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“CAPELLA REGINAE”: S. AQUILINO IN MILAN*

by DALE KINNEY

S. Aquilino forms part of the elaborate early Christian complex that centers on the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, standing just outside the Roman wall of Milan on the Via Ticinensis, the ancient road to Pavia (fig. 1). In a rich and sophisticated design, the quatrefoil main church is surrounded by three centralized chapels: S. Aquilino to the south, S. Ippolito to the east, and S. Sisto to the north, while on the street side, the area of a spacious atrium is preceded by a grandiose colonnade¹ (fig. 2). Of the three chapels, S. Aquilino is the largest and the best preserved; it is also the only one to have its own vestibule. This vestibule is apsed at both ends, a common early Christian type (cf., for example, Sta. Costanza and the Lateran Baptistery). The chapel, too, conforms to a favorite late antique and early Christian plan: an octagon with alternately rectangular and semi-circular niches cut into its walls on the ground-floor level. Running above these niches is a gallery, which passes in front of a large round-headed window in each of the chapel's eight sides (fig. 3). Overhead is an eight-sided brick cloister-vault. On the exterior, the level of the internal gallery is marked by a brick cornice; above a second cornice runs a dwarf gallery, one of the earliest of its kind (fig. 4). Structurally, the octagon is almost completely intact, from its curious foundations (to be discussed below) up to and including its vault.² The vestibule has not fared so well; its vaulting collapsed and its upper

* My work on S. Aquilino began in the spring of 1968 in a seminar with Prof. Richard Krautheimer, whose generous advice since then has repeatedly staved off error and despair. Warm thanks go to him; I am also very grateful to the Commissione Americana per gli Scambi Culturali con l'Italia, the S. H. Kress Foundation, the American Academy in Rome, and the National Gallery in Washington for financial assistance that enabled me to continue and expand my research in Rome and Milan. The photographs for figs. 2, 4, 8 and 9 were supplied through the kindness of Prof. Mario Mirabella Roberti, Soprintendente alle Antichità della Lombardia, and the photos for figs. 5, 10 and 12 were made by the Biblioteca Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome. A preliminary summary of this paper was read at the joint meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians and the College Art Association in 1969.

¹ The early Christian parts of the complex were convincingly identified during a detailed archeological study conducted during the 1930's, the results of which were published in the indispensable monograph by A. Calderini, G. Chierici, and C. Cecchelli, *La Basilica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano*, Milan (1952); see esp. pp. 85-118.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 109-117. The most important and obvious alteration of the original building is the sixteenth-century addition of the square apse, which replaces the south niche and houses the body of St. Aquilinus (*ibid.*, pp. 111-112, 163; cf. Aristide Calderini, *La Zona monumentale di S. Lorenzo in Milano*, Milan, 1934, p. 94 # 178). Other changes are the substitution of pilasters for all but one of the original columns of the outer dwarf gallery (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 113), and the replacement of the roofing over the dome (*ibid.*, p. 114).

parts were rebuilt during the Middle Ages, though below this zone the original early Christian brickwork still survives.³

Ancient descriptions, as well as such clues as dowel holes, make clear that the entire S. Lorenzo complex was once magnificently decorated with mosaics and colored marbles. Today nearly every trace of this decor is lost:⁴ the only remnants are in S. Aquilino, and, though few, they amply document the chapel's early splendor. Some fragmentary mosaics in the vestibule, notably in the northwest corner, permit the reconstruction of an elaborate program that once covered all four sides of the room above the level of the doors and apses; standing patriarchs, apostles, and saints were represented in two registers within a pseudo-architectural frame.⁵ Setting off the door that leads from the vestibule into the chapel is an ornate re-used marble molding, of the first century A.D., richly decorated with circus scenes and other motifs.⁶ The decoration of the octagon itself was even more opulent. The walls were covered by an *opus sectile* revetment, which seems to have been characterized by a lavish use of porphyry.⁷ The vaults of the round niches must all have been covered with figural mosaics, of which two survive; these may be identified as the *Ascension of Elijah* in the southeast niche, and *Christ Teaching the Apostles* in the southwest.⁸ The gallery still retains large segments of its colorful fresco

³ Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 106–109. Verzone has proposed that the vestibule's original vault was a cupola of *tubi fittili*, remains of which were found under the floor (Paolo Verzone, *L'Architettura religiosa dell'alto medio evo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan, 1942, p. 87). A barrel vault is an equally plausible reconstruction.

⁴ All of the descriptions and other references pertaining to S. Lorenzo, from the first in the early sixth century down to 1934, were collected by Aristide Calderini and published in his invaluable book, *La Zona monumentale*, cited in full in note 2. On the splendid decoration of the church see e.g. p. 63 # 3 (eighth century), p. 66 # 21 (eleventh century), p. 67 # 25 (eleventh century), and numerous later entries, *passim*.

⁵ These fragmentary mosaics were uncovered only in the 1930's. See Ildefonso Card. Schuster, *Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche milanesi*, Milan, 1940, *passim*; Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 233–241; A. M. Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XLVI, 1953, p. 186; André Grabar, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, IX, 1957, pp. 347–348; Mario Mirabella Roberti, "La Vetra romana," *La Nuova Esattoria Civica di Milano*, Milan, 1963, p. 40; Giuseppe Bovini, "I Mosaici del S. Aquilino di Milano," *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XVII, 1970, pp. 61 ff. See also the diagram published in *Storia di Milano*, I, *Le Origini e l'età romana*, Milan, 1953, p. 677.

⁶ Carlo Albizzati, "Un Portale d'età romana a Milano," *La Critica d'Arte*, II, 1937, pp. 55–65; Mario Mirabella Roberti, "Milano – Basilica di S. Lorenzo," *Studi e Ricerche nel territorio della provincia di Milano*, Milan, 1967, p. 146.

⁷ The fourteenth-century chronicler Galvagno Fiamma describes S. Aquilino as "porphyriticis lapidibus et opere mosayco contacta" (*Chronicon Extravagans de antiquitatibus Mediolani*, ed. Antonio Ceruti, in *Miscellanea di Storia italiana*, VII, 1869, p. 482; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 82 # 118); elsewhere he says that the chapel's founder, whom he identifies as Galla Placidia, "vestivit parietes interius laminis marmoreis pretiosis" (*Chronicon maius*, cited by Ceruti, *ibid.*, p. 482 n. 2; Calderini, p. 83 # 119). The revetment of the chapel was carted off sometime in the third quarter of the seventeenth century; cf. Carlo Torre, *Il Ritratto di Milano*, Milan, 1674, pp. 126–127: "vecchiamente questa Rotonda (S. Aquilino) era tutta fatta à Pitture musaiche, ed io osseruai più volte sua Cupola in tal positura, tenendo anche trà l'vn'arco, e l'altro, lastre rotonde di marmi preziosi; si rinnouò poscia alcuni anni sono, disfaccendosi del tuto il musaico, e leuando le rotonde Lastre, che parte seruirono per la Fabbrica dell'incominciato Santuario sull'Altar Maggiore di San Lorenzo, ed incrostossi, come voi vedete, il tutto di calcina bianca, ed à lauorati stucchi in forma Corintia" (cf. Calderini, p. 118 # 257). On the lost decoration in general cf. Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 140–141; Cecchelli, *ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

⁸ For the various proposed identifications of the subject matter of these mosaics see e.g. Julius Kohte, "Die Kirche San Lorenzo in Mailand," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, XXXX, 1890, col. 317; Giov. Pietro Kirsch, "Sull'origine dei motivi iconografici nella pittura cimiteriale di Roma," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, IV, 1927, pp. 274–281; Schuster, *Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, pp. 85–91; Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 204–207, 209–210, 221 ff.; Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des*

decoration, imitating *opus sectile*.⁹ The cupola was covered with mosaics, which seem to have featured narrative or at least multi-figural compositions, presumably with gold backgrounds.¹⁰ Every inch of visible surface, therefore, was covered with some kind of colorful and light-catching material; the overall impression must have been one of sumptuous brilliance, with an aura of royalty created by the profusion of porphyry and gold.

The earliest history of S. Aquilino, indeed, of the entire S. Lorenzo complex, is obscure but not entirely lost. In the absence of unambiguous proof of any kind—contemporary accounts, inscriptions, brick stamps, donor portraits—the date and circumstances of the founding of the church can only be deduced from more disputable considerations: the findings of archaeologists and our knowledge of the history of early Christian Milan. Inevitably, therefore, the date of S. Lorenzo has become a matter of controversy. However, I am convinced that a thorough, non-selective consideration of all the evidence at our disposal can lead to only one conclusion:¹¹ S. Lorenzo is an imperial foundation, completed sometime during the episcopate of Auxentius of Cappadocia (bishop of Milan from 355 to 374), who was an Arian and an imperial

achten Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 5–10, 158–159; Pasquale Testini, "Osservazioni sull'iconografia del Cristo in trono fra gli Apostoli," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, n.s. XI–XII, 1963, pp. 269–271, 278; Giuseppe Bovini, *Antichità cristiane di Milano*, Bologna, 1970, pp. 334–347; *idem*, "I Mosaici del S. Aquilino," pp. 72–73, 77–81. Much additional bibliography is cited by Cecchelli, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 202 n. 13.

⁹ Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 229–231; color photo in *Storia di Milano*, I, pl. opp. p. 352.

¹⁰ Gold backgrounds and narrative scenes are suggested by a contemporary reference to a thirteenth-century book by Goffredo da Bussero "... ubi de ystrionibus et de aurea ecclesia Genesisii (S. Aquilino) multa narravi;" lamentably this book has been lost (*Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, ed. Marco Magistretti and Ugo Monneret de Villard, Milan, 1917, col. 144C; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 73 # 61). In 1576 Giouan Francesco Bascapè still refers to S. Aquilino as "tutta ornata di antico lauoro à musaico" (*Libro D'Alcune Chiese di Milano*, Milan, 1576, H 4; Calderini, p. 96 # 188); but the passage from Torre cited above (n. 7) indicates that most of these mosaics were to disappear within the next hundred years. Indeed Allegranza writes in 1757 that of all the mosaics once in S. Aquilino one is left, "Christ among the Doctors" (*Spiegazione e riflessioni del P. Giuseppe Allegranza Domenicano sopra alcuni sacri monumenti antichi di Milano*, Milan, 1757, Diss. II, p. 11; Calderini, p. 128 # 286).

In the early seventeenth century the vault images were described as follows: "In fornice eiusdem sacelli (S. Aquilino) sunt imagines, seu icones, circiter XXIV. depictae, totam Beati ipsius Aquilini vitam, martyrium, sepulturam, & miracula ab eius tumulum patrata referentes. Nec dubitari potest, ipsas imagines esse vetustissimas, ante annos plus minus centos, quod imagines Christi & Apostolorum in superiori absidâ musiuo, seu tessellato opere depictae ostendunt. Hae imagines tum ipsum Aquilinum, tum Canonicos Colonienses, tum Canonicos S. Laurentij . . . omnes cum eodem habitu regulari & vsuali referunt, quem hodiè que Canonici regulares Lateranenses in Italiâ, Victorini in Gallus, Nouesiense seu Windesimenses Coloniae . . . deferunt; cum eadem prorsus tonsurâ clericali, & rasurâ in superiori & inferiori parte capitis, ad modum coronae, quam Regulares communiter ferre solent . . ." (Gabriele Pennotus, *Historia Canoniorum regularium*, quoted in *Acta Sanctorum* [henceforth: *AA. SS.*] *Ianuarii* II, Antwerp, 1643, p. 970; also cited by Verzone, *L'Architettura religiosa*, p. 87 n. 35). It is possible that the vault decoration as seen by Pennotus was—as the author himself suggests—a late addition to the chapel, perhaps even stemming from a medieval remodelling. He writes, for example, of tonsures "ad modum coronae" (the standard Western type); these may have been known in the fifth century but were not widespread before the sixth, and they are not often represented in early Christian art (F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, XV, 2, Paris, 1953, s.v. "Tonsure," coll. 2436–2440). The emphasis on liturgical dress also seems uncharacteristic of early Christian art. Finally, if Pennotus's identification of the subject matter of the scenes is correct, they must have been very late indeed, for St. Aquilinus was not venerated in the chapel until the fifteenth century (see below, p. 19 and n. 33).

¹¹ For a justification of the views expressed below, with an analysis of all the available evidence and an account of its varying interpretations by modern art historians, see Dale Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating of S. Lorenzo in Milan," to appear in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXI, 1972.

appointee. The church may very well be identical with the *Basilica Portiana* (clearly an Arian basilica) that was the center of a furious dispute between St. Ambrose and the Arian court in 385–386. During the course of the fifth century, however, the Arian community of Milan disappeared, and the bitter memories of these early hostilities faded, allowing S. Lorenzo to assume a place in the orthodox ritual of the city. Bishops Eusebius (d. 462), Theodore (d. 489), Lawrence I (d. 510/12) and Eustorgius II (d. 518) were probably all buried somewhere in the church complex, and Bishop Lawrence I made an addition to it: the chapel of S. Sisto. By the eighth century, the heretical origins of S. Lorenzo seem to have been entirely forgotten, leaving men free to appreciate the church for what it really was—the most splendid Christian building in Milan.¹²

S. Lorenzo's association with the Arians explains the early silence surrounding its foundation: Auxentius and all his works were programmatically consigned to oblivion by subsequent Milanese bishops and historians. But, hundreds of years later, after the church had emerged as a show-piece and a source of civic pride, a history for it had to be supplied. The earliest extant mention of its founding is in the Carolingian *Vita* of Bishop Veranus of Cavaillon in Gaul, in which the construction of S. Lorenzo is attributed, in passing, to the Empress Galla Placidia (d. 450).¹³ This notion, which has no discernible historical foundation whatever, became a favorite with later medieval historians. At some point, though, a conflicting and even more fantastic account took root, according to which the church originated with the Tetrarch Maximianus Hercules as a bath or a temple of Hercules. The conflation of these two pseudo-histories is probably due to the early-fourteenth-century chronicler Galvagno Fiamma, who wrote that, while S. Lorenzo was erected by Maximian, the chapel of S. Aquilino was added by Galla Placidia, who was buried in it. It was Fiamma who coined the octagon's unofficial title, "capella reginae."¹⁴

The notion that S. Aquilino represents a later addition to the S. Lorenzo complex is not without its modern adherents. In fact, certain peculiarities of construction have convinced some scholars that the chapel could not have been erected until the main church was already complete; some would date it as late as the episcopate of St. Ambrose (374–397).¹⁵ The peculiar

¹² Cf. the anonymous eighth-century *Versum de Mediolano Ciuitate*, 7:

Gloriose sacris micat ornata ecclesiis,
ex quibus alma est Laurenti intus alavariis
lapidibus auroque tecta, aedita in turribus.

(*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [henceforth: *M.G.H.*], *Poetae latini aevi carolini*, I, ed. Ernestus Dümmler, Berlin, 1881, p. 25; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 63 # 3). Calderini reads "aula variis" for "alavariis;" cf. Dümmler, p. 25 n. 5.

¹³ For a complete discussion of the early sources pertaining to S. Lorenzo see Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating."

¹⁴ Galvaneus Fiamma, *Chronicon maius*: "In loco ubi nunc dicitur ecclesia sancti Laurentii, imperator Maximianus ad honorem dei Herculis . . . construxerat fanum rotundum . . ." ("In processu temporis quedam regina dicta galla Patritia que) in latere istius ecclesiae construxit capellam rotundam . . . et dicitur capella reginae, ubi ipsa dormit" (Ceruti, p. 482 nn. 1 and 2; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, pp. 82–83 # 119. The passage in parentheses is cited by Calderini only).

¹⁵ Cf. Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 81; and W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating of San Lorenzo in Milan. Masonry and Building Methods of Milanese Roman and Early Christian Architecture," *Arte lombarda*, XIII, 2, 1968, appendix, pp. 17ff.

features in question are essentially three. First, neither the foundations nor the rising walls of the vestibule of S. Aquilino are bonded to the corresponding parts of S. Lorenzo.¹⁶ But we know that, in Milan at least, a lack of bond proves nothing about the relative dates of two contiguous walls; examples of indisputably contemporary walls that abut rather than bond with one another have been verified in S. Lorenzo itself, as well as elsewhere in the city.¹⁷ Secondly, the wall of the south exedra of S. Lorenzo was built flattened, with a large doorway in it (fig. 5). The significance of this feature is, however, ambiguous; it can as easily be adduced to prove that the adjoining chapel was an afterthought as to prove that it was planned from the start, and, indeed, both positions have been argued.¹⁸ Finally, the masonry of S. Aquilino shows slight variations from that of the main church: cover bricks, used over nearly all arches in S. Lorenzo, are absent from S. Aquilino, and a number of terracotta discs, which are not found in S. Lorenzo, are placed in a haphazard fashion in the chapel's upper walls.¹⁹ In any event, these small differences, whose value in determining even relative chronology is dubious,²⁰ are surely overshadowed by the fact that in all other respects the masonry of the two buildings is identical: the size of the bricks, the height of the mortarbeds, and even the chemical composition of the mortar are completely alike.²¹ The foundations of S. Aquilino were almost certainly laid at the same time as those of the main church,²² and, since nothing indicates a significant delay between the laying of the chapel's foundations and the erection of its rising

¹⁶ Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 81, 107; Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 18.

¹⁷ Alberto De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore" di Milano, Santa Tecla*, Milan, 1952, pp. 112-114; Mario Mirabella Roberti, "La Cattedrale antica di Milano e il suo Battistero," *Arte lombarda*, VIII, 1, 1963, pp. 82-83. The possibility that the foundations (but not the rising walls) of S. Lorenzo and S. Aquilino may be contemporary despite their lack of bond is accepted by Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 18.

¹⁸ Chierici maintains that the chapel was an afterthought (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 139); the opposite view is held by De Capitani D'Arzago (*Architetture dei secoli quarto e quinto in alta Italia*, Milan, s.d., p. 93, but cf. p. 33), and Kleinbauer ("Toward a dating," p. 18). See also the remarks of Krautheimer, reviewing Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli in the *Art Bulletin*, XXXV, 1953, p. 153. Schneider's proposal that the flattened wall of the basilica gives proof that the main church was built *after* S. Aquilino seems implausible (review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 185-186). This flat wall, which itself is a kind of *pentimento* (De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architetture*, p. 33), is probably related to several changes in plan that were made during the building of S. Aquilino (cf. n. 23)—implying that the construction of the church and that of the chapel did, in fact, proceed simultaneously.

¹⁹ Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," pp. 9, 19.

²⁰ Cover bricks appear in S. Nazaro, built by St. Ambrose; their absence, therefore, can hardly be adduced to substantiate an Ambrosian date for S. Aquilino (Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 19). The incorporation of terracotta discs in the masonry of S. Aquilino does have Ambrosian parallels, but, until we can be certain that their presence is due to Ambrosian "style" in masonry and not to special circumstances or even to chance (cf. Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 117), it is not justifiable to take them as evidence of date.

²¹ Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 91 n. 9; Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 19.

²² The foundations of most parts of the S. Lorenzo complex were built with cut stone blocks, which seem to have come from the demolition of the amphitheater; the presence or absence of these blocks provides a secure relative chronology for the individual elements of the complex. Thus, we can deduce that the foundations of S. Aquilino were laid before those of the atrium, since the cut blocks, used liberally under the chapel, were apparently no longer available when the atrium foundations were built (Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 81). The atrium was, however, necessarily laid out at the same time as the basilica, since its length determines the distance of S. Lorenzo from the Via Ticinensis. Its actual construction could hardly have occurred much later. Therefore we should doubtless regard the construction of the three units — S. Lorenzo, S. Aquilino, and atrium — as successive phases of a single building campaign.

walls, we can assume that the walls, too, were built simultaneously with those of the basilica. The anomalies in construction cited above—none of which, as we have seen, is necessarily indicative of a later date for S. Aquilino—are satisfactorily explained by the experimentation and changes of plan that are known to have occurred while the building of the chapel was in progress,²³ and by the probable participation of several ateliers, each with its own idiosyncrasies, in the building of the various parts of the large S. Lorenzo complex.

S. Aquilino, then, belongs to the earliest phase—and thus to the original design—of the church complex, which, in addition to the central tetraconch, also included the chapel of S. Ippolito and the atrium.²⁴ This design, which may seem unbalanced on paper, was no doubt the expression of purely functional considerations: only two large chapels were needed. The north side of the church was left “undeveloped;” it remained so for over a hundred years, until Bishop Lawrence I (489–510/12) built the small octagon that imitates S. Aquilino, presumably as his own mausoleum.²⁵ The octagonal chapel was dedicated then, as now, to St. Sixtus, Pope Sixtus II.²⁶ This fact throws some light on the dedications of the other parts of the complex, for which we have no documentation prior to the sixth century.²⁷ The grouping of Lawrence, Sixtus and Hippolytus was a standard one in the early Christian period, corroborated by the legends of these saints and reflected in the liturgy. Lawrence served Pope Sixtus II as his deacon and followed the Pope to martyrdom.²⁸ Hippolytus was associated with them in the fourth or fifth century in the apocryphal *Passio Polychronii*, according to which he was the jailer of Lawrence, converted and baptized by him, and martyred three days after the saint himself.²⁹

²³ See Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 76–79; *idem*, “La Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Milano,” *Palladio*, n.s. IV, 1954, p. 172; Kleinbauer, “Toward a dating,” p. 18.

²⁴ That S. Ippolito is contemporary with the tetraconch cannot be doubted, since the walls and foundations of the two buildings are bonded throughout (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 75–76, 105; on the atrium pp. 79–81, 118; cf. n. 22 above).

²⁵ The construction of S. Sisto by Bishop Lawrence I was recorded in a contemporary epigram: Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 62 # 1. The bishop seems to have been buried in S. Ippolito, which suggests that the chapel he had built for himself was still incomplete at the time of his funeral. Cf. Kinney, “The Evidence for the Dating,” esp. n. 11. That he consecrated the chapel prior to his death is proved by the epigram just cited (partially quoted below, n. 32).

²⁶ Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 62 # 1. On Pope Sixtus II see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XI, Rome, 1968, coll. 1256ff., s.v. “Sisto II, papa, santo, martire.”

²⁷ S. Lorenzo is not mentioned under that name until the *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* of Gregory of Tours (538–594) (*M.G.H., Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, I, *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, ed. W. Arndt and Br. Krusch, *pars II, Miracula et opera minora*, Hannover, 1885, pp. 518–519; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 62 # 2), while the first mentions of S. Ippolito and S. Aquilino are much later even than this. Mirabella Roberti maintains that the dedication to St. Lawrence must date from the very founding of the church, but his evidence (the presumption that S. Ippolito was a martyrdom, and the general popularity of St. Lawrence’s cult in the early fifth century) is not at all sufficient (“La Vetra romana,” pp. 35–36).

²⁸ *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VIII, Rome, 1967, coll. 108ff., s.v. “Lorenzo, santo, martire.”

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, Rome, 1966, coll. 868ff., s.v. “Ippolito, santo, martire di Roma,” esp. col. 874; Hippolyte Delehaye, “Recherches sur le légendier Romain. La Passion de S. Polychronius,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, LI, 1933, pp. 42–43, 58ff., 86–87, 93ff. The dedication of S. Ippolito is sometimes discussed in terms of a third-century antipope of the same name (Schuster, *Santi Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, pp. 118–120; Cecchelli, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 250). In fact, a schismatic (but later repentant) priest named Hippolytus, who may or may not be identical with the like-named antipope, was apparently the historical figure originally buried in the cemetery that bears his name on the via Tiburtina, near S. Lorenzo fuori-le-mura. This proximity to S. Lorenzo and the

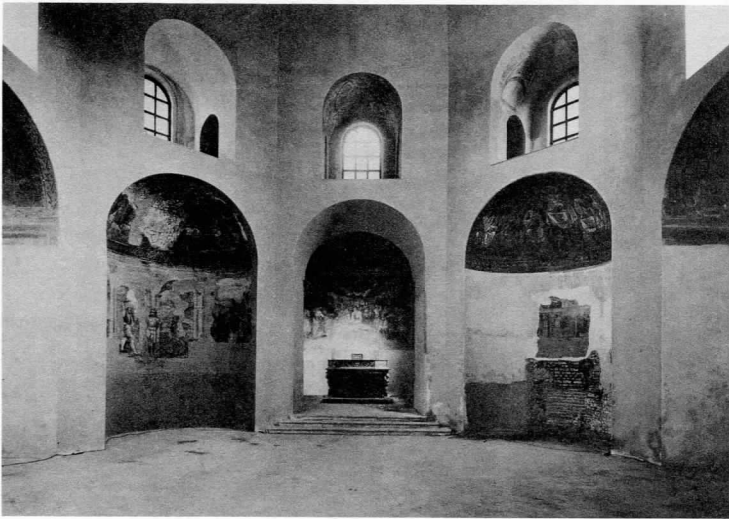


Fig. 3 Milan, S. Aquilino, view from entrance (photo: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri-Istituto Lombardo Accademia di scienze e lettere, Milan)



Fig. 4 S. Aquilino, view from s-e (photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Lombardia)

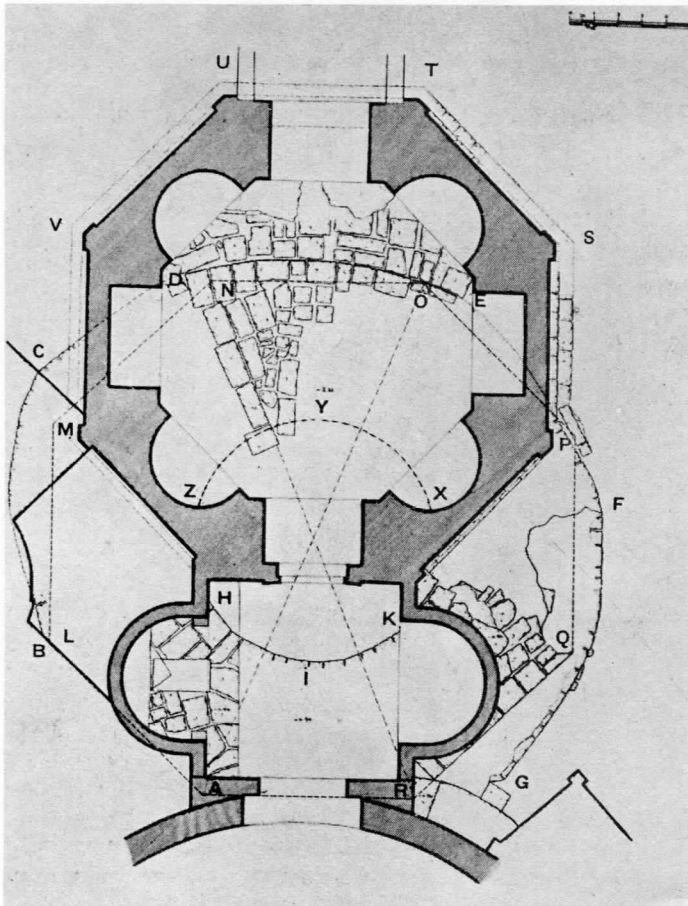


Fig. 5 Plan of S. Aquilino and underlying platform (from: *Palladio* n.s. IV, 1954, p. 172 by courtesy of the editors)

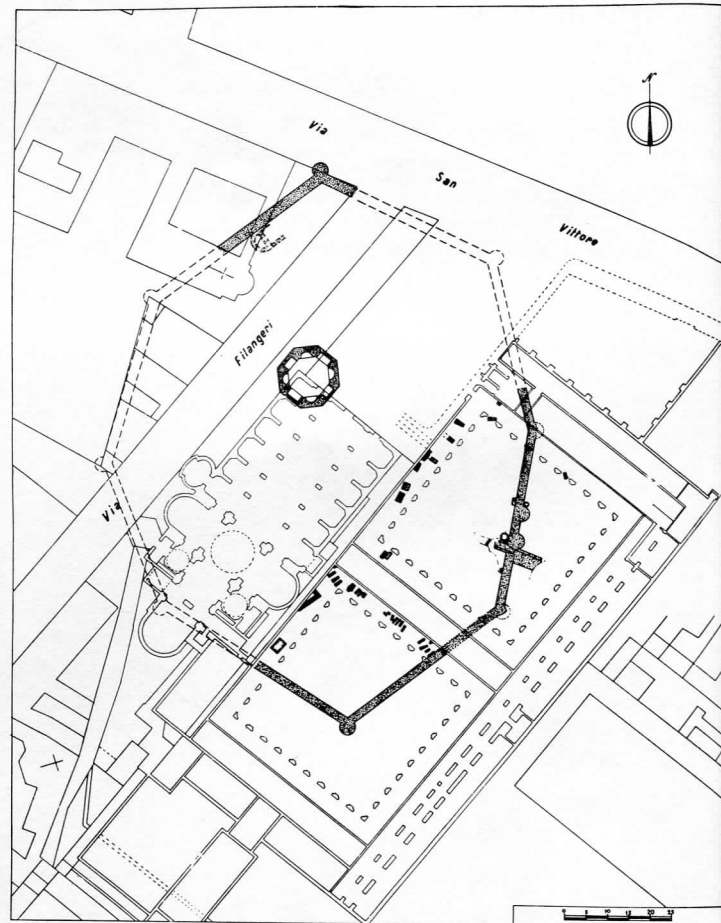


Fig. 6 Milan, S. Gregorio with its fortified precinct (from: *Storia di Milano*, I, p. 506). Courtesy Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.



Fig. 7 Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie: Anonymous draftsman, 16-cen., view of S. Vittore al Corpo and S. Gregorio (photo: Staatsgalerie)



Fig. 8 Platform of S. Aquilino, view towards n-e (photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Lombardia)



Fig. 9 Platform of S. Aquilino, view towards n-w (photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Lombardia)



Fig. 11 S. Aquilino, exterior, n-w foundation wall (photo: author)

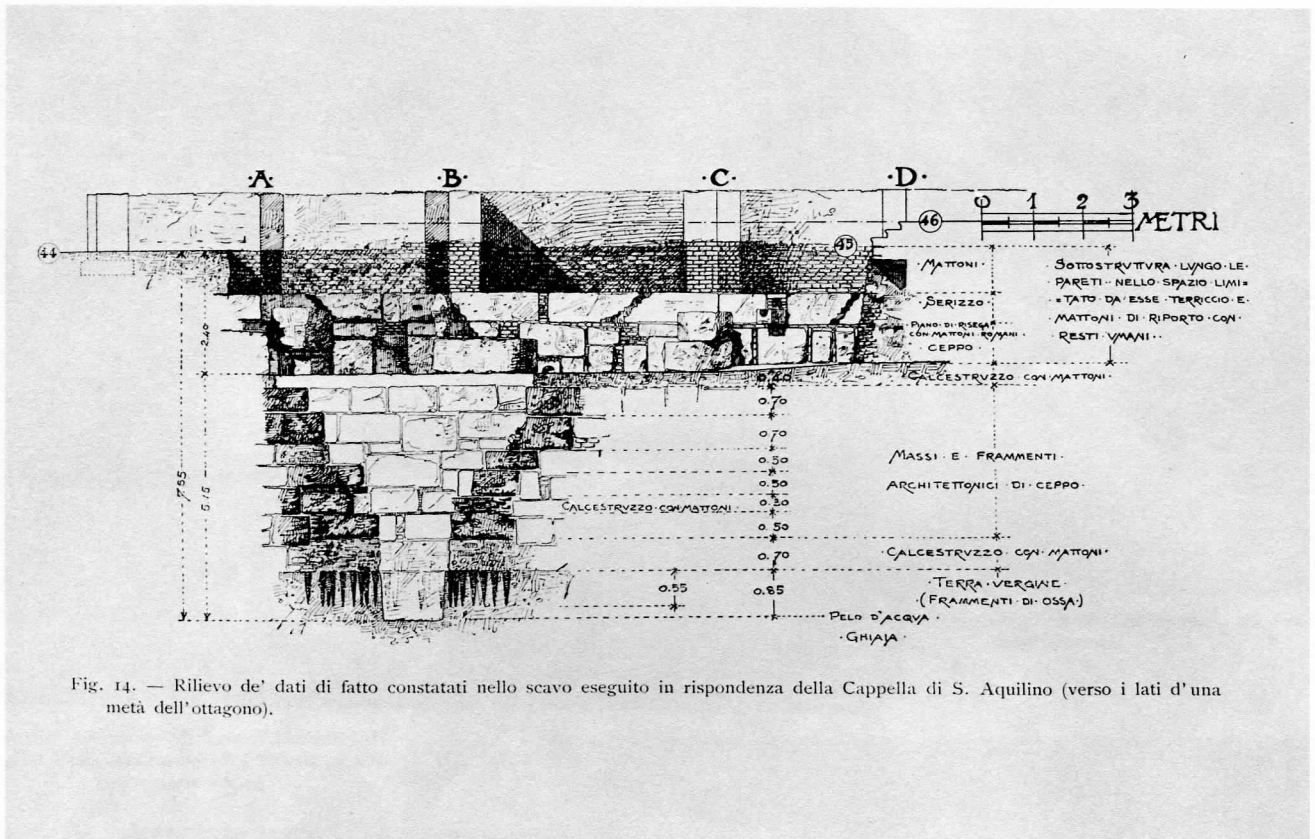


Fig. 14. — Rilievo de' dati di fatto constatati nello scavo eseguito in rispondenza della Cappella di S. Aquilino (verso i lati d'una metà dell'ottagono).

Fig. 10 Platform of S. Aquilino, section n-s (from: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, *Relazione*, p. 14)

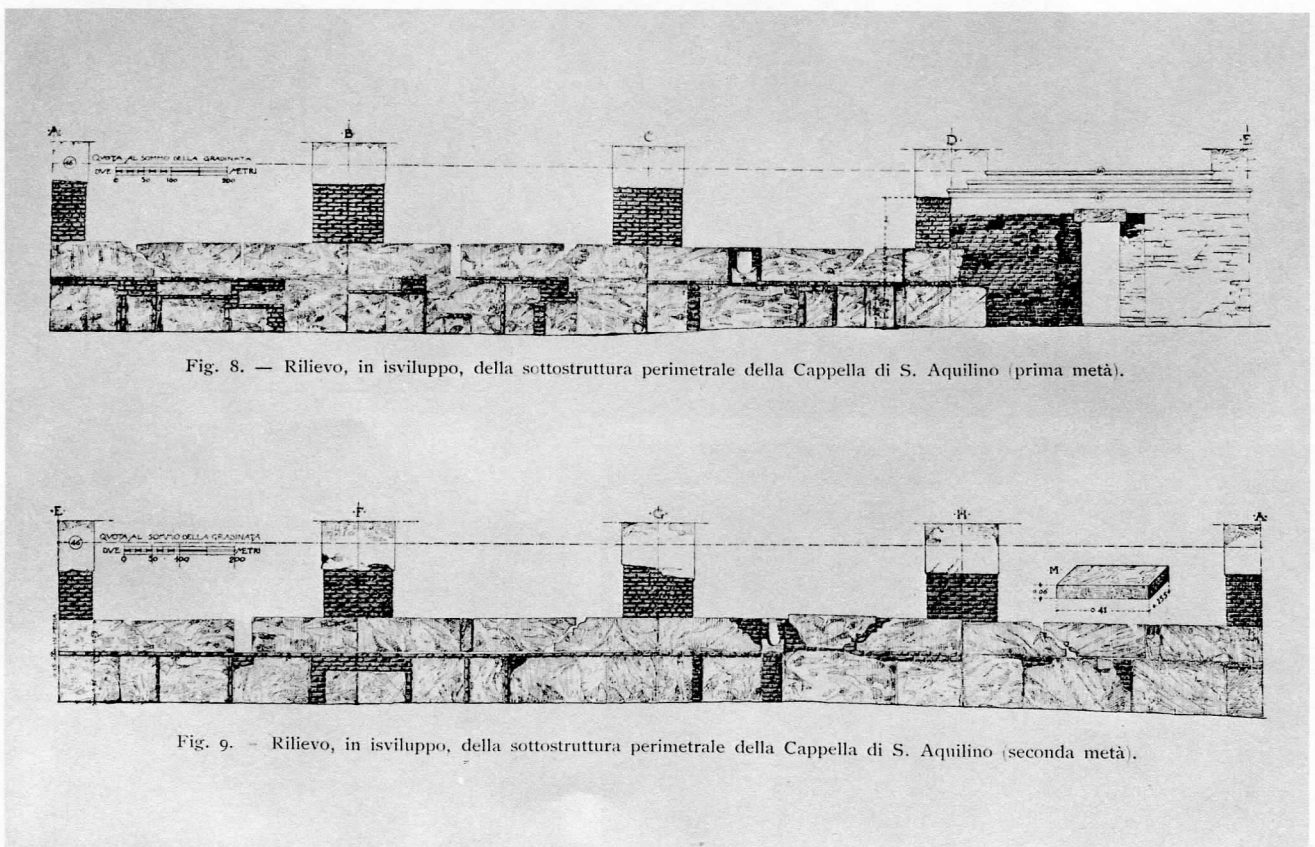


Fig. 8. — Rilievo, in isviluppo, della sottostruttura perimetrale della Cappella di S. Aquilino (prima metà).

Fig. 9. — Rilievo, in isviluppo, della sottostruttura perimetrale della Cappella di S. Aquilino (seconda metà).

Fig. 12 Foundation walls of S. Aquilino (from: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, *Relazione*, p. 10)

The *dies natalis* or day of martyrdom of Pope Sixtus II is celebrated on August 6, Lawrence's on August 10, and Hippolytus's on August 13; perhaps reflecting this sequence, the Canon of the Mass in the Ambrosian liturgy invokes, under the *Communicantes*, Sixtus, Lawrence, and Hippolytus in that order.³⁰ Churches dedicated to all three saints at once are known in Italy from the fifth century at least.³¹ Thus, it is highly unlikely that the dedication of Bishop Lawrence's tomb chapel in Milan was independent of the dedications of the adjoining church and its eastern chapel. In all probability, Bishop Lawrence performed all three: rededicating the older buildings to Sts. Lawrence and Hippolytus while consecrating to St. Sixtus his own new addition.³² Expressed in this triple dedication is a nice liturgical and hagiographical conceit that unites the separate parts of the church complex—conspicuously excepting S. Aquilino.

Before the introduction of the cult of St. Aquilinus in the fifteenth century,³³ the octagon was dedicated to the worship of St. Genesius. The “golden church of Genesius” is mentioned

obscurity surrounding the historical Hippolytus resulted in the gradual usurpation of his tomb and cult by the strictly legendary jailer and convert of St. Lawrence. This transfer, which began in the late fourth century, was completed by the seventh century, by which time the priest Hippolytus was virtually unknown ([Giovanni Battista De Rossi], “Il cimitero di S. Ippolito presso la via Tiburtina e la sua principale cripta storica ora dissepolta,” *Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, s. IV, I, 1882, pp. 28–37; Giuseppe Bovini, *Sant'Ippolito Dottore e Martire del III secolo*, Vatican City, 1943, pp. 49–51; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII, coll. 869–875). Hagiographically, only the jailer can be associated with St. Lawrence, but in art, where the grouping Lawrence-Sixtus-Hippolytus is common from the fourth century, Hippolytus sometimes appears in the robes and tonsure of a priest through the sixth century at least (De Rossi, pp. 33–34; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, coll. 875–876).

³⁰ V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, XIV), Vatican City, 1938, pp. 4, 61. For the dates of the saints' feasts cf. the so-called Hieronymian Martyrology, ed. Hippolytus Delehaye, *AA. SS., Novembris II*, 2, Brussels, 1931, pp. 419–421, 431–433, 439–441.

The saints of the Ambrosian, or Milanese Canon were adopted from the Canon of Rome, perhaps during the episcopate of Lawrence I (Fedele Savio S. I., *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300. La Lombardia*, pt. I, Milano, Florence, 1913, pp. 927–936), or perhaps only later (Kennedy, pp. 191–197, cf. pp. 39ff.). The Canon of Rome seems to have been in use at least since the late fifth century (Kennedy, pp. 43ff.; for the order in which the saints' names were read at that time see *ibid.*, pp. 60ff., 195).

³¹ Cf. the following entry in the Hieronymian Martyrology: “IV Non. Nov. Dedicatio basilicae sanctorum Syxti Yppoliti et Laurentii.” (*AA. SS. Nov. II*, 2, pp. 583–584.) The church has been identified as the early Christian basilica at Fossombrone by Ippolito Delehaye, “La Dédicace de la Basilique de Fossombrone,” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, s. III, *Rendiconti*, VI, 1927–1929, pp. 109–111.

³² Supporting this hypothesis is the bishop's obvious desire to play on names and historical relationships in the dedication of S. Sisto. Cf. his dedicatory inscription:

... The ordinance of the ancient act lives on, increased through ages,
When clever Sixtus may take the gifts of Lawrence;
Thus continues the office which once fell to the saints.
This one presents the temple, which that one had consecrated.

(i.e., Bishop Lawrence's presentation of a temple to St. Sixtus is a re-enactment of the office of St. Lawrence, who as deacon handed the Pope the gifts to be consecrated during the Mass. See Kinney, “The Evidence for the Dating.”)

Two alternative sequences of events are theoretically possible: (a) the church and chapel were already dedicated to Sts. Lawrence and Hippolytus before the accession of Bishop Lawrence, and thus presented themselves as the obvious setting for his chapel to St. Sixtus; (b) S. Lorenzo and S. Ippolito were rededicated after the time of Bishop Lawrence, to harmonize with his dedication of S. Sisto. Neither is as persuasive as the reconstruction proposed above.

³³ The worship of St. Aquilinus in the Laurentian chapel is confirmed by a bull of 1469 (Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 85 # 131). Kohte cites an earlier mention, in a decree of Gian Galeazzo Visconti dated 1402, but this document has been shown to be a seventeenth-century forgery (Kohte, “Die Kirche San Lorenzo,” col. 17; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 83 # 121 and note).

for the first time in the early fourteenth century by Goffredo da Bussero; its previous history is undocumented.³⁴ The fact that Genesisius, a martyr of Arles, was the patron saint of that city and very popular elsewhere in Gaul has led to the proposal that the dedication of the octagon to him was the work of Galla Placidia, who spent the years between 412 and 414 in Gaul as a captive of the Goths.³⁵ If true, this theory might explain the origin of the medieval notion that Placidia erected the chapel. Unfortunately, however, the hypothesis is both implausible and unnecessary. In the first place, the Empress can in no way be connected with Milan or any building in it after 402, when, at the age of 13 or 14, she fled the city before the invading barbarians.³⁶ Secondly, by the fifth century the worship of St. Genesisius was by no means confined to Gaul, but had already spread to Rome; by the sixth century there was even a Roman saint of the same name.³⁷ The *locus* of Genesisius's cult in Rome was a small oratory located near the crypt and basilica of St. Hippolytus—which stood in the neighborhood of the hugely popular church of St. Lawrence.³⁸ This simple proximity might underlie the seemingly incongruous dedication of the Milanese octagon: relics of St. Genesisius, being conveniently at hand, were added to those of Lawrence, Sixtus, and Hippolytus when the latter were collected and sent to Milan for Bishop Lawrence's reconsecration of the four-part Laurentian complex. An added, equally fortuitous convenience may have been the fact that the *dies natalis* of St. Genesisius, like those of the other three saints, falls in August—when, perhaps, this elaborate reconsecration took place. Liturgically and hagiographically, however, nothing associates the mime Genesisius, martyred under Diocletian, with the deacon Lawrence and his companions martyred several decades

³⁴ “de primo genexio dicto. mirabiliter scripsi. in libro porte ticinensis. ubi de ystrionibus et de aurea ecclesia genesii multa narraui” (Magistretti-Monneret, *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani*, col. 144C; Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 73 # 61. The *Liber notitiae* is actually a posthumous compilation based on the notes of Goffredo, who died at the end of the thirteenth century: Magistretti-Monneret, pp. XXVIII, XLVII). Gregory of Tours mentions the presence of relics of St. Genesisius of Arles in a church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus (*Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, 46, ed. Arndt-Krusch, *M.G.H.*, p. 520). This passage has been quite erroneously applied to S. Aquilino and cited as evidence that the chapel was dedicated to St. Genesisius already in the fifth century (Aristide Calderini, “La tradizione letteraria più antica sulle basiliche milanesi,” *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti*, LXXV, 1941–1942, p. 94; *idem*, “I mausolei imperiali di Milano,” *Arte del primo Millennio* (Atti del II° Convegno per lo Studio dell'arte dell'alto medio evo tenuto . . . nel Settembre 1950), Turin, s.d., p. 45; following Calderini is Kleinbauer, “Toward a dating,” p. 17 n. 91). In fact Gregory's account refers to the church of Sts. Nazarius and Celsus in Embrun (Gaul), and has nothing to do with Milan or S. Aquilino (*M.G.H.*, pp. 519–520 and p. 533 n. 5).

³⁵ Kohte, “Die Kirche San Lorenzo,” coll. 317–318; Calderini, “I Mausolei imperiali,” p. 45. On Genesisius see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, Rome, 1965, s.v. “Genesio di Arles,” coll. 115ff. On Galla Placidia's sojourn in Gaul, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa et al. (henceforth: Pauly-Wissowa), XX, 2, Stuttgart, 1950, s.v. “Placidia, Aelia Galla,” coll. 1913ff.; and recently Stewart Irvin Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta. A Biographical Essay*, Chicago, 1968, pp. 108ff.

³⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, XX, 2, s.v. “Placidia,” following col. 1912; Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*, following p. 70. Cf. my remarks in “The Evidence for the Dating.”

³⁷ *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, s.v. “Genesio di Roma,” col. 122. In the early fourteenth century the *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani* states unequivocally that the chapel was dedicated to the Roman, and not to the Gallic saint (Magistretti-Monneret, ed., col. 144 B, C).

³⁸ De Rossi, “Il cimitero,” pp. 20–21, 23–24, 52–53. The oratory, presumably established (in the fifth century?) in honor of the Gallic Genesisius, was given over in the sixth century to the worship of his legendary Roman namesake, recalling the fate of the shrine of St. Hippolytus (*Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, s.v. “Genesio di Roma,” col. 124; cf. n. 29 above).

before. Thus, the dedication of the southern octagon to St. Genesis could not have been part of the unifying conceit that inspired the dedications of S. Lorenzo and the other chapels, even if—as seems likely—all of these dedications were performed at the same time.

If in this early period S. Aquilino was somehow set apart from the surrounding buildings—and unlike them, too, it seems to have been off-limits for episcopal burials³⁹—an obvious explanation is that it had some special function of its own. Generally speaking, there are only three purposes that a large, luxuriously decorated chapel of this type would have served in the fourth century: a martyrium, a baptistery, or a mausoleum. A martyrium seems out of the question in this case, though, since there is no evidence whatever that any important relic was ever housed in the chapel before the introduction of the headless body of St. Aquilinus in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ But, typologically, either of the other two functions makes perfectly good sense. The use of the alternately round- and rectangular-niched octagon as a mausoleum is best known, of course, from Diocletian's compound at Split.⁴¹ A closely related type appeared in the mausoleum of Helena in Rome, which was round but articulated inside by the same system of alternating niches; it also had a vestibule of the same double-apsed type as S. Aquilino's.⁴² It is noteworthy that these and other related mausolea are all imperial—since S. Lorenzo was in all probability a palatine church. On the other hand, the S. Aquilino type of niched octagon is met with even greater frequency, in the fifth century at least, in baptisteries. As architectural expressions of the symbolism of death and resurrection that permeated the baptismal liturgy of the time, these baptisteries were consciously modeled on mausolea like the imperial ones just described.⁴³ The classic illustration of this process is to be found in Milan itself, where the fourth-century cathedral baptistery, S. Giovanni in Fonte, seems to have repeated the form—certainly the plan—of a late third-century Milanese mausoleum, probably built by the Tetrarch Maximian. S. Giovanni, in turn, was the archetype of the octagonal baptisteries

³⁹ Of the four fifth- and sixth-century bishops who are said to be buried in the complex by the medieval *Catalogue of Milanese Bishops*, Bishop Eusebius was buried in S. Lorenzo itself, Bishops Theodore and Lawrence I in S. Ippolito, and Bishop Eustorgius II in S. Sisto. The *Catalogue* was published by Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 28 ff.; see esp. p. 32.

⁴⁰ Cf. Calderini, *La Zona monumentale*, p. 85 # 131: "... in qua capella (S. Aquilino) situm est et solemniter elevatum sepulcrum, in quo Corpus ipsius s. Aquilini, cum carne et ossibus, capite dumtaxat excepto, requiescit integrum..." In the early Christian period the entire S. Lorenzo complex seems to have remained without any notable relics; this lack was no doubt due to the Arian origins of the buildings. The earliest guides to *venerabilia* in Milanese churches omit S. Lorenzo and its chapels entirely; later on, the body of Bishop Eusebius is cited as the most important relic in the church (see Pietro Borella, "Corpi santi in Milano e diocesi," *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni* [Fontes Ambrosiani, XXXII], Milan, 1957, pp. 131-188).

⁴¹ On the mausoleum of Diocletian see George Niemann, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato*, Vienna, 1910, pp. 62-76. Unlike S. Aquilino, which is octagonal inside and out, Diocletian's mausoleum is circular inside.

⁴² For the mausoleum of Helena, see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann-Arnold Tschira, "Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena und die Basilika der Heiligen Marcellinus und Petrus an der Via Labicana vor Rom," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, LXXII, 1957, pp. 44-110. In elevation, of course, the mausolea in Split and Rome showed substantial stylistic differences from one another as well as from S. Aquilino.

⁴³ There is a large bibliography on this subject; the germinal article is Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art*, New York, 1969 (reprint of original article of 1942, with postscript), pp. 131 ff. On death symbolism in baptism in general, see Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956, pp. 19-99.

that proliferated throughout North Italy and Provence, beginning in the fifth century.⁴⁴ Although both Milanese buildings have been destroyed, something of the baptistery has been recovered in recent excavations, and the plan and exterior elevation of Maximian's mausoleum, later called S. Gregorio, are known from drawings made before it was demolished in the 1570's.⁴⁵ Both were niched octagons, nearly identical in dimensions as well as in plan to S. Aquilino, and S. Gregorio seems to have had practically the same external elevation⁴⁶ (figs. 6, 7). Whether a baptistery or a mausoleum, therefore, S. Aquilino was the twin counterpart of another building performing the same function elsewhere in the city.

S. Aquilino is often presented in the literature as the Arian baptistery of Milan, a somewhat facile conclusion based on the discovery of drainage canals in the chapel's foundations and the evidence that the church complex was erected under the Arian bishop Auxentius.⁴⁷ S. Lorenzo is presumed to have been built as his cathedral, but this idea is quite implausible. Auxentius had no cause to build a separate cathedral for the Arians; to do so, in fact, would only have compromised his own position. He was not the Arians' bishop alone, but the sole legitimate bishop of the entire city, and, as such, he certainly would have used the same cathedral as his orthodox predecessors and successors, the *Basilica Nova* or *Maior* (S. Tecla), which stood to the west of the present Duomo (fig. 1). The legitimacy of Auxentius's episcopate is amply illustrated by the well known affair of Hilary of Poitiers, who came to Milan in 364 to persuade the Emperor

⁴⁴ See most recently Guglielmo De Angelis D'Ossat, "Origine e fortuna dei battisteri ambrosiani," *Arte lombarda*, XIV, 1, 1969, pp. 1-20.

⁴⁵ The baptistery stood southeast of the apse of the cathedral (S. Tecla), roughly under the steps of the present Duomo. It was excavated by Mario Mirabella Roberti; see his article "La Cattedrale antica," and De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* pp. 85-86, 121. The mausoleum stood far outside the city walls, northwest of S. Lorenzo (fig. 1). It had a fortified octagonal precinct of its own, which has only recently come to light (Aristide n.s. II, 1952, p. 79; Ferdinando Reggiori, *Il Monastero Olivetano di San Vittore al Corpo in Milano*, Milan, 1954, pp. 24-28; M. Mirabella Roberti, "Milano - Fortezza di San Vittore," *Arte lombarda*, VI, 1961, pp. 114-115; *idem*, "Il Recinto fortificato romano di San Vittore a Milano," *Castellum*, VI, 1967, pp. 95-110). When the church of S. Vittore al Corpo was built it incorporated the mausoleum as a chapel dedicated to St. Gregory. In this state its plan was recorded by Vincenzo Seregini (drawings in the Raccolta Bianconi, Archivio Storico Civico di Milano; published by Reggiori, *Il Monastero Olivetano*, pp. 17-19, cf. p. 22) and it was drawn by an anonymous Dutchman (fig. 7; Paolo Arrigoni, "Una Veduta milanese cinquecentesca identificata," *Archivio storico lombardo*, LIV, 1927, pp. 358-362). A late sixteenth-century description of the mausoleum-chapel by Jacopo Filippo Besta is transcribed by Agnoldomenico Pica and Piero Portaluppi, *La Basilica Porziana di San Vittore al Corpo*, Milan, 1934, p. 15; these authors date it a century too early and misconstrue it on several points.

⁴⁶ The cathedral baptistery had an internal diameter only slightly smaller than S. Aquilino's; both are just under 13 meters (De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architetture*, p. 27; Mirabella Roberti, "La Cattedrale antica," p. 86). The inner perimeters are 136 vs. 144 Roman feet (on the possible symbolism of the latter figure, see the intriguing article by Felix Kreusch, "Das Mass des Engels," *Vom Bauen, Bilden und Bewahren, Festschrift für Willy Weyres*, Cologne, 1964, pp. 61 ff.). The dimensions of S. Gregorio were previously thought to have been in the same range, but the most recent information indicates that the mausoleum may have been somewhat smaller (Mirabella Roberti, "Il Recinto fortificato," p. 103 n. 27). The exterior of S. Gregorio as it appears in the Stuttgart drawing (fig. 7) does differ in several respects from the exterior of S. Aquilino (particularly in its proportions and in the number of arches in each side of the external gallery), but these differences may depend to some extent upon the inaccuracy or caprice of the draughtsman.

⁴⁷ Calderini, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 17; Chierici, *ibid.*, pp. 110, 141, 183; Cecchelli, *ibid.*, *passim*; Chierici, "La Basilica di S. Lorenzo," pp. 172-173; Gino Traversi, *Architettura paleocristiana milanese*, Milan, 1964, p. 121.

Valentinian I that Auxentius, as an Arian heretic, had no right to hold one of the most important sees of the West. It was only with difficulty that Hilary convinced Valentinian to gather a commission to consider his case, and, in the end he was bluntly rebuffed and expelled from Milan in humiliation.⁴⁸ Auxentius indignantly accused Hilary of trying to foment schism, and in the impartial judgement of Valentinian I, he was entirely correct.⁴⁹ Hilary's bitter account of this episode also makes clear that under Auxentius the Arians and the orthodox of Milan did not, as is often assumed, separate into two polarized communities, each with its own church.⁵⁰ This fact is evident from his assurance that, because Arians and orthodox use the same theological words and phrases, the innocent populace could not distinguish the heresy in Auxentius's preaching but naively accepted his words at their orthodox face value, thus remaining untainted themselves.⁵¹ Surely this statement implies that Auxentius's sermons were regularly heard by the orthodox Christians of the city, who seem to have listened willingly enough. The inflammatory presence of Hilary may have caused some agitation,⁵² but otherwise there is no evidence of any organized opposition to the Arian bishop within Milan itself until very late in his episcopate, after he had been condemned as a heretic by Pope Damasus, and even then, the Milanese opposition had to be inspired from without.⁵³ Thus, the notion that Auxentius could have sponsored a segregated Arian cathedral outside the city walls is quite absurd. S. Aquilino was certainly not built as the Arian baptistery. More plausible from the historical point of view is

⁴⁸ Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Arianos, vel Auxentium Mediolanensem*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* (henceforth: *P.L.*), ed. J.-P. Migne, X, Paris, 1845, coll. 609-618; a thorough account of the proceedings is given by E. W. Watson, *St. Hilary of Poitiers: Select Works* (A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers . . . , s. II, IX), 1898 (photo reprint, 1963), pp. xlix-litii.

⁴⁹ Cf. Auxentius' own statement to the Emperor, appended to Hilary's polemic as an "exemplum blasphemiae Auxentii;" *P.L.* X, col. 618: "... sic enim cognoscat Serenitas vestra, quia qui jam dudum depositi sunt, hoc est, Hilarius et Eusebius (of Vercelli), contendunt ubique schismata facere." Valentinian's impartiality in this case was clearly unalloyed by his religious principles, which were nominally orthodox. Indeed his religion rarely influenced his politics; often it seems to have been the other way around (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, Stuttgart, 1948, s.v. "Valentinianus I," coll. 2198 ff.; Watson, *St. Hilary of Poitiers*, p. xlix).

⁵⁰ The assumption is made, e.g., by De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* p. 17. Cf. Paolo Verzone, "Le rôle de Milan dans l'architecture chrétienne d'après les nouvelles découvertes," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances.* . . , 1952, p. 412.

⁵¹ *Contra Arianos*, 6, *P.L.* X, coll. 612-613: "... Plebi nondum nocet haeresis latens. . . Et hujus quidem usque adhuc impietatis fraude perficitur, ut jam sub antichristi sacerdotibus Christi populus non occidat, dum hoc putant illi fidei esse, quod vocis est. Audiunt Deum Christum; putant esse quod dicitur. Audiunt filium Dei; putant in Dei nativitate inesse Dei veritatem. . . Sanctiores aures plebis, quam corda sunt sacerdotum." Cf. also the remarks of Watson, *St. Hilary of Poitiers*, pp. xi-xii.

⁵² Auxentius complains: "... aliqui ex plebe, qui numquam communicaverant, nec his qui ante me fuerunt episcopis, nunc amplius excitati ab Hilario et Eusebio, perturbantes quosdam, haereticum me vocaverunt. . ." (*P.L.* X, col. 617).

⁵³ Watson, *St. Hilary of Poitiers*, pp. xlix-l, liv. The Council condemning Auxentius has been dated as early as 369, but Savio has shown that it could not have been held before 371-372. Significantly, it was the Antiochene priest Evagrius, not the Milanese orthodox, who finally persuaded Valentinian I to sanction this Council, although the fact that the results were conveyed to the Eastern bishops by a deacon of the church of Milan named Sabinus has been taken by some as evidence that a coherent group of the orthodox opposed to Auxentius did exist within the city (Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 839 ff.). The activity of St. Filastrius, who is praised by his successor Bishop Gaudentius of Brescia as the "idoneus custos dominici gregis" in Milan in the time of Auxentius, cannot date before Auxentius' condemnation in 371-372 (*P.L.* XII, col. 1060; Savio, pp. 126-127). Again it is significant that an outsider had to be sent to keep Milanese orthodoxy alert.

the suggestion that the chapel was erected as a new metropolitan baptistery for the use of the entire Christian community because the old baptistery no longer sufficed.⁵⁴ This idea warrants a closer look at the archaeological evidence.

A sharp slope and the general marshiness of the terrain under S. Aquilino were countered by its builders with the erection of a large stone platform between 1.3 and 5.5 meters thick, which provides the chapel with a solid base⁵⁵ (figs. 5, 8, 9, and 10). Like the foundations of the church itself and of S. Ippolito, this platform was constructed with cut stone blocks that in all probability came from the Milanese amphitheater, destroyed in the course of the fourth century.⁵⁶ The platform of S. Aquilino alone consumed over 6000 such blocks, laid in layers and bound with a mixture of mortar and brick.⁵⁷ From its surface, 2.33 meters below the chapel's modern floor, rise the octagonal foundations of the upper walls. And, built into these foundation walls are two stone conduits, located in the southeast and northwest sides of the octagon at respectively 1.45 and 1.32 meters below the pavement (that is, .88 and 1.01 meters above the surface of the platform).⁵⁸ Curiously enough, when these conduits were first uncovered in 1910/11, no notice of them was taken; they go unmentioned in the excavation reports. It was not until 25 years later that they came to be associated with a hypothetical font.⁵⁹ At this time the higher conduit (figs. 9, 11, and 12 [in the wall G-H]) was identified as the "induction" canal, while the lower one (extreme right edge in fig. 8, and wall C-D in figs. 10 and 12) was said to be for drainage.⁶⁰ The weakness of this reconstruction was recognized almost immediately.⁶¹ In the first place,

⁵⁴ De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* p. 23; Can. Pietro Borella, "L'Atrio di S. Aquilino presso la Basilica Laurenziana," *Ambrosius*, XXVIII, 1952, pp. 129-130; Traversi, *Architettura*, p. 121. Of course this idea is sensible only if the baptistery of S. Tecla, S. Giovanni in Fonte, was actually built by Ambrose and not before his time, since S. Giovanni itself was apparently erected to supplement another baptistery (De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* pp. 85-86; but cf. Mirabella Roberti, "La Cattedrale antica," pp. 90-94). The discovery of S. Giovanni, which is certainly the baptistery described in the famous distichs attributed to St. Ambrose, disproved Schuster's idea that the distichs were written for S. Aquilino (*Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche, passim*).

⁵⁵ This platform was first discovered in excavations under the chapel in 1910-1911, published by the R. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti della Lombardia, *Relazione intorno alle ricerche ai ritrovamenti ed ai lavori fatti nella zona archeologica di S. Lorenzo in Milano dall'ottobre 1910 al dicembre 1911*, Milan, 1913. Cf. Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 76-79. The large column-like mass of spoils prominent in figs. 8 and 9 was erected in 1910-11 with material extracted from the platform, to support the modern concrete floor of the chapel.

⁵⁶ See Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating."

⁵⁷ Soprintendenza della Lombardia, *Relazione*, pp. X, 12-13.

⁵⁸ Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 78-79, 109-110. The conduits are actually oblong blocks measuring 50 × 100 cm. with a semi-cylindrical channel cut into them; they doubtless came from the amphitheater, where they probably served as gutters or drainpipes (cf. Calderini, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 17). According to Calderini the stone of the conduits is *serizzo*, while Chierici (p. 110) calls it *ceppo*.

⁵⁹ Schuster, *Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, pp. 94-95; Calderini, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 17; Chierici, *ibid.*, p. 110; De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* p. 23.

⁶⁰ Schuster, *Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, pp. 94-95; Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 110. The northwest conduit is said to have been connected by a brick canal to a small well that lay northwest of the chapel (Chierici, *ibid.*); this canal seems to have been destroyed by the excavators (Schuster, caption to pl. XII; cf. pl. VII). Since the well is only briefly described and neither its dimensions nor its level with respect to that of the conduits in the foundations is given, it is impossible to say exactly what its functional relation to the northwest conduit could have been (cf. Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186 n. 1).

⁶¹ Verzone, "Le Rôle de Milan," p. 411; Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186; Grabar, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 347; Mirabella Roberti, "La Vetra romana," p. 39; Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 18.

there is no trace whatever of a baptismal font in S. Aquilino; even if we were to suppose that the font itself had been removed in later times,⁶² we would still expect to find its foundations, which would necessarily have risen approximately one meter from the surface of the platform to support it. In fact no such foundations seem to have existed.⁶³ Secondly, it is not at all clear how the conduits could have functioned in relation to a font. The "induction" canal is placed much too low, only 13 centimeters above the drainage canal; if anything, both conduits must have been for drainage.⁶⁴ We must then account for a third canal, mentioned in preliminary excavation reports but subsequently ignored.⁶⁵ Its location is not specified, although we do know that it stood at a different level from the other two.⁶⁶ It is hardly reasonable to assume that three separate conduits at varying levels would have been built into the foundations to serve a font, when for drainage only one was required (only one drain canal is found in the roughly contemporary baptistery in the center of the city⁶⁷). The true purpose of the conduits under S. Aquilino is unclear, but doubtless they served either for the drainage of the watery, uneven terrain on which the chapel was built,⁶⁸ or for the removal of water from the foundations during construction, before the erection of the dome.⁶⁹ The conduits, in fact, give every

⁶² As suggested by Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 141, 183. The demolition of the font is unlikely in any event; if it were no longer needed, it would have been simpler and cheaper to just fill it in and pave it over. An alternative explanation for the absence of a font is that S. Aquilino was begun as a baptistery but the function of the chapel was changed before work was complete (De Capitani D'Arzago, *La "Chiesa Maggiore,"* p. 23); this idea, too, is not supported by the evidence of the conduits, as will be demonstrated below.

⁶³ At least, the *Relazione* of the first excavation of the platform under S. Aquilino does not mention the discovery of any foundation-like structures during the removal of the fill that lay between the platform and the chapel floor.

⁶⁴ The bottom of the font would have had to lie above the level of the southeast conduit if the latter were to drain it properly; assuming, then, that the base of the font lay at -1.40 meters the "induction" canal would feed in only 8 centimeters above it, which is clearly absurd. Cf. Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186.

⁶⁵ De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architettura*, p. 35: "... Nelle fondazioni notiamo la singolare presenza di tre condutture passanti poste a tre livelli diversi costituite da parallelepipedi in pietra scavati..." Cf. the unspecific description of the findings under S. Aquilino by Calderini: "Altri pezzi caratteristici... sono quelli lavorati a forma di canale di cui rimangono una decina di esemplari, alcuni incastonati ancora nelle pareti di S. Aquilino, a mettere in comunicazione l'interno con l'esterno, altri scoperti nelle murature esterne di S. Aquilino verso occidente e uno presso il diaconicon..." (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 17). A number of these channeled blocks, apparently found lying loose, were brought outside the chapel by the excavators and arbitrarily lined up under the northwest conduit (cf. Schuster, *Sant' Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, caption to pl. XII [erroneously placed; this caption refers to pl. XI]; and my fig. 11).

⁶⁶ De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architettura*, passage cited in n. 65. The third conduit may be the one visible right of center in fig. 8, placed upside-down in the foundation wall at the level of the surface of the stone platform; it is also shown in figs. 10 and 12, in the wall B-C.

⁶⁷ Mirabella Roberti, "La Cattedrale antica," p. 86. A second channel existed for the intake of water.

⁶⁸ It is often said that the conduits were part of a channel that carried rain or other water from the northwest side of the chapel, where the ground is higher, to the southeast (Verzone, "Le Rôle de Milan," p. 411; Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 18. Mirabella Roberti, "La Vetra romana," p. 39, has the channel running south-north toward the River Seveso). It seems questionable, however, that the builders would have routed such water through the chapel rather than around it; I think it more probable that both conduits were intended to carry water out of the foundations.

⁶⁹ The platform under the chapel is a very thick and solid affair, as Annoni's description makes clear: "una successiva stratificazione di massi e frammenti architettonici..., disposti in modo da avere tra strato e strato... una superficie pressochè orizzontale; ottenendosi lo spianamento e la cucitura tra masso e masso con impasto

appearance of being a makeshift device created strictly for the convenience of the builders, who used what materials happened to be at hand.⁷⁰

Without the supporting evidence of the conduits, the other arguments for considering S. Aquilino a baptistery appear equivocal at best. The chapel was apparently originally planned without a vestibule (fig. 5, octagon LMNOPQR), and the foundations of this first project had already been laid before the plans were changed.⁷¹ It has been argued that a round shaft 1.43 meters deep said to exist in the center of these first foundations (fig. 5, HIK) was intended for the insertion of a font.⁷² However, the presence of this shaft—if indeed it existed at all—may simply be due to the fact that, since no walls or other load-bearing elements were planned for the center of the octagon, a stone block foundation was not needed there; a rubble fill thrown into the shaft would suffice to support the floor.⁷³ Also ambiguous is the evidence of the mosaic decoration. While it is possible to associate the scenes of *Christ Teaching* and the *Ascension of Elijah* with baptism,⁷⁴ in the fourth century they appear much more frequently in funerary contexts, particularly in the catacombs of Rome.⁷⁵

If the mosaics might well be found in a tomb, and the evidence of the conduits proves insufficient to establish that the chapel was built as a baptistery, the obvious conclusion is that S. Aquilino was, in fact, built as a mausoleum—and an imperial one, given that S. Lorenzo was probably a palatine church.⁷⁶ Other, more positive considerations support this identifi-

durissimo di malta e mattoni” (Soprintendenza della Lombardia, *Relazione*, p. 12). The diagrams in the *Relazione* (see my figs. 10 and 12) reveal that below the level of the conduits the foundation walls are constructed in the same way, with every space between the stone blocks completely filled in. This construction doubtless hindered the outward seepage of rainwater, and it seems possible that the conduits were part of a system to drain such water away.

⁷⁰ The conduits were part of the miscellaneous materials taken from the amphitheater; cf. n. 58. If they did not function as proposed in the preceding note, they may have been related to the “piano medio di calcestruzzo” that, according to Schuster, lay one meter below the pavement of the chapel (*Sant’ Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, p. 95). Unfortunately the Cardinal is our only testimony to the existence of this concrete floor, which has vanished without a trace. If it did exist, it would have been at the level where the foundations of the pavement proper would logically begin and may have formed their base. The conduits could have functioned to drain this floor at some point before the rest of the pavement foundations were laid, perhaps during a period when work on the chapel was interrupted in order to permit the massive substructures to settle and solidify.

⁷¹ Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 76–79; *idem*, “La Basilica di S. Lorenzo,” p. 172.

⁷² Chierici, “La Basilica di S. Lorenzo,” p. 172.

⁷³ Conversely the very wide foundation wall surrounding the central shaft would have carried load-bearing structures: a thick wall with deep niches in it (Chierici, “La Basilica di S. Lorenzo,” p. 172) or an outer wall with an inner ring of columns, in a plan vaguely resembling that of S. Costanza (suggested orally by Prof. Marvin Trachtenberg). The very existence of this shaft, however, has been thrown into doubt by Kleinbauer, who points out that it is not discernible in the earliest diagrams of the platform (“Toward a dating,” p. 18).

⁷⁴ Cf. Schuster, *Sant’ Ambrogio e le più antiche basiliche*, pp. 85–91, and the elaborate iconographical scheme proposed by Cecchelli (in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, pp. 202 ff., 217 ff.; rightly criticized as “somewhat labored” by Morey in his review, *The Art Bulletin*, XXXV, 1953, p. 152).

⁷⁵ Kirsch, “Sull’origine dei motivi iconografici,” pp. 274–275, 278 ff.; Ihm, *Die Programme*, pp. 158–159. It is noteworthy that both scenes appear on the famous fourth-century sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio, for which see the bibliography cited by Cecchelli, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 223 n. 121.

⁷⁶ The identification of S. Aquilino as an imperial mausoleum has already been upheld by Kohte, “Die Kirche San Lorenzo,” coll. 323–324; Pica-Portaluppi, p. 14; Verzone, *L’Architettura religiosa*, p. 89; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture* (Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXIII),

cation. The vestibule mosaics, like those in the chapel proper, are thematically appropriate for a funerary ambient.⁷⁷ And the stature of the tomb's occupant would explain the almost programmatic aulic quality of the other decoration of the octagon—the "aurea ecclesia," "tutto di porfido."⁷⁸ The assumption of a funerary function for S. Aquilino, moreover, provides the only logical justification for the otherwise inexplicable site of the palatine church. It seems oddly divorced from the palace itself, which stood within the city walls near Piazza Mentana and the much later church of S. Giorgio al Palazzo⁷⁹ (fig. 1). In fact, however, S. Lorenzo does stand as close to the palace as possible—given its location *outside* the wall, which was legally required by the presence of a tomb.⁸⁰ The mausoleum hypothesis also suggests a function for the curiously high "basement" of S. Aquilino—the space between the surface of the platform and the chapel's floor. This space has no discernible structural purpose, and, since it was half filled with dirt and rubble and apparently inaccessible, it could hardly have had a ritual one.⁸¹ It would, though, be ideally suited to the burial of sarcophagi.⁸² Finally, once the chapel is

London, 1947, p. 12 n. 32; Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186; Mirabella Roberti, "La Vetra romana," pp. 38 ff.; *idem*, "Milano – Basilica di S. Lorenzo," p. 145; *idem*, "Il Recinto fortificato," p. 104; Kleinbauer, "Toward a dating," p. 19 n. 111. Kohte, Verzone, and Mirabella Roberti all associate the mausoleum with Galla Placidia, on the basis of the tradition reported by Fiamma; but as we will see this hypothesis is untenable.

⁷⁷ Schneider, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186; Grabar, review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 348; Mirabella Roberti, "Milano – Basilica di S. Lorenzo," pp. 145–146.

⁷⁸ "De aurea ecclesia . . . multa narravi" (Goffredo da Bussero; cf. n. 10 above). On a plan of S. Lorenzo and S. Aquilino by Giuliano da Sangallo, probably done in 1492, the chapel is labelled TVTO DI PORFIDO. See W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Some Renaissance Views of Early Christian and Romanesque San Lorenzo in Milan," *Arte lombarda*, XII, 2, 1967, p. 6, fig. 5.

⁷⁹ On the location of the palace, see Alberto De Capitani D'Arzago, "Problemi della 'Forma Urbis' di Milano: dagli studi sul palazzo imperiale al ritrovamento del Circo," *Lombardia romana*, I, 1938, pp. 158 ff.; Aristide Calderini-Carla Gerra, "Le probabili Terme romane annesse al Palazzo Imperiale in Piazza Mentana," *Ritrovamenti e Scavi per la 'Forma Urbis Mediolani'*, III, 1951, pp. 6–7; Chierici, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 182; Michelangelo Cagianò de Azevedo, "Admiranda Palatia. I Palazzi imperiali e le residenze tetrarchiche," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura*, XIV, 1959, pp. 5–6; Mirabella Roberti, "Milano – Basilica di S. Lorenzo," p. 144.

⁸⁰ S. Lorenzo could not have been built any closer to the wall—and thus to the palace—than it was because of the River Seveso, which ran between the wall and the church and through the area of the present Piazza della Vetra (Calderini, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 5; Mirabella Roberti, "La Vetra romana," pp. 25–26). S. Lorenzo's extramural location is certainly *not* due to the fact that it was founded by Arians (as maintained by De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architettura*, p. 37, and Cecchelli, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 249); the laws requiring Arians to worship outside the city confines did not apply to members of the ruling family, as the churches of Theodoric in Ravenna clearly attest.

⁸¹ The basement space—about 2.25 m. high, making allowance for an original floor a few centimeters lower than the present one—is created primarily by the octagonal foundation walls. Structurally these walls hardly need be so high, since the thick platform provides an overly solid base for the rising walls. In the excavations of 1910–1911, the basement was cleared of "terriccio di riporto," "mattoni di riporto," and "non pochi resti umani" (probably from medieval and Renaissance burials in the chapel), which filled it to a height of about 90 centimeters (Soprintendenza della Lombardia, *Relazione*, pp. 8–11 and p. 11 n. 1).

⁸² This assumes that the space was not cut in half horizontally by the "piano medio di calcestruzzo" mentioned by Schuster (cf. n. 70 above). Unfortunately, at this date it is impossible to determine whether, in fact, this floor ever existed.

The burial of sarcophagi is well attested in other early Christian mausolea. The sarcophagi of Maria and of the other members of the royal family in the Honorian mausoleum in Rome were all hidden in small *loculi* under

identified as a mausoleum, its relation to its other "triplets" can be partially clarified. The reasons for erecting in the city a second imperial mausoleum that duplicated S. Gregorio are as clear as the reasons for a duplicate baptistery were obscure: with the new reign of Christianity and the new Western dynasties that followed the death of Maximian, the burial of later Emperors in Maximian's mausoleum became seemingly out of the question. A new, Christian tomb was needed, with a church to safeguard the imperial soul just as, in the earlier mausoleum, a fortified wall stood to protect the imperial ashes.⁸³ The question is, which soul?

Milan was the official residence of the imperial court in Italy from the time of the Emperor Constans (337-350) until 402, when, because of its vulnerability to barbarians sweeping over the Alps, it was abandoned for coastal Ravenna.⁸⁴ Obviously the construction of the palatine church must be dated within the limits of this roughly sixty-year span. On the other hand, a church so tainted by Arianism as S. Lorenzo could hardly have been erected except during the ascendancy of the Arian bishop Auxentius (355-374). Two of the rulers during his episcopate assuredly did not build S. Lorenzo: Julian the Apostate (361-363) and Jovian (363-364), who ruled only eight months. These circumstances leave only three Emperors who might have sponsored the church and its mausoleum: Constans, Constantius II (337-361), and Valentinian I (364-375).

The weakest possibility would seem to be Constans, a friend of Athanasius of Alexandria and a staunch supporter of other orthodox bishops as well.⁸⁵ To explain why fourth-century

the floor (Harald Koethe, "Zum Mausoleum der weströmischen Dynastie bei Alt-Sankt-Peter," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 22-24). Underground spaces for the placement of sarcophagi also occur in two recently studied fourth-century mausolea in Spain (Theodor Hauschild-Helmut Schlunk, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Centcelles," *Madridrer Mitteilungen*, II, 1961, pp. 164-167, 176-177; Theodor Hauschild, "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Centcelles 3: Der Spätantike Bau," *ibid.*, VI, 1965, p. 138; *idem*, "Das Mausoleum bei Las Vegas de Puebla Nueva; Untersuchungen 1967," *ibid.*, X, 1969, pp. 312-316). These irregular and sometimes hidden spaces are rather different from the crypts of earlier mausolea, like Diocletian's and the Tomb of Romulus, which are regularly shaped rooms accessible from the outside (Hauschild-Schlunk, p. 177; Hauschild, "Das Mausoleum," p. 314).

⁸³ The examples of the imperial mausolea in Rome might suggest that, for full protection, S. Aquilino should have been erected in close proximity to the tomb of a martyr (witness, for instance, Constantina's mausoleum by St. Agnes and the Honorian mausoleum by St. Peter). Yet, before the time of Ambrose, such sites in Milan seem to have been few in number and relatively unmarked; for example, the remains of St. Victor, the most important Milanese martyr, were apparently housed in an undistinguished chapel of mean proportions (cf. Pica-Portaluppi, p. 44; Ferdinando Reggiori, *La Basilica Ambrosiana. Ricerche e restauri 1929-1940*, Milan, 1941, pp. 184-216; *idem*, *La Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio*, Milan, 1966, pp. 61-62; Mirabella Roberti, "Il Recinto fortificato," pp. 98-102). With the encouragement of St. Ambrose, however, a cult of relics did eventually flourish in the city. The total absence of relics or *memoriae* on the site of S. Lorenzo and S. Aquilino may thus be a function of the pre-Ambrosian date of the church. It may also reflect the wishes of the church's Arian founders; in certain extremist Arian circles the cult of relics was repudiated altogether (Carlo Cecchelli, "L'Arianesimo e le chiese ariane d'Italia," *Le Chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800* [Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, VII, 7-13 aprile 1959, vol. II], Spoleto, 1960, p. 754).

⁸⁴ Milan retained its official status even though, in practice, most Emperors were forced to spend a large proportion of their time in frontier capitals like Trier and Sirmium in order to be nearer the scene of their military obligations.

⁸⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1, Stuttgart, 1900, s.v. "Constans (3)," coll. 950-951; cf. *ibid.*, s.v. "Constantius II," coll. 1057-1061.

sources make no mention of an orthodox monument as prestigious as Constans's church would have been, we would have to resort to complex suppositions: e.g., that the church and tomb chapel were begun by Constans, left unfinished when he died in 350, completed in full splendor by Auxentius five years later and subsequently regarded as "Arian." Not an impossible sequence, of course, but rather contrived. Constans was killed by the troops of a pretender in the Pyrenees, and nothing is known about his burial.⁸⁶ According to one theory, he was entombed in a hunting villa in Spain, possibly his own, located at Centcelles 5 kilometers from Tarragona near the village of Constantí.⁸⁷ This site was apparently chosen after the Emperor's death, presumably because of its relative proximity to the place where he fell; certainly it had not been selected by any prior plan.⁸⁸ We might infer that Constans himself had not left instructions for his entombment, or that such instructions as he did leave were not carried out—but this conjecture may be pushing the evidence too far.⁸⁹ We cannot totally discount the possibility that the Emperor Constans began or planned the sumptuous mausoleum in Milan as his own. However, either his brother Constantius II or Valentinian I would surely seem more likely alternatives.

Constantius seems a strong candidate because it was he who personally installed Auxentius in the see of Milan, after abducting and exiling the previous bishop, Dionysius, in 355.⁹⁰ Under Ambrose, Dionysius was venerated as a saint, and his unfortunate treatment at the hands of Constantius certainly established the latter, in the eyes of Milanese orthodoxy, as the most villainous of the fourth-century Christian Emperors. Thus Constantius is much more likely than either Constans or Valentinian I to have been at least partially responsible for the stigma that seems to have been attached to S. Lorenzo in this period. An attribution of the church to him would be equally well justified from the standpoint of the history of architecture, since Constantius participated in the building of another palatine church that was apparently comparable to the Milanese tetraconch in several respects: the Golden Octagon at Antioch, now

⁸⁶ Helmut Schlunk, "Untersuchungen im frühchristlichen Mausoleum von Centcelles," *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient*, Berlin, 1959, p. 359; Philip Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVI, 1962, p. 24 n. 75.

⁸⁷ Schlunk, "Untersuchungen," pp. 359ff.; Hauschild-Schlunk, pp. 181-182; Hauschild, "Vorbericht 3," p. 138. For the exact location of Centcelles see Hauschild-Schlunk, Abb. 1.

⁸⁸ The villa was apparently being remodeled when all work was suddenly dropped except for that in the centralized reception hall, which was slightly altered and decorated for use as a mausoleum—clearly an unforeseen development (Hauschild, "Vorbericht 3," *passim*).

⁸⁹ The Emperor's burial in Centcelles, in the first place, is only hypothetical. Unquestionably the building served as a mausoleum at some point; indubitably, too, its mosaic decoration is first-rate and of the fourth century; and, a porphyry "tub," for use as a sarcophagus, is known to have been in the neighborhood at least since the Middle Ages (Schlunk, "Untersuchungen," pp. 359-360; cf. Hauschild-Schlunk, p. 181). A recent attempt to press the association with Constans, however, illustrates the ambiguities that still exist: Jürgen Untermann, "Namenkundliche Bemerkungen zu Constantí und Centcelles," *Madriider Mitteilungen*, VIII, 1967, pp. 226-229.

⁹⁰ Dionysius had refused to acquiesce to the Emperor's demands that the Council of Milan of 355 censure the ultra-orthodox bishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius. Constantius took what he considered to be appropriate action under the circumstances, replacing Dionysius with the more reliable Auxentius. Dionysius died in exile in Cappadocia (Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1, s.v. "Constantius II," coll. 1074ff.; Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 114ff.; Calderini, in *Storia di Milano*, I, pp. 311-313).

destroyed.⁹¹ Although Constantius' reign began and ended in the East, between late 352 and 357 his activities centered on Milan, and S. Lorenzo could certainly have been built at this time.⁹² Yet, it does not seem entirely plausible that the Emperor would have built S. Aquilino as his own tomb. When he died in 361, Constantius was buried in the mausoleum of his father, Constantine the Great; Constantius himself may have built this mausoleum adjoining the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.⁹³ To attribute S. Aquilino to Constantius, therefore, we should have to assume either that the Emperor did not foresee his own entombment at the Apostoleion, at least not in 352-357, or that the mausoleum of S. Aquilino was built under his auspices for some other member of the imperial family.⁹⁴

Valentinian I was also buried in Constantinople, but this event may not have been according to plan. In fact, although the Emperor's body was embalmed and sent to the eastern capital immediately after his death in Gaul in 375, arriving in 376, it was not properly buried until six years later.⁹⁵ At last, in 382 it was interred in a small sarcophagus somewhere in the Holy Apostles church.⁹⁶ These circumstances suggest that the body arrived unexpectedly, without benefit of prior negotiations: no sarcophagus had been prepared for it,⁹⁷ and a more dignified berth in the Constantinian mausoleum had not been arranged. Yet Valentinian's reign was certainly long and hazardous enough for him to have contemplated his own demise and to have provided for his own entombment.⁹⁸ Presumably, then, he had planned to be buried

⁹¹ Constantius was responsible for completing the Octagon, or Great Church, which was begun by his father Constantine (Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1, s.v. "Constantius II," col. 1049). A centralized, two-storied, and possibly "double-shell" building, the Octagon was the archetypal palace church, at the head of a lineage that includes presumably S. Lorenzo as well as Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople (Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 342-350; Wayne Dynes, "The First Christian Palace-Church Type," *Marsyas*, XI, 1962-1964, p. 2; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp. 52-55).

⁹² Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1, s.v. "Constantius II," coll. 1047ff.

⁹³ "... Obiit Constantius mense novembris, die tertia, et positum est corpus eius in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in pila porfretica." *Chronicon Altinate* . . . , ed. Roberto Cessi, *Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum* (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia), Rome, 1933, p. 104; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 20ff., 40. Krautheimer attributes the mausoleum to Constantius, while Grierson, following Downey, maintains that it was built by Constantine himself (Richard Krautheimer, "On Constantine's Church of the Apostles in Constantinople," in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* [translation of the original article of 1964], pp. 27-34; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," p. 5).

⁹⁴ Since none of Constantius' four brothers and sisters was accorded burial in their father's mausoleum (Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 24-25), it is possible that Constantius, too, originally planned his own tomb elsewhere (though unlikely if he had built the mausoleum himself; cf. n. 93). However, there was little reason for him to choose Milan when by far the longer part of his reign (17 of 24 years) was spent in the East, which he also preferred to the West in matters of politics (Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1, s.v. "Constantius II," coll. 1052-1053).

⁹⁵ Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 25, 42.

⁹⁶ "Mense marcii, vicesima prima die, defunctus est Valentinianus imperator in Gallia, et delatum est corpus eius in Constantinopolim in tempore Magni Theodosii, et positum est in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, ubi Magnus Constantinus in lanarki porfretico." *Chronicon Altinate* . . . , ed. Cessi, p. 105; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 39, 42.

⁹⁷ Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," p. 42.

⁹⁸ Nearly the whole of Valentinian's eleven-year reign was consumed in frontier warfare, which he conducted personally (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus I," coll. 2169ff.).

elsewhere; and where more likely than in his chosen residence, Milan? In this light it is interesting to consider the extraordinary attachment that Valentinian's second wife Justina displayed some years after his death for the *Basilica Portiana*—which, as previously mentioned, is in all likelihood identical with the church of S. Lorenzo. In 385 and 386 Justina, acting through her teen-age son, the Emperor Valentinian II, spear-headed a ferocious battle with St. Ambrose in an unsuccessful attempt to re-assert Arian control of the *Portiana*, which had somehow fallen into the bishop's hands.⁹⁹ A tenacious Arian, Justina seemingly had little hope of burial beside her husband in the Apostoleion; in fact, it was Valentinian's first, discarded wife, Marina Severa, who was eventually placed there with him.¹⁰⁰ Justina would have had to arrange for her own burial elsewhere. Five minutes away from her palace in Milan was S. Aquilino, a splendid mausoleum built by her own husband or by one of his predecessors, adjoining, so it seems, the *Basilica Portiana*. Can we not assume that in her fervor to gain control of this church Justina was at least partially influenced by the presence of its sumptuous tomb chapel? Indeed, it is not impossible that the chapel had been intended for Justina in the first place—that is, in the event that the church complex had been built between her marriage to Valentinian I in 370 or so and the death of Auxentius in 374.¹⁰¹ Fiamma's "capella reginae" may be the correct title after all.

Nothing remains in S. Aquilino today to indicate that any imperial persons were ever actually interred there.¹⁰² This fact requires explanation, since several members of the royal family are

⁹⁹ For a full account of this conflict see Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating."

¹⁰⁰ "Sepulta est autem cum eo (Valentinian) Severa, uxor eius. Iustina namque, alia uxor eius, mortua est in Mediolano," *Chronicon Altinate* . . . , ed. Cessi, p. 105; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," p. 42 n. 33.

¹⁰¹ The proposal that Justina's bitter battle with Ambrose involved a church that her own husband had sponsored may seem bizarre, but the situation would have been perfectly conceivable in fourth-century Milan. Auxentius died in 374, and Ambrose was consecrated on December 7 of the same year (Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 128). Valentinian with his family had left the city the previous spring, and the Emperor, who died in November of 375, never saw Milan again (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus I," coll. 2182-2187). In the absence of the court, Ambrose would certainly have established his own authority over all the churches left in the city by his predecessor—including the "detached" palatine basilica outside the walls. By the time Justina returned to Milan with Valentinian II in 378, Ambrose would have been in undisputed control for three years. Faced with the bishop's firm refusal to relinquish the church for the Arian rites of the court, Justina prevailed upon the Emperor Gratian (the son of Valentinian I and Marina Severa; step-brother to Valentinian II) to sequester the basilica from Ambrose on her behalf (and not *from* the Arians, as is generally thought; cf. Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating," n. 78). Gratian's relations with Ambrose quickly grew warmer, however, while relations with his step-mother and step-brother, whom he seems to have detested, grew ever worse; thus, soon afterwards the Emperor reversed himself and returned the basilica to Ambrose (*De spiritu sancto*, I, 19-21, *P.L.* XVI, Paris, 1880, coll. 737-738). No doubt Justina was furious; but Gratian was the senior Emperor, and she and Valentinian II were dependent upon his support. Significantly, she made no further attempts to regain the *Portiana* until after Gratian's death in 383. The temerity to refuse the Emperor access to his own basilica, unthinkable for most bishops, is typical of Ambrose, who did not fear to humiliate publicly a much more formidable sovereign than Valentinian II, Theodosius the Great.

¹⁰² There is one large sarcophagus in the chapel, which unfounded tradition ascribes to Galla Placidia. Its date and its merits are much debated. Calderini, who on the one hand terms it "too sumptuous" for a bishop and attributes it to the Emperor Valentinian III (d. 455), elsewhere compares it to a "documento di una ricca famiglia milanese di benemeriti della città, ma non certamente materiale proveniente da tombe imperiali" (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 42 n. 80; "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 47). Schneider thinks that the sarcophagus could have belonged to any member of the court (review of Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 186), while Chierici thinks it is

known to have died or been buried in Milan, and, at one time the city could boast at least three porphyry sarcophagi.¹⁰³ Justina herself died in Milan in 388; however, nothing is known of her burial.¹⁰⁴ No doubt she received an honorable entombment; after all, her son, Valentinian II, survived to protect her memory, and Ambrose could have afforded to be compassionate after the Empress had died. But, considering her heresy and the bitterness of the violent feud of 386, burial in S. Aquilino may have seemed to be stretching forgiveness too far—a sarcophagus or urn in Maximian's old mausoleum might well have seemed more appropriate. Five years before Justina's death, the Emperor Gratian had been murdered at Lyons by the pretender Magnus Maximus. Maximus retained the body, and Ambrose was dispatched on behalf of Valentinian II to request its return.¹⁰⁵ This mission failed, but it is possible that Gratian's remains were brought to Milan later, after Maximus was defeated by the troops of Valentinian's co-Emperor Theodosius in 387.¹⁰⁶ In his funeral oration for Valentinian II, who died in 392, Ambrose implies that the two young Emperors were entombed side by side.¹⁰⁷ If this implication

probably provincial (Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 141). The sarcophagus is variously dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth centuries (see e.g. Kohte, "Die Kirche San Lorenzo," col. 315; Cecchelli, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 227 n. 135; Rudolf Kautzsch, "Die Langobardische Schmuckkunst in Oberitalien," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, V, 1941, p. 21; Gian Piero Bognetti, "Sul tipo e il grado di civiltà dei longobardi in Italia, secondo i dati dell'archeologia e della storia dell'arte," *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst in den Alpenländern* [Actes du III^e Congrès international pour l'étude du haut moyen age, 9-14 septembre 1951], Olten-Lausanne, 1954, p. 47; Gèza de Francovich, "Studi sulla scultura ravennate (continuazione)," *Felix Ravenna*, s. III, fasc. 28, 1959, pp. 128-129). Given this uncertainty, as well as the fact that the sarcophagus is in any event not of the fourth century, there is no reason to admit it to the present argument.

¹⁰³ Two porphyry sarcophagi are still in the city, but neither is in its original location. One was re-used by Bishop Angilbert II (824-859) for the relics of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius; it is now under Angilbert's high altar in S. Ambrogio (Richard Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, p. 220; Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 45). The second is in the church of S. Eustorgio; according to legend it was given to Bishop Eustorgius I (343-355) by the Emperor himself (Calderini, pp. 45-46; this legend may have been recorded as early as the sixth or seventh century: Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 108-110). In 1508 Alciati recorded a third porphyry sarcophagus, in S. Gregorio ("Theodosii imperatoris sepulchrum porfreticum insignis structurae et magnitudinis in sacello illo rotundo proximo sedi S. Victoris ad corpus...," *Cod. ambros. D. 425 inf.*, quoted by Savio, p. 775 n. 1). Alciati claims that the sarcophagus had been seen there by his father, before it was given away to Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini by Francesco Sforza. The whole story is somewhat dubious, however; as several scholars have pointed out the sarcophagus is nowhere to be found in Rimini; nor was it recorded in S. Gregorio in the fourteenth century by Goffredo da Bussero, who painstakingly inventoried every altar and relic in every church in Milan (Magistretti-Monneret, p. XVII; Pica-Portaluppi, p. 24; Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 46; Reggiori, *Il Monastero Olivetano*, pp. 20-22; *idem*, *La Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio*, p. 83). A fourth porphyry sarcophagus, said to have been in the atrium of S. Ambrogio, may, of course, be identical with the one just discussed (Delbrueck, p. 220; Reggiori, *La Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio*, p. 83). Finally, in the Duomo of Milan there is a fine porphyry "tub," of the kind frequently re-used as sarcophagi; it was brought to the Duomo from the early Christian church of St. Dionysius, now destroyed, in 1538 (Delbrueck, p. 166, cf. p. 30; Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 46).

¹⁰⁴ *Chronicon Altinate*, passage cited in n. 100; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," p. 42; Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus II," col. 2224. Zosimus' report that Justina died in Salonika, cited by Calderini, is incorrect (*Storia di Milano*, I, p. 350; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, col. 2224).

¹⁰⁵ Ambrose, *Epistola* XXIV, 9-10, *P.L.* XVI, col. 1082. The date of this embassy is given variously as 384 (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus II," coll. 2210-2211); 386 (Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 43); and 387 (Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," p. 23).

¹⁰⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus II," coll. 2222-2224; *Storia di Milano*, I, pp. 348-349.

¹⁰⁷ Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani consolatio*, 79, *P.L.* XVI, coll. 1443-1444; Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus II," col. 2229; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 23-24 (erroneously calling Gratian the

is to be trusted, the tombs could hardly have been in S. Aquilino. Ambrose, after all, regarded Gratian as his protégé and had personally instructed him in the basic principles of orthodoxy.¹⁰⁸ He would never have acquiesced to the Emperor's burial in the very church that was the patrimony and rallying-point of all the Arians in Milan. Rather, given the bishop's affection and esteem for Gratian, we would expect him to have pressed for the best burial possible. To Ambrose, it would have meant a site near the *memoria* of a Milanese martyr—as witness his burial of his own brother Satyrus (in 377 or so) near the tomb of St. Victor, “so that the moisture of the holy blood, penetrating, might wash the neighboring remains.”¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, though, such a holy site would probably have seemed improper for the young Valentinian, who died in a state of sin—unbaptized and not without suspicion of suicide.¹¹⁰ Therefore, it seems likely that, once again, its relative neutrality favored S. Gregorio as a compromise solution.¹¹¹

father of Valentinian). The passage in question is ambiguous: “. . . Quomodo rapidiora utriusque vitae fuere curricula, quam ipsius Rhodani sunt fluentia? O mihi Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi, quam augusto vitam fine clausistis! quam proxima vobis mortis fuere confinia! quam sepulcra vicina! Gratiane, inquam, et Valentiniane, in vestris nominibus adhaerere iuvat, atque delectat in vestri commemoratione requiescere. O omnibus Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi! Inseparabiles in vita, et in morte non estis separati. Non vos discrevit tumulus, quos non discernebat affectus. Non causa mortis separavit, quos pietas una iungebat. Non virtutum distantia dispares fecit, quos religio una fovebat.” The phrases “in morte non estis separati,” “non vos discrevit tumulus,” etc. almost certainly refer to the spiritual reunion of the two step-brothers in the kingdom of heaven (cf. *ibid.*, 54, 55, 71 ff., coll. 1436, 1441–1442), not to the physical proximity of their remains. Only “quam sepulcra vicina!” may safely be taken in the latter sense, but even here it is not impossible that “sepulcra” is used synonymously with “sepulturae,” burials, in which case the phrase would refer to closeness in time rather than space. In other words: Gratian's burial in Milan cannot be proven on the basis of *De obitu Valentiniani* alone. Cf. Calderini, “I Mausolei imperiali,” p. 43, who thinks Gratian was buried at Lyons.

¹⁰⁸ Two of Ambrose's most famous treatises, *De fide* and *De spiritu sancto*, were written for Gratian at the Emperor's request—specifically to provide him with a rational refutation of Arian theology. Cf. the exchange of letters between the Emperor and the Bishop: *P.L.* XVI, coll. 913–917; also the Rev. H. De Romestin, *St. Ambrose* (A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, X), photo reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1955, p. 199.

¹⁰⁹ The following epitaph was recorded in the first half of the ninth century by Dungalus, a professor at Pavia, as over the tomb of Satyrus “iuxta S. martyrem Victorem.”

Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem
Martyris ad laevam detulit Ambrosius
Haec meriti merces ut sacri sanguinis umor
Finitimas penetrans adluat exuvias

(Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, pp. 915–916; Reggiori, *La Basilica Ambrosiana*, pp. 191–196; Calderini, “La tradizione letteraria,” pp. 89–90). On the date of Satyrus' death see Savio, pp. 89 ff., esp. 909 ff.

¹¹⁰ Ambrose received word of Valentinian's death *en route* to Vienne, and he laments that he did not arrive in time to baptize the Emperor (*De obitu Valentiniani*, 23–26, 51, 53, *P.L.* XVI, coll. 1426–1427, 1435, 1436; the bishop specifically mentions the problem in his letter to Theodosius about Valentinian's tomb; unfortunately the passage is corrupt: *Epistola* LIII, 4, *P.L.* XVI, col. 1216). Valentinian II died by hanging. It is likely that he was murdered by the *magister peditum* Arbogast, but the whole affair seems to have been as obscure then as it is today. There is reason to think that Ambrose himself suspected suicide (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. “Valentinianus II,” coll. 2227–2229).

¹¹¹ There is general agreement that Valentinian II must have been buried in S. Gregorio: Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi*, p. 774; Pica-Portaluppi, pp. 18–22; De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architettura*, p. 27; Calderini, “La Scoperta di un recinto;” *idem*, in *Storia di Milano*, I, pp. 356 n. 11, 618; Reggiori, *Il Monastero Olivetano*, pp. 20, 23; *idem*, *La Basilica di Sant' Ambrogio*, pp. 72–73; De Angelis D'Ossat, “Origine e fortuna,” p. 4. Savio assumes that the church of S. Vittore already existed prior to the construction of the mausoleum and that it already housed the remains of St. Victor, but neither supposition can be upheld in the present state of our knowledge.

Counting Justina and Maximian himself, four persons of imperial rank would have been entombed in the Tetrarch's mausoleum.¹¹² This total tallies very well with the number of known porphyry sarcophagi in the city.¹¹³

Only one other Emperor is known to have died in Milan: Theodosius the Great. He died on January 17, 395, and his body was sent to Constantinople to be buried in the mausoleum of Constantine.¹¹⁴ Seven years later the court fled to Ravenna, and there is virtually no likelihood that any member of the imperial house would have been buried in Milan after this date. The subsequent history of the Honorian Dynasty is set almost exclusively in Ravenna and Rome.¹¹⁵ Ravenna was the court residence, and Rome, as the see of St. Peter, was rapidly re-emerging as the capital *par excellence*. Between them, Milan was totally eclipsed. A new imperial mausoleum was built, adjoining the transept of Old St. Peter's, and it was there that Honorius himself, his wives Maria and Thermantia, his step-sister the Empress Galla Placidia, and, doubtless, other prominent royal family members were buried.¹¹⁶ The old residence had been forgotten, and, with it, the "capella reginae."¹¹⁷

Thus, it seems that S. Aquilino never performed the function for which it undoubtedly was built. If it was erected for Constantius II, the Emperor must have changed his mind. If it was

¹¹² Maximian's burial in S. Gregorio, or at least in Milan, is obliquely attested by St. Ambrose. In describing the sarcophagus of Valentinian to the Emperor Theodosius, the bishop reports that "also Maximianus the associate of Diocletian is buried thus" (*Epistola* LIII, 4, *P.L.* XVI, col. 1216). Numerous scholars have pointed out that Ambrose would not have said this if Maximian's sarcophagus had not been well known and visible to him, presumably right in the city (Pauly-Wissowa, XIV, 2, Stuttgart, 1930, s.v. "Maximianus Herculeus," col. 2516; Pica-Portaluppi, pp. 19-22; De Capitani D'Arzago, *Architettura*, p. 27; Mirabella Roberti, "Il Recinto fortificato," pp. 104-105). The legend that Maximian was buried at Marseilles, where a sarcophagus said to be his was found in 1054, is almost certainly false (Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, p. 220 n. 2; but cf. Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 44).

¹¹³ That is, if we discount the "tub" or assume that the sarcophagi recorded in S. Gregorio and in the S. Ambrogio atrium are one and the same; cf. n. 103.

¹¹⁴ "Mense ianuarii, septima die, defunctus est Theodosius Magnus imperator in Mediolano. allate sunt reliquie ipsius in Constantinopolim, et posite in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in sacrario Magni Constantini, in pila porfiretica..." *Chronicon Altinate*..., ed. Cessi, p. 105; Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits," pp. 25-26, 42-43; Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 44.

¹¹⁵ Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*, *passim*.

¹¹⁶ The mausoleum was destroyed in 1514-19 during the rebuilding of St. Peter's. It contained at least five sarcophagi, one of which, unearthed only in 1544, was unquestionably that of Maria (d. 404). Honorius' burial in the mausoleum in 423 is well documented; Thermantia's is only a likely hypothesis (Koethe, "Zum Mausoleum," *passim*; Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*, pp. 74-75, 81, 178). Also hypothetical is the burial there of Galla Placidia, who died in Rome in 450; certainly, though, there are numerous reasons for thinking that this burial did occur (Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," pp. 44-45; Oost, pp. 276, 291-292). In any event Placidia was not buried in Milan (Oost, p. 292 n. 140).

¹¹⁷ To be disregarded completely is the romantic notion that Galla Placidia adapted S. Aquilino as the tomb of her first-born child Theodosius, who died in infancy in Spain in 414/415 (Calderini, "I Mausolei imperiali," p. 45; the idea appears as early as Allegranza, *Spiegazione*, Diss. I, p. 6). It is known that, after a provisional burial near Barcelona, the child's body was exhumed and transferred to Rome, where, in the presence of the Empress and Pope Leo I, it was ceremoniously laid in the mausoleum at Old St. Peter's (Pauly-Wissowa, XX, 2, s.v. "Placidia, Aelia Galla," col. 1916; Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*, pp. 134, 291-292). Equally fantastic and improbable is the suggestion that the sarcophagus in S. Aquilino is that of Valentinian III (d. 455) (Calderini, in Calderini-Chierici-Cecchelli, p. 42 n. 80). Like the rest of his family this Emperor was no doubt buried in Rome (Pauly-Wissowa, s. II, VII, 2, s.v. "Valentinianus III," col. 2257; cf. Koethe, "Zum Mausoleum," p. 11).

built for Valentinian I, the Emperor's wishes were not carried out. If it was intended for the Empress Justina, she was thwarted by her own belligerence. The bodies of Gratian and Valentinian II were denied burial in the chapel because by that time it had become too hot an issue, politically and theologically. It seems to have entered the fifth century with only a certain mystique to protect it from the intrusion of the tombs of lesser people.¹¹⁸ Eventually even the mystique wore off, but its existence was intuited by Fiamma; and his ingenious explanation for the character of the chapel was certainly correct in principle, if mistaken in detail.

¹¹⁸ Cf. p. 21 above and n. 39. Of course, it is always possible that some of the more peripheral relatives of either Constantius II or Valentinian I were buried in S. Aquilino in smallish urns, which would have been quick to disappear.