

Ecclesiastical dominance and urban setting.

Colonnaded streets as back-drop for Christian display

Colonnaded streets were one of the most visible and typical components of cities in the Roman East¹. They crossed from one side of the city to the other, guiding visitors to the

Abbreviations: – **Balty, Guide** = J.-Ch. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*, Brussels, 1981. – **Bejor, Vie Colonnate** = G. Bejor, *Vie Colonnate. Paesaggi Urbani del Mondo Romano*, Rome, 1999. – **Brands, Martyrion** = G. Brands, *Martyrion und Bishofskirche. Anmerkungen zur Architektur und Bauornamentik des Zentralbaus von Rusafa*, in *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongress für christliche Archäologie*, Münster, 1995, pp. 590-597. – **Brenk, Christianisierung** = B. Brenk, *Die Christianisierung der Spätromischen Welt. Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 2003. – **Christern, Tebessa** = J. Christern, *Das Frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa. Architektur und Ornamentik einer Spätantiken Bauhütte in Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden, 1976. – **Drijvers, Cyril** = W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City*, Leiden-Boston, 2004. – **Donceel-Voûte, Madaba** = P. Donceel-Voûte, *La carte de Madaba: cosmographie, anachronisme et propagande*, in *Revue biblique*, 1988, pp. 519-542, see pp. 526-528 – **Fowden, Plain** = E. K. Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran*, Berkeley-London 1999. – **Gros, L'architecture** = P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine: de début de IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire, 1. Les monuments publics*, Paris, 1996. – **Grossmann, Abu Mina** = P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina. 12. Vorläufiger Bericht. Kampagne 1984-1986*, in *AA*, 1991, pp. 457-486. – **Grossmann, Städtebauliches** = P. Grossmann, *Städtebauliches aus Ägypten*, in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (dir.) *Die Spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 125-134. – **Haug, Lebensraum** = A. Haug, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum. Eine kulturhistorische Analyse zum spätantiken Stadtleben in Norditalien*, Rahden, 2003. – **Jacobs, Maintenance** = I. Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space. The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD*, Leuven / Paris / Walpole, 2013. – **Jacobs, Holy goals** = I. Jacobs, *Holy goals and worldly means. Urban representation elements in church complexes*, in A. Busine (dir.) *Religious Practices and Christianization of the Late Antique City*, Leiden, forthcoming. – **Karnapp, Zentralbau** = W. Karnapp, *Der Vorplatz vom Zentralbau in Resafa mit den beiden Torbauten*, in O. Feld and U. Von Peschlow (dir.) *Studien zur Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Kunst*, Bonn, 1986, pp. 125-132. – **Karnapp, Stadtmauer** = W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien*, Berlin, 1976. – **Kritzinger, Saints** = P. Kritzinger, *The Cult*

city centre and to its most important monuments. By contrast, the widespread appearance of churches has long been considered to signal a breach with the existing Roman tradition.

of the Saints and Religious Processions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, in P. Sarris, M. Dal Santo and P. Booth (dir.) *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, Leiden / Boston, 2011, pp. 36-48. – **Liverani, Victors** = P. Liverani, *Victors and Pilgrims in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, in *Fragmenta*, 1, 2007, pp. 82-99. – **LTUR** = E. M. Steinby (dir.) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols, Rome, 1993-2000. – **Löx, monumenta sanctorum** = M. Löx, *monumenta sanctorum. Rom und Mailand als Zentren des frühen Christentums: Märtyrerkult und Kirchenbau unter den Bischöfen Damasus und Ambrosius*, Wiesbaden, 2013. – **MacDonald, Architecture** = W. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 2. *An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven / London, 1986. – **McLynn, Ambrose** = N. B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Berkeley, 1994. – **Mentzos, History** = A. Mentzos, *Reflections on the Architectural History of the Tetrarchic Palace Complex at Thessalonikē*, in L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis and S. J. Friesen (dir.) *Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē. Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, Cambridge Mass. A. 2010, pp. 333-359. – **Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon** = W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1977. – **Nasrallah, Empire** = L. S. Nasrallah, *Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 13, 2005, pp. 465-508. – **Saradi, City** = H. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality*, Athens, 2006. – **Segal, Monument** = A. Segal, *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia*, Oxford, 1997. – **Tsafrir, Jerusalem** = Y. Tsafrir, *Byzantine Jerusalem: The Configuration of a Christian City*, in L. I. Levine (dir.) *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, New York, 1999, pp. 133-150. – **Westphalen, Resafa** = S. Westphalen, *Resafa. Untersuchungen zum Strassennetz in byzantinischer Zeit*, in R. Harreither et al. (dir.) *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel*, Vienna, 2006. – **Wiseman, Stobi** = J. Wiseman, *Stobi in Yugoslavian Macedonia: Archaeological Excavations and Research, 1977-78* in *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 5, 1978, pp. 391-429.

¹ See, among a large bibliography, Bejor, *Vie Colonnate*; P. Gros and M. Torelli, *Storia dell'Urbanistica. Il Mondo Romano*, Rome, 1988; J.-B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, London, 1981, p. 363, 384-391; F. Sear, *Roman Architecture*, London, 1982, pp. 197-98 and 205-206; MacDonald, *Architecture*, pp. 43-44; Gros, *L'architecture*, p. 105.

Ecclesiastical architecture supposedly appeared after the «flight of the curiales»², when other monuments were already being neglected or even dismantled, so that its proliferation heralded the end of Antiquity. This view can no longer be upheld. In many cities in the Roman East, the most visible parts of the cityscape were maintained until the middle of the 6th century³. Churches were added to this existing framework, used and adapted to it, and profited from it considerably.

Why then, did the abovementioned hypothesis become so widespread? The main problem with church buildings is that they have always been «studied in socio-political seclusion», a deficiency denounced by Rebecca Sweetman for the Peloponnesus, but one that is still prevalent almost everywhere⁴. Because of their monumental construction technique, late antique churches are often the most visible components of a landscape and the only ones recorded during field surveys. Excavations are commonly limited to the prayer hall where impressive floor decoration and marble furniture are to be expected; they sometimes do not take in the church atrium and very rarely uncover abutting and surrounding architecture and infrastructure. Consequently, when church plans are published, they often float on apparently blank pages. Moreover, we have been looking at churches far too much in

² A. H. M. Jones, *The Late Roman Empire 284-602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, Baltimore, 1964, pp. 737-757; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch. City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 174-186.

³ Jacobs, *Maintenance*, *passim*.

⁴ R. Sweetman, *The Christianization of the Peloponnese: The Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches*, in *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3.2, 2010, pp. 203-261, esp. p. 204. An early attempt to remedy the situation can be found in R. Cormack, *Byzantine Aphrodisias: changing the symbolic map of a city*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36, 1990, pp. 26-41. Recent work on Architecture and Sculpture (JRA Supplementary Series Number 1), Portsmouth, 75-88. Recently, the context of pilgrimage sites has been given more attention, see, for instance, various articles in *HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture* 1, 2012.

retrospect. They were indeed the monuments that tended to survive the longest, after other major buildings had already been subdivided and usurped by smaller houses, stables, shops and workshops, or had been deserted and were crumbling down. But although it may be true that in medieval and Byzantine times churches were the centre of society in most respects, it is wrong to project this view onto the whole of Late Antiquity, when the Christian Church was only one factor in a complex society, albeit one with a fast growing influence. Men of the Church were part of a much wider and intricate power web, often with strong ties to members of secular elites⁵. Similarly, churches were merely part of the larger cityscape, and in order to grasp the role and importance of these buildings and of the Church as an institution, it is vital to pay attention to the position of ecclesiastical structures within a settlement at large.

In recent years, awareness of this connectivity has been increasing and a growing number of studies focuses on the implantation of churches in the street network of a city and in the rural landscape, as well as on the functions they fulfilled apart from those of a purely religious nature⁶. In this article, I wish to contribute to the debate by arguing that not only

⁵ For the social position of bishops and their ties with other members of the elite, see C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley / Los Angeles, 2005, pp. 172-207.

⁶ The article by R. Sweetman mentioned above is a good example of the former. There is a rising number of studies on ecclesiastical economy, such as C. Sotinel, *Le personnel épiscopal: enquête sur la puissance de l'évêque dans la cité*, in É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (dir.) *L'évêque dans la cité du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, Rome, 1998, pp. 105-126; H. Ziche, *Administrer la propriété de l'Église: l'évêque comme clerc et comme entrepreneur*, in *AnTard*, 14, 2006, pp. 69-78), whereas the discovery of artisanal installations annexed to Early Christian churches indicates a direct involvement in the local economy. See, for instance, R. Martorelli, *Riflessioni sulle attività produttive nell'età tardoantica e altomedievale: esiste un artigianato ecclesiastico?*, in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 75, 1999, pp. 571-596, for Italy; A. Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab conquest*, Bari, 2007, pp. 228-230, for sites in North Africa; A.

were many churches built in Late Antiquity well integrated into city plans, they also used them to their advantage. In particular, I would like to argue that, next to secular colonnaded streets, “ecclesiastical” colonnaded streets appeared from the 4th century onwards, streets that were either created first and foremost for use by the Church, or existing urban streets that were usurped and, consequently, maintained and embellished because they functioned in ecclesiastical ritual. I will demonstrate that church leaders understood the importance of a monumental and representative armature to frame activities outside the prayer hall and therefore carefully orchestrated both the implantation of their central church buildings (notably episcopal churches and pilgrimage centres) and their routes of access and their reception. This premeditated design of urban space was part of the Church’s efforts to demonstrate its increasingly powerful position in society by means of «public, ritualised forms of display»⁷.

In the following paragraphs, I will first sketch the appearance and functions of urban colonnaded streets throughout time. Thereafter, the positioning of churches along such streets will be discussed. Initially, church buildings were endowed with a passive role in relation to colonnaded streets, being integrated behind the colonnades of a main traffic artery together with the more classical public monuments of the city in order to be located as centrally and visibly as possible. Their presence and the large number of visitors they attracted therefore became an important reason to maintain and embellish colonnaded avenues in Late Antiquity. In a second phase, both cathedrals and pilgrimage churches assumed a more active role in shaping the city as their existence became a solid reason for

Mailis, *The Annexes at the Early Christian Basilicas of Greece (4th- 6th c.). Architecture and Function*, Oxford, 2011, *passim*, for Greece. The multifaceted relation between the Church and the economy is the subject of a forthcoming book volume and associated workshop (27-28 March 2014) organized by Peter Van Nuffelen and the author.

⁷ Kritzinger, *Saints*, pp. 36-37 on the close ties between power and representation.

the construction of full-fledged colonnaded streets. Furthermore, the architectural type of the colonnaded avenue was integrated within larger church complexes.⁸ Finally, I touch upon successors of Roman triumphal arches and tetrastyle, two types of monuments traditionally associated with colonnaded streets that were integrated into the Christian design of space as well.

The geographical scope of this study is very large, encompassing most provinces of the eastern Roman Empire as well as some major cities in the West in which full-fledged colonnaded streets occurred (fig. 1). Since the state of survey, excavation, and also publication varies from region to region and from site to site, information relevant to the current subject is indeed widely spread. It is particularly deplorable that we have so little archaeological information on key sites such as Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria.⁹ Therefore, although some trends can be clearly distinguished, it will no doubt be possible to supplement or further interpret the data presented with new findings in the future.

⁸ It is worth noting that colonnaded streets and basilica buildings displayed some similarities in their design. Besides colonnaded streets, churches are the only other new monumental constructions in which columns were needed in sizeable quantities. Moreover, they possessed the same directionality inherent to an elongated space flanked by two columnar rows. The reciprocity in the vocabulary used to indicate streets and basilicas suggest that these similarities were noticed in Antiquity as well; the colonnades of churches were named *stoa* or *diazoma* or also *embolos*, words previously applied to colonnades in streets and squares. Both the nave of a church and the road of a street were named *mese*. See the discussion in Donceel-Voûte, *Madaba*.

⁹ At Constantinople, for instance, the Church of St. Polyeuktos was added behind the porticoes of the Mese between A.D. 524 and 527, but further details on how the monument was connected to the street remain unknown (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 190). For the neglect of archaeological sources in reconstructing daily life at Constantinople, see also K. Dark, *Houses, streets and shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the fifth to the twelfth centuries*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 30, 2004, pp. 83-107. Additional information concerning the cities mentioned can be found in literary and especially hagiographical sources. Due to current word limitations, they will not be taken into consideration here.

An introduction to the colonnaded street in antique and late antique times

The concept of a colonnaded street in all likelihood originated in northern Syria during the late Hellenistic period¹⁰. It spread through the Roman East and Asia Minor from the 1st century A.D. onwards, though most colonnaded streets were only laid out in the 2nd and 3rd century, as part of the general monumentalisation that characterised the cities of the Roman East during their peak of prosperity. The largest number and also the grandest examples are to be found in North-Syria and the neighbouring regions of Cilicia, Palestine and Jordan. Colonnaded streets were also relatively common in Asia Minor and North Africa, but more infrequent in Greece and the Balkans (with only a few completely colonnaded examples at Rhodes, Corinth, Athens, and Stobi) and also fairly rare in the western provinces, where uninterrupted colonnades were often replaced by an amalgam of covered porticoes, each a block long¹¹. Most of these streets were to be found inside city centres, but examples are also known of colonnaded streets connecting the centre to an important pagan sanctuary, as, for instance, the so-called «Hallenstrasse at Pergamon» that guided pilgrims to the Asklepieion¹². This model would reappear in a Christian context.

¹⁰ I. Jacobs and M. Waelkens, *Five centuries of glory. The Colonnaded Street of Sagalassos in the first and the sixth century AD*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 63, 2014 [2013], pp. 219-266, esp. pp. 233-235 and M. Tabaczek, *Zwischen Stoa und Suq. Die Säulenstraßen im Vorderen Orient in römischer Zeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Palmyra*, unpublished PhD dissertation Universität Köln, 2002, pp. 226-239, both containing further references.

¹¹ See, for instance, J. F. D. Frake, *Framing Public Life: The Portico in Roman Gaul*, Vienna, 2006, pp. 83-90 for Gaul.

¹² A. Petsalis-Diomidis, *'Truly Beyond Wonders'. Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios*, New York, 2010, pp. 172-174.

Colonnaded streets kept being added to existing and new cities in later centuries as well. During the later 3rd century they were an integral part of the building projects of the Tetrarchy such as Galerius' palace and mausoleum complex at Thessaloniki and the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatum (Split)¹³. Following these examples, Constantine's new Rome was supplied with several colonnaded thoroughfares, the exact location and appearance of which is not easy to determine as the continuous occupation of the city since Antiquity hampers archaeological research. The Mese, the 25 m wide colonnaded avenue that crossed the city from west to east, received an exuberant architectural and sculptural decoration, so that it far surpassed all previous colonnaded streets¹⁴. Over the last century, a large number of late antique colonnaded streets have been discovered and excavated all over the eastern Mediterranean¹⁵. They have been found in smaller towns, in provincial capitals and also apparently remained an integral part of the urban armature in imperially founded cities well into the 6th century A.D., with examples at Sergiopolis (Resafa) and Zenobia (Halabiye) in Syria, and Justiniana Prima in Serbia¹⁶. The last known example in this tradition can be found in the early 8th century, at Umayyad Anjar (Lebanon)¹⁷.

¹³ W. Ball, *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire*, London / New York, 2000, p. 263 with further references. For a detailed discussion on the palace of Galerius at Thessaloniki see Mentzos, *History*.

¹⁴ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 27-28; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e – VII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 27-28; A. Berger, *Streets and public spaces in Constantinople*, in *DOP*, 54, 2000, pp. 161-172. It may have been of great influence for all later projects, see S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, Cambridge Mass., 1990, p. 108; M. Mundell Mango, *The porticoed street at Constantinople*, in Necipoğlu, N. (dir.) *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, Leiden / Boston / Cologne, 2001, pp. 29-51.

¹⁵ For an overview of these late antique colonnaded streets, see Jacobs, *Maintenance*, pp. 115-117.

¹⁶ See E. Zanini, *Technology and ideas: architects and master-builders in the early Byzantine world*, in L. Lavan, E. Zanini and A. Sarantis (dir.) *Technology in Transition AD 300-650*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 202-212; Fowden, *Plain*, p. 78, with further bibliography for Sergiopolis; N. Duval, *L'urbanisme de Caraçin Grad*.

In Late Roman times, these colonnaded streets became ever more crucial to the socio-political life of cities, at the cost of agorae¹⁸. Their importance and prestige is apparent from the praise they receive in the writing of authors such as Libanios (*Or.* 11.90, 201, 215-216)¹⁹ and Malalas (*Chron.* 15.11) for Antioch, pseudo-Joshua the Stylite (§29) for Edessa, Chorikios (*Or.* 7.52) for Gaza and Prokopios (*Aed* 3.4.18) for Melitene²⁰.

Similarly, they occupy a central place in late antique iconographic representations of cities. For example, on the Tabula Peutingeriana Antioch is represented by its Tychè, flanked by the personification of the Orontes and the representation of its suburb Daphne. The entire scene is placed above a depiction of a portico of the arcaded type, which represented the colonnaded street. In the Vienna Genesis scene depicting Rebecca at the well, a colonnade departs in the direction of the city of Nahor. Further, on the famous Madaba Map, the cities

Une ville artificielle et ses bâtiments d'apparat: une spécificité locale ou une étape décisive dans la typologie des principia militaires? in *AnTard*, 4, 1996, 325-339, esp. pp. 326-327 for Justinian Prima.

¹⁷ R. Hillenbrand, *Anjar and Early Islamic urbanism*, in B. Ward-Perkins and G. B. Brogiolo (dir.) *The Ideas and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden / Boston, pp. 59-98 for a general introduction to the site, with extensive bibliography.

¹⁸ The best studied example is to be found at Ephesus, where honorific statues were no longer erected on or around the agorae, but in the major streets, M. Aurenhammer and A. Sokolicek, *The Remains of the Centuries. Sculptures and Statue Bases in Late Antique Ephesus: The Evidence of the Upper Agora*, in O. Dally and Chr. Ratté (dir.) *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor, Mich, 2011, pp. 43-66, see p. 59 and 66.

¹⁹ See also the commentary on the *Antiochikos* in P. Festugière, *Antioche Païenne et Chrétienne*, Libanios, Jean Chrysostome et les Moines de Syrie, Paris, 1959, pp. 38-61 and Saradi, *City*, pp. 259-260.

²⁰ For Gaza, see also C. Saliou, *L'orateur et la ville: réflexions sur l'apport de Chorikios à la connaissance de l'histoire de l'espace urbain de Gaza*, in C. Saliou (dir.) *Gaza dans l'Antiquité Tardive. Archéologie, Rhétorique, Histoire*, Salerno, 2005, pp. 171-195. However, in the course of the 6th century, views on the colonnaded street seem to have changed, and though it still featured in many sources, it was no longer praised as a place where civic social life took place (Saradi, *City*, pp. 270-271).

depicted were characterised not only by their defensive circuits, but also by one or several colonnaded streets connecting the main gates (fig. 2)²¹. In the 2nd half of the 6th century, a similar grouping of fortifications and colonnaded streets was depicted in mosaic vignettes at the St. Maria Maggiore in Rome and at the Church of St. John the Baptist and that of St. Peter and Paul at Gerasa²². These depictions correspond remarkably well to excavated remains.

The reason for their great popularity and continued appreciation throughout time was no doubt the fact that these streets were both visually attractive and highly useful²³. They made it possible to regulate the appearance of a city, by providing the diverse buildings alongside the street with a unified front. The presence of major monuments behind the colonnades was indicated only subtly, by porches or variations in the order, flutes or height of the colonnade columns. In addition, the extremities of colonnaded streets were always furnished with decorative monuments such as monumental gates or triumphal arches; the locations where they were interrupted by other streets were marked by small squares, tetrapyla (columnar monuments consisting of four identical bases placed at regular intervals, carrying four or at most sixteen identical columns), arches or honorific

²¹ Donceel-Voûte, *Madaba*, pp. 526-528; W. Pullan, *The Representation of the Late Antique City in the Madaba Map. The meaning of the Cardo in the Jerusalem Vignette*, in M. Piccirillo (dir.) *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897-1997, Travelling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Amman, 7-9 April 1997*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 165-171.

²² Many of these mosaics have been collected in G. W. Bowersock, *Mosaics as History. The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam*, Cambridge Mass. / London, 2006, Chapter 1.

²³ For colonnaded streets as powerful and monumental urbanistic tools, see M. Lyttelton, *Baroque architecture in classical antiquity*, London, 1974, p. 215; MacDonald, *Architecture*, pp. 32-33; Gros, *L'architecture*, p. 95; Bejor, *Vie Colonnate*, p. 7; M. Heinzelmänn, *Städtekonkurrenz und kommunaler Bürgersinn. Die Säulenstrasse von Perge als Beispiel monumentaler Stadtgestaltung durch kollektiven Euergetismus*, in AA, 2003, pp. 197-220, esp. p. 197; Jacobs, *Maintenance*, pp. 113-114.

columns²⁴. These broad avenues effortlessly guided visitors through the city and formed a backdrop well suited for public manifestations, primarily processions such as religious processions on festival days²⁵, or *adventus* processions of the emperor, imperial portraits, generals, praetorian prefects or, most often, provincial governors, and, from the later 4th century onwards, also of relics, bishops and occasionally holy men²⁶. In addition to offering passage, the colonnades provided shelter against weather conditions, while commerce was very present in the form of shops located behind the colonnades²⁷.

²⁴ Such monuments were named «passage architecture» by MacDonald, *Architecture*, p. 74. Ibid., Chapter 4 for passage architecture in the Roman world; Jacobs, *Maintenance*, Chapter 3 for the importance of passage architecture in Late Antiquity; Jacobs, *Holy goals*, for passage architecture within church complexes.

²⁵ See, for instance, the processions moving along the colonnaded streets of Ephesus in G. Maclean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, London / New York 1991, pp. 86-106.

²⁶ For processions see Segal, *Monument*, p. 10 and 47; Saradi, *City*, p. 271. J. Lehnen, *Adventus principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997, primarily discusses imperial *adventus*, but also touches on the reception of high officials in cities; For Christian processions, see J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987; F. A. Bauer, *Beatitudo Temporum. Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im Stadtbild des spätantiken Rom*, in F. A. Bauer and N. Zimmermann (dir.) *Epochenwandel: Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, Mainz, pp. 75-94; Krinzinger, *Saints*. The passage of processions along colonnaded streets at the very end of Antiquity is attested to by acclamations, see, amongst others, Ch. Roueché, *Looking for late antique ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias*, in: H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (dir.) *100 Jahre Österreichischen Forschungen in Ephesos*, Vienna, pp. 161-168. The account of how Saint Theodore of Sykeon entered Amorium around A.D. 600 is probably a typical example of the sequence of events at the time: Theodore was greeted by the people outside the walls, who afterwards escorted him in procession through the city. Eventually, he arrived at the cathedral where he was invited by the bishop to celebrate the liturgy (*Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, §107, A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1970, pp. 88-89).

²⁷ See also Lib., *Or.* 11.254; 267, who clearly testifies to this function.

Moreover, they became the primary showcase for political monuments and honorific statuary. And finally, although they were architecturally less pronounced, various social activities took place beneath the portico roofs as well²⁸.

Churches behind existing colonnades

Factors influencing the spread of churches were plentiful and included local topography, pre-existing buildings to take into account, the position of Christian residential areas and the locations of venerated sites²⁹. In addition, donations, sales or inheritances of a parcel of land could earmark very specific locations for church construction³⁰. Nonetheless, in the provinces of the East many churches, in the first place episcopal complexes and pilgrimage churches, were positioned along one of the city's major traffic axes, which, as already mentioned, were almost invariably synonymous with colonnaded streets. These central locations indicate that they quickly garnered a position among the major public monuments assembled here. In other words, it is very likely that those responsible for their construction sought to obtain a high degree of visibility in the urban landscape so that these churches could play a successful part in the creation of the new urban order.

²⁸ Saradi, *City*, pp. 266-267 for a summary of social activities.

²⁹ H.-G. Severin, *Aspekte der Positionierung der Kirchen in oströmischen Städten*, in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (dir.) *Die Spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, Wiesbaden, 2003, 249-257; N. Gauthier, *La topographie chrétienne entre idéologie et pragmatisme*, in G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (dir.) *The Idea and Ideal of the Town Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden / Boston, pp. 195-209, on p. 203 mentions the literary silence as to where the churches should be built as well.

³⁰ G. Cantino Wataghin, *Christian topography in the late antique town*, in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (dir.) *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, Leiden / Boston, pp. 224-256, see pp. 230-243.

The trend was initiated by the emperor Constantine himself. When the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was constructed in the 1st half of the 330s, it was implanted in orderly fashion into the existing city grid of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem, fig. 3)³¹. The basilica and the remainder of the complex were not oriented to the east, but to the west, which was not common in Palestine. The reason is fairly straightforward: this orientation allowed the complex to be entered directly from the main *cardo*, thus placing it at the very centre of the city³². The alternative, to add the basilica to the west of the Holy Sepulchre and thus to construct the church, its atrium and its propylaea between the western wall of the city and the hill of Golgotha, would have distanced the basilica from the main street, making its insertion in the city fabric a lot less blatant and rendering easy access difficult³³. Easy access to such central churches is a prerequisite, as they were the end points of processions and the nexus of festivals and fairs. At Jerusalem, the festival of the *encaenia* that accompanied the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in mid-September remained a highly popular fair into the early Islamic period³⁴. In addition, regardless of the religious intent of Constantine, there can be no doubt that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was first and foremost intended as a deliberate declaration of ownership of urban space at Jerusalem as well as a marker of the imperial support that Christianity was receiving.

³¹ Drijvers, *Cyril*, p. 28.

³² Tsafir, *Jerusalem*, p. 135.

³³ Tsafir, *Jerusalem*, p. 136.

³⁴ Tsafir, *Jerusalem*, p. 135; Drijvers, *Cyril*, p. 102. Ibid, 18-19 for the festivities and activities that marked the dedication of the church; 2013, 321-24 for later celebrations of *encaenia*. J. W. Drijvers, *Transformation of a city. The Christianization of Jerusalem in the fourth century*, in R. Alston, O. M. van Nijf and C. G. Williamson (dir.) *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City After The Classical Age*, Leuven / Paris, pp. 309-329, esp. p. 320 for processions as a means to appropriate public space at Jerusalem.

Fifty years later, in A.D. 382, Ambrose made a comparable striking statement when he positioned the Basilica Apostolorum along the extra-urban stretch of the Via Romana at Mediolanum (Milan, fig. 4). This street, which had been built only a few decades before, led in southeast direction towards Rome. The emperor Gratian had it equipped with continuous colonnades along both sides over a length of 370 m and had an arch, the Porta Romana, erected at its southern extremity³⁵. The new church was constructed halfway along its length. As Neil McLynn already remarked in 1994, Ambrose's choice of site does not seem to have been fuelled by religious reasons; in contrast to the slightly earlier *Ambrosiana*, the church was not designed in relation to sanctified Christian burials, even though it disturbed an older necropolis. The sole reason for its implantation along the Via Romana appears to have been the avenue itself, which functioned as a *via triumphalis* or a ceremonial entrance into Mediolanum, at that time the capital of the Western Roman Empire (A.D. 352-402). As such, the highest echelons of society passed by on a regular basis. Through its atrium, and maybe also through an attention-drawing entrance porch, the church would have been able to tap into *adventus* and other ceremonial activities³⁶. The prominence of this Christian addition to *adventus* in Milan was guaranteed through the burial of highly venerated relics below the church altar³⁷. Although the procedure for relic translation in this time is not well-known, Ambrose's own writing suggests that it took the

³⁵ McLynn, *Ambrose*, p. 47; Haug, *Lebensraum*, p. 71; Löx, *monumenta sanctorum*, p. 89, 94.

³⁶ McLynn, *Ambrose*, p. 233.

³⁷ In 386, Ambrose buried the relics of the Saints John, Andrew, Thomas and Luke and those of the martyr Euphemia. They may have been preceded by those of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which were probably a gift from Pope Damasus. In 395-396, Ambrose discovered the body of St. Nazarius in a garden outside the city and had this translated to the church too. See McLynn, *Ambrose*, pp. 230-232; M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200-400*, New York, 1999, pp. 54-55 with further discussion and references; Löx, *monumenta sanctorum*, pp. 97-100, 165-166.

form of a triumph parade, to which, of course, the colonnaded street would have formed the perfect backdrop³⁸. Ambrose's self-consciousness was furthermore obvious in the plan of the Basilica Apostolorum, which was not longitudinal but cruciform, and was in all likelihood inspired by the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople³⁹.

A highly educated bishop with an elite background and a secular career such as Ambrose⁴⁰ would have been well aware of the power of old and new monumental architecture. In his relic parades as well, Ambrose built on achievements of the past, whilst endowing them with a new, Christian meaning⁴¹. The ingenuity displayed by Ambrose and the impact he had on his congregation may have been quite exceptional, certainly for the late 4th century, but there must have been many more bishops out there with a similar understanding of late antique society and the role of the Church, certainly when one considers their backgrounds and social networks⁴². Conversely, the emperors residing in Mediolanum apparently had no interest in religious construction, even though their presence prompted the appearance

³⁸ This model, established by Ambrose at Milan, would prove highly successful in the centuries to come, see Kritzinger, *Saints*, pp. 46-47 for a discussion and further references.

³⁹ Amongst many others, C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e – VII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 27-28; Löx, *monumenta sanctorum*, p. 102 enumerates arguments pro and contra this association.

⁴⁰ Ambrose was of senatorial rank, belonged to a family with estates in Africa, had received a rhetorical education and had had a secular professional career, first as advocate, then as *assessor* to the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, and finally as governor of the province of Aemelia and Liguria before he was quite suddenly elected as bishop of Milan. On the education, background and life of Ambrose, see McLynn, *Ambrose*; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose and John Chrysostom: Clerics Between Desert and Empire*, Oxford, 2011, 57-92 with older bibliography cited under note 1; Löx, *monumenta sanctorum*, pp. 33-37.

⁴¹ I. J. Davidson, *Staging the Church? Theology as Theater*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 8, 2000, pp. 413-451, esp. p. 437 for further examples related to moral conduct.

⁴² Cf. note 5.

of many other public monuments⁴³. As Annette Haug rightly remarked, in this period of pagan-Christian conflict it can be expected that the imperial elite at least in some cities took care not to make decisions that could be deemed aggressive by a still largely pagan elite⁴⁴. This situation would change rapidly.

At the end of the 4th century, probably late in the reign of Theodosius I (A.D. 379-395), the Rotunda belonging to the imperial palace at Thessaloniki was converted into a church dedicated to St. George⁴⁵. In this case, imperial involvement or at least direct support can be suspected. The architectural changes and especially the new interior decoration – including the only ceiling mosaic predating the mid-5th century preserved in the eastern provinces – were part of a project of enormous magnitude and exceptional costs. It would probably never have come into being had it not been so closely connected to the palace from which Theodosius reigned from 379 until 380, and where he lived intermittently

⁴³ Haug, *Lebensraum*, pp. 72-73; Löx, *monumenta sanctorum*, pp. 88-89.

⁴⁴ Haug, *Lebensraum*, p. 73.

⁴⁵ H. Torp, *The Date of the Conversion of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki into a Church*, in *Papers of the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 1, 1991, pp. 13-28; Nasrallah, *Empire*; S. Ćurčić, *Christianization of Thessalonikē: The Making of Christian "Urban Iconography"*, in L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis and S. J. Friesen (dir.) *Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē. Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, Cambridge Mass, 2010, pp. 213-244, see pp. 214-222. Other dating proposals, mainly based on stylistic grounds, place the conversion in the early 6th century. Nasrallah, *Empire*, 481 note 41 gives an extended overview of the matter. In the early 4th century, the emperor Galerius had constructed his palace in the southeast of the city. For recent discussions on the phases of the building complex, see T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Die Palastanlage des Galerius in Thessaloniki. Planung und Datierung*, in *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence*. Split, pp. 389-409; Mentzos, *History*.

afterwards as well⁴⁶. Not only the Rotunda, but also its existing, superb approach was exploited. The Rotunda could be reached from a colonnaded street that branched off from the Via Egnatia at the Arch of Galerius, a *quadrifrons* that also indicated the entrance to the imperial palace itself (fig. 5)⁴⁷.

Although the architectural environments established at Milan and Thessaloniki were only hereditary, these newly established churches together with their colonnaded entrance route and associated monuments formed a model that would often reappear in large ecclesiastical centres of the 5th and 6th centuries (cf. *infra*).

The previous examples are all located in highly conspicuous sites and benefited from imperial or equally strong support. But what was happening at other sites in the course of the 4th century? As in the western provinces of the Empire, there are examples of what appear to have been important Christian centres being implanted at the fringes of a settlement. For instance, at Pisidian Antioch, the episcopal church, constructed in the 2nd half of the 4th century, was located in the western periphery⁴⁸. However, in the provinces

⁴⁶ H. Torp, *La technique des mosaïques de la Rotonde de Thessalonique*, paper delivered at the *Production and Prosperity conference*, Leuven, 2010; I. Jacobs, *Introduction*, in I. Jacobs (dir.) *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian period*, Leuven, pp. 1-24, on p. 22.

⁴⁷ Bejor, *Vie Colonnate*, p. 101, fig. 89 p. 100. On the elaboration of the palace entrance, see H. Torp, *L'entrée septentrionale du palais impérial de Thessalonique: l'arc de triomphe et le vestibulum d'après les fouilles d'Ejnar Dyggve en 1939*, in *AnTard*, 11, 2003, 239-272.

⁴⁸ S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments*, Swansea, 1998, pp. 210-218. See J.-P. Sodini, *Les groupes épiscopaux de Turquie (à l'exception de la Cilicie)*, in *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne Lyon 1986*, Rome, 1989, pp. 405-427, esp. pp. 415-416 for the difficulties in identifying the Episcopal basilica in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Basilica at Antioch especially seems to parallel the development in the West, where it is assumed that 40% of the churches in that period were located near a city wall (G. Cantino Wataghin, *Christian topography in the late antique town*, in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (dir.) *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, Leiden-Boston,

of the East, there are also many examples of basilicas appearing alongside major colonnaded streets. At Stobi, capital of the province *Macedonia Salutaris*, the episcopal basilica was built next to the main street as early as the 1st half or around the middle of the 4th century⁴⁹. Seven different churches were constructed in the city of Philippi in Macedonia between the mid-4th and the late 6th century A.D. Among them were three substantial church complexes located at the centre of the settlement. Two of them, the mid-4th century cathedral church dedicated to the Apostle Paul and the so-called Basilica A of late 5th-century date, were both located in the immediate surroundings of the old forum and accessible directly from the main thoroughfare, the Via Egnatia, which passed through the city centre⁵⁰. The so-called “Cathédrale de l’est” at Apamea-on-the-Orontes, was inserted inside a philosophical school alongside the southern *decumanus* of the city by the end of the 4th century (fig. 6)⁵¹. Ca. 420, the Atrium Church was built along the city’s *cardo*. The three access doors in the back wall of the street’s colonnaded walkway were remnants of an older arrangement that had not changed with the installation of the church. The building’s authority came foremost from its prominent location⁵². The same was true for the cathedral of Gerasa that was constructed on the site of a derelict temple above and

2003, pp. 224-256, on p. 230). Nevertheless, Cantino Wataghin contests the existence of rules for the position of the episcopal basilica in the western half of the Empire.

⁴⁹ Wiseman, *Stobi*, pp. 397-407.

⁵⁰ Brenk, *Christianisierung*, p. 9.

⁵¹ J.-Ch. Balty, *Nouvelles mosaïques du IV^e siècle sous la ‘Cathédrale de l’Est’*, in J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (dir.) *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des Recherches Archéologiques*, Brussels, 1972, pp. 163-185 and J.-Ch. Balty, *Le groupe épiscopale d’Apamée, dit ‘Cathédrale de l’Est’. Premières recherches* in J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (dir.) *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des Recherches Archéologiques*, Brussels, 1972, pp. 187-208; Balty, *Guide*, pp. 105-115.

⁵² J. Napoleone-Lemaire and J.-Ch. Balty, *L’église à atrium de la grande colonnade*, Brussels, 1969, pp. 13-15 ; Balty, *Guide*, pp. 138-145.

to the west of the city's *cardo*, alongside the old Artemision already in the 1st half of the 5th century (fig. 7)⁵³. The cathedral rose above the main street and would have been visible from afar. In the 2nd half of the 5th century, such churches with a central location proliferated even further: the East Basilica at Xanthos in Lycia was inserted alongside the colonnaded street connecting the Upper and Lower Agora of the town⁵⁴; the cathedral of Hierapolis in the province of Phrygia was added alongside the northern section of the *plateia* (fig. 8)⁵⁵; and so on⁵⁶. Just how much a position alongside the old main streets of the city was valued is perhaps made most clear when highlighting the position of urban churches in fully developed Christian cities of the 6th century, see figures 6 to 9 for Apamea, Gerasa, Hierapolis and Zenobia⁵⁷.

⁵³ J. Crowfoot, *The Christian churches*, in C. H. Kraeling (dir.) *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, New Haven, pp. 171-262 on pp. 201-225; B. Brenk, C. Jäggi and H.-R. Meier, *The buildings under the cathedral of Gerasa: The second interim report of the Jarasch Cathedral Project*, in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 39, 1995, pp. 211-220; Brenk, *Christianisierung*, pp. 10-17; B. Brenk, C. Jäggi and H.-R. Meier, *Neue Forschungen zur Baugeschichte der Kathedrale von Gerasa / Jerash (Jordanien)*, in R. Harreither et al. (dir.) *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel*, Vienna, 2006, pp. 261-266, on pp. 262-264; C. March, *Your Voice Echoes Through. Gerasa of Jordan and the End of the Classical City*, Santa Clara, 2009, p. 252, re-dates the cathedral's construction to the third quarter of the 4th century. Since the new church was pressed into a space where a much smaller temple had once been located, this prompted the rebuilding of the old staircase with a sharper gradient. This was an effect which did not improve the articulation of the church (Brenk, *Christianisierung*, p. 46).

⁵⁴ J. des Courtils, *Guide de Xanthos et du Létôon*, Istanbul, 2003, pp. 90-95.

⁵⁵ G. Ciotta and P. Quaglino, *La cattedrale di Hierapolis*, in D. De Bernardi Ferrero (dir.) *Saggi in Onore di Paolo Verzone*, Rome, 2002, pp. 179-201; P. Arthur, *Hierapolis. An Archaeological Guide*, Istanbul, 2006, pp. 138-141.

⁵⁶ See Jacobs, *Maintenance*, pp. 313-322 for further examples.

⁵⁷ These maps also demonstrate that new churches did not often encroach on the sidewalks or pavements of these colonnaded streets. In addition, in contrast to what is often claimed, they rarely took on a divergent

Not only was the possibility of approaching major monuments from the colonnaded street a design element that had long been in existence, also the manner in which church complexes were physically connected to the road network was a continuation of past practice. Some churches, such as the Atrium Church at Apamea or the cathedral at Stobi, could be entered from the street through simple door openings in the colonnade back wall. The entrance to the cathedral at Gerasa was signalled by a slightly wider intercolumniation and a monumental staircase. Monumental staircases were present behind the seemingly uninterrupted colonnades of the *cardo* at Jerusalem and Xanthos as well; a smaller staircase and semi-circular portal guided visitors to Basilica A at Philippi⁵⁸. Only in a few cases were the colonnades truly interrupted by a church entrance, as, for instance, was the case with the cathedral at Apamea. In its second phase, datable to A.D. 526 or 528, the complex was accessed through a monumental portico, Portico A, consisting of two intermediate pillars and three arcades. This was preceded by a second external portico with five pillars, built into the colonnade of the street. In its turn, it opened onto a platform that was placed on top of the road of the *decumanus*, hindering the flow of traffic⁵⁹. Such an adjustment of an existing traffic axis made the presence of the cathedral far more manifest than was generally the case. Moreover, just to the northwest of the cathedral a *tetrakionion* marked

orientation from the street network in general, even when they were constructed on top of agorae or other open urban spaces.

⁵⁸ Brenk, *Christianisierung*, p. 9. For entrances shaped in sigma-shape, see W. Müller-Wiener, "Das 'Sigma'-Eine spätantike Bauform, in *Armağan – Festschrift E. Akurgal =Anadolu-Anatolia*, 21, 1987, pp. 121-129.

⁵⁹ J.-Ch. Balty, *Le groupe épiscopale d'Apamée, dit 'Cathédrale de l'Est' . Premières recherches*, in J. Balty and J.-Ch. Balty (dir.) *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques*, Brussels, 1972, 187-208, esp. p. 187, 198, 202-204.

the crossroad of the South Decumanus with a smaller *cardo*⁶⁰. This tetrastyle monument may very well have been connected to the first phase of the church, when the complex was probably accessed over the otherwise unobtrusive secondary *cardo* and a western courtyard. The location and function of the *tetrakionion* in relation to the church complex was again based on Roman examples, such as the tetrapylon of Aphrodisias that had once signaled the entrance to the local Temple of Aphrodite, the tetrapylon at the end of the colonnaded street at Rhodes⁶¹, or the *quadrifrons* leading to the Rotunda at Thessaloniki discussed above.

Churches as motivation for street construction and renovation

Of course, as already mentioned, not all churches were positioned in the city centre or along a major traffic axis. For neighbourhood churches or funerary churches serving the local community, this was not necessary, but ecclesiastical buildings intended to fulfil a central role for the community as well as sanctuaries that in time acquired an exceptional status and started to draw pilgrims from nearby and further away were in need of an appropriate approach to deal with larger streams of traffic⁶². The main prerequisites would have been a direct connection of sufficient width between the church and a city gate or

⁶⁰ J.-Ch. Balty, *Tetrakionia de l'époque de Justinien sur la Grande Colonnade d'Apamée*, in *Syria*, 77, 2000, pp. 227-237, on p. 235.

⁶¹ Jacobs, *Maintenance*, p. 211 for Aphrodisias. At Rhodes the monument was located at the end of a street, at the beginning of two transversal staircases, Gros, *L'architecture*, p. 89; Bejor, *Vie Colonnate*, p. 43.

⁶² For instance, Paulinus of Nola as governor of Campania (*consularis/proconsul Campaniae*) improved the approach to the church of St. Felix by (re)building and paving a road, possibly the one leaving from the city of Nola, between the years 380 and 382, probably in 381 (T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile / Nola*, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 142).

another point of arrival such as a harbour. Additional decorative interventions, including continuous colonnades, demonstrate the desire to further elevate the status of such approach routes.

At Rome itself, the growing importance of the connection between the traditional city centre and the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter was reflected in its physical appearance. The first intervention appears to have been the renovation of an existing colonnaded street, the *Via Tecta*, which in this period was referred to as the *Porticus Maximae* – the porticoes that flanked the street leading to the Pons Aelius from the centre of the city⁶³. The route became marked by two imperial arches, one dedicated by Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius, of which the dedication explicitly states that it was erected as conclusion to the whole construction of the *porticus Maximae*; the second by Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius⁶⁴. Although the link between these interventions and the site of St. Peter is not straightforward – and as such would also not have been considered offensive by the traditional elite of Rome – it is highly plausible. It is also corroborated by the fact that from the 5th century onwards emperors coming to Rome always travelled to the Vatican over this route⁶⁵. Paolo Liverani has demonstrated that their journey, which took the shape of an imperial *adventus* with triumphal hallmarks, started at the Campus Martius, after which the emperors made their way through the city over the colonnaded streets, crossed the Tiber and headed west. This route was monumentalised further during the reign of Theodoric,

⁶³ “Via Tecta” in *LTUR*, V, pp. 145-146 (J. R. Patterson) and “Porticus Maximae” in *LTUR*, IV, p. 130 (F. Coarelli); Liverani, *Victors*, p. 86 with bibliography.

⁶⁴ Respectively “Arcus Gratiani, Valentiniani et Theodosii” in *LTUR*, I, pp. 95-96 (C. Lega) and “Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii” in *LTUR*: I, pp. 79-80 (C. Lega); Liverani, *Victors*, pp. 85-89 with bibliography.

⁶⁵ Liverani, *Victors*. *Adventus* may have occurred from the time of Constantine onwards, but certainly since the visit of Honorius to the city in A.D. 403-404.

when the section between the bridge over the Tiber and St. Peter was given colonnades.

The initiator this time can hypothetically be identified as pope Symmachus⁶⁶.

In the eastern half of the empire, when there was an urgent need for an assembly place for the A.D. 431 Church Council at Ephesus, the enormous deserted south portico of the city's Olympieion must have been an architectural godsend, as it was big enough to receive large numbers of delegates, but also because it was situated within the city centre and easily reachable⁶⁷. The only element lacking was a decent, direct connection between the recently renovated Arkadiane – the major access route into the city centre for travellers arriving in the harbour of Ephesus – and the new Church of Saint Mary. This was remedied by creating a colonnaded street within the western hall of the Hall of Verulanus, thus connecting the Arkadiane with the church entrance (fig. 10)⁶⁸. In the Justinianic period, the presence of this colonnaded street was accentuated further by the construction of the famous Four-Column Monument of Ephesus, a *tetrastylon* consisting of free-standing columns on individual stepped bases, carrying statues presumably of members of the imperial house (fig. 11)⁶⁹. A few years later, large-scale infrastructure works were being

⁶⁶ Liverani, *Victors*, p. 93.

⁶⁷ For instance, the original floor of the stoa was retained.

⁶⁸ J. Keil, *Ephesos: ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte*, Vienna, 1964, p. 76, 80; C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity. A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 60. This street has barely been researched.

⁶⁹ F. W. Deichmann, *Zur spätantiken Bauplastik von Ephesos*, in *Mansel'e armağan. Mélanges Mansel*, Ankara, 1974, pp. 549-570 on p. 569, dated the monument to the 2nd quarter of the 6th century, based on stylistic comparisons to other capitals. This date matches the Justinianic date given by R. Heberdey, V. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesus*, in *JÖAI*, 5 Beiblatt, 1902, pp. 55-66, on pp. 58-59, who based himself on the inscription. There is no reason to assume that the statues depicted the four evangelists, as suggested originally by W. Wilberg and R. Heberdey, *Der Viersäulenbau auf der Arkadianestraße*, in *FiE* 1, Vienna, 1906, pp. 132-142, no p. 139. Statuary with a Christian subject is very

carried out at Ravenna, which had been made imperial capital in A.D. 402. A religious centre including the Archbishop's Palace was growing around the cathedral of Ursus, located at the western edge of the former *oppidum*. The centre of secular, imperial power was in the same period being installed in the eastern part of the city, outside the old city wall. In 2004, excavations uncovered a row of pilasters along the present Via Mariani that probably formed part of a *via porticata*⁷⁰. The situation had therefore changed drastically in comparison to that at Milan. The imperial court residing at Ravenna had assimilated Christianity as part of its ruling ideology, a combination that was manifested by the impressive linkage between the imperial and ecclesiastical centre. A century later, in Jerusalem on the other side of the empire, the emperor Justinian had the Nea Church constructed (fig. 3). This was a vast complex including a hospital and a library(?), squeezed onto the slopes of the Temple Mount and supported by a huge terrace⁷¹. The creation of this new Christian centre required the repaving of the southern part of the city's *cardo*. It was in all likelihood also the primary reason to provide it with new colonnades, a costly enterprise resulting in a serious upgrading of the street⁷².

rare and there is certainly no comparable set of life-sized statues of four Evangelists attested in archaeological or other sources.

⁷⁰ M. G. Maiolo, *San Michele in Africisco nella Ravenna del VI secolo*, in C. Spadoni and L. Kniffitz (dir.) *San Michele in Africiso e l'età giustiniana a Ravenna*, Milan, 2007, pp. 223-231, esp. p. 228 fig. 4, 229-230, fig. 6; E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*, Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2008, p. 69 for the street, pp. 71-72 for the centres of power; E. Cirelli, *Ravenna – Rise of a late antique capital*, in D. Sami and G. Speed (dir.) *Debating Urbanism Within and Beyond the Walls A.D. 300-700.*, Bristol, 2010, pp. 239-263, on pp. 244-245; D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, New York, 2010, pp. 85-86.

⁷¹ D. Chen, *Dating the Cardo Maximus in Jerusalem*, in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 114, 1982, pp. 43-45; Tsafir, *Jerusalem*, p. 142; H. Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 219-221 with further references.

⁷² N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1980, pp. 213-229.

Although the previous examples all represent highly important cities that were likely to have stirred the interests of the highest levels of society – Ravenna being the new imperial capital in the West, Rome the old imperial core of the Roman world and an up-and-coming pilgrimage destination, and Ephesus an important pilgrimage centre in western Asia Minor – parallel events also took place in less noteworthy settlements. For instance at Aizanoi, a smaller bishopric in Central-West Turkey, a secondary *cardo* was upgraded to a much more notable colonnaded street leading up to the freshly converted Zeus-temple around the year A.D. 400 (fig. 12)⁷³. Finally, modifications brought about by a growing Christianisation were sometimes less intrusive and therefore difficult to detect. “Street B” at Side undoubtedly gained more importance from the moment it gave access to the ecclesiastical complex, the date of which is not entirely certain⁷⁴. The (undated) introduction of pedestals in the western extremity of the street, as opposed to the Attic-

⁷³ H. C. Von Mosch, *Eine neue Replik des Satyrs mit der Querflöte und ihre Aufstellung in spätantike Kontext*, in AA, 1995, pp 741-753, esp. pp. 741-744; K. Rheidt, *Aizanoi. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1992 und 1993*, in AA, 1995, pp. 693-718, see pp. 699-715; M. Wörle, *Inschriften von der Hallengrabung in Aizanoi 1992*, in AA, 1995, pp. 719-727; K. Rheidt, *Archäologie und Spätantike in Anatolien. Methoden, Ergebnisse und Probleme der Ausgrabungen in Aizanoi*, in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin, (dir.) *Die Spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 229-247. P. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien. Stadt und Umland, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom Späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 74, 153-155, dates the temple conversion to mid-Byzantine times. Comparable temple conversions in the region, however, can be attributed to Late Antiquity, see Jacobs, *Maintenance*, pp. 294-295.

⁷⁴ The capitals of the church have been dated to the 2nd half of the 5th century, the plan of the chapel and the style of the monogram on its architraves have been assigned to the 2nd half of the 6th century (A. M. Mansel, *Side. 1947–1966 yılları kazılar ve araştırmaları sonuçları*, Ankara, 1978, p. 284; C. Foss, *The cities of Pamphylia in the Byzantine age*, in C. Foss (dir.) *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, Aldershot, pp. 1-62, p. 41; B. Ceylan, *Episkopeia in Asia Minor*, in L. Lavan, L. Özgenel and A. Sarantis (dir.) *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops*, Leiden / Boston, pp. 169-194, see p. 190).

Ionic bases more to the east, must have been intended to stress the entrance of the complex. Indeed, judging by the presence of a keystone with the relief of a *chrismon* inside a garland found in the portico (belonging to a disappeared gate), the influence of the sanctuary extended into the street space⁷⁵.

Christian churches and Christian colonnaded streets

As early as the late 4th and early 5th century smaller copies of colonnaded avenues were integrated within larger church complexes, whereas the architectural type of the colonnaded street was assimilated in its entirety within newly established ecclesiastical settlements of the 6th century. One of the earliest examples can be found in the sanctuary of Crispina at Theveste (Tebessa, fig. 13). Although the appearance of the road between the gate of the city and the sanctuary itself is unknown, the almost 8 m wide and 86 m long route through the complex – the so-called “Allee” – was flanked by columns along one side, with a covered walkway behind⁷⁶. Interestingly, the profiles of the stylobate were much more decorative and intricate than those found in secular colonnaded streets, suggesting a substantial outlay and, above all, a continuance of the will to invest even in the minor details of representational architecture⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Site observations.

⁷⁶ Christern, *Tebessa*, pp. 43-44, 225. The fame of the martyr Crispina spread far beyond the small town in which she died. Around A.D. 400, her burial site, located in a cemetery on the outskirts of the old Roman town, became the centre of a substantial pilgrimage complex measuring 190 by 190 m.

⁷⁷ Christern, *Tebessa*, p. 44, 49 fig. 13e. For stylobates in contemporary and earlier secular colonnaded streets, see Jacobs, *Maintenance*, p. 162.

At Cuicul, a more complete colonnaded avenue connected the entrance of the Christian quarter to the basilicas and the baptistery (fig. 14)⁷⁸. As at Theveste, the avenue was 8 m wide but only 25 m long and therefore substantially less impressive than the already existing streets of the town. The transition between the main street of the settlement and this avenue was over a wider colonnaded section with an apse-shaped gate at the back, leaving a passage of only 2, 75 m. Conversely, at Philippi (Macedonia), in the colonnaded avenue that was added in the course of the 6th century to provide access to the cathedral church (Basilica B), the transition between the secular street network and the ecclesiastical domain occurred at the rear of the avenue, whereas one could enter the avenue itself relatively freely by descending a few steps from the decumanus. As such, this *via porticata* can be considered a side branch of the city's street network⁷⁹. Finally, from the mid-5th century onwards, the main entrance into the (possible) episcopal complex of Stobi was through a covered colonnaded passageway⁸⁰.

On the one hand, these avenues can indeed be considered new additions to the existing urban armature of the settlement. Their appearance was comparable to that of older colonnaded streets and they shared the important function of guiding large numbers of visitors to a major public monument. On the other hand, at Cuicul and Stobi, gates or gate-like structures clearly signaled the transition from secular to sacred space, at Theveste, a gate as well as a full-fledged arch was present (cf. *infra*). The situation at Philippi is not so well known; maybe the avenue was closed off at the staircase near the decumanus itself, maybe the transition occurred at the end of the avenue. Moreover, as already mentioned,

⁷⁸ Christern, *Tebessa*, p. 137.

⁷⁹ Brenk, *Christianisierung*, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁰ The passage and its associated exedra replaced the earlier and more traditional courtyard of the complex. See F. P. Hemans, *Late Antique Residences at Stobi, Yugoslavia*, unpublished PhD diss. Boston University, 1986, pp. 60-62; Wiseman, *Stobi*, p. 427.

typical for such avenues and in complete contrast to the bulk of secular colonnaded streets, was that they did not possess shops behind their colonnades. As such, they have more in common with those few imperial colonnaded avenues constructed between the 240s and the early 4th century. The two main colonnaded streets of Philippopolis, the colonnaded streets that structured Diocletian's imperial palace at Split and the street connecting the Rotunda with the imperial palace at Thessaloniki all possessed porticoes but no shops⁸¹. It was not coincidental that they could all be identified as imperial projects ordered by, respectively, Philip the Arab, Diocletian and Galerius. They were above all intended to be representational, to accommodate processions and to form architectural scenery adequate for majestic display in general. Commercial interests were non-existent.

The situation is quite different in the large-scale pilgrimage centres of the early 6th century. Although the main reason for the existence of localities such as Abu Mina and Sergioupolis was Christian in nature, they possessed a large lay population as well and were in need of a more general urban armature⁸². Abu Mina, dedicated to Saint Menas, a Christian martyr who died under the persecutions of Diocletian in Cotyaeum in Phrygia, developed into a large pilgrimage centre at the end of the 5th and especially in the course

⁸¹ The three sites were described in Bejor, *Vie Colonnate*, pp. 98-102.

⁸² A similar arrangement was established at the sanctuary of Saint Simeon at Qal'at Sim'an in the late 5th or early 6th century. The connection between the village of Telanissos below and the ecclesiastical core at the top of the hill was formed by a wide road of ca. 800 m long. Although there were no colonnades present, the rows of standardized shops alongside the street and the triumphal arch spanning the road surface do repeat traditional urban elements in much the same way as at Sergioupolis and Abu Mina (cf. *infra*). See D. Pieri, *Saint-Syméon-Le-Stylite (Syrie du Nord): les bâtiments d'accueil et les boutiques à l'entrée du sanctuaire*, in CRAI, 2009, pp. 1393-1420 for recent research carried out along this street.

of the 6th century⁸³. Its ecclesiastical compound, consisting of the Church of the Martyr, the Great Basilica and a baptistery, surrounded by multiple courtyards and auxiliary structures, was separated by means of an enclosure wall from the ever growing lay quarters (fig. 15). An adequate urban armature to guide growing numbers of visitors through this settlement towards the centre of worship was indispensable. By the end of the 6th century, when the main street of the settlement was eventually completed⁸⁴, it was some 600 m long, flanked by columns positioned on top of high pedestals and some pillars⁸⁵. Behind the colonnades, shops and workshops could be found, as well as major buildings, the entrances of which was indicated by interruptions in the street colonnades in the form of wider intercolumniations, a greater column height or by cross-shaped pillars carrying arches, as was the case in older colonnaded streets⁸⁶. A similar configuration can be expected for the streets leading from the gates to the main churches at Sergiopolis, the site of the martyrdom of St. Sergios, an officer in the Roman army, and eventually a

⁸³ The site is located in the Libyan Desert, ca. 46 km to the southwest of Alexandria, not far from Lake Maryût/Mareotis (P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina 1. Die Gruftkirche und die Gruft*, Mainz, 1989; Grossmann, *Abu Mina*; P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden / Boston, 2002, pp. 210-214 and 401-412).

In the late 4th century, a first church was already constructed above the tomb or cenotaph of St. Menas.

⁸⁴ Additions and adornment started at the core of the settlement, in the ecclesiastical compound, but slowly spread out, especially in a northern direction.

⁸⁵ Grossmann, *Städtebauliches*, p. 128; Grossmann, *Abu Mina*, p. 459. On p. 127 Grossmann mentions other colonnaded streets in Egypt. An overview of archaeological remains of colonnaded streets in Egypt can also be found in J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 700*, New Haven / London.

⁸⁶ P. Grossmann, *Abû Mînâ. Eine der letzten Städtegründungen der Antike*, in E.-L. Schwander and K. Rheidt (dir.) *Stadt und Umland. Neue Ergebnisse der Archäologischen Bau-und Siedlungsforschung*, Mainz, 1999, pp. 287-293, on p. 289.

metropolitan bishopric⁸⁷. The rise of the settlement from bishopric to archbishopric late in the reign of Anastasius⁸⁸ and the developing pilgrimage led to drastic changes within the settlement, including the construction of its grandiose fortification system⁸⁹ and the lay-out of several streets, major stretches of which were colonnaded. Soundings carried out between 1997 and 1999 have clarified the general plan behind the lay-out of this early Byzantine pilgrimage centre and have shown that the amount of intermural space occupied here by churches and colonnaded streets is truly amazing (fig. 16)⁹⁰. With their width of 15 m (a paved road of 7 m wide flanked on both sides by 4 m wide colonnades) the streets were also remarkably impressive for their time. Consequently, reaching the settlement's churches – the most important being the Basilica of the Cross (Basilica A), which became the largest complex of the city and probably the seat of the episcopal power, and the Tetraconch Church ('Zentralbau') – was very straightforward⁹¹.

⁸⁷ Sergiupolis was a modest *castrum* of the eastern *limes* at least from the reign of Diocletian onwards. This *castrum* was located outside the walls of the Early Byzantine fortifications. By the early 5th century A.D., a first martyrion was constructed at the location of the later Basilica of the Cross. See Th. Ulbert, *Resafa-Sergiopolis: pilgrimage shrine and capital*, in H. Weiss (dir.) *Ebla to Damascus. Art and archeology of ancient Syria*, Washington, 1985, pp. 452-456; Fowden, *Plain*, pp. 67-92 for a summary of Sergiupolis' history; E. Zanini, *The urban ideal and urban planning in Byzantine new cities of the sixth century AD*, in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (dir.) *Theory and Practice in Late-Antique Archaeology*, Leiden / Boston, 2003, pp. 196-223, on pp. 206-207.

⁸⁸ Fowden, *Plain*, p. 65.

⁸⁹ The walls were in all likelihood already partially constructed during the reign of Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), even if Prokopios claimed that Justinian (A.D. 527-565) was responsible.

⁹⁰ Westphalen, *Resafa*. The same can be said about the upper town of Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad), where church and street architecture were integrated in a similar manner.

⁹¹ Westphalen, *Resafa*, pp. 787-788. The Basilica of the Cross has been extensively published in Th. Ulbert, *Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiopolis*, Mainz am Rhein, 1986. Karnapp, *Zentralbau*,

Christian colonnaded streets, arches and tetrapyla

The streets of Sergiupolis were, as mentioned, part of a much wider urbanistic programme that also incorporated the fortification walls, decorative monuments and the churches. The circuit wall of this settlement displayed an opulence unparalleled in contemporaneous, similar settlements such as Zenobia, which can only be explained by Sergiupolis' role as an important ecclesiastical centre⁹². The most impressive of the four main gates, the North Gate, was situated on the route of the caravan way coming from the Euphrates. It was the gate leading to the Tetraconch Church of Sergiupolis, and must have been part of the processional way to the Basilica of the Cross as well, so that it can be considered the main entrance for all pilgrims. The back wall of the forecourt was pierced by three passages, the central one being larger than those to the side, and all three of them flanked by Corinthian columns carrying a richly decorated arcuated entablature (fig. 17)⁹³. Its final appearance thus strongly resembled that of a triumphal arch. Visitors would see the Tetraconch Church appearing in front of them instantly upon arrival, as it was constructed in the line of sight of the gate.⁹⁴ The function of this church is not clear, but it is possible that it temporarily or maybe even permanently harboured the remains of St.

offers a shorter overview of the Tetraconch Church. See also Brands, *Martyrion*, for a revised dating of both structures.

⁹² For a description, see Karnapp, *Stadtmauer*, pp. 6-29; Jacobs, *Maintenance*, p. 77.

⁹³ Karnapp, *Stadtmauer*, pp. 37-46 for a complete description of the north gate. The decoration of this gate was neutral overall. The only blatantly Christian element was a cross between snake- or lion-heads with their mouths wide open on one of the Corinthian column capitals (Capital III).

⁹⁴ Karnapp, *Zentralbau*; Jacobs, *Maintenance*, p. 321 for the well-considered location of the building.

Sergios⁹⁵. The atrium of the church could be reached over a first colonnaded stretch (“Nordtorstraße”) and entered through two entrance portals in the form of a tetrapylon⁹⁶. However, the Tetraconch not only possessed an entrance from the west, it could be accessed from the north and south as well by means of three doors in its side walls. This rather unusual configuration is again connected to additional colonnaded streets, one coming from the north, another from the south (fig. 16). The first began just to the east of the North Gate, barely 20 meters away from the colonnaded street passing in front of the Tetraconch. The importance of this street was indicated by an arch with four passages, two spanning the road and two the colonnades to the left and right (fig. 18). The pillar in between the west colonnade and the road was fronted by a Corinthian column of which the capital carried the inscription *Victorious is the faith of the Christian*⁹⁷. The route in between the southern entrance of the Tetraconch and the Basilica of the Cross was again colonnaded and further decorated with another arch, also with four passages. It is likely that the roads spanned by these arches were part of the official processional route of Sergiopolis. In any case, the fortifications, the large colonnaded streets, the arches and at least one pillar monument marking individual street crossings and junctions, were all part of the settlement’s «Kulisse»⁹⁸, a large architectural scenery created first and foremost to impress visitors and thus express the glory of the Christian God and the power of the Church.

⁹⁵ Brands, *Martyrion*, 595.

⁹⁶ Karnapp, *Zentralbau*.

⁹⁷ Westphalen, *Resafa*, p. 790.

⁹⁸ F. A. Bauer, *Beatitudo Temporum. Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im Stadtbild des spätantiken Rom*, in F. A. Bauer and N. Zimmermann (dir.) *Epochenwandel: Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, Mainz, 2001, pp. 75-94, on p. 84.

Similarly, pilgrims to Abu Mina would enter the settlement through the North Gate, which was comprised of three arched passages, the central passage being larger than those to the side. As at Resafa, the resemblance with a traditional triumphal arch was strengthened by half columns flanking the central openings and pilasters alongside the side doors⁹⁹. The transition from the lay city quarters to the ecclesiastical centre was also stressed by an arch, whereas the eventual entrance to the central peristyle courtyard was through a *tribelon*¹⁰⁰. Arches and tetrapyla occurred at other ecclesiastical complexes as well¹⁰¹. The main gate of the sanctuary at Theveste, leading to the “Allee” discussed above, with its two sets of pedestals and freestanding columns in front of wall pilasters, an arched opening and (reconstructed) high attic storey, strongly resembled an Italo-Roman triumphal arch (fig. 13). In particular, it exhibited many similarities to the local tetrapylon standing at the crossing of the decumanus and the cardo of Theveste, which visitors to the sanctuary

⁹⁹ Grossmann, *Abu Mina*, 467.

¹⁰⁰ Grossmann, *Städtebauliches*, p. 128. In the last 50 meters the street became narrower and the columns disappeared so that a tunnel effect was created. Grossmann remarks that once one neared the centre, one became more impatient and would have been pushing forward, through this bottleneck, so that the entrance into the courtyard would have felt like a liberation in more ways than one (P. Grossmann, *Abû Mînâ*, in M. Krause (dir.) *Ägypten in Spätantik-Christlicher Zeit. Einführung in die Koptische Kultur*, Wiesbaden, pp. 269-293 on pp. 278-279; P. Grossmann, *The pilgrimage center of Abû Mînâ*, in D. Frankfurter (dir.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Leiden / Boston / Köln, pp. 281-302 on p. 287).

¹⁰¹ Such monuments occasionally appeared even when a colonnaded approach was lacking. As mentioned in note 78, this was the case at Qal’at Sim’an. See C. Strube, *A Cultural Landscape in the Byzantine Period*, in H. Weiss (dir.) *Ebla to Damascus. Art and archeology of ancient Syria*, Washington, pp. 443-451, for the fame of Symeon during his lifetime and after his death. In addition, this architectural rhetoric was spread to settlements of a much less remarkable nature as well. See Jacobs, *Holy goals*, for examples.

would have already passed on their way to the pilgrimage centre¹⁰². Through the combination of porticoes and a traditional arch, the avenue running through the sanctuary was thus an imitation of the grand entrances into civic centres from the Roman and also Late Roman period. So, even though this sanctuary was located at some distance from the town centre of Theveste, clearly distinguished from the old, secular core, it actually repeats standard architectural components of a traditional Roman town without much interpretation. Likewise, within older secular cores, the representational character of existing colonnaded approaches to important ecclesiastical centres would be augmented further by adding traditional decorative monuments. Precedents had been set at Milan, Thessaloniki and Rome already in the later 4th century. The presumably 5th-century *tetrakionion* at Apamea and the Justinianic Four-Column monument at Ephesus have also been mentioned above. Another interesting example can be found at the episcopal city quarter at Salona (fig. 19). The pivot of this ca. 30 000 m² large complex was a long vestibule, a remodelled secondary cardo, from which the two churches of the compound as well as its baptistery and other subsidiary buildings could be reached¹⁰³. In the course of the 6th century, the episcopal complex underwent multiple alterations, all of which were intended to make the complex more magnificent and more impressive than before.

¹⁰² Both of them possessed two pairs of columns to mark the passage and they had almost identical dimensions. The tetrapylon in the centre would eventually be transformed into a city entrance when the Early Byzantine walls were constructed shortly after A.D. 530 (Christern, *Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa*, pp. 20-23). From that moment onwards, this entrance to the city and the entrance to the ecclesiastical complex would have been almost identical.

¹⁰³ P. Chevalier and J. Mardešić, *La ville de Salone dans l'Antiquité tardive: déprise spatiale, mutations et renouveau de la parure monumentale*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 2006, pp. 55-68, on pp. 59-60; P. Chevalier and J. Mardešić, *Le groupe épiscopal de Salone aux VIe-VIIe siècles. Urbanisme et vie quotidienne*, in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 120, 2008, pp. 227-238; Jacobs, *Holy Goals*.

Amongst others, the entrance to the complex from the *decumanus maximus* was embellished with a porch- or arch-like structure, whereas archbishop Petrus IV, who held office from A.D. 554 to A.D. 562, constructed a tetrapylon on the *cardo* leading from the *decumanus* to the Porta Andetria.

The occurrence of arches and tetrapyla in these contexts is again part of a much longer tradition. I mentioned at the beginning of this article that colonnaded streets were typically supplemented by what William MacDonald has dubbed «passage architecture»: arches, tetrapyla, fountains and the like that were positioned at turns, crossroads or other important locations along a city's streets.¹⁰⁴ All were aesthetically pleasing additions to the urban framework, but, in addition, arches and tetrapyla were building types associated with respect, power and triumph. Roman arches had been constructed to honour a person or an event connected to the particular history of the city such as its foundation or the representation of its titular deities and protectors¹⁰⁵. They could refer to a military victory or the visit of an emperor. Individuals for whom an arch was erected included emperors or an imperial dynasty, generals, leading citizens or benefactors who had paid for a certain monument or part of the city's infrastructure. Tetrapyla as well were connected to ideas of power. W. Thiel even considered them typical imperial monuments, demonstrating supreme rule¹⁰⁶. Consequently, both *tetrapyla* and arches were very well suited to express the idea of Christianity as the triumphant religion – at Resafa this message was even put

¹⁰⁴ See note 36.

¹⁰⁵ M. Roehmer, *Der Bogen als Staatsmonument: zur Politischen Bedeutung der Römische Ehrenbögen des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.*, Munich, 1997.

¹⁰⁶ He connects them to the Tetrarchic period, which is not entirely correct as they were also constructed in other ages, albeit in smaller numbers (W. Thiel, *Tetrakonia. Überlegungen zu einem Denkmaltypus tetrarchischer Zeit im Osten des Römischen Reiches*, in *AnTard*, 10, 2002, pp. 299-326, esp. pp. 321-324). Segal, *Monument*, p. 140, by contrast, considered tetrapyla purely decorative monuments.

into words – besides being highly decorative and impressive monuments. They frequently turn up at the entrances of church complexes¹⁰⁷, whereas examples such as those just mentioned make it clear that arches and *tetrapyla* constructed by or at least benefiting the Christian Church occurred along full-fledged colonnaded streets as well.

Conclusion

In the previous pages, it has become clear that churches in the Roman East that were expected to draw large numbers of visitors were preferably located along an old or new colonnaded street. They comprised mainly episcopal complexes and pilgrimage churches, both of which needed easy access, as they were the end points of processions, the focus of festivals and fairs and, certainly in the case of episcopal complexes, came to fulfil a variety of functions for members of the congregation. The main reason to assimilate the architectural model of a colonnaded street was the – correct – supposition that a highly representational approach would exalt ecclesiastical activity within the church complex itself and, in the case of full-fledged colonnaded streets, would carry ecclesiastical influence beyond the church precinct. Colonnaded avenues inside church complexes were connected to the existing road network, but could also be closed off when necessary. Moreover, they differed from ordinary colonnaded streets in that they were intended first and foremost as a sort of architectural “stage setting”, with little attention given to social or

¹⁰⁷ For a full discussion of the transposition of large-scale elements of public architecture within church compounds, see Jacobs, *Holy goals*. In addition, C. Roux, *Sanctuaire et limites monumentales dans les églises en Occident: le rôle de l’arc triomphal de l’antiquité tardive au Moyen Age*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 15, 2009, pp. 257-270, offers a discussion of the so-called “triumphal arch” inside the church building, where the arch of the apse opens into the nave.

commercial functions. Conversely, “Christian” colonnaded streets in the city at large differed little or nothing from their predecessors. In both cases, tetrapyla and arches, monuments traditionally associated with triumph and power, were added to the whole lavish display of religious and, undeniably, also worldly power and riches.

Examples of the direct connection between churches and colonnaded streets appear as early as the 4th century, though mainly in highly conspicuous Christian sites (Jerusalem) and imperial (Milan, Thessaloniki, Rome) and provincial capitals (amongst others Stobi, Philippi, Apamea). This is unsurprising and we find a parallel in secular construction schemes, whereby smaller towns were disadvantaged. In contrast to metropolitan bishops, church leaders of smaller towns presumably did not yet possess sufficient power and money to acquire conspicuous locations in the urban fabric and make use of similar impressive approaches to their seat of power. However, around the turn of the century the converted Zeus Temple in the otherwise unremarkable town of Aizanoi could be reached over a newly established colonnaded street. No doubt much depended on the personality, the background, social network and convictions of the local bishop. Sadly enough, only very rarely do we have knowledge about the circumstances surrounding the interventions described above, including the identity of the initiators behind the construction, their social position, the size and composition of the local Christian community and so on. Most of our information again pertains to projects of the highest echelons of society, such as the foundations of Constantine and Justinian at Jerusalem, or those of Ambrose at Milan. In the case of Ambrose, we are fortunate enough to be able to partially reconstruct his life course and even his reasoning. It is quite clear that he understood the power of architecture and outward appearance. Even though there is much less information on the bishops responsible for the projects at cities such as Stobi or Philippi, we can safely assume that

bishops with a curial or senatorial background had much in common with the laymen of the educated upper class, including a tendency for ostentation.

At Rome, Ephesus and Ravenna the urban infrastructure was adjusted to link new ecclesiastical hotspots with other important urban localities, respectively in the later 4th, the 1st half of the 5th and the mid-5th century. Here and elsewhere, the number of churches alongside existing colonnaded streets rose. Since neither the choice of implantation nor the elaboration of the entrances of these new monuments differed from that of their secular or pagan predecessors, from a purely architectural point of view very little had changed since the High Empire. Colonnaded avenues furthermore made their appearance within church complexes from the start of the 5th century onwards (Theveste, Cuicul).

At the *Basilica Apostolorum* at Mediolanum, Saint Peter at Rome and the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, the prestige of the colonnaded approach had been augmented further by respectively one and two triumphal arches and a *quadrifrons*. Already around the year 400 an arch gave access to the central colonnaded avenue of the sanctuary at Theveste, whereas a tetrapylon could be associated with the episcopal complex of Apamea in the 5th century. Similar monuments also turned up at important church complexes elsewhere in the course of the 5th and especially the 6th century. The start of the 6th century was indeed characterised by a continuation of established trends and by a further embellishment of existing thoroughfares. Colonnaded streets that were completely subordinate to the Christian cause were integrated within larger pilgrimage sites (Resafa, Abu Mina). They came complete with arches and tetrapyla, whereas more of such monuments appeared along existing streets near church complexes (Ephesus, Salona), underscoring their dominance of urban space.

The initial situation had indeed been completely overhauled: whereas in the course of the 4th century the church was displaying its growing influence by piggybacking on secular investments in urban space, traditional secular architectural models came to subserve Christian design of space¹⁰⁸. The way that the connection between the ancient centre of Rome and the site of Saint Peter evolved throughout time confirms the supremacy of the Church in matters of urban design by the start of the 6th century. The route taken by the emperors in the 5th century was transformed when Theodoric came to the city in A.D. 500: he visited St. Peter's first and entered the city only afterwards, following the route described above but in the opposite direction, towards the centre of the city, where he continued with the more traditional elements of the imperial *adventus*. Pope Symmachus had this reversal materialized and confirmed by ordering the application of a fresco decoration with an image of the Saviour and a metrical inscription naming St. Peter as the doorkeeper of the entrance to the city on the *exterior face* of the *Porta Sancti Petri*¹⁰⁹. As such, the new world order was confirmed.

¹⁰⁸ Finally, although the mentioned examples are all closely related to pre-existing settlements, this architectural vocabulary was also included in more isolated Christian sanctuaries such as Alahan in Isauria, see G. Bakker, *The Buildings at Alahan* in M. Gough (ed.) *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, Toronto, pp. 75-194, see pp. 120-124; M. Gough, *Alahan Monastery and its Setting in the Isaurian Countryside* in M. Gough (ed.) *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey. Based on the Work of Michael Gough*, Toronto, pp. 3-18, on p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Liverani, *Victors*, p. 93. Unlike their Roman predecessors, Christian arches rarely carried an inscription, which can be explained by the fact that the particular reasons to erect these arches had been replaced by the overall idea of Christianity as the triumphant religion and God as the supreme ruler. This statement was probably very recognisable when wearied travellers arrived at the sanctuary gates.

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Figure Captions

Fig. 1 – Map of sites mentioned in the article

Fig. 2 – Simplified drawing of cities depicted on the Madaba mosaic (after P. Donceel-Voûte, *La carte de Madaba: cosmographie, anachronisme et propagande*, in *Revue biblique*, 1988, p. 527, fig. 3)

Fig. 3 – City plan of Jerusalem with indication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Nea Church (after N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1980, p. 227, fig. 275)

Fig. 4 – Reconstruction of the Basilica Apostolorum alongside the Via Romana at Mediolanum (after McLynn, *Ambrose*, p. 233, fig. 6)

Fig. 5 – The colonnaded connection between the Arch of Galerius and the Rotunda at Thessaloniki (after E. Meyer, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II*, Mainz am Rhein, 2002, p. 44 fig. 6)

Fig. 6 – City plan of Apamea (after C. Foss, *Syria in transition, AD 550-750: an archaeological approach*, *DOP*, 51, 1999, 189-269, fig. C)

Fig. 7 – City plan of Gerasa (after Brenk, *Christianisierung*, pl. 30)

Fig. 8 – City plan of Hierapolis (after F. D'Andria, *Hierapolis di Frigia (Pamukkale)*. *Guide Archeologica*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 44)

Fig. 9 – City plan of Zenobia (after J. Lauffray, *Halabiyya-Zenobia 2. L'Architecture Publique, Religieuse, Privée et Funéraire*, Paris, 1991, pl. 59)

Fig. 10 – Proposed course of the colonnaded street between the Church of Mary and the Arkadiane (detail of H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (dir.) *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*, Vienna, 1999, plan 8)

Fig. 11 – One of the columns of the Four-Column Monument of Ephesus (©I. Jacobs)

Fig. 12 – The late antique colonnaded street at Aizanoi

Fig. 13 – Theveste, photograph (courtesy of Lea Stirling)

Fig. 14 – City plan of Cuicul (© GoogleEarth)

Fig. 15 – Plan of Abu Mina with indication of secular architectural prototypes (after P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden / Boston, 2002, fig. 15)

Fig. 16 – City plan of Sergiupolis with all colonnaded street and churches highlighted (Westphalen, *Resafa*, Pl. 276)

Fig. 17 – North Gate of Sergiupolis (© I. Jacobs)

Fig. 18 – Reconstruction of Arch III on the colonnaded street of Sergiupolis between the North Gate and the Tetraconch Church (Westphalen, *Resafa*, pl. 279, fig. 6)

Fig. 19 – Plan of the episcopal complex at Salona (P. Chevalier and J. Mardešić, *La ville de Salone dans l'Antiquité tardive: déprise spatiale, mutations et renouveau de la parure monumentale*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 2006, p. 61, fig. 8).