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Mark J. Johnson
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THE ROMAN IMPERIAL MAUSOLEUM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

This book is the first comprehensive study of the mausolea of the later Roman emperors. Constructed between the years 244 and 450 and bridging the transition from paganism to Christianity within the empire, these important buildings shared a common design, that of the domed rotunda. Mark J. Johnson examines the symbolism and function of the mausolea, demonstrating for the first time that these monuments served as temples and shrines to the divinized emperors. Through an examination of literary sources and the archaeological record, he identifies which buildings were built as imperial tombs. Each building is examined to determine its place in the development of the type as well as for its unique features within the group. Recognizing the strong relationship between the mausolea built for pagan and Christian emperors, Johnson also analyzes their important differences.

Mark J. Johnson is professor of art history at Brigham Young University. A scholar of ancient and Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, he has published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Gesta*, *Byzantion*, and *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, among other journals.

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PREFACE

This book represents the substantial enlargement and extensive revision of my doctoral dissertation, “Late Antique Imperial Mausolea” (Princeton University, 1986). Leaving aside the reasons why it has taken so long for this book to be written, I would like to accentuate the positive. In the intervening years new discoveries at Gamzigrad and Šarkamen in Serbia not only have altered the picture but have allowed me to sharpen my focus on some aspects of the evolution of the late Roman imperial mausoleum. Numerous publications on these as well as monuments first covered in the dissertation have given me cause to rethink earlier conclusions or change them completely. In short, a total revision of the dissertation has been necessary. In the end this is, I think, a better and more useful book than what it would have been had it been published twenty years ago.

This study would not have been possible without the aid of many individuals and institutions, and it is now a pleasure to express my gratitude to them. My deepest thanks go to my dissertation advisor, Professor Slobodan Ćurčić. He has been not only a teacher and mentor but a good friend as well. His constant guidance, enthusiasm, and encouragement have been more than inspirational, and it is impossible to express adequately my debt to him. A deep debt of gratitude is also owed to my other principal dissertation reader, Professor Peter Brown, who graciously took on a student of “material things” and showed him the importance of the “history” part of “art history.” His advice, criticism, and encouragement are greatly appreciated. My secondary readers, Irving Lavin and the late David Coffin, also offered many valuable observations and criticisms that I have now been able to include in the work.

One of the unfortunate consequences of the passage of time is that several scholars who helped me at various stages are no longer with us. Among these are Ernst Kitzinger, Alfred Frazer, and Dr. Dragoslav Srejšević, who was most kind in supplying me with information about his important

discoveries at Gamzigrad. A person I miss greatly is Richard Krautheimer, whose kindness in taking the time for long discussions about my ideas on these buildings in his study at the top of the Spanish Steps in Rome rewarded me some of my most cherished memories from this long project.

Many others have discussed a variety of issues with me, read earlier drafts of this study, or helped in other ways. My thanks to professors Henry Maguire, Cyril Mango, Robert Ousterhout, R. R. R. Smith, Richard Brilliant, and Fikret Yegul, as well as Dr. Jürgen Rasch, Dr. Achim Arbeiter, Dr. Miloje Vasić, Dr. Javier Arce, Dr. Theodor Hauschild, Arch. Piero Meogrossi, Dottoressa Giuseppina Sartorio, Dr. Chrysanti Tsioumi, Ephor, Dr. Kalliope Theocharidou of the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Thessaloniki, and Don Giovanni Gola of the Church of San Vittore in Milano. My research was conducted primarily at the fine libraries at Princeton University, the American Academy, the Bibliotheca Hertziana, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome, as well as at the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan, and at Brigham Young University. I wish to thank these institutions and their staffs.

My work would not have been possible without substantial financial assistance. University fellowships, and, in my last year, a Mrs. Giles Whiting Fellowship in the Humanities supported my graduate work at Princeton. The subject of this study necessitated extensive travel and numerous photographs. These expenses have been met in large part by a Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellowship for travel and grants from the Spears Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology and the Committee for Late Antique Studies at Princeton, and by grants from the College of Fine Arts and Communications and the Department of Visual Arts at Brigham Young University. The generosity and support of these institutions are greatly appreciated. I wish to thank the editors and staff of Cambridge University Press for taking on this project and for their excellent work in seeing it to completion. I am very grateful for a grant from the Publications Fund, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, that helped make this possible.

This book is dedicated to my family – my parents, Joe and Esther, my children, Andrew, Tiffany, Alexandra, and Brandon, and, especially, my wife, Mariolina. Their love and support has been and remains the greatest source of joy and satisfaction in my life.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA*: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AA: Auctores Antiquissimi
AbhGött: Abhandlungen von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse
AbhMünch: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen
ActaAArtHist: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*
ACW: Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten et al. (Westminster, MD, 1946–)
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPb: *American Journal of Philology*
AnalBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana*
ANRW: H. Temporini, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin, 1972–)
AnTard: *Antiquité Tardive*
AntCl: *L'Antiquité classique*
AntW: *Antike Welt*
AOL: Archives de l'Orient Chrétien
ArchCl: *Archeologia classica*
ArchDelt: *Archaiologikon Deltion*
ArchEspArq: *Archivo español de arqueología*
ArchJug: *Archeologia jugoslavica*
ArchNews: *Archaeological News*
ArtB: *Art Bulletin*
ArtLomb: *Arte lombarda*
ASRSP: *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*
AStLomb: *Archivio storico lombardo*
ArchStRom: *Archivio storico romano*
AttiAntCl: *Atti. Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica*
AttiCIACr: *Atti del __ congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana*
AttiIstr: *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*
BACrist: *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*

BalkSt: *Balkan Studies*
BAntFr: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA: *Bollettino d'arte*
BEFAR: Bibliothèque des écoles Français d'Athènes et de Rome
BerRGK: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*
BMon: *Bulletin monumental*
BollMC: *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*
BonnJbb: *Bonner Jahrbücher*
BSR: *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome*
BullComm: *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
BullDalm: *Bollettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*
BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History*
CabArch: *Cahiers archéologiques*
CChr: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Berlin, etc., 1967–)
CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ: *Classical Journal*
Cod. Top.: *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, FStI, 4 vols. (Rome, 1940–53)
CollByz: Collection Byzantine (Paris, 1926–)
CollLatomus: Collection Latomus
CorsiRav: *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*
CPb: *Classical Philology*
CRAI: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*
CSCO: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain, 1953–)
CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)
CSHB: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, ed. B. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn, 1828–97)
CUAPS: The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies
DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS: Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT: Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EAA: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica ed orientale*
EpetByz: *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon spoudon*
EH: *Ergänzungsheft*
FCNT: The Fathers of the Church, a New Translation (Washington, D.C., 1947–)
FelRav: *Felix Ravenna*
FHG: K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (1841–1938; rpt. Frankfurt, 1975)
FStI: Fonti per la Storia d'Italia
GCS: Griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Berlin, 1897–)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xvii

GOTR: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
Helbig: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed., ed. H. Speier (Tübingen, 1963–72)
HTbR: *Harvard Theological Review*
ICUR: *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ed. G.B. De Rossi, Nova series (Rome, 1922–)
ILCV: *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl (Berlin, 1961)
ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau (Berlin, 1892–1916)
IstMitt: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAC: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JbZMusMainz: *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisch Zentralmuseum, Mainz*
JdI: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JECS: *Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JPKS: *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*
JRA: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS: *Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JThS: *Journal of Theological Studies*
JWalt: *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
Loeb: The Loeb Classical Library
MEFRA: *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité*
MélRome: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*
MemLinc: *Memorie. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
MemPontAcc: *Memorie. Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*
MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, etc., 1826–)
MM: *Madridener Mitteilungen*
NAkG: *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NBACrist: *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana*
NS: Nuova edizione, ed. G. Carducci et al. (Città del Castello and Bologna, 1900–)
NSc: *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
NumAntCl: *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi*
ÖJb: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
ÖJbBeibl: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Beiblatt*
OpRom: *Opuscula romana*
OWAN: *Old World Archaeology Newsletter*
PG: *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857–1903)
PL: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1900)
PO: *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1903–)
PP: *Parola del Passato*
ProcBritAc: *Proceedings of the British Academy*
QuadIstTopA: *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica*

RA: *Revue archéologique*
RAC: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RACrist: *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*
RE: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA: *Revue des études anciennes*
REByz: *Revue des études byzantines*
REG: *Revue des études grecques*
RendIstLomb: *Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere*
RendLinc: *Atti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*
RendPontAcc: *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*
RbM: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RHR: *Revue de l’histoire des religions*
RIS: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1723–70)
RivIstArch: *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*
RM: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilungen*
RÖ: *Römisches Österreich*
RömQSch: *Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*
RSBN: *Rivista di studi bizantini e neo-ellenici*
SBMünch: *Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
SC: *Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1941–)
SeLib: A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
SRL: *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*
SRM: *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
SS: *Scriptores*
ST: *Studi e Testi*
StM: *Studi medievali*
SubHag: *Subsidia Hagiographica, Société des Bollandistes*
SymOslo: *Symbolae osloenses*
TAPA: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPS: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
Teubner: *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig)
TravMém: *Travaux et mémoires. Centre de Recherches d’Histoire et Civilisation Byzantine, Paris*
TTH: *Translated Texts for Historians* (Liverpool)
TU: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1882–)
ŽivaAnt: *Živa antika. Antiquité vivante*
ZKircheng: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*