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THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN MONUMENTAL PAINTING OF AUGSBURG AND SOUTH GERMANY AND THE ONLY KNOWN LATE ANTIQUE BISHOP (“VALENTINUS”) OF THIS REGION

(Taf. CXCII–CXCIV, Abb. 1–9)

Abstract

Lo scopo di questo studio è di rivalutare l’interpretazione proposta in precedenza di un edificio absidato sotto la cappella di San Gallo ad Augusta (Abb. 1) come parte di un presunto complesso di “chiesa doppia” (della seconda metà del IV o dell’inizio del V secolo d.C.), e di rivedere l’attuale interpretazione della pittura parietale rinvenuta nella navata centrale dell’edificio come illustrazione narrativa dei Vangeli, presentando una nuova lettura. Con l’aiuto di fotografie inedite (per esempio Abb. 2–3), di disegni in scala (per esempio Abb. 1: sinistra) e delle note di scavo degli anni 1958–1962 possono essere messi in discussione i resti ancora tangibili dell’edificio absidato, per quanto concerne la sua forma originale, la sua datazione e la sua funzione (sinagoga o edificio di rappresentanza o piuttosto la chiesa episcopale della città). Per quanto riguarda la superficie pittorica restante, di circa 16 m², grazie alla documentazione fotografica, effettuata prima del restauro improprio (cfr. Abb. 2–6), è possibile proporre un nuovo tentativo di ricostruzione e un’analisi iconografica dettagliata dell’immagine parietale, di grandi dimensioni, ma in parte molto frammentaria: forse si tratta (nella parte meglio conservata) solamente di una singola scena veterotestamentaria (secondo Genesi 39,2–4 [Abb. 3–4]). L’edificio absidato è stato distrutto e sostituito da un’altra struttura (Abb. 1: verde) verosimilmente nel primo terzo del V secolo, epoca in cui una fonte letteraria, la *Vita Severini* § 41.1, menziona per la prima volta un vescovo (“*Valentinus*”) per questa città e regione (Abb. 9). Tale fonte è spesso stata tralasciata nella letteratura specifica locale. I risultati di questo studio serviranno (insieme ad una consistente documentazione archivistica, scoperta recentemente) come punto di partenza per ulteriori ricerche sull’insieme del complesso nell’ambito della tesi di dottorato di ricerca preparata da D. MOHR.

The results of my research regarding a late antique monument at Augsburg which was excavated from 1958 to 1962 in the area of the chapel of Saint Gallus (dating from the 11th respectively the 16th century [Abb. 1: the building with the dark-blue frame]) and which so far has been published only very inadequately¹, can be summarized as follows:

In the 2nd half of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century AD a *transept-basilica* with three naves was built in the northeast corner of the capital of the Roman province *Raetia II* (Abb. 9)². This basilica, which

¹ Cf. Korol 1991, 51 with notes 4 f.; Erbertseder 1992, 31–33; Dassmann 2001, 700. 712 f. 716; Hausmann – Röble 2006, 2–12. – My research as well as the previous ones were kindly promoted by the „Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft“ (cf. <http://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/OCTOPUS/?jsessionid=8A320EAEC320A3EFA81EC7FBFA6ECE4B?module=gepris&task=showDetail&context=projekt&id=89864114&selectedSubTab=2>). I would like to thank J. WEGENER and C. CROCI for their critical examination of the English text respectively the Italian summary.

² There are several factors indicating that the basilica at Augsburg was built during this period: the find of three coins dating to the middle or the 2nd half of the 4th century AD (which were found in 1960 on the “Terrazzo”-floor of the central nave of the building [two of them, at least, unequivocally under the layer with the fragments of the wall-paintings of the edifice; this is according to a list of finds from 9-30-1960 in the unpublished excavation diary of the second excavator A. RADNÓTI]; cf. Radnóti 1963, 31; Radnóti-Alföldi 1978, 50 fig. 4. 16: „Bronzestücke des Constantius II. [337–361], des Jovian [363–364] und des Gratian [367–375–383]”), as well as the architectural form of the basilica (cf. notes 4–6). Furthermore, there is an essential find that has not been published so far: On 10-14-1960, a *denarius* of the Roman emperor Severus Alexander (228–231) was found in the loam of a “Heizkanal” dating to the 2nd/3rd century AD (according to the unpublished legend in the excavation plan Abb. 1; the

was at least 24 m long and including the transept about 27 m wide (Abb. 1: yellow), was maybe the ancient bishop church of the town³. Its typology (which has not been examined until present time) is roughly oriented towards Old Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome⁴ (in Central and Northern Europe, a comparable building only exists in Britain [at Silchester, possibly dating to the 4th century]⁵; moreover, some remotely related [mostly one-naved] church buildings of the 5th/6th century can be found in the Roman provinces *Raetia I*, *Noricum* and *Viennensis*⁶). The upper wall of the nave of the building at Augsburg was adorned by a "painting-cycle" which, however, contrary to the assumptions so far⁷, did not show several scenes from the New Testament: On those parts of the painting (circa 16 m²) uncovered in 1960 in the middle of the central nave, merely two areas of figural representations to the right of a relatively narrow zone with two gathered curtains and further hitherto indecipherable structures (Abb. 5–6)⁸ can be detected with the aid of unpublished photographs, showing the condition right after the excavation (e.g. Abb. 2). So far, I have only been able to make a new reconstruction⁹ of the area which is in a better state of preservation (Abb. 2–5). However, the three persons shown cannot be iconographically linked to any of the two scenes proposed in archaeological literature, namely the healing of a blind man through the hands of Christ and on the right side of the painting the encounter with the centurion at Capernaum (Abb. 5–6)¹⁰. Instead of the "haloed" Christ laying on his right hand, it is now possible to reconstruct a person, some sort of ruler whose gesture indicates that he is addressing someone; however, there is no halo. Furthermore, instead of a blind man with his hands bound, we can now reconstruct on the left side a small person dressed with a short tunic, holding a slightly curved stick in

location of the denarius is mentioned in a catalogue kept at the Roman Museum of Augsburg dealing with the different coins found at Saint Gallus). According to the excavation plan Abb. 1 (left), this heating channel leads under the "Terrazzo"-floor referred to, thus offering a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the basilica. Moreover, it is remarkable that seven finds of fragments of late North African ceramic and an oil lamp (with a menorah on its disc), have not yet been taken duly into account to chronologically classify key parts of the excavation terrain (cf. Bakker 1985, 60–62. 70–73 [catalogue no. 3. 12. 16. 23. 34. 42] and Korol 1991, 52 f. with the notes 12 f.). At least it is still possible to roughly allocate these pieces to certain sites of the excavation area, thus serving as proof of settlement activities in this part of the town around 400 AD. In addition, note also a bottom fragment of a late North African oil lamp (with carved christogram!) found in 2003 at a site which was excavated not far from Saint Gallus (Bakker 2004, 50).

³ So Weißhaar 1966, 16; Radnóti 1965, 17 and Radnóti-Alföldi 1978, 50–55, who are however speaking of a "double-basilica" (in connection with an excavated building under the nearby church of Saint Stephan [cf. also Hausmann – Rößle 2006, 4]), without being able to prove their mere hypothesis (so already Eismann 2004, 264 f.). – The few excavated remains of a "large" (?) building under the present cathedral of Augsburg are regarded as belonging to an early church; however, they can only quite generally be dated in the time between the 5th and 8th centuries (so Babucke *et al.* 2000, 112 f. fig. 57–59). In the treasury lists of the medieval cathedral from the 11th and the 12th century there is mentioned a *sella eburnea* respectively a *thronus episcopus eburneus*; whether this extraordinary bishop's throne dates already back to late antiquity or just to the early Middle Ages, remains currently uncertain (so Rettner 2012, 294). – According to unpublished excavation photographs and drawings in the Roman Museum of Augsburg, the basilica in the area of the chapel of Saint Gallus was partially adorned with columns (three fragments of different diameters were found in 1958, two in the northeastern part of the excavated zone; here is also the apse of the building which is orientated towards the east) and a white floor mosaic (only one fragment was found in the northern part of the edifice in the demolition debris).

⁴ Cf. Brandenburg 2004, 94; see furthermore: Stein 2006, 63 f.

⁵ Petts 2003, 57–60.

⁶ Sulser – Claussen 1978, 13 fig. 1; Pillinger 1999, 80–83 fig. 3 no. 5d. 11. 18; Glaser 1997, 120 fig. 46; Heijmans 2006, 338 f. 343 f. fig. 11.

⁷ Radnóti 1963, 31; Radnóti-Alföldi 1978, 58–61 fig. 16a pl. 26–27. – Additionally, the lower part of the apse was adorned with a wall painting, which only shows ornamental elements: "An zwei Stellen sind auf der weißen Freskounterlage breitgestellte Bündel von mehreren senkrechten verschiedenfarbigen Stäben im Abstand von 1,50 m erhalten" (Willburger 2004, 99 on account of an unpublished manuscript from 4-20-1958). According to excavation photographs and finds in the Roman Museum of Augsburg, there seems to have existed a wall painting with a red and beige-brown pattern of stripes in the northern aisle.

⁸ Regarding the possible meanings of the so-called Cortina-motif see: Eberlein 1982; Wieber-Scariot 2000, 97–112; Parani 2003, 179–184. – Some hitherto indecipherable structures existed in 1960 in the right part of the mural as well (perhaps remains from a figural representation [cf. Abb. 2]).

⁹ In putting together only the clearly fitting fragments of the painting in a kind of virtual puzzle, based on professional photos of the details of the reconstruction exhibited in the Roman Museum of Augsburg; however, this reconstruction from 1961 is not correct in many parts of the painting (see already Willburger 2004, 100 with note 705 and pl. 20, 2; cf. also Abb. 3–5 here in this study).

¹⁰ So already D. MOHR in his unpublished Master thesis ("Die Wandmalerei des spätantiken Apsidenbaus unter der Galluskapelle in Augsburg", Münster 2008) contrary to Radnóti 1963, 31 and Radnóti-Alföldi 1978, 60 f.

the right hand, whereas the left hand is angled in front of the torso. The soldier standing on the right side of the huge person is so close to him, that he can hardly be attributed to an independent scene (as claimed in the literature), particularly since the zone immediately to the right of that soldier merely shows a larger area, but not a single image detail (Abb. 2–3)¹¹.

Maybe one can rather interpret now all three persons in the picture at Augsburg as main characters of a scene from the Old Testament, which is comparable to a miniature from the so-called Cotton Genesis (folio 79^r [Abb. 7–8]) that presumably originated in Egypt at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century AD¹². The scene shows the small juvenile Joseph standing before a (huge) steward of the Pharaoh, Potiphar, who for his part is standing under a kind of architecture and is escorted by soldiers acting as bodyguards; to be more precise, it is the episode of the selling of the ex-shepherd Joseph through the Ishmaelites (according to Genesis 39:1), who are depicted on the left side of the miniature¹³. Joseph is wearing here, at least, a *short-sleeved* garb (Abb. 7)¹⁴ which is similar to the short tunic of the left person (with a kind of shepherd's staff in his right hand!)¹⁵ in the wall painting from Augsburg (Abb. 2–3); however, this painting does not show the Ishmaelites on the left side, leading to the conclusion that it might just refer to a scene shortly after the selling. In the Cotton Genesis the scene concerned already shows a different arrangement of the pictorial representation (folio 79^v; Genesis 39:2–4)¹⁶; but this famous manuscript “is not, itself, the archetypal cycle but rather an emended copy of an earlier set of Genesis illustrations”¹⁷, in which a scene similar to that at Augsburg may have been illustrated. Altogether, the new interpretation approach shows how little we know so far about the development of picture programs in late antique churches and which new surprising findings, leading away from traditional scholarly opinions, we will be facing in this field of research again and again¹⁸.

In any case, the monumental character of the Augsburg pictures rather recalls the images in some cycles of the 4th/5th–7th century AD (in Old Saint Peter's Basilica and San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome¹⁹ as well as in the church of Saint Demetrius at Thessaloniki²⁰) than those relatively small pictures in several cycles of the 5th–6th century AD, which are for the larger part badly preserved (in the *aula Feliciana* in Cimitile/Nola²¹, Santa

¹¹ The lance of the soldier is reconstructed without sure clues (cf. Abb. 2–6). Regarding the form of his helmet with the striking aigrette cf. for example Brenk 1975, 53. 165 f.

¹² Cf. Korol 1987, 56; Weitzmann – Kessler 1986, 30 f. 43.

¹³ *Ibid.* 107 f. fig. 383–384.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 107 is written on the other hand: “long-sleeved short tunic”; but in the following miniature Joseph is undoubtedly wearing a short-sleeved tunic (cf. *ibid.* fig. 388–389)! However, Joseph is always dressed with a long-sleeved garb in the medieval vestibule mosaics of San Marco in Venice (cf. *ibid.* fig. 385. 390 and here in this study Abb. 8), which represent copies of the Cotton Genesis or a sister manuscript (Korol 1987, 56 with note 123).

¹⁵ Joseph carries a similar staff in one of the pictures of the cycle in San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome (cf. Andaloro 2006, 100. 104). His brothers are also carrying such a shepherd's staff in three of the images of the Maximianus Cathedra in Ravenna (cf. Weitzmann – Kessler 1986, fig. 350. 356. 363).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 108 fig. 388–390.

¹⁷ So *ibid.* 42; for such an earlier set of Genesis illustrations from the Western part of the Roman Empire see for example Korol 1987, 176. According to new research it now seems possible that the so-called *disticha sancti Ambrosii de diversis rebus, quae in Basilica Ambrosiana scripta sunt* were indeed created by bishop Ambrose of Milan (cf. Gnlika 2009, 123–146). A few of these *tituli*, which maybe belong to a picture cycle from the end of the 4th century (cf. e.g. *ibid.* 124 with note 17; this ought to be reviewed in a separate study), are concerned with the biblical story of Joseph (PL Suppl. I [Paris 1958] 588).

¹⁸ Cf. to it: Wessel 1966, 618 f. 624 f; Böck 1995, 621–629; Jessop 1996, 31 f. 39–49; Lehmann 2004, 210–212; Korol 2004, 164 with the notes 101 f.

¹⁹ Cf. Andaloro 2006, 21. 32–34. 100. 106 f. Recently Spieser 2011, 106 writes: “Pour Saint-Pierre, une date possible, sinon probable, serait les années 360, ce qui rapprocherait de la date proposée ci-dessus du décor de l'abside. La datation des peintures de Saint-Paul ne fait pas davantage l'unanimité ... On peut admettre que le décor date de la fin du IV^e siècle quitte à avoir été partiellement restauré un demi-siècle plus tard”.

²⁰ Where the conserved part of a “miracle-cycle” of St. Demetrius is situated on the relatively low outer wall of the southern nave of the church (Bonnekoh 2011, 276–281). – The NT-cycle in the so-called red church in Peruštica (Pillinger *et al.* 1999, 53–57 fig. 107b) possibly also belongs to this group. Without knowing the measurements of the individual picture fields, however, I cannot decide it for certain.

²¹ Korol 2004, 153–164. 169 f. (English summary) fig. 13–17; pl. 9–12; color pl. 11–15. – The fragments of the NT-paintings in the baptistery at Stobi (from the late 4th century?) are also small scaled (Downing 1998, 260–263. 278 f. fig. 12–16. 19 f.).

Maria Maggiore in Rome²², a late antique church in Trani²³, the church in the so-called Tomb of St. Luke in Ephesus²⁴, the “Damokratia-Basilika” in Demetrias²⁵, San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna²⁶ and finally the “Hekatontapyliani” in Paros [6th century?]²⁷).

Moreover, it is astonishing that the edifice at Augsburg, which now can clearly be identified as a church due to its architectural form, apparently was (at least partly) demolished²⁸ already in late antiquity; possibly it was intended to be replaced by another structure (Abb. 1: green)²⁹. The question arises how such a new building program could be carried out in the only great outpost of Rome in South Germany right during the turmoil caused by the decline of the Western Roman Empire? However, if the most recent Roman inscription found at Augsburg can really be seen as a victory inscription³⁰, as new interpretations assume, this would hint that the last important Western Roman commander-in-chief Aetius had probably been at Augsburg or its surroundings around 430–431 AD, due to fights with the East Germanic tribe of the “Iuthungi”³¹. Resulting from this quite large-scale military action, the only important town in that region might have experienced a certain economic upswing.

In this context, it is particularly remarkable that for this period a bishop can be denominated, as well for Augsburg³², thus providing proof of a considerable ecclesiastical administration. This bishop is not included in the medieval bishop list of Augsburg which, however, generally does not mention a single bishop of this town for the late antique period³³. But, in my opinion, in the so-called *Vita Severini* (composed in the year 511³⁴) the bishop in question is mentioned in chapter 41.1 by the “decrepit” *presbyter* Lucillus, who was one of the most prominent monks in the community of Saint Severinus in the small town of *Favianis*³⁵. Here this “priest” conveys to Severinus that he has to celebrate the annual memory of the funeral of a bishop called Valentinus, on 7th January of the year 480 circa³⁶. In the text passage concerned, this bishop, who was once the spiritual leader of Lucillus, is being referred to as *episcopus quondam Raetiarum*. According to some scholars, the plural form used in Latin (*Raetiae*) indicates that the *two* late Roman provinces *Raetia prima* and *Raetia secunda* are meant in this case (Abb. 9)³⁷. However, an argument speaking against this interpretation is the appearance of the same phrase in two other chapters of the *Vita Severini* and that it has to be translated there quite likely in a different way:

1) According to chapter 3.3 many ships loaded with goods came from an area called *de partibus Raetiarum* to the town of *Favianis*, a site lying on the Danube in the Roman province of *Noricum Ripense*. In those days there was a hideous famine. The ships concerned had been frozen many days before in the thick

²² Andaloro 2006, 272. 278 f.

²³ Korol 1996, 206–213 with note 54, color pl. 2c–f; 3a–d. e–g.

²⁴ Pülz 2010, 104–115. 409 f. pl. 55–57.

²⁵ Marzloff 1995, 1024–1032 fig. 2; pl. 141–144.

²⁶ Iacco 2004, 51–62 pl. 3–4.

²⁷ Cf. Arbeiter – Korol 2006, 81 with note 183, pl. 16b; perhaps also in three further churches of the 5th–6th century AD: in the basilica Γ in Amphipolis (*ibid.* 82 with note 187, pl. 16c), the great church of Petra (*ibid.* 84 colour-fig. 4f) and the main church of ancient times in Rhodes (*ibid.* 86 “Addenda”).

²⁸ Perhaps the demolition was carried out due to static problems; a “retaining wall” (not shown in fig. 1) which was added to the apse (situated at a terrain ledge) in the northeast of the edifice could point at some flood damage caused by the nearby river Lech, as the first excavator L. OHLENROTH had already assumed in a newspaper report; Ohlenroth 1959 (similarly Weißhaar 1966, 16 f).

²⁹ According to the unpublished legend in the excavation plan Abb. 1, two walls (apparently belonging to this structure) are supposed to date to late antiquity. This ought to be reviewed in a separate study (cf. note 61).

³⁰ Scharf 1994; Stickler 2002, 189.

³¹ Cf. Kaiser 1998, 22 with note 11; Stickler 2002, 189 f. is sceptical of a contemporaneous rebellion of the provincial population.

³² So Wolff 1994, 7 f. and Heuberger 1932, 293–298.

³³ Dassmann 1993, 34.

³⁴ Noll 1963, 13 f.; Régerat 1991, 11.

³⁵ Regarding *Favianis* see also chapter 42.1; regarding Lucillus cf. also chapter 19.5, 44.5 and 45.2; Nüsslein 1999, 133 note 107; Régerat 1991, 133; Lotter 1976, 182 f.; Noll 1963, 133 note 19.5; Schuster 1946, 187 note 37.

³⁶ *I. e.* – according to chapter 41.1 – about “two” years before the death of Severinus (†482; cf. Noll 1963, 18).

³⁷ So Schuster 1946, 129. 188 note 41; Zinnhobler 1982, 19; Nüsslein 1999, 109; already against it: Heuberger 1932, 297 with note 26.

ice of the river *Aenus* (today it is called the river Inn)³⁸, until the ice suddenly melted “at God’s behest”. What can we now assume from the geographical indications in this text passage regarding to our question? The Inn has its origin at the “Maloja”-pass in the Swiss region “Engadine”, a zone which in antiquity was situated in the area of the late Roman province *Raetia prima* (Abb. 9)³⁹. After the “Reschen”-pass, however, it flows through the southern region of the former Roman province *Raetia secunda*. Finally, large parts of its course formed the border between the two late Roman provinces *Raetia secunda* and *Noricum ripense*⁴⁰, before the river emptied into the Danube. In addition, the Inn is not navigable until the area of the province *Raetia secunda*, more precisely from (approximately) the present site Telfs onwards; this site lies 30 km westward of *Veldidena* (that is the present village called Wilten, situated near Innsbruck; Abb. 9)⁴¹. Considering all of these aspects, the above mentioned phrase *de partibus Raetiarum* quite likely exclusively refers to the Roman province *Raetia secunda*.

2) In chapter 15.1 the town of *Quintanis* is mentioned, which was situated at the bank of the Danube in the eastern part of a Roman province (Abb. 9), explicitly denominated *secundarum Raetiarum*⁴².

The author of the *Vita Severini* thus used the plural *Raetiae* for the term of the late Roman province *Raetia secunda* in two cases, so that the plural form in the relevant text passage of chapter 41.1 (see above) could also be interpreted in this way⁴³.

The only conceivable episcopal seat in the region in question is *Augusta/Augsburg*, firstly because this town was in the 5th century the only safe and major *city* in the concerning province and, secondly, it also functioned as a provincial capital⁴⁴, whose bishop Valentinus particularly befits the designation as *Raetiarum episcopus*. In this context it is remarkable that the first known bishop of the neighboring province in the west, *i. e.* “Asinio” from *Curia/Chur* (Abb. 9), is being explicitly referred to as *episcopo ... primae Raetiae*⁴⁵ in a synodal letter from the year 451 (written in Milan).

It can only be some time that Valentinus was bishop of Augsburg, because according to the description in chapter 41.1 of the *Vita Severini* he spent his later years at an unnamed place. This first known bishop of Augsburg had probably just hold his office in the first third of the 5th century, as he supposedly died between about 430 and 479 at the latest⁴⁶. According to the same text in the *Vita Severini*, some time before his death, Valentinus had already lived in seclusion as a so-called „abbas“. Some new research indicates that in the 5th century this was a term referring to a person having the status of at least a kind of monk, but not yet unequivocally that of an abbot⁴⁷.

So far bishop Valentinus has *often* not been taken into account regarding the late-antique diocese of Augsburg⁴⁸ or he has been seen as a bishop of the small fortified Roman town *Batavis* (Abb. 9)⁴⁹, that is today the center of the Southern German town of Passau⁵⁰. The latter hypothesis is related to the fact that in 764 the Bavarian duke Tassilo the Third transferred the remains of a saint named Valentinus from his later burial place *Tridentum/Trient* to Passau; this so-called *confessor* was at least in the beginning of the 8th cen-

³⁸ Heuberger 1932, 297 note 28 supposes that these ships came from the headwaters of the Danube (?). Régerat 1991, 182 f. note 5 writes, however: “ce passage est le seul témoin de la navigation sur l’Inn”; similarly Nüsslein 1999, 129 note 41 and Noll 1963, 122 note 3.3.

³⁹ Heuberger 1932, 85.

⁴⁰ Heitmeier 2005, 148–151 with note 68.

⁴¹ Heitmeier 2005, 29 note 2; 75 note 96.

⁴² Régerat 1991, 220 note 1.

⁴³ Similarly Régerat 1991, 278 note 1 and Noll 1963, 141 note 41.1.

⁴⁴ Cf. Heuberger 1932, 100–104. 320; Dassmann 2001, 694 f.

⁴⁵ Heuberger 1932, 132 note 108. 176 f.; Heitmeier 2005, 186 f. with note 156.

⁴⁶ So Wolff 1994, 8; cf. also Heuberger 1932, 293.

⁴⁷ So Wolff 1994, 7 note 9 and Régerat 1991, 276 f. note 1; cf. also Lotter 1976, 182.

⁴⁸ For instance: Noll 1963, 141 note 41.1; Régerat 1991, 279 note 1; Waldherr 1997, 1084.

⁴⁹ Dassmann 1993, 35; cf. also Régerat 1991, 278 note 1.

⁵⁰ Boshof *et al.* 1999, 53–60 fig. 21. 43 (cf. *Eugippius, vita Severini* 19.1). Regarding the excavation of a small presumably 6th century church in the Roman fortification of *Boiotro* (it is today the quarter of Passau „Innstadt“; cf. Boshof *et al.* 1999, 55 f. fig. 32), situated on the opposite bank of the Inn, cf. recently Ristow 2010. According to the *Vita Severini* 22.1 already in the 5th century Saint Severin has built a church with accompanying monastic cells in the small fort *Boiotro*.

tury buried in the *castrum Maiense* (near the present town of Meran; Abb. 9) in a church dedicated to him⁵¹. This Valentinus is, however, neither denominated a “bishop” nor an “abbas”⁵².

Conversely, of the above mentioned bishop Valentinus from the Roman province *Raetiarum* is not being referred to as a confessor in the *Vita Severini* (41.1), and it also does not mention that a church building was dedicated to him. He is addressed there by Severin only as a blessed (*beatus*) man.

Anyway, in late antiquity *Batavis* is not attested as a bishop’s seat, especially not by the substantial source: the *Vita Severini*⁵³. In addition, the name Valentinus is quite common in late antiquity and in the early Middle Ages⁵⁴, so that there are no compelling reasons to support the hypothesis that *Batavis* or another place in the *Raetia II* was the bishop’s seat⁵⁵ of *sancti Valentini, Raetiarum ... episcopi*⁵⁶.

Several of the above mentioned historical elements can suggest that building a new structure on the terrain of the possible bishop-basilica in Augsburg (Abb. 1: green) presumably started still in the first third of the 5th century⁵⁷, even if the military, administrative and jurisdictional presence of the Western Roman Empire still lasted approximately up to the eighties of the 5th century (if only more or less effective)⁵⁸. Due to the unsatisfactory documentation of the excavation, it is unclear at present whether this new structure has ever been completed; so far, at least merely the northern part of the former church provides evidence of a possible post-antique utilization and rebuilding phases (e.g. a relatively small apse [cf. Abb. 1: red])⁵⁹.

These new research results⁶⁰ are supposed to serve as a basis for more profound examinations of the entire building complex in the context of a thesis⁶¹; among other things, these examinations can be based on very extensive archive material which had been rediscovered only recently. So my short publication can be only a preliminary report of all these new researches.

⁵¹ Cf. Wolff 1994, 8 note 11; Dassmann 1993, 35. 40 f.; Heuberger 1932, 215–219 (with indication of the source). 295. Boshof *et al.* 1999, 64. 396 writes: „die Gleichsetzung des ursprünglich in Mais bei Meran bestatteten heiligen Bekenner Valentin mit einem in Passau erfolglos wirkenden Bischof dieses Namens, für den der *Raetiarum episcopus* wohl das Vorbild abgab, erfolgte erst in einer hochmittelalterlichen Vitenkompilation und ist reine Phantasie eines Domgeistlichen”.

⁵² So Heuberger 1932, 295 f.

⁵³ So Heuberger 1932, 296 and Régerat 1991, 278 f. note 1.

⁵⁴ So Wolff 1994, 8 note 11, Heuberger 1932, 295. 297. 375 s. v. Valentinus.

⁵⁵ So Heuberger 1932, 298 notes 33 f. (with indication that no other place in the *Raetia II* is attested as a bishop’s seat; cf. also Boshof *et al.* 1999, 63). After Waldherr 1997, 1084 „dürfte *Raetiarum episcopus* einfach als Bischof in Rätien zu übersetzen sein. Unser Wissensstand lässt es nicht zu, V[alentinus] einen festen Sprengel zuzuweisen, es ist nicht einmal abzusichern, ob er überhaupt Bischof einer *civitas* war“ (already against it: Heuberger 1932, 296 f. with notes 19 and 25).

⁵⁶ In the *Vita Severini* 25.1, 30.2 and 46.2 the bishop of *Teurnia* (Paulinus [cf. Régerat 1991, 108]), the bishop of *Lauriacum*/Lorch (Constantius [cf. *ibid.* 256 note 2]) and the bishop of Naples (Victor) are called likewise *sanctus episcopus* (respectively *sanctus pontifex*). Regarding the term *sanctus* (during the 5th century) in the sense of “saintly” cf. Heuberger 1932, 294 with note 7, and generally Arbeiter – Korol 2006, 73.

⁵⁷ The most recent one (a bronze coin of the Roman emperor Gratian [367–375–383 AD; cf. note 2]) of the coins, found on the floor of the central nave of the basilica respectively under the layer of mural-fragments, offers the *terminus post quem* for the demolition of the church as well as the building of the new edifice.

⁵⁸ Kaiser 1998, 24; Stickler 2002, 190; Rettner 2012, 277 f.

⁵⁹ The former head of the Bavarian state office for the preservation of historical monuments interprets these rebuilding phases as „vorkarolingische Aus- und Umbauten“ (Schwarz 1961, 68).

⁶⁰ A similar lecture (“The only known late antique bishop of Southern Germany and his exceptional episcopal church”) was held by the author at the international conference in Lausanne (October 17th–18th, 2011): “Identité et mémoire: L’évêque, l’image et la mort”. – I would like to warmly thank for their extraordinary assistance: M. HERMANN and S. GAIKHOS (municipal office for the preservation of historical monuments, Augsburg) and L. BAKKER and M. HAHN (Roman Museum of Augsburg).

⁶¹ D. MOHR is writing this thesis („Der Gebäudekomplex unter der Galluskapelle in Augsburg. Auswertung der Ausgrabungsunterlagen“). – In this study it is necessary, for instance (cf. also note 29), to clarify – with the aid of the excavation material – the question whether this church had a narthex (as for instance Erbertseder 1992, 32) or not; moreover, the exact position of the southern stylobate needs to be determined (cf. Abb. 1).

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Abbildungen

Abb. 1: Augsburg. Excavation plan (1961 [Courtesy archive of the municipal office for the preservation of historical monuments, Augsburg]) and reconstruction of the entire building complex (1962 [according to Alföldi-Radnóti 1978, 51 fig. 16]) of the late antique church under Saint Gallus (with additions made by the author)

Abb. 2: Augsburg. Mural from the upper north-west wall of the nave of the late antique church (photo of the condition shortly after the excavation [Courtesy archive of the municipal office for the preservation of historical monuments, Augsburg])

Abb. 3: Augsburg. Figural scene of the wall painting from the late antique church (photo of the condition shortly after the excavation [Courtesy archive of the municipal office for the preservation of historical monuments, Augsburg])

Abb. 4: Augsburg. Figural scene of the wall painting from the late antique church (provisional sketch: D. KOROL – M. STANKE)

Abb. 5: Augsburg. Figural scene of the wall painting from the late antique church (photo of the reconstruction in the Roman museum of Augsburg: D. KOROL, 1988)

Abb. 6: Augsburg. Wall painting from the late antique church (drawing: A. RADNÓTI [according to Willburger 2004, pl. 20, 3])

Abb. 7: London. British Library, Cod. Cotton Otho B VI, fol. 79^r and 126^r (drawing according to Weitzmann – Kessler 1986, fig. 384)

Abb. 8: Venice. San Marco, mosaic in the vestibule (photo according to Loose – Hellenkemper Salies 1987, 24 fig. 14)

Abb. 9: The environs of the late Roman province *Raetia II* (plan according to Erbertseder 1992, 185 “Karte” 1)

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