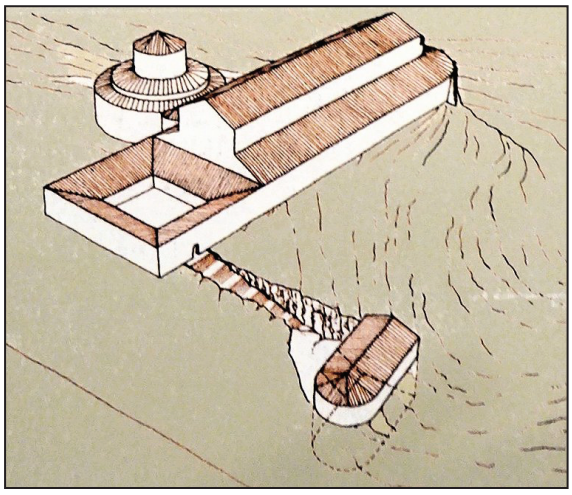

Figure 8. This reconstruction of the monumental complex of St. Agnes includes the circiform basilica, the imperial mausoleum and the new basilica of Honorius at the crypt of St. Agnes. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach, adapted from the Catacombs of St. Agnes exhibit).

"At the same time [i.e., during the reign of Pope Sylvester] he [Constantine] built the basilica of the holy martyr Agnes at the request of Constantina, his daughter, and a baptistery in the same place, where both his sister, Constantia, and the daughter of Augustus were baptized by Silvester, the bishop..." (Loomis 1916:60, 60fn4).

The placement of the basilica was intended to be close to the tomb of St. Agnes, however, the terrain in the area around the tomb is not level. Nevertheless, the basilica was built on a terrace adjacent to the tomb. The apse of the basilica was located on the west end of the building at the edge of the terrace. The exterior walls and their deep supporting foundations that rose high to compensate for the sloping terrain are visible to a height of over two stories today (Catacombe di Sant'Agnese 2018; Holloway 2004:93; Johnson 2012:290).

Although the ruins of the exterior walls of the basilica were recorded as early as the sixteenth century A.D., the extent of the structure was not fully appreciated until the mid-twentieth century A.D. when a series of archeological excavations began that identified the basic features of the structure (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b).

The initial excavations in 1954-1955 A.D. mapped out the exterior walls, composed of *opus vittatum*, of an enormous church that was ninety-eight meters (107 yards) long and forty meters (43.7 yards) wide. The *opus vittatum*, a masonry style consisting of two brick courses and from three to five intermediate courses of volcanic tuff (*tufa*) blocks is clearly visible in the 25 meters (82 feet) high side walls today. A rectangular atrium, approximately forty meters by fifty meters, stood on the east end in front of the entrance and provided access by means of a staircase to the tomb of St. Agnes in the catacombs (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b; Holloway 2004:93-94; Stanley 1994:259, Figure 2; Odahl 2004;141) (Figure 9).

The foundations of an arcade of brick arches running parallel to the exterior walls was found within the interior of the church to form the central nave of the basilica. An ambulatory on the side aisles continued around the curvature of the apse, as is characteristic of circiform basilicas. Large windows in the side walls and in the apse itself provided illumination to the interior of the church (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b; Holloway 2004:93-94) (Figure 10).

The excavations in 1999 A.D. discovered funerary monuments in the floor of the basilica and shaft tombs ("*a pozzetto*") were documented in the nave (Catacombs of St. Agnes 2018; Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b). These interior burials confirm that this basilica, with its ambulatory and high nave, was

Figure 9. The apse end of the exterior walls of the circiform basilica of St. Agnes are still visible today. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Figure 10. The extraordinary size of the interior of the circiform basilica of St. Agnes can be seen in this photo of the extant walls of the structure. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

most likely a covered cemetery in the same manner as the other circiform basilicas of Rome.

Two features were discovered during the excavations of the basilica that are unique to this particular circiform basilica. The first feature is a small rectangular structure with an apse, the foundations of which were discovered in the middle of the ambulatory curve of the nave. This structure measured 4.6 meters (fifteen feet) in width and by at least nine meters (thirty feet) in length. The foundations of the apsed structure are in *opus listatum*, just like the foundations of the outer wall of the basilica, indicating the structure was laid out as a part of the church's foundation (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b; Stanley 1994:260, 260fn20; Holloway 2004:94).

The function of the apsed structure in the nave is not known. However, one interpretation is that it is a structure containing the *mensa martyris* ("table of the martyr") that served as an altar for veneration services that took place in the basilica. Another thought is that the structure is a tomb, and in fact, it may be the original location of the tomb of Constantina, the patron of the basilica (Catacombs of St. Agnes 2018; Stanley 1994:260-261).

The second extraordinary feature is the foundation of a curving structure below the western apse of the so-called Mausoleum of Constantina that extends beneath the mausoleum. This feature has an interior width of 10.2 meters (thirty-four feet), and it appears to be a triconch, a building having apses on three sides of a square central nave. The excavations determined that the triconch structure was bonded to the foundation wall of the circiform basilica and was part of the original basilica construction (Stanley 1994:259-261).

The purpose of the triconch structure is not known. The triconch may have been a *martyrium* holding relics of the martyr St. Agnes and incorporated into the basilica for the veneration of St. Agnes (Stanley 1994:260-261). On the other hand, the triconch may have been the baptistery mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* that subsequently was replaced when the imperial mausoleum was built. No other evidence for the baptistery has been found. It has also been proposed that Constantina was buried in the triconch after her death in 354 A.D., prior to the construction of the imperial mausoleum where she was eventually interred (Ringbom 2003:39; Holloway 2004:105; Mackie 2003:145-146).

Much of the discussion about the purpose or function of the two extraordinary features of the circiform basilica revolves around the dates in which the basilica and the adjacent imperial mausoleum were built. Although the dates in which the popes reigned are accurately noted in the *Liber Pontificalis* using the names of the Roman consuls in office, the dates for the construction of the Christian buildings by the Emperor Constantine are only identified to the reign of the pope. For the most part, since Pope Sylvester was in office from 314 A.D. to 335 A.D., each church or basilica "built" by Constantine is specified with the phrase *huius temporibus* ("in his time") or *eodem tempore* ("at the same time"), meaning "during the time that Sylvester was in office" (Loomis 1916:47, 60).

This ambiguity leaves room for a wide range of estimates of the dates of construction for the basilica of St. Agnes and the mausoleum of Constantina.

Since Pope Sylvester died in 335 A.D. and Constantine died in 337 A.D., many scholars have suggested that the basilica of St. Agnes was begun or authorized about 335 A.D. The construction of a substantial structure such as a basilica would take several years to complete. Constantina, the Emperor's daughter, is recorded as having a special interest in the erection of the basilica, leading some scholars to suggest that the basilica was built or completed between 337 A.D. and 350 A.D. during the reign of Emperor Constantine II while Constantina was still living in Rome (Stanley 1994:257-258, 257fn3; Ringbom 2003:29).

The discovery of the fragments of an acrostic inscription in the atrium of the circiform basilica appears to narrow the date of the completion of the basilica. The inscription was written on a marble plaque that Constantina placed in the apse of the basilica. The most recent analysis dates the inscription to the 340's A.D., and possibly as precisely as 342 A.D. (Trout 2019:619; Ringbom 2003:29; Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b).

The basilica of St. Agnes was apparently in continuous use for the veneration services of the martyrs and the funerary banquets over the next two centuries, similar to the religious practices in the other circiform funerary basilicas. It was recorded that Pope Boniface I celebrated the Easter baptism services in the circiform basilica of St. Agnes during his reign, 418 A.D. to 422 A.D. (Loomis 1916:90; Ringbom 2003:30, 40fn22).

Around the beginning of the sixth century A.D., however, Pope Symmacus, who reigned from 498 A.D. to 514 A.D., found that the apse of the basilica of St. Agnes was in a state of disrepair (Ringbom 2003:30, 40fn24; Loomis 1916:123fn1). The pope made the necessary repairs, but by the first half of the seventh century A.D., the basilica was again in ruins. The deterioration was serious enough that Pope Honorius I, 625 A.D. to 638 A.D., built a new basilica that he placed directly over the tomb of the martyr. The new basilica was a smaller, but more traditional, basilica with a central colonnaded nave, two side aisles and an external apse (Churches of Rome Wiki 2019b; Stanley 1994:Figure 2). At this time, the circiform basilica of St. Agnes was abandoned (Odahl 2004;141). The new basilica of St. Agnes, built by Honorius I, is the one that is in use today (Catacombs of St. Agnes 2018) (Figure 11).

The Mausoleum of Constantina

The imperial mausoleum, located adjacent to the south side of the circiform basilica, is usually attributed to Constantina, the daughter of Emperor Con-

Figure 11. The Basilica of St. Agnes built by Honorius I in the seventh century A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

stantine. In form and design, the structure is similar to the circular dynastic mausolea of the Emperor Augustus, the Emperor Hadrian and the usurper-emperor Maxentius. However, the imperial mausoleum at the St. Agnes complex is smaller in diameter and it has more in common with the imperial burial tombs that are associated with the circiform basilicas at the Villa of the Gordiani and at the catacombs of Saints Marcellinus and Peter (the Mausoleum of Helena).

The so-called mausoleum of Constantina is a large circular structure of two concentric rings with a total diameter of 22.5 meters (24.6 yards). The inner ring is a rotunda with a diameter of 11.3 meters that rises nineteen meters (20.8 yards) high and extends above the outer ring in a clerestory that illuminates the interior with twelve large windows. The outer ring is an encircling ambulatory that is separated from the rotunda by a circle of twelve pairs of granite Corinthian columns surmounted by the arches that support the upper wall of the inner drum (Coarelli 2007:431; Mackie 2003:147; Holloway 2004:94; Phillips 2008:312).

The ambulatory of the mausoleum is covered with a barrel vault. Sixteen niches (including the entry) are built into the walls of the ambulatory, alternating as semicircular and rectangular spaces. Seventeen small windows high on the wall provide lighting for the ambulatory. Entry to the mausoleum is from the circiform basilica through a vestibule that has a lateral apse at each end and is covered with a barrel vault. The exterior of the mausoleum was surrounded by a portico that is no longer exists (Coarelli 2007:431; Ringbom 2003:24; Mackie 2003:147) (Figure 12).

Traditionally, it was believed that the mausoleum constructed for Constantina, was built on south side of the basilica during the time when Constantina resided in Rome, from about 337 A.D. to about 351 A.D. In 335 A.D., Constantina was married to her cousin Hannibalianus whom Constantine had appointed as the king of Pontus, a district on the southern coast of the Black Sea. Hannibalianus was killed in the imperial purges after the death of Constantine in 337 AD, and Constantina apparently returned to Rome at that time (Coarelli 2007:431; Ringbom 2003:29).

In 350 A.D, Constantina married Constantius Gallus, the half brother of Julian (who was later known as the Apostate) in 350 A.D. and moved to Antioch. Constantina died in Bithynia (in Asia Minor) in 354 A.D. on a journey to meet with her brother, Emperor Constantius II, and her body was returned to Rome for burial at the imperial villa on Via Nomentana. It has been assumed that she was entombed in the mausoleum on the site of the basilica (Coarelli 2007:431; Stanley 1994:257; Ringbom 2003:29).

The ancient documentary sources on Constantina and the mausoleum are almost non-existent. Those that do survive are fairly ambiguous about Constantina's burial. Archeological investigations in and around the circiform basilica during the 1990's A.D. have led to a review of the chronology of the construction of the mausoleum and the burial of Constantina there. The questions remaining to be

Figure 12. The rotunda style imperial mausoleum of Constantina. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

answered are: When was the mausoleum built? Where was Constantina originally buried?

The only contemporary source to provide information on these questions is from the historian Ammianus Marcellinus who wrote in the late fourth century A.D. regarding the death of Helena, Constantina's sister and wife of Julian, the Caesar of the West and later the Augustus of the Roman Empire:

> *"While these games were going on he [Julian] had sent to Rome the remains of his deceased wife Helena, to be laid to rest in his villa near the city on the via Nomentana, where also her sister Constantina, formerly the wife of Gallus, was buried." (Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, Book XXI:1:5, 2019).*

The games mentioned are the games held in the Gallic city of Vienne to celebrate the fifth anniversary of Julian's appointment as the Caesar of the West in 355 A.D. Helena, his wife, had died prior to the games that took place in November, 360 A.D. Her body was then returned to Rome for burial at the same place where her sister Constantina was buried (Holloway 2004:100, 168fn116).

The discovery of the triconch structure in 1992 has prompted a review of the construction date for the mausoleum. Since Ammianus does not mention a mausoleum in his comments on the burial of Helena, some scholars have suggested that the imperial mausoleum was not built until after 361 A.D. (Ringbom 2003:30, 40fn21). While the triconch foundations were bonded to the foundations of the circiform basilica, the foundations of the imperial mausoleum lay on top of the foundations of the triconch building. All indications are that the imperial mausoleum was built at a later time during a separate construction phase at the basilica complex (Mackie 2003:145-146; Stanley 1994:259; Ringbom 2003:33). By moving the date of construction to the early 360's A.D., it is necessary to consider where the body of Constantina was buried after her death in 354 A.D. It is possible that the triconch structure was the baptistery mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* along with the circiform basilica. The triconch may also have served as her mausoleum (Holloway 2004:105; Stanley 1994:260).

A second possibility for the original burial location of Constantina is the apsed structure the foundations of which were excavated in the nave of the circiform basilica during the 1950's A.D. The masonry style of the foundations of the apsed structure, *opus listatum*, are the same as the foundations of the outer wall of the basilica, indicating the structure was laid out as a part of the church's foundation. The apsed structure has been identified as a tomb, probably a tomb for a person of importance, such as the patron of the basilica, and it was likely the "original" mausoleum of Constantina (Stanley 1994:260-261, 260fn20). It was common for burials to be made in the floors of the naves and the ambulatories of the circiform basilicas. It would not be exceptional for Constantina to have chosen the place for her tomb at the prestige location in the basilica that she had sponsored.

The death of Helena must have posed a dilemma regarding where she should be buried. Although it is possible that her husband Julian had begun the construction of the imperial mausoleum prior to her death in 360 A.D., it is more likely that Julian, who by that time had been acclaimed as the Augustus of the Roman Empire, began to build the splendid imperial mausoleum during or after 361 A.D. (Mackie 2003:146; Stanley 1994:257fn3; Holloway 2004:105).

The imperial mausoleum has survived as one of the best-preserved buildings from Late Antiquity in Rome. The exquisitely aesthetic and beautiful architectural features of the building also show the influence of the Emperor Julian in its design and construction. This is especially true of the mosaics that adorn ceiling of the barrel vault of the mausoleum's ambulatory (Ringbom 2003:23; Holloway 2004:94; Johnson 2012:290).

The ambulatory contains twelve separate sections of mosaics that display an array of patterns, thematic scenes and images of nature. Some of the panels include the iconography of the cult of Bacchus depicting birds, flowers, fruit baskets and wine vessels. Other panels show cherubs (*putti*) harvesting and pressing grapes, transporting the harvest to the wine presses among intertwining vines or acanthus leaves, and a central portrait, possibly of the deceased. Other panels are composed of geometric patterns of interlocking lozenges with small dolphins radiating around an octopus in center (Ringbom 2003:24-25; Holloway 2004:95-97; Mackie 2003:152-153) (Figure 13).

The most striking aspects of the mosaics are the motifs of classical Roman religion, especially the themes from the cults of Bacchus and Dionysus (Holloway 2004:104) (Figure 14). Little if any of the imagery in the mosaic scenes can be considered as Christian imagery, although both Constantina and Helene are said to have been devout Christians (Mackie 2003:146). The predominance of non Christian content and themes seems to indicate the influential role that Julian played in the construction of the imperial mausoleum. Once Julian had been proclaimed Augustus, he declared that he had renounced Christianity, and during his short reign (361

Figure 13. The mosaic panel in the ambulatory of the mausoleum displays geometric designs with dolphins surrounding an octopus within the trapezoid. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach).

A.D. to 363 A.D.), Julian attempted to restore the traditional religious services to the Empire. For this policy, he has gone down in history as the Emperor Julian, the Apostate, the last non-Christian Roman Emperor (Ringbom 2003:37-38).

The only image in the original mosaics of the ambulatory that is clearly Christian is a *chi-rho* symbol over the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantina in the rectangular niche that is opposite the mausoleum's entrance. The Christogram in gold on a white background with stars is located on the extreme right, however, the symbol is difficult to see because of the deterioration of the panel (Holloway 2004:103; Mackie 2003:152).

About the fifth century A.D., mosaics with Christian themes were added to the two semicircular niches of the ambulatory of the mausoleum. One mosaic illustrates the Biblical scene in which God gives the law to Moses. The other mosaic shows Jesus giving His law to the apostles Peter and Paul (Ringbom 2003:25; Holloway 2004:103; Phillips 2008:312).

The imperial mausoleum of Constantina owes its survival to its dedication in or before the seventh century A.D. as a Christian church. At that time, a reference was made to religious services in connection with the grave of Constantina in the "church of Constantina" that was near the new basilica of St. Agnes (Mackie 2003:146; Ringbom 2003:30, 40fn27).

Although Constantina, the daughter of the Emperor Constantine, was mistakenly identified as a saint, the mausoleum of Constantina nevertheless acquired the name of the Church of Santa Costanza by the ninth century A.D. when it was recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* that mass was celebrated there in 865 A.D. (Coarelli 2007:431; Holloway 2004:99; Stanley 1994:257, 257fn4; Ringbom 2003:30, 40fn28).

On March 17, 1256 A.D., the *Liber Pontificalis* reported that an altar was installed in the rotunda of the mausoleum, and Pope Alexander IV formally inaugurated the Church of Santa Costanza (Phillips 2008:312; Ringbom 2003:30,40fn29). The small

Figure 14. The grape harvesting theme of this mosaic is traditional Roman imagery of the cult of Bacchus. (Photo: Linda C. Gorski)

Figure 15. The sarcophagus of Constantina, with carvings of cherubs in the vineyard, is currently on display in the Vatican Museum. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

church has continued to provide religious services up to this day.

When the imperial mausoleum was completed, the remains of Constantina and Helena were placed in the building. Each woman was laid to rest in an imperial porphyry sarcophagus. The sarcophagus of Constantina was placed in the rectangular niche of the encircling ambulatory of the rotunda that is aligned on the axis with the entrance to the mausoleum. Constantina's grand sarcophagus was adorned with high relief carvings depicting peacock and cupids tramping out the vintage of grapes. The sarcophagus occupied that prominent position in the mausoleum until the eighteenth century A.D. when it was moved to the Vatican Museum (Figure 15). A plaster cast of the original sarcophagus stands in its place in the mausoleum today (Holloway 2004:94; Coarelli 2007:431; Ringbom 2003:24-25).

A smaller porphyry sarcophagus was prepared for Helena, and although there is no record of where the sarcophagus initially stood in the mausoleum, it would not be surprising if her husband had placed it in the center of the rotunda. In 1606 A.D., shortly after the new Basilica of St. Peter opened in the Vatican, the sarcophagus of Helena was transferred to that basilica. The sarcophagus was moved to the St. Joseph Altar at St. Peter's, and it is used to hold the relics of apostles Simon and Jude (The Rad Trad 2015; Holloway 2004:104, 168f13).

The Basilica on Via Ardeatina

The sixth circiform funerary basilica of Rome was built on the Via Ardeatina, about one kilometer (0.62 miles) northwest of the Basilica Apostolorum (now called the Basilica of San Sebastian Outside the Walls). The Basilica on Via Ardeatina is most likely the final circiform basilica built in ancient Rome, and it seems fitting that it lies so close to the first such funerary basilica -- going full circle, so to speak.

The documentation of the basilica in ancient sources is very limited. A brief entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* assigns the construction of the basilica to the year 336 A.D., during the short reign of Pope Marcus, with the support and patronage of the aged Emperor Constantine, who would die in the following year (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a; Loomis 1916:72; Johnson 2012:290; Fiocchi Nicolai 2013;60).

The basilica was apparently abandoned about the eleventh century A.D., and in the seventeenth century A.D., the structure was demolished and buried in order to establish a vineyard on the property (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a).

Nevertheless, with a stroke of luck, the basilica whose location had been lost to modern researchers re-emerged. In September, 1991, a layman of the nearby Salesian Community of St. Callistus, peering out of the second story window of his residence, noticed that a differential growth pattern of the alfalfa in a field along the Via Ardeatina seemed to trace the outline of a basilica. A survey on September 10, 1991, confirmed the presence of the basilica's foun-

dation features (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:71; Holloway 2004:111; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a).

From the initial excavations in 1991 through the current decade, the archeological investigations at the basilica have added significant details about the liturgical use of this basilica and have confirmed many of the aspects of the other circiform basilicas, as well.

The analysis of the foundations of the basilica showed that it was built in *opus vittatum*, a construction technique that was typical of the fourth century A.D. (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a). The basilica was in the form a circiform basilica with the exterior walls forming a large semicircular apse on the west end. The length of the basilica was sixty-six meters (72.2 yards), while the width was twenty-eight meters (30.6 yards) (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:71).

The central nave of the basilica was approximately twelve meters (13.1 yards) wide, and piers on each side separated the nave from the side aisles. The side aisles were about six meters (6.6 yards) wide and curved through the large apse to form the ambulatory. The ambulatory was separated from the central nave and apse by rectangular piers. The apse proper was delineated by a row of four rectangular piers in a line across the mouth of the apse, creating a three fold portal or *triforio* (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:77, Figure 5; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a). A similar *triforio* style is evident in the ruins of the circiform basilica at the Villa of the Gordiani.

Other features of the basilica complex on Via Ardeatina include the presence of a row of five attached apsidal mausolea on the left hand side of the basilica. This mausolea grouping is similar to those found at the nearby Basilica Apostolorum (Basilica of San Sebastian) (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018b).

The funerary circiform basilicas typically were erected near a catacomb complex. The circiform basilica on Via Ardeatina was built over the Catacombs of Balbina, a set of catacombs on the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina. Saint Balbina was a young martyr who was executed about 130 A.D., during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. She was originally buried in the catacombs of Praetextatus on the Via Appia, but later, her bones were transferred to the Catacombs of Balbina (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a; Catholic Encyclopedia 2019; Wikipedia 2019).

One aspect of the circiform basilica on Via Ardeatina that appears to be unique to this complex is a transverse portico on the back side of the apse of the basilica. Lying tangent to the apsidal curve, the portico opened toward the church to provide access to the apse in a similar way that access via the apse was found in the basilicas on Via Labicana, Via Praenestina, and Via Tiburtina (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a; Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:81, 89, 91).

The excavations within the basilica and its associated structures revealed that every available space under the floor of the basilica, especially in the ambulatory, and the adjacent buildings was filled with tombs. This extensive use of tombs confirms the peculiar funerary function of this circiform basilica and the other covered cemeteries (*subteglala coemeteria*) that have not been as systematically investigated (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:73, 102; Johnson 2012:290).

The tombs of the ambulatory were laid in a parallel arrangement of six or seven concentric curving rows with the bodies head-to-foot in the direction of the curve. Along the perimeter walls of the ambulatory, the tombs were three or four levels deep (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:93, 98; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a).

The portico at the back of the basilica also was heavily occupied by pavement burials in a similar way as the basilica itself. The tombs of the portico, however, were mostly only two layers deep (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:87, 93).

A number of epitaphs were found on the tombs on the floor of the basilica. These epitaphs range in date from 368 A.D. to 445 A.D., and they seem to indicate that the funerary activity was most intense at the end of the fourth century A.D. and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. The burials appear to have ceased about 700 A.D. (Holloway 2004:112; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a).

Excavations in the center of the apse of the circiform basilica uncovered a large barrel vaulted sepulcher consisting of a sarcophagus and five surrounding tombs. Indications are that this centrally positioned, privileged space was occupied about the same time as the construction of the church. It is generally believed that this was the grave of Pope Marcus, the patron and founder of the basilica, who died on October 7, 336 A.D. (Fiocchi Nicolai 1999:99; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a; Fiocchi Nicolai 2013:60; Catholic Encyclopedia 2019).

During the excavations of the tombs in the basilica, several items were recovered. Most of these items were modest ritual objects, such as coins, lamps, glass or ceramic containers, or personal items, such as rings, earrings, needles, bracelets, and buckles (Fiocchi Nicolai 2013:62). It was somewhat of a surprise that in one of the pavement tombs, a cache of gold artifacts was found buried with a woman. The artifacts were in two pouches, the first of which contained four rings and loose elements of gold, emeralds, precious stones and glass. The second pouch was more interesting. It contained two necklaces and earrings with pearls, garnets and em-

eralds. One necklace was made of pearls and emeralds. The second necklace, however, was more spectacular. It was a gold necklace of the double-eight loop-in-loop type, with ends of small cylinders joined to lion heads that formed a clasp with a Christogram disk with the apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega* (Fiocchi Nicolai 2013:60-63; Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a).

The woman with the gold artifacts was buried in a crouched position with her upper and lower limbs bent. Her age at death was determined to be between 30 and 35 years. The high quality of the jewelry suggests that the woman was from a wealthy family. Nevertheless, the tomb itself was of a simple style similar to the other burials nearby. A Carbon 14 analysis of the woman has dated her remains to between 390 A.D. and 450 A.D., consistent with the period of peak activity at the basilica (Fiocchi Nicolai 2013:61-62).

The circiform basilica on Via Ardeatina appears to have been abandoned in the eleventh century A.D. (Churches of Rome Wiki 2018a). The lack of development of the site has helped to preserve the valuable remains of the basilica that lie below the ground surface. There are on-going investigations, and the area is an active archeological site that is not currently open to the public. However, aerial photos from Google Maps or Google Earth do show the scope and some of the details of the excavations of this important Constantinian era circiform basilica site.

Summary

Circiform basilicas were active places of Christian worship throughout most of the fourth century A.D. and into the fifth. By the sixth century A.D., these grand churches were abandoned. The covered cemeteries were filled to capacity with the tombs of the faithful who wished to be close to their revered martyrs after death, both with their bodies entombed in the basilicas and their souls among the community of the saints in heaven. As Christianity spread throughout the Empire, large numbers of people wished to visit the tombs of those who had inspired them by their lives of faith. It was no longer possible, or even desirable, to be buried near the martyrs of Rome. The circiform basilicas were abandoned and fell into disrepair. New basilicas were built, and the pilgrim Christians of the Middle Ages shared the experience of the martyrs by following the itinerary of the Seven Pilgrim Churches of Rome.

Even today, Rome welcomes many pilgrims to those same churches. Sometimes you can see them in the long lines, standing there, next to you.

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THE QUADRIFRONS ARCHES FROM THE ERA OF CONSTANTINE

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

In the aftermath of his victory over the usurper Maxentius on October 28, 312 A.D., the Emperor Constantine initiated a series of construction projects that would transform the landscape of urban Rome. The civic projects included the appropriation and completion of buildings begun by Maxentius, such as the Basilica Nova, the triumphal arch now known as the Arch of Constantine, and the Baths of Constantine. Projects of Constantine's own design incorporated the traditional basilica architecture into a remarkable series of Christian worship structures. Through most of the fourth century A.D., Constantine and his dynastic successors built monumental structures in Rome to bolster the flagging prestige of the ancient capital while advancing their own priorities that included the shift of imperial authority to the Eastern Roman Empire (Marlowe 2010).

One particular monument from the era of Constantine can be found in a rather obscure area of ancient Rome. Within sight of the elegant Round Temple (sometimes called the Temple of Hercules Victor) and the Temple of Portunus, both of which date to Republican era of Rome, the so-called Arch of Janus has an unassuming presence in the back corner of the former cattle market of Rome, the Forum Boarium.

The arch is a typical Tetrarchic quadrifrons victory monument, i.e., a massive four-way arch that measures twelve meters (39.4 feet) square and rises sixteen meters (52.5 feet) high (Johnson 2012:281; Claridge 2010:291; Holloway 2004:56). The structure consists of a rubble core clad in marble, some of which has been re-used from other monuments, such as the Temple of Rome and Venus. The center section is covered by a cross vault. The outer surface of each of the eight piers of the arch contains two rows of three semicircular niches, separated by a cornice, that lie above a high pedestal. A total of forty-eight niches cover the entire exterior of the quadrifrons arch (Mateos and Pizzo 2017:810; Coarelli 2007:321) (Figure 1).

It is believed that the niches on the outer surface of the arch held statues, however, there are no records or indications of what statues might have been placed there. Nevertheless, the delicate channeling around the crests of the niches, as well as the scalloped crowning of the interior surface of the niches attests to the elegant workmanship of the original facade (Holloway 2004:56) (Figure 2).

Figure 1. The Arch of Janus is constructed of brick-faced rubble clad in marble. Rows of niches cover the exterior surface of the piers. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach).

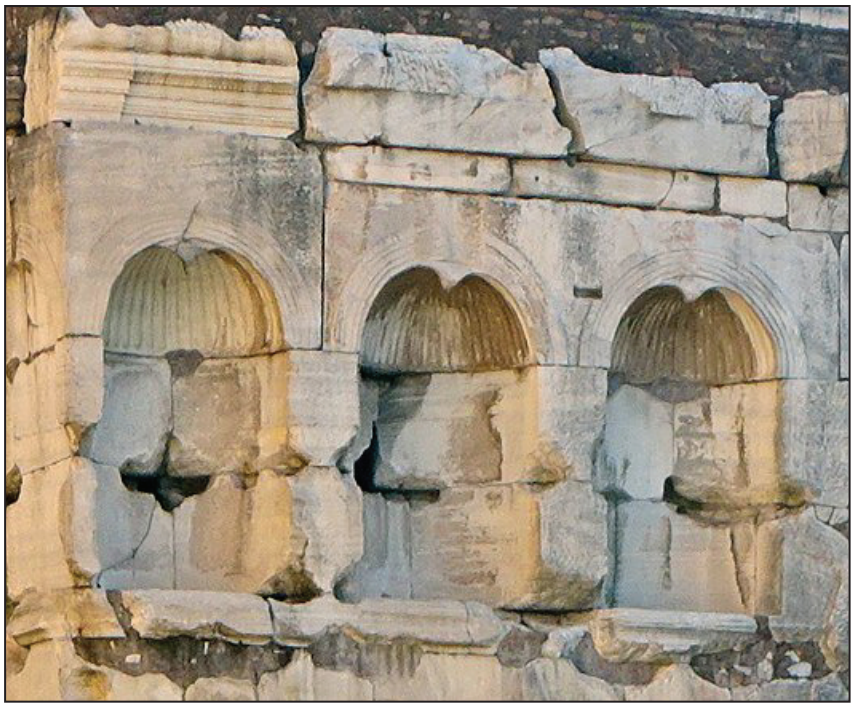

Figure 2. One row showing the scalloped crowning of the niches of the Arch of Janus.
(Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Each keystone of the Arch of Janus was decorated with a sculpted figure. On the north keystone, a figure of the goddess Minerva is carved in a standing position. On the east keystone, the goddess Roma is sculpted in a seated position. The figures on the other two keystones are very eroded and difficult to identify, however, one is possibly Juno (seated) and the other is possibly the goddess Ceres (standing) (Coarelli 2007:321; Claridge 2010:291; Holloway 2004:56).

Overall, the condition of the Arch of Janus is quite poor. Its appearance has been described by one modern investigator as "squat and ugly" and not much admired. The roughness of its appearance is largely due to the systematic pillaging during the Middle Ages of the metal fastening clamps that held the marble blocks together. Huge holes can be seen at nearly every joint. To make matters worse, the attic portion of the arch was demolished in 1830 A.D. because it was believed to be a medieval addition. Furthermore, since the function of the monument, its date of construction and the nature of its original appearance are in doubt, it is no wonder that so little attention has been given to the study of this quadrifrons arch since the structure was initially studied by artists in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. (Mateos and Pizzo 2017:802-806, 809; Claridge 2010:291; Coarelli 2007:321; Holloway 2004:55 56).

The only ancient source that mentions the so-called Arch of Janus is the Regionary Catalogue of the fourth century A.D. that lists the structure as the *arcum divi Constantini* ("arch of the deified Constantine") (Thayer 2018; Mateos and Pizzo 2017:802). The notation suggests that the monument was built after the death of the Emperor Constantine in 337 A.D. since "deification" normally was granted after the Emperor has died.

Recent archeological investigations, however, have made significant progress toward determining date of construction of this monument. A number of architectural features place the date of construction in the early or mid fourth century A.D., including significant similarities between the ceiling of the Arch of Janus and the vaults of other buildings of Constantinian times. The presence of elements reused from other buildings and the incorporation of terracotta storage jars are architectural features that date the construction to no earlier than the fourth century AD. The design of the niches framed by columns on two overlapping registers closely resembles architectural styles from the tetrarchical era, especially those that are present at the palace of Diocletian at Spalatum (modern Split, Croatia) (Mateos and Pizzo 2014:33-34; Mateos and Pizzo 2017:803).

The most important discovery, however, was the reconstruction of fragments of an inscription from the attic of the arch that have been preserved in the Church of San Giorgio in Velabro. The inscription seems to refer to the Emperor Constantius II (son of the Emperor Constantine), and his victory over Magnentius, that dates the dedication of the Arch of Janus

to the occasion of his visit to Rome in 357 A.D. (Mateos and Pizzo 2017:803; Coarelli 2007:321).

The function of the Arch of Janus remains a matter of debate. However, if the arch was a victory monument, then one possible explanation for the location of the arch is that the arch is a commemorative arch linked with the route of the triumphal processions that were diverted from the Vicus Iugarius to the Vicus Tuscus (at the east side of the arch) on their way to the Forum Romanum (Mateos and Pizzo 2017:802).

Other Quadrifrons Arches of the Constantinian Era

The interest in the so-called Arch of Janus quadrifrons has spotlighted similar quadrifrons arches of the fourth century A.D. Constantinian era. Three other quadrifrons arches from this time period are (1) the so-called Arch of Malborghetto on the ancient Via Flaminia about thirteen miles north of Rome, (2) the Milion of Constantinople, and the (3) Heidentor, a quadrifrons arch in Carnuntum, a Roman regional capital near modern day Vienna, Austria.

The Arch of Malborghetto

The Arch of Malborghetto is a commemorative quadrifrons arch on the Via Flaminia about thirteen miles north of Rome. The name is derived from the medieval village in which it is located. Unfortunately, there are no extant writings, inscriptions or images that connect this structure to the Emperor Constantine. However, its location on the Via Flaminia coincides with the route taken by Constantine as he led his army from the north of Italy toward the city of Rome in 312 A.D. (Holloway 2004:54).

The monumental structure is a *tetrapylon* (the Greek term for a quadrifrons) with a rectangular floor plan measuring 14.86 meters (48.75 feet) by 11.87 meters (38.9 feet) and standing around eighteen meters (fifty-nine feet) high. An attic with a flat roof caps the four-sided arch. The brick exterior fails to reveal the structure's ancient origins since the brick-faced concrete has long been stripped of its marble revetments, inscriptions and sculpture. The basic structure, however, completely preserves the features of its fourth century A.D. construction (Holloway 2004:53; Wikipedia 2019a; Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali (MiBAC) 2019) (Figure 3).

Archeological investigations performed after the building was acquired by the Italian state in 1982 have confirmed its fourth century A.D. origins. Brick stamps found in the arch date from 292 A.D. to 305 A.D., suggesting that the building was completed during the reign of Constantine. Most likely, following Constantine's victory over Maxentius on October 28, 312 A.D. at Saxa Rubra, the Roman Senate, in 315 A.D., erected the two-faced arch near the Colosseum and, perhaps, the arch at Malborghetto in the suburbs as well (Holloway 2004:53-54; Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali (MiBAC) 2019).

Because it would be quite unusual to build a commemorative arch at a campsite rather than the site of a battle, it is believed that the so-called Arch of Malborghetto actually commemorates the location

Figure 3. The Arch of Malborghetto. Although the arches of the sides have been filled in, the outlines of the arches are clearly visible. (Photo: Wikipedia)

The ancient Via Flaminia heads south from the Arch of Malborghetto toward Rome.
(Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

where Constantine saw the cross in the sky and later in a dream that night was told to mark the shields of his soldiers with the sign of the Christian God, the *chi-rho*, and, with that sign, he would be victorious (*in hoc signo, vinces*). Needless to say, after his stunning rout of the enemy, Constantine had a special appreciation for that place (Holloway 2004:54; Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali (MiBAC) 2019; Eusebius Caesariensis 2019:944).

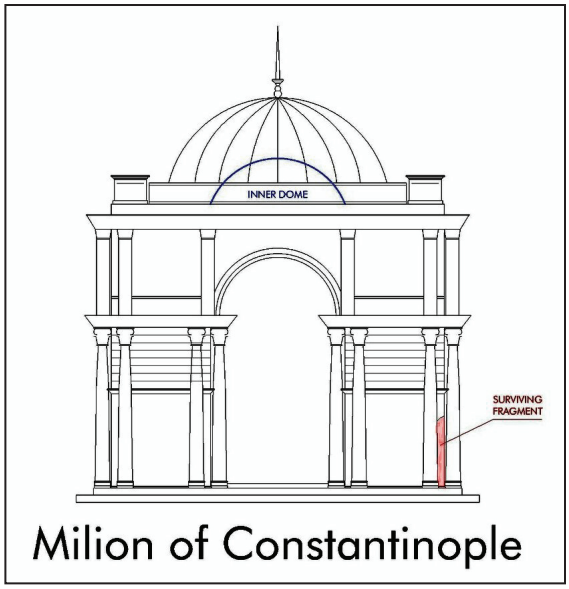

Figure 4. This reconstruction of the Milion of Constantinople shows the fragment that has been re-erected as a pillar in modern Istanbul. (Credit: Wikipedia 2019d).

The Milion of Constantinople

In the fall of 324 A.D., the Roman Emperor of the West, Constantine, led a campaign against Licinius, the Roman Emperor of the East, and defeated him at Chrysopolis (now a district of Istanbul, Turkey, on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus). By 326 A.D., Constantine had decided to transfer the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, a city built on the site of the small village of Byzantium and renamed by the Emperor (Odahl 2004:xiv; Holloway 2004:87).

At Constantinople, Constantine constructed a "new" Rome with many features and buildings similar to those in ancient Rome, including a Forum, a Senate House, a bath complex, a large circus, and a mile marker. The mile marker, or Milion, was a monument erected to serve as the zero mile marker for the roads leading to the cities of the Empire. The Milion served the same purpose as the Milliarium Aureum (Golden Mile Marker) that the Emperor Augustus had erected in the northern part of the Forum Romanum in Rome (Wikipedia 2019b; Wikipedia 2019c).

The Milion of Constantinople was a tetrapylon or quadrifrons arch. The four large arches of the Milion were capped with a dome while the building was richly decorated with statues and paintings (Wikipedia 2019d). Constantine's choice of a quadrifrons arch for his new mile marker, instead of a "golden column" may reflect his own preference for a tetrarchic style monument.

In the sixteenth century A.D., the Milion of Constantinople was demolished to allow for the enlargement of a nearby aqueduct. The foundations and a portion of one of the piers of the Milion were discovered during excavations in 1967 A.D. and 1968 A.D. The fragment of that pier was re-erected as a pillar near the site of the former quadrifrons arch (Wikipedia 2019d).

The Heidentor

The Heidentor is a quadrifrons arch located at the former capital of the Roman province of Pannonia Superior, a site that is about 26 miles (42 kilometers) east of Vienna, Austria. Today, only the partial ruins of the grand triumphal four-sided arch remain, however, archeological investigations from 1998 A.D. to 2001 A.D. have provided a significant amount of information in order to reconstruct the monument and to shed light on its history (Archäologischer Park Carnuntum 2012; Wikipedia 2019e).

The floor plan of the Heidentor is a rectangular base measuring 14.5 meters (47.6 feet) square. The four pillars of the arch cover the intersection of two roadways in a similar way that is seen in the Arch of Janus and the Arch of Malborghetto. A plinth standing 4.3 meters (14 feet) high was located in the center of the arch, blocking traffic through the intersection. A larger-than-life size statue of the Emperor Constantius II was most likely affixed to the top of the column base, indicating that the quadrifrons was actually a triumphal arch (Römerstadt Carnuntum 2019; Archäologischer Park Carnuntum 2012; Wikipedia 2019e) (Figure 5).

The Heidentor can be attributed to the Emperor Constantius II from a contemporaneous account written by Ammianus Marcellinus who reported with some chagrin that Constantius II had erected triumphal arches in Gaul and Pannonia (Figure 6).

> *"Now, although this emperor [Constantius II] in foreign wars met with loss and disaster, yet he was elated by his success in civil conflicts and drenched with awful gore from the internal wounds of the state. It was on this unworthy, rather than just or usual, ground that in Gaul and Pannonia he erected triumphal arches at great expense commemorating the ruin of the provinces"* (Ammianus Marcellinus 1940).

It is possible to date the construction of the Heidentor to the mid-350's A.D. since this account refers to the campaign waged by Constantius II against the usurper Magnentius in Pannonia and in Gaul that began in 351 A.D. and was successfully completed in 353 A.D. at the cost of the lives of many Roman soldiers (Goldsworthy 2009:196-197). Excavations at the arch recovered over 300 coins, the vast majority of which date from the period of the 350's A.D. Other artifacts from the archeological investigations at the Heidentor site, including spolia, ceramics and

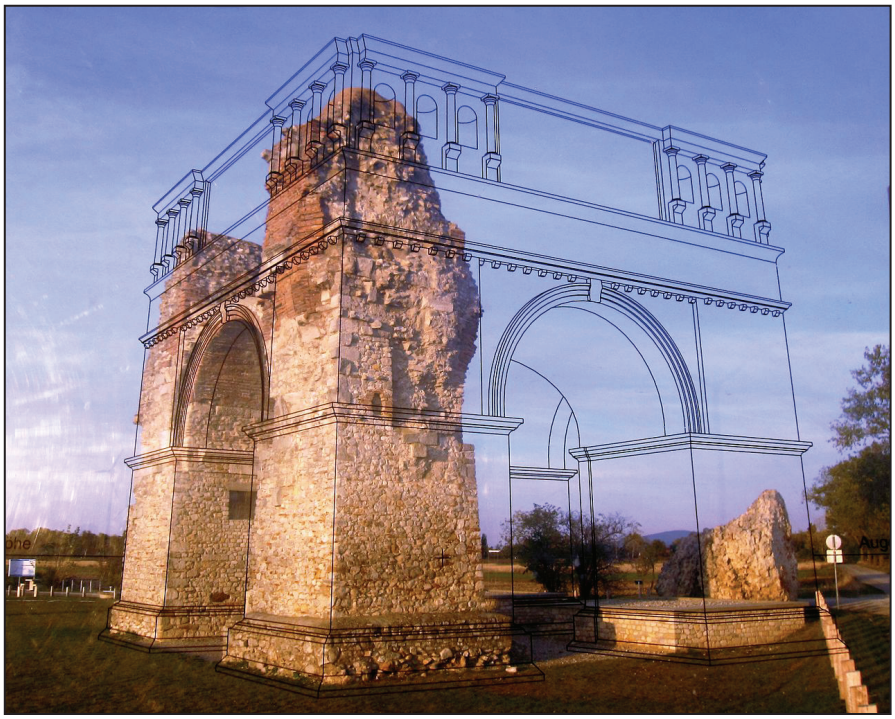

Figure 5. This reconstruction of the Heidentor, the quadrifrons arch at Carnuntum illustrates the original configuration of the monument. (Photo: Wikipedia).

Figure 6. The Heidentor, the quadrifrons arch at Carnuntum, viewed from the side with the plinth in the center of the arch. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach).

metal, confirm the date of the arch to the period of Constantius II's sole reign, i.e., from 354 A.D. to 361 A.D. (Archäologischer Park Carnuntum 2012; Wikipedia 2019e; Römerstadt Carnuntum 2019).

Summary

The recent investigations of the fourth century A.D. quadrifrons arches have clarified the chronology of these four monuments. Although they all have traditionally been assigned generally to the age of Constantine, it seems clear that two of the arches can be associated with Constantine himself, while the other two arches date to a later time when his son, Constantius II was the Emperor. These distinctions permit us to suggest some conclusions regarding the purpose for each of the monuments.

For Constantine, the two quadrifrons arches built during his reign seem to function as commemorative monuments. In the one case, the quadrifrons arch at Malborghetto commemorates a pivotal event in his life, his acceptance of the Christian God as his imperial patron. In the second case, Constantine built the Milion arch in Constantinople in homage to a traditional symbol of imperial Rome by installing a replica of the famous Golden Milestone that pinpointed Rome as the center of the world, although it was fashioned in an architectural style of his own choosing. His new Rome at Constantinople aspired to a similar great glory as ancient Rome. Constantine employed his strong rule to deftly navigate from the tetrarchal rule of senior and junior emperors to a rule of co-emperors to finally one-man rule of the Empire. His approach brought thirty years of relative stability to the Roman Empire.

The two arches built by Constantius II are clearly triumphal monuments highlighting important military victories during the turbulent later years of the reign of the Emperor Constantius II. Both the quadrifrons arch at Carnuntum and the so-called Arch of Janus in the Forum Boarium of Rome celebrate the success of Constantius II in preserving the Roman Empire and, more importantly, his own authority as the Emperor.

From the day that Constantine died, Constantine II lived in a world of insecurity and turmoil. He was complicit in the murders of nine members of the imperial family in order to remove any potential candidates for the imperial roles other than the three sons of Constantine, namely, Constantius II (the oldest son), Constantine II and Constans. The three sons divided the Empire among themselves. Nevertheless, rivalries between the two younger brothers ended in a conflict where Constantine II was killed. Later, Constans was executed by a rebellious general named Magnentius, and about 350 A.D. Magnentius challenged Constantius II. The civil war between those two continued for about three years. Finally, Constantius II engaged Magnentius at the Battle of Mursa on the Danube River in Pannonia. A bloody battle between the two Roman armies resulted in tens of thousands of casualties of Roman soldiers, but Constantius II was victorious. He then pursued Magnentius back into Gaul where, after several defeats, Magnentius committed suicide, and Constantius II emerged as the sole ruler of the Roman Empire.

The two quadrifrons arches attributed to Constantius II reflect this chaotic period of civil war. A suspicious and insecure Constantius II arranged for a grand victory procession in Rome in 357 AD to bolster his imperial authority, and the so-called Arch of Janus was probably erected for this event in which he presented himself as overwhelmingly superior and utterly certain of his rule (Goldsworthy 2009:203). Ammianus Marcellinus reported the description of this triumphal event with a certain amount of disdain:

> *"Constantius ... was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Magnentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood. For neither in person did he vanquish any nation that made war upon him, nor learn of any conquered by the valour of his generals; nor did he add anything to his empire; nor at critical moments was he ever seen to be foremost, or among the foremost; but he desired to display an inordinately long procession, banners stiff with gold-work, and the splendour of his retinue, to a populace living in perfect peace and neither expecting nor desiring to see this or anything like it"* (Ammianus Marcellinus 1935).

The triumphal quadrifrons arches of Constantius II offer us a window into a time of major social transformation and dramatic political and military changes for the Roman Empire of the fourth century A.D. (Wikipedia 2019e).

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STADIUM PRESERVATION: FROM ROME TO HOUSTON

Joshua R. Farrar

Introduction

Stadium preservation is a financially smart decision: people enjoy the novelty and history of old stadiums, are willing to spend money to visit them as tourist attractions, and stadiums can be repurposed for other uses such as event centers. However, not all old stadiums have been preserved. Many have been torn down and replaced with something larger and grander (Figure 1). This paper will cover select stadiums that have been preserved throughout the last century. I will start with a small introduction to the Colosseum in Rome, showing that the concept of stadium preservation spans millennia. Then I will talk about the "Big Three" baseball stadiums - Fenway Park, Wrigley Field, and Yankee Stadium – specifically highlighting why Yankee Stadium was torn down and replaced while Wrigley Field and Fenway Park endure. Then I will conclude by overviewing the Astrodome, the decision to save it, and possible uses for it in the future.

The Colosseum

The Colosseum is the most popular monument in Italy, with about six million tourists visiting the site each year. Built in 72 A.D. by the Emperor Vespasian and completed by his son, Emperor Titus in 80 A.D., the Colosseum is the quintessential example of stadium preservation. The Colosseum was first known as the Flavian Amphitheatre, after Flavius, praenomen to both Vespasian and Titus. The opening ceremonies reportedly lasted 100 days with 5,000 wild animals being killed per day in the arena.

Figure 1. The Kingdome, former home of the Seattle Mariners Major League Baseball Team, implodes in 2000. Credit: The Seattle Times.

Figure 2. Joshua R. Farrar and his wife Helen Farrar visit the Colosseum in May 2017. Credit: Joshua R. Farrar (author).

Combat between gladiators and the animals was the most popular event, but criminals, Christians, dwarfs, and many others were also used as entertainment (Natanson 2011) (Figure 2).

Fifty years after its construction, the Emperor Hadrian transferred a 30-meter tall statue called the Colossus of Nero next to the stadium. Moving and standing the massive statue upright took a team of 24 elephants. Even though the statue was destroyed by the 8th century A.D., the Flavian Amphitheatre became known forever as the Colosseum, after the Colossus that once stood next to it (Natanson 2011).

After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D., the Colosseum was used as a fortress, convent, and hermitage. Throughout the next ten centuries the Colosseum stood decaying, damaged by lightning strikes, earthquakes, and the ravages of time. Then in the 16th century A.D., the Colosseum began to act as a 'quarry' of sorts for a Renaissance and then Baroque-era church-building boom in the city. For example, stones from the Colosseum were used to make the steps to St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican (Hemans 1875; Natanson 2011).

This reuse of the Colosseum's building materials went on for two centuries until the Pope put a stop to the destruction in the 18th century A.D. and the Colosseum was used as a church remembering the martyred Christians who had died there. Even today, every year on Good Friday, a candlelight procession, sometimes led by the Pope, walks through the Colosseum to honor martyred Christians throughout the world and the ultimate Christian martyr, Jesus Christ (Natanson 2011) (Figure 3).

From the 18th to 20th centuries A.D., numerous conservation attempts took place on the Colosseum ranging from preservation to reconstruction. Different building materials were used depending on the project – some used brick, some stone, and others cement. Some projects added buttresses, others filled in arches, and still others added on to the existing structure (Hemans 1875; Natanson 2011).

Given all these preservation attempts and the Colosseum's six million annual tourists (along with their money), it may be surprising to some that as of 2011, only 15 percent of the Colosseum was open to the public due to an urgent need for cleaning and restoration. Additionally, in August 2011, it was discovered by the mayor's office of Rome, that the Colosseum had no security scanners in place, a necessary preservation item for any monument in today's uncertain world (Natanson 2011).

In 2012, the Colosseum underwent a three-year, 25 million euro restoration project that added body scanners and cloakrooms. According to Ann Natanson, "the most important changes relate to the opening up of other floors of the monument, some never accessed before by tourists." As of 2014, 85 percent of the Colosseum is open to the public, as opposed to only 15 percent in 2011. Small groups can now descend to the area below the arena, where caged animals and gladiators waited to face their deathmatch. Tourists can also visit the third tier of the amphitheater and "see where sailors stretched canvas sails over the whole area and visit the topmost tiers of seats, supposedly available to Roman women after a strenuous climb" (Edwards 2017; Natanson 2011).

The Colosseum clearly shows that stadium preservation is a never-ending cycle. But even after two millennia, the Colosseum is still capable of drawing crowds and remaining profitable, if only as a tourist

Figure 3. Pope Francis leads the Way of the Cross procession at the Colosseum on Good Friday, 2013. Credit: British Broadcasting Corporation.

destination. While the Colosseum costs millions of dollars to maintain, preservation of this ancient "stadium" is well worth the effort. To me, the repurposing of the Colosseum is truly amazing. An arena centered on death and violence is now officially a church (according to the Vatican register). Whether an arena, church, convent, quarry, or tourist destination, the Colosseum continues to be just as relevant today as it was nearly 2,000 years ago.

The Big Three

The United States does not have any 2,000-year-old stadiums, but we are a nation who loves sports and with sports comes stadiums. "America's Pastime," Major League Baseball (MLB), has been responsible for the construction of many stadiums in the United States and Canada throughout the last 150 years. At the turn of the 21st century A.D., three famous baseball stadiums, known as the "Big Three" had stood the test of time: Fenway Park (opened in 1912), Wrigley Field (opened in 1914), and Yankee Stadium (opened in 1923). But after the 2008 season, the original Yankee Stadium was torn down to make way for a new stadium. Why was Yankee Stadium torn down while Wrigley and Fenway endured and what is it that draws baseball fans to old ballparks?

Fenway Park

Fenway Park is the oldest major league ballpark still in use and looks nearly the same as when it opened in 1912. The stadium gets its name from Red Sox owner John Taylor who was a real estate mogul. He sold himself a parcel of real estate investment property in The Fens, Boston, to build the new ballpark. When it first opened, the stadium had a seating capacity of only 27,000 in steel and concrete grandstands. Eventually additional wooden seating was added in the outfield, but a 1926 fire burned down the wooden seats in left field and this area was not rebuilt until 1933 (Fenway Park) (Figure 4).

Fenway Park underwent extensive renovations after the 1933 season. Though the wooden grandstands were rebuilt in left field, the wooden seats in center field and right field were torn down and replaced with steel and concrete construction. The rebuilt left field grandstands were placed behind a 37-foot wall used for advertisements and a hand-operated scoreboard. This wall would eventually come to be known as "The Green Monster" when the advertisements were removed and the wall painted green in 1947. Though most of the 1933 construction was destroyed in a fire in January 1934, it was once again rebuilt using insurance money and reopened in April of that year for the beginning of the 1934 season. After the renovations, Fenway Park's seating capacity was increased to 33,817 (Fenway Park).

Figure 4. Fenway Park during the 1914 World Series. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

Few changes took place until 2002 when John Henry, Tom Werner, and Larry Lucchino took over ownership of the Red Sox. During this sale, talks had circulated about replacing Fenway Park with a new ballpark, but the new team management was committed to renovating the original stadium. From 2003 to 2008, seats were added to the top of the Green Monster; seats were added on top of the right field roof; and various seats were added in other areas. From 2009 to 2017, the seats were refurbished or replaced in the lower sections of the stadium. The original 1912 cement seating bowl that makes up the heart of the stadium was repaired and waterproofed, a 38 foot by 100 foot video scoreboard was added above the bleachers in center field, and additional seats were added when the right field roof was repaired and expanded. Current seating capacity is 37,673 (Fenway Park) (Figure 5).

Though Fenway Park is one of the smaller ballparks in Major League Baseball, the age and history of the stadium make it a 'Mecca' for baseball enthusiasts. Even baseball fans who hate the Red Sox, still try to attend at least one game at Fenway Park because it is the oldest stadium in baseball. It is a 'bucket list item' for many baseball fans including myself (Figure 6). Fenway Park can demand high ticket prices due to the stadium's storied history and games are very often near or at capacity. The renewed investment in Fenway Park may even have also added impetus to the team itself. After not winning a World Series since 1918, the Red Sox have won three World Series pennants since stadium renovations began in 2003, including the 2004, 2007, and 2013 World Series (Borer 2006).

Wrigley Field

Wrigley Field is the second oldest Major League Baseball ballpark and is nicknamed "The Friendly Confines." The field was originally built in 1914 by Charles Weeghman for the Chicago Whales. At the time, the ballpark was only a single v-shaped deck with 14,000 seats and was named Weegham Field. After the 1915 season, Weeghman bought the struggling Chicago Cubs and moved them to his complex for the 1916 season. In 1920, Weeghman renamed the ballpark Cubs Park and then sold the ball club to William Wrigley, Jr. (Wrigley Field).

Figure 5. Proposed 2015 addition of 232 seats at Fenway Park. Credit: Boston Herald.

Figure 6. Fenway Park at present. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

In 1922, Cubs Park was outfitted with wooden bleachers bringing the capacity of the ballpark to 20,000. In 1926, Mr. Wrigley, Jr. decided to heavily invest in stadium renovations and renamed the ballpark Wrigley Field after himself and his bubblegum company. A second deck was added, the left field bleachers were removed, and the playing surface was lowered so that additional seats could be added to the lower level thereby increasing seating capacity to 38,396 (Wrigley Field).

The most iconic renovations to Wrigley Field took place in 1937. The outfield was filled with bleachers, the famous hand-operated scoreboard was added to centerfield, and ivy was planted at the base of the outfield wall (Figure 7). The 1940s saw the last major renovations to the stadium's "iconic look" with the left field seats being restructured. Lights were intended to be added for night games, but right before they were to be installed, Mr. Wrigley donated them to the war effort for World War II (Wrigley Field).

Wrigley Field changed little until the 1980s when the Wrigley family sold the stadium to the Tribune Company. The stadium still did not have lights and fans were proud that only day games were played at Wrigley Field. The Tribune Company tried to install lights after the 1981 season, but fan outcry against the change was immense. After the 1987 season,

Figure 7. Planting the original ivy at Wrigley Field in 1937. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

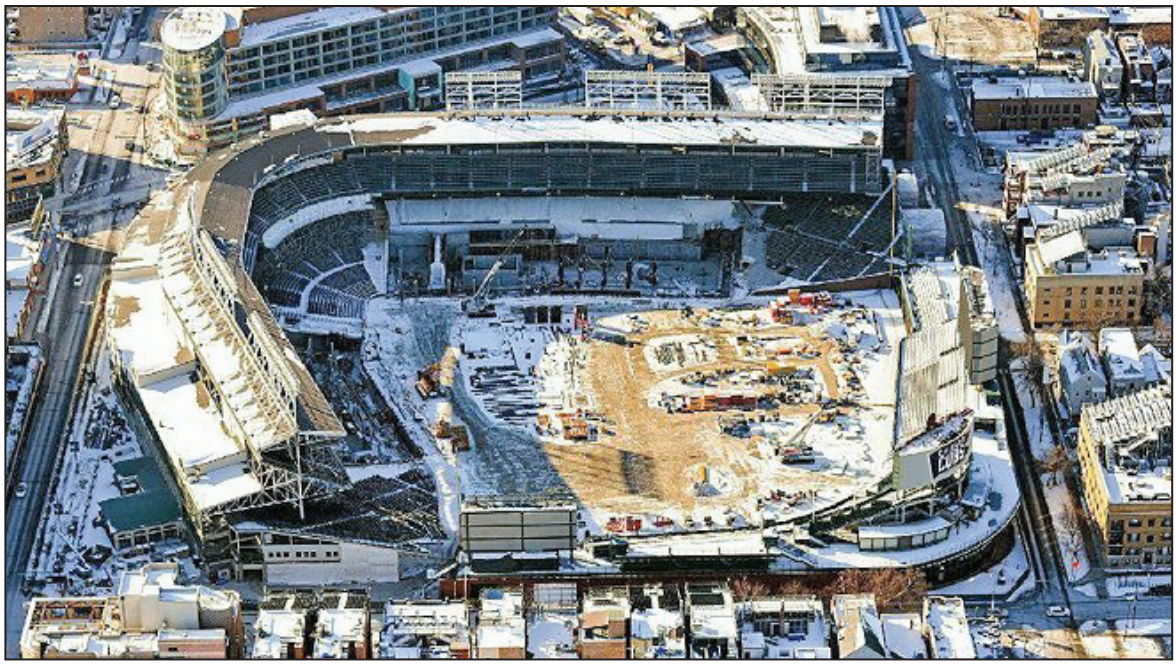

Figure 8. Wrigley Field under renovation in 2017. Credit: Chicago Tribune.

Major League Baseball threatened to move any playoff games to another location until Wrigley Field installed lights for night games, so the Tribune Company was finally able to install lights for the 1988 season – against the wishes of the Illinois Legislature! (Wrigley Field).

Again Wrigley Field underwent a period of stagnation until after the 2003 season when 200 seats were added behind home plate. In 2005, 1,800 bleacher seats were added in the outfield, and in 2007 the entire playing field was torn-up, re-leveled, and planted with Kentucky bluegrass (Wrigley Field).

The biggest renovation to Wrigley Field since 1937 began in 2014 with a five-year, $575 million project. Wrigley Field needed a complete internal overhaul for fire safety and ADA compatibility among other reasons. The back of the stadium in the outfield was pushed back thereby allowing for a larger concourse throughout the outfield. This gave better freedom of movement for the fans as well as providing area for concession stands and more seats. Two videoboards were also added to the outfield during renovations to the electrical and plumbing systems (Wrigley Field) (Figure 8).

Additional renovations are ongoing until 2019. The projects currently under construction include upgrading the steel infrastructure of the stadium skeleton, replacing the 1930s wooden roof with a new one, expanding the concourses in all areas of the stadium, adding more concession stands and restrooms, and returning the outside façade of the stadium to its 1930s appearance. Beyond these changes, more seats are being added throughout the ballpark to increase Wrigley Field's seating capacity beyond its current 41,000, and multiple structures, plazas, and entertainment centers are being added to the area around the ballpark, known as "Wrigleyville" (Wrigley Field).

Wrigley Stadium has a storied history, full of tradition. For a time, the stadium even hosted professional football games, and even though that stopped long ago, Wrigley Field is so old that it still holds the record for hosting the most professional football games of any stadium in the nation. Much like the Red Sox at Fenway Park, the Cubs had been 'cursed,' not winning a World Series since 1908. But just like the Red Sox in 2004, with the start of major renovations and investment in Wrigley Field in 2014, the team itself prospered, winning the 2016 World Series (Figure 9). The team that used to be known as the "Lovable Losers" now has a World Series pennant once more and will soon have a newly renovated classic stadium (Wrigley Field; Green and Jacob 2002).

Ticket prices are sky-high yet the stadium is habitually sold out and was even sold out in the years before the baseball team became a postseason contender. Continuing to renovate Wrigley Field instead of tearing it down keeps all baseball fans interested in the Cubs instead of just Cubs fans. As the second oldest baseball field in the country, and possibly the most iconic stadium with its ivy-covered outfield wall, Wrigley Field stands along with Fenway Park as a 'bucket list' destination for sports enthusiasts. In fact, Wrigley Field is so popular that it is all but

Figure 9. The Chicago Cubs win the World Series in 2016. Credit: Chicago Tribune.

impossible to park in the area around the stadium dubbed Wrigleyville. Most fans take the train to the stadium and spend the day in Wrigleyville before attending the game. The stadium itself has become a destination that far eclipses the team. It honestly does not matter if the Cubs are having a good year or a bad year, the stadium will still generally be full (Green and Jacob 2002).

Yankee Stadium

In 1920, the New York Yankees became the first major league team to attract over one million fans. Until that point, the Yankees and the New York Giants (since moved to San Francisco) were sharing the same field, but in 1922, the Giants evicted the Yankees from their ballpark claiming that the Yankees were stealing all of their fans. Since the Yankees were so popular, they soon found a plot of land for a ballpark in the Bronx and finished construction on the stadium in just 284 days. The ballpark was the first to have three tiers of seating and was so large that the word "stadium" was reportedly coined to describe its enormous size with a seating capacity of 58,000 (Yankee Stadium).

Yankee Stadium was built of steel and concrete in the three-tiered grandstands behind home plate and down the baselines. The outfield bleachers were made of wood. A 15-foot tall copper façade adorned the bottom of the third deck, soon becoming an iconic feature. Yankee Stadium opened in 1923 and drew a massive crowd as the 1920s Yankees team was one of the best baseball teams ever, featuring well-known players such as Babe Ruth and Lou

Figure 10. Yankee Stadium Opening Day in 1923. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

Gehrig (Figure 10). The triple-tier grandstand was extended into left field in 1928 and into right field in 1937, increasing the capacity to 80,000. Monument Park was founded in 1932 in center field with a plaque to former manager Miller Huggins. The park took on iconic status when a monument was erected to Lou Gehrig after he was diagnosed with ALS (soon to be nicknamed "Lou Gehrig's disease") (Yankee Stadium; Joshua R. Farrar, Personal Recollections, 2018).

In 1971, the stadium was in a state of disrepair and owner Mike Burke began looking into building a new stadium in New Jersey. The Mayor of New York was so appalled that he had the city buy the stadium in 1972 and begin renovations in 1973. Yankee Stadium was closed for two years and the Yankees were forced to play at Shea Stadium, the home of the New York Mets. Parts of the stadium were demolished, the copper façade was eliminated from the upper deck, the columns supporting the upper deck were removed, the original wooden chairs were replaced with plastic ones, and the seating capacity was reduced to 54,000. Escalators and elevators were added to the outside of the stadium façade to facilitate trips to the upper levels as well (Yankee Stadium) (Figure 11).

The renovations were finished for the 1976 season and, just like the Red Sox in 2004 and the Cubs in 2016, the Yankees made it to the World Series that year! What a coincidence! When a team invests money in renovations to an existing stadium, the team seems to do better as well (Yankee Stadium). But many fans felt that the 1973 renovations had killed the 'old' Yankee Stadium. While the stadium looked much the same as it did before, the papers stated that 'The House that Ruth Built' had been replaced with a plastic kingdom. The wooden chairs, the copper façade – all now plastic and disposable. The stadium remained, but its heart had been removed and replaced with an artificial one.

From 1976 to 2005, the stadium sat basically unchanged. The concourses were cramped and moving around the stadium involved being smashed in poorly ventilated tunneled-hallways underneath the stadium seating. The blue paint became covered in grime and old beer. I know from experience as I attended a game at Yankee Stadium in 2003 (Figure 12). Finally in 2005, the team faced a decision between another set of massive renovations and building a new ballpark. The City of New York and the Yankees decided on the latter and a new Yankee Stadium was built, opening right across the street from the old venue in 2009. Coincidently, the Yankees won the World Series in 2009, celebrating their first year in their new stadium! (Unfortunately this hurts my proposal that stadium renovations help a

Figure 11. Yankee Stadium during the 1970's. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

Figure 12. Joshua R. Farrar (second from left) visits Yankee Stadium during the 2003 season. Credit: Joshua R. Farrar (author).

team win as it seems that building a new stadium might help as well) (Yankee Stadium; Joshua R. Farrar, Personal Recollections, 2018; Harrington 2011).

Old Yankee Stadium was demolished between 2008 and 2010, and the land was converted into a public park with a baseball and softball field. So ended one of the "Big Three" Major League Baseball fields. Yankee Stadium had been home to 26 World Champion teams over 85 years, but while Fenway Park and Wrigley Field were attractions on their own merit, Yankee Stadium had come to be described as "a dump." Fenway Park and Wrigley Field uniquely showcased baseball from a more innocent time, when the fields were ballparks, not stadiums, and the game was more intimate. Additionally, the Red Sox and Cubs were generally unsuccessful teams on the field for about 90 years. For a long time, the old stadiums were the only reason to attend, as the teams did not often win. Yankee Stadium was the first stadium built with the purpose to cram in as many fans as possible. People loved to go to Yankee Stadium to watch the Yankees. Most people did not love to go to Yankee Stadium just to go to Yankee Stadium (Yankee Stadium; Harington 2011).

While Yankee Stadium had the most storied history of any ballpark in history, it was a famous stadium because the teams that played within its walls had been so good, not because the stadium itself was a nice place to visit. On the contrary, by the 21st century, Yankee Stadium was hot, smelly, and falling apart – desperately in need of major repairs. Additionally the Yankees have never had trouble attracting fans to their ballpark. Yankee Stadium itself was built in 1923 because the Yankees needed a massive venue to hold all of their fans.

While many lamented the loss of old Yankee Stadium, they lamented the loss of the memories, not of the stadium itself. Many felt that the renovations of 1973 had been done inappropriately and therefore the stadium that existed in 2008 no longer maintained quite the emotional connection to its past that Wrigley Field and Fenway Park hold to this day. The 'House that Ruth Built' had already become a hall of plastic so why not build a new stadium as the old one had already been lost for decades? And so, when a new Yankee Stadium opened, it was as full as the old Yankee Stadium had ever been, and a much better venue in which to watch baseball. But there are fans like myself who will always miss the 'old' Yankee Stadium as it was a part of my childhood now gone forever (Harrington 2011).

The Astrodome

Houston was awarded a Major League Baseball franchise in 1960. From 1962 to 1964, the team was called the Colt .45s and played at Colt Stadium. In 1962, construction on the Harris County Dome Stadium began. Dubbed the "Eighth Wonder of the World," the domed stadium was completed for the 1965 season. The baseball team was renamed the Astros and the stadium was renamed the Astrodome (Astrodome) (Figure 13).

Unlike Yankee Stadium that only had three levels, the Astrodome consisted of six levels from foul

Figure 13. The Astrodome under construction during the period of 1962-65. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

pole to foul pole and was one of the first stadiums to have luxury boxes. Additionally, each of the 42,217 seats was cushioned, a stadium first! The Astrodome had five restaurants, a massive 472 foot long scoreboard, and was also home to two football teams – the Houston Oilers and University of Houston Cougars. The stadium could transform into a football field by moving two panels of 5,000 seats each (Astrodome) (Figure 14).

The dome was 18 stories high and was originally intended to be translucent so that the natural grass field could stay alive. Unfortunately the 1960s "Lucite" skylight panels tended to be extremely glaring in direct sunlight, temporarily blinding players and fans. One-third of the panels were eventually painted over to alleviate this problem, but this caused the grass field to die. To solve this problem, 'Astroturf' was invented – a green surface of fake grass made of nylon. For the first thirty years, the stadium remained relatively unchanged apart from the skylights and Astroturf. In 1989, the stadium capacity was increased to 54,816 as the six-tiered grandstands were extended around the outfield (Astrodome).

During the 1990s, the Astros and the Oilers wanted new stadiums. The Oilers failed to fund a building project and moved to Tennessee in 1996. The Astros gained funding and moved to Minute Maid Park in 2000. Since 1999, the Astrodome has sat virtually idle. A new football team, the Texans, moved to Houston in 2002 and built NRG stadium next to the Astrodome (Figure 15). In 2005, the Astrodome was used as a medical evacuation center and shelter for refugees from Hurricane Katrina. But after this brief window of usefulness, debate once again raged about

Figure 14. The Astrodome in a football field configuration. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

Figure 15. The vacant Astrodome sitting beside NRG stadium. Credit: Houston Chronicle.

whether the stadium should be reused in some fashion, left to decay, or simply be torn down (Gavagan et al. 2006; Astrodome).

In 2016, all interior fixtures were stripped from the stadium. This included the seats which can be purchased by fans online. Thankfully (the Astrodome was the first venue that I ever attended to watch a Major League Baseball game), in February 2018, the Harris County Commissioners approved a redevelopment of the Astrodome into an event center. The $105 million renovation will raise the ground floor of the stadium by two floors to make room for an underground parking garage capable of housing 1,400 vehicles. The stadium itself will then be redesigned for uses such as festivals, conferences, fairs, concerts, and other commercial ventures. Houston is a hot, humid, mosquito-filled place at times. Having a massive, air-conditioned event space could prove to be a very good investment. Construction is supposed to begin in 2018 and finish in early 2020 (Joshua R. Farrar, Personal Recollections, 2018; Astrodome).

Conclusion

In conclusion, stadium preservation is an oft overlooked portion of building preservation. Hopefully this introductory paper will spark interest in the subject through showing that saving old stadiums can be a financially viable decision. While an old stadium is a living building, needing habitual care and regular renovations and updates, commitment to

Figure 16. Possible proposed interior of the Astrodome following renovations. Credit: Harris County Commissioners.

Figure 17. The interior of the Colosseum in June 2012. Credit: Joshua R. Farrar (author).

an old stadium can cause the building to become a tourist destination in its own right – transcending the current use of the stadium itself. Stadiums such as the Colosseum and Astrodome show that repurposed stadiums can lead useful lives through providing a forum for a wide range of civic, business, or even religious functions (Figures 17 and 18).

When an old stadium, such as Yankee Stadium, is lost, there is almost certainly worthy reasons for its destruction. But case studies such as Fenway Park, Wrigley Field, and the Roman Colosseum show that investment in the current structure can meet the modern demands of society while providing visitors with a venue that preserves their revered histories and traditions. Eventually, the stadium becomes just as big an attraction as the sports team, thereby leading to increased revenue from visitors coming just for the experience.

Finally, in case studies presented in this paper, after a stadium was preserved, the sports team playing in that stadium tended to have a fantastic season the following year. Maybe stadium preservation invests in more than the stadium – it is telling fans and players alike that the upper management and city deem them worthy of investment as well.

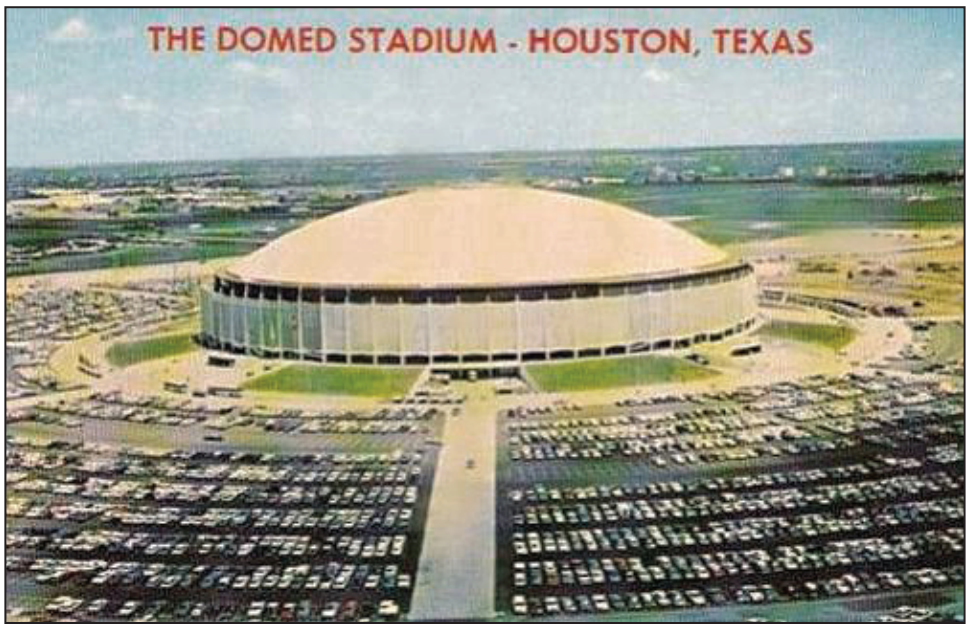

Figure 18. The Astrodome, late 1960's. Credit: Ballparks of Baseball.

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