

A Christianisation of Switzerland? Urban and Rural Transformations in a Time of Transition - AD 300-800

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Abstract

Title: **A Christianisation of Switzerland? Urban and Rural Transformations in a Time of Transition**

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This thesis explores archaeological and historical data pertaining to the Christianisation of Switzerland between AD 300 and 800. Analysing published data from both urban and rural contexts, I explore three research questions: 1 – how did churches and associated buildings affect urban and rural spaces in Switzerland?; 2 – who were the ‘movers’ of the religion?; and 3 – how far did local topography and regional identities forge a Christian landscape? During the period examined, the region experienced a number of geopolitical changes: the end of Roman administration, the rise and fall of the Burgundian kingdom, and the gradual takeover by the Merovingian and later Carolingian Franks. Throughout these phases, the Church was a common institution and transformed urban, rural, and burial landscapes through the construction of cathedrals, funerary churches, chapels, and monasteries. Utilising an interdisciplinary approach, this thesis brings to light that Switzerland experienced multiple ‘Christianisations’ and that topographic factors and regional identities were intrinsic to the development of the Church.

Keywords: Switzerland, Late Antiquity, Christianisation, Early Medieval, church archaeology

Preface

It is a difficult task to ponder where my interest in the archaeology and history of early medieval Switzerland began. Indeed many people ask me ‘why Switzerland?’. I must confess my Swiss heritage – I spent many summers as a child visiting aunts, uncles, and cousins in western Switzerland. These trips also included visits to castles (a favourite being Château Gruyère), museums, mountain tops, and other natural wonders. Back home in Canada, my Swiss heritage was never far away: my family was part of the Swiss Club of Toronto where we enjoyed many festivities with other families, including gatherings involving the consumption of cheese fondue, raclette, Swiss wine, as well as the singing of many folk songs.

One particular song that holds a significant place in Swiss history is *Le Ranz des Vaches*. A herdsman’s song, the folktune was documented first in the sixteenth century and transcribed in 1794 by Leopold zu Stolberg while travelling with Goethe through Switzerland. The song is common to the entire country in different dialects and names (i.e. Apenzeller *Kureyen*, Schwyzer *Kuhreihen*, Fribourgeois *Ranz de Vaches des Ormonds*). In my family’s region, the most common version is sung in a Gruyère patois (*Ranz de Vaches de la Gruyère*). The lyrics describe how farmers were blocked from moving their cattle by a flood. They turned to a priest for a prayer, whose sermon miraculously caused the flood to subside, allowing the farmers to continue along. The song closes with the following chorus, a thank-you to the cows for providing the milk to make the cheese:

Lyôba, lyôba, por aryâ.
Vinyidè iiote, byantsè, nêre,
Rodzè, mothêlè, dzouvenè ôtrè,
Dèjo chti tsâno, yô vo j’âryo,
Dèjo chti trinbyo, yô i trintso,
Lyôba, lyôba, por aryâ

The significance and importance of this song are best explained by referring to both past and present uses of the song. In the past, Rousseau (1786: 443) wrote that Swiss mercenaries fighting in the French Revolution were forbidden, under penalty of death, to sing, play or even whistle the tune since it would bring up such nostalgia, that the men would be driven to desert. In the present, the song continues to be widely sung at cultural

events, including La Fête des Vignerons of Vevey, and at local hockey tournaments. Indeed, during a recent trip to Switzerland, I witnessed a stadium of ‘hockey hooligans’ breaking out their cow-bells and singing the chorus when the home team won the game!

Alongside growing up with this rich heritage, I also became more aware of the many stereotypes and general clichés revolving around Switzerland: friends would often joke about the country’s neutrality, its hoarding of Nazi gold, and its love of chocolate! As I progressed through my undergraduate and postgraduate career, I realised that most people know very little of the culture, history, and archaeology of this tiny country. Moreover, I noticed that most syntheses of Roman and late antique archaeology – now such a popular field – rarely touch upon the region. As my interests drew more and more to the development of early Christianity and I began to contemplate doing a PhD, it was perhaps natural to begin to question what this region was like in the post-Roman world. How did Christianity arrive in the region? How did church foundations impact a landscape so defined by its high mountains and low valleys? I hope that my own Swiss heritage would help in exploring and interrogating these questions and landscapes.

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Abbreviations

Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus
Av.	Avitus
CA	<i>Contra Arrianos</i>
Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CDL	<i>Codex Diplomaticus</i>
CIMAH	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Medii Aevi Helvetiae</i>
Cod. Sang.	<i>Codex Sangallensis</i>
Conc. Gall.	<i>Concilia antiqua Galliae</i>
Conc. Paris.	<i>Concilia Parisiense</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
Fred. Chron.	Fredegar, <i>Chronicon</i>
Fred. Cont.	Fredegar, <i>Continuations</i>
Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc.	Gregory of Tours, <i>Historia Francorum</i>
HLS	<i>Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz</i>
HS	<i>Helvetia Sacra</i>
LA	<i>Lex Alamannorum</i>
Lex. Burg.	<i>Lex Burgundionum</i>
Mar. Chron.	Marius of Avenches, <i>Chronicon</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
SAA	<i>Scriptores Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
SS rer. Merov.	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
SS rer. Germ.	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores (in Folio)</i>
EKA	<i>Epistolae Karolini Aevi</i>
Conc.	<i>Concilia</i>
Pliny Hist. Nat.	<i>Historia Naturalis</i>
Prosp. Ep. Chron.	Prosper, <i>Epitoma Chronicon</i>

Paul the Deacon, <i>Hist. Lang.</i>	<i>Historia Langobardorum</i>
<i>Rav. Anon. Cos.</i>	<i>Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia</i>
Sid. Ap. <i>Ep.</i>	Sidonius Apollinaris, <i>Epistulae</i>
VC	<i>Vita Columbani</i>
VGG	<i>Vita Germanii Grandivallensis</i>
VSG	<i>Vita Sancti Galli</i>
VSM	<i>Vita Sancti Martini</i>
VP	<i>Vita Pirmini</i>
VPI	<i>Vitae Patrum Iurensium</i>

Introduction

This thesis comprises a multi-disciplinary study of the development and spread of Christianity in Switzerland between AD 300 and 800. The chronological span deliberately covers a number of transitional historical periods: the rise and fall of the Burgundian kingdoms (c. AD 411 – 436; c. 443-534), of the Merovingian dynasty (c. AD 457-752), and the emergence of the Pippinids, leading to the formation of the Carolingian dynasty (c. AD 752-800). The period also marks two notable transition points for Western Christendom. Constantine's victory over Maxentius in AD 312 brought about an openly financed and imperial-supported Christianity. The crowning of Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor in AD 800 created a new empire in the West and consolidated the Italian Peninsula, bringing about a more central and dominant Papal State based at Rome.

The changes produced by new administrations, economies, and settlement trends have produced a plethora of scholarly work. Debates still continue on whether we should regard this period as one of decay or transformation (see Ando 2008; Lavan 2001; Bowersock 1996 for reviews on the debate) and how the so-called 'barbarian migrations' impacted on the Roman west (see Halsall 2007). Studies now cover many geographical zones, from the whole of Europe (e.g. Wickham 2009) to specific nations. For example, research in France (e.g. Duchesne 1915; Février 1980) and Italy (e.g. Cantino Wataghin 1995; Christie 2006) has seen emphasis on the development of urban and rural spaces during Late Antiquity and the early medieval period. Further to these studies are more specific analyses on individual cities, exemplified by those mentioned in Ferdières' (2004) *Capitales Éphémères*. The aim here is to move away from these traditional and often Mediterranean-based regions to fringe territories, including the region of Switzerland.

Indeed, the use of the region of Switzerland requires some defence, since the area did not exist as a distinct political unit in the Roman nor the early medieval periods. During the late Roman period, it comprised a number of provinces: *Maxima Sequanorum*, *Rhaetia Prima*, *Liguria*, *Alpes Poeninae et Graiae*, and *Viennensis*. During the post-Roman and early medieval periods, the area was gradually absorbed into Germanic kingdoms. Thus, Switzerland often becomes marginalised within studies, since political boundaries are not apparent or easily defined. However, as will be argued, the region of Switzerland can be

divided into three geographical regions, defined by natural boundaries. Furthermore, the rise of episcopal centres during this period might suggest ecclesiastical boundaries were also present – although, like political limits, this relies heavily on both historical and church resources. These divisions allow for points of comparison, notably between non-Alpine and Alpine regions or small episcopal centres, such as Chur and Geneva. Finally, due to marginalisation of the region in most literature, notably in archaeological works, this thesis will introduce new material to the debates and discussions of changes brought about by the rise of Christianity.

A discourse on early medieval Switzerland has been addressed in the volume *Die Schweiz zwischen Antike und Mittelalter: Archäologie und Geschichte des 4. bis 9. Jahrhunderts* (Furger et al. 1996). There the focus was presenting a broad overview of life in the region, discussing aspects of religious, economic, and settlement change. A more specific theme drives this project, namely the Christianisation of the region, framed by three core questions: 1 – How did churches and associated buildings affect urban and rural spaces in Switzerland? 2- Who were the ‘movers’ of the religion? 3- How far did local topography and regional identities forge a Christian landscape?

Terminology

The term ‘Christianisation’ originally was conceived as a socio-historical term to explain mechanisms behind the conversion of the Roman world. The works of Peter Brown (1961: 1-11; 1995: 1-26) popularised the term and it expanded to include not only societal changes but also physical transformations, such as the addition of churches and other Christian structures to urban and rural spaces. As will be discussed within Chapter 1.2, ‘Christianisation’ in recent years has come under fire as too broad a term that generalises the complexities behind conversion and religious change. The problems, however, largely stem from a lack of clarity and definition. Here the term will continue to be used, but defined as the mechanisms and processes in which Christianity affected and changed urban, rural, and burial spaces.

Similarly, the following periodisations require clarification: late Roman, late antique, and early medieval. The use of ‘late Roman’ will refer to the period spanning AD 300 to 401 because, the region of Switzerland was still then under Roman control. With

regards to Late Antiquity, there currently remains no consensus to its precise periodisation: whereas Brown's (1971) seminal work *The World of Late Antiquity* examined the period between AD 150 and 750 - now dubbed the 'Long Late Antiquity' - here, Late Antiquity will be used to define the fourth to the seventh centuries, similar to periodisations used in Averil Cameron's (1993) *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: 395-600* and the *Late Antique Archaeology* series (for a full discussion on the different periodisations see Liebeschuetz 2004: 253-254 and Marcone 2008: 4-19). The adjective 'early medieval' will describe c. AD 600 to 800, a period marked by the consolidation of the study region under Merovingian and later Carolingian hegemony.

Finally, clarity is required on what is meant by 'identity', which is addressed in Chapter 6. As highlighted by Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005: 1), while this is a term that "gets used in a number of different ways", it is frequently left undefined, resulting in ambiguity. Within this thesis, the following definition will be utilised (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2):

Identity, as we understand it, is inextricably linked to the sense of belonging. Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others...Identities are constructed through interaction between people, and the process by which we acquire and maintain our identities requires choice and agency.

A key component of the above definition is the recognition that individuals are made up of multiple identities. Thus, while the focus here will be religious identity, it is necessary to consider how other identities (e.g. status, gender, wealth) interacted with their religious identity.

Organisation and Questions

This thesis comprises two volumes: the first volume features six chapters and Volume Two offers gazetteers cataloguing the churches examined in the study zone, plus relevant appendices. Chapter 1 consists of the literature review of both primary and secondary sources and an explication of the theory and methodology that guides the thesis. Considering the multi-disciplinary (predominantly archaeology and history) nature of this thesis, the literature review is divided into four sections: an overview of key primary sources (1.1); an analysis of themes and debates including Christianisation, urban decline versus transformation, and identity and ethnogenesis (1.2); and the state of historical and

archaeological research in Switzerland (1.3). Analysis of these aspects then feed into the theoretical and methodological framework, which is discussed in Section 1.4.

Chapter 2 focuses on the settlement, historical, and geographical context of the region. The progressive growth of Christianity as an organised religion must be considered amidst the influx of Germanic peoples as well as change-overs in political administrations. The chapter begins by examining the environment and climate that shaped the Swiss landscape (2.1). It asks what the key natural boundaries are and how many regions can be defined. This is followed by an overview of settlement history, covering the Roman sites of the fourth century and the rise of 'new' communities in the early medieval period. Questions here will focus on patternings and how communities were connected (2.2). Section 2.3 provides a historical 'sketch', highlighting events specific to Switzerland to contextualise the region's place in the wider Roman Empire and later Germanic Europe. When did Roman administration end and who 'took power' after their withdrawal? What Germanic peoples are perceived to have colonised the region and when? It should be noted that to avoid repetition and potential confusion, specific Christian events, such as the missionary activities of Columbanus, are examined in later chapters.

Chapter 3 investigates the Christianisation of urban spaces. Section 3.1 starts with a discussion of episcopal centres and bishops. Who were the bishops of the early medieval episcopal towns in Switzerland and what can we reconstruct of their status and roles? This is followed by a section which explores the changing nature of the Swiss episcopal network. Why did some episcopal centres fail? What is the significance of failures? Sections 3.3 and 3.4 examine the archaeological data relating to urban and suburban churches respectively. How do we identify these structures? Where were they located? What trends in form, liturgical structures, and architecture can we gather based on the available data? A case-study (3.3.3) on Geneva's episcopal complex and Chur's extramural churches (3.4.3) offers an in-depth look at how both episcopal and extramural churches could experience multiple building phases and feature significant displays of skill and artistry. The final section (3.5) discusses the significance of patronage and whether any patterns emerge in relation to pre-existing models of urban Christianisation as well as how Switzerland compares to other frontier regions, such as Pannonia and Noricum.

Chapter 4 investigates monasticism, focusing at first on the historical and hagiographical evidence (4.1-4.2). Section 4.3 then draws on excavations on monasteries

and the material culture associated with these communities. How does the archaeological data compare with the hagiographic and literary evidence? Does burial evidence inform on patronage and power? Monasteries were classically established in hard-to-reach places, emulating concepts of the 'desert' popularised by the *Life of Saint Antony* (Lawrence 1984: 10-11). But did monastic houses in Switzerland attempt to emulate this ideal? The final section of this chapter will bring attention to the motives behind the patrons who built these houses – this leads onto discussion of how monasticism 'fits' into processes of Christianisation (4.4).

Chapter 5 explores the Swiss countryside, establishing first the presence of non-Christian sacred spaces (5.1). What happened to the temples and other non-Christian sites? Do we see confrontation and conflict? This is followed by an analysis of the archaeological evidence for rural church foundations (5.2-5.3). Where were these sanctuaries established? What construction methods were used? Are intra-regional differences and commonalities present? Section 5.4 then considers the settlement context of the rural churches, examining topographic differences and commonalities. The chapter closes with a discussion on patronage and ownership (5.5). Who were building these rural churches and for what purposes? Is it possible to identify early parish formation? Key will be the assessment of whether the churches had an episcopal or a private founder.

Chapter 6 examines burial customs and explores different aspects of identity, such as religion and wealth. The first section (6.1) focuses on necropoleis-use, concentrating on three different themes: land use (6.1.1), burials and identity (6.1.2), and burial variances (6.1.3). This is followed by an analysis of trends and patterns regarding burials and churches (6.2). What do inter- and intra-church burials signify? Particular attention will be placed on *ad sanctos* burials (6.2.1) and founders' graves (6.2.2) and their significance on burial rites and customs. The final section of this chapter models the wider burial landscape (6.3). Does the rise of burial within churches correlate with the end of necropoleis use? Do we see commonalities or differences in burial customs between diocesan regions?

Throughout, reference will be made to the Volume Two gazetteers. Arranged by diocese, they detail the basic information of each church and point to key phases and

excavation histories. Such data are core to sharing the structural and buried legacy of the late Roman to early medieval church.

Chapter 1

Sources and Debates

The rise of Christianity has attracted research from every angle - theological, sociological, historical, and archaeological. Since the time of Montesquieu and Gibbon, attention has been paid on how a once marginal religion of the Roman Empire became such a dominant power in the Middle Ages. The scope of research is understandably vast – studies continue to develop new ways to investigate the development of Christianity during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages especially. The aims here are to examine primary and secondary sources and to focus this exploration on two important concepts, Christianisation and ethnogenesis.

1.1 Primary Sources

The primary literature of AD 300 and 800 is of high value. These works provide necessary context and insight into the events that shaped late antique and early medieval Switzerland and of contemporary perceptions and emphases. Creating an historical narrative from these sources, however, remains a troublesome task. In particular, seventh- and eighth-century sources are noted for being “sketchy and contradictory” (Wood 1994a: 222). In many cases these sources do not overlap and have no parallels (Fig. 1.1), making checks for accuracy difficult to determine. For example, some of the content of Paul the Deacon (*Historia gentis Langobardorum*) and the chronicles of Fredegar overlap but their primary subject material is very different, one focusing on the origins and activities of the Lombards, the other on Frankish events of the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Thus, understanding the context of these works and considering them in a critical fashion is imperative to formulating a coherent portrayal of the study region’s history between AD 300 and 800 as well as understanding the source material behind much research into early Christianity.

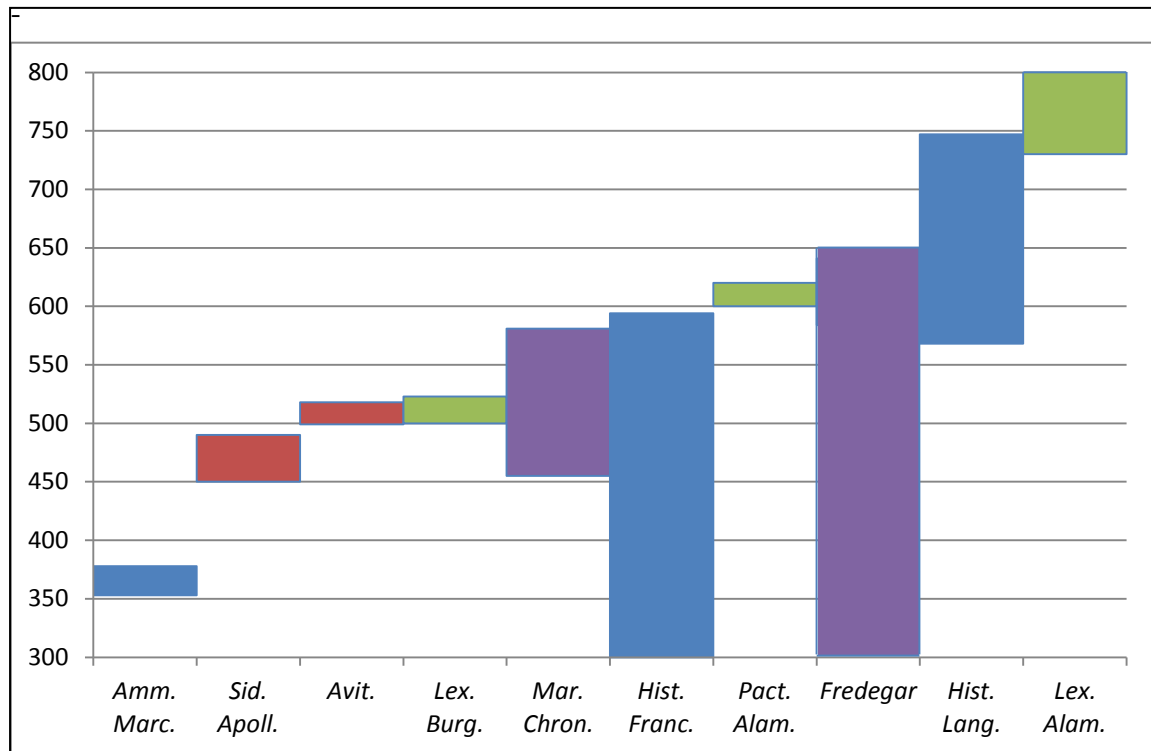


Figure 1.1: Primary sources and their allotted time frames (centuries AD).
 ● Historical Texts ● Letters ● Law Codes ● Chronicles

1.1.1 Histories of Ammianus and Gregory of Tours

Ammianus Marcellinus could be considered the penultimate writer (the last, arguably, being Procopius) to compose a history in the 'Roman' tradition. While only a portion of his work has survived, covering the period between AD 353 and 373, it provides a unique eyewitness perspective to the conflicts in Gaul and in Persia especially. In relation to this thesis, his account of the movements of the Alamanni proves invaluable. Reviews on Ammianus, such as *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (Drijvers and Hunt 1999), bring to attention past and present critiques of the author, illuminating the *Res Gestae* in both its contemporary surroundings and various literary precursors. From discussing how one can both be military man and historian (see Kagan 2006: 23-52; Hunt 1999: 51-63; Trombley 1999: 17-28) to Ammianus' perspective on the nature of the emperor (see Humphries 1999: 117-29), a main issue revolves around Ammianus' role as an 'external' and 'internal' observer. Despite this, Ammianus remains one of the few historians to describe events in detail in the outer reaches of the late Western Roman Empire and to display the changed nature of imperial power.

The next key historian of relevance comes almost two hundred years later. Gregory of Tours' account on the Franks describes their ethnogenesis and focuses mainly on events which impacted on their kingdom. Gregory's narrative starts as a customary Church History with the story of Adam and Eve and covers a vast period running to around AD 590. To be fair, only Book I can be classified as 'Church History' while the rest details events much closer to Gregory's lifetime - predominantly the life of Clovis (481-511) and the rise of the Merovingian Franks (*Hist. Franc.*, II-X). Comments on the second Burgundian Kingdom (443-534), especially the reigns of Gundobad and Sigismund, and on the Lombards, invaluable offer not only a historical narrative but also touch upon the social and religious context of Gaul and its neighbours. However, Heinzelman (1998: 69) points out that Gregory's hagiographic writing form is predictable: for example, the manner in which he described Clovis - who, with the aid of Saint Martin and Saint Hilary, struck down the heretic kings, namely Gundobad and Alaric - clearly shows prejudice, favouritism, and a Christian agenda. Moreover, the tendency to describe Merovingian Gaul as a chaotic and brutal mess and to highlight the virtues of Christian life and saints has suggested that the true purpose of the *Historia* was to emphasise the miracles of saints against the ongoing heresies and the arrogance of secular life (see Goffart 1988; Shanzer and Wood 2002: 26).

The Lombard historian Paul the Deacon wrote the last major history that has significance here. Unlike Ammianus and Gregory, Paul the Deacon's narrative, belonging to the later eighth century, comes much later than the events recounted. Largely dependent on the *Liber Pontificalis*, the *Origo gentium Langobardorum*, and the lost works of bishop Secundus of Trento as source material, Paul's text reads like a blend between myth and history - the references to Wotan and Freya concerning the origins of the Lombard name clearly establish this fact (*Hist.Lang.*, I.8). Yet Goffart (1988: 427-431) compliments the historian, describing the manner in which Paul integrated the mythic tales into the *Historia Langobardorum* as an astonishing feature. From comments on their heterogeneous ethnicity to how the Lombards were ruled by dukes rather than a single king in the 570s, Paul's observations made a large impact in the medieval world, with well over a hundred copies surviving today (*ibid*: 329). However, Paul is regularly described as crude and not completely trustworthy - thus Harrison (1991:27) observes that the history "concerning the first half of the seventh century is very sketchy, since he lacked source

material". But historians and archaeologists alike regularly refer to his work to supplement our knowledge of sixth- and seventh-century Italy (e.g. Harrison 1991; Christie 1995).

1.1.2 The Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris and Avitus of Vienne

The letters of bishops Sidonius Apollinaris and Avitus of Vienne bring information regarding reactions to the settlement of the Burgundian people, the religious nature of the region and life as a Gallo-Roman in the fifth century. Sidonius' writings are especially important as they offer insights from a traditional 'Roman' perspective on the onset of various disasters and phases of settlement by perceived 'barbarians'. Writing to various friends and other bishops, Sidonius presents useful information regarding the nature of the *foedera* (federate treaties) as the proper way to deal with 'barbarians'. For example, Sidonius described how the town of Clermont was being attacked by Visigoths only to be defended by another 'barbarian' people, the Burgundians (Sid.Ap., *Ep.* 3.4.1). Sidonius' letters certainly denote a degree of difference between Gallo-Romans, Visigoths, and Burgundians. Yet caution is needed: first, as Harries (1992: 299) rightly notes, Sidonius' letters were selected and polished for contemporary dissemination - they were not serendipitously lost and later found; second, he was loyal to Rome and raised the traditional administrative centre on a pedestal; finally, Sidonius was not present in Gaul throughout his lifetime, since, as a reward for his panegyric of Anthemius, the emperor raised him to the post of Urban Prefect of Rome in 468 where he was stationed for at least two years (*ibid*: 310-311). Thus, while Sidonius presents an image of a 'multicultural' Gaul, his prejudice towards the non-Roman populace results in a skewed representation of a 'Roman versus barbarian' dichotomy which might not have been so black and white.

Avitus of Vienne arguably contradicts this bipolar image of Gallo-Roman society during the time of Germanic colonisation of south-east Gaul. Made bishop of Vienne in c. AD 500, Avitus' letters show his close relationship with the Burgundian kings Gundobad and Sigismund. Considering Avitus' personal war against the Arian heresy (Av., *CA*; see Wood and Shanzer 2002: 163-187), his correspondence with the Arian king is interesting. In particular, his willingness to converse with Gundobad ultimately portrays Avitus as a bishop not shy to argue and debate with a non-Roman and a non-orthodox Christian (Av., *Epp.* 4, 21, 22, 30). Shanzer and Wood (2002: 9) suggest that Avitus' public homily to the

establishment of the monastery of St Maurice in Agaune (modern-day Saint-Maurice) in 515 indicates Gundobad at this time as fairly tolerant to the Orthodox faith. While Shanzer and Wood (2002: 14) praise Avitus' letters - "he is responsible for almost half the written documentation to have come out of the Burgundian kingdom" - there remains some challenges, such as interpreting his complex Latin.

Further questions relate to how these letters survived and were transmitted. Shanzer and Wood (*ibid*: 28-29) recount how the Lyons manuscript, dated to the eleventh/twelfth century, is "currently the only known close-to-complete manuscript" of the letters while a sixth-century manuscript preserves parts of Avitus' letters. Interestingly, unlike Sidonius and Gregory who both compiled their works into a specific collection, Avitus does not appear to have intended to compile these letters and works into one document since there is no trace of dedication and no self-conscious statements about his own prose and (*ibid*: 63). Thus it is impossible to speak of a specific audience intended for Avitus' letter-collection.

1.1.3 Law Codes and Conciliar Laws

Legal texts and codes from the Germanic period have long been a subject of debate and contention. If these laws signify the 'tribal' customs of the people then they have scope to illuminate aspects of early Germanic society. Moreover, if they represent more of an adoption of Roman traditions into their own customs, then these resources could represent evidence for the continuity of Roman life into the early medieval one (Barnwell 2000: 6; Amory 1994: 30). With regard to the Burgundian kingdom, there are two known law codes - the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* and the *Lex Burgundionum* (also known as the *Lex Gundobada*). These codes have long been interpreted as attempts to represent the laws of both Romans and Burgundians, implying separate judicial systems (Innes 2006: 46-47; Amory 1994: 1-3).

The laws also reveal important aspects of society under the Burgundian administration: thus Wood (2003: 257; 1990: 61) expresses how they inform us of a Burgundian *gens*, due to the juxtaposition of Burgundian and Roman. The fact that it was a Burgundian king who codified the *Lex Gundobada* (named for king Gundobad) indicates that Burgundians did perceive themselves as distinct from the resident Gallo-Romans. On

the other hand, Amory (1994: 3) contends that the laws reveal more about a society divided by profession (i.e. counts and bishops) and class rather than ethnic differences. While the laws refer to 'Romans' and 'Burgundians', Amory (*ibid*: 4) reveals that these labels refer exclusively to the upper echelon of society. Nothing is known about the *coloni* and slaves. Moreover, Halsall (2005: 71) urges caution since there is little evidence to suggest these laws were practised. This is evident in the case where Sidonius appeals to an unwritten pact to deal with problems in his household, one in which he negotiated an "unofficial settlement to a dispute concerning the illicit union of servants, specifically in order to avoid a criminal case" (Barnwell 2000: 18).

The *Pactus Alamannorum* and the *Lex Alamannorum* are less well-known Germanic law codes, the former written in the seventh century and the latter compiled only in the eighth and thus both created after the subjugation of the Alamanni in the early-sixth century by Clovis (Siegmund 1998: 177). The *Pactus Alamannorum* alludes to a hierarchy within Alamannic society, using phrases such as *primus Alamannorum* and a *medianus* (Wood 1998: 224-225). Comparing this code, however, to the *Lex Ribvaria* - a code made for the region of East Francia - shows very little differentiation, suggesting that by the seventh century it is difficult to claim a distinctive 'Alamannic' *gens* (*ibid*: 215).

On the other hand, the eighth-century *Lex Alamannorum* might indicate a break from Merovingian hegemony. Codified by Duke Lantfrid, an Alamannic noble, the law code highlights a very stratified society, specifically between ecclesiastics, nobles and freemen (*ibid*: 221; Siegmund 1998: 177-179). Laws vary from the granting of property to the Church as well as murder in a church (LA I-III), to the rules behind 'oath-helpers' and swearing (LA XXIV; XXVIII), and to actions taken against dukes (LA XXXV). Wood (1994a: 118) even argues that Lantfrid had 'usurped' the right to codify laws from the Merovingian kings - a sign of an independent duchy.

Another important resource to consider are conciliar laws, notably relating to the Gallic Church Councils, many of which can be accessed in their original Latin on the *dMGH* online resource and were translated into French as part of the *Sources Chrétienne* series. These sources not only provide valuable information relating to the beliefs and policies of the late antique and early medieval ecclesiastical elite they can also "offer a priceless window into the minds of their authors and the historical contexts that prompted their action" (Halfond 2007: 539). At the same time, Halfond (*ibid*: 540-541) importantly

highlights how Church councils could be influenced by imperial or royal elites since councils sometimes requested state assistance for enforcing their rulings and also had a judiciary role, investigating charges against clergy.

Within this thesis, Church councils are particularly informative on establishing bishop lists as well as their roles within urban and rural contexts, understanding ecclesiastical networks (e.g. Gallic Church versus Northern Italian Church), and discussing aspects of ownership with respect to church building. For example, Canon 17 of the council of Orleans (AD 511) outlines how the bishop maintained authority over all basilicas within his diocese (*Conc. Gall.* I. XVII, p. 181; cf. Halfond 2009: 111; S. Wood 2006: 15). Indeed, both Halfond (2009: 111-115) and Susan Wood (2006: 15-25) interpret this canon, as well as many other canons relating to a bishop's authority, as signs that episcopates struggled to maintain their authority over country churches, monasteries, and chapels.

The key question with respect to conciliar law of the late antique and early medieval periods, much like the legal codes above, is whether they were enforced. Halfond (2009: 131; cf. *Reg. Ep.* V.58-60) describes how Pope Gregory from AD 595-599 had been sending letters to bishops addressing the problem of ecclesiastical abuses within the Gallic Church, including simony. Indeed, many canons were repeated in subsequent Gallic Church councils, suggesting to historians that ecclesiastical authorities had difficulty implementing their own rules (e.g. Halfond 2009: 131; S. Wood 2006:10-11; Wallace-Hadrill 1983 107-108). Furthermore, there remain problems of transmission, with some council acts missing subscription lists and records of judicial decisions (*ibid*: 31).

1.1.4 The Chronicles of Marius of Avenches and Fredegar

Chronicles and annals became dominant types of narratives during the early medieval period, a form which Kulikowski (2000: 328) describes as "one of the quintessentially Christian forms of historical writing, which did not exist in pre-Christian antiquity". While they are written as annual summaries only, usually limited to recording political events and natural disasters, these sources remain useful for their content. The sixth-century chronicon by Bishop Marius of Avenches, for example, valuably preserves some events and descriptions to the Valais region (Wood 1993: 289). In one entry, Marius reports Lombards taking control of southern parts of the region in AD 574, even making their way

to Saint-Maurice (Mar. *Chron.* a. 574). Moreover, as a contemporary of Gregory, Marius provides a source that helps question Gregory's predisposition against the Arianism of the Burgundian kingdom. Problems of source material have been noted in Favrod (1991: 120-139), who suggested Marius used texts by Jerome, the Chronicle of 452, and Prosper's Chronicle, but Wood (1993: 290) rightly stresses particular voids - for instance, the evasion to discuss theological debates is peculiar for a Christian bishop.

The chronicle of Fredegar is another unusual text. While regarded as a chronicle given its annalistic form, his lengthy descriptions and inclusions of classical, biblical and legendary events result in a unique addition to early medieval historiography. Previous scholarship on the chronicle has debated over problems of authorship and date. Currently, Goffart's (1963: 206-241) contention that the text was written by a single author around 658 appears to be the accepted viewpoint. Goffart also demonstrates that in many cases the author's awareness of the events is questionable (*ibid*: 240-241). A survey by Wood (1994b: 359-366) affirms Goffart's theory of a single authorship and furthers the discussion of the chronicle by considering themes of loyalty and cunning, female power used for good or ill, and relationships between the ruled and rulers (*ibid*: 361). Wood (*ibid*: 365-366) advocates that the chronicle was a commissioned piece of work and that Fredegar himself was a supporter of the seventh-century Pippinids, as based on the description of events surrounding Mayor Grimoald (616-656) of Austrasia.

1.1.5 Hagiographies

Out of all the documentary evidence, hagiographies are perhaps the most contentious as they were compiled to edify the holy life, miracles, and in some cases the martyrdom of a saint, but were not designed to comment on contemporary historical events. Furthermore, they are shaped by general Christian traditions resulting in stereotyping and in the appearance of common motifs, such the retreat from society to a 'desert'. As a result, historians interpret these texts in a variety of ways. For example, Hayward (1999: 124) likens a saint's life to a kind of 'propaganda', whereas Cameron (1999: 42) describes them as stories of heroic deeds rather than as biographies. Indeed, these documents must be regarded as potential politico-religious tools, either created for a specific purpose or perhaps to enhance or legitimise power by royalty or urban bishops (Hayward 1999: 126;

Halsall 2005: 70). Notwithstanding these observations, hagiographical texts are useful for discussing contemporary social structures and relationships, belief and culture and even the impacts of Christianity on a region. In many cases, these sources are our only witnesses and, most valuably, deliver foundation legends for a variety of monasteries developed in the Swiss mountain ranges, as specifically in the Lives of the Jura Fathers, Columbanus, Gall, Pirmin, and Germanus.

The Life of the Jura Fathers, written between AD 515 and 525, detail the lives and deeds of three holy men (Romanus, Lupicinus, and Eugendus) and their impact in the Jura mountain range (Vivian *et al.* 1999; Auberson 1997: 6-7). Romanus, his brother Lupicinus, and an unnamed sister are credited with the foundation of three monasteries in this region: Condat, Lauconne, and La Balme (see Chapter 4.1-4.2). Eugendus, successor to Lupicinus and likely a contemporary of the anonymous author, was abbot of Condat. These texts offer a portrayal of monastic life and the harsh conditions of the region. The decision by Eugendus, for example, to move the monks into a common dormitory building after a fire destroyed the individual monk cells suggests that many of the early monastic buildings were built of wood and only large, communal buildings were made of stone (Vivian *et al.* 1999: 175-176). There are insights into the relationship between ecclesiastics, clerics and monks and even a transition of monastic ideals. This is noticeable with Romanus' acceptance to be ordained as a priest contrasting Eugendus' abhorrence and rejection of the clerical office for fear it would disrupt his monastic life (*ibid*: 110; 163). Romanus' visit to the Basilica of the Theban Martyrs in Saint-Maurice suggests the settlement was a pilgrimage location prior to the foundation of the monastery of St Maurice in 515 by King Sigismund (*ibid*: 123-124). Local tradition also suggests that Romanus was responsible for the foundation of the monastery of Romainmôtier, though there is no direct reference of this monastery in the Life (Vivian *et al.* 1999: 95-96; Auberson 1997: 7; Vischer *et al.* 1995: 28). Unlike other hagiographies, there are very few references to miracles of the abbots; rather there is a focus on daily life (Stancliffe 2004: 364).

The Life of Columbanus, written by Jonas of Bobbio around AD 629, has seen wide scholarship from analysis on the impact of Irish monk Columbanus on Merovingian politics (e.g. Prinz 1981: 73-87) to estimates of how much the text was read in seventh-century Gaul (e.g. O'Hara 2009: 126-153). The text here is used to help clarify the historiography

on the period and also inform on the extent Christianity was already present in the southern Rhine region by the early seventh century (VC 22). More important is the legacy of Columbanus: the foundation of monasteries in western and eastern parts of Switzerland in the seventh century has been linked to the influence of Columbanus. For example, the monastery at Romainmôtier was reportedly revived by Chramnelenus, a bishop of Besançon and student of Luxeuil (Vischer *et al.* 1995: 31). This Life also corroborates the presence of Gall in north-eastern Switzerland and his hermitage eventually brought about the establishment of a royal monastery (VC 19). However, the stereotypes and archetypes found in the Life, such as miracles and battles with demons, make it difficult to unravel fact from fiction. In the end, it is important not to overestimate Columbanus' impact in Switzerland – after all, he did not build any monasteries in the region; however, it is the foundation and restructuring of several small monasteries with connections to Luxeuil and Besançon that makes Columbanus' travels and life an essential part of studies of Christianisation and monasticism (Wood 2001: 31-39).

More obscure, yet important, is the *Vita Pirmini*. Considered the Apostle of the Alamanni, Pirmin is credited with the foundation of six monasteries - Reichenau, Murbach, Pfaffers, Disentis, Niederaltaich, and Horbach. While his origins are uncertain, it is generally accepted that he came from Spain, having fled the Islamic incursions of the early eighth century (Schutz 2004: 160-161; Riché 1993: 41-43). The chronicler Hermann of Reichenau records in AD 724 that Pirmin received Reichenau Island from Charles Martel and eventually founded the monastery (Fletcher 1997: 203). The actual saint's life, however, reports that Pirmin was granted the land by a local landowner (VP 4). Alongside his *vita* and the brief mention from the chronicles of Reichenau, we possess the *Scarapsus* (also known as *Dicta Pirminii*), a 'manual' for preachers which provides important insights into Carolingian liturgy as well as claiming that many parts of the north-eastern areas of the Alamannic duchy were populated by 'semi-Christians' or 'ignorant-Christians' (*ibid*: 204).

Similar details regarding monastic foundations are found within the hagiographies of Saints Gall and Germanus. The first recounts the story of Columbanus' Irish disciple, who remained behind in Bregenz around AD 612 and established a hermitage in a forest near Arbon where he remained until his death c. 650 (Joyn 1927: 1-4). His influence in the wider Merovingian world is obscure but the Carolingian foundation of an abbey in the

early eighth century suggests Gall's legacy and miracles had gained prominence. The text itself, however, is very problematic: composed only in the ninth century, many of the events cited were based on hearsay and conjecture (Burnell 1988: 39). Yet Bosworth (2010: 1058-1059) argues that the text is intrinsically of value for placing emphasis on the local community rather than "royal or empire-wide concerns". Moreover, if considered in context with Walafrid's composition the *Life of Saint Otmar*, it appears that the monk was working to create an 'institutional history' for the monastery by creating a stronger sense of community (Bosworth 2010: 1059; Brooke: 1990: 552-4).

The *Life of Germanus* is similar in that it portrays the life of a disciple of another famed holy man, Abbot Waldebert of Luxeuil. We gain a useful perspective on the politics of the region, especially between the clergy and local aristocracy. Specifically, the donation of land by Duke Gondoin to Waldebert shows that the local aristocracy were still much involved in foundations of churches and monasteries (VGG 8). The seventh-century monasteries of Vermes, Saint-Ursanne, and Moutier-Grandval, where Germanus was set up as abbot by Waldebert, are also named for the first time in this text (VGG 10). One intriguing passage refers to the 'war-like' Alamanni who caused troubles to the local dukes to the point that Duke Eticho attempted to subdue the area around the monastery; his actions led a number of injustices in the region of Moutier-Grandval prompting Germanus to venture out and act as a mediator. This 'outing', however, resulted in the deaths of Germanus and a companion Randoald, apparently killed in a forest by brigands (VGG 12-15).

1.1.6 Other Significant Sources

Other primary sources, including inscriptions and charters, offer valuable data on local expressions of identity and on aspects of land use and ownership. Inscriptions, in particular, allow us to probe not just elites but also lower class individuals (Nathan 2000: 3). In Switzerland, many late antique and early medieval inscriptions have been organised into the *Corpus Inscriptionum Medii Aevi Helvetiae: Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Inschriften der Schweiz* (Pfaff 1977). Organised into five volumes, each representing a distinct region, the corpus offers transcriptions, translations, archaeological provenience when available, material, and images of each inscription, resulting in a solid

and useful resource (Dierkens 1981: 474). However, many of these inscriptions are fragmentary or were discovered outside of their archaeological context and thus offer limited data (Nathan 2000: 4). Despite this, these resources have provided valuable insight into onomastics and studies of identity, especially “recapitulating the sense of Roman society extended beyond Italy” (*ibid*: 4-5). This latter observation was also identified in Handley’s (2000: 83-84; 2003:8-9) monograph on inscriptions and epitaphs in Spain and he also brought forth significant data on Christian commemoration language, highlighting the variety of textual formulae.

Two other significant sources are the *Notitia Galliarum* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Peutinger Table). Although different in form - the Peutinger Table is a map of the world while the *Notitia Galliarum* is an imperial administrative document - they both act as guides to the identification of places and their status during the late antique and early medieval periods. In both cases, debate exists on their reliability and perceived date. For example, while the Peutinger Table, a world map drawn on a parchment roll, has been attributed as “the only map to survive from antiquity”, Albu (2005: 136-138) argues that the source should be perceived as a medieval primary source rather than a late Roman one as the surviving map was created for a medieval audience and likely used as a reminder of the older world power. Similarly, while the *Notitia Galliarum* is perceived as a late antique source, the document exists as a ‘copy of a copy’ and, as argued by Reynolds (1995: 588-589), should be viewed as a tool for polemical purposes “to assert the primacy of one see over another and, more specifically, one metropolitan over another”. Within this thesis, these sources will act as nominal guides to discuss the status of settlements, but at the same time, highlight inconsistencies between the two documents thus identifying potential problems (see Chapter 2.2.1).

This primary source review concludes with charters and wills. These are invaluable sources as they bring to light aspects of ownership, bestowed privileges and traditions of gift-giving (Davies and Fouracre 1992: 1-2). At the same time, caution is needed when considering the authenticity of these documents. Indeed, most exist today in collections, known as chartularies, while the original document would have featured a seal or an autograph (Davies and Fouracre 1992: 1-2). Of particular interest here is the Will of Tello, a donation of properties to the Disentis monastery. The work, published in the *Codex Diplomaticus ad Historiam Raeticum* (1848-1865), lists a number of communities, their

values (in terms of agricultural yield), and their locations near churches and thus is a valuable source for the study of onomastics, parish organisation, and local ecclesiastical history (see Kaiser 1998: 173-214; Winckler 2010: 240, 271) . There are, however, certain peculiarities, including the lack of mention of the current abbot of Disentis. This led Müller (1981: 287-288) to question whether Tello was also abbot of the monastery, citing examples of other early medieval bishop-abbots. The motivations of Tello's donations have also been questioned (*ibid*: 289-294): the so-called redemption of sins by alms as mentioned in the text or the fear of access to these properties from the rising Frankish power.

Kaiser (1998: 91) outlines further concerns about the authenticity of the document noting potential errors in its transmission (e.g. linguistic oddities and fractures within the text). He (*ibid*: 214) further suggests scholars move away from the emphasis placed on Tello and his family's ownership of land since archaeological evidence indicates other estates were present, such as at Ramosch and Castrisch. Despite these concerns, most scholarship tend to use the Will of Tello to describe of how rural life in the Alps was organised, such as the example of Sagogn: an estate featuring a mansion with several heated rooms surrounded by ancillary buildings (e.g. stables, barns, cellars), four churches, 20ha of land including 4.9 hectares of pasture, and numerous fruit-trees (Winckler 2010: 240; Kaiser 1998: 89-93; Müller 1981: 293-294). Here, the text will be used to discuss the implications of rural Christianisation, ownership, and the organisation of churches.

1.2 Themes and Debates

As was outlined in the introduction, one of the core debates of Late Antiquity and the early medieval period is whether we should view the period as one of decline or transformation. While the core of this thesis is the examination of the rise and dissemination of early Christianity in the region of Switzerland, the 'decline versus transformation' debate, especially with respect to urbanism, will be evaluated in order to provide some context to discussions and observations of urban change or decline (see Chapter 3). Christianisation, however, is a relevant starting point since the thesis will primarily be evaluating aspects of religious change through the archaeological record.

1.2.1 Christianisation

The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman Empire: but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.

(Edward Gibbon 1776-1789, Vol. II, p. 70)

A discussion on 'Christianisation' inescapably begins with Gibbon precisely because this concept arose to move beyond Christian triumphalism. Not only did Gibbon chart the decline and subsequent fall of the Roman Empire, but he also studied the nuances and controversies of early Christian history. On these, Gibbon painted the rise of Christianity as a religion in terms of 'conquest' or 'triumph'. These thoughts carried much influence through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. Geffken 1920, English trans. 1978; Von Harnack 1924, English trans. 1982). Recent publications also show the legacy of Gibbon's ideas: an article by Lim (1999) examines the nature of Christian triumphalism with respect to the various controversies that faced Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. Even other disciplines continue with this tradition - a recent article in the *European Journal of Political Economy* examined the triumph of Christianity in relation to the late Roman economy (e.g. Ferrero 2008).

There are a number of criticisms over interpreting the rise of Christianity as a 'triumphant victor'. It avoids discussion of the many controversies within the Church itself and, in particular, a dichotomy between Christians and pagans is created (Cameron 1991: 20-21). It fundamentally represents a linear development - principally, the replacement of paganism with Christianity (Dijkstra 2008: 85-86). As a result, it is easy to lose perspective on the pluralism of religions in antiquity. Furthermore, it neglects to recognise that the reception of Christianity was a two-way process. Just as the religion made its impact on society, so too was Christianity transformed and shaped by the different regions, societies, geographies, and peoples (Cameron 1991: 21). Finally, the concept simplifies a transition that was inherently complex and quickens the rate at which the religion disseminated throughout the entire Empire (Dijkstra 2008: 86; Cameron 1991: 22).

It was in reaction to these many problems that a new paradigm arose. Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971) described Late Antiquity as a slow yet dynamic period of cultural and social change, contrasting the notion of a period of decline, into which the Church arose. Examining topics from early Christendom to the rise of Islam, Brown voiced

many of the above criticisms and published a variety of works, thereby popularising Late Antiquity as a historical period (e.g. Brown 1996; 1995; 1992; 1981). Subsequent historians accepted Brown's transformative and complex image of Late Antiquity and have focussed their research on a number of different topics, such as conversion, Hellenism, or the emergence of successor kingdoms and their socio-religious make-up (e.g. Wickham 2009; Lee 2000; Cameron 1993; Lane Fox 1986; MacMullen 1984). It is within these types of studies that a common theme is noticeable - Christianisation.

Initially, Christianisation was regarded as the process in which people were converted to the new religion. For example, MacMullen (1984) examined the motivations behind people to convert to the new religion, concluding that the "credence of miracles" was pivotal to the rise of converts in the early phases of Christianity (*ibid*: 108). One strong review, however, rightly pointed out that one cannot determine motives behind the conversion of masses of people (Hanson 1985: 336). In contrast to MacMullen, Wood's (2005) recent research on the conversion of the various 'barbarian' people in Europe utilised the primary sources as his guide. His analysis stresses a 'top-down' model of Christianisation, since the evangelisation of kings and dukes attracted the attention of writers (*ibid*: 715; 721).

Within archaeology, the term has broadened out to include the evangelisation of landscapes, cities, and burial customs. The majority of these works are interdisciplinary, utilising the historical sources alongside the archaeological evidence. A popular theme is the fate of temples and the emergence of churches in the landscapes (e.g. Goodman 2011; Dijkstra 2008; Bayliss 2004; Sotinel 2004; Caseau 2004; Ward-Perkins 2003; Salzman 1999; Trombley 1993-94; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; Krautheimer 1980; Spieser 1976; Deichmann 1939). While earlier works have been criticised for their weak analysis of the primary sources, resulting in skewed discussions, notably those of Deichmann (see Ward-Perkins 2003: 286) and later Trombley (see Frankfurter 1995; Clark 1995: 76-79), the interdisciplinary method still remains popular. For example, Goodman's (2011) recent analysis of temples in Gaul and the local accounts show that tales of temple destruction only represent a few small, and rare, cases. Dijkstra's (2008) work in Egypt produces a similar conclusion.

A structuralist concept is that Christianisation involved specific stages. With respect to urban spaces, Cantino Wataghin (1995: 209-220) identified three specific phases, ending in the early fifth century (Fig 1.2):

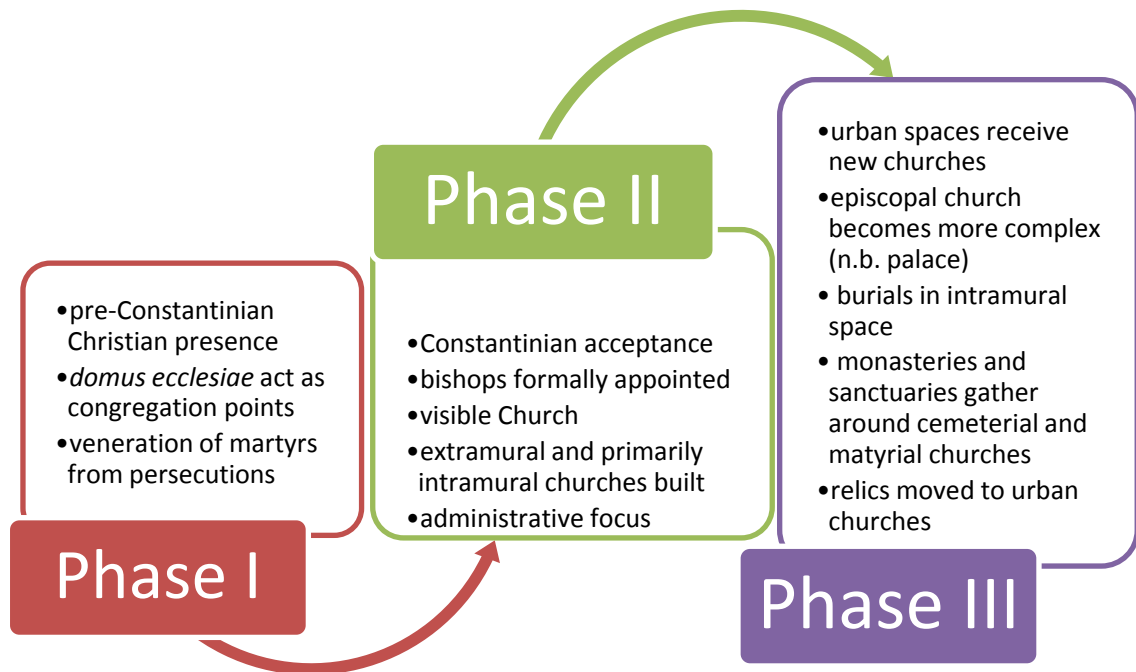


Figure 1.2: Model for urban Christianisation as defined by Cantino Wataghin (1995).

The placement of the church, however, varied from place to place (Christie 2006: 97; Cantino Wataghin 1995: 220), with location undoubtedly dependent on space, population densities, known martyrs, and where previous churches were established. Cantino Wataghin's model, however, contrasts with Caseau's (2001) work as well as Heijmans' and Guyon's (2006) recent work on urban Christianisation in southern Gaul. With respect to Caseau, she describes a period of 'desacralisation', which saw the occasional occurrence of religious violence; this was followed by a change in attitude towards the preservation of some elements from the past – a 'nostalgia'; and finally, an effort to transform the cityscape into a Christian one (Caseau 2001: 105-123). Heijmans and Guyon (2006: 90), on the other hand, present a slower model of Christianisation in Gaul, noting how most bishoprics only featured one church in the fourth century and that expansion only occurred c. AD 500. Interestingly, they observe a common 'peripheral' placement of episcopal churches (2006: 94). The primary differences between scholars resulted from the framework: Cantino Wataghin approached her work from an archaeological perspective in Italy contrasting Heijmal and Guyon's focus on the archaeological evidence

in Gallic cities, whereas Caseau favoured a wider region of study (e.g. western Europe) and approached her study from a historical framework.

The spread of Christianity to rural spaces has similarly produced works suggesting specific phases and processes. Caseau (2004: 105-145), again approaching from an historical perspective, presented this transition as a confrontation between pagans and Christians, with evidence for both destruction and reuse of old temples. Indeed, many studies on the Christianisation of the countryside suggested that after Christianity was established in fourth-century urban spaces, private-, imperial-, and episcopal-led foundations begin to 'Christianise' the purportedly pagan landscape (Fig. 1.3). The initial 'push' to rural settings is usually identified as the fifth and sixth centuries. Baptismal churches are branded as 'episcopal foundations' and churches with furnished burials as 'private' or 'familial' churches. Imperial- or royal-sponsored churches are only recognised by historical or epigraphic source material. During the seventh and eighth centuries, rural monasteries (usually royal) are constructed and the 'ancient pagan landscape' is no longer identifiable, concluding the processes of Christianisation (see Chapter 5).

Barnish (2001: 387-402) for Italy and Codou *et al.* (2007: 58-83) for Gaul follow this model, utilising archaeological evidence for liturgical furnishings to identify the patrons. Cantino Wataghin (2000: 225) focuses on the bishop, highlighting the letters of Gelasius to Pelagius as evidence that the Church wished to organise the countryside by creating diocesan parishes. Despite the focus on one agent of Christianisation, similar processes and progressions are realised, as seen in her discussion of monasticism led by the Lombard nobility (*ibid*: 229-234). More on Italy is work by de Vingo (2012: 401-420) who focused on the settlement context of churches in the Piedmont region, highlighting how technical and economic changes were intrinsically important to transitions in settlement formation and thus in church foundations.

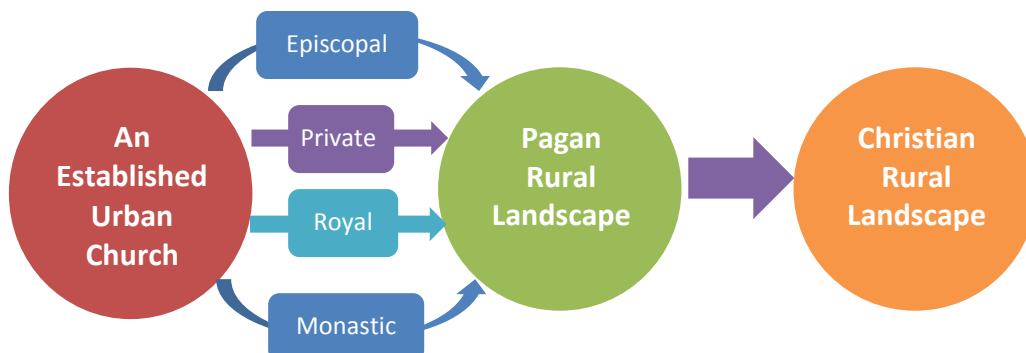


Figure 1.3: Model for rural Christianisation.

However, criticism of the label Christianisation has arisen in recent years. Dijkstra (2008: 18) regards the term as masking Christian triumphalism - essentially Christianisation still can be said to refer predominantly to Christian conquest of pagan spaces. He suggests using 'religious transformation' as an alternative label as it implies change but not necessarily only from paganism to Christianity. Bowes' (2007) article on the rural home in Gaul clearly lays out her concern over 'Christianisation', suggesting it uses a "processual rubric" and focuses too much on the role of bishops in the process (*ibid*: 148). She (*ibid*: 150) further argues that the term is never clearly defined:

Greater numbers of Christians, greater institutional organization, greater social prominence - is rarely specified while precise mechanisms of what would have been a deeply complex socio-economic not to mention religious change are frequently glossed over.

While Bowes concludes that it is time to move beyond Christianisation, the criticisms against Christianisation are predominantly semantic - the definition of the word that is primarily under attack not necessarily the studies themselves. Indeed, many works that utilise the term (e.g. Terrier 2007a; Christie 2006; Wood 2005) present clear and wider studies on the nature of religious transformation and changing landscapes. Finally, the term still best describes one target of this present thesis: namely to examine the ways in which Christianity impacted on and changed urban and rural landscapes.

1.2.2. Urban Decline or Transformation

The traditional debate within late antique and early medieval studies relates to whether we regard these periods as one of decline or transformation. Interestingly, while Bowersock (1996: 33-43) argued that the paradigm of decline was disappearing by the mid-1990s, citing the influence of Peter Brown's work and changes in modern thought towards religion and alien cultures, the persistence of the debate in recent years is evident in Liebeschuetz's (2001) *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* and Ward-Perkins (2005) *The Fall of Rome: and the End of Civilization*. Indeed, within this study, changes in urban form and function will be discussed in whether we see evidence for decline or transformation. But how do authors supporting a decline in urban form qualify their image of late antique towns? What do studies supporting 'transformation' reveal?

First, both Liebeschuetz and Ward-Perkins evaluated these questions in different manners. On the one hand, Liebeschuetz placed emphasis on epigraphic data. He (2001: 11-12) argues that dedicatory inscriptions act as signifiers of 'urban health', proposing that a drop these inscriptions from the third to fourth centuries indicated the decline of the city as a political community, of its institutions, and of social and political attitudes towards urban space. Examining over 100 cities across the Empire to support his thesis, he also (*ibid*: 135-136) stresses decreasing densities and shrinking populations as signs that the "Roman city" had been failing since the fourth century.

Ward-Perkins, on the other hand, evaluates a range of archaeological data to present his argument. For example, he (2005: 87-121) proposes that the technological changes and the "disappearance of comfort" – such as the decline in mass-produced items (e.g. pottery) and high-quality goods (e.g. silver plates) – act as signifiers for decline. With regard to urban and suburban space, he (*ibid*: 149-150) describes a decline in monumental public buildings, outlining how even churches were relatively small in comparison to the older temples and other classical public structures. Interestingly, Ward-Perkins (1997: 163-164) has noted how amongst the differing opinions regarding the fate of urban spaces, there are some agreements between the 'catastrophists' and 'continuists': the 'disappearance' of towns in late Roman period amidst the slow rise of 'new' centres (e.g. Venice) by AD 800; the continued use of the term *civitates*; episcopal capitals primarily based in former Roman towns; new monumental building taking place, with signs of "sophisticated craftsmanship"; and domestic housing being much less impressive than those built during the Roman period.

Perhaps in response to texts and papers returning to 'decline' and 'fall' as adjectives of Late Antiquity, *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?* (2006) brings together a collection of articles with the express view of re-addressing the question of urban decline or transformation. Indeed, a review by Moralee (2007) points out that the conference and subsequent publication was directly responding to Liebeschuetz's "boldly titled" text, who rightly contributes to the volume as a concluding chapter. With regard to the Gallic and Italian regions, Guyon (2006: 106), Loseby (2006: 87), and Marazzi (2006: 57-58) argue that urban life continued into Late Antiquity, although they utilise terms such as 'simplification' and suggest that there was a new type of urbanism by the

seventh century, namely one focused on enhancing the city with Christian structures (e.g. churches, chapels, baptisteries) and on maintaining circuit walls.

More recently *Debating Urbanism: Within and Beyond the Walls A.D. 300-700* (2008) presents many case studies which address views on the decline and transformation debate. Thus Rogers (2010: 57-81) attempts to “re-conceptualise decline” within a Roman Britain context, showing continued activity within urban contexts (e.g. Silchester’s *forum-basilica*, pp. 70-71) and arguing that “aspects of urban behaviour and civil life persisted” beyond the maintenance of the town’s infrastructure. Others, such as Sami (2010: 213-328) and Cirelli (2010: 329-364), discuss the importance of religion with regard to urban transition and transformation, both presenting an image of change and not necessarily of decline in their respective studies of Sicily and Ravenna. Sami (2010: 231-233), in particular, points to a renewal of civic building through Christian patronage in the fifth century as well as renewed economic activity. Importantly, he (*ibid*: 233) comments that good building construction techniques are evident in the architecture of the sixth- and seventh-century Byzantine churches but contrasts these techniques with an overall ‘regression’ of technological skill in domestic settings, demonstrating thereby how in some contexts aspects of both decline and continuity are present.

Investigations into whether urban spaces experienced phases of post-classical decline or transformation undoubtedly link to questions of Christianisation. Indeed, Ward-Perkins (2006: 109-110) and Liebeschuetz (2001: 38-40) state that the classical city experienced considerable loss with public spaces becoming filled with shoddy structures as the overall layout of urban centres shifted away from the traditional *fora* to cathedrals. Other scholars, notably Loseby (2011: 11) and Curran (2006: 117), view these characteristics as a change in Roman values not necessarily an end of traditional Roman civic pride and euergetism. Loseby (2011: 11-12) rightly comments how the construction of churches and the maintenance of town walls in fact represent a continuity of Roman values, since these aspects of building and planning continue to demonstrate how cities persisted as major venues for “aristocratic display and monument”. Finally, this brief overview presents a seemingly polarising image of the ‘decline versus transformation’ debate: namely that the classical city either declined or transformed. The recent article by Liebeschuetz’s (2006: 463-483) rightly questions why these ideas are often presented as incompatible when cities undoubtedly experienced both periods of decline and growth.

1.2.3 Identity and Ethnogenesis

A common theme in modern early medieval historiography is the origins of the Germanic peoples (e.g. Curta 2005a; 2005b; Gillett 2002a; Geary 2002; Mitchell and Greatrex 2000; Rosenwein and Little 1998; Pohl 1998a; 1998b). Who were these 'barbarians'? Where did they come from? While this thesis focuses predominantly on the theme of Christianisation and to a lesser extent the urban decline versus transformation debate, I would argue that understanding the basics of the concept of ethnogenesis and how it frames larger questions of identity will provide invaluable context to the wider secondary literature on the Germanic peoples and their movements between AD 300 and 800.

Traditionally it was thought the Germanic peoples were defined by blood and family. A seminal work by Reinhard Wenskus in 1961, however, attempted to move away from this to the model of *Stammesbildung* (a term translated today as 'ethnogenesis'), using the Franks as a case study. This theory now is defined as the process by which people of different backgrounds came together under traditions and customs established by a royal family. Wenskus' work influenced a series of subsequent research on different Germanic peoples, notably Wolfram's study on the Goths (1979, trans. 1988), Pohl on the Avars (1988), and Wood on the Burgundians (1990).

In relation to the Alamanni, research attempting to use this model to determine the origins of this 'people' is problematic. Both Drinkwater (2007:45) and Hummer (1998b:2) recognise that the term 'Alamanni' was likely used to define several groups of people, akin to the Latin term *Germani*. Additionally, there remains no account of what the Alamanni called themselves in the fourth and fifth centuries. Other problems arise: the few descriptions of an Alamannic social hierarchy provided in Ammianus' history were all derived from battles with the Germanic force, notably his account of kings and nobles at the battle of Strasbourg in 357 (Amm.Marc., XVI.12.1):

When this disgraceful disaster had become known, Chnodomarius and Vestralpus, the kings of the Alamanni, and Urius and Ursicinus, with Serapion, and Suomarius, and Hortarius, having collected all their forces into one body, encamped near the city of Strasburg...

While it is reasonable to suppose that during this time there was a 'King Chonodomarius' commanding the left and right wings of the Alamannic force, Drinkwater (2007: 118-119) suggests that the term 'king' may have been generously bestowed. Rather, these 'kings' identified by Ammianus were generals or leaders of different parts of an army, not

necessarily monarchs of a cohesive group. Even if one assumes that the Alamanni were in fact ruled by a central authoritative figure, both Drinkwater (*ibid*: 121) and Hummer (1998a:15-16) highlight that Ammianus' reference (XVI.12.17) to the murder of King Gundomadus in 357 by Vodomarius could suggest that the 'mechanism of succession' was dependent on strength and politics, and not on a central family or on hereditary ties, which is a central component of Wenskus' theory.

Drinkwater's study ends at the subjugation of the Alamannic territory by the Merovingian kingdom. Hummer (1998a: 15-17), however, argues that a 'new' Alamannic identity only fully emerged in the sixth and seventh centuries, created from the formation of the duchy of Alamanni as a geopolitical construct by the Merovingian kings. This cohesion is first noticeable in the accounts of Clovis' difficulty against the people in 497, showing that they were a formidable army rather than the "roving uncoordinated band of warriors of the third and fourth centuries" (*ibid*: 16). Indeed, Burnell's (1988: 42-44) early analysis of the Alamannic duchy suggests that the upper nobility showed signs of a new 'gens' associated with "stubborn independence and isolation".

Research on the origins of the Burgundians also finds difficulty using the ethnogenesis model because, like the Alamanni, there is little information on their origins. Wood's exploration into their history and origin highlights a range of sources and their changing perspectives, such as Ammianus' military concerns, Sidonius Apollinaris' accusations of their barbarity, Gregory of Tours' and Avitus of Vienne's accounts of their religious affiliations and the legal views from Gundobad and Sigismund (see Wood 1990; 2003). Wood (2003: 267; 1990: 64) was thus inclined to characterise the Burgundians as a group who were defined by those who wrote about them; however, Handley (2000: 91) argues that a Burgundian 'self-awareness' was left behind in their names, their consular dating, and laws, albeit this was an awareness that was closely aligned with Roman traditions and customs.

Thus, while impossible to discern a specific origin for the creation of their kingdom, it is still possible to suggest the existence of a Burgundian identity. The letters of Avitus of Vienne and the Burgundian legal codes are especially useful in discussing two key components: their religious and their political autonomy. Firstly, the Arianism of the Burgundians continues to be regularly debated, especially considering the contradictory primary sources: Orosius (*Hist.ad.Pag.* VIII.32) presents the Burgundians as Orthodox

Christians in the fifth century whereas the letters between Gundobad and Avitus show that the heresy was present not only in the upper nobility but also in the cities, as shown in the construction of Arian churches. Other letters of Avitus demonstrate that Arianism amongst the Burgundians was a common trait but it should be made clear that Gundobad was fairly tolerant of Western Orthodoxy - letters between bishop and king over theological issues demonstrate this quality (*Epp.* 21, 22, 30, 44). However, the similar settings and even similar liturgical furnishings of Orthodox and Arian churches make it impossible to differentiate one church from another without some sort of extant iconographic or written evidence (Ward-Perkins 2010: 267; Urbano 2005: 94-97; Bonnet and Reynaud 2000: 245; Mathisen 1997: 664-665; 689).

Insights from their legal codes help to further discussion on aspects of Burgundian society, such as hereditary kingship, class, land-use and gender (Boyson 1988). Even trade with the Alamanni is indicated with a law explaining how a Burgundian should deal with a runaway Alamannic slave (*ibid*: 104). However, the Burgundians of the fourth century and the history pertaining to the fall of the first kingdom are not referenced anywhere, possibly indicating that these events were not substantial to Burgundian self-perception in the late fifth and early sixth centuries (Wood 2003: 257). Wood's (*ibid*: 269) analysis of a Burgundian 'gens' presents their identity as a 'half-way' house in which their identity was closely linked with the Romans and with their federate status which was made obsolete by the rise of the Franks.

The quest for Frankish origins was core to Wenskus' paper in 1961. He concluded that the 'Chauci' were the origins of the *Traditionskern* connected to the Merovingian house (see Murray 2002: 55-63 for summary of Wenskus' work). More recent approaches embrace the fluidity of identity and ethnicity. Hummer (1998a: 11-13) explains that those Franks ruled by the Merovingian dynasty of the sixth century were fundamentally different from the Salian Franks, a group which rose to prominence in the fourth century. The development of a single kingship under Clovis marked a shift in their society and their traditions, thus marking a shift in what it meant to be a Frank. Thence, Hummer (*ibid*: 13) uses the phrase 'discontinuous ethnogenesis' to describe the Franks.

Other ethnographic studies on the Franks completely avoid ethnogenesis. Halsall (1998: 141) makes clear that it is not possible to define a single identity to a group of people: "any individual may be perceived as possessing a number of different identities;

these may be based upon ethnicity, religious belief, age, gender, family..." An overview of these various identities demonstrated the many 'dimensions' of social interaction and the inherent complexities. But Halsall (*ibid*: 170) does concede that the Merovingian monarchy acted as the effective 'glue' bonding these various identities together.

Details on the origins of the Lombards - famously painted by Paul the Deacon (*Hist.Lang.* I.1-2) as the descendants of the Winnlli from southern Scandinavia and gaining their name from Freya after Wotan asked who the long-bearded tribe were - are scarce on account of poor literary evidence and relatively meagre archaeological details. As a result, many studies on the Lombards focus on their ethnicity and identity after the creation of their kingdom in the mid-sixth century (i.e. Ausenda *et al.* 2009; Brather 2009: 30-68; Harrison 2008; Schwab 1979: 21-28). Harrison presents a 'subjective' approach to Lombard ethnicity, which he defines as a process through which individuals were constituted as members of a certain group. His findings characterised the Lombards as warriors and mercenaries, through an overview of the primary literature, such as Gregory the Great's description of "villainous plunderers of churches and monasteries in Italy" (Harrison 1991: 26-27). Harrison also examines the Lombards as a people, using both historical and archaeological evidence to demonstrate a "flexible ethnic group without any firm religious, linguistic or physical features" (*ibid*: 27-28). An important contribution is Harrison's critique (*ibid*: 31) of previous suggestions that the Lombards lived separately from the indigenous population based on the location of their cemeteries.

More convincing is work by Pohl-Resl (1998) on the Lombard law codes which attempts to trace the ethnic identity of the Lombards through their legal practices. Immediately noting that the "most important ethnic distinction reflected in the legal system is the one between Romans and Lombards", Pohl-Resl (*ibid*: 207-211) demonstrates how the gradual adaptation to Roman legal traditions resulted in various stages and forms of disruption and change for both Lombards and native Romans. Notably the Lombards gave up their "oral legal practices" but in reality the picture presents a permeable boundary with the Romans. This resulted in a weak ethnic identity by the ninth century (*ibid*: 219). However, an important detail flagged by Pohl-Resl is the Frankish awareness of ethnic distinctions in Italy and how in various charters ethnicity and legal practice became more connected by the late ninth century (*ibid*: 219).

With its origins in predominantly historical research, it is not surprising that archaeological research on 'ethnogenesis' remain few. One exception is the work by Curta (2005) on the Slavs and Tervingi, which concluded that their identities and 'ethnogeneses' were inherently tied to the frontier economy and the policies of the emperors. Curta's (*ibid*: 197-202) analysis of the material culture suggested that the creation of 'prestige goods' (i.e hard to obtain items) were used in the creation of power structures in their societies and were products of the frontier policies of Constantine and Justinian. He emphasises that the Tervingi and the Slavs grew out of "bits and pieces, human and cultural", that coalesced around various leaders, who used and sought these prestige items and goods (*ibid*: 202-204).

But many scholars have criticised the concept of ethnogenesis and argue for a change in the study of 'barbarian identity'. Brather (2002: 159) found that an archaeological comparison between the fourth-century and seventh-century Alamanni yielded no striking changes in material culture to indicate an ethnogenesis had occurred. The material culture, namely grave goods, only displayed social stratification not specific ethnic identities. Thus, Brather (*ibid*: 174) concluded that archaeology in an ethnogenesis framework does not work. Gillett (2002: 16) critiques the theory for operating at a distance from its sources, assuming an elitist system, and combining myth and history. Murray (2002: 64), on the other hand, argues that Wenskus' answer was fundamentally flawed as there is no evidence of a sacral kingship associated with the 'Chauci'. As a result, he sees (*ibid*: 43-45; 64-65) Wenskus' ethnogenesis theory attempting to create a narrative when there was no basis for one, using "academic Klingon" and undefined terms which confuse rather than enlighten. Cultural traditions and areas of interaction can be discerned but this does not inform on ethnicity (*ibid* 2002: 173-174).

In a response to these criticisms, Pohl (2002: 221-222) observes that their versions and critiques of 'ethnogenesis' are based on Wenskus and not recent scholarship. And while Pohl has his reservations for using archaeology in ethnic studies of the Germanic peoples, he (*ibid*: 236-237) argues that Brather's study unfairly attempts to use archaeology alone to determine ethnicity rather than using an interdisciplinary approach. A recent article has seen Curta (2007: 159-185) state that the debates on ethnicity and 'ethnogenesis' have only reopened questions, specifically "whether or not we can understand the past, about interpretative frameworks within which to position narrative

sources and about issues of modern historiography.” (*ibid*: 185). This raises important questions of methods and approaches to understanding identity: Were there distinct identities in the past or was it more ‘multicultural’? Is it possible to find identity? Or should academic discourse move away from the concept? Reimitz (2012: 1-4), in a summary of the debate between the ‘Vienna School’ and the ‘Goffart School’, concludes that the arguments by Murray and Gillett especially have neglected to fully examine nuanced works by Curta (2001), Halsall (2007) and Heather (2007), studies which have utilised new approaches to the study of ‘barbarian identities’ during the early medieval period. Nevertheless, such publications have highlighted three key aspects of studying this time period: 1) our perspectives on Germanic history and origins derive largely from Roman sources; 2) ethnicity is not a biological trait but rather is a generally fluid and flexible part of one’s identity; and 3) material culture on its own cannot inform on ethnic identity.

1.3 Switzerland: Past and Current Studies

Thus far, the literature review has focused on predominantly non-Swiss research on identity and Christianisation. This section examines the development of historical and archaeological research in Switzerland and its contributions to wider debates.

1.3.1 Historical Studies

Switzerland, despite what might appear to outsiders as a relative dearth of research, boasts an impressive record when it comes to investigating its past. Since the fifteenth century, attempts have been made to collate and assemble into text the history and church-history of the country. Notable ‘Fathers of Swiss History’ include Hoffmann (1677), von Waldkirch (1721), and Leu (1747-65); these works later influenced Victor Attinger, who began *The Historical Bibliographical Dictionary of Switzerland (Hist.-Biogr. Lexikon der Schweiz)* in 1921.

The influence of these compilations, notably Attinger’s lexicon, inspired two noteworthy series: *Helvetia Sacra* (1964-2007; abbr. *HS*) and the recent *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1988-present; abbr. *HLS*). The first comprises a project focussed on

collating and describing the ecclesiastical institutions and histories of Switzerland from the earliest periods of Christianity to 1874. While a seemingly arbitrary end-point, at the time the Swiss Constitution forbade any new monastic and diocesan establishments, thus producing a convenient limit. The series is invaluable for bringing together information on diocesan and monastic history, as well as relevant archival material. For example, the third section of the series, which focuses on monasteries, covers many aspects specific to each institution: location, diocese, name, patron, foundation, suppression (i.e. Reformation period), status (independent, dependent on the State), gender, and history. A review of this particular section praised the impressive scholarly apparatus but also criticised the “too short” historical introduction to monasticism (Lackner 1987: 521-522). Moreover, since the *HS* series primarily acts as a reference guide to researchers, the series rarely engages into any debate or academic discourse on the significance of these institutions and the religion in general.

These critiques are also valid for the *HLS*. Established in 1988 by the Swiss Academy of Humanities and the General Swiss Society of Historical Research (*Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Geschichte*), the project set out to update and revise Attinger’s older series. A welcome component is an on-line database which makes available all the entries (in three languages) to the wider public. The encyclopaedia comprises a vast amount of data, ranging from entries on communities, cantons, other nation states to historical phenomena. While also not engaging in academic discourse, the staff of the project comprises 100 academic advisors and over 2,500 historians, all of whom collaborate to ensure the information is current and offer bibliographic references for further research.

More pertinent here are historical, archaeological, and multi-disciplinary studies which have focussed on the late antique and early medieval period. Martin’s (trans. 1971) *Switzerland: From Roman Times to Present*, attempts a complete narrative, placing much significance on the early medieval period. He (1971: 12) notably argued that the linguistic configuration of Switzerland was largely influenced by the Germanic migrations of the fifth and sixth centuries: Burgundians in the West (French); Alamanni and Franks along the Swiss Plateau and Rhine (German); Lombards in the South (Italian); and Romans who “escaped invasion” in the Eastern Alps (Romansch). While simplistic, this theory has influenced subsequent works, especially on national identity (e.g. Zierhofer 2005; Pauli

1984). Indeed, Zierhofer's (2005: 229) discourse on a Swiss national identity proposed that the origin of the country's national identity began between AD 440 and 800 based on the settlement of Germanic peoples and their mingling with Roman people. The connection of modern national identities to earlier ethnic groups is of course by no means unique to Switzerland – France had made clear its ties to the 'Gauls' with the creation of the statue of Vercingetorix by Napoleon III (Geary 1988: 71-72).

Both Drack (1988) and Fellmann (1992) examine the Roman period, highlighting the excavations at *Vindonissa*, *Augusta Raurica* and *Aventicum* when discussing settlement. Similarly, Flutsch (2005) presents an historical survey on Roman Switzerland and makes reference to where the literature is supported by archaeological data. In these culture-historical methods to understanding the past, cases for continuity are common but lose sight of the nuances and complexities behind the evidence for such conclusions. In other cases, historians have turned to hagiographical and other archival materials. Thus, Vischer *et al.* (1995: 27-35) focussed on saints' lives and other manuscripts to bring out discussions on monasteries and their founders. Despite a heavy reliance on these problematic sources, this text remains invaluable for its section on early Christianity in Switzerland (c. AD 300-800) as well as for engaging in discussions of the significance and impact of Christianity on urban and rural settlements (see review by Naphy 1997: 511).

1.3.2 Archaeological Studies

Early interest into the country's ecclesiastical history prompted a number of excavations at major cathedrals and monasteries in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Architectural historians, antiquarians and sometimes priests led these projects, such as the investigations at the abbey of St Maurice from 1898-1902 led by Canon Pierre Bourban (Fig 1.4).



Figure 1.4: The 1902 excavations of the original abbey church at St Maurice, led by Canon Peter Bourban (Image courtesy of Abbaye de Saint Maurice)

Some of these explorations were surprisingly advanced - Hippolyte-Jean Gosse's excavations at Geneva's St Peter in 1850 recorded plans and sections of stratigraphy (Bonnet 1986: 4). However, these projects often damaged and sometimes destroyed important data. For example, a tomb discovered during Gosse's investigations found the body dressed in ceremonial attire; but exposure to the air unfortunately destroyed the textiles, although Bonnet (*ibid*: 4) comments that Gosse managed to draw the cloth in such detail that it was possible to confirm a sixth-century date. In terms of systematic excavation and publication, the early studies and investigations of Louis Blondel (1885-1967) remain invaluable. He carried out fieldwork at many churches throughout Switzerland and recorded Geneva's St Peter, the abbey of St Maurice, and many other churches in Switzerland (see Blondel 1953: 19-47; 1951: 1-15; 1948: 9-57; 1933: 77-101). His many publications provided horizontal plans and profiles of stratigraphic surfaces which guided later re-investigations. Moreover, his interpretations "highlighted the richness of a period often neglected by historians" (Bonnet 1986: 5).

The creation of archaeological cantonal offices in 1961 increased the frequency and effectiveness of excavation and fieldwork (Capper 2012; Bonnet 1986: 6). The federal constitution in 1966 and then in 1979 legislated that cantons are responsible in the first line for the conservation and management of the cultural heritage; every canton has its archaeological service and relevant special legislation (Swiss Federal Law, SR 451). Regular excavation projects led to a wealth of both artefactual and architectural data. Practices became more standardised, as well as the use of scientific tools, such as radio-carbon dating. Cantonal publication journals became more common, such as the establishment of *Archäologie Baselland* in 1984, documenting and reporting on yearly excavations.

In terms of church archaeology, restoration projects on churches led to the discovery of a number of early medieval foundations, which provided data for research into early Christian architecture and resulted in the compilation of number of important catalogues: *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen* (Oswald et al. 1966-1968, Vol 1-2), *Archeologia Altomedievale nel Canton Ticino* (Foletti 1997: 113-179), *Frühe Kirchen im östlichen Alpengebiet: von der Spätantike bis in ottonische Zeit* (Sennhauser 2003, Vol 1-2), and the recent international project *Corpus Architecturae Religiosae Europae-Teilprojekte Deutschland, Österreich, Schweiz* (CARE-D/A/CH; Faccani and Ristow 2012). These catalogues, however, are fundamentally interested in developing an understanding of church architecture over a large period of time. A problem is the lack of context, namely the settlement and landscape of churches built during the first centuries of Christianity.

Endeavours in western and northern Switzerland now focus their research on specific problems, such as how churches impacted on settlements and who acted as the main agents for their foundation. In particular, excavations at Geneva's St Peter from 1976 to 2003 contributed to our understanding of Geneva's urban transformation during Late Antiquity (see Bonnet 2002, 1996, 1993, 1987; Bonnet and Privati 2000; Bonnet and Reynaud 2000). Bonnet (2002: 143-144) utilises a *longue-durée* approach, arguing that to understand and track urban redesign, it was important to establish the earlier urban features to identify subtle changes in topography. He then compared the results with other western Swiss sites, notably Kaiseraugst and Martigny, highlighting that in each case their urban topographies were differently organised (*ibid*: 146-147). Bonnet also contends that local bishops and the Burgundian royalty were important patrons to the late antique and early medieval Church (Bonnet and Reynaud 2000: 243-246; Bonnet and Privati 2000: 385-386; Bonnet 1986: 24-30; 40-56).

While Bonnet has focussed predominantly on urban transformation at Geneva, Terrier's work with the Geneva Archaeological Services has expanded discussion of Christianisation to the rural landscape (Terrier 2007b, 2003, 2002a, 2002b). Using the excavations from five rural churches, Terrier (2007: 85-86) argues that rural Christianisation, with churches so close to Geneva, was dependant on the bishop. Common trends noted by both Terrier and Bonnet are the importance of pre-existing roads, funerary settings, and villa sites to the establishment of churches (*ibid* 2007: 89-90;

Bonnet 2002: 147). Marti's (see 2009, 2006a, 2003, 2000) work in the Baselland also contributes much to our understanding on rural Christianisation and similar trends were established, including funerary settings and the importance of the pre-existing Roman road network in relation to the placement of early medieval churches (Marti 2006b: 46-63; 2009: 292, 305). Other cantons have seen church archaeology and explored the spread of sanctuaries in the rural zone, such as in Valais (Faccani 2004; Lehner & Wibl   1996: 104-109). Throughout these works, evidence for continuity appears astonishing - the stratigraphy of churches show continued use to modern times.

Most studies on Christianisation have a focus on churches, excluding monasteries and smaller chapels. Monasticism in Switzerland is an important element and is tied with elite patronage (Vischer *et al.* 1995: 27-32). Historical research has stressed that, in the majority of cases, the monastery was erected by an outside influence, such as Sigismund's monastery in Saint-Maurice or even Romainm  tier, where the first monastery was allegedly built by a nobleman-turned-monk from the Franche-Comt   region of France (Bagliani 2007). It is at Romainm  tier that archaeology has begun to stress the landscape: a project to celebrate 1100 years of Cluny in Switzerland has Eggenberger (2010) working with computer and digital photography teams to show the transitions the monastery experienced from its beginnings to modern times (Fig 1.5).

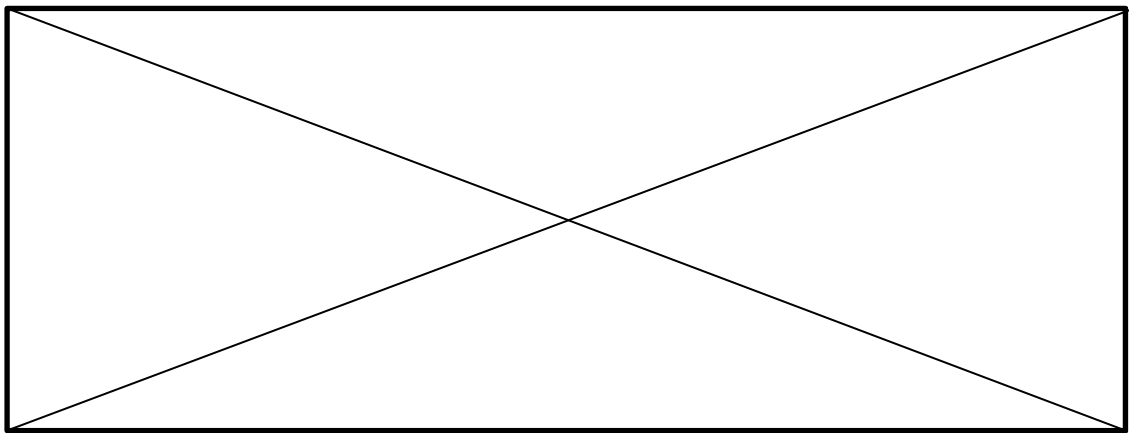


Figure 1.5: Digitisation of Romainm  tier. Left image depicts the site c. AD 450 and the right image between the seventh and tenth centuries (Eggenberger 2010: www.Romainm  tier2010.ch, accessed May 26th 2010).

Interestingly, Swiss archaeologists continue to seek the identification barbarian peoples, often attributing sites, objects, and burials to specific ethnic groups. Kissling, for example, (2003: 193) proposes these identifications based on finds (or a lack of):

The small percentage (20%-30%) of burial offerings in cemeteries of Kallnack, Niederwangen and Oberwangen are proof of their affiliation with a Burgundian cultural and funerary circle. The tombs in the cemetery of Langethal are built different and contain a great quantity of burial finds, both signs of affiliation to the Alaman culture.

Most of these attempts, however, have met with limited success. For example, the village of Devellier-Courtételle, located in canton Jura, was occupied between late sixth and early eighth century, a period in which the Merovingian kings had control over the region, and the excavators attempted to use the artefacts to suggest the inhabitants' ethnicity (Federici-Schenardi and Fellner 2003: 270-274; 2002: 265-272). But they found that it was not possible - many of the artefacts came from different regions indicating trade rather than being local and an emblematic sign for ethnicity. They could, however, recognise that it was a site of Germanic origin (Schenardi and Fellner 2003: 274).

Instead of focusing on assigning an ethnicity to the settlements, Marti (2009: 291-307) chose to examine the impact of the Merovingian monarchy on the colonisation patterns from Roman to pre-Carolingian times. He illustrates three stages: growth during the Pax Romana, abandonment during late Roman period, and significant re-growth in the seventh century. Marti (*ibid*: 307) likens the settlement boom in the seventh century to a *Pax Merovingia*, referencing historical texts which suggested King Chlothar II and Dagobert II wanted to reorganise the Frankish kingdom; he further posits that the rich iron deposits in the Jura mountains were a decisive factor for the 'colonisation'.

Burials, their artefacts, and their groupings are another area where archaeologists focused on studies of social identity. The excavations at Basel-Bernerring and at Sézegnin in canton Geneva led to monographs focused on identifying the 'occupants' of the necropoleis as well as the impact of Christianity on the organisation of the burials (see Martin 1976; Privati 1983). More recently, the conference *Burgondes, Alamans, Francs, Romains: Dans l'est de la France, le sud-ouest de l'Allemagne, et la Suisse* (2003) comprised numerous reports on excavations of necropoleis in Switzerland, presenting a somewhat 'mixed' set of conclusions. For example, while Steiner (2003: 309-310) was hesitant to label changes from Roman burial customs to the traditions seen in late fifth-century tombs as 'Burgundian', Motschi (2003: 191) argued that the change in costume and funerary practices in seventh-century Solothurn correlated to a change in population (namely the Alamanni settling in the region).

Swiss archaeology thus has regularly engaged in wider debates but the ignorance of this outside Switzerland is undeniable. This stems from the noted language barrier (i.e. publications in French, Italian, and German) and the fact that most Swiss excavation reports and publications seldom are published outside of Switzerland (although this has improved in recent years). The *Journal of Swiss Archaeology* (*Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*) is an important journal, alongside the many cantonal bulletins, but does not feature in many foreign library collections.

1.4 Conclusion: Theory and Method

This chapter has examined both primary and secondary sources, recognising the availability of a good range of materials and bringing to attention two key debates: Christianisation and decline versus transformation. With regards to Christianisation, the models of urban and rural Christianisation stages, proposed from regions such as Italy and Gaul, will be used as a point of comparison. Does Switzerland witness similar stages and processes? When do Christian places of worship emerge in the countryside? Whereas initial perspectives of Christianisation focused on aspects of conversion, my focus here will be on the physical impact of Christianity on rural and urban landscapes in the study zone and how far we can observe points of transformation or possibly decline. However, as de Vingo (2012) observed, traditional archaeological approaches to Christianisation have usually studied churches as independent testimonies without considering their social, political and territorial settings. Thus, churches will be examined within their settlement context (where possible). Other aspects that contributed to a Christian landscape, such as burial customs and monastic communities, will also be explored to establish a more robust image of the late Roman and early medieval Swiss landscape.

Each of these variables will be analysed in an interdisciplinary manner. This is necessitated by the gaps in archaeological research, settlement surveys, and historical sources. As Halsall (1995a: 40) maintains, if we are to understand and recognise any changes, a multidisciplinary approach is necessary. This means studying both archaeological and historical data. Furthermore, considering the scope of the study region, the data (namely churches) have been collated into gazetteers. This format has the intended function of improving the information retrieval in this thesis, as each site cannot

be discussed in detail in the main text. It also brings together a great deal of information from a variety – and at times hard to access – of sources. The format here will have each religious building/site numbered with details of its plan, location, associated burials, chronology, excavation history, physical attributes, and construction methods. Other site specific facts will also be considered, such as date of dedication or key individual finds. Throughout this thesis, reference to specific churches will make reference to their alpha-numeric place within the gazetteers found in Volume Two. This catalogue has the added purpose of providing an overall inventory (and future research resource) for the reader.

While the primary aim of this thesis is to investigate the rise of Christianity, the plethora of ‘barbarian identities’ in the region has necessitated research into aspects of ethnogenesis and identity to form a framework from which to address questions of patronage, propriety, and the region’s geo-political history. While each study provided its own unique perspective on the question of Germanic origins or ethnicity, three common conclusions arose:

1. Germanic identity was not a fixed, immutable, biological trait but rather was fluid, flexible, and heterogeneous.
2. Our perceptions for many of these groups of people derive from non-Germanic historians or people who had specific agendas and biases.
3. The concept of identity is relative: distinctions and differences between people are normally only made when they confront each other.

Also, the debate brought into question whether it is possible to identify cultural and ‘ethnic’ markers based on material culture. As Brather highlighted in his research on the Alamanni, attempts to form an ‘ethnic’ identity based on material remains have relied too heavily on ‘outsider’ sources and assumptions. Multidisciplinary studies, however, have demonstrated that cultural and social differences can be traced and this will be crucial when discussing the patronage and propriety of a church and its associated land.

Finally, while it remains difficult perhaps to suggest the Alamanni were a single coherent group in the fourth and fifth centuries, to allow for clarity in this thesis it would seem best to adopt a territorial approach to group identity, whereby the Burgundians in the fifth and sixth centuries were the administrative powers present in western Switzerland; the Alamanni, an amalgamation of people in the fourth and fifth centuries, later administrators in their duchy, were present in southern Germany and northern Switzerland; and the Lombards in northern Italy and Ticino; with the Franks eventually taking control of the entire region. The purposes of this approach lies in giving more voice to context to the longer term history, settlement, church and monastic processes and acting as points on comparison, as it is through differences and distinctions that social categories, such as religious identity, emerge. From this, the thesis will better explore how far these aspects of Christianisation can be informed by or will inform on studies of identity in Switzerland.

Chapter 2

Switzerland in Context

The aims here are to establish the geographic and environmental context of the study region and to characterise its urban and rural settlement patterns from the fourth to the ninth centuries. How do we geographically define this region? What settlement shifts, such as abandonments or the establishment of new communities, occurred between the Roman and early medieval periods? How were communities connected and what mountain passes were in use? Important too is to consider the historical context. Who was controlling this region between AD 300 and 800?

2.1 The Swiss Landscape

Now a great tragedy appeared in the Gauls at the town of *Tauredunum*, situated on the river Rhône. After a sort of rumbling had continued for more than sixty days, the mountain was finally torn away and separated from another mountain near it, together with men, churches, property and houses, and fell into the river, and the banks of the river were blocked and the water flowed back. For that place was shut in on either side by mountains and the torrent flowed in a narrow way. It overflowed above and engulfed and destroyed all that was on the bank. Then the gathered water burst its way downstream and took men by surprise, as it had above, and caused a loss of life, overturned houses, destroyed beasts of burden, and overwhelmed with a sudden and violent flood all that was on the banks as far as the city of Geneva.

(Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, IV.31)

In AD 563, part of a mountain collapsed in the Swiss Alps onto the village known as *Tauredunum* near the Rhône. Both Gregory of Tours and Bishop Marius of Avenches (*Chron. a.* 563; *MGH SAA* 11, p. 327) chronicled the widespread destruction, including a flood that reached Geneva. A recent project has been able to confirm these events, determining that part of the Grammont, a mountain in Valais, fell into the Rhône delta which in turn caused a small tidal wave. *Tauredunum*, however, remains buried (Kremer *et al.* 2012: 756-57). This event epitomises how landscape and nature could impact on settlements and their populations. While destructions at this level were not common occurrences, landslides, avalanches, flooding, and storms were undoubtedly part of the yearly weather and geological phenomena experienced across this diverse Alpine

landscape. In general, medieval archaeologists and historians rarely incorporate both climate and landscape into research. As Ingold (2007: 32) has observed, we tend to “remodel past landscapes as if it were already set up within an enclosed, interior space”. These idealised landscapes very much limit our perceptions of how people lived in their communities and interacted with their environments. This section will thus begin by examining the physical aspects of the Swiss landscape and then place that environment into its climatological setting.

2.1.1 Geography and Hydrology

Switzerland is subdivided into three topographical zones: the Jura Mountains to the northwest, the Swiss Plateau starting at Lake Geneva and ending at Lake Constance, and the Swiss Alps to the south and east (Fig 2.1).

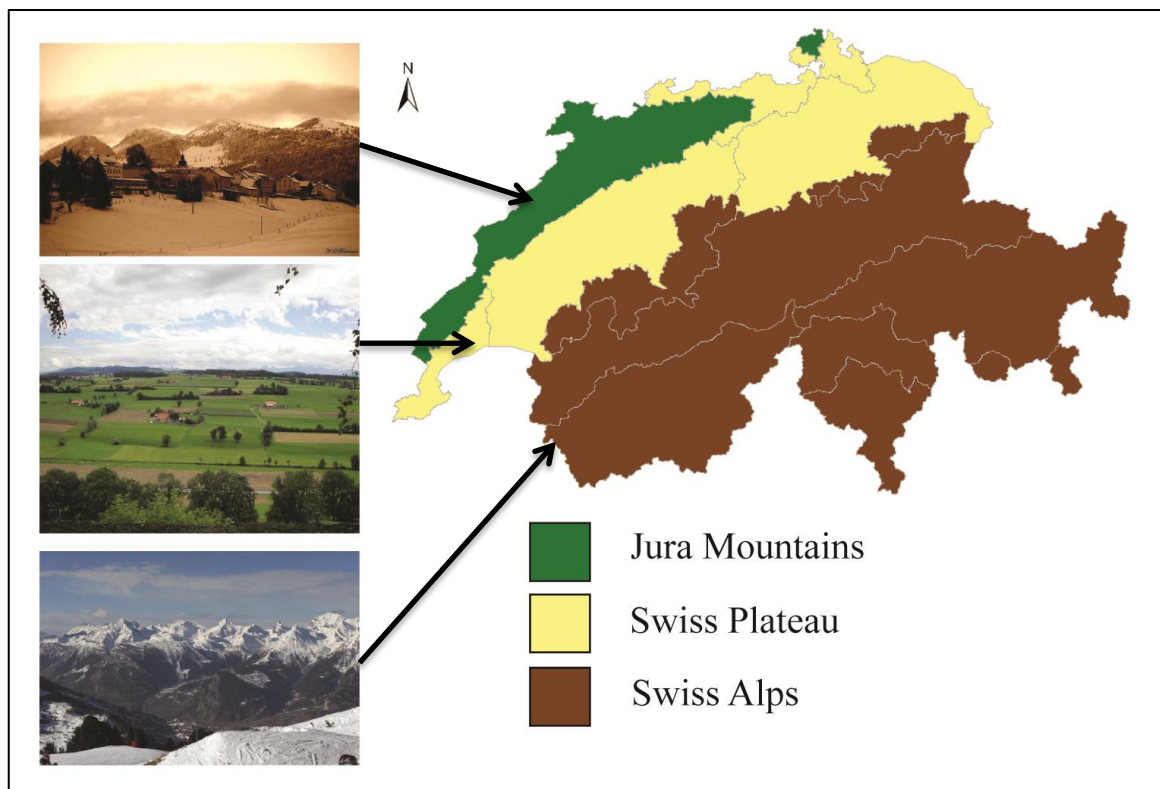


Figure 2.1: Map of Switzerland (not to scale) depicting the three main topographical zones (Images courtesy of Biemann Family).

Each has its own attributes which can be characterised thus:

- The Swiss Plateau is sharply delimited by the Jura Mountains to the north and the Swiss Alps to the south, covering 30% of the study region. Partly flat with hills, this region lies between 400m and 700m above sea level. The main geological resources include sandstone and shale.
- The smallest zone, the Jura Mountains, occupies only 10% of the surface area. It consists of low-lying mountains with elevations ranging from 700m to 1,720m and shallow bowl-shaped valleys. The area has long been heavily forested with many tree-types (spruce, fir, oak etc.). The main geological resource is limestone.
- The Swiss Alps occupy approximately 60% of the region's surface area. With an average altitude of 1700m and 48 mountains above 4,000m, the peaks of these mountains are jagged and sharp, contrasting with the curved mountaintops of the Jura. This range can be subdivided into Northern (bordering the Swiss Plateau) and Southern sections (bordering Italy), and further into smaller mountain chains, such as the Swiss Pennine Alps and the Bernese Alps. The main rock-types include gneiss and slate.

These areas form part of larger geological formations: the Swiss Alps are a section of the Alpine Range of Europe; the Swiss Plateau comprises part of a large basin which extends into France; the Jura Mountains extend into France and Germany.

Hydrologically, five river basins lie at the heart of the Swiss landscape: the Rhine, Rhône, Aar, Po, and Danube Rivers. All major lakes of Switzerland are found within these basins and are sources for many important tributaries. Moreover, these rivers (notably the Rhine and Rhône) act as communication lines and natural boundaries. Less famous, the Aar River, a tributary of the Rhine, is found at the centre of Switzerland, occupying parts of the Swiss Plateau but also descending through the Swiss Alps. Its irregular course means the Aar feeds into different lakes, such as Neuchâtel, Thun, and Brienz. Switzerland hosts

many lakes, the largest of which are found along the Swiss Plateau. These areas were (and still are) major zones for settlement, with notable clusters at Lakes Geneva, Neuchâtel, Zürich, Constance and even Lake Maggiore in Ticino. In contrast, Alpine lakes featured sparse or even no settlements, undeniably connected to the disappearance of trees and a harsher climate.

2.1.2 Climate and Weather

But in winter the ground, caked with ice, and as it were polished and therefore slippery, drives men headlong in their gait and the spreading valleys in level places, made treacherous by ice, sometimes swallow up the traveller. Therefore those that know the country well drive projecting wooden stakes along the safer spots, in order that their line may guide the traveller in safety. But if these are covered with snow and hidden, or are overturned by the streams running down from the mountains, the paths are difficult to traverse even with natives leading the way.

(Ammianus Marcellinus XV.5)



Figure 2.2: Painted wooden stakes marking routes - a custom still used today

During his travels, Ammianus Marcellinus described the Alpine region in terms of its treachery and dangerous weather. Importantly, he brings to light certain customs, namely the placement of wood stakes to guide travellers but comments that even ‘natives’ may have difficulty traversing the mountains, should these routes be covered with snow (Fig 2.2). This description relating to the mid-fourth century epitomises the Swiss Alpine region but, in reality, the Alps, and indeed Switzerland, have a number of different climate zones, producing different weather phenomena. The Swiss Plateau features a maritime temperate climate, characterised by cool winters and warm summers. Rain and snow are the dominant types of weather. The

temperateness of the region, alongside the plains and low-lying hills, produces arable land and consistent yearly precipitation. Similar to the Swiss Plateau are the Jura Mountains, which also has a maritime temperate climate. The higher altitudes, however, result in

greater snow accumulation and longer winters. This region typically has more precipitation than the Swiss Plateau (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Swissworld.org, n.d.).

The Swiss Alps feature varying and extreme weather and are divided into three climatic zones: the subalpine, alpine, and glacial zones. The first area is found beneath the tree line and contains most communities and production areas. The alpine zone is situated above the tree line and is clear of trees on account of low temperatures. While settlements in this zone are scarce, high altitude meadows and pasture can be used by livestock. The final area comprises permanent snow and ice. No settlements are found in this area and it is classed as a tundra climate. Further climatic differences are apparent between the northern and southern Alpine areas: in Ticino region, a sub-tropical climate results in vegetation more commonly found near the Mediterranean, such as fern trees. This area also has greater precipitation and warmer weather than the rest of Switzerland (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Swissworld.org, n.d.).

This diverse climate can often result in extreme types of weather phenomena and natural events. Landslides and avalanches are yearly occurrences, as are flooding and storms. The historic frequency of these events, however, remains in question given the lack of detailed accounts in local chronicles. Despite this, we presume that life in the Alps would have been fundamentally different to settlement in the Swiss Plateau and possibly in the Jura Mountains, with greater settlement expected in this area of arable land compared to the narrow valleys of the Alps.

2.2 Settlements

Early medieval settlement dynamics are only explicable by considering the situation in Roman times. By AD 200, 'Romanisation' of the Swiss hinterland was complete. Major concentrations of Roman settlements lay along the Swiss Plateau and around Lake Geneva, connected by roads and onward to Italy by the use of mountain passes, such as the Great St Bernard Pass (Fig 2.3). Which communities saw continued occupation beyond the fourth century remains a difficult question, but sources, such as the *Notitia Galliarum* and *Tabula Peutingeriana*, act as guides, although these texts list names and do not guarantee active places (Table 2.1). Moreover, after the official removal of the Roman troops in AD 401, the question of Gallo-Roman continuity becomes important with

possible abandonments amidst points of continuity at both urban and rural levels. What factors conditioned site continuity - security, economy, viability, population? What new settlements are established and why? Understanding the clusters of communities at a regional level is important for recognising where religious foci were established and whether the Church was drawn to existing and/or new sites.

2.2.1 Late Roman Settlements

Five *civitates* in the Swiss region are listed for the late Roman period, if one follows the *Notitia Galliarum*: Geneva, Nyon, Avenches, Martigny and Basel. Problems, however, arise when other sources are drawn into consideration: Basel is not listed in the Peutinger Table and appears rarely in other late antique sources. Nyon, after disastrous raids in the third century, seemingly never recovered and parts of its fabric, such as columns and stone blocks, were re-used as building material in fourth-century structures in Geneva (Bonnet 2002: 146). Ammianus Marcellinus (XV.10) described the abandonment of Avenches and its standing ruins during his travels in the mid-fourth century. The debatable nature of the status of these particular sites might reflect outdated sources for the compilers of the Peutinger Table and the *Notitia Galliarum*. More problematic is Chur, listed only in the Peutinger Table: originally established as a small fortified community at the turn of the first century AD, and listed as a *vicus* in the Antonine Itineraries, recent debate suggests the town was elevated to a *civitas* during the reign of Diocletian and acted as administrative as capital of *Rhaetia Secunda* (Durst 2002:20).

Identifying urban centres based on other characteristics is equally difficult. Gates (2003: 2-3) comments how cities can be characterised in a number of different ways: economically, demographically, socially, geographically and even ideologically. Roman 'urban' planning, however, produced certain features that are expected within cities, ranging from public and commercial buildings to monumental temples and *fora*, usually placed within regularly spaced *insulae* (Flutsch 2005: 96-95; Gates 2003: 320-21). Excavations at Nyon, Avenches, and Martigny have duly found these elements (Faccani 2004: 9-10; Blanc 2002: 177; Faccani 2002: 169-171).

Table 2.1: Roman Settlements in Switzerland and their sources		
NOTITIA GALLIARUM	TABULA PEUTINGERIANA	MODERN NAME
<i>C. Equestrium</i>	<i>Colonia Equestris</i>	Nyon
<i>C. Helvetiorum</i>	<i>Aventicum Helvetiorum</i>	Avenches
<i>C. Basiliensium</i>	n/a	Basel
<i>C. Vallensium</i>	<i>Octoduro</i>	Martigny
<i>C. Genavensium</i>	<i>Gennava</i>	Geneva
<i>Ca. Vindonissense</i>	<i>Vindonissa</i>	Windisch
<i>Ca. Ebrodunense</i>	<i>Eburoduno</i>	Yverdon-les-Bains
<i>Ca. Rauracense</i>	<i>Augusta Rauracum</i>	Kaiseraugst
n/a	<i>Penne Locos</i>	?
n/a	<i>Tarnaias</i>	Massongex(?)
n/a	<i>Salodorum</i>	Solothurn
n/a	<i>Arbor Felix</i>	Arbon
n/a	<i>Ad Fines</i>	Pfyn
n/a	<i>Curia</i>	Chur
n/a	<i>Tenedone</i>	Zurzach
n/a	<i>Iulio Magno</i>	Schleitheim
n/a	<i>Urba</i>	Orbe
n/a	<i>Petinesca</i>	?
<i>C. = Civitas; Ca. = Castrum</i>		

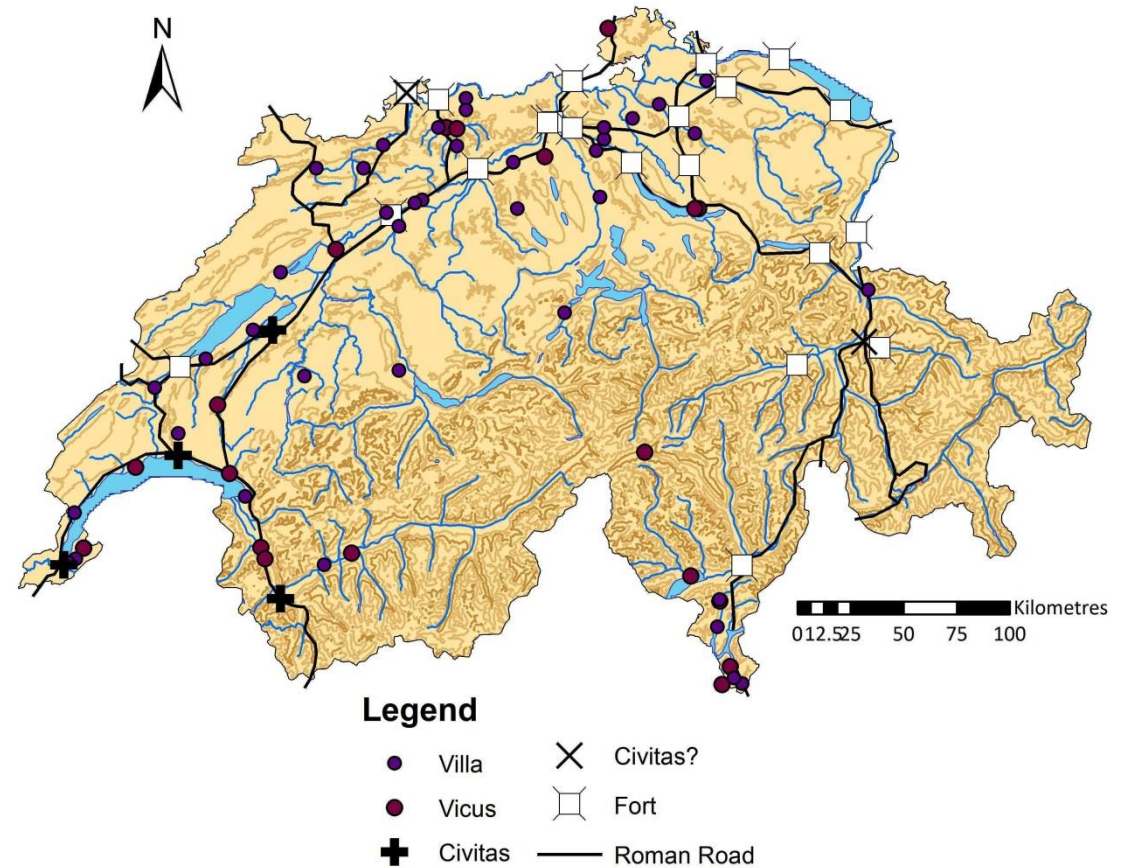


Figure 2.3: Roman settlements in Switzerland AD 300-400 (Bielmann 2012)

Similar urban features have been excavated within *Augusta Raurica*, a frontier colony abandoned during the fourth century and one of the most excavated Roman sites in Switzerland. Signs of decline, notably in its temple structures, began in the third century but other complexes, notably the baths, were built up around AD 260 and became integrated into the nearby fort of Kaiseraugst during the fourth century (Pfäffli 2010: 38-39; 78-79; Schwarz 2002: 160). The fort's close proximity has encouraged theories that the population of the colony moved into the walled *castrum*, leaving *Augusta Raurica* behind (Pfäffli 2010: 11).

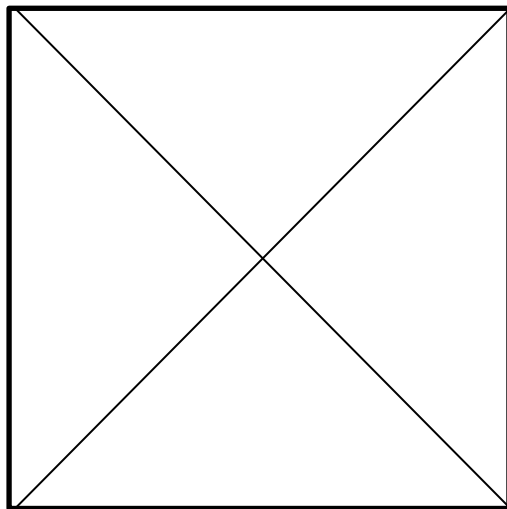


Figure 2.4: Plan of theatre (1) of Avenches including enclosure ditch (2) and ditch to the north (3) (Blanc 2002: 180).

Signs of abandonment and decline also occur at Avenches, which, despite being one of the earliest walled towns in Switzerland, suffered from raids in the third century (Johnson 1983: 17-18). Residential sectors were subsequently abandoned, while a small hill became the centre for late antique and early medieval activity. A ditch, dated to the early fourth century, constructed around the theatre may have been defensive, illustrating how site continuity and change were conditioned by defence (Blanc 2002: 180; Fig 2.4). At Martigny,

the settlement began to slowly shift towards the church, abandoning areas situated around the Via Claudia, including the amphitheatre and forum. Wooden structures excavated within the *insulae* might indicate some continued habitation, although on a limited scale (Faccani 2002:172-173).

In contrast, Geneva and Chur, while so far featuring few traced elements of Roman planning, show evident growth in the construction of churches. Active late Roman suburban districts have been detected under the district of Welschdörfli at Chur (Sennhauser 2003: 782-783); and a small district on the left shore of the Rhône at Geneva was established around the remains of an old temple, likely burnt down in the mid-fourth century (Bonnet 2002: 147). Both towns featured curtain walls, which provided protection but at the same time constricted growth, resulting in little intramural space (Bonnet and Privati 2000: 383-384). Indeed, the late Roman 'cities' of Switzerland were quite modest in

size: Geneva occupied 5.6ha, Chur 2.0ha, contrasting with larger Gallic cities of Lyon (21.5ha) and Toulouse (90ha) (Leibeschuetz 2000: 21). Unwalled settlements similarly occupied little space: Martigny would have encompassed at most 20ha and had only 15 *insulae* (Lehner and Wibl  1996: 104). Estimations of urban demographics, while always debatable, suggest 150-300 people per hectare, giving Geneva a possible population of 840-1680 and Martigny, one of the larger urban seats, between 3000-6000 residents (Pasciuti and Chase-Dunn 2002; Bairoch 1988: 19; Hassan 1981). Yet even when considering active suburban communities, such as at Geneva and Chur, populations of these towns would still have been rather small in comparison to metropolitan centres of Italy or southern Gaul.



Figure 2.5: Fourth-century grave goods at Aventicum
(Exhibition photograph courtesy of
Mus e Romain Avenches)

Large urban churches and the occurrence of high-status goods within suburban cemeteries signify the continued involvement of local elite. At Geneva, the scale of the North Cathedral, nearly 30m in length, led Bonnet and Privati (2000: 385) to argue that the bishop was acting as both a religious and a political leader, in control of the city's economy. Excavations at the eastern cemetery of Avenches revealed a rich fourth-century grave of a young girl featuring decorated glass, bronze vessels and jewellery (Fig. 2.5). On two decorated glasses, Latin inscriptions were detected, notably the phrase *Vivas in Deo*,

translated as 'may you live in God' (Blanc 2002: 182). The lower classes, however, remain largely undetected.

Linked to these urban centres are rural communities. Wider research on villas in particular is revealing increasing evidence for sustained occupation into the sixth and even seventh centuries (Ripoll and Arce 2000: 63; Percival 1997: 15-16). Traditionally, the typical Roman villa was characterised by its proximity to cities: *villa urbana*, located in close to a city, and *villa rustica*, a farm-house or estate sometimes at the centre of sizeable landholdings, located away from cities (Scott 2004: 40). These estates often continued to act as centres for elite self-display, adorned with floor mosaics, large bath complexes and,

in some cases, statuary collections (Bowes 2008: 127). This image, however, largely applies to villas found in Italy and southern Gaul in the West. The Loupian villa in southern France, for example, was rebuilt c. AD 400 and contained apartments featuring polychrome mosaics (Lavagne *et al.* 1981: 185-186). Yet, despite this investment, parts of the villa were abandoned, reducing the estate into a solitary mansion (*ibid*: 203).

In Switzerland, meanwhile, villa excavations have yet to unearth late antique mosaics, but abandonments of parts of the complexes have been recognised. For example, research on the villa at Vandoeuvres, located 5km from Geneva, established that the portico (C), *praefurnium* (D) and large parts of the *triclinium* (F) went out of use in the mid fourth century (Fig 2.6; Terrier 2003: 260). Other components saw reuse, such as the oratory (B) acting as a funerary church and parts of the baths (A). The date derives from the ceramic assemblage as well as a contorniate, a medallion struck during the time of Constantine (*ibid*: 260). In this case, site reduction and reorganisation are explained by signs of a fire in parts of the villa in the second half of the third century (*ibid*: 260).

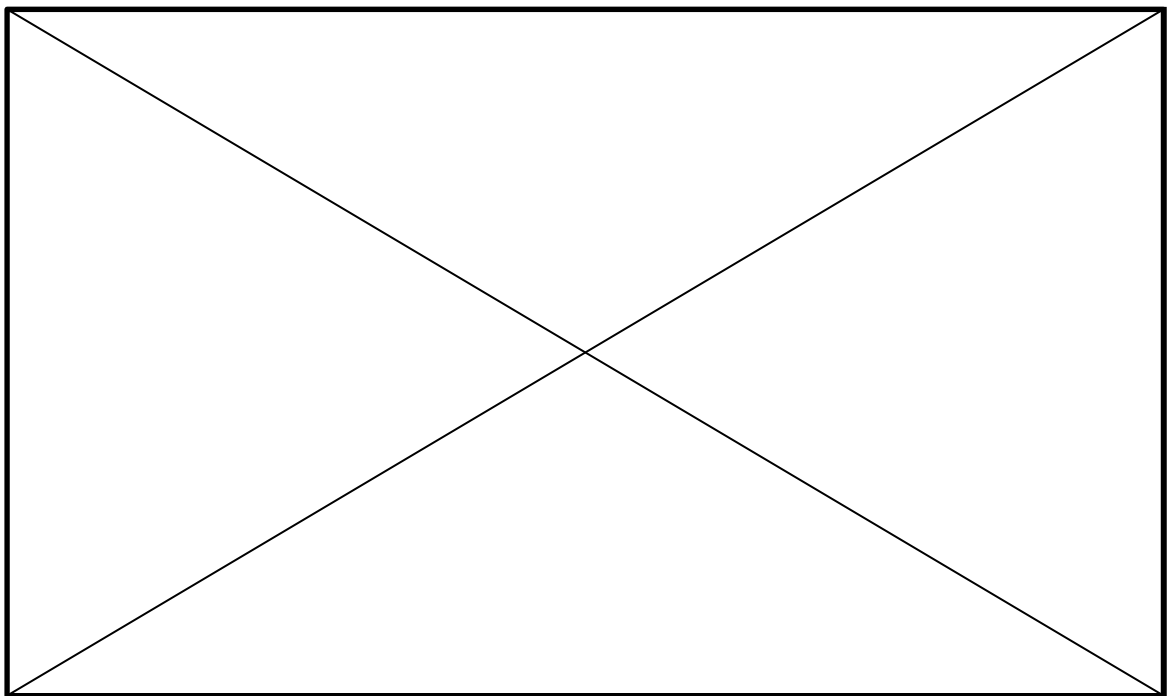
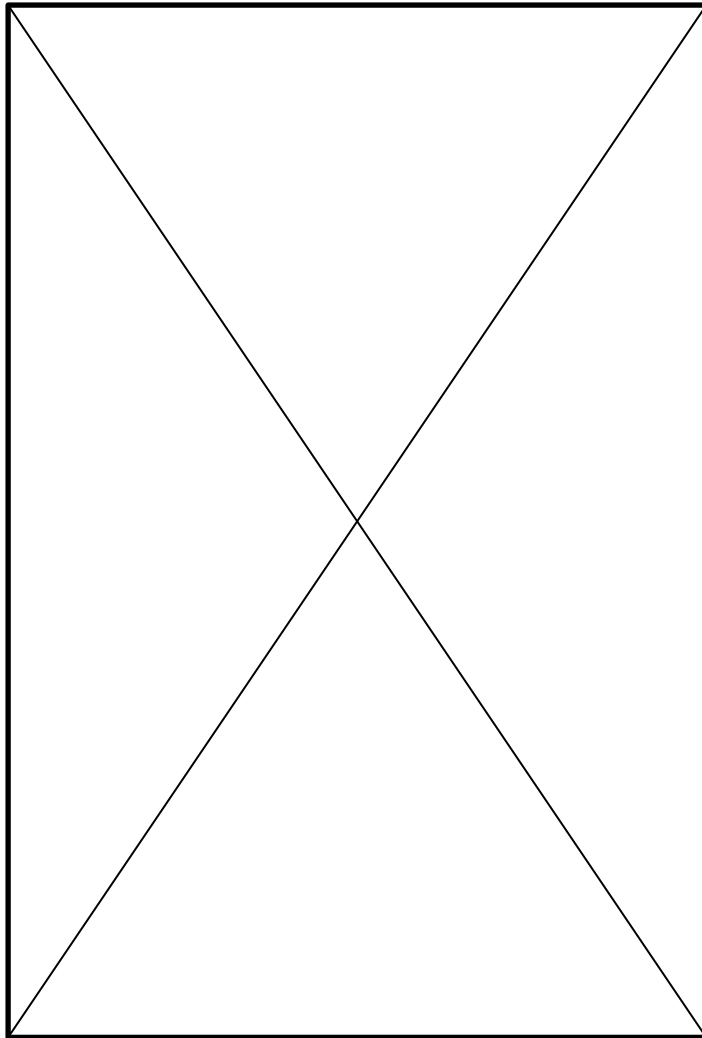


Fig 2.6: Plan of Vandoeuvres, depicting first- and second-century (left) and late fourth-century villa (right) constructions (Terrier 2002: 260).

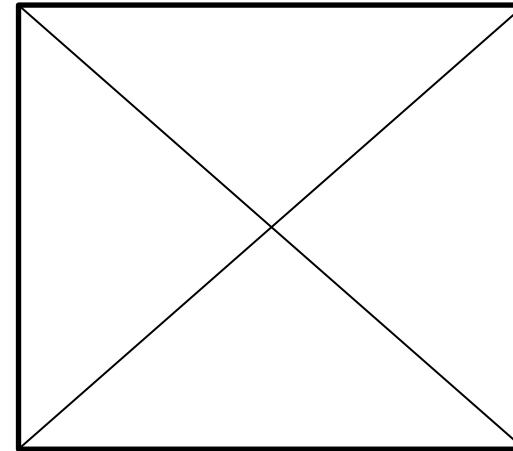
In the Basel hinterland, research on villas has demonstrated continued occupation traces (Marti 2009: 292). Settlements at Pratteln, Lausen-Bettenach and Liestal-Munzach display the typical characteristics of mid-imperial *villae urbanae*: situated in close

proximity to *Augusta Raurica* (5-7km), arranged with porticos, mosaic floors and painted walls. These were substantial settlements, occupying upwards to 5ha (Fig 2.7).). At Lausen-Bettenach late antique ceramics, such as terra sigillata from Argonne (5), glazed pottery from the Upper Rhine (7), pots from the Middle Rhine (8), and even amphorae from North Africa (9), reveal potential ongoing exchange (Fig 2.8; Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992: 24-25). Similar finds at Pratteln and Liestal-Munzach testify to site continuity. Whether the entirety or only parts of these estates were used, however, remains uncertain (Marti 2009: 295-296). These 'survivals' are attributed to their close proximity to fortified centres, such as at Kaiseraugst. Marti (2009: 297) observes that smaller, marginally situated, settlements, such as homesteads at Hölstein (canton Basel-land) and Boécourt (canton Jura), did not survive into the fourth century, attributing their destruction to a lack of defensive features. Evidence of rural continuity has also been found in Ticino: the site excavated at Bioggio was completely redesigned in the fourth and early fifth centuries: the central house was divided into smaller rooms and the baths replaced with an east-west oriented building fitted with a porch (Vergani 1998: 155-162). The area around the villa saw fifth-century activity, including inhumations in a nearby necropolis and the construction of a funerary church (Sennhauser 2003: 57-58).

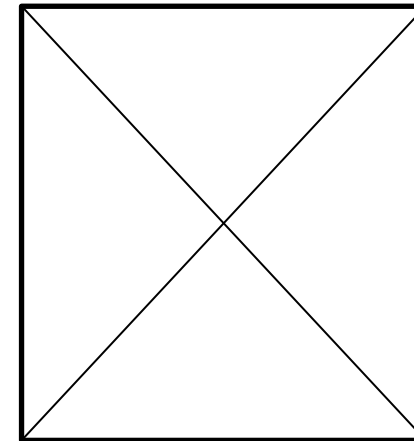
Unfortunately, questions of villa decline or continuity in eastern Switzerland remain unanswered. Excavators at Winkel-Seeb near Zürich suggest destruction in AD 260 by the Alamanni, but with renewed usage until the withdrawal of Roman troops in 401. Stray finds include a fourth-century fibula (Drack and Fellmann 1988: 552-555). Similar conclusions are proposed for the villas of Buchs and Dietikon, both in the Zürich region (Marti and Windler 2002: 244). In Alpine Rhaetia, the site of Riom-Parsonz, 1257m in elevation, has been tentatively identified as a *villa rustica* with signs of elite investment, including wall-paintings (Fig 2.9; Rageth 2011; Rageth 1982: 136-137). Its proximity to the Julierpass - a mountain pass - may signify the settlement originated as a *mutatio* (a wayside station). Finds included multiple buildings dating between the first and fourth centuries, a hypocaust system, a smithy, and even a bakery. Riom-Parsonz's status between the fourth and sixth centuries, however, remains unknown, although finds and small log cabins dating to the early medieval period might attest to prolonged occupation (Rageth 2011; Rageth 1982: 136-140). This settlement, however, is an exceptional find - villas and farms in this region are rare, presumably a result of its harsh environment.



*Fig 2.7: Excavated remains of Roman villa Liestal
(Marti 2009: 205).*



*Fig 2.8: Selected wares from Lausen-Bettenach
(Photograph by Archäologie Baselland).*



*Figure 2.9: Fragment of wall-painting at
Riom-Parsonz (Rageth 1982: 136)*

Roman *vici* were also found alongside major traffic routes or junctions in Switzerland. *Vici* rarely have standard layouts. Some contain theatres, baths, religious districts, and even fora. As a result, these communities have multiple definitions: to govern agricultural activities; to house agglomerations of families, usually with limited administrative autonomy and linked to agricultural work; forming private or ecclesiastical or even state-run establishments; or centres for local economic and political channels (Arthur 2004: 105). While our understanding of these sites' settlement history after the third century is still underdeveloped, recent excavations have begun to piece together the fate of some *vici* during the late Roman and early medieval period.

For example, investigations at Muralto reveal a *vicus* established between the first and third century for economic purposes: large warehouses, including one probably designed for wagons to enter and unload, were discovered, plus metal-working workshops and large quantities of glass, presumably indicative of glass production (Janke and Biaggia Simona 2006). This commercial activity might explain the site's continued use into the fifth and sixth centuries. Late antique finds from graves, as well as the fifth-century church of St Victor are present yet it is uncertain whether Muralto sustained its economic vitality (Fig 2.10). Sion, another alpine *vicus*, similarly saw sustained occupation and shows signs of political activity: an inscription mentions a fourth-century *praeses*, who rebuilt a public building (Walser 1980: 24-25). Its eventual rise to a bishopric in the sixth or seventh century testifies to Sion's growth and status during this period.

The continuity and stability of these *vici* in the Alps contrast with the fate of those established along the frontier and in the Swiss Plateau. Many of these settlements suffered during the Late Roman period. For example, the site of *Petinesca* appears to go out of use by c. AD 400. *Petinesca*, mentioned in the Peutinger Table, had been a prominent site featuring six Gallo-Roman temples, pottery workshops, baths, and a large residential sector (Hirt 2010). The site was completely abandoned, possibly evacuated to the nearby fourth-century defensive fort at Aegerten (*ibid*). A similar sequence occurs at Schleithem (*Iuliomagus*) in canton Schaffhausen, a *vicus* found north of the Rhine: here, an abundance of surface finds, namely ceramics, and substantial public works, including a massive temple (16.5 x 21m) illustrate growth between the first and

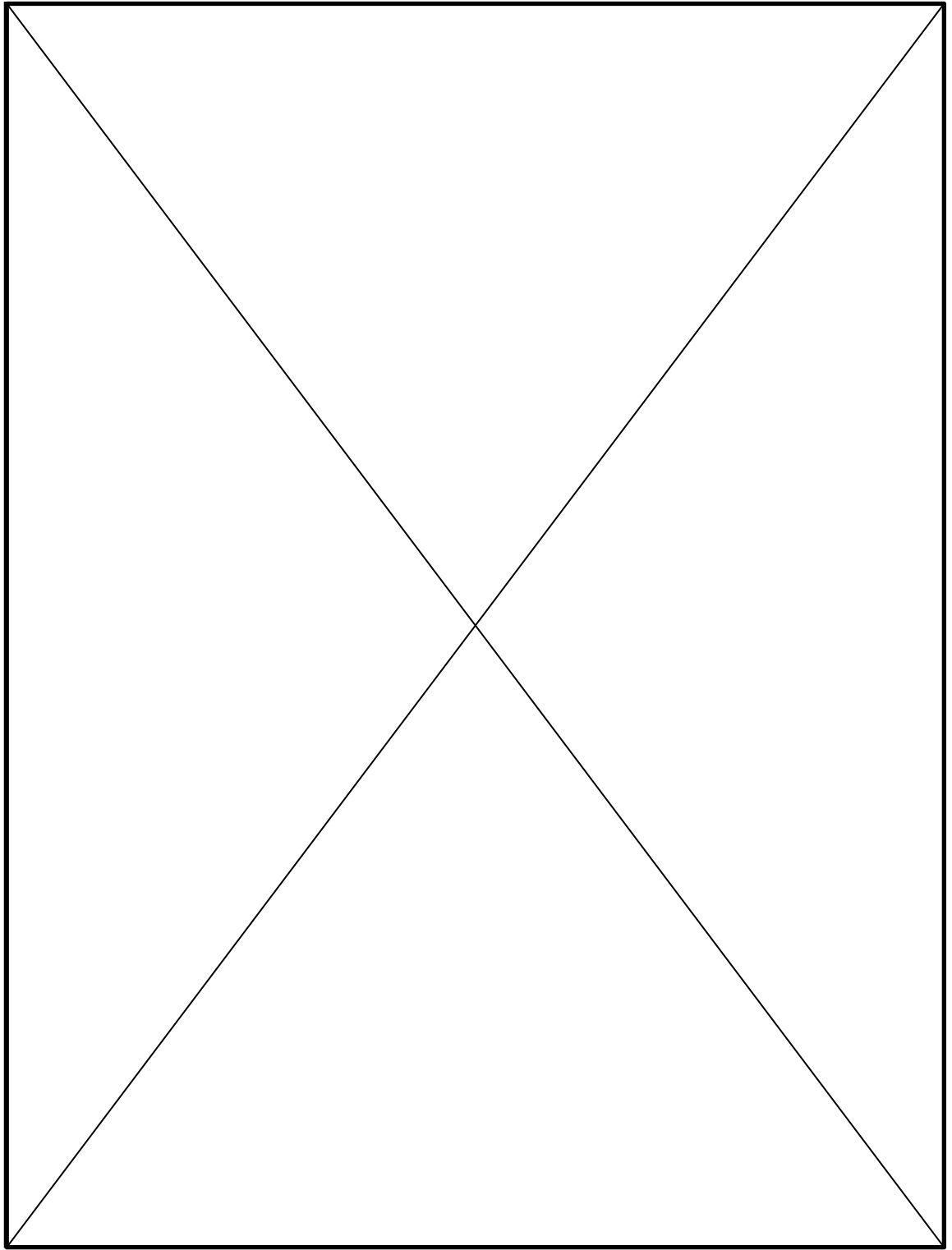


Figure 2.10: Site plan of Muralto: 1-11 Roman to Late Roman buildings; 12-13 graves; 14-16 Church of St Victor; 17 Church of St Stephen (Marti and Windler 2002: 242).

third centuries. However, the absence of activity and finds suggests decay and loss in the fourth century (Burzler *et al.* 2002: 273-277).

Other small settlements along the Swiss Plateau frontier were equipped with fortifications or saw construction of nearby military *castra*. Zürich, for example, originally consisted of settlement on both shores of the river Limmat, with excavations detecting signs of a small harbour, houses, temples and a bath house (Marti and Windler 2002: 243). The construction of a fourth-century fort on the Lindenhof hill, away from the river, might suggest the *vicus* was quitted for the *castrum* (Sennhauser 1990: 162-163).

2.2.2 Roman Forts

During the late Roman period, the frontier and surrounding areas became a heavily fortified zone, manifested in the building of town walls and the installation or rebuilding of *castra*. These constructions, at least those along the Rhine frontier, are perceived as a consequence of Germanic incursions of the late third century and illustrate continued imperial activity into the fourth century (Schwarz 2011: 307-308; Furger *et al.* 1996: 50; Spycher 1990: 18-19; Pauli 1984: 45; Johnson 1983: 67; Moosbrugger-Leu 1971: 16-19). Excavations and surveys have illustrated how the Romans established a regular pattern of small posts, supplemented by road forts. Credit for construction or rebuilding of these is often attributed to Diocletian, Constantine and his sons, and Valentinian I (Johnson 1983: 158, 167). Despite the subsequent withdrawal of Roman troops from the Rhine frontiers in AD 401, continued use of extramural necropoleis suggests some of these sites remained occupied by local populations (Moosbrugger-Leu 1971: 15). However, while it is expected that these sites would have been fitted with granaries, barracks, latrines, baths and central headquarters for many forts, our knowledge is overall limited (Johnson 1983: 166; Sennhauser 1990: 159-161).

This is the case for Basel, the first Roman fort along the Rhine in Switzerland. Situated on the Münsterhügel, parts of the fortifications were found during excavations in 1973, alongside a solitary granary with internal floor-supports (Johnson 1983: 158). Dating is assigned to either Diocletian or Constantine. Opposite the fort, traces of bastions have been found, acting as a bridgehead: Johnson (*ibid*: 158) identifies this site as *Robus*, a Valentinianic construction mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in AD 374. Subsequent

building at Basel's fort, however, is only noted around AD 800 with the construction of the Münster (Sennhauser 1990: 5). The interior of Stein-am-Rhein (*Tasgaetium*) also remains unknown, but an inscription identifies it as a Diocletianic foundation. It was fitted with projecting polygonal towers and a defensive ditch flanking the southern wall, the location of the main entrance (*ibid*: 153). Excavations at *Constantia* (Konstanz), dated to c. AD 300, revealed only parts of the fortifications. Also absent are the presumed remains of a seventh-century cathedral, established when the settlement rises as an episcopal town (Röber 2006: 14-15). Other seemingly 'empty' forts include Zürich's Lindenhof (*Turicum*), the circular *castrum* at Olten, and the fort atop the central rocky peak at Bellinzona (*Bilitio*). None are securely dated, although the unusual layout of Olten's circuit wall could signify a Valentinianic attribution (Sennhauser 1990: 150; Johnson 1983: 167).

Other *castra* have more evidence for their interior structures, such as *Eburodunum* at Yverdon-les-Bains, on the shores of Lake Neuchatel (Fig 2.11). Originally a *vicus*, a fort was erected around AD 325, on the basis of dendrochronological analysis of surviving wooden components of the foundations (Lappé 2009: 15-16). While parts of this fort were built up with *spolia*, such as temple columns, bases of statues or inscriptions, new stone was also utilised, potentially quarried from the Jura mountains, nearly 30 miles from Yverdon (*ibid*: 17). Large parts of the interior were later destroyed but baths as well as a large military building, presumably the headquarters, have been uncovered (Fig 2.12). An adjacent cemetery continued into the seventh century (see Chapter 7.1). Furthermore, trenches opened south and west of the enclosure found a compact layer of thick carbonised grains, dated to AD 450-70, indicating the use of granaries after the withdrawal of troops in AD 401 (*ibid*: 18). Similarly, at Kaiseraugst, granaries and baths were found to be in use during Late Antiquity (see Chapter 3.3).

At Windisch (*Vindonissa*), a small fort (0.3ha) replaced the first-century military camp (20ha). Late antique finds are meagre in comparison to the granaries, houses, religious vestiges, and water systems of the original camp and adjacent settlement. Estimates of population based on space suggest the first-century camp contained up to 6,000 soldiers with 10,000 civilians situated in the surrounding area (Trumm 2012). If so, where did the civilian population live after the apparent quitting of the adjacent settlements? Was the fort used as a refuge? Could nearly 10,000 civilians really occupy the 0.3ha of the *castrum*? Windisch, interestingly, regains prominence by emerging as a sixth-

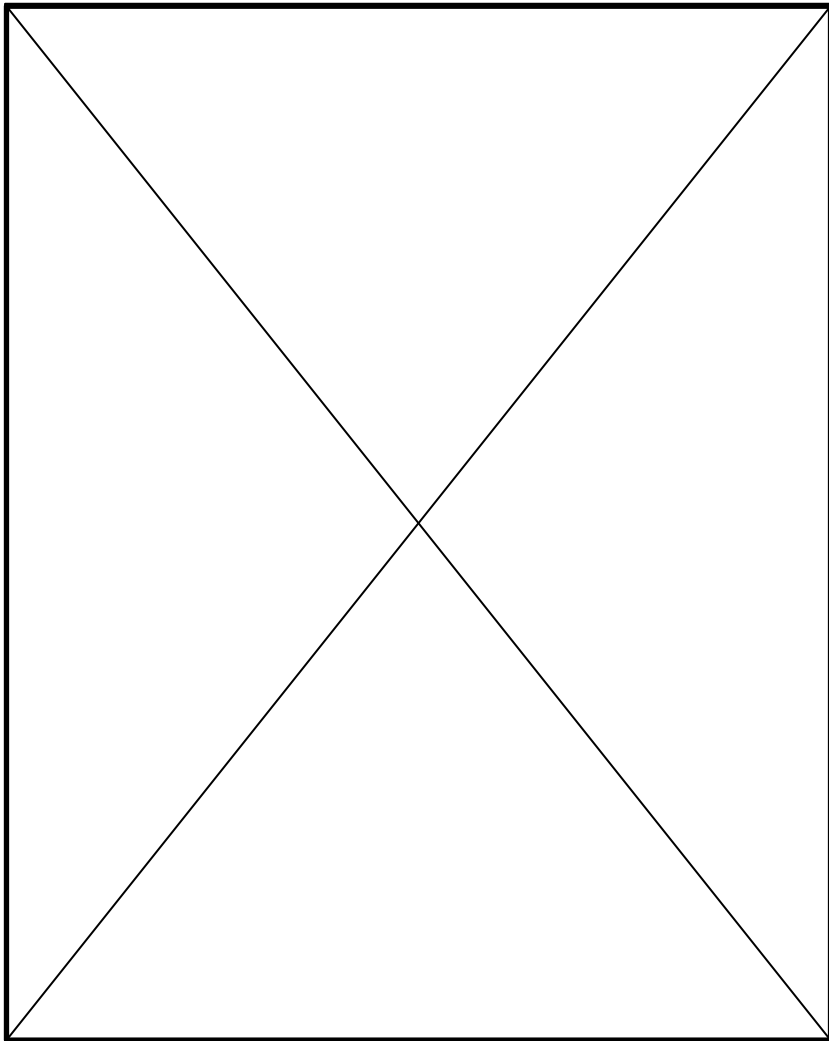


Figure 2.11: Plan of fort Eburodunum (Lappé 2009: 17)

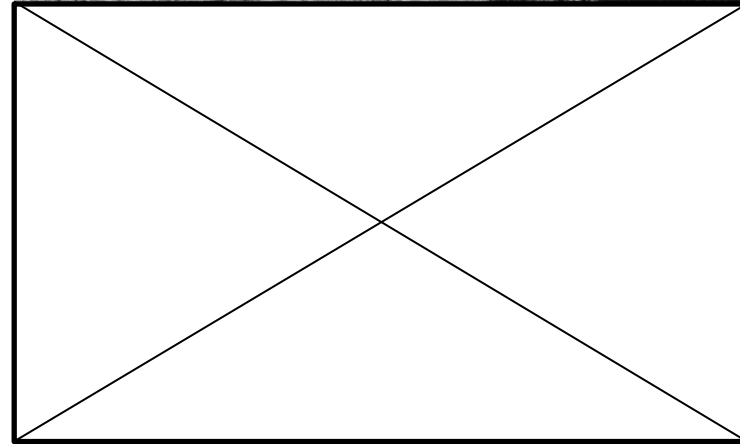


Figure 2.12: 1906 excavations of the baths at Yverdon-les-Bains (Lappé 2009: 19)



Figure 2.13: Aerial photograph of Irgenhausen fort (Image courtesy of René Egger 2012)

century episcopal town. A related cathedral or an episcopal complex, however, has not been discovered (Sennhauser 1990: 160-161).

The forts of Yverdon-les-Bains and Kaiseraugst contrast with many of the small forts in Switzerland. At Schaan and Irgenhausen, for example, the forts feature square layouts and with an interior space of just 0.3ha (Johnson 1983: 165-166). Both are viewed as Diocletianic, although small finds at Schaan might signify a Constantinian or even Valentinianic date (*ibid*: 166). At both, hypocaust systems, baths, and *principiae* (military headquarters) have been found (Sennhauser 1990: 155; Johnson 1983: 165-166; Beck 1962: 243-246). Irgenhausen, in particular, features extensive standing remains, many reconstructed for tourists (Fig 2.13).

2.2.3 Roads and Passes

Fundamental to the development of both urban and rural landscapes was the Roman road network. Well-maintained roads brought people into towns, assisted with tax collections, and enhanced the efficiency and speeds with which goods were transported from place to place (Hitchner 2012: 226). Evidence such as milestones revealing maintenance of the road systems into Late Antiquity is a telling indicator to their importance. While the army was undoubtedly a factor for the increase in milestones found in Gaul and Germany, these markers created a sense of measured space and reference to position (Laurence 2004: 56). Interestingly, some late third- and fourth-century milestone inscriptions stressed “the renewal of a world that had been lost” (*ibid*: 56). This illustrates how roads became an arena for communication and even propaganda during Late Antiquity (*ibid*: 57).

The regional distribution of fourth-century settlements in Switzerland duly shows clusters around roads, rivers and lakes (Figure 2.3). The restrictive nature of the landscape resulted in three major thoroughfares: the Swiss Plateau, a solitary route through the Alps via Chur, and the Lake Geneva - Rhone basin. Where excavated, roads were constructed with a fine gravel on a cobbled foundation and bordered by ditches (Fuchs 2004: 4). Water-logged areas would have seen large blocks or wooden planks to connect the routes and timber bridges have been found over rivers at Massongex and Geneva (*ibid*: 4-5). Lappé (2009: 16) observes that water travel may have been an alternative to road travel for merchants especially, as a single barge could carry much more than a wagon pulled by

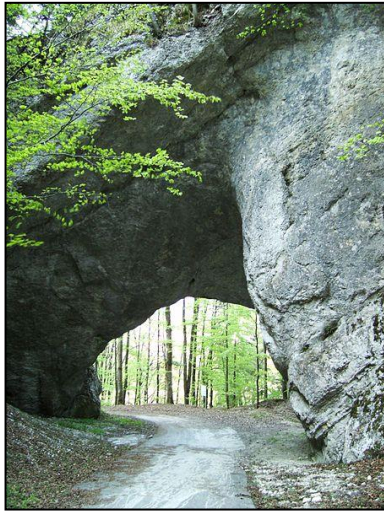


Figure 2.14: The tunnel of Pietra Pertusa in north-west Switzerland
(Image courtesy of Oblic 2007).

oxen (*ibid*: 16; Fuchs 2004: 6). Harbours at Geneva and the forts of Yverdon, Kaiseraugst, and Zürich certainly signify much waterborne travel (Lappé 2009: 6-17; Marti and Windler 2002: 243; Bonnet 1993: 17; Martin-Kilcher 1987: 18). It is evident, for the most part, that the Romans placed roads in logical places. Thus, the main routeways followed along the Swiss Plateau and the widest valleys of the Alps. There are some rare signs that the Romans attempted to drill their way through bedrock to connect routes: at Pietra Pertusa, a tunnel was created which facilitated communication between the Jura Mountains and the Swiss plateau. In this case, the achievement was marked by an inscription left by architect Marcus Dunius Paternus, which dated the work to the third century (*ibid*: 5-6; Fig 2.14).

A number of mountain passes were key to connecting the Swiss Alpine region to Italy and the frontier zone. An important pass, noted on the Peutinger Table as *Summo Poenini*, is the Great St Bernard Pass. It connected Aosta to Martigny and continued onward to routes along Lake Geneva. The pass was one of the principal transalpine arteries for merchants, soldiers, emperors, popes, and pilgrims during the early medieval period (Hyde 1937: 309). The Stanford Alpine Archaeology Project highlights how the high altitude diminished erosion, resulting in surviving parts of the road, which differed from flat surface roads. The main differences included the cutting of the routes directly into the bedrock, as well as angles of 105 degrees which necessitated a pivoting front axle (Hunt 2007: 56). The route, however, was not wide enough for carts; mules were presumably employed (Pauli 1985: 209). The Septimer and Julier passes were equally important thoroughfares for connecting episcopal Chur to Italy (*ibid*: 209-210).

Such Alpine routes were undeniably affected by weather. Even today, many mountain passes are closed on account of snow, sometimes reaching 10 metres in depth. A recent project (see Biemann forthcoming) has examined how much heavy snow would have affected routes from Chur to the Benedictine Abbey of Münstair. This project, which used ARC-GIS to model the least-cost path between the two points, demonstrated that changes in snow depth caused by climate change from the early medieval to the

reformation period would have impacted on a traveller's decision on which routes to use (Fig 2.15). This type of research, minimally explored in the past, has significant value in considering where people might settle or even avoid. It also raises questions of how medieval pilgrimages and monasteries, such as the St John Benedictine Abbey in Müstair, were affected by seasonal weather. Finally, it addresses recent arguments for the incorporation of weather and climate into archaeological reconstructions (see Tilley 2010; Schofield 2009; Ingold 2005).

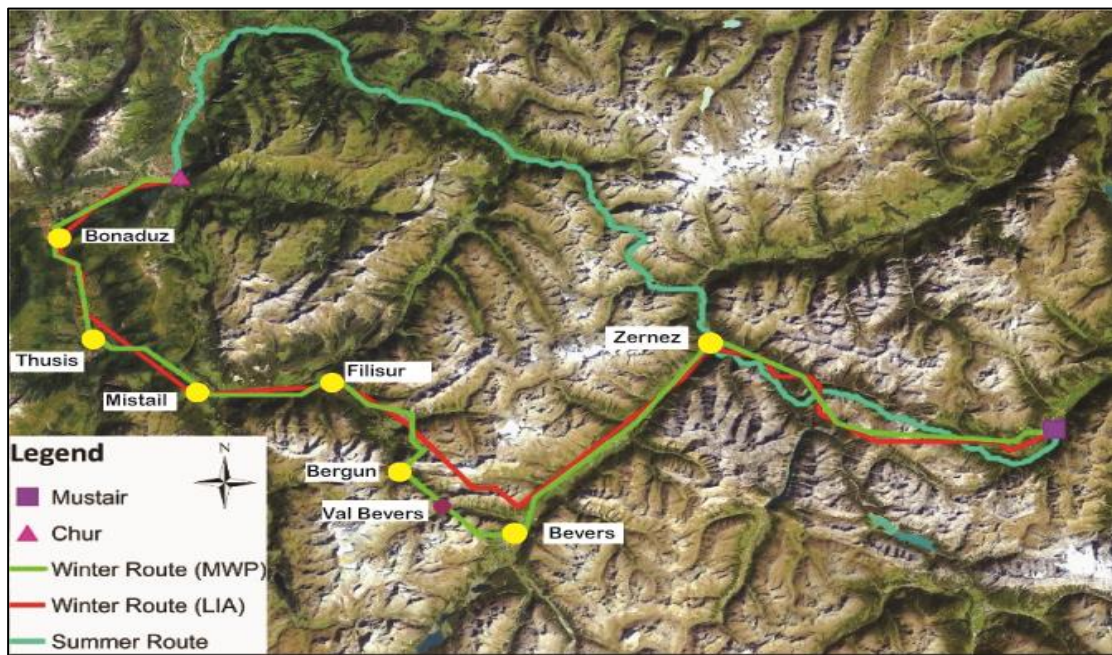


Fig 2.15: 'Winter' and 'Summer' routes modelled in Arc-GIS 10.
(MWP = Medieval Warming Period, AD 800-1300; LIA = Little Ice Age, AD 1400-1850)
(Bielmann, forthcoming)

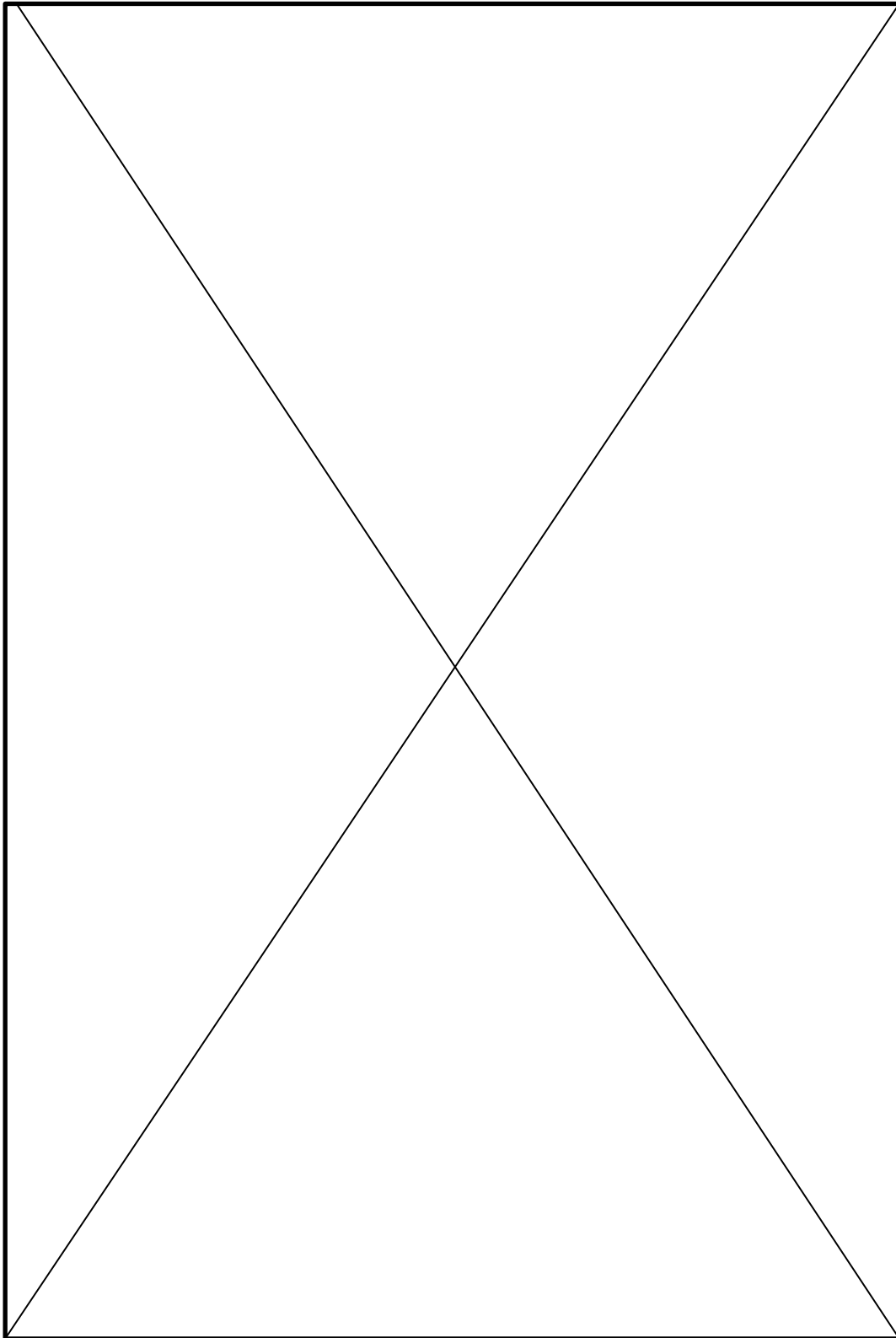
2.2.4 Roman Loss and Early Medieval Settlement: Patterns

Which of these Roman sites endured? Which ones were abandoned? Far more effort currently goes into seeking signs of persistence not loss. These themes stem from queries of how medieval towns and villages may have developed from Roman predecessors (see Sami *et al.* 2010; Bowden *et al.* 2004; Arthur 2004; Brogiolo *et al.* 2000; Christie 2000). In Switzerland, regional surveys suggest that both decline and continuity occurred at rural and urban levels. Hence Marti (2009: 300) has observed that smaller and marginal communities were more likely to be abandoned prior to the Frankish period. Contrasting

with this was the apparent persistence of *villae rusticae* located near Kaiseraugst and Basel. Excavations at Pratteln revealed that an early medieval settlement emerged in the late fifth/early sixth century. Finds included timber structures and several workshops, including a bloomery furnace for metal production and a pottery kiln (*ibid*: 295). Consequently, Marti (*ibid*: 301) argues that a community's 'successful' transition into the early medieval period, at least around the former northern frontiers, relied upon its proximity to fortified or easily defensible zones. Settlements that were abandoned essentially were deemed unsafe. How much is Marti's hypothesis matched in other parts of Switzerland?

The study undertaken by the *Office de la Culture, Section d'archéologie* in canton Jura also mapped settlement changes by organising their data chronologically (Fig 2.16). The distributions suggest that the number of archaeological sites and finds attributed to the Roman period is greater than that of the early medieval period. Many settlements, especially those situated away from the Roman roads, appear to go out of use, including the *villa* found at Bouécourt, near Bassecourt (Paccolat *et al.* 1991: 98). The Roman road continues to be of importance during the early medieval period – reflected in finds and potential sites situated next to or in close proximity of the line of communication (Stékoffer 1996: 33-34). Furthermore, moving away from the traditional border region we see an increase of activity, including monasteries established at Moutier-Grandval and Saint-Ursanne as well as farming settlements such as Develier-Courtételle and Reconvilier (*ibid*: 34). This patterning corroborates Marti's findings in Basel-region, namely that marginal and isolated sites, especially those near the frontier zones, fail after the fifth century. The distribution map of canton Jura, however, is largely made up of funerary evidence. While early medieval burials are a key resource for understanding this period, the lack of associated settlements makes it difficult to accurately display distributions and discuss patterns.

Moreover, Marti's suggestion that forts played a crucial part in the continuity of certain border-region settlements implies that forts either acted as refuges or else remained inhabited. Currently, most signs for ongoing use in forts are early medieval churches, although Sennhauser's (1990: 145-165) survey of forts found that the enclosures at Irgenhausen, Baden, Altenburg-bei-Brugg, Zürich's Lindenhof, and Bregenz lack churches.



*Fig 2.16: Distribution of late Roman (top) and early medieval (bottom) activity and settlement in canton Jura
(Images by Office de la Culture, Section d'archéologie, 2011 – no scale provided by Office)*

Other *castra*, notably Kaiseraugst and Zurzach, have church complexes. Apart from those, little trace exists of housing in these, raising questions whether these sites performed as refuge or religious purposes, rather than permanent settlement. In other cases, literary evidence points to the continued use of forts for military purposes. Bellinzona, for example, became a notable zone for skirmishes. For example, Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* 10.3) reports on the Lombard raid of AD 590 which met with fierce resistance around the fortress. While the archaeology of Bellinzona's surrounding landscape has yet to reveal good evidence for early medieval activity, researchers have argued that Bellinzona was the centre of an Alpine 'county' that included the upper valleys – hence the region's continued militarisation (Marina de Marchi 2001: 269-271; 1995: 33-40). Under Carolingian rule the fort saw rebuilding, including houses and towers (Chiesi 2007).

A survey of settlement trends of 90 Roman sites explored in this thesis across Switzerland suggests approximately 21% of sites completely fail by c. AD 400 (Fig. 2.17).

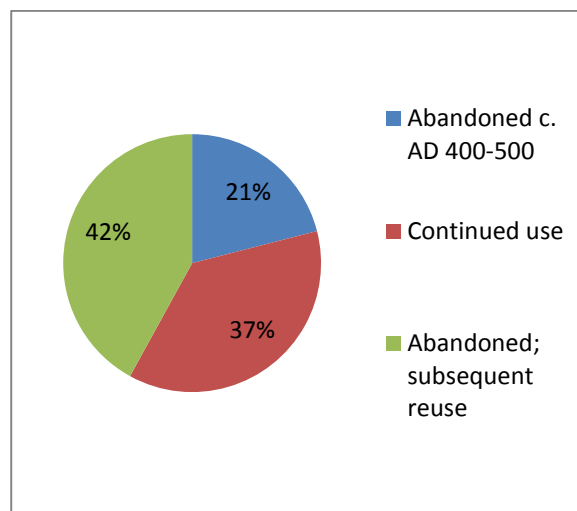


Fig 2.17: Settlement trends c. AD 300-800 (Bielmann 2012)

Abandoned sites vary, ranging from cities (e.g. Nyon) to forts (e.g. Irgenhausen). In the case of Nyon, the rise of Geneva and Lausanne as episcopal towns and centres, as well as the inability to rebound after raids of the third century, are considered factors in its abandonment (Bonnet 2002: 144; Bonnet 1987: 331). Some forts, such as Irgenhausen, simply lack evidence to show occupation after the fifth century. Most abandonments, however, relate to rural estates and *vici* located in marginal places as described by Marti (2009: 300-301). This again signifies that security, alongside a stable environment, were

crucial for survival into the early medieval period. Villas around Zürich, however, are an interesting case. Winkel-Seeb, a *villa rustica*, is identified as abandoned by AD 400. This estate is located in a highly militarised zone, with forts at Zurzach, Winterthur, Zürich, and Pfyn. Fifth-century cemeteries at Bülach (only 3.5 km from Winkel-Seeb) and Elgg indicate a populated region (Oberholzer 2007: 99-103; Drack *et al.* 1988: 11-13). The abandonment of a villa thus might not simply be connected to security and abandonment; other reasons, especially economic factors, might be a cause for abandoned sites.

37% of the examined Roman sites saw continued occupation into the medieval period, often becoming more rural, village-like. The villa of Vandoeuvres is a well-known example (Bowes 2008: 141-142, 159, 172-173; Terrier 2007a: 86; Terrier 2002b: 255-257): after construction of the church in the late fourth century, the settlement saw considerable change in the sixth and seventh centuries when parts of the villa were abandoned and timber constructions emerge. Of the villa, only the church and large part of the northern structure remained (Genequand 2007; Fig. 2.18). A similar transition is likely at Lausen-Bettenach, although the early medieval church was constructed considerably later - during the sixth century (Fig. 2.19). Several pit houses (*Grubenhäuser*) were excavated in 1992 (Fig. 2.20). Unlike Vandoeuvres, Lausen-Bettenach was a production centre: large quantities of iron slag and spindle whorls point to metal production and textile production. Trade is evident with the discovery of ceramics associated with the Alsace region (Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992: 22-24; 25-26). High status goods were also found, including an eighth-century cross brooch with dark blue glass (*ibid*: 26).

Some *vici*, such as Muralto and Sion, similarly experienced successful transitions into the early medieval period. At Muralto, although the workshops and residential quarters found along the shores of Lake Maggiore went out of use during the fifth century, the area remained settled with two early medieval churches, St Victor and St Stephen, built in the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. More consistent is Sion where the *vicus* continued to grow with two notable churches built and eventually became the seat of a bishop in the late sixth century (see Chapter 3, pp. 106-109, 116-119). Sion's growth, however, is juxtaposed by the seemingly reduced status of Martigny where a solitary church and burial evidence dating to the seventh and eighth centuries signify early medieval activity (Faccani 2004: 36).

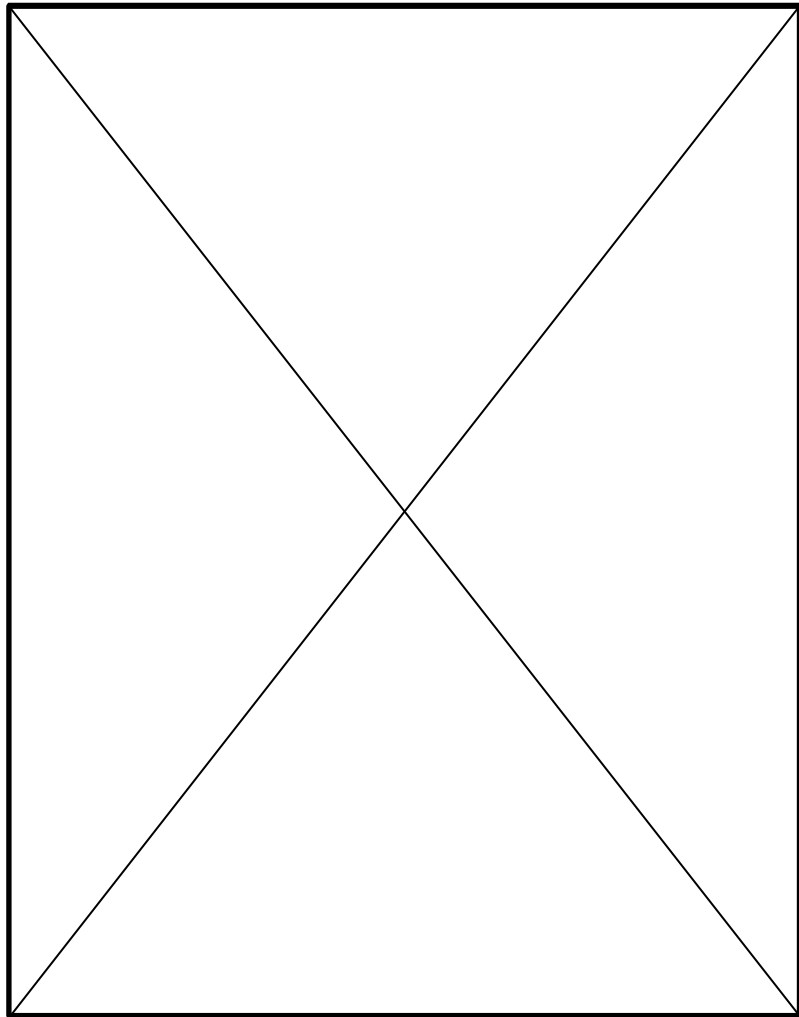


Figure 2.18: The site of Vandoeuvres during sixth and seventh centuries (Genequand 2007: 1)

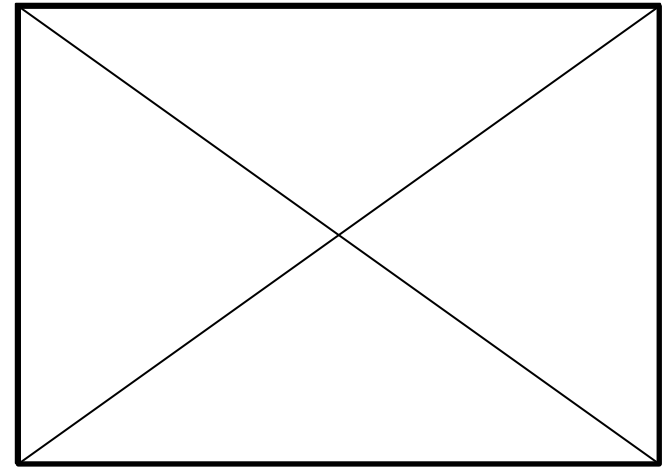


Figure 2.19: Reconstruction of Lausen-Bettenach in the sixth-seventh centuries (Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992: 40)

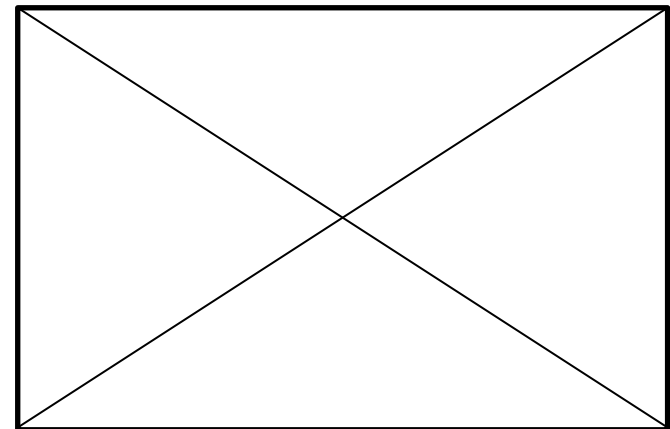
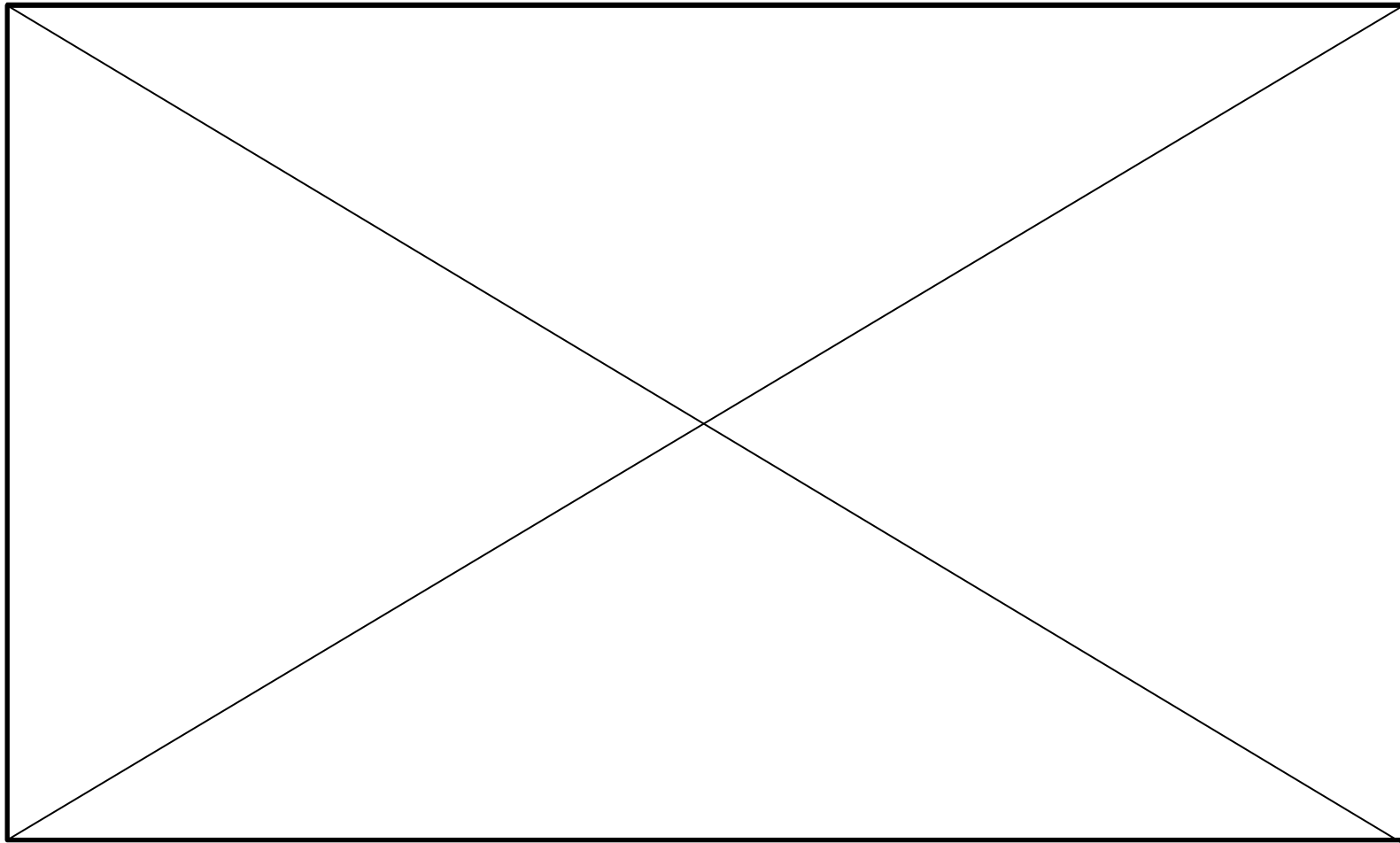


Figure 2.20: Pit-house excavated at Lausen-Bettenach (Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992: 20)

In contrast, 42% of the sites saw a phase of abandonment and a subsequent reuse, usually around the sixth or seventh centuries. Studies of early medieval settlement along the Swiss Plateau and Lake Geneva region attribute the 'repopulation' of villas and other agricultural centres to colonisations by Burgundians, Alamanni, and Franks (Moosbrugger-Leu 1971: 17-18; Marti 2009: 301-303, 305). The estates of Dietikon and Reinach, for example, show very little to no activity during the fifth and sixth centuries, but c. AD 600, timber structures and pit buildings are found alongside renewed agricultural activity (Marti and Winder 2002: 247). In the Alps, the Roman waystation of Riom-Parsonz similarly shows little evidence to suggest occupation during the fifth and sixth centuries, but activity begins anew with the installation of small timber cabins (Rageth 1982: 136-140). The town of Avenches has minimal evidence for occupation for the fifth century and likewise for the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet during the sixth century it emerges as an episcopal seat, only to be cast aside again in the mid-seventh century when the bishopric moved to Lausanne. Archaeologically, sixth-century occupation includes a potential church and associated fragments of white marble from Asia Minor or Greece (Blanc 2002: 183-185).

Why reoccupy a previously abandoned settlement? Marti's (2009: 305) research in the Basel region hypothesises that the stability of the region, brought about by the Merovingian takeover, resulted in a '*Pax Merovingia*', enabling populations to recolonise sites that were once abandoned. A 'new' ownership is perhaps then shown by diverse building techniques (i.e. timber versus stone). Burial evidence (discussed in Chapter 6) points to a hierarchical society with elites displaying high status goods in both churches and necropoleis. In other areas, answers are less clear. The Alpine region of Rhaetia is largely perceived as less 'damaged' by the end of Roman rule and 'survived' into the early medieval period without any breaks. This is commonly used as an explanation for the Romansch language (Zierhofer 2005: 229; Pauli 1984: 53). However, the lack of activity at sites indicates that the Alps, while perceived as a natural boundary, may have been affected by the instability of the fifth century along the Swiss Plateau and in Italy.

This period also saw the rise of new communities, including Develier-Courtételle found in canton Jura, where nearly 3.5 hectares of the site were examined, producing a site-plan which includes six complexes situated around a brook (Fig. 2.21). Resultant assemblages were diverse, ranging from lithics to pottery to glassware, but the dominant finds pertained to metal-working: nearly 2,500 artefacts (determined as locally made) and



*Fig 2.21: Plan of Develier-Courtételle Farm 2. A-O: Buildings; P=V: pit houses;
Eroded surfaces = points; Paved areas = grey (Federici-Schenardi and Fellner 2002: 267)*

over four tonnes of slag were found. Each complex incorporated a large timber-built farm-like structure with smaller buildings. The farms featured hearths and pits, and signs of agricultural and pastoral activities, notably loom-weights. The smaller buildings were all linked to iron production, signified by waste products and possible forges. Signs of wider trade comprised beads from the Baltic region and large quantities of ceramics from the Alsace region in France (Federici-Schenardi and Fellner 2003: 267-274; 2002: 265-272).

The site's chronological history, derived from radiocarbon and typological means, remains difficult to interpret. For example, Farms 3-6 show use between the sixth and seventh centuries, contrasting with Farms 1-2, which cover the sixth to ninth centuries. Federici-Schenardi and Fellner (2002: 270) interpret this as a Merovingian settlement, established during the sixth century. Instability during the seventh century might be responsible for the site's shrinkage to two working farms. Finds and research conducted at Develier-Courtételle illustrates that seemingly small hamlets could have had wide trade connections and an active local industry. Its proximity to two monasteries (St Ursanne and Moutier-Grandval) contrasts with its seeming isolation from urban centres (being nearly 50km from Basel). This might indicate the site was managed by monastic houses rather than elites based in urban centres (Stékoffer 1996: 36).

Other 'new' communities include monasteries (see Chapter 4) and rural churches, usually found in isolation, although necessarily suggestive of some dependent or supporting rural population (see Chapter 5). This contributes to a settlement distribution which displays growth and spread, perhaps supporting Marti's view of Merovingian period colonisation (Fig. 2.22). In particular the Alpine regions show a marked increase of early medieval activity in comparison to the late Roman period. We can discern a late Roman and early medieval settlement distribution articulated according to the Roman road network. But changes occur in settlement distribution and these need closer assessment. For the early medieval period we need to consider new *foci* appearing - not just towns, but monasteries and royal estates, - communities which may have prompted changes and growth in settlement. Notable clusters occur around the Alpine lakes of Thun, Maggiore and Lugano. Interestingly these sites lay in close proximity to each other with a few isolated sites, such as Airolo, a small settlement at 1,145m in elevation. Is this proximity best explained by limiting geography? Interestingly, these areas did not feature episcopal towns or monastic establishments, suggesting other factors prompted the initial

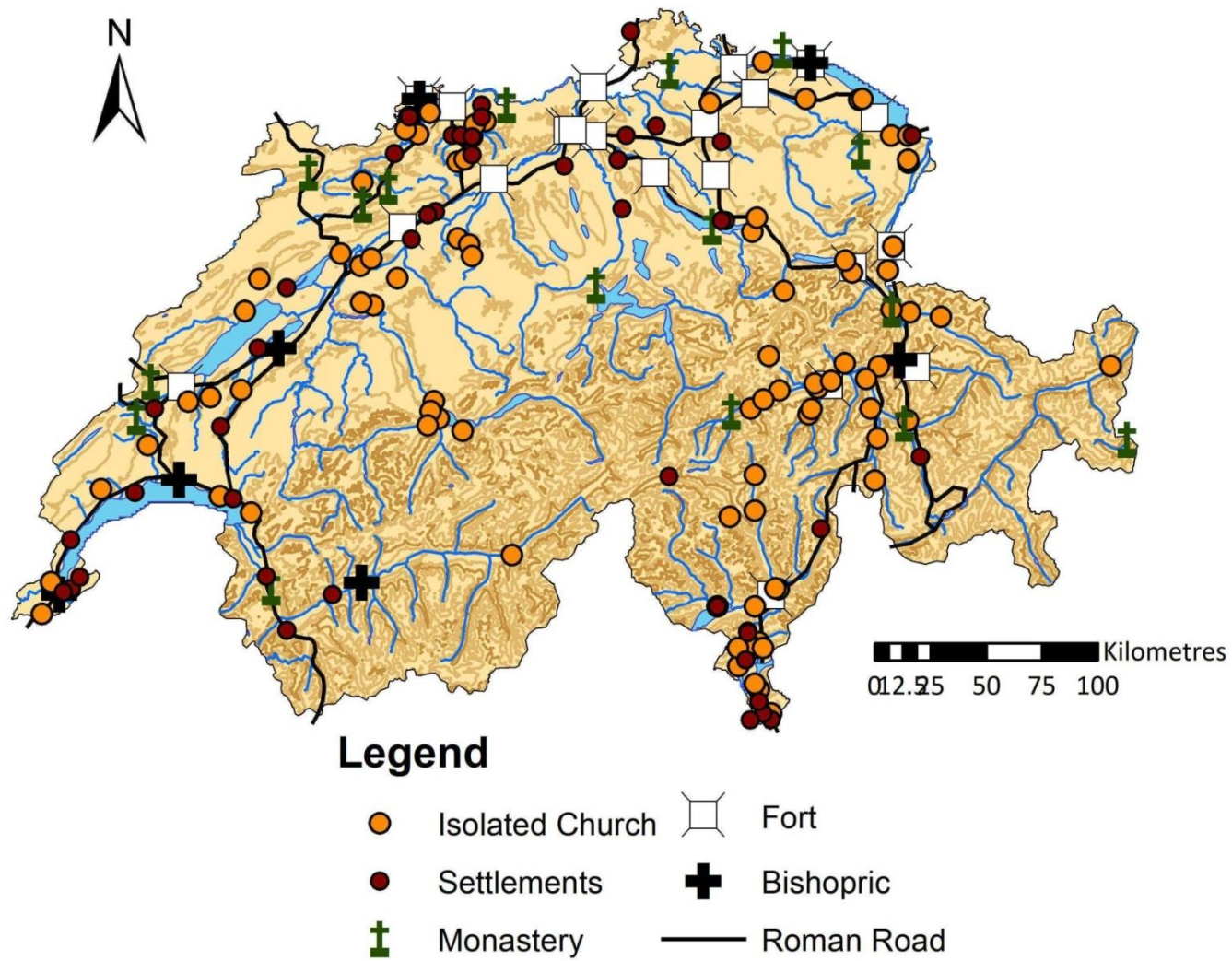


Figure 2.22: Settlement Distribution in Switzerland from AD 600 – 800

settlement and subsequent populating of the area. In the case of the Ticino region, this might be linked to the politics of the bishoprics of Milan and Como, which laid claim to the area and its important passes to the Rhine region.

2.3 Historical Context

Drawing upon the primary and secondary sources discussed in Chapter 1, this section will explore the geopolitical history of the region. To condense the overview, three periodisations will be used: 1) the late Roman period covering the fourth century up to the withdrawal of troops from the frontier; 2) the post-Roman period, encompassing the rise of the Burgundian Kingdom and its eventual fall to the Franks; 3) the early medieval period, covering the takeover of the region by both the Merovingian and Carolingian Franks. This section focuses solely on the geopolitical history – Church-related events will be covered in later chapters (Chapters 3.1; 4.1-4.2).

2.3.1 *The Alamanni and the Fourth Century (300-401)*

By the fourth century, the region of Switzerland comprised parts of five different provinces: *Maxima Sequanorum*, *Raetia I*, *Liguria*, *Alpes Poeniae et Graiae*, and *Viennensis*. Despite changes to provincial administration, including the possible elevation of Chur to a *civitas* and capital of *Raetia I*, the period was marked by instability along the Upper Rhine frontier. In particular, the Alamanni, a group of Germanic people well-described by Ammianus Marcellinus, were regular nuisances to the frontier posts. This group of people had caused havoc on Gallo-Roman settlements, such as Baden (*Augusta Sextiae*) and Avenches (*Aventicum*), during the late third century and continued to breach the *limes* to raid settlements. As a result, campaigns were organised in the late third and throughout the fourth century by Emperors Constantius Chlorus (305-306), Constantine (313-337), Constantius II (337-361) and again by Julian (361-363) in attempts to secure the frontier. Most encounters took place in central Europe, north and east of the Rhine and thus affected the region of Switzerland (see Drinkwater 2007; Hummer 1998a; 1998b for detailed analyses of historical issues and ethnography). Ammianus invaluablely recounts various key battles and events, including the following specific to the study region:

1. Constantius II (350-361) meets with the Alamanni at *Augusta Raurica* after defeating kings Gundomadus and Valomarus at *Valencia* (Valence, France) in 354. The clash ends in a stalemate when the Romans are blocked from crossing the Rhine. The Alamanni sue for peace and Constantius retires to Milan (Amm. Marc., XIV. 10.6-9).
2. The Alamanni attack *Campi Canini* in AD 355 near Bellinzona. Constantius defeats the Alamanni once again but with some losses; he retires to Milan (Amm. Marc., XV.4.1, 11-13).
3. The Alamanni ravage Rhaetia in AD 357. In the same year, Julian defeats the Alamanni at Strasbourg, after which he is proclaimed emperor by the troops (Amm. Marc., XVII.6.1-2).
4. Julian (361-363) repairs fortresses along the Rhine between AD 359 and 360 while Vadomarius continues to assail regions around Raetia (Amm. Marc., XXI.3.1).
5. Count Libino is sent by Julian in 360 to Säckingen (border of present day Germany and Switzerland) to face the Alamanni but dies (Amm. Marc., XXI.3.3-4).

Unsurprisingly, the frontier region experienced considerable building activity during this period. From Diocletian to Valentinian I (364-375), maintenance of the Rhine and Danube limits required the construction of new forts (Innes 2007: 74; Johnson 1983: 67-69). These sites were often used as points of refuge – when an Alamannic force took control of territory in central Gaul, Roman frontier forces held out in their fortifications until Julian pushed the enemy back over the Rhine (Amm. Marc., XVI.11).

After skirmishes with Valentinian I and Gratian (375-383), the Alamanni become difficult to trace, especially considering the influx in the zone of other Germanic peoples, notably the Vandals, Suebi, and the Alans. Further confusion comes from Gregory of Tours' suggestions that 'Suebi' and 'Alamanni' were different names for the same people

(*Hist.Franc.*, 2.2). Drinkwater (2007: 324), however, postulates that this connection was a weak attempt by Gregory to make sense of the new 'invaders' to the western provinces. On the other hand, Hummer (1998a:15) considers that the Suebi could have joined with the Alamanni north of the Rhine, and argues that the fluid nature of 'barbarian identity' might lead to smaller groups joining up with others for military gain.

The last quarter of the fourth century was particularly important. The events leading to the battle of Adrianople included more admittance of non-Romans into military positions and the settlement of 'barbarians' within the Roman territory, such as the Franks in the lower Rhine region (Innes 2007: 81-82). After the defeat of Valens in 378, imperial interest was increasingly focused on eastern affairs and with the politics of Constantinople. The West became increasingly insecure, evident with the usurpers claiming the throne. For example, Magnus Maximus (383-384) usurped the throne against emperor Gratian, bringing further decimation to the Roman army, contributing to a weakened military (*ibid*: 82-83). Emperors were slowly becoming less inclined to take part in military concerns, passing responsibilities to the Master of Soldiers, a position that rose to political prominence. The backing of Eugenius as emperor by such a general, Arbogast, illustrates how would-be emperors were increasingly reliant on their military leaders, often described as 'generalissimos' (see O'Flynn 1983: 43-62). The instability of the Western Empire brought about another threat, this led by Alaric and the Visigoths, who invaded Italy in 401 and successfully made inroads around Milan, trapping Honorius (395-423) and holding Rome to ransom. In reaction to Alaric, Stilicho withdrew troops from the Rhine frontier in 401 and successfully broke the siege at Milan, rescuing the emperor.

While these latter events all took place largely in Italy or in the Eastern Empire, the ramifications were significant to Alpine and frontier regions. In particular, the withdrawal of the Roman army from the Rhine frontier is largely regarded as the end of Roman 'rule' in the region of Switzerland (Marti 2009, 2000; Flutsch 2001; Pauli 1984; Martin 1971). The installation of 'Federate' kingdoms and the use of Germanic people by Eastern emperors to counter other threats became significant factors to the geopolitical history of the region.

2.3.2 The Burgundian Kingdoms (401-534)

The post-Roman period in the region of Switzerland is largely defined by the emergence of the Burgundians, a group of people first mentioned by Pliny in the first century AD from east of the Rhine (*Hist. Nat.*, 4.99). The First Burgundian Kingdom, likely established c. AD 400, remains a mystery, with minimal description on their origin or how their kingdom was established (Todd 1992: 211; Wood 2003: 246; Wickham 2005: 44). Despite this absence of data, King Gundicar (406-436?) allegedly led the Burgundians and increased their influence to the point that he successfully elevated their own emperor, the Gallo-Roman aristocrat Jovinus, with the aid of the Alans in 411 (Olymp. fr. 18, 20.1; Todd 1992: 213). This politicking demonstrated a growing desire of the Burgundian king to strengthen their position within the wider Roman Empire. But the ambitious power play was stopped short in 413 when Athaulf and the Visigoths, at the behest of Rome, killed Jovinus (Wood 2003: 246). Their kingdom perished after their expansion in Gaul, when generalissimo Aetius, with an army of Huns, attacked and defeated King Gundicar's kingdom around 436 (Wood 2003: 246; Prosp. Ep. Chron., 1322). Nonetheless, the Burgundians were not exterminated since in 443 Aetius moved them to the region of *Sapaudia* (Lake Geneva - Rhône basin), perhaps to act as a buffer against the Alamanni (Todd 1992: 214; Boyson 1988: 92).

The mid-fifth-century Burgundians soon established themselves as worthy federates of the Roman Empire with their involvement at the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields against Attila's Hunnic force and later against the Suebi in 456. During this time, they managed to expand their territory to include parts of southern Gaul, acquiring prominent cities like Vienne and Lyon. Gundioc (?-473) and his brother Chilperic I (443-480) are mentioned as kings, marking the establishment of the Second Burgundian Kingdom and essentially a return to their status as allies of Rome as well as an autonomous kingdom (Wood 2003: 251-252; Todd 1992: 197-207). How this people interacted with the Gallo-Romans, especially regarding land allotment, has been an area of research led by Goffart (1980: 127-161), who proposed a system of '*hospitalitas*' from the Romans to facilitate the settlement. In particular, Goffart (*ibid*: 171) regarded this system as combination between an administrative process borrowed from "military quartering" and a social relationship between the host and the guest. In this respect, Goffart (*ibid*: 173-174) regarded the Romans as the 'givers' and the Burgundians as

‘receivers’. The only guide to the settlement of the Burgundian people in *Saupadia* is Marius of Avenches, who ascribes to the year 456 as the division of Gaul between the Burgundians and the Gallo-Roman senators (*Chron.a.* 456). In any case, the use of Geneva and Lyon as capital cities for their administration strongly suggests that Gallo-Romans and Burgundians lived in the same cities (Liebeschuetz 2000: 20-22; Bonnet and Reynaud 2000: 243; Todd 1992: 214).

Our information regarding the Second Kingdom derives mainly from the reign of Gundobad and his son Sigismund. Gundobad, after living in Italy and rising in status to patrician (472-73), returned to Gaul to inherit the Burgundian territory with his family in 473. Not content with sharing the throne, Gundobad systematically eliminated his three brothers: Gundomar, Chilperic II and Godegisel. The last brother proved the most difficult to remove, as a battle between the two rulers resulted in a fire in Geneva and a famine in Vienne (Mar., *Chron. a.* 500; Wood 2003: 253). Now sole king of the Burgundians, Gundobad quickly established his authority via two new law codes. The *Lex Romana Burgundonium* and the *Lex Burgundonium* illustrate that Gundobad attempted to keep peace and not to marginalise the Gallo-Romans in his kingdom (Boyson 1988: 92-93; Drew 1949: 3-4). Only a few laws expressly discuss interactions between Romans and Burgundians, such as one edict declaring Burgundians and Romans be held under the same condition in the matter of killing slaves (*Lex. Burg.* X). Sigismund, likely co-ruler in 515 and 516, continued this system of cooperation by adding his own laws, as well as corresponding with the Eastern Empire. For example, a letter preserved between Sigismund and the Eastern Emperor Anastasius (491-518) contains the prince’s request for the title of *magister militum* (Av., *Ep.* 93).

When Gundobad died in 517, Sigismund became king while his younger brother Godomar likely took up the junior co-ruler position in Geneva. The new king continued to communicate with Anastasius prior to his death in 518 regarding the threats from the Franks and the Ostrogoths, reminding the emperor of the Burgundians’ role as allies and vital to peace in Gaul (Av. *Epp.*, 78; 94). In the latter letter, Sigismund even suggests that Theodoric in Italy had purposefully intercepted his earlier letters in order to prevent any alliances. The animosity between the kings appears to stem from Sigismund’s tragic error of believing in the gossip of conspiracies against him and to take the throne. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.*, III.5) relates how Sigismund’s second wife convinced the king that his

son (also Theodoric's grandson), Sigeric, was plotting against him and how the king, worried for his kingdom, murdered his own son, an event which became public and disillusioned the Burgundians about their king. Gregory (*Hist. Franc.*, III. 6) then relates how, despite a marriage between Theodoric and Sigismund's daughter, the Ostrogoths and the Franks rallied together to attack Burgundian territory, resulting in the death of Sigismund in 524 and leaving Godomar as the last king of the Burgundians.

Godomar's reign nonetheless began on a high note with the death of Clodomir, the second son of Clovis, who had miscalculated his own charge and became detached far from his troops. This only fuelled more animosity with the Franks, resulting in ongoing conflicts (*Hist. Franc.*, III.6-11). Meanwhile, taking advantage of the instability, Theodoric invaded the southern parts of the Burgundian kingdom, taking control of the Alpine passes into Gaul. While a subsequent truce is implied by Gregory, any peace between the two kingdoms did not last long after the Franks decided to consolidate the territory gained by Theodoric after his death in 526. Kings Lothar and Childebert managed to corner Godomar at Autun in 534 and forced the last Burgundian monarch to flee yet again (*Hist. Franc.*, III.11). Intriguingly, neither Gregory of Tours nor Marius of Avenches indicates whether he was captured or where he fled. Thereafter, the Burgundian kingdom became part of Francia. Yet, much like the Alamanni, this did not mean the disappearance of the people, but rather their absorption into the wider Merovingian realm.

2.3.3 The Early Medieval Period (534-800)

The period from the end of the Burgundian Kingdom to the coronation of Charlemagne is complex, marked by the subjugation of territories to the Merovingian and the Carolingian dynasties. In the years following the defeat of Godomar, the Merovingians came to control the territory of Provence (AD 536/37) and the former sub-province of *Rhaetia Prima*, with the Alamanni based along the Upper Rhine (Wood 1994a: 88-89). The Southern Alps acted as a nominal boundary with Italy, the northern part of which fell to the Lombards in AD 568 (Brogiolo 2000: 301-303). Despite these inroads and victories, the Merovingian kings rarely left northern Gaul, with major royal centres stretched from Paris and Orleans (Wickham 2009: 114-115; Innes 2007: 276). Rather, nominal territories, such as

Alamannia and Bavaria, were established, ruled by network of dukes, counts, and bishops (Wickham 2009: 113).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, considering the northern centres of the Merovingian kingdom, the territories of Alamannia, Rhaetia, and parts of Burgundy saw periodic rebellions by dukes or counts, as well as inroads by Lombards in the Alps. The histories of Agathias, Paul the Deacon, and the chronicles of Fredegar in particular present the region of Switzerland as one of regular disasters. For example, Paul the Deacon claims that a 'pestilence' swept parts of Liguria, Rhaetia, and the duchy of Alamannia in the mid-sixth century (*Hist. Lang.*, II.4). At around the same time, Agathias describes how Dukes Butelinus and Leutharis of Alamannia gathered an army, invaded Italy and despoiled churches en route (*Hist.*, II.1.6-11). Fredegar even describes aspirations of Alamannic and former Burgundian nobles to defeat the Merovingian kings. In one case, an attempted coup against Childebert (579-595) apparently involved an Alamannic duke named Leudefred (*Fred. Chron.*, 4.8), while in a later event, Bishop Leudemund of Sion plotted with Alethius to overthrow King Chlothar II after the death of Herpo, an unpopular governor of east Jura (*Fred. Chron.*, 4.44). The scenario was particularly confusing as the plot involved the persuasion of Queen Bertrude to marry Alethius on the basis that one of them was of royal Burgundian blood. Wood (2003: 158-59) comments on how Fredegar's Latin does not distinguish who was of Burgundian blood and marks few instances to suggest that descent from the former Burgundian dynasty was enough to convey 'throne-worthiness'.

During this period, the Lombards became a notable threat to Frankish hegemony over southern Alpine regions. Paul the Deacon describes four conflicts between Frankish and Lombard forces in the region of Ticino and eastern Switzerland:

1. Three Lombard dukes (Amo, Zaban, and Rodanus) invade the valleys of the Rhône and Saône in 575; on Amo's return (the latter two returned earlier), he is forced to abandon his "booty" as the Alpine paths are difficult and are covered with snow (*Hist. Lang.*, III.8; also mentioned by Gregory in *Hist. Franc.* IV. 45).
2. Duke Olo of the Franks, ruled by Childebert II (570-95), attacks the fortress of *Bilitio* (Bellinzona). Lombards are defeated by Olo, who

takes back control of the fort (*Hist. Lang.*, III.31; Gregory also describes this; see *Hist. Franc.*, X.3).

3. Aripert overcomes supporters of child-king Liupert (700-702) at *Ticinum*, including Ansprand, who flees first to the island on Lake Como and then to Clavenna (Chiavenna, Italy). He eventually makes his way up to Chur (Chur), described as the “city of the Rhaetians” (*Hist.Lang.*, VI.19; 21).
4. King Aripert II (700-712) drowns in the Ticino River, a tributary of Lake Maggiore within Switzerland, weighed down from the gold gained after a war with the Bavarians (*Hist.Lang.*, VI.35).

In each of these cases, the Franks succeeded in holding onto nominal control over the Alps. However, authority was seemingly detached, which contributed to the establishment of prominent, local families, who controlled their lands and revenues. The Victorids, for example, controlled both diocesan and political offices in the Rhaetic region with a base at Chur (Eggenberg 2008: 63; Durst 2002: 20-21; see Chapter 3.5.2).

The eighth century witnessed more attempts to suppress the nobles and their forces from rebelling against the Merovingian kings, especially amongst the Alamannic duchy. This began with Pepin of the Arnulfings - whose late seventh-century actions resulted in his appointment as ‘mayor’ of all the kingdoms - campaigning against the Alamannic dukes. However, he only nominally brought the duchy back into the sphere of the Frankish administration. His descendants continued to face off against these dukes, including Charles Martel (686-741) between 725 and 730 and Pepin the Short (752-768) from 741 to 745 (Fred. *Cont.*, 12, 25, 29). The last battle against Carloman and Pepin in 746 resulted in the arrest of hundreds of Alamannic nobles and their eventual execution at a Council of Cannstatt; this effectively ended the independence of the duchy (Fouracre and Gerberding 1996: 743).

With respect to the Lombards, increased hostilities against the papacy prompted a visit by Pope Stephen in 754. The pope travelled to Paris (allegedly via the abbeys at Saint-Maurice and Romainmôtier) and requested aid from Pepin the Short against the Lombard threats (Vischer *et al.* 1995: 32). Pepin agreed and waged war again with King Aistulf (749-

751), winning back Ravenna and the Pentapolis for the papacy. A similar invocation of aid by Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 774 resulted in the last campaigns against Lombard northern Italy and thus all of what is now Switzerland became a part of the Frankish kingdom (Wickham 2009: 144-145).

2.4 Conclusion

The late antique and early medieval periods are undeniably complex, if not confusing. Entire works (see Wickham 2009, 2005; Innes 2007; Fouracre 2005; Wood 1994a; Rogers 1992) have been compiled to outline in greater detail the political and settlement history of Western Europe. The aim here was to focus on the region of Switzerland, bringing to light events that affected the area, to provide the context and framework from which to explore the development of early Christianity. Through the ancient histories, we see a region defined by the activities of Germanic people, namely the Burgundians, the Alamanni, the Franks and the Lombards. While these sources often focused on military affairs (*eg.* Ammianus on the Alamanni) and conflicts (*e.g.* Paul the Deacon on Lombards in the Alps), they also describe the region as one divided into territories governed by dukes and counts and thus who will have played a hand in religious affairs.

In terms of settlement, the region arguably experienced three major periods: (1) The late third to the fifth centuries featured Roman attempts, led by Diocletian, then Constantine, and Valentinian I to stabilise its frontiers. Forts were established along the Rhine as well as along major routes, and cities and *vici* were fortified, suggesting a climate of instability and insecurity. Some forts replaced other settlements, as in the case of *Augusta Raurica* and Kaiseraugst. This, however, raises many questions about population dynamics. A city like *Augusta Raurica*, estimated to have once had a population of 9,000-15,000, was replaced by the very compact Kaiseraugst, which had space for a mere 350 to 500. Such depopulation has been attributed to the warfare, as well as social and economic crises which may have prompted migration for more economic and safety grounds. Some regions fared better than the frontiers, including Lake Geneva and the region around Chur.

(2) The next major phase is the fifth and early sixth centuries, marked by the complete or partial abandonment of many sites, including villas and towns. Fortified zones appear to be a major factor to 'successful' transitions. Assemblages from sites, with the

exception of episcopal towns and the region of Burgundian *Sapaudia*, suggest a decrease in economic activity and even in agricultural output. (3) Only from the mid-sixth and seventh centuries is a general repopulation, even colonisation, and economic growth evident. Natural resources were once again exploited fully (e.g. Develier-Courtetelle) and trade revived, in the form of both prestigious goods and household items. This renewal was marked by notable change. The Roman hierarchy of sites (i.e. *castrum*, *vicus*, *municipium*, etc.) is lost. Military and civilian zones are no longer distinct. While a geographic frontier is still present (i.e. the Rhine), the traditional militarised boundary no longer functioned. Still integral to settlement was the Roman road network, since settlements, new and old, continued to cluster around these lines. Perhaps the most significant change was the marked increase of activity in the Alps, evident by clusters of activity (e.g. church building, settlements) in valleys and around alpine lakes. Overall, continuity amidst periods and zones of decline emerges as a strong characteristic of the Swiss region in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and is one where archaeology is making important contributions. It is within this context that the following chapters examine how Christianity developed as a central religion in both the urban and rural spheres.

Chapter 3

Town and Church

Although Christian populations are attested in alpine towns prior to the fourth century – albeit mainly on the basis of documented martyrdoms (e.g. at Lyon in AD 177) and the presence of structures known as *memoriae* - only from the mid-fourth century does Christianity become securely visible in Swiss towns. The permeation of the new religion into urban space was by no means a quick and simple transition: traditional cultic and civic spaces had long served the Gallo-Roman populations and accordingly in the townscapes we can reconstruct a variable but progressive transformation that must have involved a ‘negotiation’ of space, buildings, and materials. What were the first traces of urban Christianity in Switzerland? When and where did bishops first become installed and how far did they dictate where churches were sited? How well does archaeology guide us on the ‘Christianisation’ of these urban centres?

3.1. Towns and Bishops

Besides the legendary saints, bishops are the central figures to emerge from the literature and historiography of the late antique and early medieval periods. While the bishop’s role within early medieval society may perhaps be interpreted as one occupying middle ground between religious and administrative leadership, it remains largely accepted that the bishop’s primary base of operations were the old Empire’s towns and cities (*civitates*) (Christie 2006: 187; Rapp 2005: 6-7, 208-215; Knight 1999: 63; Loseby 1992: 144-148; Brown 1992: viii). This observation was determined by similarities between the episcopal organisation of the early Christian Church and the pre-existing Diocletianic administrative organisation; and by c. AD 400 numerous bishoprics are associated with cities listed in the *Notitia Galliarum* (Loseby 1992: 144). Research on these Christian leaders often focuses on famous individuals, such as Ambrose of Milan (e.g. Moorhead 1999; McLynn 1994) and Avitus of Vienne (e.g. Shanzer and Wood 2002), or on regions with strong literary resources, such as Syria (e.g. Brown 1992), but more effort now is made to contextualise bishops in wider society (e.g. Rapp 2005).

Where do these Church leaders first appear in Switzerland? What overall roles did bishops play and are these responsibilities mirrored in Swiss episcopal towns? Our first references appear in the mid-fourth century with accounts deriving predominantly from Church Councils or letters written between bishops. These records, however, only list names and places – they do *not* explicitly record church foundations or other building work. In Switzerland, the first named bishop is Justinianus of *Rauracorum* (Kaiseraugst), an attendee of the Council of Cologne in AD 346 (*Conc. Gall. I*, pp. 27-29). In 381, Bishop Theodorus of *Octodorum* (Martigny) is listed as an attendee of the Council of Aquileia (*CSEL* 82, pp. 312-68) and named again in a letter by Bishop Eucherius of Lyon as the man who discovered the relics of the Theban Martyrs and built the first basilica dedicated to the legion (*CSEL* 31, pp. 163-173 = *MGH SRM* III, pp. 32-39).

Eucherius' letter also invaluablely informs us of an Isaac, the first named bishop of Geneva (*MGH SRM* III, p. 32). We learn that Eucherius' son, Salonius, had succeeded Isaac as bishop here in the mid-fifth century and took part in a series of Gallic Church Councils, including those at Orange (441), Vaison (442), and Arles (451). Whereas the Arian Controversy was the focus of Church Councils in the fourth century – a subject that impacted on both the Eastern and Western Church – these fifth-century Gallic Church Councils concentrated on a range of issues including the recommendation to use caution in the ordination of foreign bishops (e.g. non-Gallic) (Orange - *Conc. Gall. I.IX*, p. 72); the agreement to make regular regional councils the court setting for appeals in ecclesiastical disputes (Vaison - *Conc. Gall. I.V*, p. 77); and the confirmation of Gallic bishops of following the dogma preached at the Council of Chalcedon, namely the assertion of Orthodox Christianity against heresies and the question of jurisdiction (Arles - *Conc. Gall. I*, pp. 92-96). Another letter, this time written by Eusebius of Milan to Pope Leo in 451, provides us with the first mention of a bishop of Chur, which explains the absence of *Asinione ecclesiae Curiensis primae Rhaetiae* from the Synod of Milan (*Bündner Urkundenbuch* I: 3; cf. Jerris 2002: 87). Like the Council of Arles of 451, this synod affirmed the adherence of the northern Italian Church to Orthodox Christianity (Kaiser 1998: 18).

Between the sixth and eighth centuries, more bishoprics are attested in central and northern Switzerland: in AD 517, Bishop Bubulcus of Windisch attends the Synod of Épaon (*Conc. Gall.*, II, p. 36); in AD 585, Bishops Marius of Avenches and Heliodorus of Sion are signatories of the Council of Mâcon (*Conc. Gall.* II, p. 248); around the same period, a

Maximus is mentioned in episcopal catalogues as the bishop of the so-called 'Alamannic diocese' of Konstanz (*MGH. SS.13*, p. 325; cf. Mauer 2003: 23-24); and in AD 647 an Arricus of Lausanne appears in the signatory lists of the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône (*Conc. Gall.* II, p. 309). The agendas of these Councils addressed diverse issues: at Épaon, a number of canons were passed, including one banning wooden altars and forbidding clergy from hunting (*Conc. Gall.*, II, p. 36). At Mâcon, attendees agreed to a tithing system – an idea which faltered at first but which became more mainstream over time (*Conc. Gall.* II, p. 248). And at Chalon-sur-Saône, bishops agreed that penance was necessary to save one's soul and that only bishops could impose penance (*Conc. Gall.* II, p. 309; cf. Theuws *et al.* 2000: 219).

These Church Councils usefully reveal how the initial Swiss dioceses fitted into the wider ecclesiastical world: those based at Kaiseraugst and Geneva were part of the Gallic Church, whereas the bishoprics of Martigny and Chur initially looked to the northern Italian Church. Indeed, the legend that Theodorus of Martigny discovered the relics of the Theban martyrs, including those of St Maurice, recalls a bishop following in the footsteps of Ambrose (of Milan), his archbishop, by developing and promoting a new (and local) saint's cult (Woods 1999: 388-390). The emergence of other bishoprics in northern and western Switzerland demonstrates how the territories were largely aligned with Gaul with the exception of the Churrhaetic and Valais regions, whose allegiances between AD 300 and 500 lay with northern Italy. Importantly, Church Councils also reflect the changing politics and strengthening ties between the Gallic Church and different Germanic powers. Indeed, just as many of the fourth-century Councils were called by emperors, the sixth century saw Burgundian (following the conversion of Sigismund to Orthodoxy) and Merovingian kings call councils in the Gallic centres (Halfond 2010: 16). Halfond (*ibid.*: 16) in particular views the regularity of meetings in the sixth and seventh centuries as a means for the Merovingian kings to ensure that local concerns and royal interests followed a similar agenda.

While Church Councils and other ecclesiastical documents highlight where episcopal centres were distributed, they also inform us on the activities of bishops and the duties they were expected to uphold. Rapp's (2005: 46-53) discussion on post-Constantinian bishops usefully outlines the key religious and civic responsibilities these men had during the late Roman and early medieval periods. Figure 3.1 illustrates how

episcopal responsibilities could fall between religious and civic roles, some of which overlapped. For example, building churches not only contributed to conversion, preaching, and teaching but was also an act of public euergetism and could be perceived of as an example of civic pride and investment. Giving public speeches as well as providing food during times of famine undoubtedly pushed bishops further into the public sphere and helped to gain not only public favour but also imperial/royal favour (or even disfavour) – actions comparable with Roman senators and other members of the urban high elite.

All these activities largely took place within urban contexts. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Gregory of Tours are just a few wider examples of bishops who not only preached, taught, and carried out their key religious duties in their cities, but also became highly public religious and secular officials via writings, pamphleteering, sermons, and public addresses. Rapp (2005: 291-293) importantly highlights how the epigraphic legacy continued to advertise and promote the position of the episcopal office. Indeed, such inscriptions acted as a means for bishops and likewise their successors to reinforce their own social prominence after death.

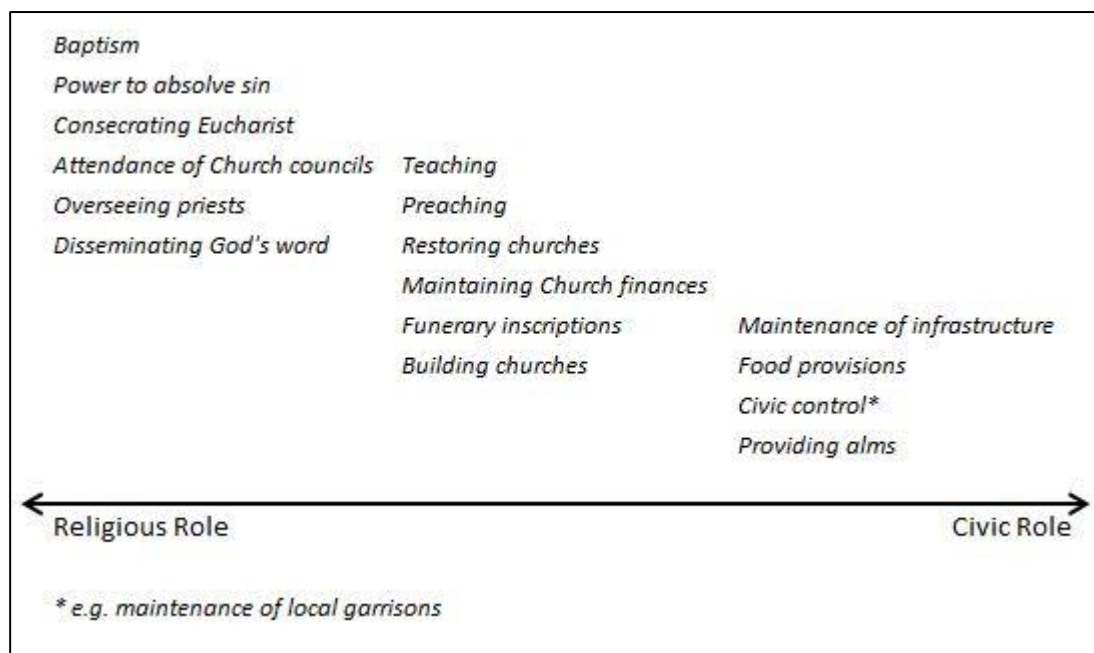


Figure 3.1: Episcopal responsibilities in relation to their religious and civic roles.

Indeed, evidence from Switzerland supports many of Rapp's observations. The late sixth century biography of Marius of Avenches, preserved in the cartulary of Lausanne, described the chronicler as a son of rich Gallo-Roman parents (*MGH SSM*, XXIV, p. 796) and

a metrical inscription on his tombstone describes Marius as a fair judge, a provider of alms to the poor, a builder of churches, a cleric and a scholar. It even describes him as a craftsman, creating the sacred vessels of liturgy (*MGH SAA*, XI, pp. 227-228). In Geneva, Bishop Maximus (512-541) is known to us as an advisor to King Sigismund as well as a regular correspondent with Bishop Avitus of Vienne. These letters include accounts of how Maximus built a basilica “in the fortress of the city of Geneva, in the field to the left, where a temple had been destroyed” – the latter potentially a demolition to enable the basilica’s construction (Shanzer and Wood 2002: 378). This Genevan bishop also assisted with the foundation of the monastery of Saint Maurice and contributed to the conversion of Sigismund to Nicene Christianity (*ibid*: 9, 378). An inscription in Chur offers further insight into episcopal duties: Bishop Valentianus’s (530-546) epitaph, found in the crypt of St Lucius in Chur, describes him as charitable bishop, one who donated his wealth, and even rescued captives – the latter claim suggesting to Burns (1984: 194) that the inscription could be referring to events when Ostrogothic rule in Rhaetia came to an end (*CIMAH.V.6*; Table 3.1, trans. Biemann).

The situation at Chur is particularly interesting. After the Franks annexed the region of Rhaetia around AD 545, they set up their own duke in the region by the name of Zacco, who likely married a member of the Victorid family (Kaiser 1998: 45-48). The Victorids were a family who soon held control over the episcopal office, as evident with the presence of Victor I (c. AD 614) of Chur who signed the canons of the Fifth Council of Paris on Church discipline (*ibid*: 46; *cf. MGH Conc.* 1, p. 192). Subsequent generations saw the Zacco/Victorid family control both the episcopate and the secular office of *praeses*, such as with Victor as *episcopus* and Jactatus as *praeses* around 690 – both children of Bishop Paschalis. Moreover, during Paschalis’ term, the cloister of Cazis was allegedly founded, where his daughter, Vespula, became abbess and his youngest daughter, Ursina, became a nun (*monialis*) (*ibid*: 46-47; Fig 3.2). This tradition of founding monasteries continued into the eighth century when Victor II, *praeses*, apparently tried to steal the relics of St Gall in order to build another monastic seat. These events subsequently brought about the death of Placidus, the founder of Disentis. While knowledge of the Victorid family tree and their activities largely derives from hagiographic and later medieval texts, including *the Life of St Placidus* and a fourteenth-century episcopal catalogue, epigraphic data and elements within the Will of Tello support the observation that the Churrhaetic region was controlled

<p>S[AN]C[T]E M[EMORIAE] EP[IS]C[OPU]S HOC IACIT IN TOMOLO QUEM DEFLEVIT RETICA TELLUS MAXIMA SUMMORUM GLORIA PON TIFECUM ABIECTIS QUI FUDIT OPES NUDA TAQUE TEXIT AGMINA CAPTIVIS PRAEMIA LARGA FERENS EST PIETAS VICINA POLO NEC FU NERIS ICTUM SENTIT OVANS FACTIS QUI PETIT ASTRA BONIS HIS POLLENS TITULIS VALENTIA NE SACERDUS CREDERISA CUNCTIS NON POTU ISSE MORI QUI VIXIT IN HOC SAE C[ULO] AN[NIS] PL[US] M[I]N[US] LXX D[E]P[OSITUS] SUB D[IE] VII ID[US] IAN[UARI] SEP[TIES] P[OST] C[ONSULATUM] BASI[LII] V[IRI] C[LARISSIMI] C[ONSULIS] IND[ICTIONE] XI PAULINUS NE POS IPSIUS HEC FIERI ORDINAVIT </p>	<p>A bishop of holy memory:</p> <p>Here lies, in the tomb (located) on Rhaetian earth, the glory of the greatest priests, (he) who donated abandoned wealth, who covered the naked, who rescued the captives, whose charity was closest to heaven, he felt the sting of death, elated at his good deeds, flies to the stars.</p> <p>Boosted by these titles, Priest Valentianus, everyone believes that you would not have died.</p> <p>He lived in this world about seventy years, was buried on the seventh day before the Ides of January, seven years after the consulate of the most illustrious Basil (?)....</p> <p>His nephew Paulinus ordered this [tombstone] to be made.</p>
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Table 3.1: Transcription and translation of Valentianus epitaph, c. AD 545 (Table by author)

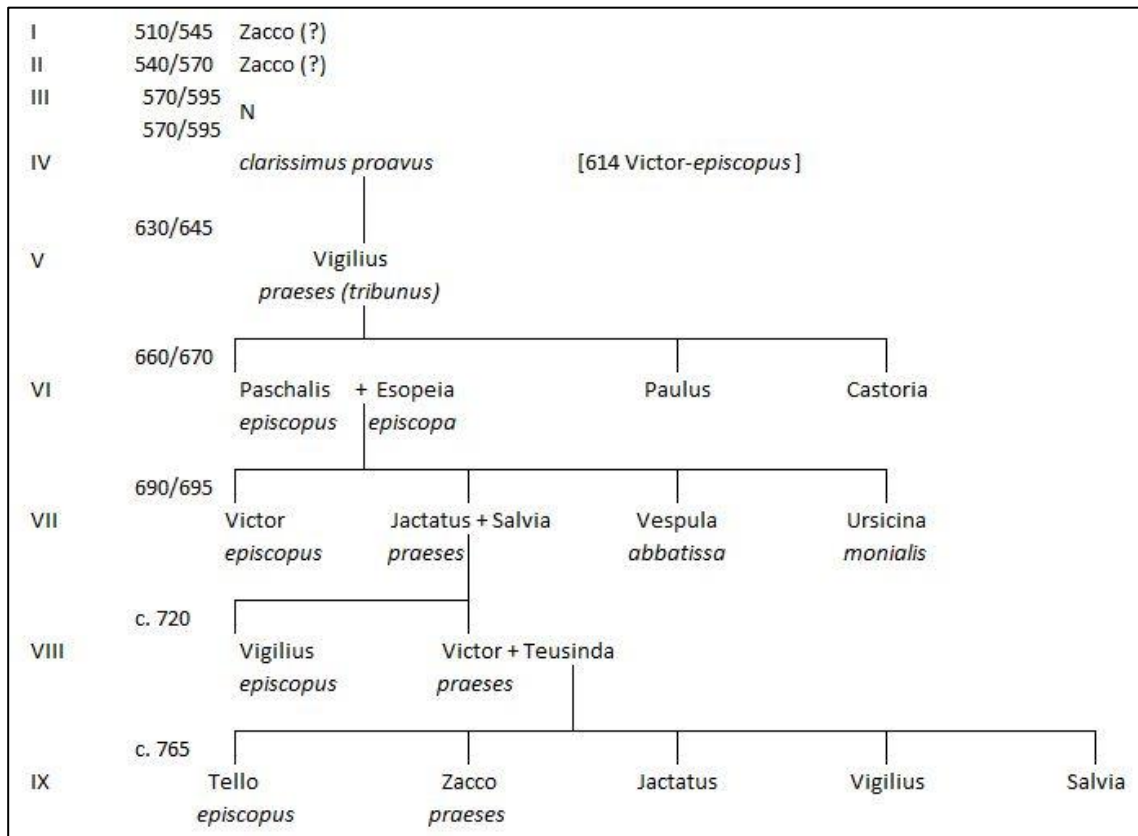


Figure 3.2: Victorid family tree (Kaiser 1998: 49; redrawn by author)

by a unified family of bishops and governors, whose power also extended into the countryside. Kaiser (*ibid*: 50) suggests that this type of episcopal and secular rule was only possible because the region was distant from the main centres of Merovingian royal power.

Evidence for bishops performing their more regular religious duties beyond attending Church Councils is rare. Indeed, letters to Maximus from Avitus usually consist of thanks to the Genevan bishop regarding his hospitality (*Ep.* 66, 74; *cf.* Shanzer and Wood 2002: 276-279). Hagiographical texts, on the other hand, offer some insight in episcopal activities: the *Vita Germanii Grandvallensis*, for example, describes Modoald (626-645), the Frankish archbishop of Trier, as an important mentor to Saint Germanus (*VGG* 2). The *Vita Sancti Galli* similarly puts bishops into the role of protectors, such as when Bishop Boso of Konstanz comforted his clergy with a sermon after learning that the cloister of Saint Gall had been ruined and despoiled (*VSG*, II.2; *cf.* Joynt 1927: 114). These texts, however, represent more symbolic representations of bishops and their religious responsibilities rather than factual data.

Bishops were, in theory, the officials responsible for overseeing baptism. Episcopal cities are viewed as the location of baptisteries or fonts but thus far only Geneva, Kaiseraugst and Martigny feature tangible proof for baptisteries (see Chapter 3.3). Moreover, rural baptisteries (see Chapter 5.2 and 5.3) outnumber urban ones, perhaps signifying that Swiss bishops were mobile and occasionally left their episcopal see to perform duties in the countryside or else that other members of the clergy were permitted to perform baptisms. Indeed, baptisms, sermons, and other duties signify the likely high visibility of the bishop in pursuing his main responsibilities. Another interesting observation is the presence of fonts in church forts, such as at Schaan (**B29**) and Zurzach (**D20**), suggesting perhaps bishops were concerned about safety or that these forts coincided within places of high demography and thus, like towns, will have evolved with political and military changes.

3.2. An ‘Evolving’ Episcopal Network

While Church Council records can indicate where bishops were first based in Switzerland, they also guide on where episcopal centres failed to become established between the

fourth and ninth centuries. In fact, bishop-lists of the ten known episcopal towns feature significant gaps (Table 3.2), thereby highlighting that the episcopal network was not static and that diocesan capitals were known to fail, resulting in episcopal moves (Loseby 2000: 82). These transfers not only resulted in the creation of new episcopal centres but also often prompted subdivisions within pre-existing city-territories (*ibid*: 83). What do these absences of bishops signify? Are these failed cities? If so, how might we explain such failures within the wider episcopal context?

As indicated by Table 3.2, by c. AD 800, active episcopal towns are documented at Geneva, Chur, Sion, Basel, Konstanz, and Lausanne. The most stable of these, Geneva and Chur, feature a regular list of bishops with few or no gaps. In contrast, following Bishop Justinianus, there is a gap of nearly 300 years before another bishop is mentioned for Kaiseraugst. Indeed, the reference of a Bishop Ragnacharius *Augustanae et Basiliaei* in Jonas of Susa's *Life of Saint Eustace* of Luxeuil led historians to surmise that the bishopric of Kaiseraugst was transferred to Basel in the mid-seventh century (*MGH SS rer. Germ*, XXXVII, p. 245; *cf.* Marti 2006a: 50-53; Faccani 2004: 10-11; Schwarz 2002: 154). The episcopal town of Martigny, similarly, has a number of gaps, with only five bishops listed between the mid-fourth and early seventh centuries. The last mention of a bishop of Martigny comes from Marius of Avenches' Chronicle which outlines growing friction between the monks of Saint Maurice (*Agaunensi*) and the bishop Agricola, who was allegedly oppressing the monks (*Mar. Chron.* a. 565; *MGH SAA*, XI, p. 237; *cf.* Bonnet and Santschi 2007: 95). After this event, the episcopal seat associated with the region of Valais refers to Sion not Martigny; accordingly scholars consider Bishop Heliodorus (c.589) as the individual who moved the diocesan capital from Martigny to Sion (*ibid*: 95; Lehner and Wibl  1996: 108).

The situations at Windisch, Avenches, and Lausanne were arguably more complex and currently two hypotheses exist regarding their development in the early medieval period. On the one hand, some scholars (e.g. Santschi and Bonnet 2007: 43; Guyon 2003: 107) describe these three episcopal towns as belonging to the '*Civitas Helvetiorum*', referring to a large territory defined by the old Roman road network towns (see Fig 2.3). Utilising Church Council records, it is argued that (*ibid*: 44-45), following Bishop Bulbucus of Windisch, Bishop Grammatius transferred the episcopal chair of the region to Avenches

YEAR/ SITE	AUGST- BASEL	MARTIGN Y-SION	GENEVA	CHUR	'CIVITAS HELVETI- ORUM'	KONSTANZ
	KAISERAUGST Justianiaus (c. AD 346)	MARTIGNY Theodorus (c. 381)				
400			Isaac (c. 400)			
		Salvius (c. 440)	Salonius (441-460)	Asinio (c. 451-455)		
			Eleutherius (c. 470)	Puritus (c. 460)		
			Theoplastus (c. 470)	Claudian (c. 470)		
500		Constantius (c. 517)	Domitianus (c. 470-490)	Ursicinus I (c. 485)	WINDISCH Bubulcus (c. 517)	
		Rufus (c. 541-549)	Maximus (c. 512-541)	Sidonius (c. 492)	↓	Maximus (c. 585)
		Agricola (c. 565)	Pappolus (541-549)	Eddo (c. 520)	AVENCHES Grammatius (c. 535-541)	Ursinus (c. 589-600)
		↓		Valentinianus (c. 530-546)	↓	Gaudentius (c. 613)
	↓	SION Heliodorus (c. 585)	Salonius (567-573)	Paulinus (c. 548-?)	LAUSANNE Marius (574-594)	
600	BASEL and KAISERAUGST	Leudemund (c. 613-620)	Carriatto (584-585)	Theodorus (c. 590)	Arricus (639-654)	Johannes (c. 615-629)
	Ragnacharius (621-629)	Dracoaldus (c. 614)	Rusticius (c. 601-602)	Victor I (c. 614)	Prothasius (c. 652)	Martianus (c. 639)
		Protasius (c. 639-653)	Abelenus (c. 626-627)	Paschalis (c. 660-670)	Chilmegiselus (c. 670)	
	↓		Pappolus (c. 650)	Victor II (c. 690/696)	Udalricus (c. 690)	
700	BASEL Walaus (740)		Ethoaldus (c. 664)	Vigilius (c. 720)		Audoin (?-739)
	Baldebert (751)	Wilcherius (c. 764-780)	Gauzibertus (c. 769-770)	Tello (c. 765)		Arnefrid (736-746)
				Constantius (c. 773)		Sidonius (746-760)
						Johannes (c. 760-782)
800	Waldo (?-805)	Alteus (c. 784-804)	Walternus (c. 800)	Remedius (c. 800)	Ulrich (c. 800-813)	Egino (782-811)

Table 3.2: Bishop-lists of the six Swiss diocesan territories, illustrating various episcopal transfers

– an observation based on Grammatius being listed as *episcopus ecclesiae Auenticae* in the Council of Clermont of AD 535 (*Conc. Gall.*, II, p. 36). At some point between AD 585 and 647, the episcopal capital moved again, this time to Lausanne. Marius of Avenches, recorded as *episcopus ecclesiae Auentiae* in the signatory list of the Council of Mâcon in AD 585, is generally credited with this move (*Conc. Gall.* II, p. 248).

This idea is also supported by the discovery of his metrical epitaph which names him as bishop of Lausanne. Furthermore, the title *Lausonicensis* was used by a subsequent bishop, Arricus (*Conc. Gall.*, II, p. 309). The alternative view is that the see of Windisch was divided, with one episcopal seat sited at Avenches and another at Konstanz, thus explaining the appearance of a new diocese in the late sixth century. This alternative idea is based on Notker of Liège's *Florilegium Sangallense*, written c. AD 900 which also states that the diocese was supported by King Dagobert (629-634) as a means to oversee the duchy of Alamannia around c. AD 630 (Santschi and Bonnet 2007: 45; Vicher *et al.* 1995: 31). These observations, however, presume that the gaps within bishop-lists are signs of a faltering episcopal centre which eventually led to a transferal to another centre.

While the history behind these dioceses and their urban centres remains rather complex and at times unclear, it is evident that the episcopal network in Switzerland was not fixed and that episcopal transfers occurred. Loseby's analysis of urban failures in late antique Gaul found that episcopal failures were relatively rare and are associated predominantly with the late and post-Roman period (Loseby 2000: 82). Citing the example of Vieux and Lillebone, Loseby (*ibid*: 83) argues that episcopal cities that disappear in the fourth century usually involve the absorption of one city's territory into a neighbouring *civitas*. Changes between the fifth and sixth centuries, by contrast, took the form of a transfer of status from one centre to another within a city territory. An example of this type would thus be the transfer of status of *civitas* from Martigny to Sion in the sixth century. A final type of transfer involved the creation of a new *civitas* by subdividing an existing diocese – as claimed for the establishment the diocese of Konstanz. Indeed, Loseby (*ibid*: 83) concluded that, in general, the 'evolution' of the episcopal network tended to involve the emergence of new *civitates* and a redistribution of diocesan territories. Outright failures, meaning the complete disappearance of a city and its territory absorbed into a neighbouring city, were uncommon.

Understanding the motives and reasons behind these moves remains no easy task. Loseby (2000a: 84) suggests that the Church's slow takeover of landed endowments was likely a factor, describing how fourth-century cities often lost control of their estates to the imperial treasury which in turn either donated the estates to the Church or reallocated the land back to the city on approved projects. Thus, the transfer of sees undoubtedly was much more complex since it also involved the redistribution of estates vested in the care of its bishop. Another probable factor relates to safety: for example, the former seat of Alba (a city with no defences) was transferred to fortified Viviers in the fifth century (Loseby 1992: 149). Similarly, in c. AD 600 Italy Pope Gregory the Great encouraged bishops in sees under threat from Lombard attack to move their seats to places of greater safety and he even suggested pooling the resources of two towns to ensure the survival of one see (Greg., *Reg.* II. 17; cf. Christie 2006: 371-372; Richards 1980: 101). Alongside security, Marti's (2006a: 38) study on the bishopric of Kaiseraugst indicated that the bishop chose to move to Basel for demographic and likely political reasons: documentation stating that the former episcopal church of St Gall in Kaiseraugst was a royal estate in the ninth century, led Marti (*ibid*: 38-39) to propose that the absence of a bishop between the fifth and sixth centuries allowed the Frankish monarchy to gain control of the estate. In this respect, a transfer of the episcopate to Basel could be seen as the bishop attempting to revive the diocese by establishing a new centre rather than attempting to regain a church considered part of royal property.

Other episcopal moves, such as Avenches to Lausanne and Martigny to Sion, might similarly be connected to security and/or demographic reasons but an absence of archaeological and historical data make it difficult to pinpoint a reason for the move (Blanc 2002: 187). Interestingly, churches at former episcopal towns (e.g. Martigny and Kaiseraugst) continued to operate, in many cases becoming parish churches, suggesting that residual populations persisted in these places (Faccani 2004: 36; Lehner and Wibl  1996: 108-109).

3.3 Archaeologies of Urban Churches

It is essential next to explore these episcopal churches and other 'urban' chapels, and to question where they were sited and why. But first we must consider how we identify episcopal churches. Is it the first intramural complex, irrespective of size? Is it the largest

intramural church? Is it the (only) one endowed with a baptistery? Is the episcopal church associated with a possible 'palace'? What archaeology exists to tell us of their roots, designs, contexts, and evolution? In theory, we might expect the archaeology to follow the models proposed by Cantino Wataghin or Guyon (see Chapter 1.2.2), but do Swiss episcopal towns show a different progression? Finally, what (if any) burials have been found in association with these cathedrals? Where were they placed and when do episcopal churches start to feature tombs?

3.3.1 Identification and Location

Currently, four episcopal complexes have been identified in Switzerland: Geneva, Kaiseraugst, Martigny, and Chur. The churches found at Geneva and Kaiseraugst are acknowledged as 'episcopal' based on a combination of factors: scale of the structures, their intramural setting, their date (e.g. earliest intramural church), and the presence of baptisteries. At Chur, the intramural setting, date, and scale also contributed to an 'episcopal' classification (Sennhauser 2003: 70-71; Kaiser 1998: 104-108). The case for Martigny's late antique cathedral, in contrast, remains debated. While Santschi and Bonnet (2007: 106) observe that the suburban context and the seemingly private nature of the church's initial phase does not conform with other Gallic or northern Italian episcopal churches, they (*ibid*: 107) do acknowledge subsequent building phases – including the construction of a double-church complex and the presence of a baptistery – might indicate a private church that became episcopal in a later building phase.

Within the other bishoprics, identification of episcopal churches is less secure. For example, a possible example may be present at Avenches, with the remains of an early medieval intramural church excavated under the church of St Martin. This structure, however, was not labelled as the bishop's cathedral on the basis of size, a proposed funerary function, and questionable dating (Blanc 2002: 181; Santschi and Bonnet 2007: 57-58). Other possible early medieval cathedrals have been proposed under the current cathedrals in Basel and Lausanne – both intramural churches. While interim reports suggested that these structures were constructed in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively, later excavations claimed early ninth- and twelfth-century dates are more likely, implying the cathedrals were located elsewhere (*ibid*: 65; Sennhauser 1990: 4-5).

In some cases, there is simply an absence of data to pinpoint the location of the first cathedrals for some bishoprics. At Sion, an unwallled episcopal town, both the Valère Basilica and the church of St Peter were considered to be the episcopal church based on their imposing locations and subsequent building histories, and Blondel's (1953: 27-28) proposal of an episcopal palace between the two hills respectively; these, however, were later identified as tenth-century structures (Dubuis and Lugon 1988: 40-41). Similarly, at Konstanz, the current cathedral's initial building phase has been dated to the ninth century, despite single finds dating to the sixth and seventh centuries, alongside a few grave goods, from around the cathedral hill (Röber 2006: 13). Finally, at Windisch, no evidence thus far has revealed the site of a cathedral, if one even exists (Santschi and Bonnet 2007: 50).

Despite these problems of identification, we are able to consider the significance of location for six cathedrals, including those of Avenches and Basel (Fig 3.3). First, it is evident that the majority of cathedrals are intramural, arguably signifying an acceptance of the new and 'central' religion and its insertion into the towns' cores. This intramural setting might also reflect a need for security in the post-Roman and early medieval periods, especially given the frontier location of Basel and Kaiseraugst (Cantino Wataghin 2003: 225-226). Second, these churches are located in what can be termed strategic locations: episcopal complexes at Kaiseraugst, Geneva, and Basel lay near gateways and roads as well as harbours; Chur's cathedral was built at the highest part within the walls; similarly, Avenches' possible cathedral was constructed near a main artery and in a visually prominent point (e.g. side of the hill).

Peculiarly, these observations contrast with Martigny's proposed episcopal church, which is set away from the main Roman road and the Rhône (Fig 3.4). The peripheral nature of Martigny's church, especially its distance from the Roman centre of *Octodorum*, is mirrored at *Aventicum* and *Augusta Raurica*. In both cases, Roman residential sectors and centres have yielded little to no early medieval activity and have been presumed abandoned by then (see Chapter 2.2). Furthermore, all of the episcopal churches appear in what might be defined as peripheral zones, in terms of away from the city centres. This might well indicate limited central urban space or signify specific donated or open land, preference to ease of access, or a combination of reasons factored into location. This

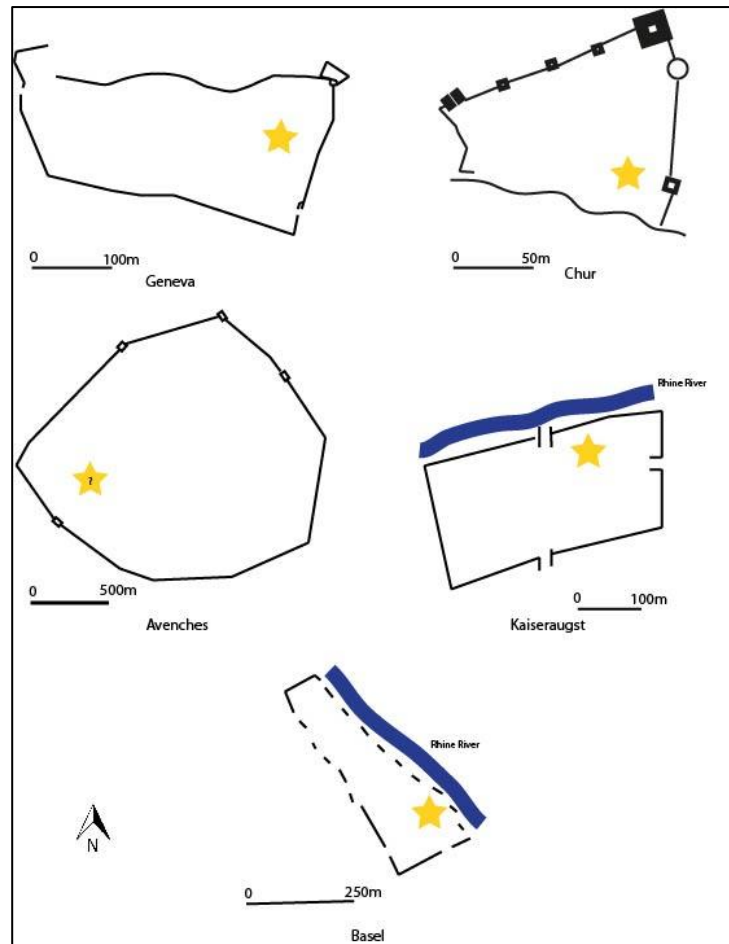


Figure 3.3: Location of known and potential (?) episcopal churches in fortified towns

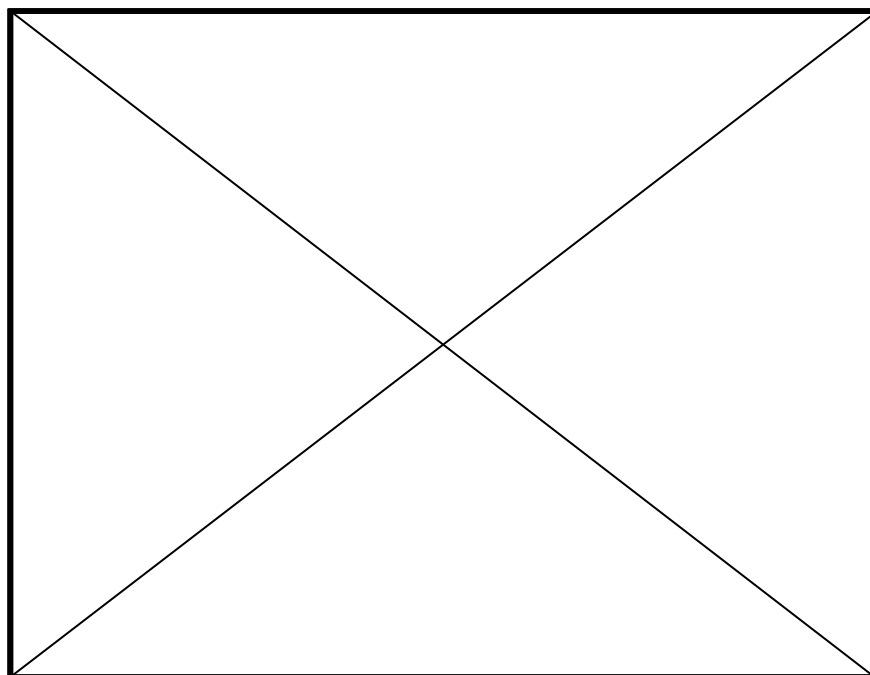


Figure 3.4: Site plan of Octodorum - P (top right) denotes the church (Lehner and Wibl  1993: 12)

observation is shared with Guyon (2006: 110) and Cantino Wataghin (1995: 195), who both argued against the idea of a 'set of rules' regarding placement and stated that the locations of episcopal churches were often varied, although generally were in 'fringe' areas (see also Christie 2006: 97).

3.3.2 Episcopal Churches: Architectural and Burial Data

The noted absence of architectural and archaeological data regarding late antique and early medieval cathedrals at Basel, Lausanne, Sion, Avenches, Windisch, and Konstanz makes an attempt to outline any trends in form and scale necessarily difficult. However, I would argue that we can still offer some discussion regarding size, form, material and other qualitative features, especially as we are fortunate to have the four main regions covered (i.e. west: Geneva, north: Kaiseraugst, south: Martigny, and east: Chur). Thus Tables 3.3 and 3.4 display basic data associated with those excavated episcopal churches. Table 3.5 then lists other key architectural elements, including the presence of baptisteries, choirs, and burials, while Table 3.6 tabulates the data relating to associated burials.

In terms of form, the majority of these cathedrals were basilical, consisting of a large nave leading to an apse and presbytery, labelled here as a 'hall church' (*Saalkirche*) and belonging to the fourth to sixth centuries. Sennhauser's (2003: 70) proposed cruciform plan for Chur's St Mary, despite being derived only from remnants of the apse and parts of the nave wall, is a notable exception although both cruciform churches appear in later building phases at Kaiseraugst's St Gall and Geneva's North Church (Fig 3.5). Churches built between AD 300 and 500 had an average dimension of 9.08 x 21.28m. The only significant change in the early medieval period is the extension of the North Church at Geneva by 7m in width and 12m in length. While this church currently represents one of the longest early medieval cathedrals in Switzerland, the construction of the East Church between the seventh and eighth centuries with dimensions of 20 x 22m was not only wider but likely taller (Bonnet 1993: 57-58). This church also consisted of a 'triple-apse' (*Dreiapsidensale*) plan, an architectural form that becomes widely used in the early medieval period in the Alps (Sennhauser 2002: 34-35).

Town	Gaz Ref.	Date (AD)	Width (m)	Length (m)	Construction Materials	Form	Apse
Kaiseraugst Phase I	A4	c. 350	11.5	17	Brick; tile; Stone	Hall church	Semi-circular
Kaiseraugst Phase II	A4	c. 400	11.5	17	Brick; Stone	Cruciform	Semi-circular
Chur Phase I	B6	c. 450	?	?	Brick; Stone	Cruciform?	Semi-circular
Geneva - North Phase I	C6	c. 350	10	32	Brick; Stone	Hall church	Horseshoe
Geneva - South Phase I	C7	c. 400	10	30	Brick; Stone	Hall church	Horseshoe
Martigny - North Phase IIa-c	G3	c. 350	8	9	Brick; Stone	Hall church?	Exedra
Martigny - North Phase III	G3	c. 400	7.7	15.4	Brick; Stone	Hall church	Horseshoe
Martigny - South Phase III	G4	c. 400	6	12	Brick; Stone	Hall church	Square

Table 3.3: Episcopal church data of late antique date

Town	Gaz. Ref.	Date (AD)	Width (m)	Length (m)	Form
Chur – Phase II	B6	c. 760	?	? 0.72m	Hall church?
Geneva - North Phase III	C6	c. 500-600	17	42	Cruciform
Geneva - East Phase I	C8	c. 600-700	20	22	Triple-apse church

Table 3.4: Episcopal church data of early medieval date

	Gaz. Ref.	Baptistery/ Fonts	Choir	Altar	Other Liturgical Furnishings
Kaiseraugst	A4	Yes	Yes	Unknown	Possible Chancel
Chur	B6	No	Unknown	Maybe	Unknown
Geneva – North	C6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Solea; ciborium around font
Geneva – South	C7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Solea; ambo
Geneva – East	C8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Chancel
Martigny – North	G3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Raised apse
Martigny – South	G4	Yes	Yes	Unknown	Unknown

Table 3.5: Other liturgical data associated with episcopal churches

Geneva and Martigny also featured 'double-church' complexes. As will be outlined in the following section, Geneva's eastern intramural urban sector witnesses the construction of an episcopal group featuring a North Church and a South church separated by an atrium with a baptistery (Phase I-II) and an array of adjacent buildings. A similar but smaller construction is claimed at Martigny, where the initial church was built into a suburban villa then developed into a double-church by the early fifth century, although in this case the baptismal font was found in an annex and the two churches shared a wall (Fig 3.6; Bonnet 2012: 363-364). The scale of Geneva's episcopal complex in comparison to Martigny should not be overlooked – nearly a third of the intramural space was utilised at Geneva, contrasting with the seemingly extramural/suburban nature of Martigny's episcopal 'headquarters'.

Double-church complexes have been found in the Balkan regions, northern Italy, and parts of France, leading scholars to suggest that it was a northern phenomenon (Knight 1999: 85; Lehner and Wibl   1996: 107-108; Pauli 1984: 187). Moreover, these are not solely an urban phenomenon, since examples occur in rural contexts, such as at Saint-Prex (see Chapter 5.2). The purpose of these complexes has sparked discussion on early Christian conversion practices. For example, Bonnet (1996: 103) and Knight (1999: 69) hypothesise that they were designed to better convert the remaining 'pagan' populations: one church acted as a place of conversion, the other used for those converted. Bonnet (1996: 104) further proposes a division of liturgical activity, with one church used for the catechumens and the second for regular service - a theory he bases on the overall structure of Geneva's episcopal complex. He argues that a neophyte would have first been taught about Christianity in the South Church; then the neophyte would be directed to the baptistery via the atrium where he/she would be formally recognised as a Christian following the baptismal rite; only then would he/she have been able to attend the services in the North Church (Bonnet 2011: 363-365). The subsequent addition of the monumental East Church has been interpreted as a new place for a saint's worship (*ibid*: 364). This observation is predominantly based on historical data, namely Sigismund's request for relics of St Peter from the Pope Symmachus (Avit. *Ep.* 29; *cf.* Wood and Shanzer 2002: 225-227).

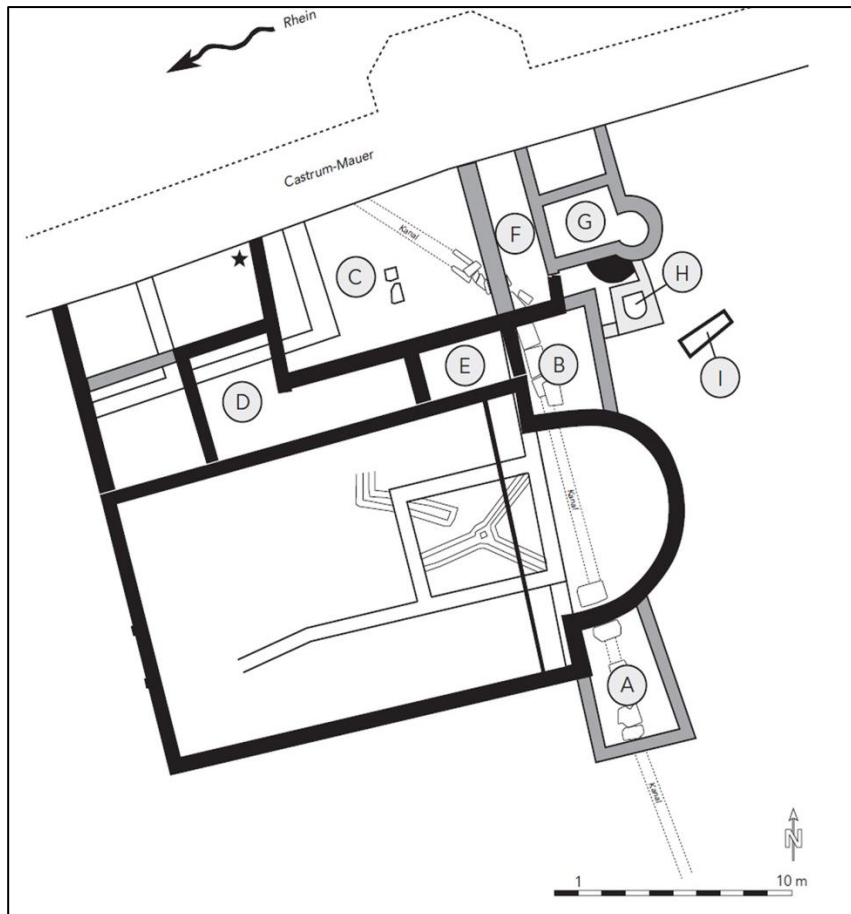


Figure 3.5: Floor-plan of Kaiseraugst's episcopal church. A-B: annexes, C: courtyard, D-E: annexes, F-G: baths, H: basin of water (baptistery?), I: stone sarcophagus (Image courtesy of R. Marti 2000: 152)

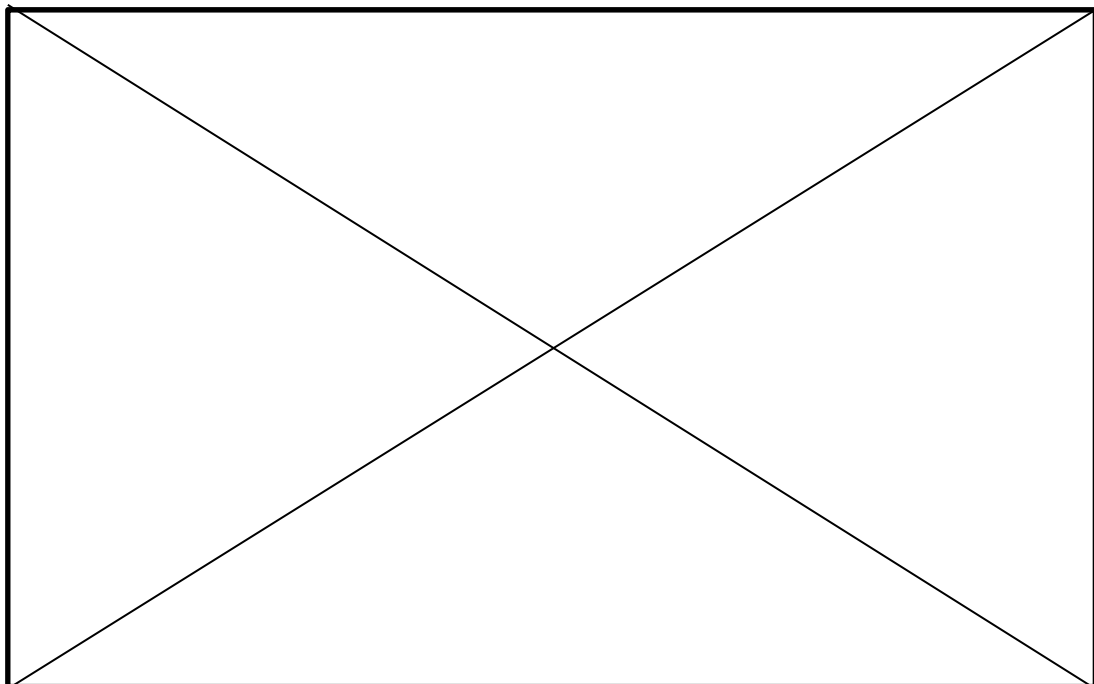


Figure 3.6: Floor-plan of Martigny's double-church complex in the fifth century (Lehner and Wibl  1996: 106)

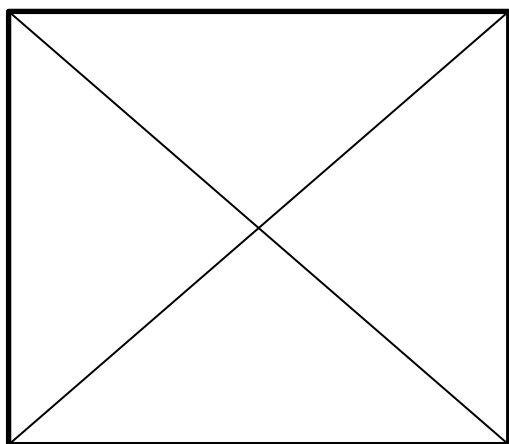


Figure 3.7: North wall featuring *opus africanum* masonry of the North Church, Geneva (Bonnet 1993: 23)

Despite differences in form and scope, all the late antique and early medieval cathedrals so far found in Switzerland were constructed with stone (usually limestone or tuff) as the primary material as well as reused Roman brick and other materials. At Geneva, the walls of the North Church comprised large masonry blocks set in vertical rows and horizontal bands of river stones – a practice known as *opus africanum* (Bonnet 1993: 22-23; Fig 3.7). Interestingly, while the church walls at Kaiseraugst were largely built on

rubble foundations with horizontal layers of stone, intermixed with brick and tile, the remains of reused large blocks in the north-east corner might represent an attempt at the same *opus africanum* technique (Bonnet and Santschi 2007: 80; Schwarz 2002: 337). At Chur, ashlar masonry was utilised, forming thick walls (0.72m wide) bonded by mortar made up of sand and crushed brick (Sennhauser 2003: 70-71). In contrast, Martigny's proposed episcopal church contained the most reused materials, including carved blocks, funerary inscriptions, fragments of architraves, cornices, and capitals – *spolia* no doubt derived from the abandoned neighbouring Roman centre (Faccani 2004: 23).

Such use of *spolia* should not detract from the appreciation of the skill that went into erecting these structures as well as decorating the interiors and associated furnishings. For example, at Chur, an altar made up of Carolingian marble slabs featuring rosettes, interlaces, wine tendrils, and two lions on either side of a cross was preserved and used in the St Laurentius chapel until its unfortunate destruction in the 1950s. However, this altar is a late medieval creation (Fig 3.8; Seifert-Uherkovich and Dosch 2008: 22).

Little is known otherwise of interior decoration, with the exception of Geneva. Here, fragments of decorated stucco discovered near the baptistery and a decorated chancel located in front of a tomb featured geometric patterns (Fig 3.9; Bonnet 1993: 60-61). Further elements of decoration in Geneva's episcopal complex, such as the mosaic floor found in the reception, will be outlined in Section 3.3.3.



*Figure 3.8: Carolingian marble slabs used to create the St Laurentius altar, Chur
(Image courtesy of A. Fuchner).*



*Figure 3.9: Decorated stucco from the baptistery at Geneva thought to date to the Carolingian period
(Image courtesy of C. Biemann)*

The interior of these episcopal churches commonly featured a choir barrier, altar, and baptistery (Table 3.5). With respect to choir barriers, these differed in their positioning. For example, those at Martigny and Kaiseraugst were shallow and so created a small choir space. Geneva's episcopal complex, in contrast, featured different choir forms. At the North Church, the interior was initially divided into three spaces by two N-S walls; this was later modified with the addition of a narrow corridor ending in steps to the choir barrier (Phase II: c. AD 450) and again in Phase III (AD 500-600) with the overall enlargement of the presbytery (Bonnet 1992: 24-26). The South Church experienced a similar progression with Phase I featuring two N-S barriers, creating an altar zone and a choir. The liturgical furnishings were later rearranged c. AD 450 with the addition of a new choir barrier and a hexagonal platform – the latter place Bonnet perceived as a podium from which the bishop taught the catechumens (*ibid*: 26-30). Arguably the most unique is the initial construction of the East Church at Geneva (c. AD 500-600), which featured a square enclosure delimited by stone barriers, marking a distinct privileged zone and perhaps a precursor to choir stalls (*ibid*: 29-30).



Figure 3.10: Altar of St Germanus, Geneva
(image courtesy of F. Schenk)

Altars, while significant, have thus far only been identified by impressions in the mortar located in the apses of the churches. The case of Chur's proposed altar is problematic: are the Carolingian slabs found on the St Laurentius altar (Fig 3.8) indicative of evidence of a decorated early medieval altar? Only one other altar has been discovered in Switzerland with decorative

motifs – that of St Germanus in Geneva (**C4**) (Fig 3.10; Oswald 1966-1971: 93-94). The decorations have been dated to c. 400 and comprise scenes of animals and vegetation, set up as a frieze (*ibid*: 94). However, the altar of St Germanus similarly was put together in a later period and thus the intended arrangement of the decorated pieces remains in doubt. One possible theory is that these panels in fact relate to choir screens (see Doig 2008: 123-124).

A key component for identifying cathedrals is the presence of baptisteries, either detached or a room housing a font. Currently, only three fonts have been confirmed in an urban context: one at Martigny and two at Geneva (see Section 3.3.3 below). These are around 1m in diameter and are set into the floor



*Figure 3.11: Fifth-century font, Geneva
(image courtesy of C. Biemann)*

(Fig 3.11). Free-standing fonts, usually intended for affusion (the practice of pouring water over the head from a standing font) are usually associated with the Carolingian or later periods although Thomas (1981: 204) highlights the baptism by affusion of a boy depicted on a fourth-century tombstone in Aquileia. In Switzerland, the fonts are thought to be for immersion or possibly total immersion, defined as the following (Thomas 1981: 204; see Davies 1962):

Submersion; or total immersion: where the candidate goes briefly but entirely below the water.

Immersion; where the head....is in some way submerged, with or without the candidate having to stand in the same container.

Another postulated font has been proposed for Kaiseraugst, although Marti (2006a: 36-37) views this as a private bath. In terms of location and date, Martigny's font was set in a southern annex and dated to c. AD 375, whereas Kaiseraugst's so-called baptismal font lay in a small room north of the apse (Lehner and Wibl  1996: 23; Schwarz 2011: 337-338). As will be discussed in Sections Chapter 5.2 and 5.3, late antique and early medieval baptisteries are also attested in rural and monastic settings, which might signify seats set up by bishops to carry out baptisms in rural communities, with bishops in theory required to conduct the rite (Rapp 2005: 92).

Finally, an important element of our understanding of episcopal churches and indeed of urban Christianisation is intramural burial, since not only is this a break from the traditional Roman rule of burying the dead outside of urban spaces (Costambeys 2001: 173), but also the first signs of intramural burial in urban settings are often perceived as the action of bishops and connected to episcopal churches in Switzerland (e.g. Bonnet and Santschi 2007; Bonnet 1993). Traditionally, this transfer of burials inside city walls has

been associated with a response to the translation of saints' relics by bishops from suburban to urban churches, creating desirable burial foci for clergy and laypeople, as well as a future resting place for bishops (Dyggve 1952: 147-157). This view, however, is largely derived from examples from Rome. Indeed, Cantino Wataghin (1999: 147-80) cautioned attempts to use Rome as the example by which all towns followed; she appropriately highlights that many cities with urban cemeteries do not have evidence for the translation of relics to create *ad sanctos* burial spaces – defined here as the custom of burying the dead near tombs of saints or other sacred points (e.g altars). But rather than assume that this trend was started by the impact of saints' relics it is perhaps more valid to first identify when intramural burials began and whether they are indeed tied to episcopal churches (Table 3.6).

Town	Intramural Burial?	Date (AD)	Location	Other Remarks
Chur	Unknown	N/A	N/A	N/A
Geneva	Yes	c.500-600	Inside North Church	Stone tomb located in next to choir barrier
Kaiseraugst	Yes	c.500-600	Next to apse, outside church	Located next to apse
Basel	Yes	c.800	Crypt	n/a
Avenches	Possible?	c.500-600	Near church	Fragmentary evidence
Konstanz	Possible?	c.500-600	Near church of St John – not episcopal	Evidence not secure
Lausanne	Yes	c.700-800	Under crypt	Fragmentary
Sion	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Problem with identifying Roman urban space
Martigny	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Cathedral in suburban space
Windisch	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Cathedral not identified

Table 3.6: Intramural Burials tied to Episcopal Churches

First, we can observe that intramural burial, at least in seven Swiss episcopal towns, appeared either in c. AD 500-600 or c. AD 700-800. Second, the proposed connection between episcopal churches and intramural burial appears strained, namely from inadequate or insecure evidence. For example, at Konstanz, Röber (2006: 15) questions the theory that intramural burial began in the late antique period since the proposed graves found near the church of St John is based on an assumption that finds of combs and an iron disc derived from one or more burial. Rober (*ibid*: 16-17) thus suggests that the ninth-century crypt was the earliest example of intramural burial and also notes how the

trend at Konstanz until the sixteenth century was to bury their dead in the cemetery located outside the walled city. Similar issues are evident at Lausanne and at Basel where the evidence tends to date intramural burial to the ninth century and are associated with crypts discovered under the current cathedrals. Indeed, intramural burial seems to only be associated with episcopal complexes at Kaiseraugst and Geneva. At Kaiseraugst, a solitary, NE-SW oriented, sarcophagus burial was found just outside the apse of the church of St Gall (Marti 2006a: 36; Schwarz 2002: 159-160). Geneva's episcopal complex, on the other hand, features a number of burials placed in specific zones (e.g. near the choir, in the apse). Martigny also features a number of burials inside and outside its proposed cathedral, although, in this case, the significance relates more to a suggested funerary function rather than an 'intramural burial' status, since the church lay in the town's suburban zone.

In sum, while consistent evidence for episcopal cathedrals in all the documented bishoprics is lacking, the following conclusions can be drawn from the archaeological evidence found at Geneva, Chur, Kaiseraugst, and Martigny:

- On average they featured a plan of c. 9 x 21.3m in size between AD 300 and 500; only Geneva saw significant enlargement between AD 500-800 with the addition of a new church and the extension of the North Church.
- The most common form was a basilica with cruciform types appearing in subsequent building phases at Kaiseraugst, Geneva, and possibly Chur.
- Stone, reused brick, and other *spolia* were the principal materials utilised in construction; decorative elements are also present, although rare.
- Geneva and, to a lesser extent, Martigny represent what can be classed as an episcopal group with the construction of multiple, connected churches.
- Choirs and altars are evident in most of the churches examined; considerable variation, however, is apparent in their placement, size, and decorative elements. Baptismal fonts and detached baptisteries have been confirmed at Geneva and Martigny.
- Intramural burial of c. AD 500-600 is confirmed at Geneva and Kaiseraugst. These burials were tied to the cathedrals, based on their location.
- Other centres (e.g. Lausanne, Konstanz, Basel) experienced intramural burial between AD 700-800 and relate to crypts associated with later cathedrals (e.g. Basel's Munster, Lausanne's Notre Dame).

- In terms of chronology, most building activity occurs in the late antique period with Geneva providing an excellent example of how one episcopal complex can be modified regularly between AD 300 and 800 (see Section 3.3.3).

Unfortunately, the absence of data on cathedrals at sixth-century episcopal centres (e.g. Lausanne, Konstanz, Sion) makes it difficult to evaluate any notable differences (e.g. form, monumentality, and liturgical arrangements) between late antique and early medieval cathedrals in Switzerland.

3.3.3 Case study 1: Geneva's Episcopal Complex

As observed above, the evidence for Geneva is among the strongest. Here we detail this in order to show how episcopal complexes were consistently modified and could feature a network of connected yet distinct rooms, including reception rooms, residences, and private chapels. The roots of Geneva's episcopal complex begin c. AD 300, when a large wheat-processing building located in the eastern sector of the walled city was demolished. In its place a small timber structure was built, described by Bonnet (1993: 3) as a Christian oratory. If correct, this would indicate that at Geneva, a pre-Constantinian Christian community had enough connection to demolish not only a significant Gallo-Roman structure, but one potentially connected to the urban's supply of wheat. However, Bonnet's basis for calling the small timber structure a Christian chapel is largely centred on the subsequent construction work – namely, the building of an intramural church and baptistery (**C6**). Dated to c.AD 350, this was a monumental church, nearly 32 metres in length, taking up the majority of the town's north-east sector, destroying the timber building, and constructed with *opus africanum* masonry (Bonnet 1993: 18-19). This cathedral also showed signs for a N-S fence dividing the nave into two sections, indicative of a choir (Bonnet 1996: 101).

The complex saw renewed construction c. AD 400, when a southern cathedral (30 x 10m) was added (**C7**). The development of two separate churches in such a close proximity, often known as a double-church complex, led Charles Bonnet (1996: 385), chief archaeologist and researcher here, to label them as an 'episcopal group':

Le groupe épiscopal prendra, dès le IV^e siècle, de l'ampleur en devenant le centre spirituel, politique et économique d'une région étendue. L'étude de ce complexe

architectural permet de caractériser les différents monuments qui le composent avec, au milieu, le baptistère, précédé d'un atrium et entouré de deux (puis trois) cathédrales.

These two cathedrals were organised around a central atrium with a portico, while the baptistery was rebuilt between the apses of the cathedrals (Fig 3.12). The southern cathedral saw further elaboration of its internal furnishings: foundations of a solea, a narrow raised platform, which led to a polygonal ambo, were discovered (*ibid*: 101-102). Decorative and monumental features included mosaics and stucco decoration in the baptistery; an elevated solea in the northern cathedral; and choir stalls in both cathedrals (*ibid*: 103). An arcosolium was incorporated into the raised solea during the sixth century. Given its location near the church entrance, Bonnet (1993: 40) theorises that this tomb was that of a bishop or a saint. This also marks the possible beginning of intramural interment at Geneva.

Perhaps the most impressive display of art and wealth was the construction of the bishop's 'reception hall' attached to the South Church. Excavators here found *in situ* a floor mosaic with 45 panels of polychrome designs - geometric patterns rarely found north of the Alps (*ibid*: 44-45; Fig 3.13). Late Roman hypocaust systems were detected but whether they were still in use or not remains debatable. Bonnet (1987: 333, 337) assumes that they were retained in this phase and suggests that these denote another example of the site's monumentality. Further to this image of a growing and imposing complex was the addition of a residence, presumably for the bishop, in the late fourth century. This structure was found further east of the complex next to a small chapel, featuring a rectangular nave with eastern apse and annex to the north (**C9**) (Bonnet 1993: 28-30). The residence was 17 x 9m and comprised a number of rooms, argued by Bonnet (2012: 115-116) as having distinct functions, including an oratory, zones for storage and cellaring, and private spaces.

Between AD 443 to 534 Geneva was one of the capitals of the Burgundian kingdom. It is clear that the Burgundian presence did not hinder the expansion of the Christian complex in the walls; rather it encouraged it. Thus, the northern cathedral saw an enlargement of the nave from 32 to 42 metres and the creation of a wider apse, thereby making this more prominent than the southern cathedral. The baptistery was rebuilt, its font moved westward slightly and enhanced by a ciborium and a stucco-

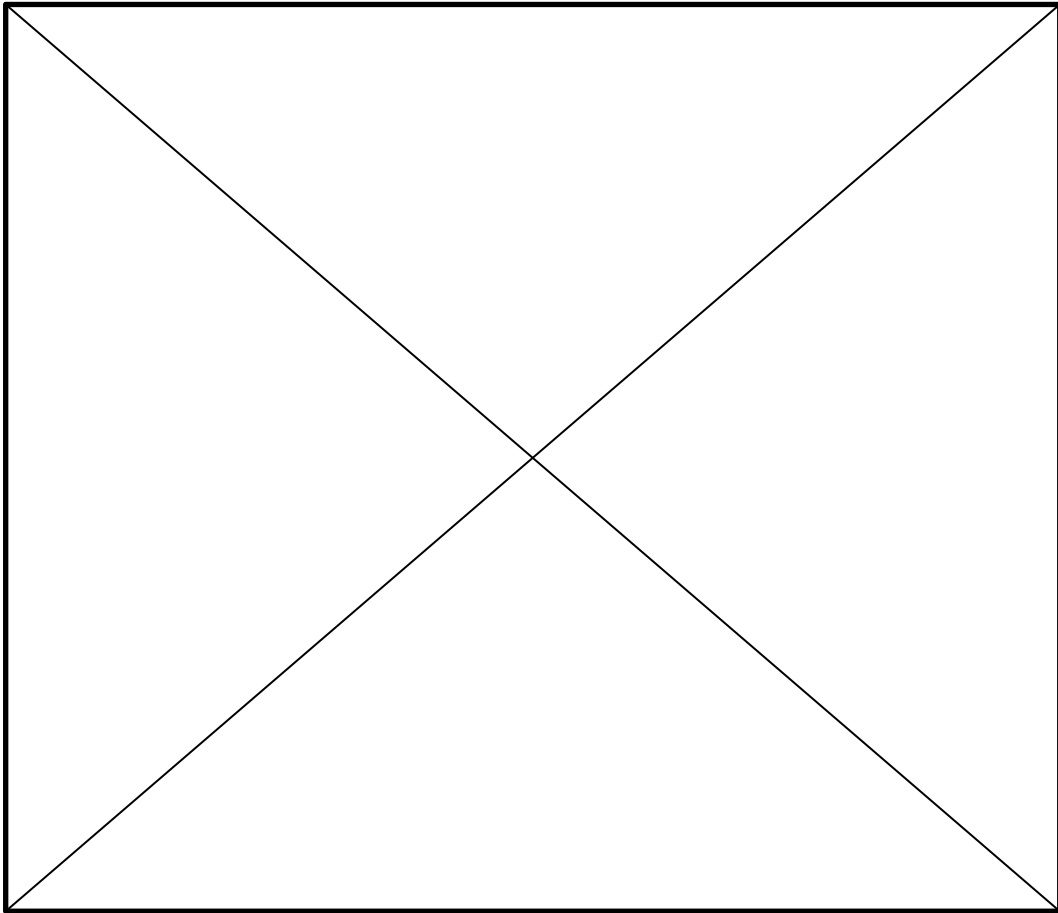


Figure 3.12: Floor-plan of Geneva's episcopal complex in the fifth century (Bonnet 2011: 364)



Figure 3.13: In-situ mosaic with polychrome geometric designs, Geneva's South Church

decorated vaulted covering – the stucco decoration perhaps reused from the earlier font (Bonnet 1996: 103; 1993: 40-41, 44; 1987: 337). Circa AD 500, during the reign of King Gundobad, a fire in the northern cathedral prompted another phase of building: the church was rebuilt and the apse again broadened; the baptistery underwent a final phase of reworking with a secondary baptismal font added with direct access from the original edifice and a new apse (Bonnet 1993: 51-53; 1987: 338).

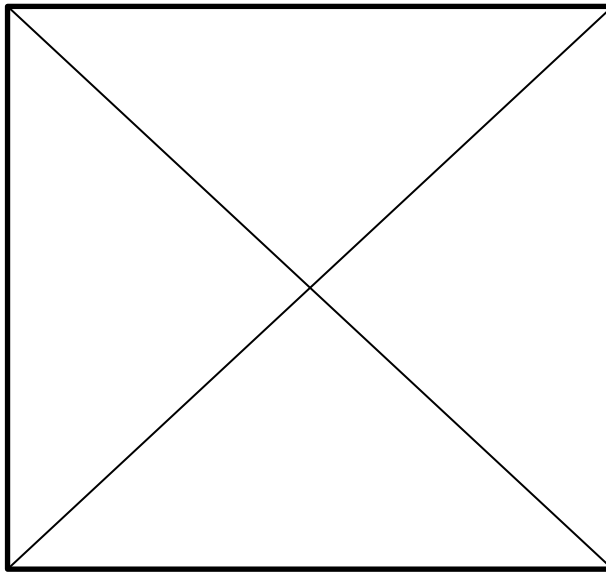


Figure 3.14: Axonometric reconstruction of the third cathedral and the baptistery, Geneva (Bonnet 1993: 56).

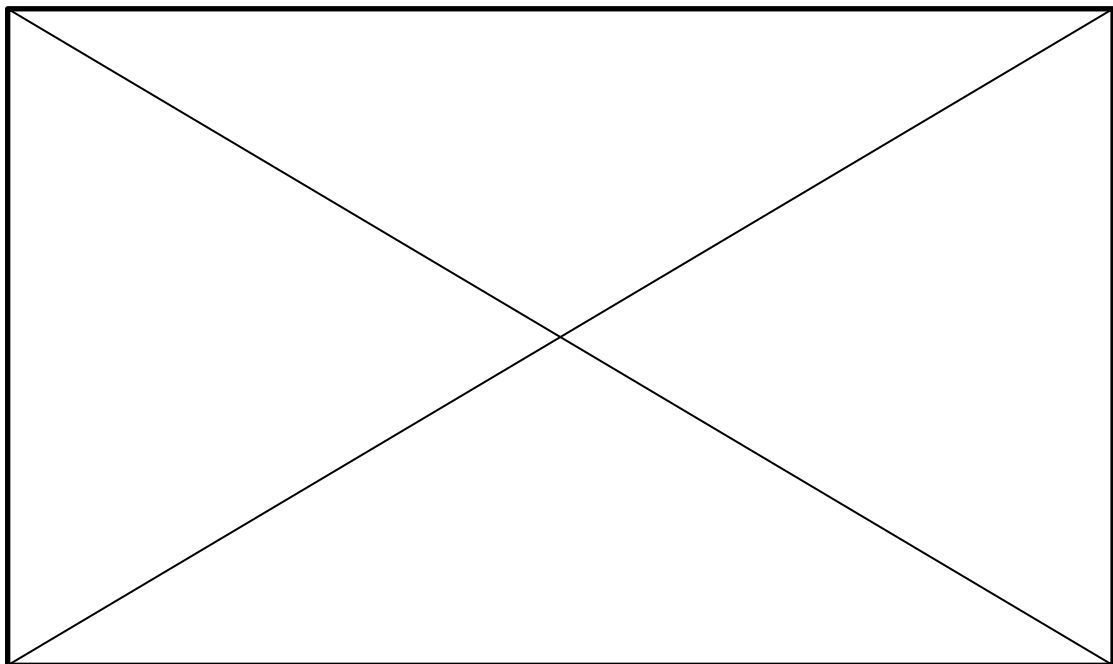
The major development of the sixth century at Geneva was the construction of a third church or 'Eastern Cathedral' sited east of the baptistery, creating a triple-church complex (**C8**) (Bonnet 1993: 54-63). Instead of the usual rectangular nave and apse plan, this church featured a basilical, triple nave plan with a dominant central apse, flanked by two smaller apses. Bonnet (1986: 42-43) calls this third building the 'episcopal church', intending that this was where place the bishop would hold

public services. The discovery of a barrier, which delimited the liturgical space, as well as a tufa-built chancel, enhanced by geometric motifs made from stucco, implied that the sectioned-off area was reserved for the elite (Bonnet 1996: 103; 1993: 59; Fig 3.14).

The period in which Geneva was under Frankish Merovingian (534–751) and early Carolingian (751-800) rule experienced a decrease in church building in terms of new foundations. The main developments occurred in the episcopal complex, where the Eastern Cathedral saw several changes to its internal liturgical set-up: in particular, a large plain sarcophagus was placed directly west of the altar and was flanked by two red-painted masonry screens. This tomb became the centrepiece of the early medieval cathedral. The large open area in front of the tomb allowed people to circulate around the sarcophagus; two other sarcophagi were placed *ad sanctos* to the north and south of the central tomb (Bonnet 1993: 56). Finally, the first baptistery was transformed into a small

chapel, leaving the smaller baptismal chamber built in the sixth century with the sole font (*ibid*: 58).

The episcopal complex was not the only intramural church built between AD 300 and 800. Around AD 400, a small church was constructed west of the complex, featuring a simple square nave leading to an eastern apse and a small annex accessed by an entrance from the corner of the nave (**C4**). Bonnet and Privati (2000: 385) describe this plan as “trapu, plutôt archaïque”, and showing no signs of later building work. Around the church, lay fragmented evidence for Late Roman stone-built buildings. Despite the fragmentary nature of these incomplete structures, Bonnet (2002: 144) proposes these were residences which may have been still occupied around the time the church was built. Indeed, while Geneva’s episcopal complex represents a significant example of how churches were points of patronage and were regularly altered over time, the complex itself is part of the wider changes to urban topography brought about by other church foundations, including those found in suburban settings such as at St Mary, St Gervasius, and St John (Fig 3.15).



*Figure 3.15: Topographic setting of Christian sites in Geneva in early medieval period.
(Bonnet 1986: 12).*

3.4 Archaeologies of Suburban Spaces

Suburban spaces – interpreted here as outside the city walls – were core features in most Swiss late antique townscapes. The rise of the cult of saints is perceived as an integral part in the development and patronage of suburban zones, with *memoriae* often being counted or upgraded to churches with time. In some extreme cases, the building of a major church outside the walls would radically alter the focus of the city, as best exemplified in the cases of St Peter's Basilica in the Vatican and the shrine of St Martin at Tours. What trends do we see with suburban churches in Swiss towns? What burial patterns, if any, can be discerned?

3.4.1 Identification and Location

This part of the study comprises a small corpus (12 in total) of suburban churches built between AD 300 and 800. Unlike episcopal churches, the identification of these structures is largely based on four characteristics: the building plan, date, location outside the walls, and the presence of burials. In some cases, more than one extramural church has been identified, such as at Avenches (**E6, E7**), Geneva (**C5, C10, C11**), and Chur (**B5, B7, B8, B9**). In other episcopal centres, the evidence is less concrete. For example, at Kaiseraugst, the cemetery 'church' (**A5**) comprises an E-W oriented rectangular plan (9.5 x 6m) but has no evidence of an apse or any associated liturgical structures (Marti 2000: 154). The date of the structure (c. AD 600), the presence of a separate apsed-*memoria*, and the associated burials led to the eventual conclusion that the structure was likely used by Christians and thus 'a church' (*ibid*: 155-156; Schwarz 2002: 160). Even more problematic is the supposed timber church under St Stephen at Konstanz, where only the subsequent building history and a mention of a similar structure in the *Life of St Gall* (VG XXV, Joynt 1935: 98) supports its classification as church (Röber 2006: 15). Considering this problem and the fact the structure has not been securely dated to the early medieval period (*ibid*: 15), data pertaining to Konstanz have been left out from any statistical analysis. Finally, at the unfortified Sion, the classification of churches at Sous-le-Scex (**G5**) and under St Théodule (**G6**) as 'suburban' is largely based on the presence of burials and a perceived 'funerary function' since the Roman centre has not yet been identified.

In terms of location, despite a common extramural or suburban designation, there remains some variation on where these were placed and what factors might have led to their foundation. One of the most apparent trends is the construction of suburban churches within pre-existing cemeteries and the presence of associated burials. Churches at Geneva, Chur, Avenches, Sion, and Kaiseraugst's so-called cemetery church comprise burials found inside and outside the walls, a characteristic that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6. The connection between suburban burial space and church foundation has been linked to the rise of the cult of saints. The association between saints and funerary areas, as Cantino Wataghin (2003: 230) describes, began with the burial of martyrs outside of Rome's walls. As a result, *memoriae* containing martyrs emerged in extramural settings, later attracting funerary churches and shrines (e.g. see Stopford 1994; Jacobsen 1997; Crook 2000; Yasin 2009). Indeed, as will be seen in Section 3.4.3, the churches of St Lucius and St Stephen were both preceded by *memoriae*.

Another pattern associated with suburban churches is their placement near roads and other points of access/egress. At Avenches, funerary churches at Domdidier (E6) and Donatyre (E7) were discovered along the main route leading to the town and near a secondary gate to the south-west respectively. Interestingly, Domdidier's church was smaller (5 x 9m) than that at Donatyre (8.5 x 14m) – one might expect the former church to be larger since it would presumably have attracted more visitors alongside the regular congregation. Similarly, Geneva's suburban churches – as Figure 3.14 demonstrates – were placed near routes leading in and out of the town, a characteristic mirrored at Sion (e.g. St Théodule) and again at Kaiseraugst and Konstanz (if we consider these latter two structures as 'churches'). This contrasts the relatively 'closed'-off appearance of Sion's Sous-le-Scex and Chur's St Stephen and St Lucius. These churches were built next to imposing hills and mountains, resulting in limited access and space for growth (Fig 3.16). However, despite this obstructed access, the structures at Chur stood at a higher elevation than the cathedral – meaning they would likely have been visible from afar.

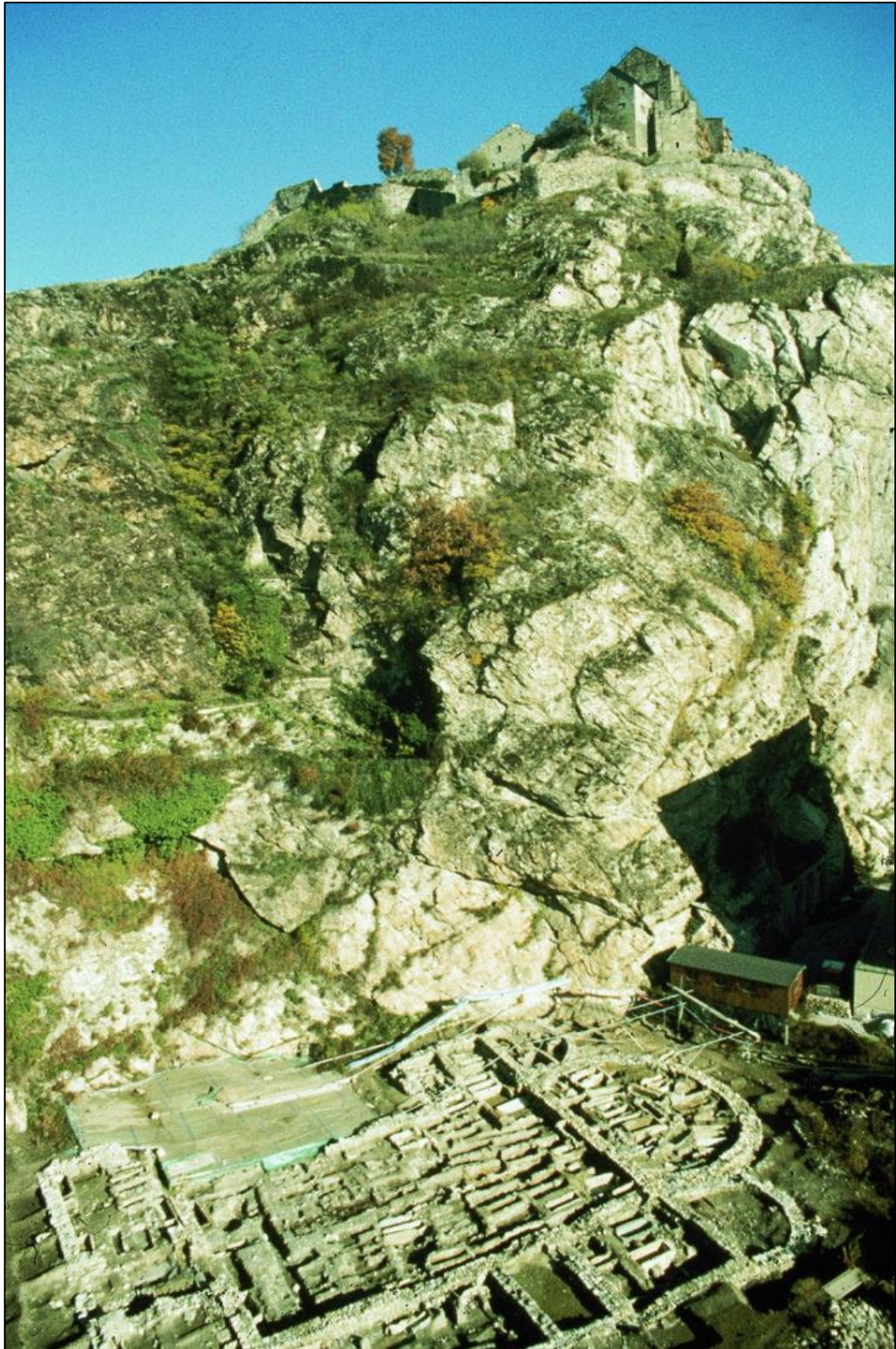


Figure 3.16: Excavations of the late antique and early medieval church at Sous-le-Scex at the base of La Valère in Sion, showing the clustering of built tombs within the complex (Image courtesy of Lehner 2010)

Just as episcopal churches were often built above pre-existing Gallo-Roman structures, a few extramural churches follow this trend. At Sion's church of St Théodule, excavations revealed that the church was built above a house and next to baths, suggesting that it was constructed in a residential part of the former Roman town. Indeed, its west and north walls made use of a late Roman system of heating and ducts, possibly determining the rectilinear form of the nave (Crook 2000: 107; Dubuis and Ruppen 1981: 7-9). Perhaps more significant is the church of St Gervasius at Geneva. Here, the church, dated to the early fifth century, was preceded by a Gallo-Roman temple which burnt down in c. AD 350. This subsequent building might suggest religious violence was at work here (Bonnet 1987: 128-129; Privati 2008: 2-13).

3.4.2 Extramural Churches: Architectural data

Overall, in terms of church form, we can note that hall churches oriented E-W with semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped apses were the most common style of the 12 suburban churches examined here (Table 3.7). In terms of dimensions, using this sample, on average the late antique suburban church was 6.1 x 13.4m, increasing to 9.91 x 15.15m in the early medieval period; some of these rivalled the size of Kaiseraugst's cathedral. Interestingly, few of these complexes expanded from their first phase sizes – the dimensions of the nave of Sous-le-Scex, for example, remained 12.5 x 21m despite multiple building phases with changes such as the addition of annexes and apses. Exceptions to this observation are structures that began as a *memoria* and progressively grew over time. One excellent example is the church of St Mary Magdelene that saw three building phases between AD 400 and 600: originally a small square building set within a Roman necropolis near the eastern entrance of the city and the main road, the *memoria* was built of cobblestones and wood (Bonnet 1986: 44-46; Fig 3.17). In the sixth century, a large square church with an eastern semi-circular apse was built, incorporating the earlier *memoria* and leaving this structure intact, just south of the apse. A narrow southern annex was also added. Throughout the sixth and seventh centuries burials were established within the church and outside. Around AD 600, the building saw another transformation: plain sarcophagi on each side of the axis of the nave were installed, no doubt belonging to patrons or priests of the church (*ibid*: 46-47). Similar progressions can be seen at Chur's St Stephen and St Lucius, as examined below (Section 3.4.3).

Stone again was the principal construction material – but varying from limestone blocks such as those in the foundations of St Stephen and St Lucius in Chur to cobblestones used at St Mary in Geneva (Bonnet 1997: 12-13). Unsurprisingly, *spolia* features in a number of these churches – both churches at Donatyre and Domdidier featured foundations and even parts of their standing architecture made up of Roman brick, undoubtedly taken from structures in nearby Avenches (Schwab 1984: 92; Jakobsen 1991: 96). Timber was rarely used as a primary construction material with the exception of St John in Geneva (C11) and the church of St Stephen at Konstanz, but was of course regularly used for roofing, over which presumably were set tiles.

Considerable variation emerges when considering other features in suburban churches, including liturgical features or ancillary rooms (Table 3.7). Indeed, the only common trend is the absence of baptisteries, suggesting (logically) that baptismal rites centred on cathedrals. On the other hand, rectilinear impressions (averaging 1 x 1.5m), indicate the presence of altars, usually set behind choir barriers at the centre of an apse – indeed, choir barriers were common, featuring in 50% of the suburban churches. In some cases, the sanctuary space created by the choir barrier was marked by a change in level, requiring a step to gain access (e.g. Chur's St Lucius) or marked by a different surface (e.g. Chur's St Regula where the floor was mortared, contrasting with the rubble floor of the nave).

Whereas the altar space and the main nave acted as the core of the church, ancillary rooms and side annexes added considerable space and often changed the ways one would access the church. In the case of Sous-le-Scex, Phase III saw the addition of a large narthex and steps leading through the main access point to the nave of the main church. In other places, the annexes provided new burial spaces – at St Mary at Geneva, an L-shaped annex of Phase III featured five burials, including two sarcophagi. At St Regula in Chur, the annexes were likely used for storage or residential space – no burials were found in the adjacent annexes, which were subdivided, suggesting smaller specific rooms. While these annexes were usually constructed after the main church, determining their function and purpose without any associated artefacts or furnishings is difficult.

Town	Gaz Ref.	Date	Width (m)	Length (m)	Construction Material	Form	Apse
Kaiseraugst – cemetery church	A5	c. AD 600	6	9.5	Brick	<i>Memoria</i> (?)	None
Chur – St Lucius	B5	c. 400	4	5	Stone; Brick	<i>Memoria</i> (?)	None
		c. 730	10.5	15	Stone; Brick	Triple-apse	Semi-circular
Chur– St Martin	B7	c. 750	11.5	16.9	Stone	Triple-apse	Semi-circular
Chur - St Regula	B8	c. 800	5.4	10.3	Stone	Hall church	Horseshoe
Chur- St Stephen	B9	c. 400	4.56	7.15	Stone; Brick	<i>Hypogeum</i>	n/a
		c. 450	4.56	11	Stone; Brick	Hall church	Semi-circular
Geneva – St Gervasius	C5	c. 400	7.3	20	Stone; <i>spolia</i>	Hall church	Horseshoe
		c. 500	7.3	20	Stone; <i>spolia</i>	Cruciform	Horseshoe
Geneva – St Mary	C10	c. 400	2.40	3.30	Stone	<i>Memoria</i> (?)	None
		c. 500	9	9.5	Stone	Hall church	Semi-circular
		c. 600	7.10	12.80	Stone	Tripartite division	Semi-circular
Geneva - St John	C11	c. 500-600	15	20	Timber	Triple-aisle	Square (?)
Domdidier - St Mary	E6	c. 600	5	9	Stone; <i>spolia</i>	Hall church	Horseshoe
Donatyre - St Stephen	E7	c. 600	8.5	14	Stone; <i>spolia</i>	Hall church	Semi-circular
Sion – Sous-les-Scex	G5	400-500	12.5	21	Stone	Cruciform	Horseshoe
		550-700	12.5	21	Stone	Side annexes	Triple-apse
		700-800	12.5	21	Stone	tripartite	Triple-apse
Sion – St Théodule	G6	c. 500	19	22	Stone; <i>spolia</i>	Triple aisle	None

Table 3.7: Suburban church data

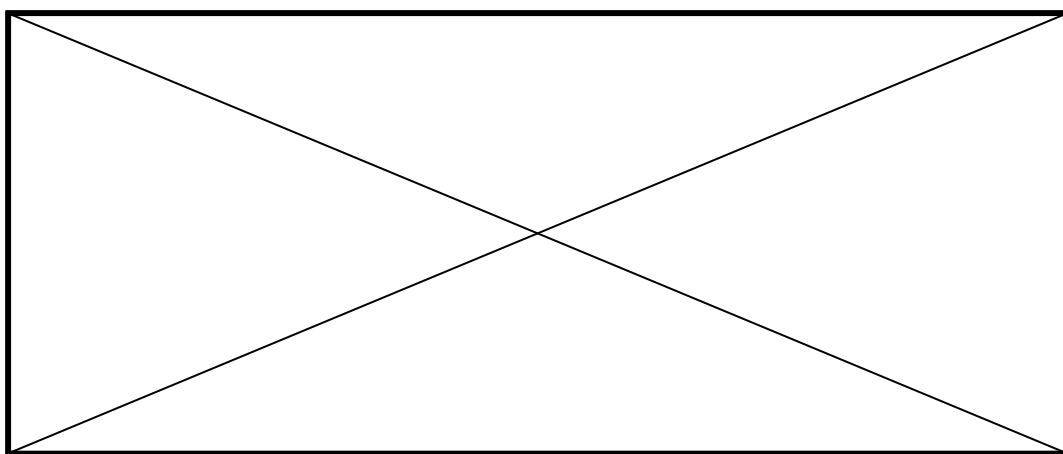


Figure 3.17: Floorplans of St Mary Magdelene, Geneva depicting Phases I-III. (Bonnet 1986:44)

3.4.3 Case Study 2: Chur's Extramural Churches

Chur represents an excellent example of how extramural or suburban space was not only tied to the cult of saints but also a significant step in urban Christianisation. Indeed, the earliest signs of a Christian presence at Chur appear outside the walls, where two extramural *memoriae* were excavated, dating to c. AD 400. Constructed from bricks and possibly vaulted, the northern *memoria* consisted of an irregular rectangular plan (3.5 x 3m) and was accessed by an arched door. The eastern grave chamber was barrel-vaulted and featured arched windows (Sennhauser 2003: 700-701). In both cases, the dates have been assigned based on stylistic similarities with Italian examples (Sennhauser 2003: 77-78). As for the original dedication, scholars (e.g. Durst 2002: 43-44; Sennhauser 2003: 688) have accepted a theory that these earlier grave chambers were likely dedicated to St Andrew and even equipped with relics of St Andrew as part of a movement started by St Ambrose to distribute the relics of Andrew throughout the suffragans of the archdiocese of Milan, including Chur (Durst 2002: 43-44; Sennhauser 2003: 699).

Only 30 metres to the north lay another funerary structure, traced underneath the current church of St Stephen (**B9**). This structure featured a rectangular floor plan (4.56 x 7.15m) with a barrel vault and a northern side annex. The floor of the vaulted room was partitioned into grave cells known as *formae* and featured a stone sarcophagus next to the entrance (Fig. 3.18; Sulser and Claussen 1978: 20-21). A key feature was a central *loculus* (a small recess in the wall) which was likely used for relics. Notably, a fresco depicting the six apostles carrying wreaths and paying homage to a symbol of Christ was painted on the wall featuring the *loculus* (*ibid*: 49-53; 118-119). The paintings were dated stylistically to the fifth century (*ibid*: 75-79; Durst 2005: 35-36). The annex also consisted of a decorative semi-circular band mosaic (Fig 3.19a-b). Finally, the floor of the main room was divided into regular grave cells, including a covered sarcophagus in the western corner. Together, these features suggest that the structure was designed for saint's worship with the burials placed near the main point of veneration (e.g. the relics) and thus considered *ad santos* and likely recipients of any intercessory prayer. While no literary evidence remains to prove this structure was established for the dedication of St Stephen, there is precedent for fifth-century worship to this saint in northern Italy and Gaul, especially in relation to episcopal commemorations (Sulser and Claussen 1978: 175).



Figure 3.18: Crypt underneath the church of St Stephen at Chur (Image by Peter de Jong 20105)



Figure 3.19a: Mosaic slabs preserved from the 'crypt' of St Stephen, Chur (Images: author)

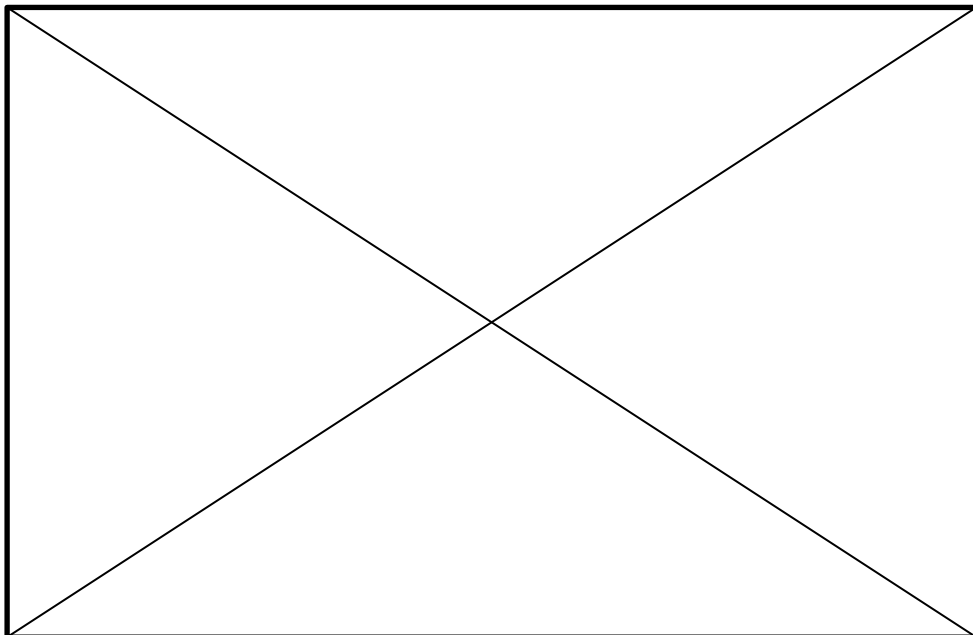


Figure 3.19b: Reconstruction of the mosaic decorations of the apse (Sulser 1978 and Claussen 1978: 50)

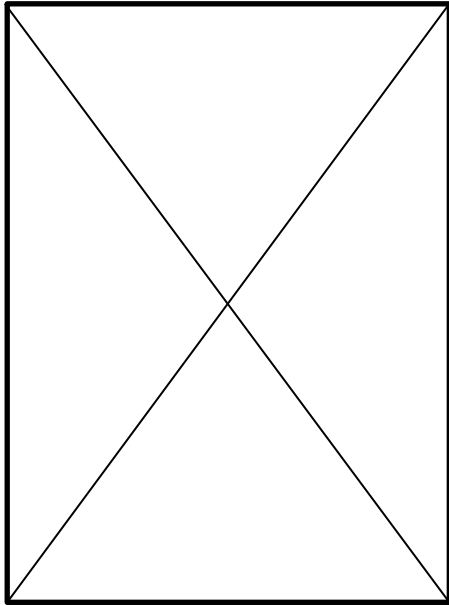


Figure 3.20: Axonometric reconstruction of St Stephen (Sulser and Claussen 1978: 22)

During the sixth century, a church was built above the funerary structure of St Stephen, now regarded as a crypt (Fig 3.20). The structure consisted of a semi-circular apsed hall (c.11 x 4.56m), oriented E-W, a northern annex extending the whole length of the nave, and a southern annex (around 4.7 metres long) used for burials. Much of the western end of the church was destroyed by the by the construction of a school in 1850, but at the eastern end an unusual choir developed above the large loculus of the underlying crypt (*ibid*: 38; Sulser and Claussen 1978: 175). The tombs of the crypt remained accessible at the western end, pointing to an attempt to preserve and incorporate the earlier crypt into the new church

(Durst 2005: 38). Unlike the southern annex, the northern space was devoid of burials and instead contained charred remains of cereal, bones from pigs, goats, sheep, and chickens, and fragments of cooking pots, leading to the room's interpretation as a kitchen (*ibid*: 39).

Construction of an east-west oriented ring crypt at St Lucius, incorporating an earlier fifth-century *memoria*, also occurred in the sixth century (Fig 3.21). With an unknown length, the crypt was around 10.50m wide and featured two internal apses. Three richly furnished tombs were present, associated with the bishops of Chur, as indicated by the discovery of an engraved marble inscription left by Bishop Valentianus in c. AD 545 (CIMA.H.V.6, see Table 3.1).

The next notable developments occur in the early eighth century, with the construction of an east-west oriented hall church at the site of the St Lucius crypt (Fig 3.22). While a semi-circular apse was visible on the exterior, internally there were three horseshoe-shaped apses. Three altars would have been placed in each of the apses (as evident from three rectangular depressions), with a dominant one in the central apse. The choir was raised, requiring central steps to access the space. As at St Stephen's, the crypt was accessed from the church with stairs to the north and south providing access to the burial spaces (Sennhauser 2003: 72-73, 691-706). Two tombstones were found in this



*Figure 3.21: Part of the preserved ring-crypt of St Lucius, Chur
(image courtesy of Dr Helena Carr, 2011)*

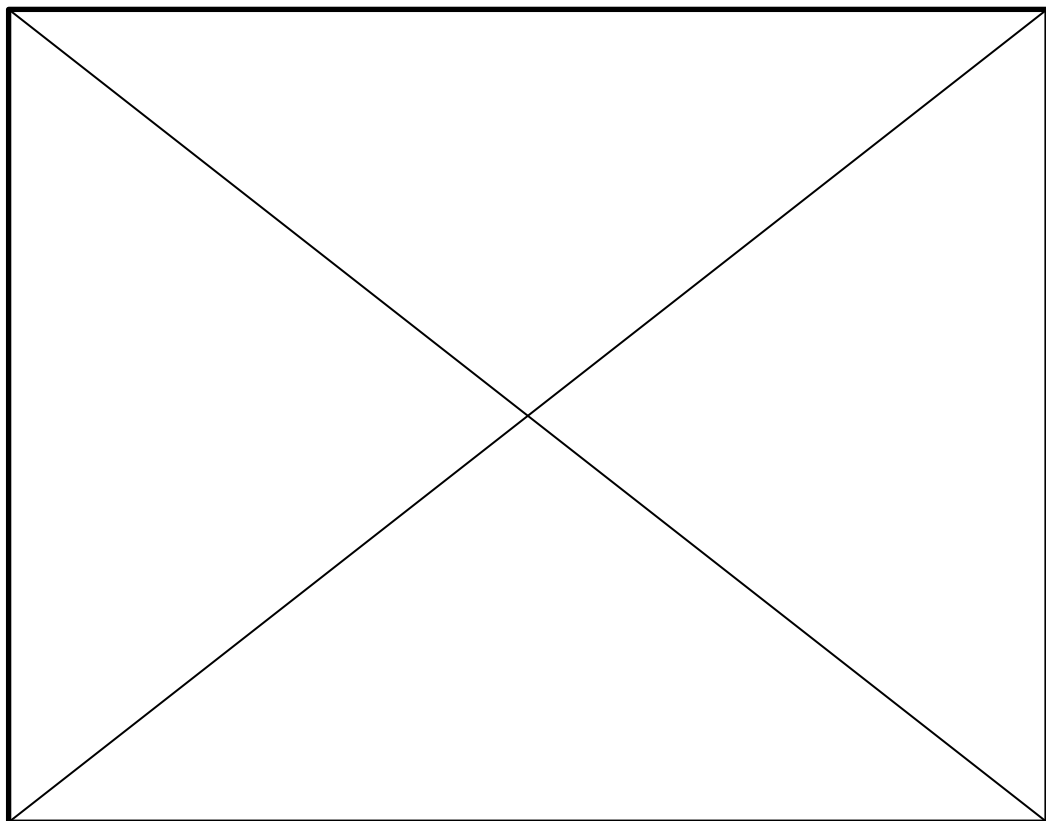


Figure 3.22: Axonometric reconstructions and floor-plans of the eighth-century crypt and overlying church of St Lucius at Chur (Sennhauser 2003: 704).

area, including one which offered the following inscription dated to c. AD 720, showing the patronage of the *praeses* who imported the marble on behalf of an unnamed individual (CIMAH.V. 8; trans. Biemann):

*IN XRI NM / HIC SVB ISTA LABIDE / MARMOREA / QVEM VECTOR VER IN / LVSTER
PRESES / ORDINABIT VENIRE / DE VENOSTES / HIC REQUIESCET / DOM[I]NUS.*

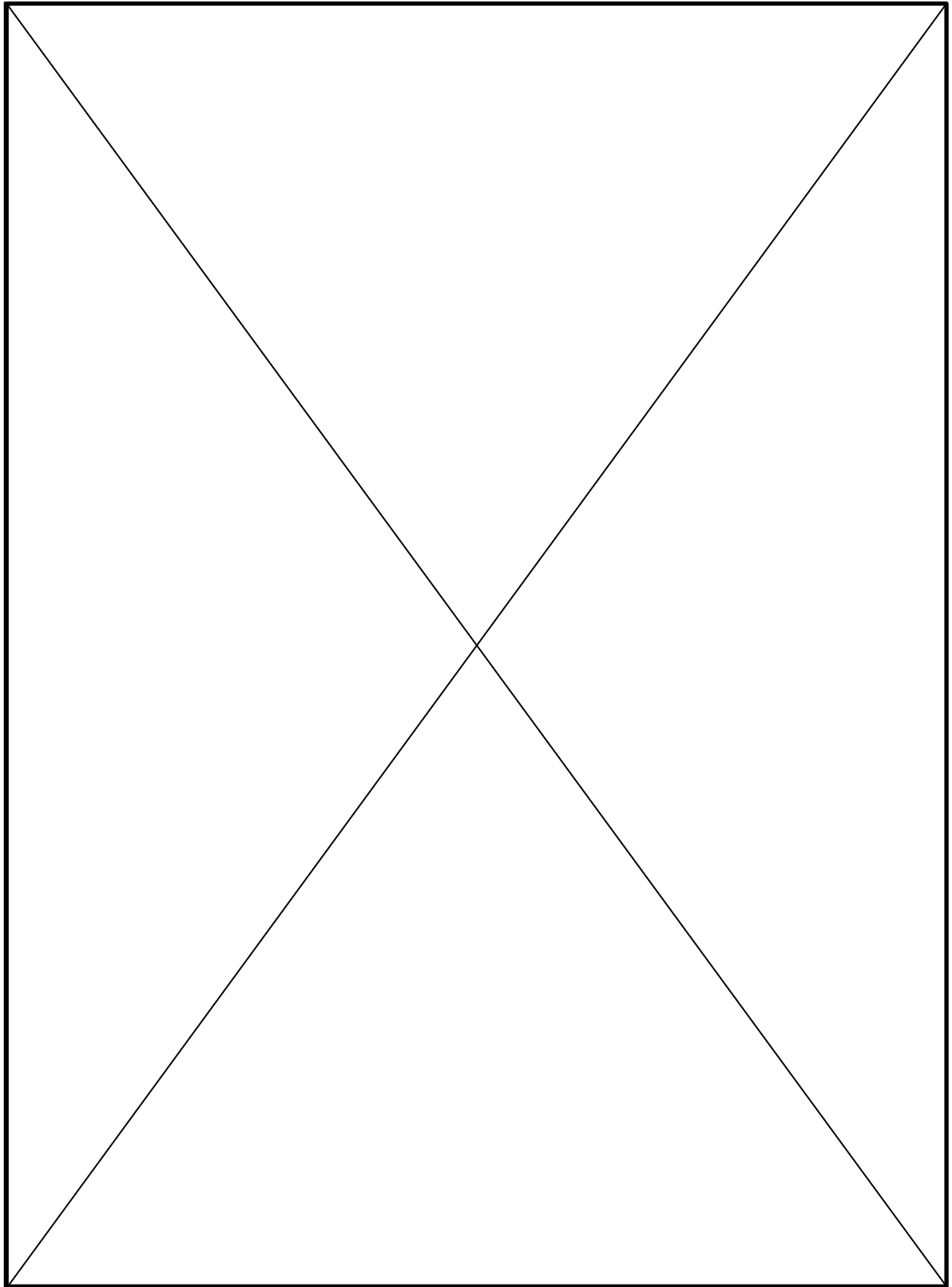
In the name of Christ, here under this marble tombstone, which the respected governor Victor [preses] ordered to come from Val Venosta, lies this gentleman.

New suburban churches appear during the mid- to late eighth century, as a result of renewed patronage from the Carolingians. The church of St Martin, for example, comprised a large, limestone-built, triple-apse hall church (16.90 x 11.50m), a form associated with the mid-eighth century (B7). Carolingian-type masonry is preserved throughout the building, including parts of the south façade which featured parts of a marble relief and arched windows. No burials were found within the structure, perhaps indicating its connection with the Carolingian Church, which had issued an edict banning burials within sacred structures (Sennhauser 2003: 76-77).

Another extramural church, dated to c. AD 800, was constructed further west of St Martin. Consisting of a single nave and a horseshoe-shaped interior apse, excavations at the church of St Regula (B8) identified a number of earlier fourth-century burials. The contribution of the church of St Martin, and to a lesser extent of St Regula, created an interesting aspect of the urban topography with the fortified city and the cathedral at the centre, the two funerary churches with crypts to the east and St Martin and St Regula to the west (Fig 3.23). Despite the central position of the cathedral, the funerary churches would have been more visible given their higher elevation.

3.5 Discussion: Patronage, Patterns, and Significance

In comparing the different diocesan capitals and the development of their urban and suburban Christian spaces, two characteristics stand out: 1) in many places we have an absence of archaeological data for pre-ninth-century Christianity (notably at Windisch, Konstanz, Basel, and Lausanne), and 2) with the available data, different trajectories of urban Christianisation are apparent. Significantly, in all bishoprics, archaeological evidence



*Fig 3.23: Topographic setting of Christian sites in Chur dating to the early medieval period.
(Image by Sulser and Claussen 1978: 14).*

for pre-Constantinian Christianity is absent (Phase I in Cantino Wataghin's model). Rather we see Geneva present consistent development and growth of an episcopal complex between the fourth and fifth centuries while Chur reveals signs of both late antique and early medieval growth including the development of a suburban sector dedicated to saints' worship and elite burial preceding the construction of its cathedral in c. AD 450; this latter structure is only rebuilt in the eighth century alongside another suburban church (St Martin). Strikingly, similar investment in apparent suburban churches and probable saints' worship in Sion occurs. In contrast, we observe bishoprics rise and quickly 'fall'. Kaiseraugst and Martigny, for example, both see modifications of their urban/suburban space with churches in the fourth century but then experience a considerable absence of building between the sixth and eighth centuries. Finally, issues of archaeological data and quality of evidence confound our image of Christianisation at Konstanz, Avenches, Lausanne, and Basel.

However, while the process (or lack thereof) of Christianisation may be considerably different between urban centres, a similarity emerges when considering location. Guyon's (2006) discussion of southern Gallic episcopal centres found that many were constructed in peripheral sectors. This matches findings in many towns in Switzerland, especially if we include Basel's post ninth-century cathedral and the presumption of Avenches' cathedral located under St Martin. Other patterns emerge as well, particularly regarding their accessibility: most were built near existing roads and near entries to towns. We can stress two other characteristics of urban Christianity in our study zone: first, that some churches could be inside or outside the walls – the latter may show that defence was not an issue, which contrasts the image of other Gallic towns transferring their seats to better defended zones (e.g. Alba to Viviers); second, that cathedrals could also be located outside the city walls. This might again imply security was not an issue or that there was a 'pull' to be built near or above pre-existing martyrial topography.

A noteworthy, and perhaps prominent, difference relates to where the initial signs of formal urban Christian worship began. In some towns the earliest Christian focus appears in intramural settings (e.g. Geneva, Kaiseraugst, Avenches), whereas other centres first present with Christian activity in suburban settings (e.g. Chur, Martigny, Sion).

And when we examine the chronology of church building based on each bishopric, a number of observations emerge (Fig 3.24):

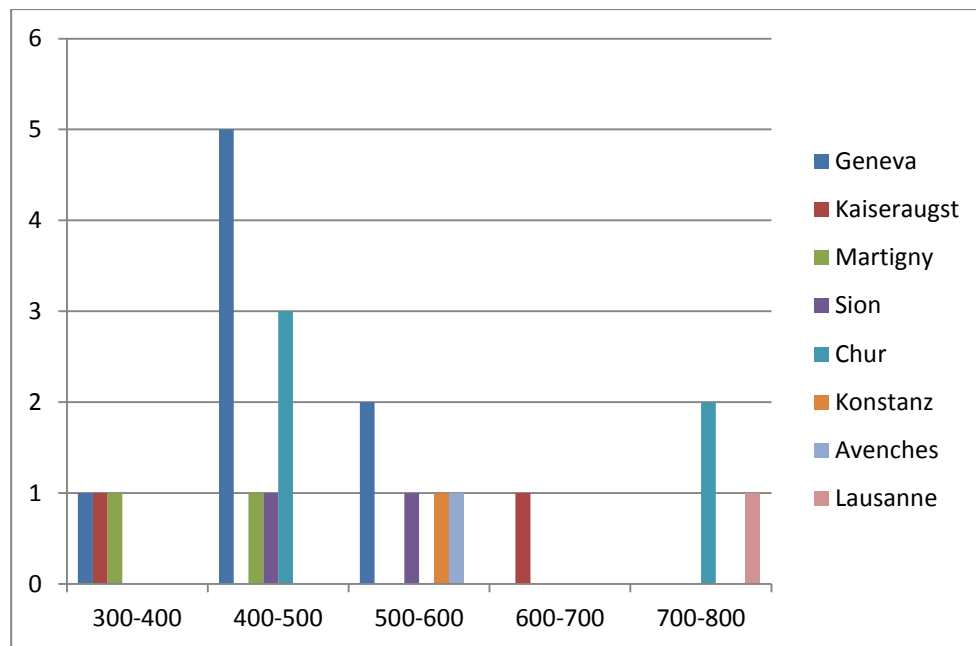


Figure 3.24: Date versus frequency: church building in episcopal towns

Most evidence is the fact that most church building occurred between AD 400 and 600 with a noticeable decline in the seventh century. This might relate to saturation – namely, a town’s ability to support multiple churches may have reached its apex in this earlier period resulting in an absence of patronage in the eighth century. Indeed, while no new church foundations occurred in Geneva between AD 600 and 800, the episcopal complex and other churches did experience some later modifications (e.g. liturgical arrangements in East Church and St Mary’s L-shaped corridor). Second, only Geneva and Chur present multiple churches. If linked to patronage, then the seventh-century gap suggests reduced urban wealth – but it could equally signify lower urban populations.

Indeed, a key question relates to agency. Who were the people promoting this religion? Historically, many of these towns – notably Geneva, Avenches, Sion, and Chur – were home to state officials, royalty, bishops and aristocratic families and these held the necessary wealth and patronage to develop their towns as important centres of Christianity in their respective regions. Geneva’s rise as capital of the Burgundian Kingdom and home of King Sigismund in the fifth and sixth centuries surely enhanced the Church here. The rise of the Victorids, a noble family, patrons of the local Church and strong civic

and military officials is duly documented in epitaphs and in the Will of Tello, which listed a series of churches in the countryside belonging to the diocese as well as the Victorid family. Local bishops, as discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, are present as well, attending different Church Councils. Undoubtedly, the stability of these towns was connected to the presence of these high ranking groups. Indeed, the failure of Kaiseraugst, Avenches, and Martigny might relate to an absence of royal and noble patrons, resulting in bishops transferring their seats to more profitable centres. Of course, economics, security, and population levels must have been important contributory factors behind the transfers of Kaiseraugst to Basel, Avenches to Lausanne, and Martigny to Sion.

Yet how does the development of the Church in Swiss towns compare to other frontier cities and other Alpine episcopal towns? One noted difference is evidence for worship of pre-Constantinian martyrs, such as Saint Florianus in Enns (Austria). Tradition states that his body, which had been weighed down by a millstone when he was thrown into a river to drown, was recovered by a widow who preserved his remains in her house. A church was constructed in his honour, including a crypt with relics. We know also of fourth-century bishops in Enns as well as an early Christian basilica, dated to the late fourth century and rebuilt in the mid-fifth (Christie 2011: 181). Cities in Pannonia were likewise affected by the Diocletianic Persecutions, which resulted in the martyrdoms of bishops and priests in towns, such as Cibalae and Poetovio. Like Noricum, this implies a fairly developed and strong Christian presence already in the late third and early fourth centuries perhaps linked to soldiers. Sanctuaries and churches have been identified in some sites but are concentrated in military fortified sites, such as Ságvár and Fenékpusztá. Dating to the late fourth century and with signs of continuity into the sixth century, placement of these churches close to granaries might signify “clerical supervision of grain collection and distribution from state-owned lands” (*ibid*: 182). Such fort-churches parallel those found at Kaiseraugst, Geneva, and Chur.

But the impact of the Diocletianic Persecutions in Pannonia and Noricum cities contrasts strongly with the apparent absence of local martyrs at Geneva and Chur. For Pannonia and Noricum the persecutions created local saints whose cults came to be taken up by the late Roman Christian populations. While the Theban Legion did become an important focus of Christian worship in Switzerland, this developed into a pilgrimage and monastic site and had no major influence on the Christianisation of urban zones (rather

developing as a monastic community, as discussed in Chapter 4). Chur, in particular, is puzzling since its traditions relate not to the persecutions but to a later period. Were the Alps and routes in its province of Rhaetia Secunda truly isolating factors or has archaeology simply not yet found the evidence for worship of martyrs associated with the persecutions? This comparison, however, does demonstrate that soldiers might have been the source of Christianity: thus Kaiseraugst, a Roman fort until AD 401, develops as the first bishopric of Switzerland much as in the fortified zones in Pannonia. Another puzzling case is the region of Ticino, a region seemingly without a defined urban and episcopal centre but teeming with churches. This region will be examined in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, the Swiss evidence offers much food for thought in terms of Church imposition, placement, and development in towns from AD 350. Geneva's data are exceptionally strong and show the detailed story that archaeology can generate. For other urban centres the image is inconsistent but suggestive of an emergent episcopal network and progressive intra- and extramural church growth.

Chapter 4

Monastic Landscapes

Monks were important ‘movers’ of Christianity, if we are to believe the hagiographical and historical sources of Late Antiquity and the early medieval period. Sulpicius Severus’ biography of Saint Martin, who was both monk and bishop in later fourth-century Gaul, describes the holy man as a converter of non-Christians and a demolisher of temples and altars - a portrayal echoed by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century (*VSM* V; IX; XI; *Hist. Franc.* I.39). That we have hagiographical accounts reporting on the missionary activities of Saints Columbanus and Gall in seventh-century Rhaetia and describing the conversions of the Avars led by Saint Pirmin in eighth-century Bavaria only furthers this connection between monks and Christianisation (see Fletcher 1997: 203-204 on Saint Pirmin; *VSG* VI). How do these conceptions impact on our study zone? What were the aims of the monastic foundations here and what strategies can be seen in their placements?

4.1 Literary Evidence

According to hagiographical and historical sources, around 19 monasteries were founded between AD 400 and 800 across the area of modern Switzerland. Despite evidence for early fifth-century monasteries established in the Jura Mountains set up by Romanus and his brother Lupicinus, and dubious accounts of Caretene and Theudelinda, the respective wives of kings Gundobad and Godegisel, setting up abbeys in Geneva and Lyon, it is the foundation of the abbey of Saint Maurice in AD 515 that remains the clearest example of Burgundian royal monastic patronage (Wood 1981: 10-11). This abbey, located at the former Roman site of *Agaunum* (modern day Saint-Maurice), was established by Sigismund in honour of the Theban Martyrs, a group of Roman soldiers executed c. AD 300 for refusing to obey an imperial command to ‘harass’ nearby Christians. While the authenticity of this *passio* remains in question (see Woods 1994), Saint-Maurice certainly became an important Christian location. A letter by Bishop Eucherius of Lyon provides the only account of the passion of the Theban martyrs, elaborating how Bishop Theodorus (listed in the Church Council of Aquileia in 381) built a basilica in their honour at Saint-

Maurice (CSEL 31; *Passio Agaunensium Martyrium* 2-7). An excerpt in Romanus' Life corroborates Eucherius' comments (VPI 44):

Enflamed with the ardour of faith, Romanus had decided to seek out in Agaune, the basilica of the saints. (I should say rather, the encampment of the martyrs, as the published report of their martyrdom testified. I will not say that 6600 men could be enclosed in the building, nor could they, I suppose, even be held in the field around it).

Given this background, Sigismund's decision to build a monastery on this particular site must have been significant. Shanzer and Wood (2002: 9) interpret the abbey as a public demonstration of Sigismund's conversion to Orthodoxy. Rosenwein (2001: 270) meanwhile postulates that the abbey marked the beginning of a newly formed royal-episcopal alliance, made evident in Sigismund's conference with a group of bishops regarding how the monastery should function. But Sigismund's donation of an abbey at Saint-Maurice could have been for strategic purposes: the monastery's location near the Great Saint Bernard Pass, one of the main routes from Gaul into Italy, could have acted as a type of way-station that observed traffic between the Burgundian and Ostrogothic Kingdoms. Saint-Maurice indeed grew in prominence, being one of the first Swiss establishments to be given 'monastic immunity' by King Chlothar II (584-629) - a jurisdictional right given to abbeys by kings (*ibid*: 282). This act, Rosenwein (*ibid*: 282-284) argues, determines Saint-Maurice as a place of power and one that acted as a 'model' for later royal monasteries. However, no significant new foundations occur again until the seventh century - this potentially reflective of a relative decline in the territory after the Merovingian takeover in 535.

The next major 'wave' of monastic building is documented for the seventh century, sometimes labelled as the period of 'Hiberno-Frankish monasticism' (Vischer *et al.* 1995: 30). This refers to the influence and impact of Columbanus (540-615), a monk from the Irish monastery of Bangor, whose travels to Gaul and interactions with Merovingian aristocrats were praised and glorified in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*. According to the biography written between 640 and 643, Columbanus, with his twelve disciples, settled in Burgundy at the request of the king (Jonas names King Sigibert but he had passed away by 575; likely King Guntram was meant) and eventually established three monasteries, notably Luxeuil in 590 (VC 12-17). The abbot, however, eventually lost both episcopal and royal favour, after gaining the animosity of Queen Brunhild (VC 32-25). While Jonas' accounts of Brunhild's evil character remain debatable (see Corning 2006: 34-

36), it is accepted that Columbanus eventually fled Luxeuil to regions east of the Rhine and concluded his travels in northern Italy where he established a monastery at Bobbio (with royal Lombard support) prior to his death in 615. Despite his flight, Columbanus' Merovingian monasteries continued to grow in size and influence, enabling a spread of daughter monasteries in the mid-seventh century with ties to Luxeuil and other Columbanan foundations. Corning (2006: 47) states that it was the influence of new Merovingian urban aristocrats, who had gained power in both ecclesiastical and secular positions, which helped maintain the Columbanan tradition.

The literary evidence for seventh-century Switzerland supports Corning's contention of Merovingian royalty and nobles promoting the building of 'Hiberno-Frankish' abbeys. Such abbeys included Romainmôtier, Baulmes, Moutier-Grandval, Saint-Ursanne, Vermes, Saint-Imier, and Säkingen (Jaton 2007: 30; Bagliani 2007; Vischer *et al.* 1995: 25). The *Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis*, dated to 675, states that Abbot Waldebert of Luxeuil was given land by Duke Gondoin of Alsace; it names three monasteries founded as a result of the donation (MGH SRM V.10, p.36; trans. author):

Accepta igitur benedictione, tria monasteria, scilicet S. Ursicini (St Ursanne), atque Verdunense (Vermes), necnon et Grandis-vallense (Moutier-Grandval), in suo recepit dominio.

Having thus accepted the blessing, he received into his own dominion three monasteries, namely Saint Ursanne, and Vermes, as well as Moutier-Grandval.

Documentation for aristocratic patronage and the building of the other monastic sites is less clear. While Jonas (VC 22) wrote that a Duke Ramelen of the Jura district established a monastery in the Jura Mountains and later set up a nunnery with his wife, Flavia, he provides no specific location. Some scholars, notably Vischer *et al.* (1995: 30) and Jaton (2007: 30), connect Romainmôtier and Baulmes with Jonas' account, arguing that these ascetic communities followed the Columbanan tradition, because of Ramelen's connections to Luxeuil - his father, Duke Waldelen, being a 'friend' of Columbanus, and his brother, Donatus, a monk of Luxeuil and later bishop of Besançon. Mention of Romainmôtier as a place of lodging with a similar monastic rule in the *Vita Sancti Wandregisili*, a monk who adhered to the principles of Columbanus does give some support to these connections (MGH SRM 5.10, p.18; trans. author):

Cum autem pergeret, veniens per monasterio, qui est constructus Ultraiuranis partibus, cognominatur Romanus, petiit ibidem hospicium.... Qui multis diebus ibidem sub institutione regulare habitavit.

But when he continued, coming upon a monastery which was built in the area of the Jura, called Romanus by name, he had beseeched for lodging there... he lived for many days there under the institution of the Rule (regulare).

More ambiguous are the monasteries of Saint-Imier, Sädingen, and Schönenwerd. While local traditions view Himerius as a disciple of Columbanus who set up a monastery in the current village of Saint-Imier, Walzer (1990: 73) remarks that the late mention of the monastery in a charter of Charles the Fat in 884 and the absence of a Himerius in Jonas' *Life of Columbanus* would indicate the saint was a local invention. The establishment of Sädingen abbey has a similar problem - a saint's life written in the eleventh century by Balther of Sädingen claims that the monastery was erected by Fridolin, an Irish monk, with the help of Clovis (*MGH SRM* 3, pp. 350-69). If valid, Fridolin, not Columbanus, would have been the first Irish monk to have a close relationship with the Merovingian aristocracy. But notable historical inaccuracies, as well as Balther's own testimony that he was writing the tale only from memory and not historical records, has led most scholars to regard this source as untrustworthy (O'Neill 1982: 45-46). In the case of Schönenwerd, it was set up in connection with Germanus, whose *Life* describes how Duke Eticho (also known as Adalrich) was oppressing the local population with a large army; Germanus, with his companion Randoald, set out to persuade Eticho to make peace but their efforts resulted in their martyrdoms. After this, perhaps as penance, Eticho donated land to a number of monasteries, including Schönenwerd. Not much is known of the site after this event except that it was given to the bishop of Arles in 778 (Hummer 2005: 46-55).

The Irish influence on the Merovingian Church and Frankish monasticism has been a source of vigorous debate. Traditionally, as discussed by Bittermann (1935: 232-245), Irish monasticism was accused of effectively bringing about the dissolution of the Merovingian diocesan organisation. Bittermann (*ibid*: 235) rightly rejected this perception when she traced only five reported cases of monastic bishops in the Merovingian landscape during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Riché (1981: 64) further highlights how those monks-turned-bishops, such as Ragnachar at Basel and Donatus at Besançon, were located in outlying and arguably less important dioceses. An important contribution was the idea that Columbanus acted as a prompt to renew spiritual life in Merovingian Gaul (*ibid*: 66). Combined, "their [Irish] ascetic spirituality and in their return

to scriptural study Columbanus and his followers revived the great tradition of monasticism" (*ibid*: 69).

But why were Merovingian nobles patrons for monasteries and convents? Prinz (1981: 78) initially proposed that the majority of the monks and nuns inhabiting these houses were in fact Merovingian nobles, who used their connections to advance Columbanan monasticism. His paper, defending the term 'Hiberno-Frankish monasticism', demonstrated that there was a network of communication between abbots, bishops and even kings: he used the example of Eustasius, a Franco-Burgundian aristocrat who became abbot after Columbanus at Luxeuil and whose political connections to King Chlothar II led to a number of new monastic communities (*ibid*: 79). Rather, these abbeys were built at the behest of the abbots and monks of Luxeuil and other Columbanan monasteries, using their connections with their families and past political connections. Moreover, Lawrence (1984: 72) suspects that royal and noble families "used monasteries to make provision for members of their families who could not otherwise be accommodated".

Columbanan influence even reached the dioceses east of the Rhine, namely Konstanz and Chur. During his stay in Bregenz, near Lake Constance, one of his followers, Gall, became ill and could not journey on with his brethren. Subsequently, Gall set up a hermitage with the help of local clergymen (VSG. I.IX - X). He became known as a powerful preacher and was approached by clergy to take up the See of Konstanz, a position he refused. After his death, a church was built and Charles Martel (688-741) later appointed Otmar as custodian of Gall's relics. This church later became the site of the abbey of St Gall, a Benedictine monastic house supposedly established at the behest of Pepin the Short (714-768) in the mid-eighth century (Sennhauser 2008: 43).

The Rule of Saint Benedict, and ties with early Carolingian nobles, is characteristic for a number of monastic foundations in eastern Switzerland. For example, many abbeys were allegedly established by Saint Pirmin - who had allegedly fled southern Francia from the Saracens - and were built with support from Charles Martel (Untermann 2001: 157; Fletcher 1997: 203; Riché 1993: 42). Pirmin's travels to the diocese of Chur resulted in the creation (or a possible re-establishment) of a monastic house at Disentis around 711 with the approval of Charles Martel (Jerris 2002: 99-100). This abbey eventually came to own extensive properties in the valleys through donations made by Bishop Tello (Sennhauser 2008: 45; Jerris 2002: 100). According to the chronicle by Hermann of Reichenau as well as

a ninth-century hagiography, Pirmin also established monasteries at Reichenau in 724, on an island in Lake Constance, and at Pfäfers, near the Kunkels Pass, in 731. In both cases, Charles Martel emerges as a major promoter of these foundations (Burnell 1988: 26). While we know very little of Pirmin, his historical existence is not in dispute: copies of his liturgical writings, known as the *Dicti Pirmini* and *Scarapus*, have survived and various other historical and hagiographical texts corroborate his involvement in establishing these monasteries (Fletcher 1997: 203). The few details in the *Vita Sancti Pirmini*, however, demonstrate that Pirmin had connections with the local high aristocracy, notably the dukes of Bavaria and Alamannia, who assisted in monastic foundations such as Hornbach and Murbach (*ibid*: 203). The Alamannic nobleman Landolt and his wife, for example, built a convent on Lützelau, an island in Lake Zürich, donating the island and land around the lake to the abbey (Maurer 2000: 150). Other notable Carolingian abbeys include Saint Leodegar in Luzern, donated by Pepin the Short in the mid-eighth century, and Münstair, built around 780 at the instigation of Charlemagne (Sennhauser 2008: 43; see Fig 4.1).

This Carolingian royal and elite patronage continued well into the ninth and tenth centuries. The reasons for their support have been explained by some scholars as the Carolingian dynasty using the abbeys to secure political power. Hence, Riché (1993: 32) states that Pepin of Herstal (635-714) “knew that the growth of his power would depend on the support of the churches and monasteries that came increasingly under familial proprietary control.” Others see a strategic role: namely to act as lookouts for movements of people and military troops along mountain passes - although we should not envisage any garrisons in the monasteries (Sennhauser 2008: 45). Further interpretations see these abbeys as components of an attempt by the Carolingians to relay a message of imperial unity (Moreland 2001: 395-396; Le Jan 2000: 301; Sanderson 1985: 619). The fact that most Carolingian monasteries observed the Rule of Saint Benedict and often conformed to a specific plan, including a triple-apsed church and a cloister, could illustrate a movement towards a rigid uniformity (Moreland 2001: 396; Le Jan 2000: 301-302).

This uniformity is exemplified in the well-known Plan of Saint Gall, drawn up c. AD 820 by Bishop Hatto of Basel, and scrutinised by Walter Horn and Ernest Born (1979). The plan, often described as the ideal ‘model’ of a monastery, was purportedly composed in the ‘shadow of Charlemagne’ to guide future monastic building. This demonstrates how royal involvement in monastic foundations moved into the very design and function of

monasteries (Sanderson 1985: 619). Certainly Carolingian patronage differs from the earlier Merovingian noble patronage with family ties with various abbots at those foundations. Indeed, the Carolingian 'royal' monasteries of Switzerland are perhaps more comparable with Sigismund's abbey at Saint-Maurice, which was established with likely political motives, namely to help forge an alliance between the Burgundian king and his clergy.

4.2 Monastic Life According to Hagiographies

The literary sources shed useful light on a variety of key aspects regarding the actual building of monasteries and daily rituals. How many monks lived in these communities? What Rules did they follow? How did they interact with local populations? And how influential were these places on their immediate surroundings? While it is recognised that hagiographical writings cannot be taken as fact, importantly, they provide some clarity on what was perceived as 'normal' for early monasteries. The following section will also consider how the archaeology - currently limited - aids in the understanding of forms and contexts.

The common structural and spatial components of a monastic community generally consisted of a church (or more than one), living and sleeping space(s) for monks, guest rooms, workshops, kitchens and later cloisters. Regarding living space, a passage in the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* illustrates that the monks of Condat initially lived in adjoining 'tabernaculi' - tents, huts, or sheds - made of wood (VPI 161, 162). This changed after a fire destroyed these and Abbot Eugendus decided to create a single dormitory made of stone, labelled as a *xenodochium* (VPI 170). The use of wood is evident also in the biographies of Germanus and Gall, both detailing the construction of the first monastic buildings, with Walahfrid observing that the early hermitage of Gall included a wooden church. Wood plays a role in two of Gall's miracles: after a bear charged Gall in a forest, the saint rebuked the bear, who later returned bringing wood for the saint in exchange for a loaf of bread; in another tale, he and his followers were constructing the church, one plank was found to be shorter than the rest but after the midday meal the monks returned to find the wood was of the right length (VSG XXVI). Unfortunately, details on construction

techniques, use of stone, masons and architects remain unknown. With royal patronage for some sites, we can assume, however, imported architects and masons.

In terms of community size, while some figures are mentioned in the lives of the Jura Fathers, specifically 150 monks at *Lauconne* and a matching 150 nuns at the convent, it is difficult to accept these figures as secure (*VPI* 24). One section in the Life of Romanus notes that Condat grew to such a point that there was insufficient food, forcing monks to cultivate more crops by cutting down trees for new plough-land (*VPI* 22). Potentially, large numbers might explain the establishment of a nearby monastery. The tradition of creating daughter abbeys is fairly common: monks from the Jura monasteries (possibly Romainmôtier) were among ascetics from Lyon and Vienne, brought in for Sigismund's abbey in Agaune (Wood 1981: 16-17); ascetics joining Moutier-Grandval, Saint-Ursanne, and Vermes were from Luxeuil; and monks from Reichenau populated the abbeys at Murbach and Pfäfers (Auberson 1997: 9-10).

Such transfers of monks may signify shared Rules. Abbeys of the fifth and sixth century had observed different monastic orders in comparison to the later imposition of the Rule of St Benedict. Yet, determining the actual 'Rule' of these abbeys remains quite difficult. For example, the composers of the *Vita Patrum Iurensium* describe how Romanus had monastic training in Lyon before his retreat from public life - Wood (*ibid*: 5) thus suggests that the ascetic had access to the monastic rule of Lérins which was an influential Christian community in southern Gaul during the fifth century. But the Life of Eugendus in particular spells out how, while the monks knew of the rules of Caesarius, Basil and even Cassian, they followed a unique rule at Condat (*VPI* 173):

We strive to follow those of *Condadisco* [Condat]; they are more comfortable with our local traditions and with the demands that our work entails than are those of the East. Without a doubt the Gallic nature - or weakness - follows the former more easily and efficaciously.

An explanation of a 'Condat Rule' remains elusive and the above passage could suggest that the Jura monasteries observed a 'mixed rule'. In fact, a passage detailing how a convent founded by the sister of Romanus and Lupicinius operated might indicate the use of Caesarius' Rule for nuns: "so severe was the strictness observed.....that none of the virgins who had entered it for the purpose of renouncing the world were seen again" (*VPI* 26).

This concept of a 'mixed rule' resurfaces for Saint-Maurice. Wood's (1981: 15-16) analysis of the abbey, unique in its adaption of the liturgical form of *laus perennis*, found that monks were brought in from monasteries in Lyon, Vienne, and Condat to form the new community. These monks were divided into *turmae* (a military term traditionally translated as squadron or troop), with each *turma* organised by the pre-existing monastery - for example, the *turma iurensis* likely referred to monks from Jura-region monasteries (*ibid*: 17). Does this indicate that each *turma* was created in order to allow monks from different monastic traditions to follow their particular Rules but within a common community? The *Vita Sanctorum Abbatum Acaunensium*, meanwhile, only tells us of monks' participation in the perpetual chant.

Most of the seventh-century Hiberno-Frankish foundations presumably followed what is commonly referred to as the 'Rule of Columbanus'. This, like most of the Irish and Gallo-Roman Rules, did not have a complete code of monastic observances. O'Carroll (1953: 412) observes that these Rules were likely brief treatises on monastic virtues and customs, arranged without any specific order - i.e. without the functional ordering of the Benedictine Rule. In comparing the Rules of Columbanus and of Benedict, there really are no major differences: both observe Rules of obedience, silence, food, poverty, humility and chastity. The re-introduction of a severe penitential discipline, exacting a cursus of Divine Office, an emphasis on the independence of monasteries, and a greater use of auricular confession remain the only noteworthy distinctions (*ibid*: 412). Moreover, Dunn (1990: 569) recognises that the Hiberno-Frankish abbeys had a mixture of the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus; indeed, some texts which combine both Rules survive: Bishop Donatus' *Rule for Nuns* and the anonymous *Cuiusdam Patris Regula ad Virgines* (*ibid*: 570). Thus, with respect to the Swiss Hiberno-Frankish abbeys, we might expect a similar mixing, dependent as much on the roots of the abbots. This hypothesis, that seventh-century abbeys used a combined Rule, might also explain the seemingly smooth transition towards the Benedictine order under the Carolingians: Romainmôtier prospered and was visited by Pope Stephen II in 753 on his way to visit Pepin the Short (Jaton 2007: 10); Moutier-Grandval was granted royal favour by Carloman in 769 who donated land and bestowed immunity to the abbey (Rebetez 2002: 21); the church at the abbey of St Maurice, which had been ruined in the late seventh century, possibly by Lombards, was rebuilt by the bishop of Sion in 787 and regained its prominence with a possible visit from Charlemagne (Blondel 1948: 13).

But were these places movers of Christianity, acting as points of conversion? The Jura Fathers and the foundation of an abbey at Saint-Maurice likely had no specific missionary mission: while both monasteries appear to have been open to the public, as implied by Romanus' invitation of a crowd of people into the monastery to share a meal (VPI 42-43), there is no written evidence that these places formed loci of conversion. In contrast, corresponding hagiographical texts imply that Hiberno-Frankish communities did indeed work towards the ultimate goal of converting people to Christianity. Hence, Riché (1981: 65) argues that the 'missionary impulse' was one of the main contributions of Columbanan monks to the Merovingian Church and, in one letter, Columbanus himself states that "It is my wish to visit the people and preach the gospel to them" (*mei voti fuit gentes visitare et evangelium eis a nobis praedicari*). This statement, on the other hand, could be interpreted as an example of Columbanus *reinforcing* the faith rather than *converting* people. Perhaps a more convincing example derives from the *Life of Saint Gall*, which relates the missionary nature of his hermitage and presence in Bregenz (VSG VI, trans. Joyn 1935: 71):

Columbanus laid on Gall the duty of preaching to the people and calling them back from the errors of idolatry to the worship of God.

Yet the phrase "errors of idolatry", need not signify enduring paganism - it could insinuate that these people had simply strayed from Christianity which would suggest that the region had already been 'Christianised' long before Gall's presence. And by the time the Carolingian abbeys were built in the mid- to late eighth century, it is indeed very unlikely that any conversions were still needed locally. While Pirmin is known to have carried out missionary work with the Avars, his biography gives no details of his activities in the diocese of Chur and along the Rhine (Fletcher 1997: 203-204; Phelan 2010: 463-464).

In summary, most, if not all, monastic sites in Switzerland were not established for the purpose of converting people, despite some purported claims in hagiographical texts. Rather, monasteries here were 'by-products' of an already Christianised elite since the majority were set up by aristocratic or royal elites for politico-religious purposes. It is perhaps more apt to regard monasteries as a progressive 'colonisation' of land whereby nobility, both local and regional, became used to donating land to express their power and status, as well as their support for the Church. Thus monasticism contributed to

Christianisation of the landscape and is tied to both secular and religious accumulation of landed wealth and display.

4.3 Archaeological Data

It is important to point out that there is hardly any coherent archaeological evidence of monastic planning and building in central Europe before the Year 1000 apart from San Vincenzo.

(Zettler 2008: 259)

In comparison to the wealth of academic literature on early medieval monasticism derived from historical and hagiographical sources, the archaeology of these sacred locations still remains underdeveloped, largely due to the earliest building phases being lost on account of reconstructions, rebuilding, and expansions. Added to this problem is the tendency for archaeologists to focus on the abbey churches or other monumental edifices found in monastic complexes instead of workshops, living spaces or barns (Sapin 2008: 94; Sennhauser 2008: 34). Thus, while the churches offer typological comparisons between sites, the lack of information on other monastic structures means a poor understanding of these sites as a whole (Sapin 2008: 95). Indeed, only a handful of full-scale or substantial excavations on early medieval monasteries have been conducted in Europe, namely Church Island (Co. Kerry), Jarrow, Canterbury, Winchester (England), Corvey (Germany), Münstair (Switzerland), Portmahomack (Scotland), and San Vincenzo al Volturno (Italy).

Another problem for archaeologists studying the earliest monasteries is a difficulty in identifying these without the aid of textual evidence. James (1981: 34), Percival (1997: 11-15), and Ripoll and Arce (2000: 86-88) all stress the difficulties inherent in differentiating villa sites from monastic communities. Percival's (1997: 15) study ended with the question of what role villas had on the development of monasteries, noting that while there was no single compelling picture, some villas displayed evidence for a transition into a monastery. Sapin (2008: 94) also stresses these problems of visibility and interpretation:

Comment distinguer un dispositif monastique (en l'absence de texte), si la fouille archéologique est trop partielle? L'organisation de l'habitat autour d'une cour, les traces de stockage, la richesse du mobilier, ne suffisent pas pour différencier un monastère d'un riche domaine, du moins en l'absence d'édifice de culte retrouvé.

Furthermore, the observation that villas often had private churches would indicate that even places of worship cannot be used as a point of difference between these settlements (Bowes 2008: 156).

But there are some important success stories: thus in Scotland, Carver's (2008) recent work on Portmahomack is producing interesting results on questioning and identifying the ideological changes inherent in the establishment of a monastery in a non-Christian environ. In Ireland, where monastic archaeology is fairly advanced (see McHugh 2004 on Bangor and Fanning 1981 on Reask), more in-depth analyses have allowed for consideration of different themes ranging from the concept of 'monastic towns' (Swift 1998; Valente 1998) to a post-modern analysis of Irish monasteries as examples of knowledge-intensity-firms (KIFs), a type of organisation which centres on collecting and disseminating knowledge (McGrath 2005). In Germany, the small-scale campaigns at the abbey at Corvey, which found evidence for a ninth-century workshop complex, prompts discussions of monastic self-sufficiency, and the 'urbanisation' of the monastic community (Hodges 1997: 131).

Most prominent are the excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno in central Italy. First founded early in the eighth century, San Vincenzo was a monastery established with ties to the Lombard duchy of Benevento and became an influential community during the late eighth and ninth centuries. The site saw two primary building phases: the first consisted of a small-sized monastic complex with a central church, San Vincenzo Minore (18.2 x 9m), which reused an earlier villa site (Hodges 1997: 30; Zettler 2008: 262); the second involved the creation of a completely new and more grandiose abbey church (63.5 x 28.3 m) - San Vincenzo Maggiore and its related monastic complex. Monumental in size, the church had a triple-apsed plan and monumental façade. Importantly, a series of workshops was set immediately to the south (Hodges 1997: 81). While still difficult to determine the full plan, it is assumed that the cloister complex lay north of the abbey church (*ibid*: 81). The project's interest in the local economy also traced how the workshops of San Vincenzo developed: first as temporary structures manufacturing key resources for church-building and later established workshops next to the San Vincenzo Maggiore (see Hodges *et al.* 2012). The project and the analysis of the material culture, which helped determine the function of various buildings, have resulted in a number of comparative papers and discussions regarding monastic workshops, economy, and living

spaces. The focus on both social and economic aspects of the monastery contributes to analyses of how these structures operated during the early medieval period. For example, Zettler's investigation of public, collective and communal spaces compares San Vincenzo to the Plan of Saint Gall, flagging notable differences, particularly the presence of a royal palace - thus far unknown at San Vincenzo (Zettler 2008: 258).

In sum, these explorations have revealed a diversity of trends in monastic forms as well as location, topography and scale - an expected outcome of such a variety of examples from different time periods. But when considering the archaeology of monasteries in Switzerland, should we expect this same diversity or might the focus on one region illustrate commonalities rather than differences? For Switzerland, problematically, nearly all the monastic sites here became prominent in the later medieval period or were swallowed up into villages; while excavations have occurred, most have centred on the abbey churches alone. For example, Louis Blondel's excavation at Saint-Maurice in 1948 focussed completely on the church and its evolution and investigated no auxiliary buildings (see Blondel 1948: 9-57). Sennhauser's (2002: 33-47) examination of Carolingian abbey churches and cathedrals in Switzerland clearly demonstrates a solid knowledge of these buildings, revealing how the Carolingian period prompted strong uniformity in church plans in comparison to the earlier periods.

Work at Münstair in particular has yielded useful information on dormitories and Sennhauser's *Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbauten frühmittelalterlicher Klöster* (1996) provided a forum to discuss these monastic buildings (in a European context). Perhaps more significantly, recent excavations at Romainmôtier promise much on the sixth-century site, but we await publications. Despite limited archaeological data, the observations and excavations of abbey churches, related burials, and studies on material culture enable discussion of possible features which may illustrate the potential role monasteries had in Christianisation as well as possible distinctive features. What we lack, however, is anything to guide us on the economic roles and input of these Swiss sites with local and wider populations.

4.3.1 Land and Location

Monasteries are often characterised as remote places or ‘figuratively disengaged’ from society. But what were the pre-conditions for site choice? How accessible, visible, and prominent were these sites in their landscapes? There was, as we will see, some variety, especially in terms of accessibility: the proximity to the Roman road network (which saw continued use into early medieval period) in particular illustrates the accessibility or remoteness of these sites (Fig. 4.1).

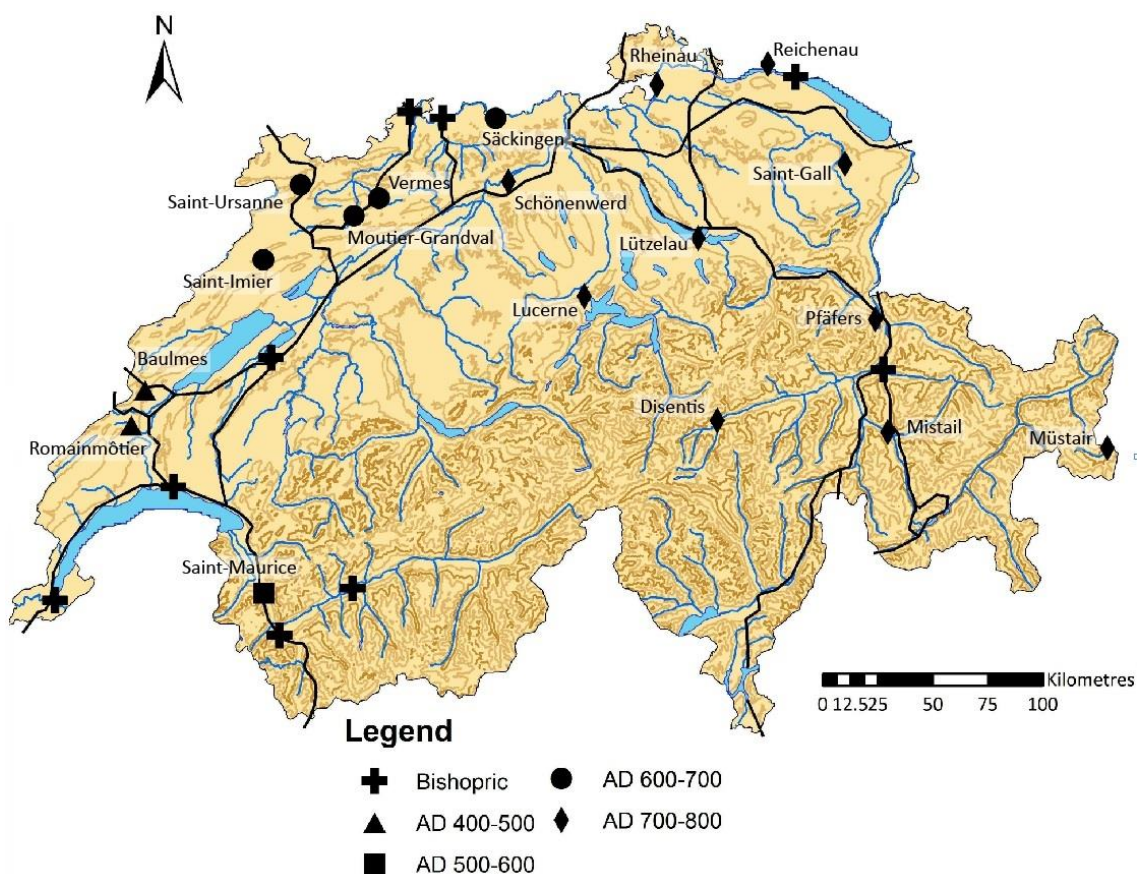


Figure 4.1: Distribution of monasteries in relation to the Roman road network

It is possible to note two trends: monasteries built in the fifth century and then in the seventh century appear to have been fairly remote - notably Saint-Imier, located 30km from a major route. However, even if Auberson (2002: 289) comments upon the setting of Jura monasteries in ‘empty spots’, the distance of Moutier-Grandval and Vermes to the route connecting Kaiseraugst to Lausanne was still within walking distance (around 15 km). In contrast, Saint-Maurice and later eighth-century monasteries, such as Mistail, and Pfäfers, were situated near major roads and would have been reachable by carts or wagons. This illustrates that a precondition for some royal monasteries might have been

direct road access, whereas monasteries in the Jura region may have initially been set up in more isolated locations, perhaps reflecting eremitic roots. Indeed, hermits or holy men, who often chose to live in dense and 'wild' woods, caves, or grottos in an attempt to withdraw from society, commonly became founders for monasteries, as their actions attracted others to them. For example, the *Life of Saint Gall* (VSG X; trans. Joynt 1935: 77) recounts the savage and dangerous aspects of Gall's desired hermitage, told to him by deacon Hiltibod:

This wilderness, my father, has many waters flowing through it, but it is a wild and fearsome place, full of high mountains with narrow winding glens and haunted by savage beasts.

Other saint lives speak of caves where monks could withdraw from their own communities - thus, the *Life of Lupicinus*, brother of Romanus, details how some monks would retreat to caves in order to escape the multitude of people visiting Condat monastery (VPI 71-78); St Ursicinus, the legendary founder of Saint-Ursanne, was said to have started his hermitage in a grotto (Prongué 1995: 33); and Saint Ame of Grenoble, later a monk at the abbey of St Maurice, allegedly took up residence in a cave overlooking the abbey (Roduit 1999: 45). Landscape features such as caves and woods, found at a number of sites thus cannot be overlooked. We can also note caves being converted into chapels - grottos at both Saint-Ursanne and Saint-Maurice were later turned into chapels for pilgrims. Field surveys at Saint-Ursanne, Romainmôtier, Baulmes, and Moutier-Grandval found caves - accessible today by marked trails - in their environs.

Islands were another venue for holy men to set up hermitages. Irish monks are especially famous for a number of monastic isles, such as Skellig Michael, Devinish Isle, Iona, and Inisfallen (see Bitel 1994). In Switzerland, three monastic communities were founded on islands: Reichenau in Lake Constance, Lützelau in Lake Zürich, Säckingen on the Rhine. These sites, while seemingly isolated, were either accessible via small ports or bridges; surveys at Reichenau, the largest of the monastic islands, found evidence for a natural harbour. This monastery became a prominent place of learning and commerce with the development of three medieval markets - Allensback, Radolfzell, and Steckborn - suggesting that access to the island was relatively open (Untermann 2001: 157). Säckingen also grew in size and importance, eventually moving to the northern shore of the Rhine and receiving patronage from Emperor Charles the Fat in 878 (Enderle-Jehle 2011). In contrast, Lützelau never became an important medieval convent - its later history involves

the sale of the island to the monastery to St Gall in 744 and then nothing more is heard until the seventeenth century (Sennhauser 2003: 39).

Proximity to water resources is another common feature between all our early medieval monasteries. Bond's (2001: 89; 109) study of water management on rural monasteries stipulated that "access to water was a major consideration in choice of sites" and that monastic houses in Francia around the seventh century appear to have "embarked upon a programme of investment in watermills". While no evidence of early medieval watermills has been discovered on the Swiss sites, Jatton (2010) remarks that monks at Romainmôtier may have attempted to create a dyke for the Nozon River, based on the remains of a partial canal and wall discovered near the monastery. Blondel (1948:10) also detected signs for water control at Saint-Maurice, noting a canal underneath the church and eventually connecting with the baptistery.

A frequent assumption is that monasteries were built on 'virgin soil' - is this valid? In our study region, five of the 19 monasteries have signs of reuse of earlier settlements or structures: Romainmôtier, Saint-Maurice, Saint-Imier, Saint-Ursanne, and Moutier-Grandval. At Romainmôtier, the fifth-century monastery overlay and partially reused Gallo-Roman wooden houses (Bully 2009: 147-148; Sennhauser 1995: 285). Saint-Imier, Saint-Ursanne, and Moutier-Grandval show adaption of Gallo-Roman stone walls but their original roles are unclear (Auberson 2002: 289, 294, 299-302). More significant is the abbey of St Maurice: excavations by Louis Blondel revealed how the monastery overlay a Roman necropolis and possibly a nymphaeum - a related inscription was found under the apse of the basilica (Blondel 1948: 18). Of the few Carolingian abbeys extensively excavated, only Münstair and Reichenau are claimed as potentially 'virgin' sites (Untermann 2001: 165; Courvoisier and Sennhauser 1996: 11-15).

Land use and control over farms, communities, and orchards is another important aspect of monasticism. These allotments would have been used by the monastic community to acquire wood, charcoal, animals, fish, and agricultural resources and manpower when required (harvest, building, etc.). While some church and abbey chartularies inform on the acquisition of land allotments, these documents often date to the later medieval period, sometimes hundreds of years after the events of which they report. For example, Besson's (1909: 294-296) research on Saint-Maurice found that Bishop Wilcharius of Vienne (c.762-765), also abbot of the Saint-Maurice abbey, had come

to control an area known as *Taurniaco Superiore* (today Torny-le-Grand and Torny-le-Petit), located 99 km away. However, his primary source, the chartulary of Saint-Maurice, dates to the fourteenth century.

An exceptional document to discussing monastic land is the Will of Tello (AD 765), which lists several communities and farmland donated to the monastery of Disentis. Tello's description of arable farmland, orchards, and villas suggests the valley in which Disentis was situated was capable of producing many resources for both monks and locals (see Chapter 5.5.2 for further discussion). Other texts report on similar donations of arable land to a number of monasteries in the ninth and tenth centuries: the shores of Lake Constance were bequeathed to Reichenau in the ninth century and land allotments in the Venosta Valley were acquired by Münstair in the tenth century (Eberl 2010; Sennhauser 1996: 165-166). In cases of reuse of Gallo-Roman buildings, notably in western Switzerland, we might hypothesize a reuse of related village/villa lands and land boundaries.

4.3.2 Monastic Buildings and Organisation

It is relevant to compare the design of a monastery set up in the fifth or sixth century to a Carolingian one to illustrate changes (or a lack thereof) in how monasteries were organised. In contrasting Romainmôtier, the only pre-seventh century plan of a monastery available, and Münstair, the most extensively researched Carolingian monastery in Switzerland, immediately it is apparent that the organisation of the monastic structures was quite similar (Figs. 4.2-4.3): the abbey churches occupy the north-eastern corner with the cloister and other buildings situated west and south to the church. This trend recurs at Mistail and Disentis but ninth-century cloisters at Saint-Ursanne, Saint-Maurice and Reichenau, located north-west of the abbey churches, show that no 'uniform' monastic plan was realised in the later Carolingian period (Sennhauser 2002: 45). While noticeable differences - namely the scale and irregular orientation of buildings A1 and A2 at Romainmôtier - are present, Romainmôtier's pre-seventh-century plan might give indications that a claustral focus was already beginning to form prior to the eighth century (Bully 2009: 147). This structural feature, considered the "most enduring achievement of monastic builders", becomes a commonplace throughout medieval Europe, especially in

Cluniac and Cistercian abbeys (Stalley 1999: 182). At the Jura monastery, the later phases of construction, with the addition of a second church (C2) and an increase in workshop/housing spaces (C3/C4), eventually produced an enclosed courtyard (C5).

Ancillary buildings to a cloister were important features relating to the economic and administrative operations. Jacobsen (1996: 67) in fact argues that understanding the function of these buildings, such as barns, workshops and guest houses, should be used as a means to identify early medieval monasteries. Zettler's (2008: 266) comparison of San Vincenzo and the Plan of St Gall highlighted how space within a monastic community could be divided into communal, public and collective areas - although this is dependent on a reading of the labelled schematic of a monastic plan and the in-depth analysis and ongoing excavations at San Vincenzo.

In Switzerland, it remains a problematic task to determine a building's purpose by means of its related material culture. Recent successes at Müstair, however, demonstrate the value of this approach: large amounts of animal bones in rectangular buildings separate from the main monastic structure ('section 10') suggests a monastic 'barn' because of the large and independent nature of the building (Sennhauser 1996: 29); charcoal remains and air shafts found in 'section 5' point to a kitchen role; and the discovery of five distinct rooms in 'section 8' recommends monastic cells, given their small sizes and close proximity. Other assigned roles, namely the bishop's residence in 'section 6' and the 'festival room' in 'section 7', however, were derived via the seeming 'monumentality' of these spaces (*ibid*: 24-26). Yet the understanding of Müstair's monastic housing is exceptional. At Romainmôtier, by contrast, the role of its peripheral buildings remains unclear.

Other features, while rare, are baptisteries. The rite of baptism was in the purview of the bishop and thus baptisteries are a common feature amongst urban episcopal churches, such as at Kaiseraugst and Geneva. Exceptions, however, should be noted: at Saint-Maurice's abbey, a full-immersion baptismal font was found underneath a gallery of the present cloister. Does this mean that the abbot had the privilege of performing this sacred rite? However, there is a problem of chronology. While Blondel (1948: 18) attributed the font to the fifth century, modern excavations identify no pre-AD 515 church, suggesting that the font was created with the construction of the monastery or

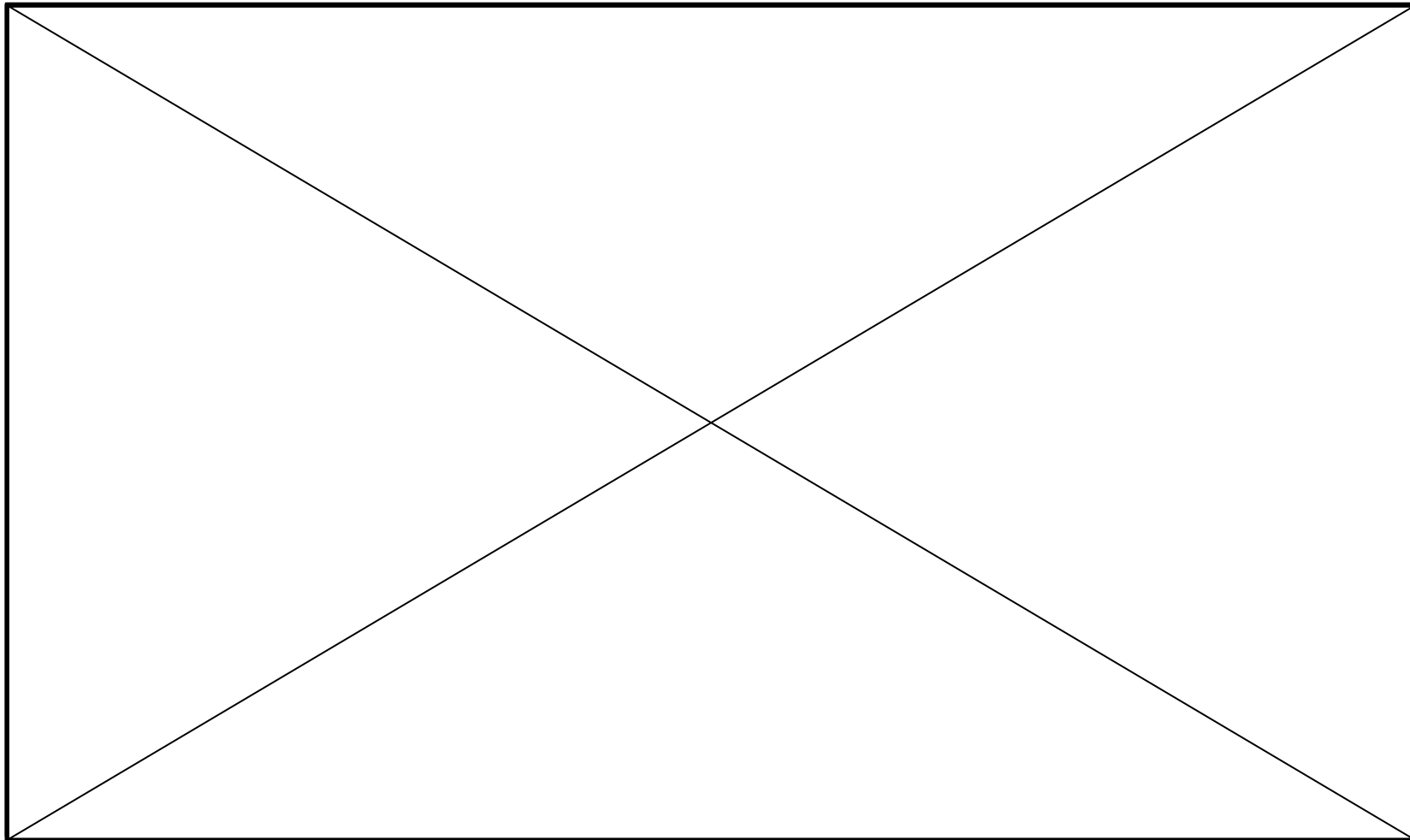


Figure 4.2: Müstair: 1. Abbey church; 2. North Annex; 3. South Annex; 4.Extension of North Annex; 5. Kitchen; 6. Abbot Residence; 7. Unknown use; 8. Housing; 9. Stairs to upper floors; 10. Barns. Nb. navy blue shading (eighth century); light blue and fuschia shading (tenth century - twelfth centuries) (Sennhauser 1996: 35).

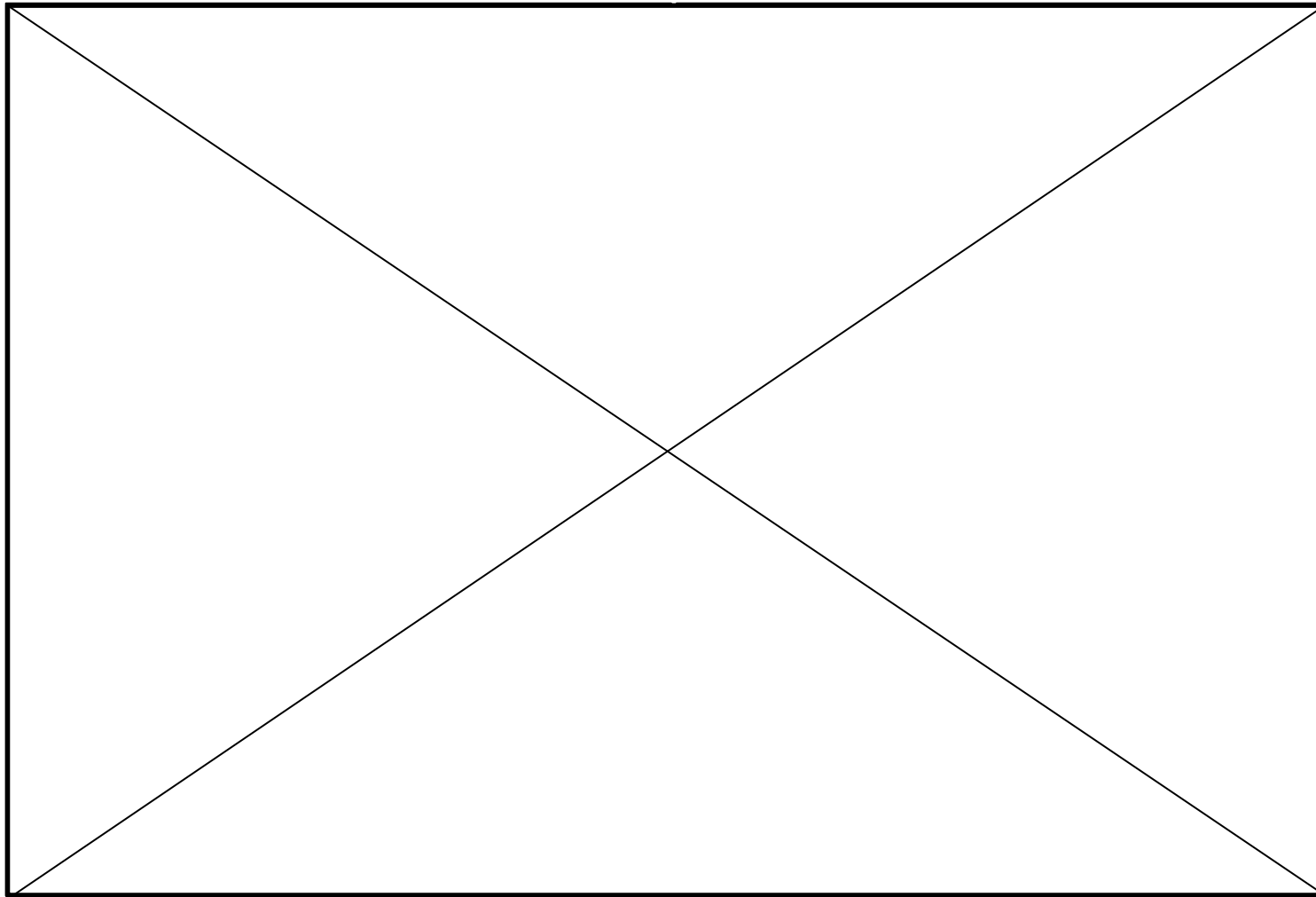


Figure 4.3: Romainmôtier before seventh century: A1/A2: Gallo-Roman buildings; B1/B2: timber buildings, (farms?); B3: abbey church (?); Romainmôtier 7th-10th century: C1: abbey church; C2: secondary church; C3/C4: unknown function; C5: cloister (?). (Images by Eggenberger 2010).

sometime afterwards (Rosenwein 2001: 277). At Romainmôtier, Sennhauser (1995: 286) postulated that an octagonal building located south of the abbey church might denote a baptistery, although Eggenberger (2010) attributes this construction to the later Cluniac additions of the tenth century. How should this evidence overall be interpreted? Does the presence of fonts indicate abbots performing baptisms among the local population? Or might they show the abbeys as parishes or occasional bases for bishops?

Discussion of the typology of abbey churches is valid on account of the noted sizeable archaeological and architectural research on these edifices across Europe, producing coherent site-plans, as well as an understanding of building phases. Romainmôtier was characterised by a small cruciform church (10 x 5m) with a single semi-circular apse, while Müstair was equipped with a monumental church with a nave and three aisles (19.5 x 12.7m) connected to three semi-circular apses; indeed, if the north and south annexes are taken into account, the entire church could be characterised as a five-apsed plan. The later construction at Romainmôtier, dated roughly to the seventh or early eighth century, persisted as an (enlarged) cruciform church (18 x 10m) but attached is a secondary hall church with a square apse (11.5 x 7m). The triple-apse church in Switzerland appears distinctive for the eighth century but Sennhauser's (2002: 44) observations also include churches from episcopal complexes, such as at Geneva and Basel. In comparing only abbey churches and not simply those built during the Carolingian period, it would appear that there was a great deal of variation but alongside similarities (Fig 4.4).

A common feature is the eastern location of the apse, a characteristic which was already dominant in churches across Europe. Semi-circular apses also appear to be more standard in type rather than the square shape. Two groupings can be noted: Müstair, Disentis, Mistail and Pfäfers feature the triple-apse church type; Saint-Ursanne, Moutier-Grandval and Säkingen comprise churches with a single nave and a semi-circular apse. Four particular churches, however, are very distinct in form: Saint-Maurice, which saw three successive constructive phases, was eventually designed as a hall church with an eastern and a western apse; Blondel (1948: 30) suggests that the second apse was an attempt to incorporate an existing martyrium by creating a new altar above the tomb. Interestingly the plan of Saint-Maurice's abbey church closely resembles the church depicted on the St Gall Plan, which is likely why Blondel associates this phase at Saint-

Maurice with the Carolingians. The abbey church of Saint-Gall, like Saint-Maurice, is unusual for its enclosed choir and an interior colonnade, creating distinct divisions, likely designed to separate monks from lay people or monks from clergy (Sennhauser 2002: 41). Lützelau, the smallest of our abbey churches, is one of the few convents to feature a squarish nave (8.0 x 8.0m) with a small square apse; its size might indicate the island site had a very limited community. Romainmôtier's cruciform plan, seemingly unique in comparison to the other abbey churches, was relatively common to western Switzerland, with examples in Geneva and Kaiseraugst.

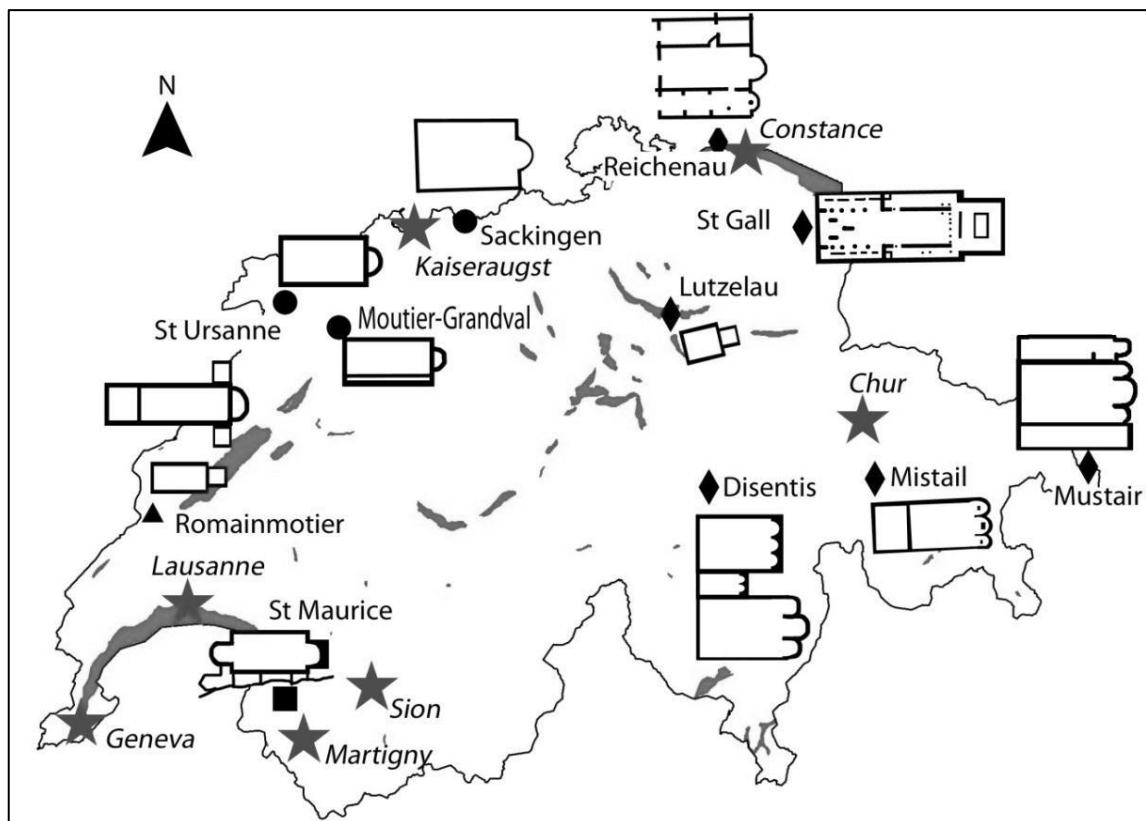


Figure 4.4: Distribution of monastic churches and design types (Bielmann - not to scale).

Romainmôtier and Disentis both saw the creation of a secondary church while Reichenau and Müstair had new churches built in the tenth century. Did the secondary church have a different function, was it constructed simply for aesthetic purposes or did it represent an example of new aristocratic patronage? Finally, the scale and monumentality, notable in the eastern Swiss abbey churches, duly reflect how the Carolingians invested heavily in both new and existing monasteries.

4.3.3 Material Culture

Peterson (2010: 320) highlights the commonplace image of medieval monks copying books by hand. Yet, physical evidence (i.e. styli, book clasps) for *scriptoria* is so far limited to abbeys at St. Gallen and Reichenau. A recent project by the University of Fribourg cataloguing all the medieval manuscripts found within Switzerland into a virtual library demonstrates the mobility of these artefacts: at St. Gallen, for example, one manuscript page has been dated to the fifth century, two centuries prior to the visit of Columbanus and the hermitage of Gall, signifying a library of older volumes. Libraries, while used for reading books, were also used as places for copying texts. A typology of scripts, created by palaeographers, has identified a particular script, labelled the 'Alemannic minuscule,' associated with eastern Switzerland and the region around Lake Constance, and potentially originating at St. Gallen (*Cod. Sang.* 189: www.e-codices.unifr.ch). If this hypothesis holds true, an early analysis of St. Gallen manuscripts by Bruckner (1939: 151) which found that between AD 750 and 770 the monastery of St Gall employed around 25 scribes for copying manuscripts and around 15 more for writing documents, may be accurate. Using the same method, Horn and Born (1986: 33) note that under Abbot Waldo (770-790), the number of scribes here rose to 80 and under Abbot Gozbert (816-836) there were 100 scribes.

On the other hand, evidence for manuscript production at Reichenau, the most famous being the Plan of St Gall, only appears in the ninth century, corresponding with the early date of 822 found within the monastery's library catalogue (Scrivner 1980: 429). Based on this apparent lack of evidence for manuscript production at other monastic sites, it is feasible to suggest that copying of texts was a highly specialised skill and only present in special cases (i.e. abbey of St Gall), and not assume all monasteries participated in this tradition.

Other material remains offer different insights. For instance, Saint-Maurice was clearly a pilgrim site, housing relics. Bishop Eucherius' writings mention how gifts were donated to the site to honour the saints. A number of treasures, still housed in the monastery, corroborate this: a small seventh-century Merovingian casket was created by two goldsmiths bearing the inscription: "Teuderic the priest ordered its creation in honor of Saint Maurice. Amen. Nardoalaus and Rihlindis ordered its manufacture. Undiho and Ello carried it out" (Fig 4.5; trans. by Abbaye de St Maurice). During the Carolingian period,

a golden jug with metalwork distinctive to Francia yet enamel work ascribed to a Byzantine workshop was donated, presumably by Charlemagne (Fig 4.6). This interesting gift illustrates how artefacts from the Roman republic were still considered treasures: a sardonyx vase dated to the first century B.C. was fitted with Carolingian gold metalwork and donated to the abbey, which maintains that particular treasure has connections with Saint Martin of Tours (Abbaye de Saint Maurice 2007; Roduit and Stucky 1999: 38). These treasures later became relics themselves, forming part of the ritual and liturgy of the abbey.

Another famous treasure is housed at the monastery of Moutier-Grandval. A staff made of hazel enclosed in a sheath of silver held together by a series of evenly placed silver rings, decorated in cloisonné metalwork, is attributed to Saint Germain. As a relic this is first mentioned in sources only around the sixteenth century, but Stékoffer's study determined a calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 608-776 (Stékoffer 1996: 162). The decorative work and the scientific date would suggest the object was a Merovingian or Carolingian gift to the monastery. Affinities with the casket of Teuderic at Saint-Maurice might even imply a similar origin or at least place of origin (currently suggested as south-west Germany) (*ibid*: 162). Both Saint-Maurice's and Moutier-Grandval's treasures thus demonstrate how monasteries gathered wealth and prestige, as well as communicated to the outer world in order to gain such donations.

In terms of other art, restoration work at Müstair uncovered not only Romanesque frescoes but also murals dated circa AD 800. The figurative paintings here included scenes from the Old and New Testament in a variety of reds, ochres and browns (Fig 4.7). UNESCO recognises these frescoes as "particularly important in understanding the evolution of certain Christian iconographic themes, such as the Last Judgement" (<http://whc.unesco.org/> (269); visited May 24, 2011). However, many of these paintings were damaged in the twelfth century and in the twentieth century some frescoes were removed and placed in the Zürich Landsmuseum. Relief sculptures at Romainmôtier, Saint-Maurice and Baulmes also display high aesthetic qualities. All the sites have produced large semi-circular ambos (oblong pulpits), sculpted from stone and featuring a large Latin cross with interlacing palms (Fig 4.8). The survival of these ambos, two of which are still used as part of the pulpits in the abbey churches of Romainmôtier and St Maurice, likely

indicates their reuse in the Cluniac period (Jaton 2007: 52). The ambo at Romainmôtier is especially significant as it features an inscription (*CIMAH.II.48*; trans. author):

In Dei Nomine Cudinus abbas jussit fieri.

In the name of the Lord, Abbot Gudines [of an unknown date] ordered [this] to be constructed.

The similarity between the ambos at Romainmôtier, Baulmes and Saint-Maurice suggest they were made in the same workshop (Lachenal 1947: 226).

Extensive excavation work is limited to Müstair, where much pottery, glass, metal and worked bone have been recovered. While analyses on these artefacts are generally limited, some conclusions were possible. For example, a small number of Italian ceramic and metalwork artefacts might be indicative of connections/travels between Chur and Italy between the sixth and seventh century. The overall lack of imports might suggest the region was quite independent and simply did not participate in any major trade networks (Sennhauser 1996: 162-164).

4.3.4 Burial Evidence

Surprisingly, burial evidence for monasteries in Switzerland comes from only four sites: Saint-Imier, Saint-Ursanne, Moutier-Grandval, and Saint-Maurice. The wider gap probably reflects limited archaeology, lack of access and robbing. Finds at these western sites offers interesting information: tombs at Saint-Imier lay adjacent to another building which might suggest a crypt church with a cemetery (Auberson 2002: 294). This is comparable to a crypt church excavated at San Vincenzo (Hodges 1995: 66-67). Significantly, some tombs at Saint-Imier contained remains of children. This might indicate the beginning of a transition of the site from a monastic community to a later medieval village or that monks had families (Auberson 2002: 294). This hypothesis, however, awaits more detailed DNA analysis of the skeletal remains and considering the Columbanan Rule and later the Benedictine Rule observed at Saint-Imier, it would seem highly irregular for monks to neglect their vow of celibacy. In comparison, the 50 sarcophagi found at Saint-Ursanne and the 12 tombs discovered at Moutier-Grandval are much more homogenous. These all contained male skeletons and were placed under the floor of the abbey churches.



*Fig 4.5: Casket of Teuderic; the inscription is located on the reverse
(Image courtesy of Abbaye de Saint Maurice).*



*Fig 4.6: Golden jug of Saint-Maruice - a gift from Charlemagne?
(Image courtesy of Abbaye de Saint Maurice)*

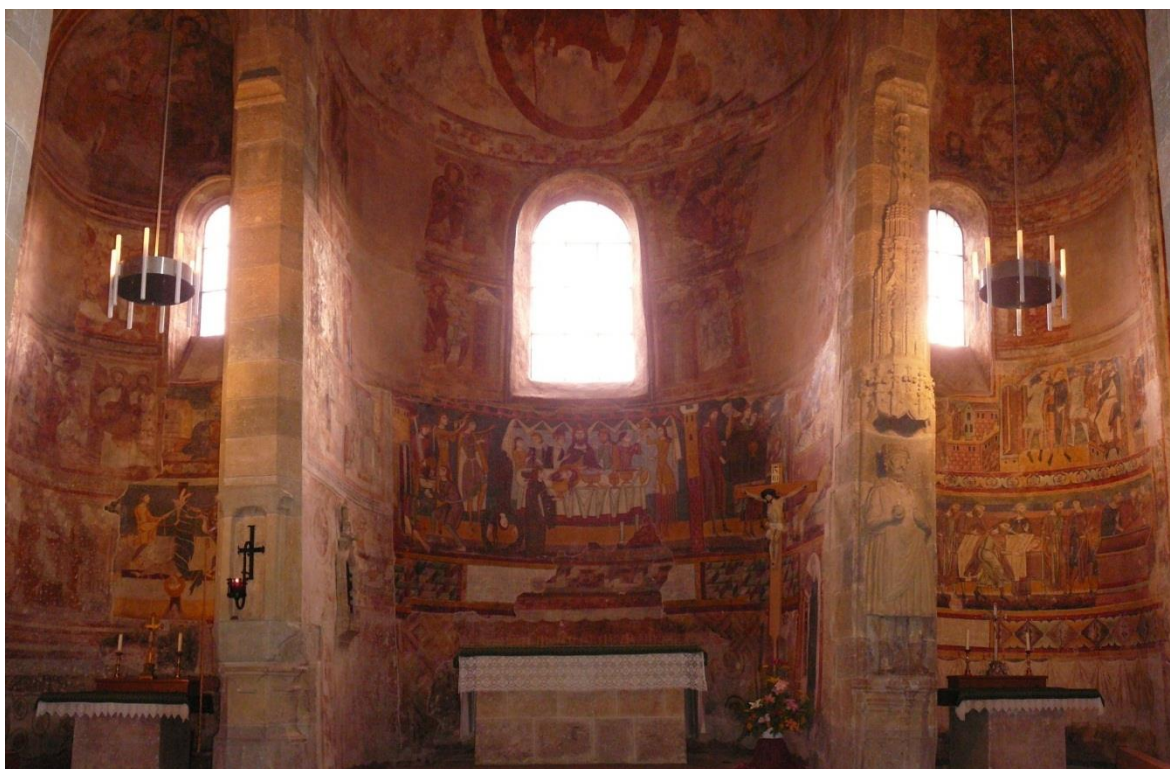


Fig 4.7: Carolingian frescoes of St John's Convent at Müstair (Image courtesy of Luca Lorenzi, 2008).

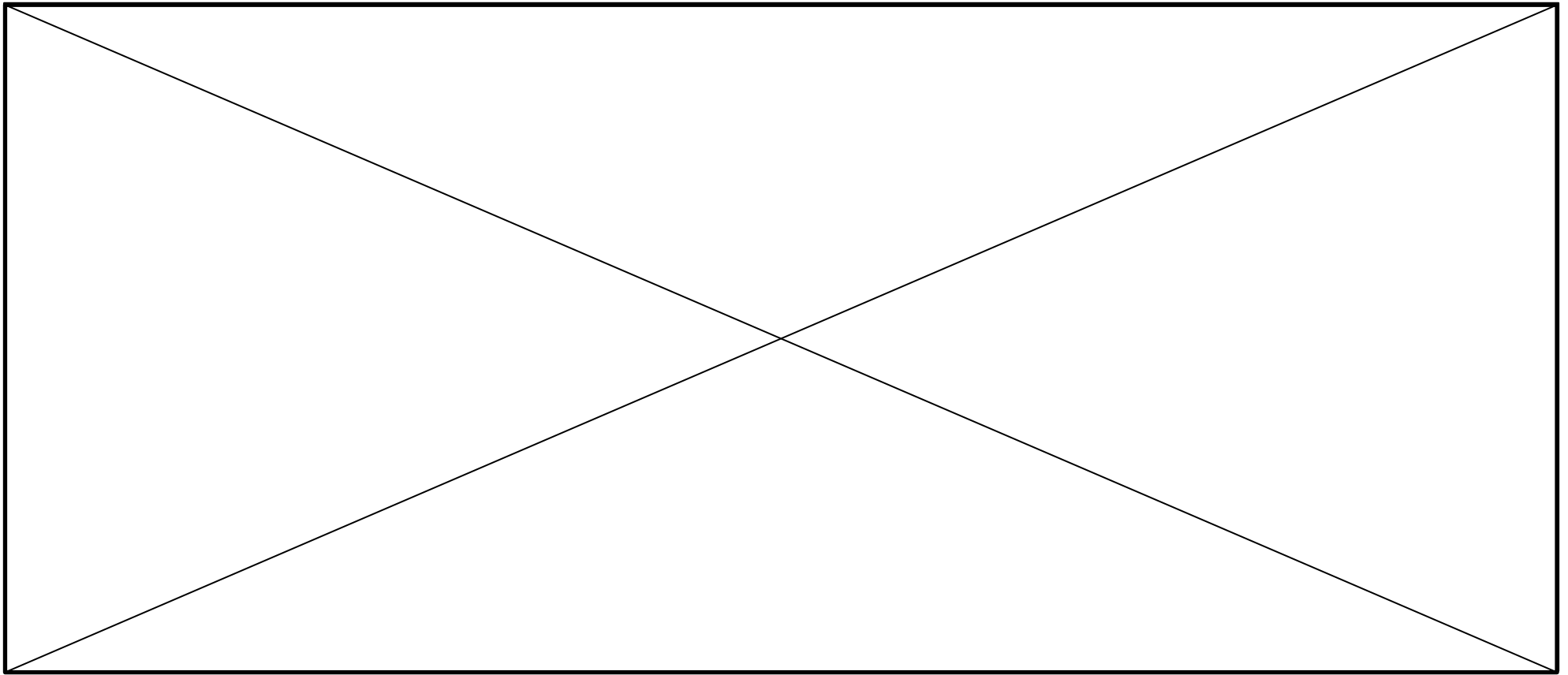


Fig 4.8: Ambos of St Maurice (left: image by Winfried Berberich 2006) and Romainmôtier (right: image by P. Frédéric Curnier-Laroch 2010).

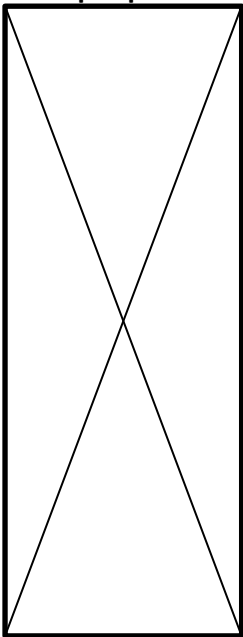

Moreover, the sarcophagi were of similar manufacture: at Saint-Ursanne, they were made of limestone and trapezoidal, a form typical of the seventh century (Auberson 2002: 299); tombs at Moutier-Grandval, in comparison, were monolithic with shaped cavities for the heads (*ibid*: 302). In both cases, Auberson (*ibid*: 299, 302) suggested that these abbey churches also acted as funerary churches. In all three cases, no inscriptions were found in relation to the tombs.

The burial evidence at Saint-Maurice, analysed by Louis Blondel, consists of a wide variety of tombs dating from the Roman to Carolingian period (Fig 4.9). Over 200 tombs were excavated within the main churches and in the surrounding annexes as well as in an area called the 'catacombs' (although the area is not underground). The tombs and their remains were heavily damaged in the 'catacombs' by running water and exposure to air (Blondel 1966: 30; Blondel 1948: 50). In terms of organisation, it is interesting to find the tombs less gathered around the apses than the main aisles. Blondel (*ibid*: 30) observed that no objects were placed in the sarcophagi and the tombs were devoid of decoration. Perhaps the most significant tomb pertains to the arcosolium located near the eastern end of the Carolingian church. Blondel (*ibid*: 30) hypothesised that this area consisted of a crypt but so far no other tombs have been located in the vicinity. The various types of burials (e.g. sarcophagi, earthen burials, flagstone graves) might be indicative of status within the monastery, such as sarcophagi for abbots and clergy while the earthen and flagstone graves were for 'ordinary' monks.

Saint-Maurice's burial evidence includes a number of inscriptions, most fragmentary (see Pfaff 1977). Three inscriptions, all dating to the sixth century, are of particular interest because they identify the occupation and name of the deceased (Table 4.1). Epitaphs I (*CIMAH.I.26*) and II (*CIMAH.I.10*) signify that monks (*monachi*) were among those buried around and within the abbey church of St Maurice. Moreover, different names (i.e. Godefredus and Rusticus) point to different backgrounds. Interestingly, Epitaph II was constructed from cippolino marble, a variety of marble usually quarried in Greece and later the property of emperors, and it thus has been interpreted as reuse from the former Roman temple (Pfaff 1977: 55). Decorations included two doves around a chalice at the top of the inscription. In contrast, Epitaph III (*CIMAH.I.11*) utilised Jura limestone, suggesting the monastery was accessing quarries located at a considerable distance from



*Fig 4.9: Plan of tombs associated with the abbey church of St Maurice
(Blondel 1966: 33).*

Table 4.1: Monastic Inscriptions			
<p>Epitaph I:</p>  <p>(Image by Jean-Marie Theurillat 1954: Figure IV)</p>		<p>Epitaph II:</p>  <p>(Image: author)</p>	
<p>[GO or TEV]DE FREDVS MONA CHVS QUI VIXIT ANNO XL OBIIT XI KAL IVLI IND XI</p>	<p>Godefredus [Teudefredus?] monk, who lived 40 years, died on the 11th day of the Kalends of July in the 11th indiction.</p>	<p>SVB HVNC TETO LVMREQVIESCIT BONE MEMORII RVSTICVS MONA CHVS</p>	<p>Under this tombstone [?]lies monk Rusticus in good memory</p>
<p>Epitaph III (no image available):</p> <p>HIC R[E]Q[UIESCIT] B[ONAE] M[EMORIAE] ANDREAS DIAC[ONVS] Q[UI] VI- XIT IN P[A]C[E].</p>		<p>Here lies of good memory Deacon Andreas who lived in peace.</p>	

Saint-Maurice. The stone was also decorated, here with interlocking circles. Unlike Epitaphs I-II, this inscription describes Andreas as a deacon, a regular clerical post, implying episcopal connections.

Names of monks and abbots are another area which inscriptions and chartularies have preserved over the years. While onomastics remains a highly contested field, especially in terms of determining origin or even 'ethnicity' of the person based on their name, it is worthwhile investigating if any trends or unique names are evident. For instance, a study of names within the bishopric of Chur found that Victor was a recurring name – perhaps not surprising as this bishopric was under control of the Victorid family and the name Victor duly appears as a dynastic name in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Table 4.2 provides a list of the abbots known in five monasteries (Saint-Maurice, Moutier-Grandval, Pfäfers, Reichenau, and Müstair) between the sixth and ninth centuries. An overview of their names reveals no obvious patterns, but one can note that the names Hymnmodus (the first abbot of Saint-Maurice), Vultcherius, and Gundoaldus, could be classed as Germanic 'aristocratic' names based on Escher's onomastic chart, which has variations of these three names. If perhaps not surprising to see a Germanic (Burgundian?) person as the first abbot of Saint-Maurice, whose founder was a Burgundian 'barbarian', it remains difficult to find any significance of the use of these particular names in the seventh and eighth centuries without assigning a presumed 'ethnicity'. Other interesting names that appear are Pirminius, Keba and Gibba. While the story of Pirmin suggests a Visigothic origin and presumably a Visigothic name, the origins of Keba and Gibba remain rather mysterious. But considering the manuscript production centre of Reichenau and the connection with St. Gallen, is it possible to suspect an Irish origin?

Overall, onomastic studies here provide some insight into the influence of these monasteries: a number of abbots in the later eighth centuries are bishop and one duke (Norbertus) even acted as abbot of Saint-Maurice. The connections between Reichenau and St. Gallen are especially evident when considering that Waldo and Johannes occupied both episcopal seats and held titles as abbots at the same time.

Table 4.2: Abbot lists between the 6 th and 9 th centuries AD					
* bishop ** duke ‡ same person					
Saint-Maurice	Moutier-Grandval	St. Gallen	Pfäfers	Reichenau	Müstair
Hymnemosus (515-516)		-	-	-	-
Ambrosius (516-520)	-	-	-	-	-
Achivus (520-523)	-	-	-	-	-
Tranquillinus (523-526)	-	-	-	-	-
Venerandus (526-539)	-	-	-	-	-
Paulus (539-557)	-	-	-	-	-
Placidianus (557-568)	-	-	-	-	-
Eutropius (568)	-	-	-	-	-
Paulus (568-577)	-	-	-	-	-
Martinus (577-580)	-	-	-	-	-
Ambrosius (580-610)	-	-	-	-	-
Leontius (610-616)	-	-	-	-	-
Jocundinus (after 616)	-	-	-	-	-
Secundinus (after 629)	Germanus	-	-	-	-
Florentius (before 654)	(640-675)	-	-	-	-
Siagrius (after 657)	-	-	-	-	-
Rocolenus (673-691)	-	-	-	-	-
Aygulfus (c. 700)	-	-	-	-	-
Ermenbertus (c. 700)	-	-	-	-	-
Protadius (before 716)	-	-	-	-	-
Norbertus (before 716)**	-	-	-	-	-
Agobertus (after 716)	-	-	-	-	-
Ludulfus (before 721)	-	Otmar (719-759)	-	-	-
Ayronadus (c. 725)	-		-	Pirminius (724-727)	-
Laifinus (c.750)	-		-	Heddo (727-734)	-
Berthelaius (after 750)	-		Adalbertus (c. 762)	Keba (734-736)	-
Ayrastus (before 762)	Gundoaldus (768-771)			Arnefrid (?) *	-
	-		Gibba (?)	Sidonius (?) *	-
Wilcharius (762-765)*	-		Anastasius (?)	Johannes‡ (760-782)	-
	-		Adalbertus (?)	Petrus * (782-786)	-
	-		Lupicinus (?)	Waldo‡ (786-806)	-
	-	Johannes‡ (759-782)	Vincentius (?)		Vigilius (c.790)
	-	Ratpert (782-782)	Marcianus (?)		Domnus (c.800)
	-	Waldo‡ (782-812)	Bercautius (?)		
Altheus (786-804) *	-				

4.4 Conclusion

Three principal questions guided this chapter: how did monasteries ‘fit’ into the Christianisation processes of the region; who built the monasteries; and what were the aims of the monastic founders? In relation to the first question, it would seem that early medieval monasteries of Switzerland were built not as part of any missionary impulse nor for the ultimate aim of converting people, with perhaps the exception of the abbey of St Gall if the hagiographical text was not exaggerating the so-called ‘return to idolatry’ by the peasants. However, an overview of monastic distribution and location in the landscape

demonstrates that these sites were likely accessible and open to local populations thus acting as a consistent Christian presence to them as well as to larger administrative powers. As such, these monasteries could represent examples of the ongoing process by which the landscape of Switzerland became Christian. Thus, they were 'by-products' of an already Christian-owned administration and people, and examples of the continual process by which the landscape became sacred, in terms of new Christian centres of worship and prayer.

The historical and archaeological survey of these sites has also illustrated that these types of communities attracted aristocratic patronage and wealth. In considering who established these communities, all of the monasteries (perhaps with the exception of Romainmôtier) held some connection to an aristocratic or royal power. The overview of the historical evidence for their patronage (Section 4.1) demonstrated different motives, such as Sigismund's explicit desire to demonstrate his support of a Catholic Church after years of being Arian or the Merovingian use of monasteries to create seats of power for family members. The archaeological evidence of the monastic buildings, however, might illustrate better the degree of patronage of these sites: in considering the abbey churches, monumentality increases greatly by the time the Carolingians came to power: the triple apse structures with large cloisters and palace rooms, notably at Müstair and Mistail, show monasteries evolving as centres of religious piety to sizeable structures of power and influence. This is especially evident with the rise of bishop-abbots in the eighth century and the eventual control of Saint-Maurice by the bishop of Sion. Arguably, this relationship between aristocratic power and monastic building reaches its climax with the creation of the 'perfect' monastery drawn up in the Plan of St Gall in 814.

Indeed, a brief note should be made about the Plan of St Gall, especially considering the extensive modern discussion on this drawing. Sullivan's (1998) insightful overview of what was Carolingian monasticism and the importance of the Plan of St Gall demonstrates how scholars have debated (and still are) the significance and meaning of the document. Importantly, Sullivan (1998: 285) argues that too many comparisons and links are being created: Zettler's (2008: 266) recent comparison of the Plan with the San Vincenzo excavations highlighted that a royal palace was the point of difference, and he suggested that this dissimilarity represents how monasticism in the ninth century had become so tied with the 'State' that monasteries now required a place for the ruler.

Sennhauser's comparison of Müstair with the Plan of St Gall, showing similar spaces for monks but different means of access to churches and other spaces, led him to argue that Müstair was emulating a Roman tradition of each space having a specific function and thus separate entrances (Sennhauser 2008: 26). This preoccupation with the Plan of St Gall, while interesting, is slightly distracting. The Plan of St Gall was an architectural drawing and it still remains an open question whether the document was ever meant to be used to construct a specific monastery. To use such a document to inform on Carolingian monasticism in theoretical terms may offer insights and impetus for the vision of Carolingian 'uniformity' but comparisons with earlier monasteries are naïve; far better to use and compare evidence from existing sites like San Vincenzo, Müstair, and Romainmôtier.

That said, early monastic archaeology in Europe is still in its infancy. More research needs to be done to understand better these communities, their roles in local economies, their burial space, and land use. Other Swiss data provide valuable evidence to draw upon, most notably, as seen, in considering relationships between aristocratic and religious power. New work is needed to understand properly pre-Carolingian roles, impacts and forms.

Chapter 5

Churches in the Countryside

Accordingly two hundred and thirty and more churches were under our parish, from which no more than six baptisteries, and twenty-five minor house-churches (*minores tituli*) to the bishopric remained, he [Roderich] badly plundered [them].

(MGH EKA III.7: 309, trans. author)

In AD 823, Bishop Victor III of Chur (800-833) wrote to King Louis the Pious (814-840) lamenting the decline of his diocese which began after Rhaetia was subjugated by Charlemagne in the late eighth century. He reported the existence of over 230 churches, many of which had been plundered by a local noble. Most of these early medieval churches in the Churrhaetic region have long since disappeared but this figure suggests a rural countryside full of churches by the ninth century. Was this the case or did Bishop Victor III write in hyperbole? This chapter sets out to investigate the development of a Christian countryside, exploring how these buildings were established and into what setting they were built.

5.1 An Already Sacred Landscape?

There can no longer be any doubt that worship of non-Christian cults and gods continued beyond the fourth century. The recent and substantial publication, *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'* (2011), presents numerous regional case studies on temple use and pagan activity in Late Antiquity, in which questions of destruction, confrontation, and reuse have been replaced with nuanced queries into the significance of the end of temples, the later history of paganism and “what this reveals about religious change” (Lavan 2011: xxii). The publication also addressed the problem of terminology, highlighting how ‘there was no such thing as a single *paganism* opposing Christianity’ and how non-Christian faiths could be divided, such as the differences between the imperial and eastern mystery cults (Demarsin 2011: 7-12). In western Europe, most evidence of ‘paganism’ can fall into these two categories and our primary sources suggest the countryside was, in particular, the primary abode of pagans, their illicit worship at cult sites, and their ‘demons’. For the later fourth century, Sulpicius Severus’ *Vita Sancti Martini* (13-15), for

example, recounts the saint's attacks on rural shrines, and the reaction from the affected people, known as the Aedui:

When Martin was there overthrowing a temple, a multitude of rustic heathens rushed upon him in a frenzy of rage.

In Switzerland, ecclesiastical sources also testify to continued pagan worship in the countryside: thus, the *Life of St Gall* highlights idol-worshippers in the seventh century around Lake Constance (VSG 6-8), while the *Life of St Lucius*, of the tenth century, recounts Lucius confronting a pagan cult at Maienfeld, only to be thrown into a well by the pagans. Yet the reliability of these hagiographies, as discussed in Chapter 2, is questionable. We need to focus instead on the archaeology to track late antique paganism in the rural landscape, asking whether evidence exists to show these temples were still visited in Late Antiquity.

5.1.1 Late Antique Paganism in Switzerland



Figure 5.1: Cella of Frenkendorf sited at the edge of a steep rock face
(Image courtesy of Stefan Ramseier 2005)

Coin hoards and burials at temples and other cult places across Switzerland should signify a certain level of continuity of worship of traditional cults beyond the fourth century. In the Basel region, two hill-top temples appear to have attracted continued worship. At Frenkendorf (6km from Kaiseraugst), a coin hoard had been buried next to the podium of a Gallo-Roman temple (Fig 5.1). Forty of the coins dated to the late fourth century, many

minted under Maximus (383-388) (Marti 2006a: 40). While evidence for site frequentation seemingly stops after the burial of the coin hoard, Marti (*ibid*: 40) suggests the standing remains of the temple's podium (9 x 9m) and parts of its scella (5.2 x 5.2m) might indicate 'survival' beyond the late fourth century. By contrast, the temple at Furlenboden, a sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter, received coin offerings into the sixth century and the zone saw the interment of a number of seventh-century furnished burials near its podium (*ibid*: 40; Furger *et al.* 1996: 62).

Less clear are examples of possible shrines, later adapted into small churches. Goodman (2011: 165) notes that these structures, typically with concentric square ground-plans, are distinguished by their variety. As a result, there are questions whether the roughly square structure (8 x 8m) under the church of Ettingen was actually a temple. Pottery and burials found around the building suggest visitations throughout the fourth century, and yet finds for the preceding centuries are absent; it is unclear why the shrine's remains were reused for a church in the eighth century (Marti 2006a: 45). At Ursins, a surviving podium and the discovery of two other *fana* in 2003 points to a small religious site. The second-century cella of the temple here was converted into a church in the sixth century (Pauli 1984: 186; Oswald *et al.* 1966-68: 357-358). However, there is insufficient material evidence to prove sustained pagan worship prior to the church's installation.

In the Swiss Alps, temples at mountain passes also continued to act as points of veneration. Offerings of coins of AD 395–423 came from the podium of a temple dedicated to Jupiter at the Great Saint Bernard Pass (Lavan 2011: xli). While a passage by Augustine (*De.Civ* 5.26) suggests that Theodosius “overthrew the statues of Jupiter” that had been “set up in the Alps”, recent research into Alpine pagan sites points to large-scale spoliation of this temple during the eighth century (Hunt 2007: 67). This late spoliation at the Pass, centuries after the sanctuary's supposed destruction, alongside post-Theodosian coin offerings, suggest that the temple was not a victim of religious violence. Similarly, at the Julierpass, 200 coins were discovered in 1854 near the remains of a Roman-period sanctuary. Coins of c. AD 14-477 were identified, including one minted for Genseric (428-477), although the majority belong to the late Roman period, and feature many of Gratian (367-383) (Pauli 1984: 159).

More problematic are sacred zones and sanctuaries related to natural features and to mystery cults. The chance discovery of human remains at a cave in Zillis led to a survey in 1990, revealing an assemblage of 600 Roman coins dating between AD 260 and 400, rock crystals, shards of glass, late Roman pottery, burnt animal bones and 10 human skeletons inside and outside the cave (Kaiser 1998: 80-82; Furger *et al.* 1996: 63). Radiocarbon dating on the skeletons indicated that the site's peak was between AD 400 and 500 - noticeably the period in which the church of Zillis (**B37**) was established only 2km away. The excavations also yielded decorated vessels, including one featuring a relief of Mercury, the goddess Luna, and animals, which has led to the belief the cave was used

as a cult place (Kaiser 1998: 82). Does this discovery point to simultaneous pagan and Christian worship in the same area? Or was the church built to oppose the illicit ongoing worship of Mithras? The archaeologists suggested the remains of an impaled man (radiocarbon dated to c. AD 500) and the subsequent deliberate filling-in of the cave indicate a violent confrontation between non-Christians and local Christians (Furger *et al.* 1996: 63).

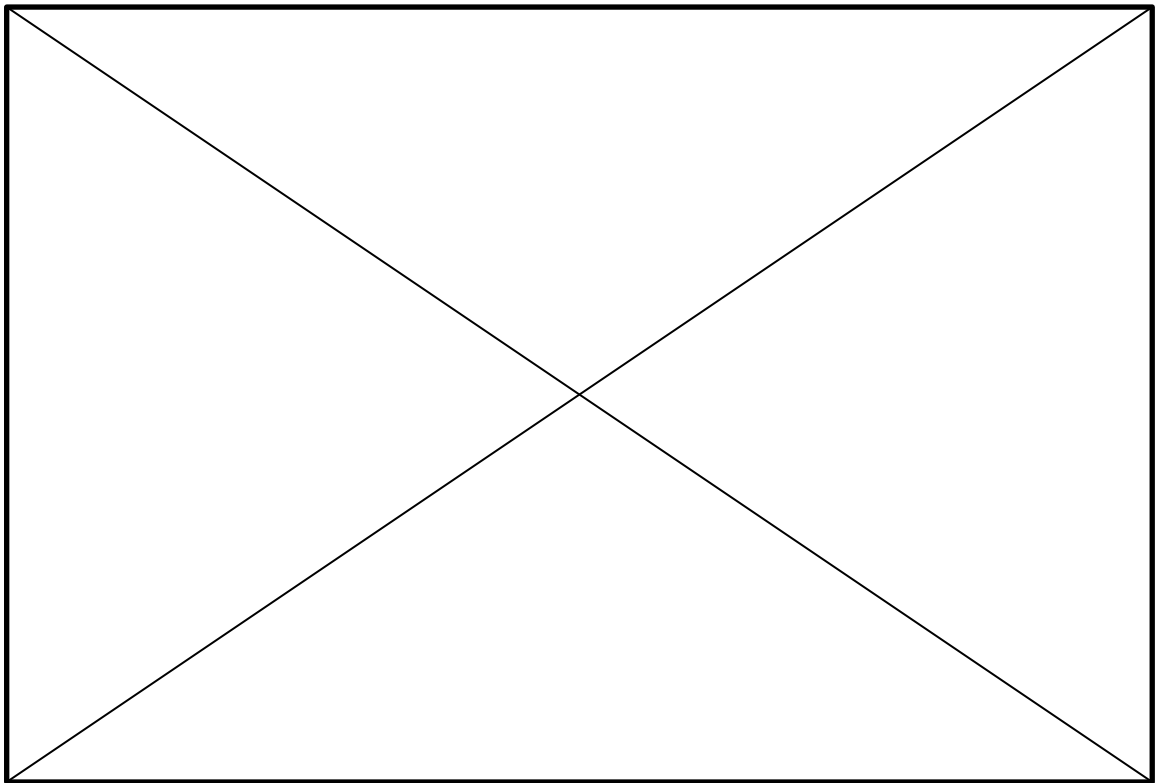


Figure 5.2: Zillis cave during excavations (Furger *et al.* 1996: 63)

Elsewhere in Graubünden, instead of an image of confrontation and violence, the recent study by Jerris (2002: 89-100) points to a gradual transition and the complex appropriation of pagan traditions by the local Church. Jerris (*ibid*: 92-97) identified how sun-terraces (areas skirting the edge of the narrow valleys to receive sunlight for the greater portion of the day) were marked by pagan ring circles and other monolithic features. He (*ibid*: 95) observed that many of the churches of the mid-eighth century, most listed in the Will of Tello, were established in these same zones. While Jerris perceives this as the *final* stage of Christianisation in the Graubünden region, such reuse in these zones signifies the longevity and even survival of pagan traditions. Customs such as the celebration of the return to Spring at standing stones in Schlans continued into the late medieval period (*ibid*: 97); similarly Easter is still marked by children processing to an

ancient menhir in Ruschein. While these examples may not prove sustained *pagan* worship, they do mark a degree of memory and respect for these ancient sacred zones to warrant continued traditions and visitations by locals. Indeed, the issuing of strict warnings against pagan religious practices in Carolingian documents such as the *Lex Romana Curiensis* (c. AD 750) and the *Capitula Remedii* (c. 800) might have been directed at these events rather than the traditional argument that they are following *topoi* of other late antique legal documents.

These cases for continued pagan activity and the remnants of a pagan sacred landscape amidst a growing Christian one represent only a small proportion of non-Christian cults and paganism. Many other aspects of the landscape were undoubtedly part of the pagan sacral countryside. Indeed, a recent article by Sauer (2011: 505-550) focuses on 'spring worship' and measures it based on artefact deposits found at wells and springs. Noticeably, Sauer found that artefact deposits at such springs declined sharply at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries – which gives credence to Caseau's (2011: 124) observation that it would be wrong to imagine all the cults flourishing in the fourth century. Thus, amidst these few examples of sustained points of veneration, decline and abandonment undoubtedly occurred. Many temples likely lay in ruin and were subject to spoliation from the fourth century with the Church easily quarrying these. The image is overall imprecise, but is certainly not one of clear-cut change from pagan to Christian.

5.2 Archaeologies of the Rural Church: AD 400-600

The first rural churches appear in the fifth and sixth centuries and, predictably, lie in Roman settlements and chiefly along the main Roman routes. In terms of distribution, nearest-neighbour spatial statistics indicate a clustered patterning, notably around Geneva, Avenches, Chur and Ticino (Fig 5.3; Appendix A). More scattered are those churches found along the Rhine and the Rhône valley. Significantly, the first rural churches were not built in one specific region (i.e. an 'origin-point'); rather, even if broken down by century, constructions occur in both eastern and western Switzerland, and largely south of the former Roman frontier.

Architecturally, rural churches differed considerably to urban Christian basilicas, especially in terms of access to and use of stone, brick and marble. In a rural context,

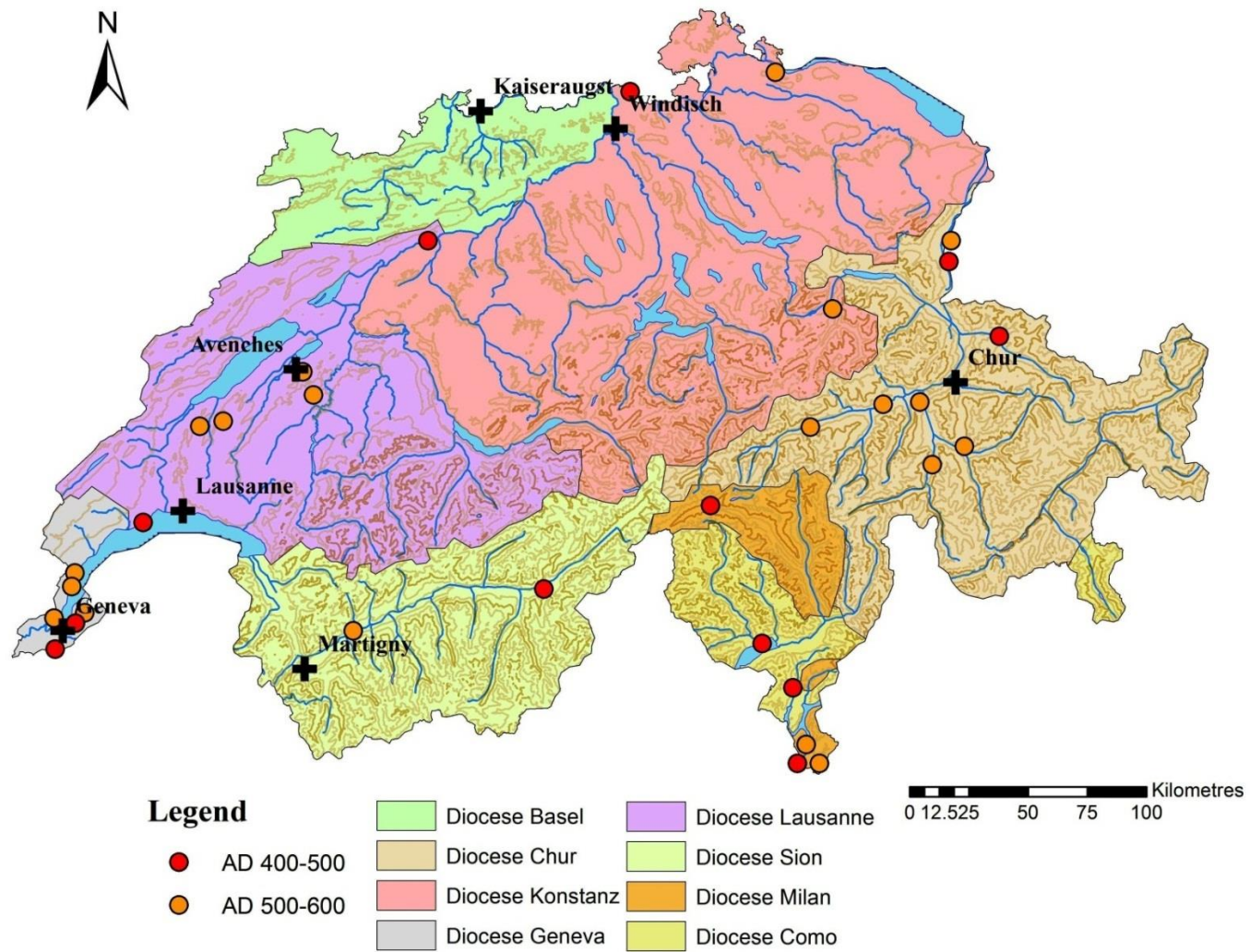
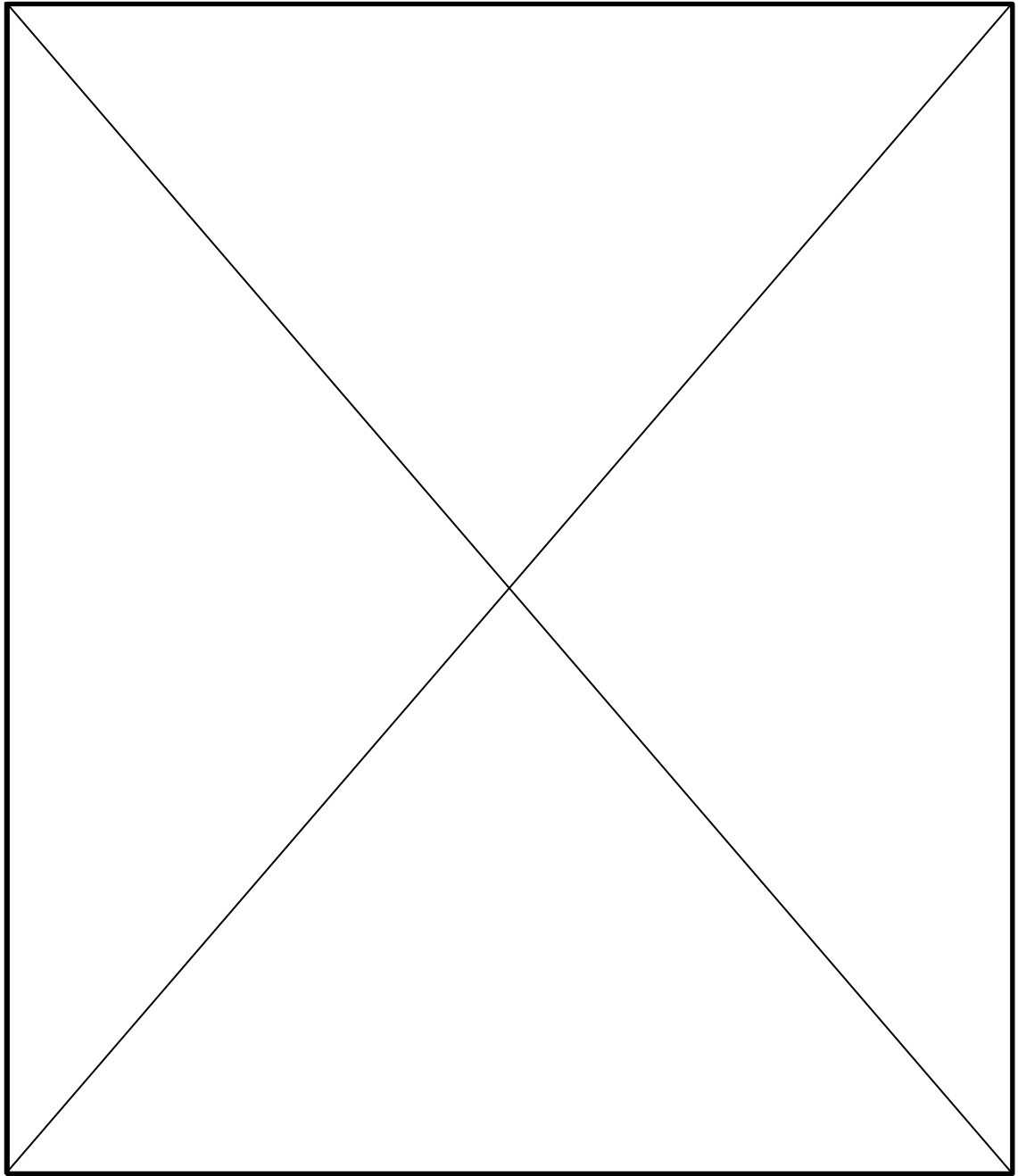


Figure 5.3: Distribution of rural churches, AD 400-600

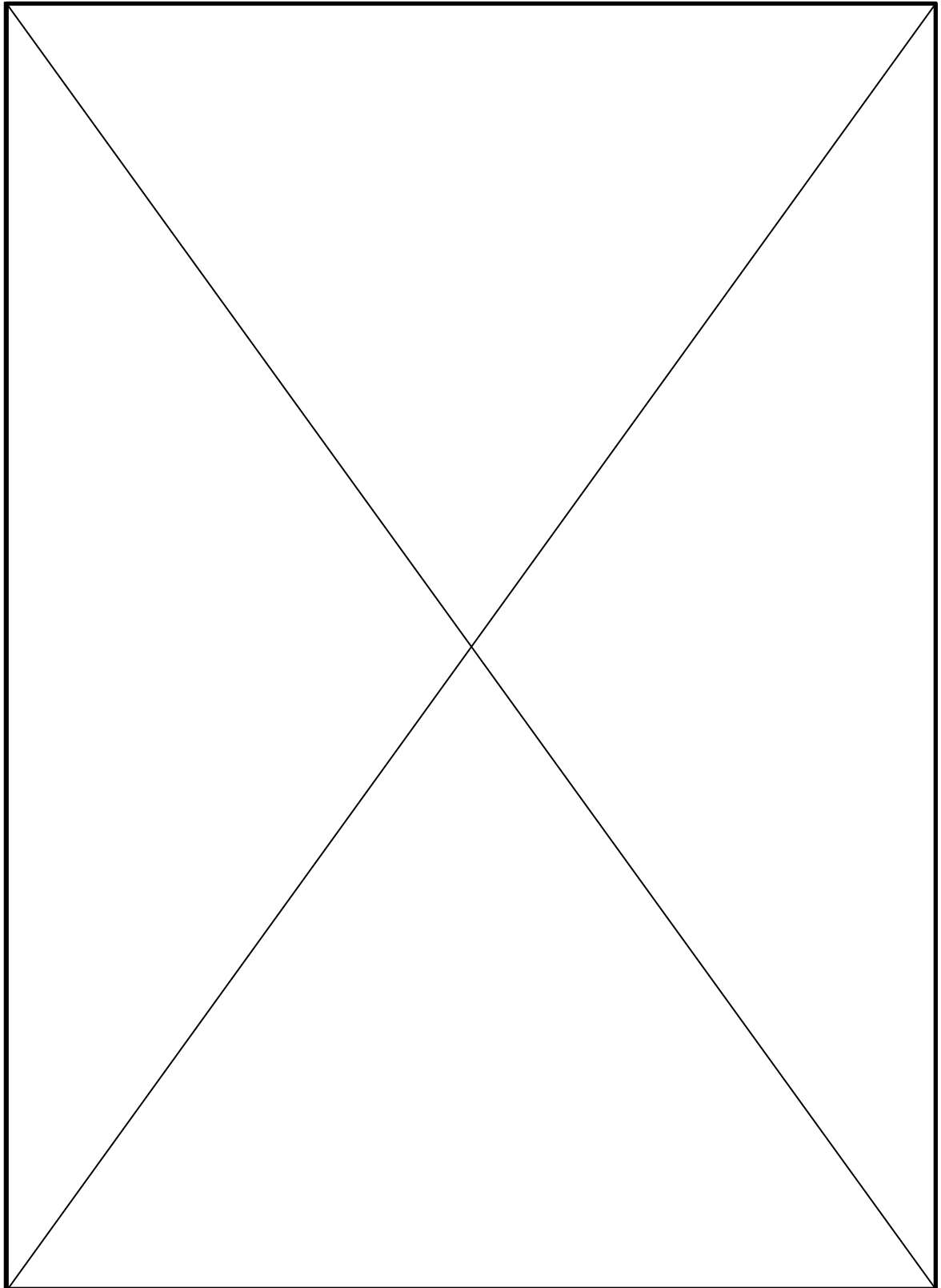
churches in almost all cases catered to smaller communities and comprised simple buildings sometimes divided into separate chambers or compartments (Stalley 1999: 32). The villa-church of Vandoeuvres (**C17**), for example, was an E-W oriented rectangular building (8.5 x 5.5m) with no apse. Built into an active villa, this church presumably served the villa residents (Terrier 2002a: 195-196). An even smaller church (3.80 x 3.50m) with a semi-circular apse was excavated in Lantsch (**B16**) in eastern Switzerland (Sennhauser 2003: 108-109). On average the rural churches of this period were between 10.58m in length and 6.7m in width.

Notable outliers, however, deserve mention. In Céigny, excavations led by Bujard in 1993 uncovered a series of postholes outlining a three-nave timber church (**C1**) with a full length of 22.5m and width of 12.5m (Terrier 2007: 87). At Saint-Prex (**E10**), located in canton Vaud, investigations at the church of St Protasius demonstrated a sequence of construction similar to Geneva's St Peter. First starting as a single-room mausoleum, three annexes were added, forming a multi-room structure in the fourth century (Eggenberger *et al.* 1992: 99-100). Between AD 500 and 600, two horseshoe-shaped apses were added to the north-eastern walls, thus creating a double church complex (12.50 x 10.50m). A fourth, early medieval period, phase saw the church enlarged with a dominant central apse and a side annex with a smaller annex (*ibid*: 104-105; Fig 5.4). As a point of comparison, these particular churches either had similar or greater dimensions than the episcopal churches of Kaiseraugst (17 x 11.5m) and Martigny (15.4 x 7.7m). Eggenberger (*ibid*: 100) and Terrier (2007: 87) both equate the large size as a sign of an early rural parish church, indicative of episcopal patronage.

However, there are some complexities in rural church form and type. Differences in apse shape and construction have led to a number of typologies, notably by German scholars, although they do not correspond easily. For example, many sources differentiate between a semi-circular and a horseshoe-shaped apse. While the joinings are similar, the curvature of the walls creates distinctive shapes, hence the different terms. Sennhauser (2003: 1-23; Fig 5.5) in fact makes no difference between these two apse types and the following analyses utilise his typologies and these specific church forms: cruciform; hall churches with no apse, with indented semi-circular apses, with no indentation; hall churches with square apses, with trapezoidal apses; and triple-apse churches. Added to this typology are triple-nave churches but with no apses (e.g. Céigny (**C1**), Muralto (**F20**),



*Figure 5.4: Axonometric reconstruction depicting Phases I-IV of Saint-Prex's St Probasius
(Eggenberger et al. 1992: 98-112)*



*Figure 5.5: Types of churches built between AD 400 and 600 in Switzerland
(Bielmann 2012; plans by Sennhauser 2003: 157, 179, 191; Terrier 2002b: 87; Jakobsen et al. 1991: 96;
Lehner 1978: 150)*

Glisacker (**G2**) and double-church complexes (e.g. Saint-Prex (**E-10**)). The most common form between AD 400 and 600 was undoubtedly the hall-church with an indented semi-circular apse. Churches without apses or with square apses were also fairly common, although those without apses are inevitably harder to identify as Christian places of worship, unless featuring altars or choir barriers. Rare were cruciform rural churches, with the two known non-urban examples during this period found at Sagogn (**B26**) and Solothurn (**D13**), as well as hall-churches with un-indented apses, such as Trun (**B34**). Notably absent is the triple-apse church, a form attributed to Carolingian architecture (*ibid*: 17; Fig 5.6).

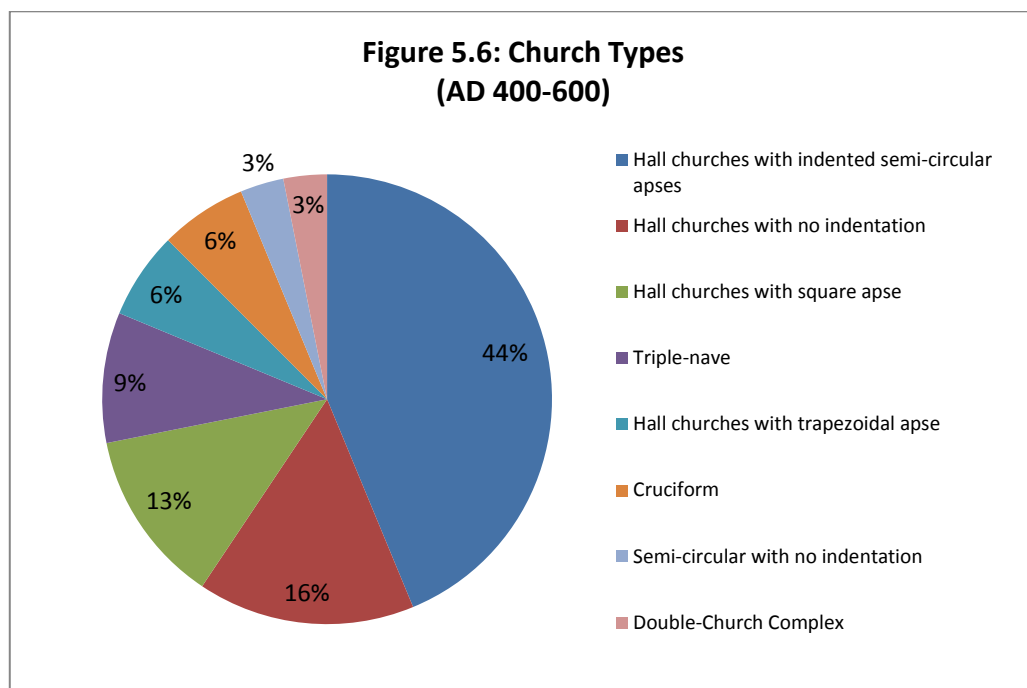


Figure 5.6: Church Types (AD 400-600) (Sample size: 33)

Annexes, narthexes, transepts, and other ancillary rooms attached to churches are also attested. Transepts added to rectangular naves, such as at Sagogn's St Mary (**B26**), create the specific cruciform shape. While the later installation of altars (dated to the eighth and ninth century) at Sagogn indicates how the transepts were subsequently used as small chapels, their initial use is less clear. At Trun (**B34**), the southern annex built shortly after the main church featured an altar, signifying its use as a chapel (Fig 5.5C). In most cases, these secondary rooms housed burials. The narthex at Schiers' North Church (**B30**), for example, contained two stone-lined burials (Sennhauser 2003: 174; Fig 5.7). The organisation of burials at Grand-Sacconnex led Terrier to propose the nave was encircled

by a portico (Terrier 2002a: 197). Other rooms had specific purposes, such as the baptistery at Zurzach (**D20**), wedged between the fort wall and nave. The generally later construction of these rooms is often marked by different masonry techniques, as noticeable at Schiers' North Church where the tightly-wedged stones of the nave walls contrasted with the larger stones and thinner walls of its narthex (Sennhauser 2003: 174; Fig 5.7).

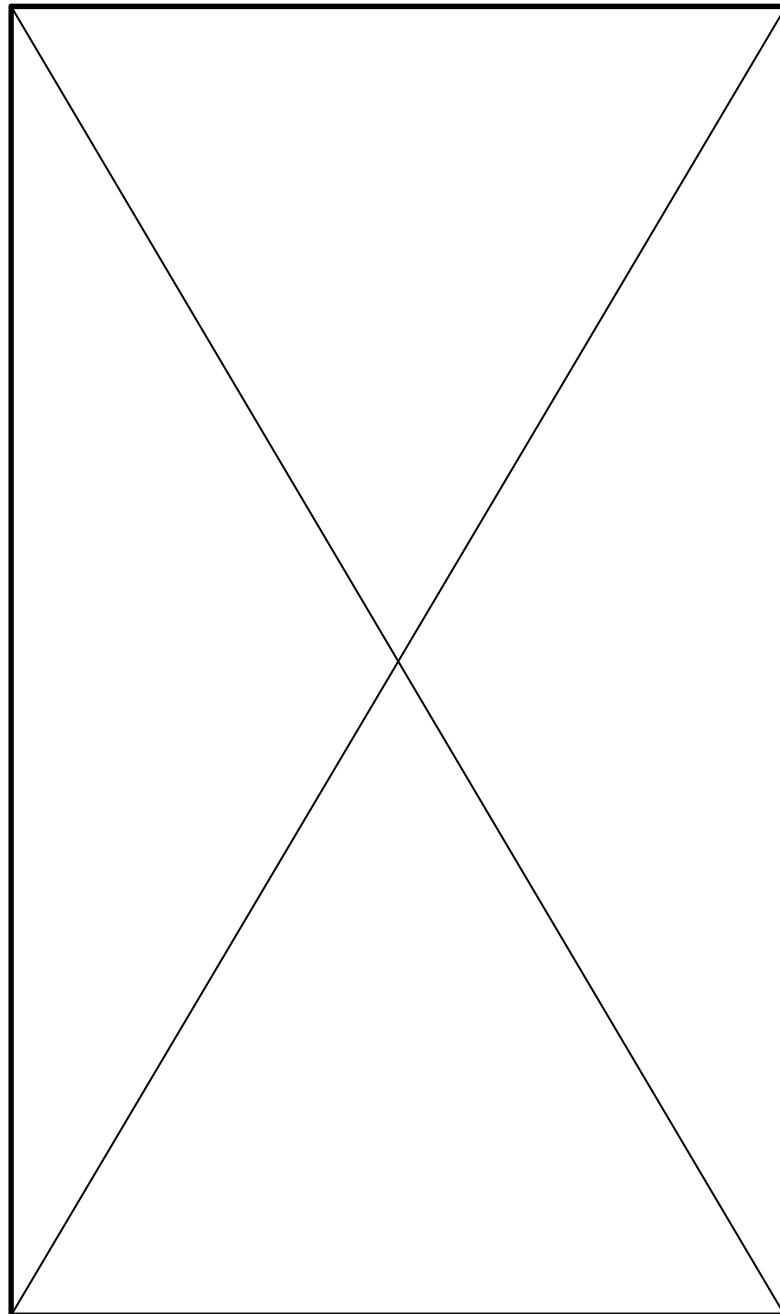


Figure 5.7: Detail of stone masonry in North Church at Schiers, Graubünden. Note the smaller dimensions of the stones used in the church compared to those of the L-shaped narthex (Sennhauser 2003: 174)

Liturgical furnishings, such as altars, choir barriers, chancel screens, and ambos, were essential architectural features of churches. Archaeological indicators for the presence of choir barriers and chancel screens include posts, wall foundations, and even the arrangement of burials. Between AD 400 and 600, ten churches likely contained choir barriers: Schiers (**B30**), Vandoeuvres (**C17**), Solothurn (**D12**), Airolo (**F2**), Stabio (**F26**), Zurzach (**D20**), Compesieres (**C3**), Grand-Sacconnex (**C12**), Meinier (**C13**), Stein-am-Rhein (**D14**). At Vandoeuvres and Stein-am-Rhein, post-holes located near the apse are the only indicators for such features and for Meinier, Terrier (2002a: 195) argued for the presence of a barrier based on the irregular arrangement of the tombs here. For altars, rectangular impressions or foundations separate from the walls in the apse are the main indicators. During this period, ten altar impressions were found (including two at Trun), with an average size of 1.0 x 0.80m: Schiers (**B30**), Schiers (**B31**), Lantsch (**B16**), Trun (**B34**), Stein-am-Rhein (**D14**), Donatyre (**E7**), Morbio Inferiore (**F18**), Muralto (**F20**).

Five baptisteries have been identified: Riva San Vitale (**F24**), Zurzach (**D20**), Zillis (**B37**), Schaan (**B29**), and Glisacker (**G2**). Riva San Vitale's St John, dated to c. AD 500, consisted of an external square plan (17 x 17m) constructed with blocks of local stone in regular rows. Three doorways, accessed by steps, lay central to the western, southern, and northern walls. The octagonal interior of the baptistery featured apses placed at the corners, while at its centre has a full-immersion font made of gneiss; this, however, likely dates to the ninth century. The ceiling consisted of a domed cupola creating an internal height of 5.20m. The interior was decorated with geometric floor mosaics and the walls likely painted, although they currently feature Romanesque frescoes dating to the tenth century and twelfth centuries. The baptistery of Riva San Vitale saw further development with the construction of a small square apse at the eastern wall. Sennhauser (2003: 150) notes that baptisteries usually would have been directly adjacent to a church but currently excavations have only unearthed a later, ninth-century basilica suggesting the early baptistery stood isolated.

The remaining baptisteries were constructed in annexes of their accompanying churches. At Glisacker, a western annex of a fifth-century hall church has been interpreted as an associated baptistery after excavators uncovered the remains of a basin (Fig 5.9). While slightly damaged by later burials, it was determined that the font was an elongated octagon of about 2m in length and 1.65m in width. The basin's interior was constructed



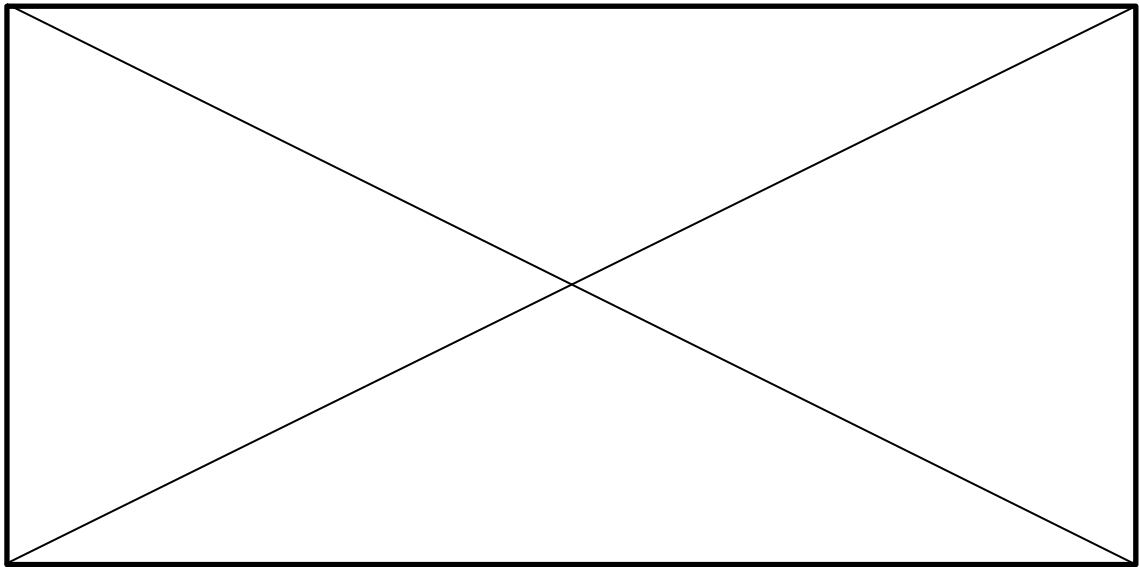
*Figure 5.8: Baptistery of St John in Riva San Vitale
(Image courtesy of Peter Berger, 2005)*

with red mortar with clay, likely hammered to smooth the surface. Four post-holes were observed around the font, interpreted as a *ciborium* (Descoevres and Sarott 1986: 365-371). The matching masonry of the baptistery's east wall to the church's western wall indicates it was built during the same phase as the church (*ibid*: 366).

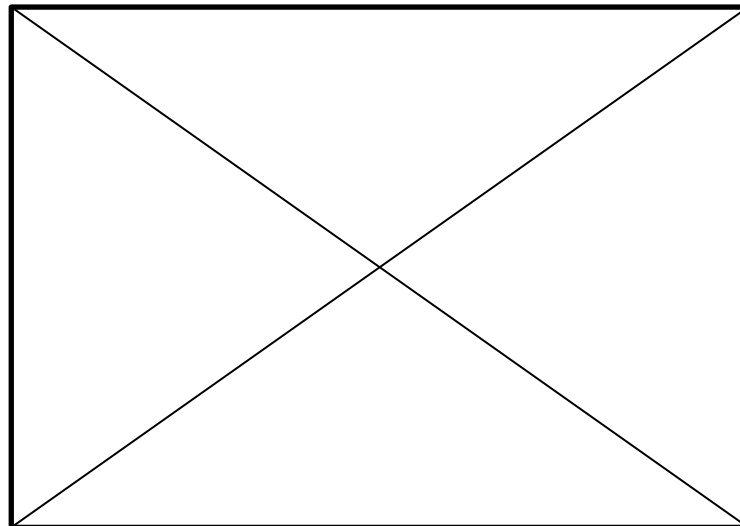
The churches at Zurzach and Schaan were both established within forts and featured baptismal fonts in annexes next to the church. At Schaan, the fifth-century church comprised a western annex with a circular brick basin (1.1m in diameter) (Fig 5.10). However, Beck (1958: 298) notes the uncertainty whether the construction of the baptistery came during the same phase as the church or else marked a subsequent period of building. In contrast, at Zurzach, shortly after the construction of a fifth-century hall church, a baptistery and annex were added. The baptistery was situated between the wall of the nave and the fort-walls, accessible only by a door in the south wall of the church. The font was square and constructed from brick and stone (Sennhauser 1990: 64). The evidence for a font at Zillis is less clear. Built c. AD 500, the hall church featured a northern annex which traversed the entire length of the nave. It was then divided into three rooms; the easternmost one being proposed as the baptistery, based on the remains of a mortared basin (Sennhauser 2003: 203-204).

In terms of materials, *spolia* was a regular feature in rural church construction (Fig 5.11: 52%). This perhaps is to be expected considering their location in either abandoned or occupied Roman settlements. The level of usage, however, varied considerably. For example, at Ursins (**E13**), the *cella* of a Gallo-Roman temple was completely reused as the walls for the church nave (Fig 5.12). In contrast, only *tegulae* and *imbrices* occur at the churches of Compesières (**C3**) and Vandoeuvres (**C17**) or specific pieces, such as the large blocks found in the foundations of fort-churches in Schaan (**B29**), Solothurn's St Stephen, and the large complex at Saint-Prex (Beck 1958:290; Sennhauser 2003: 172-173; Fig 5.13). Inscribed stones were also used, such as in the north wall of St Stephen's foundation (Sennhauser 1990: 138; Fig 5.14).

Of particular note is the baptistery of Riva San Vitale (**F24**). Excavations here revealed that the structure overlay the ruins of a third-century Roman building. The baptistery featured regular Roman masonry alongside the reuse of older materials, such as column capitals (Sennhauser 2003: 57-58; Cardani 1995). Acanthus leaf fragments, for example, from a third- or fourth-century composite capital were used to decorate



*Figure 5.9: Excavation of baptistery in Glisacker and floor-plan
(Descoeudres and Sarott 1986: Plates 25 and 36)*



*Figure 5.10: Excavated baptistery at Schaan's St Peter
(Beck 1958: Plate 6)*

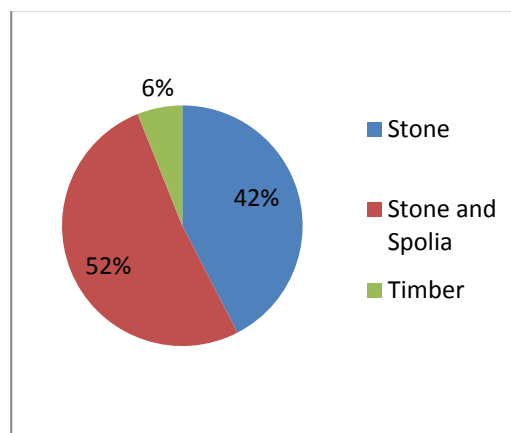


Figure 5.11: Construction Materials (AD 400-600) (Sample size: 33)



Figure 5.12: North wall of church of St Nicholas, Ursins; the Roman wall of the cella is apparent as well as the podium on which the church is set (Image courtesy of Olivier Anh, 2011).

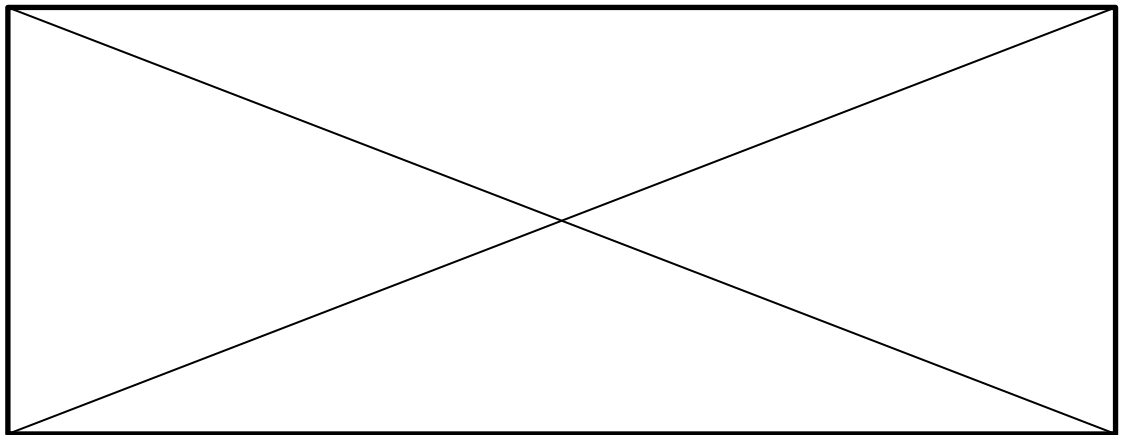


Figure 5.13: Roman blocks used in the foundation of churches at Saint-Prex (left) and Solothurn's St Stephen (right) (Eggenberger 1992: 99; Sennhauser 1990: 138).

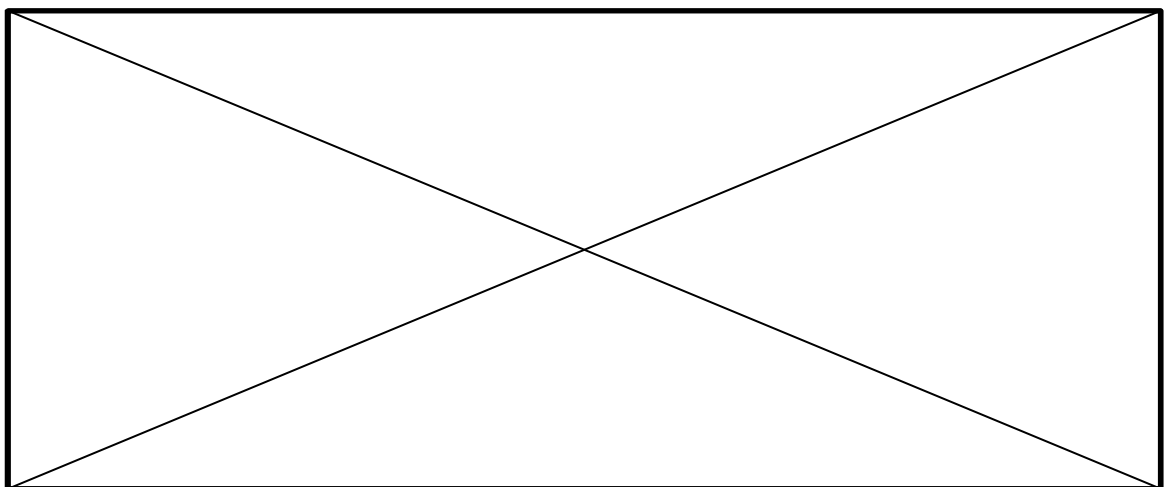


Figure 5.14: Inscription found at Solothurn's St Stephen (Sennhauser 1990: 138).

cornices and shelves within the structure. As a rare standing example of early Christian date, the baptistery of Riva San Vitale highlights the skill of masons during Late Antiquity.

In general, however, data on construction and technical skills behind church construction are drawn from excavated foundation walls. Stone masonry usually consisted of mixed rubble, or cut stone, bonded by limestone mortar. Timber-built churches, while rare, are especially problematic. Only two churches have been identified as timber-built during the fifth and sixth centuries: Céligny (**C1**) and the first phase of Stein-am-Rhein's fort church (**D14**). With so few examples, it is difficult to qualify this construction type, especially considering they were built at different periods - Céligny c. AD 400; Stein-am-Rhein, c. AD 500. Oddly, both were built near or within pre-existing Roman sites yet did not reuse stone, although at Stein-am-Rhein, the timber church was shortly replaced by a stone-built apsidal church (Sennhauser 1990: 513). Perhaps the timber phase was designed to be temporary, with a stone building always intended?

Overall, the dominant trends and characteristics of rural churches built between AD 400 and 600, with a sample of 33 churches, are as followed:

- Mathematically, on average, these churches were 10.5 x 6.5m (maximum interior length and width of the nave).
- The majority featured an indented semi-circular apse.
- Stone construction was common (42%) as was a mixture of stone and brick, usually reused (45%). Largely brick-built churches and timber-built churches are rare (each 6% of the sample).
- Most of the churches were built in pre-existing Roman settlements (i.e. forts, *vici*, villas). However, the status of the settlement (whether abandoned, occupied, etc.) remains difficult to ascertain without full site excavations.
- Liturgical furnishings, such as altars and choirs, are present in various churches. Elements such as fonts may be later in date but

baptisteries such as Riva San Vitale do exist from the fifth century and possibly link to local episcopal initiatives.

5.3 Archaeologies of the Rural Church: AD 600-800

While we can characterise the AD 400-600 period as one of a fair level of rural Christianisation, this subsequent phase was undoubtedly one of prolific church building (Fig. 5.15): notable clusters appear around Basel and around Lakes Zürich and Constance in the north, contrasting with an absence of activity hereabouts in the fifth and sixth centuries. Building activity continued in the diocese of Chur and in the Ticino region. Most foundations were still set along the major Roman routes, although small groupings at Lake Thun and in northern Ticino demonstrate new settlement developments beyond these routes. Like the previous period, distributions are clustered (Appendix B). However, the centres of diocesan distributions are not necessarily the episcopal capitals: Konstanz, Lausanne, and Basel are situated at the periphery of major rural activity, contrasting the central positioning of Chur and Geneva (Fig. 5.16a-b). In other words, rural churches in Geneva and Chur were more easily reached from the diocesan capital contrasting harder-to-reach churches in the dioceses of Konstanz, Lausanne, and Basel.

Typologically, the form and size of the structures maintain the characteristics of those built between AD 400 and 600. Most consisted of a nave averaging approximate dimensions of 10.6 x 6.1m, but the number of monumental churches, ranging from 15 to 20m in length and 10m in width increased. For example, the triple-apse church at Ramosch (**B22**), located in an isolated valley in eastern Switzerland, features a 18.10 x 14.10m nave. The timber church at Satigny (**C16**) had a maximum length of 22.5m and a width of 12.5m. Churches excavated at Lugaggia (**F13**), Romanshorn (**D9**), and Kempraten (**D5**) have similarly large naves (respectively 14.5 x 9m; 15.24 x 12.19m; 19 x 9m). Unlike the double-church complex of Saint-Prex, which became progressively larger with each new addition, the large naves of these buildings all belong to the first phase of construction.

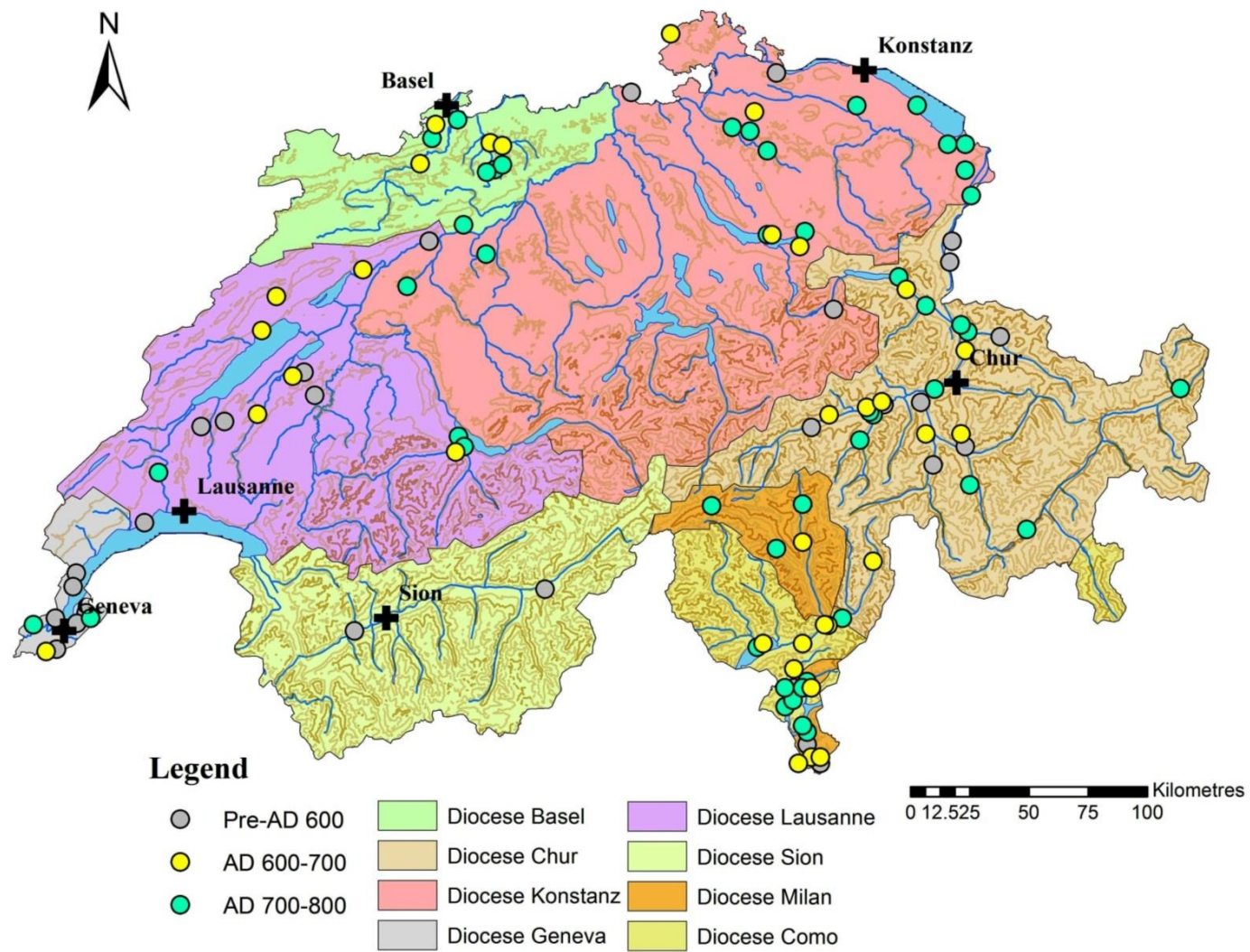


Figure 5.15: Distribution of rural churches built between AD 600-800

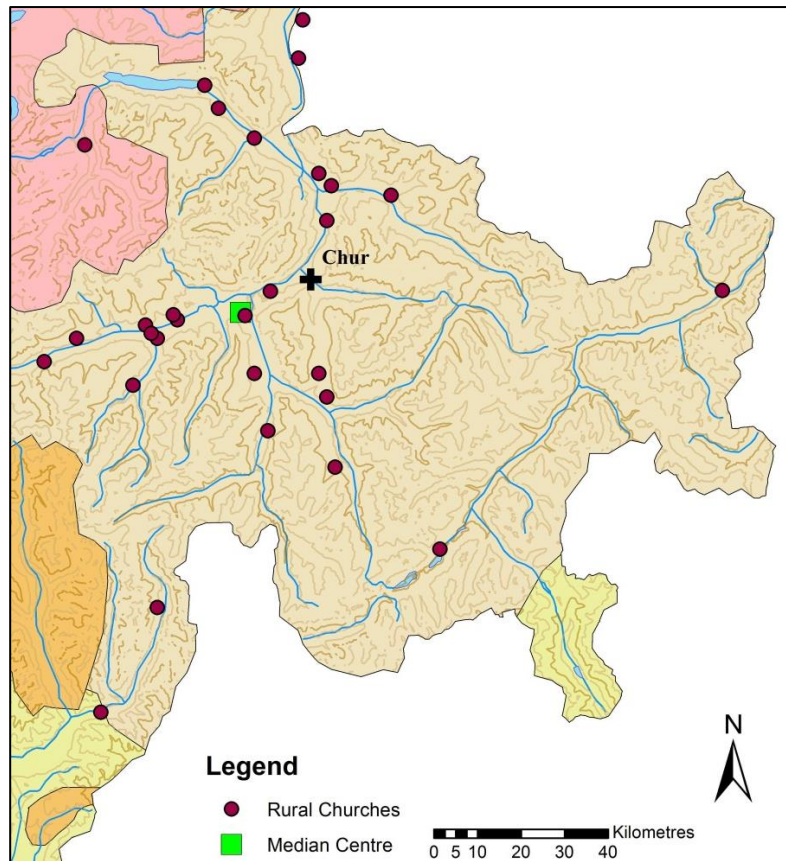


Figure 5.16a: Distribution of rural churches to median centre and Chur.

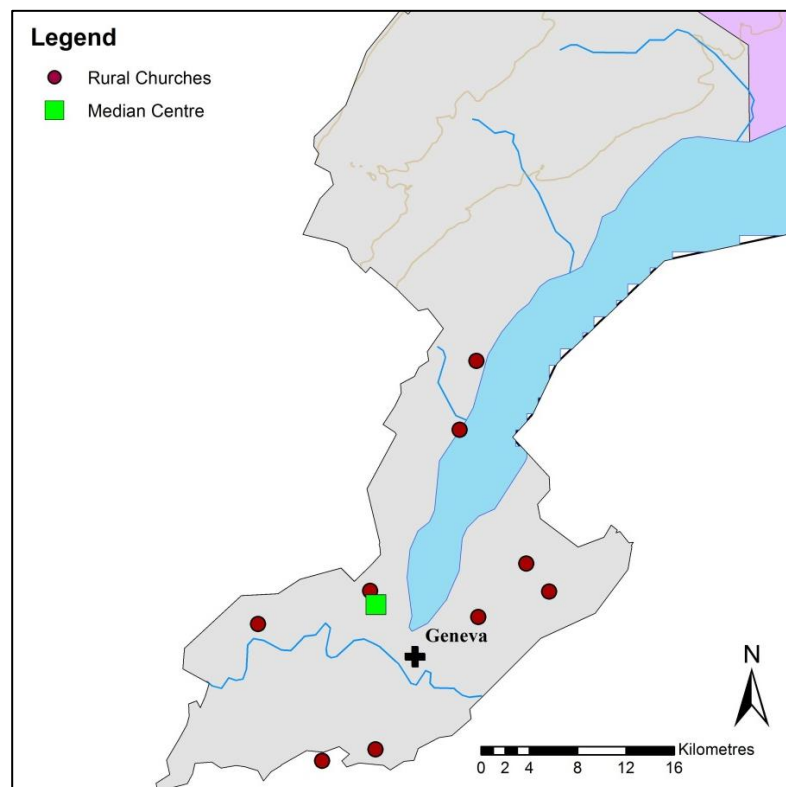


Figure 5.16b: Distribution of rural churches to median centre and Geneva.

Strikingly, the period is marked by the introduction of new church types. Triple-apse churches, long regarded as a Carolingian innovation, are evident, as well as the double-apse church at Luggagia. Nonetheless, indented semi-circular apses remained the most prevalent design (32%), followed by square apses (23%) and churches with no apses (22%). Usefully, Marti's (2000: 149-149) regional study argues that many churches without apses around Basel were identified by other liturgical features, such as benches, choir barriers, and even clerestory windows, such as at Oberdorf's St Michael (**A10**). Moreover, the dedication to St Michael in the twelfth century, *prior* to the addition of a square apse in the late thirteenth century, indicates that earlier churches could lack apses. In other cases, such as St Martin in Cazis (**B4**), no apse was ever added and the church still stands today as a rectangular building. Figure 5.17 displays the percentages of form types across the 84 documented churches.

One unusual church can be highlighted: the chapel of St Lucius in San Vittore (**B27**), constructed in the mid-eighth century, which comprised a small rotunda of 3.10m diameter, uniquely set atop of a large boulder (Sennhauser 2003: 161; Fig 5.18). While Sennhauser (*ibid*: 161) comments that a rotunda would usually be associated with a baptistery, small niches inside the building might indicate a role as a place to house relics. The chapel also featured painted 'imitation bricks' above small clerestory windows on the external plaster. A similar decoration can be found on the exterior of the monastic church of St John at Müstair (Goll 2005: 404).

Annexes, narthexes, and other ancillary buildings were added to the 'core' (i.e. nave and apse) of many rural churches, creating complex structures with multiple units. This is especially noteworthy at Romanshorn (**D9**). Built in AD 779, the church consisted of a narthex, northern and southern annexes made up of two rooms, and further possible rooms. Many churches built in the fifth and sixth centuries gained an annex. Thus, at Ardon (**G2**), the church of St John consisted originally of a hall church with a semi-circular apse, built in the sixth century. Subsequently, the apse was modified and annexes of unclear function added north and south of the nave. Whereas burials at Lausen (**A7**), Sissach (**A12**), and other churches might suggest annexes were added to expand the

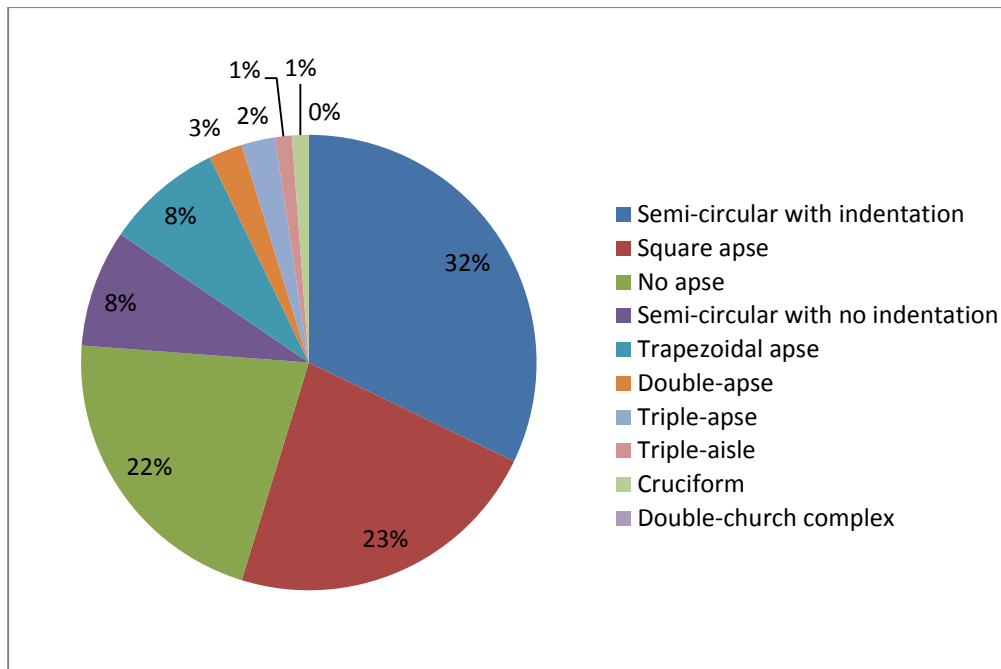


Figure 5.17: Church Types (AD 600-800) (sample size=84)

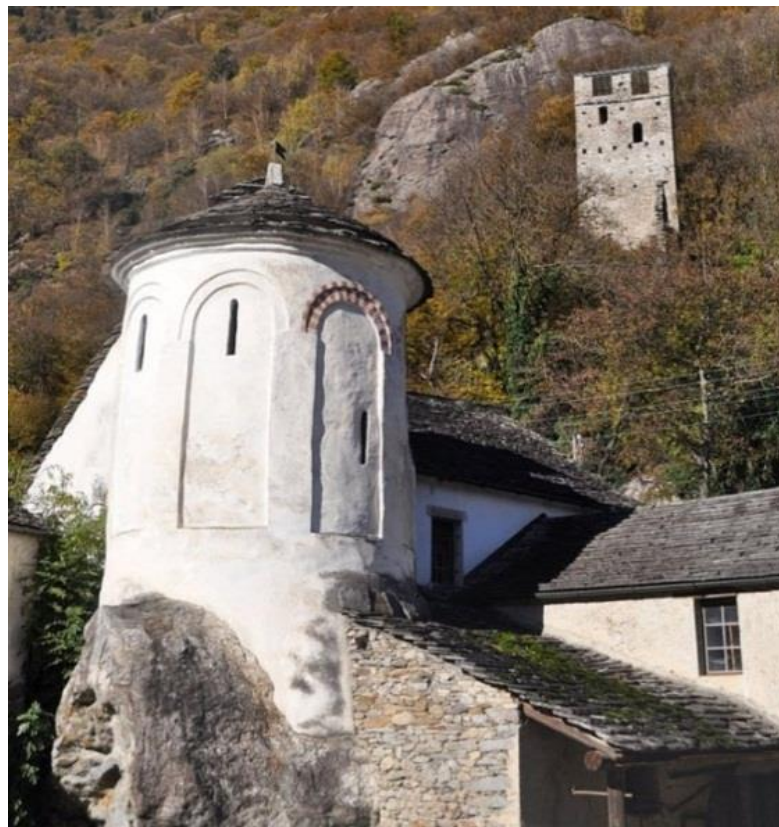


Figure 5.18: Chapel of St Lucius, San Vittore
(Image courtesy of Winu, 2012)

internal burial space, the absence of other internal features results in seemingly 'empty' chambers.

The presence of liturgical furnishings increased between AD 600 and 800 (61%). Overall, 25 churches feature choir barrers, usually discerned by stone foundations or post-holes. Some of these have central entrances (e.g. Walenstadt (**B36**), Dinhard (**D4**), Maroggia (**F14**), Degen (**B10**), Arbedo (**F3**) and Saint-Julien-en-Genevois (**C15**)) or even two gaps (suggesting dual entrances) such as at Messen's St Maurice (**D7**). In many cases, however, the excavators could only distinguish a complete barrier with no openings (e.g. Lausen (**A7**), Muttenez (**A8**), Sissach (**A12**), and Tuggen (**D16**)). Usually these barriers are set close to the point where the apse starts. Different are the churches of St Mary at Thal and SS Lucius and Florin in Walenstadt, where the central N-S oriented barrier divides the nave in two; at St Mary, further division is marked by a barrier near the apse, whereas at SS Lucius and Florin the apse held an altar. These characteristics might be indicative of a tripartite organisation: nave, presbytery (space for clergy), and sanctuary (space for altar).

Altars continued to be placed at the centre of the apse, usually identified by their impressions. Generally, these furnishings were rectangular, free-standing, c. 1.1m in length and 0.87m in width, and stone-built. An exception is the discovery of a marble capital reused as an altar at Sonvico's St Martin (**F25**) (Sennhauser 2003: 179). Interestingly, out of these 27 churches with altars identified, only nine contained both barriers and altars. Indeed, other ways to mark the sanctuary space were utilised: for example, at Vezia's St Martin (**F28**), a possible ambo or bench in front of the altar is postulated (Fig 5.19). Elevated floors or different surfaces sometimes accentuated the difference between spaces: thus, at Airolo's St Gottard (**F1**), Foletti (1997: 121) highlighted how the floor of the apse was paved with stone slabs contrasting with the earthen floor of the nave.

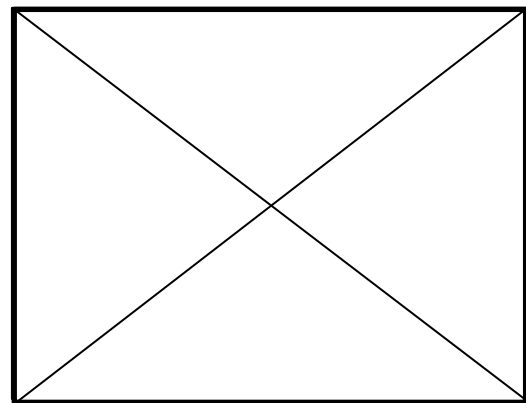


Figure 5.19: Floor-plan of St Martin at Vezia with unusual liturgical furnishings (Sennhauser 2003: 199)

Fonts, benches, and other liturgical furnishings were less common. Surprisingly, only two possible fonts have been identified. At Oberwil's SS Peter and Paul, Ewald interpreted a circular impression, partly covered by a whetstone, as a font; however, Marti (2000: 148) argues that this so-called font does not conform to the liturgy of the period - namely that baptismal water should seep through a drain in uncontaminated soil without being trampled. This description fits with the font discovered in Ettingen's SS Peter and Paul, which saw the water of the font drain into a pit (*ibid*: 173). On the other hand, some sources indicate all that was needed was running water blessed in the name of the Trinity and even if no running water was available, baptism could take place in preferably cold water (see Doig 2008: 18-19; *cf. Didache* 7:2, 5).

Mortared, stone-built churches remained dominant but not exclusively so (Fig 5.20: 82%). Many churches featured the technique of *pietra rasa*, where plastering was used with rubble without defined edges, covering the mortar and large parts of the stonework (Fig. 5.21). McClendon (2005: 3-4, 35) comments that the use of mortar and stone for churches was in part promoted by the Church as it not only served as a symbol of 'Romanness' but also created permanent features in the landscape.

While many churches feature later Romanesque, Gothic and Baroque phases of construction often destroying their precursors, nonetheless, a few examples of standing architecture allow for some further exploration into the church architecture of the study region. One particular characteristic was the use of clerestory windows. Churches at Bennwil (**A1**), Cazis (**B4**), San Vittore (**B27**), and Domat/Ems (**B11**) present long, narrow openings, ranging from 0.50-1m in height to 30-70cm in width (Sennhauser 2003: 119; Marti 2000: 184-185). In most cases, the windows were created with straight jambs and consisted of cut stones bound by limestone mortar, such as the two arched windows (65 x 34cm) at St Martin in Bennwil (**A1**); Marti 2000: 184-185). Valuably, discoveries of late antique coloured glass at Sion's Sous-les-Scex (**G5**) and at the convent of St John at Münstair, as well as possible late Roman glass manufacture in Muralto, indicate that artisans were apparently making use of Roman glass for decoration (Wolf *et al.* 2005: 375). Moreover, some churches featured windows at the centre of the apse wall, as at Domat/Em's St Peter (**B11**) and at Mesocco's St Carpopharus (**B21**). This would have not only lit up the apse but also further highlighted the altar area.

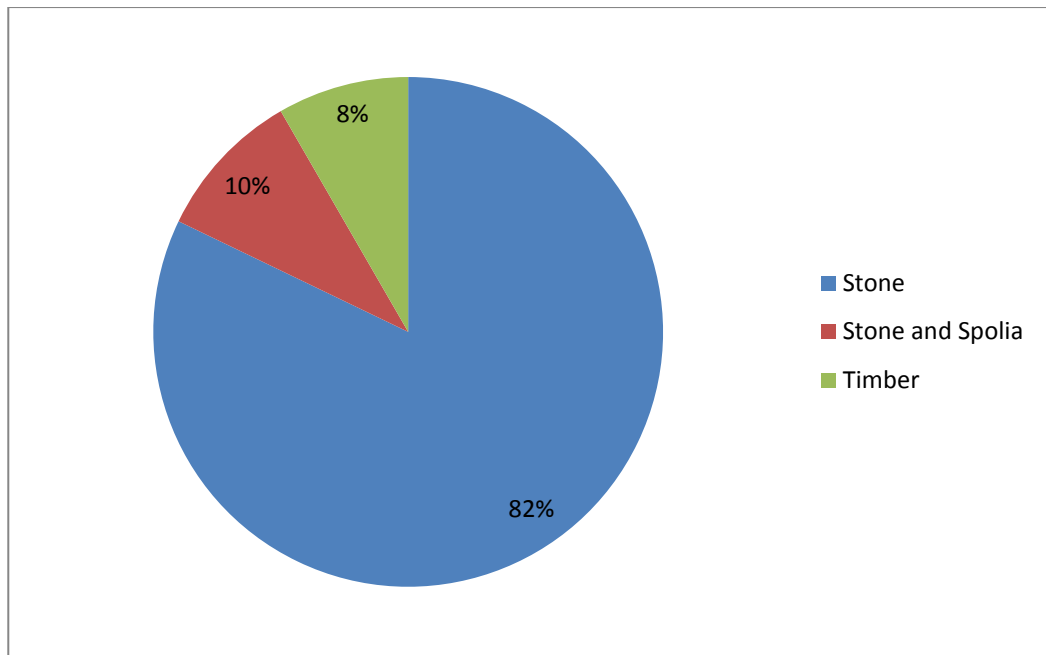


Figure 5.20: Construction Materials (AD 600-800) (sample size =84)



Figure 5.21: Example of 'pietra rasa' preserved in the foundations of Bioggio's St Maurice (Image courtesy of Cassiman, 2010)

The use of *spolia* considerably decreased across AD 600-800 (Fig 5.20: 10%). Whereas the earlier period featured reused columns, capitals or large cut blocks, *spolia* during the seventh and eighth centuries consisted usually of brick, as seen in churches at Belfaux (**E2**), Bioggio (**F5**), Muralto (**F21**), and Serrières (**E11**).

Timber-construction, on the other hand, remained relatively rare but more examples can be traced in northern Switzerland (Fig 5.20: 8%). These northerly timber structures were considerably different to those found in the Geneva region: the substantial triple-aisle structure at Satigny (**C16**), similar to the fifth-century church at Céligny, contrasts with small single-nave churches at Bleienbach (**D2**), Thal (**D15**), Rorschach (**D10**), Wülflingen (**D18**) and Winterthur (**D17**). These smaller churches are predominantly found in the diocese of Konstanz.

Internally, most of these churches and chapels would have been decorated or at least plastered, although surviving examples of church paintings and decorations are rare. At Trun and Airolo, residue on the walls has indicated a painted interior but no specific motifs were identified. Only the churches at Schiers and the rotunda at San Vittore feature surviving decorations: those in the North Church in Schiers (**B30**) comprised leaf tendrils, wreaths, and even birds, contrasting with the geometric checked pattern of San Vittore (**B27**). However, splendid and colourful surviving Romanesque- and Baroque-period paintings, such as at Rhäzüns' St George and Zillis' St Martin, give an idea of how the interior of early medieval churches might have looked, even in remote rural areas (Fig 5.22-23).

In sum, churches and chapels built during seventh and eighth centuries presented many similar characteristics as those of the earlier period (see Section 5.2):

- The indented semi-circular apse with a small nave continued to be the dominant type.
- Average dimensions were 10.3 x 6.6m.
- Stone construction was frequently used.
- Liturgical furnishings were common features (although fonts decreased).

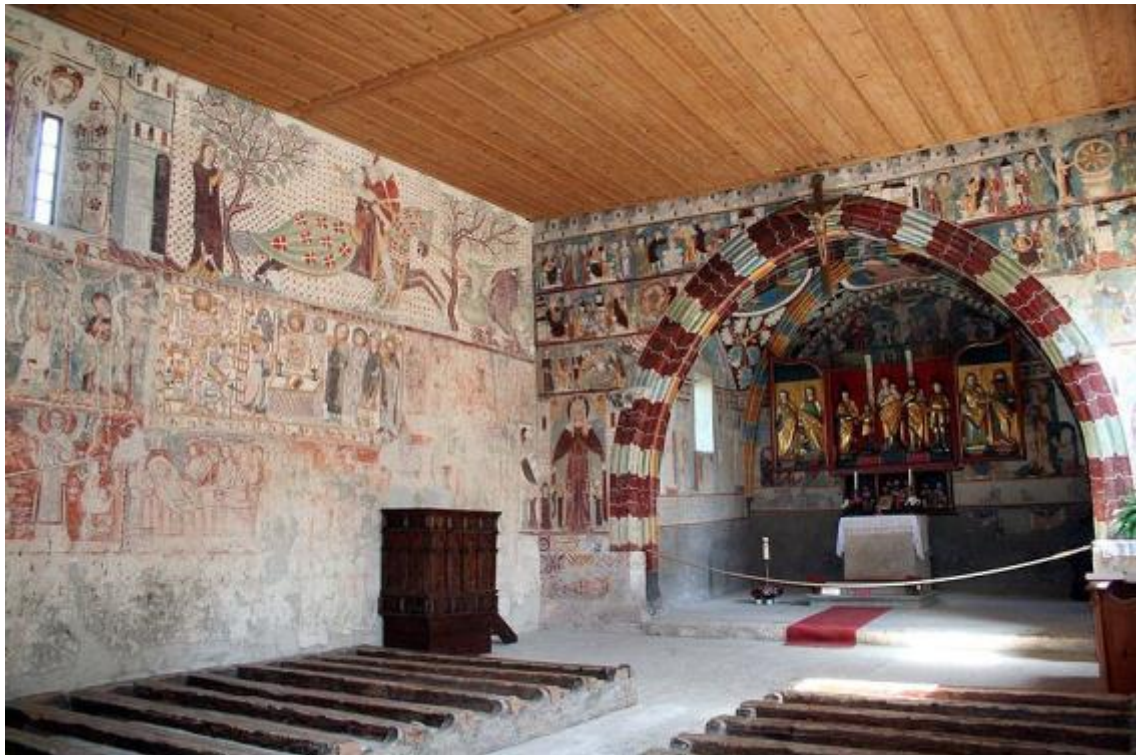


Figure 5.22: Interior of Rhäzüns' St George, featuring a full array of fourteenth-century paintings (Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2007)

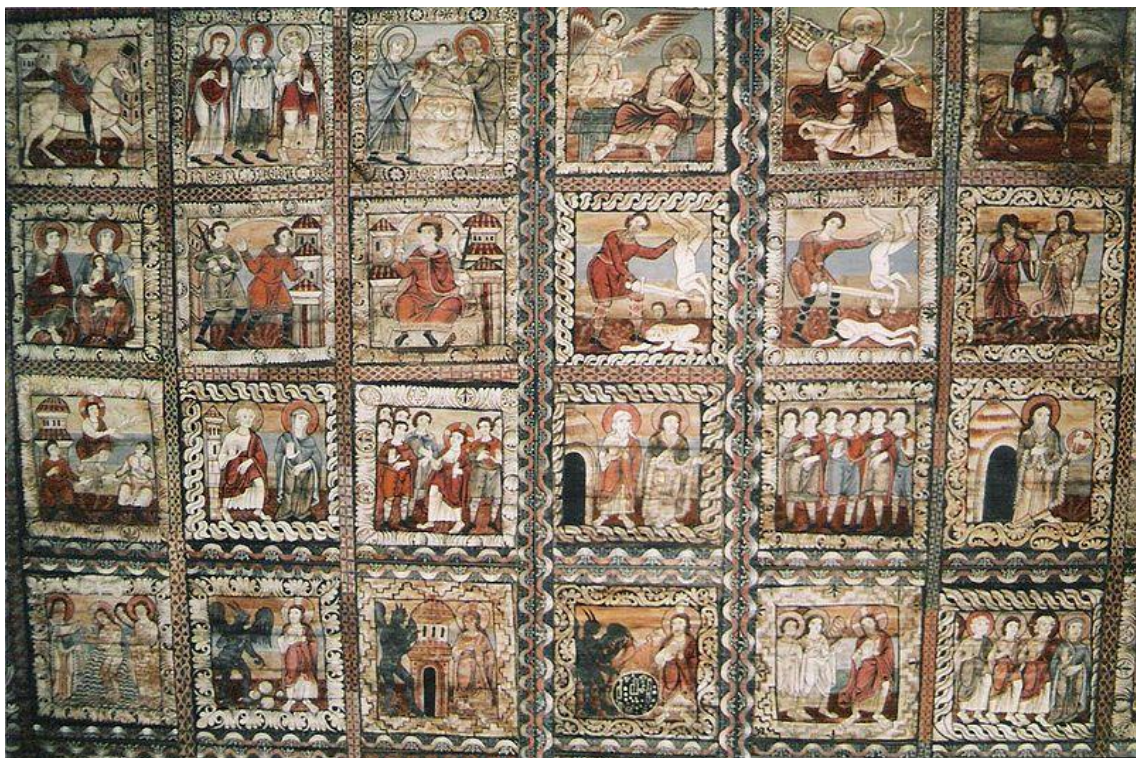


Figure 5.23: Painted wooden ceiling of Zillis' St Martin, dated to the twelfth century, depicting New and Old Testament scenes (Bielmann 2012)

The main difference arguably pertains to settlement context and topography. Areas previously with limited church presences, namely the diocesan territories of Basel and Konstanz, see church foundations in this early medieval period. This potentially reflects diocesan and episcopal developments, notably the creation of the Konstanz diocese and the re-establishment of the Kaiseraugst/Basel diocese (see Section 3.1). Finally, churches set up around Lake Thun and northern Ticino potentially reflect the rise of new rural settlements, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2.4).

5.4 Settlement and Topography

A key question to pursue therefore regards the settlement contexts of these rural churches. How far do these emerge in existing or decayed Roman sites, such as *villae*, *vici*, forts or *mansiones*? How many stand isolated? And how many form the focus to new settlements, whether farms or villages? (see Chapter 2 on settlement types) Unfortunately, settlement contexts for many churches have not been explored. Indeed, out of 116 non-urban churches, only 52% (N=61) have had sufficient investigations to guide this discussion.

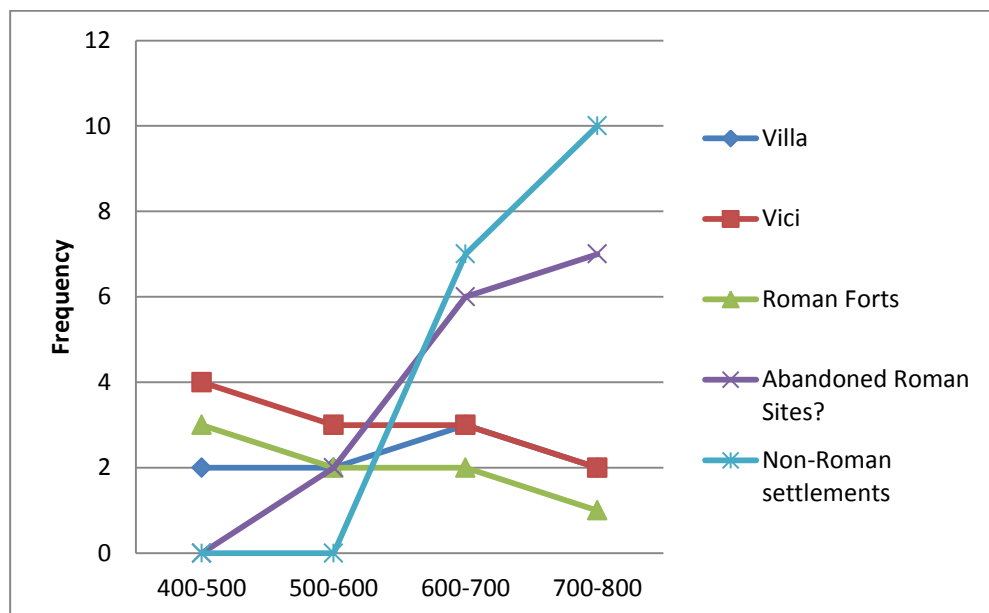


Figure 5.24: Settlement context of churches (AD 400-800)

Figure 5.24 highlights how Roman settlements were, predictably, the main sites to feature a church in the fifth and sixth centuries. For the seventh and eighth centuries, by

contrast, new settlement contexts, notably early medieval villages, are evident, with a small church as core to these; there are also a number of possibly abandoned Roman sites which see renewed activity again following the construction of a church. This section examines the topographic settings of these churches and considers whether they were built into a pre-existing settlement, emerge as an isolated structure that subsequently attracted settlement, or established as new elements in early medieval communities.

5.4.1 Villas

Late antique authors such as Sidonius Apollinaris and Ausonius offer insight into the development of intra-villa churches. Ausonius (*Ep.* 2.2) referred to his villa chapel as a *sacrarium*, devoid of any ritual furnishings or decoration; Sidonius (*Ep.* 8.4.i) used both *sacrarium* and *templum* to describe sacred space within a villa. The famous villa-church at Lullingstone in Kent, England, made up of an apsed reception hall, bath complex, and surrounding rooms shows the sophistication behind these complexes (Bowes 2008: 131). An even more elaborate villa-church has been discovered in *Villa Fortunatus* in Spain: originally a three-aisled reception room, in the fifth century the space was converted into a tripartite church (*ibid.* 134). Sanctuaries and chapels were also built outside the main estate buildings, perhaps designed for the wider community. Extra-villa churches, however, are often difficult to identify, with examples best-known in North Africa.

Meier (2002: 284-285) highlights the rarity of villa-churches (well-known in Spain) north of the Mediterranean. In many cases, villas are abandoned and occasionally a church subsequently built on the foundations, as evident for many churches constructed between the seventh and eighth centuries (e.g. Laufen (**A6**), Domdidier (**E6**), Diegten (**A2**), Satigny (**C16**), and Messen (**D7**)). It remains an open question whether these 'abandoned' zones were resettled and subsequently attracted a church foundation or whether a church was founded for another purpose, and then attracted contemporary settlement, and so represents a reorganisation of the local landscape.

Despite this problem, Switzerland now features a number of excavated villa-churches. The oft-cited villa-church at Vandoeuvres (**C17**) has been linked to the strong Christian presence at nearby Geneva (Bowes 2008: 141; Terrier 2007: 86). Importantly, excavations by the cantonal office determined that large parts of the villa remained active

when the church was constructed adjacent to a possible private pagan sanctuary. By the sixth century, the old villa appears largely out of use and timber structures were instead built east of the still active church. Terrier (2007: 86; 2002: 196) comments that this progression, as well as the later enlargement of the church in the eleventh century, demonstrates a direct transition from a Roman villa to a medieval parish. At Commugny (**C2**) in Vaud, a similar sequence has been identified: a small church (5.8 x 4.2m) was built in one of the villa's ancillary buildings in the sixth century; over time parts of the villa were abandoned while the church saw modifications, in time becoming the parish church of the later medieval village (Meier 2002: 385). Another example is the villa-church discovered at Saint-Julien-en-Genevois, although this church was subsequently abandoned for unknown reasons in the ninth century (Bowes 2008: 172).

An extra-villa church has also been identified at Ardon (Meier 2002: 283-284; **G1**). Originally a fourth-century mausoleum, the space was converted into a church in the sixth century with the addition of a semi-circular indented apse. Unlike Vandoeuvres and Saint-Julien-en-Genevois, the church stood apart from the main villa estate. It saw subsequent construction phases in the eighth and ninth centuries and eventually became an urban parish church.

5.4.2 Late Roman Forts

Many Late Roman forts saw signs of late antique and early medieval activity with the construction of a church. However, many claims of early medieval church foundation dates are not secure. For example, the church of St Arbogast at Oberwinterthur (*Vitudurum*) has a foundation date associated with King Dagobert in the seventh century (Haeberle 2010) and, despite evidence to suggest some seventh-century occupation (post-holes, graves), no early medieval church remains were identified during excavations in 1976 (Sennhauser 1990: 157). The same is true for forts located at Pfyn, Olten, and Irgenhausen. In contrast, clearer sequences occur at Solothurn, Zuzach, Stein-am-Rhein, and Schaan. At Schaan (**B29**), Beck (1958: 385-386) discovered that the chapel of St Peter was built into the corner of the square fort in the fifth century, partially using the fortress walls. Similar placement and abutment has been identified at Solothurn (**D12, D13**) and Zuzach (**D20**). Sennhauser (1990: 166) observed that the location of the fort-church in a

corner is a common trend, being evident at Kaiseraugst, Geneva, Chur and other fortified settlements. This might suggest that there was insufficient space inside such forts for a centralised church, resulting in a decentralised location for the building.

An exception to this trend is the noted timber church at Stein-am-Rhein (**D14**) (Sennhauser 1990: 152). Placed at the centre of the square fort of *Tasgetium*, its first phase consisted of a small, E-W-oriented timber building (12 x 7m). Circa AD 550, this became a stone-built church with a semi-circular indented apse. This sixth-century phase was marked by the insertion of a solitary tomb, containing a body wrapped with a shroud with an attached gold-foil cross, dated stylistically to the sixth century (Sennhauser 1990: 153). Sennhauser (*ibid*: 166) comments that the location of the church and the initial use of timber marked a notable change in site function - from a former military installation used by Romans to a place of refuge used presumably by Germanic ('Frankish') people. Subsequent construction phases indicate the old fort was well-frequented but empty of permanent occupants, with no adjacent early medieval structures. Indeed, if we examine the Roman topography in relation to the modern village, the community seemingly instead grew and developed across the Rhine, leaving the area of around the former fort church devoid of activity (Fig 5.25).

A number of forts featured churches *extra muros*. At Solothurn's St Stephen (**D13**), a small chapel developed from a fifth-century rectangular building, possibly a *memoria*; it stood at the edge of a late Roman and early medieval necropolis, set approximately 300m east of the bell-shaped fort. Funerary in nature, the church remained relatively small (7 x 5m) until modifications in the ninth and tenth centuries. Interestingly, unlike Zurzach and Stein-am-Rhein, the later medieval centre of Solothurn comprised the former fort and the funerary areas of the early medieval churches. It also saw the construction of a third church in the ninth century - later the cathedral of St Ursula (Sennhauser 1990: 85; Fig 5.26). At Zurzach, a small extramural *memoria* later developed as the Verenamünster (see Chapter 6.3.1).

In other cases, churches lie within short distances of forts. For example, the fort of *Vitudurum* was located only 5km and 2.5km from Wülflingen (**D18**) and Winterthur (**D17**) respectively. At Bellinzona, small churches have been discovered at Arbedo (**F3**) and Gorduno (**F9**), both near modern villages. These establishments might suggest how locals used these forts as places of shelter. Sennhauser (1990: 167) argues that the churches



Figure 5.25: Tasgetium Fort in relation to the modern topography of Stein-am-Rhein (Image courtesy of Google Earth)



Figure 5.26: Salodurum fort and churches in relation to the modern topography of Solothurn (Image courtesy of Google Earth)

built outside forts were established for funerary purposes, rather than taking advantage of the defences. Indeed, if we consider the case of Bellinzona, the fort continued to act as a military outpost for the Lombards in the seventh century (see Section 2.3.3). Would local residents be allowed to take shelter in the camp considering this on-going military function?

5.4.3 *Vici*

At Kempraten (*Centum Prata*), located on the banks of Lake Zürich, excavations determined that the modern village road overlies an ancient *vicus*, which was established at an important Roman cross-roads – the main route ran parallel to the lake while one road (see (2) on Fig 5.27) branches off in the direction of *Vitudurum* and another heads to the port (3). Lining the roads were stone-built houses (4-8), built c. AD 120 after a fire destroyed a large part of the *vicus*. Other notable features include a bathhouse (9), a forum (1), a temple complex (11), and cemeteries (10 and 12). The *vicus* was still active during the fourth century but its status between the fifth and seventh century is uncertain, with only a few graves and finds known. Only in the eighth century, with the construction of a church, does a community resurface (**D5**). The chapel was built south of the former Roman centre, standing over a destruction layer covering the worn foundations of Roman walls dating to the second century (Sennhauser 2003: 106). Despite its seemingly peripheral nature to the old Roman *vicus*, the early medieval church was established on a similar axis and situated next to the Roman road.

At Muralto, a fifth-century church, uncovered during restorations at St Victor, occupied the space between two contemporaneous necropoleis and the houses of the *vicus* (**F20**). While its juxtaposition to the cemeteries might suggest a funerary function, the scale and style of the church indicate another purpose. Built in a basilican style similar to those found in the Adriatic region, it was nearly 28m long and 13m wide with three naves; at the centre of the nave was a square feature, raised above the floor, interpreted as a small shrine or a small ambo for preaching (Sennhauser 2003: 142; Folletti 1997: 121-122). The size, as well as its placement between the *vicus* and necropoleis, perhaps indicates it served as both a place of congregation for the local population and a funerary complex. By the seventh century, another church was built, also in a funerary setting. In

this case, the church developed from a square structure, possibly a mausoleum (**F21**). In the eighth century, the structure was enlarged (15 x 8m), gaining an indented semi-circular apse. Unlike St Victor, this church was clearly designed for funerary purposes: the initial church featured two interior tombs and by the late eighth century more burials lay inside and outside the church. Yet despite occupying space near or in funerary settings, churches both stood adjacent to ruined buildings of the *vicus*. Like Kempraten, the medieval town developed on the same axis as the former Roman settlement.

Different is the development of the village of Schleithelm, former *vicus* of *Iuliomagus*, in Canton Schaffhausen. The Roman settlement originally lay on both sides of a stream, south-west of the modern village (Fig 5.28). Structures included bathhouses, houses, and warehouses. An early-imperial *villa rustica* was located north-east of the main *vicus*. The abundance of small finds demonstrated that the *vicus* grew rapidly until the third century AD, after which it subsequently decayed in the mid-fourth century. The zone becomes active again in the late fifth and sixth century with the development of a row-grave cemetery ('Hebsack'), a seventh-century private church (**D11**) and a possible early medieval village ('Settlement?'), although supporting evidence for the latter is slight. While Burzler (2002: 276) argues that the row grave cemetery began as a late imperial necropolis, thus suggesting continuous settlement, further exploration around the church at Schleithelm and the possible village at Bruel has yet to find early medieval structures. Moreover, direct settlement continuity from the Roman to the early medieval period remains doubtful, especially considering the later medieval developments focussed around the church, abandoning *Iuliomagus*.

Like villas, many churches built near *vici* or above Roman homesteads contained burials or were established near former mausolea and necropoleis. For example, excavations under the churches at Compésieres (**C3**) and Saint-Prex (**E10**) showed late Roman phases, associated with mausolea (Terrier 2006: 349; Eggenberger *et al.* 1992: 94). At Stabio, the churches of St Abbundius (**F26**) and St Peter (**F27**) were placed near necropoleis. This commonality arose due to the Roman custom to bury their dead outside settlements. However, without a wall to delineate an exterior zone, attempting to correlate the topographic settings of rural churches with this former custom becomes problematic.

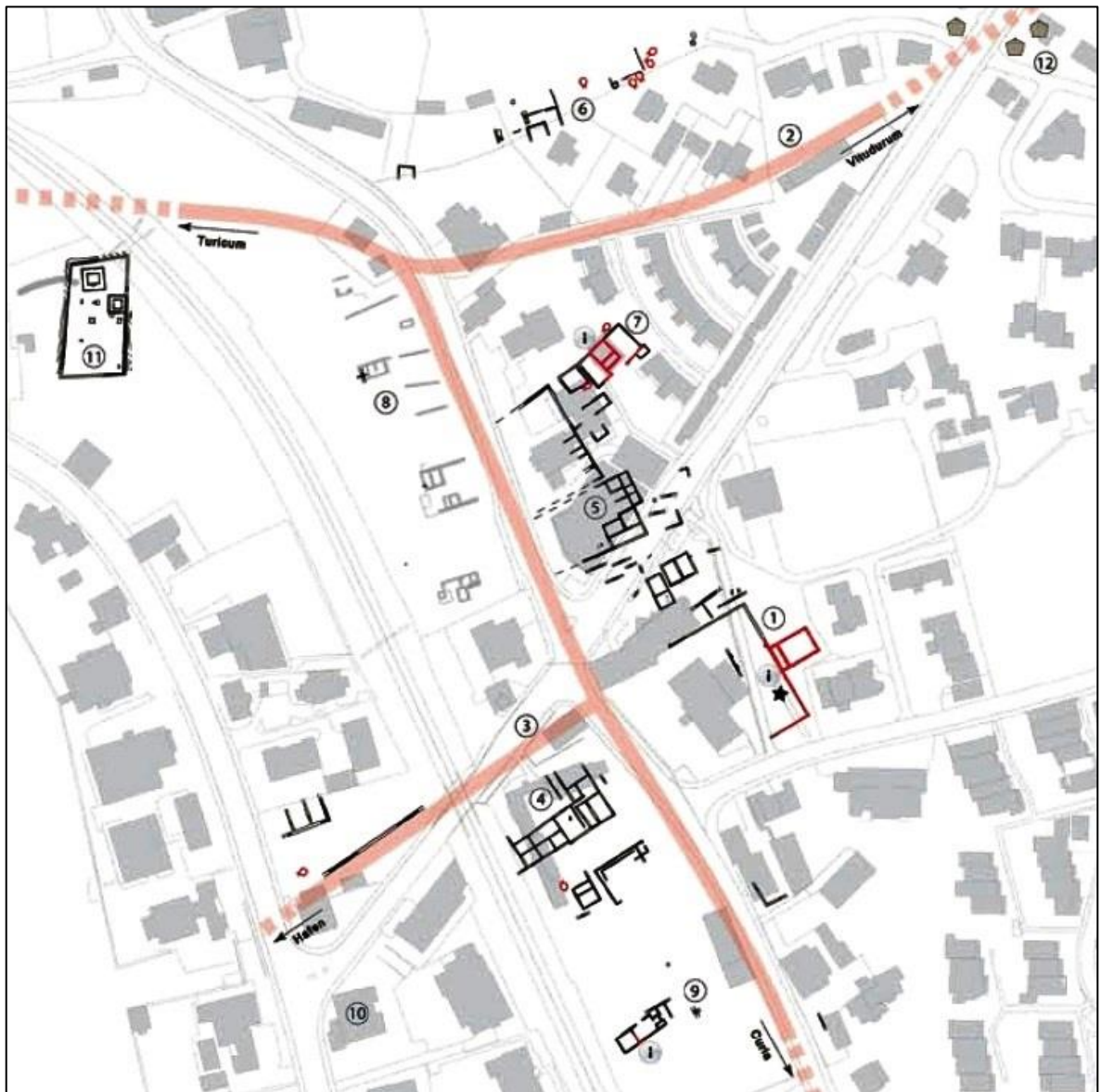


Figure 5.27: The vicus of Centum Prata; the early medieval church lies approx. 1km south of this settlement

1. Forum; 2. Roman road to Vitudurum; 3. Route to port; 4 – 8. Houses;
 9-10. Baths; 11. Temple complex; 12. Cemetery
 (Image courtesy of G. Matter 2003)



*Figure 5.28: The Schleithem settlements
(Image courtesy of Google Earth)*

5.4.4 Early Medieval Villages

Whereas masonry and material culture assist in identifying Roman features and structures, the combination of a timber-based architecture, limited or poor masonry and little material culture encumbers the identification of early medieval villages. Moreover, undoubtedly many modern communities lie above the remains of these communities, thus masking or even destroying evidence of their past topographies and structures. Despite these hindrances, written documentation, onomastics, and recent finds help suggest that in the seventh and eighth centuries, new and ongoing rural communities were present in the landscape, often centred on a church.

For example, at Lausen-Bettenach, a single nave hall church (6 x 4m) was built within a community of pit-houses, with related iron-processing debris and ceramics (**A7**). The solitary burial inside the chapel might be a founder's grave, possibly that of a local nobleman (Marti 2000: 159). While the modern topography shows the current church of St Nicholas at Lausen outside the village, the discovery of this largely timber village around the church suggests the chapel was built specifically for either a local elite's estate or even the community of Bettenach, rather than for the later community of Lausen. This is a rare example in which a church was inserted into an already active early medieval settlement: Schmaedecke and Tauber (1992: 20-21) date the earliest pit-houses and settlement to the late fifth century, whereas the church was built c. AD 600.

In most cases, however, determining whether a church was constructed first and subsequently attracted an early medieval settlement or whether it was built into an already active settlement remains difficult. Rescue excavations in 2009 at Onoldswil, a small zone to the south of Oberdorf (**A10**), uncovered evidence of another early medieval community (von Wartburg and Marti 2011: 45-53). This village is dated to the seventh century whereas the small grave chapel dates to the eighth century, potentially therefore being built into an active settlement (*ibid*: 53). At MuttENZ (**A8**), a trench opened west of the church of St Arbogast discovered a solitary pit-house (2.1 x 2.4m) containing eighth-century ceramics (Fig. 5.29). Postholes testify to other buildings but with no finds, thus obscuring whether these belonged to the same phase (*ibid*: 49). Similar evidence comes at Belfaux (**E2**) in canton Vaud, where excavators have suggested church and settlement developed concurrently (Bourgarel 1990: 14-20).

At many of these early communities the churches lay at the edge of the settlement zone. This contrasts with the later medieval picture of churches at the centre of rural sites. Moreover, some early medieval communities did not feature a church, such as the metal-working community of Develier-Courtételle. In this case, it is relevant to consider the surrounding landscape. The community lay only 8km from the monasteries of Saint-Ursanne and Moutier-Grandval – if the monastic churches were open for lay visitors, we might expect the residents of Develier-Courtételle walked to the monastic towns on a regular basis (Stékoffer 1996: 34-35). Similar cases are found in Graubunde, where hill-churches were placed away from the communities and so required the congregation to walk a small distance to attend the services. For example, the site of Trun, mentioned in the Will of Tello as *Tauronto*, is located at the top of the Grepault, an imposing hill, while the settlement itself developed at the base of the valley (Sennhauser 2003: 192; Fig 5.30).

Thus the early medieval Christianisation of rural spaces can be seen as rather complex and the diversity of settlement contexts results in more differences than commonalities. However, a few commonalities stand out: most rural churches were built into pre-existing or abandoned Roman sites and the churches appear to be built in peripheral locations to the rest of the settlements, with a few exceptions such as at Lausen-Bettenach and Bioggio. This observation might relate to a lack of space, such as fifth-century churches built in forts, or to the inherent funerary function of the early chapels. Indeed, nearly all churches feature both internal and external burials. In contrast, later cases show churches attracted to new rural communities.

5.5 Discussion: Church Building and Ownership

Having considered the sequence and pattern of rural church foundations, next we explore who built these churches and how they were organised within the wider, episcopal sees. What archaeological signatures (if any) exist to differentiate between ecclesiastical and private founders?

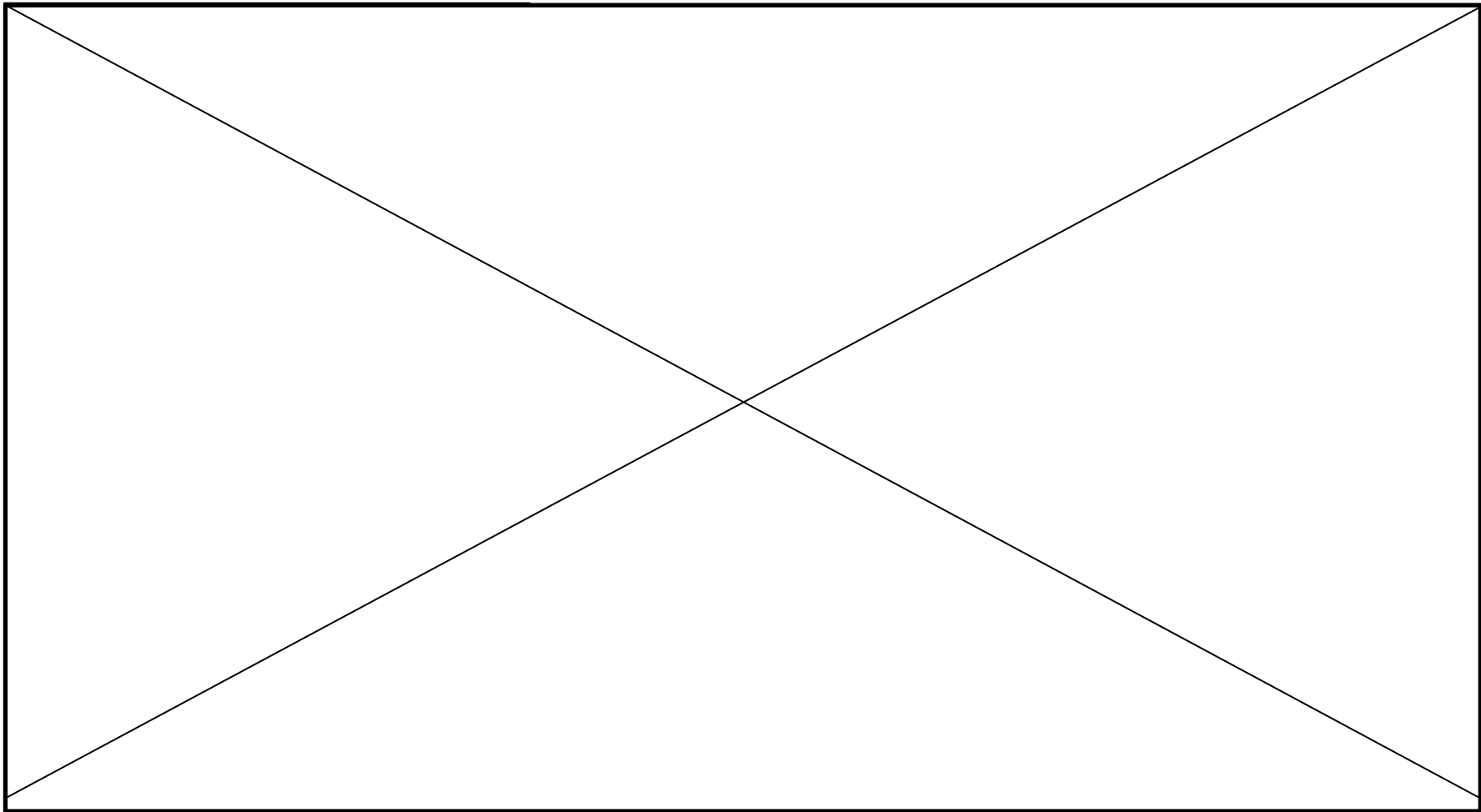


Figure 5.29: Location of pit-houses (Grabung 2008) in relation to church of St Arbogast at MuttENZ (von Wartburg and Marti 2008: 48)

Figure 5.30: Hill-church of Trun on the Grepault (Sennhauser 2003:192)

5.5.1 Late Antiquity (AD 400-600)

There are two dominant groups regarding founders of the rural church during Late Antiquity: ecclesiastical and lay elites. Bowes' (2007: 147-149) careful overview of past discussions shows scholars often drawing on Sidonius Apollinaris, Hilary of Arles, and other episcopal elites to suggest bishops as the main agents in rural Christianisation. Furthermore, studies continue to place a certain degree of confidence in the structure and organisation of the episcopacy (e.g. Rapp 2005; Brown 2000: 342-346).

The leading question remains how we can determine whether churches were built by lay or ecclesiastical elite. Bowes (2007: 155) comments that private and episcopal churches often featured similar furnishings including fonts, choir barriers, and even altars. As a result, she (*ibid*: 156-157) argues that it "makes far more sense" to evaluate each church within its own context. For example, she (*ibid*: 157) argues that the Romano-British villa-church at Lullingstone is a "terrible candidate" for an episcopal-sponsored site for two reasons: 1) it is a day or two-day journey from the nearest episcopate (London) and 2) the episcopal was impoverished by then. This contrasts the proposed public church located at Loupian (in Languedoc) which lay near two bishoprics and a major road, and was of considerable size (*ibid*: 158). Other attempts to identify privately funded churches consider sculptural and liturgical evidence: thus, Ibsen (2011: 175) suggests that the stonework installed at a church in San Vito di Corteline, Italy (known to have been built by a private founder on the evidence of preserved inscribed furnishings) have enough affinities with the church of St Peter of Limone to suggest the stonemasons were hired by the same patrons.

Unfortunately, informative data such as inscriptions, sculptural remains, and historical documentation (i.e. land deeds, letters, etc.) are notably scarce in Switzerland. However, I would argue that by considering distance to and estimated travel time it would take to visit a church from the nearest episcopate and its settlement context might provide clues to whether the church was built by bishops or private landowners. Thus Table 5.1 proposes the following builders for rural churches built between AD 400 and 600 in the study zone. It should be noted that this table utilises the recent ORBIS model (which takes into account the slope of the terrain in its calculation) for travel during the Roman world - namely 30km/day by foot; 36km/day by carriage with frequent stops

Table 5.1: Proposed Founders Based on Distance and Settlement Context (*possible founder's grave)							
Site	Nearest Bishopric	Settlement Context	Date Range (A.D.)	Proximity to Nearest Bishopric	Time Travelled via Carriage	Time Travelled via Foot (in Days)	Proposed Founder
Ursins (?)	Avenches	fanum	500-600	41.6km	1.16	1.39	episcopal?
Demoret	Avenches	villa (?)	500-600	31.8km	0.88	1.06	lay elite
Biel-Mett*	Avenches	unknown	500-600	47.8km	1.33	1.59	lay elite
Donatyre	Avenches	unknown	500-600	3.5km	0.10	0.12	episcopal
Solothurn	Avenches	castrum	400-500	57.3km	1.59	1.91	lay elite?
Solothurn	Avenches	castrum	500-600	57.3km	1.59	1.91	lay elite
Schiers	Chur	unknown	400-500	25.7km	0.71	0.86	episcopal
Schaan	Chur	castrum	400-500	38km	1.06	1.27	episcopal?
Schiers	Chur	unknown	400-500	25.7km	0.71	0.86	episcopal
Lantsch	Chur	unknown	500-600	20.1km	0.56	0.67	episcopal
Rhâzüns	Chur	unknown	500-600	14.4km	0.40	0.48	episcopal
Sagogn	Chur	villa	500-600	29.1km	0.81	0.97	episcopal?
Trun	Chur	unknown	500-600	50.3km	1.40	1.68	lay elite
Zillis	Chur	unknown	500-600	34km	0.94	1.13	lay elite
Eschen	Chur	unknown	500-600	49.5km	1.38	1.65	lay elite
Glarus	Chur	unknown	500-600	70.5km	1.96	2.35	lay elite
Airolo	Como?	vicus	400-500	127km	3.53	4.23	lay elite
Gravesano*	Como?	unknown	400-500	36km	1.00	1.20	lay elite
Stabio	Como?	vicus (?)	400-500	14.1km	0.39	0.47	episcopal?
Muralto	Como?	vicus	450-500	59.8km	1.66	1.99	episcopal?
Riva San Vitale	Como?	vicus	500-600	16.6km	0.46	0.55	episcopal
Morbio Inf.	Como?	villa (?)	500-600	8.1km	0.23	0.27	episcopal
Vandoeuvres*	Geneva	villa	400-500	6.4km	0.18	0.21	lay elite?
Céligny	Geneva	unknown	400-500	18.9km	0.53	0.63	episcopal
Compesières	Geneva	vicus	500-600	8km	0.22	0.27	episcopal
Grand-Sacconex	Geneva	unknown	500-600	6.1km	0.17	0.20	episcopal
Meinier*	Geneva	vicus(?)	500-600	10.5km	0.29	0.35	episcopal?
Commugny	Geneva	villa	500-600	20.6km	0.57	0.69	lay elite?
Saint-Prex*	Geneva	vicus	400-500	44.6km	1.24	1.49	episcopal?
Glisacker	Martigny	unknown	400-500	81.4km	2.26	2.71	lay elite
Ardon	Martigny	villa	500-600	21km	0.58	0.70	lay elite?
Zurzach	Windisch	castrum	450-500	17.1km	0.48	0.57	episcopal
Stein-am-Rhein	Windisch	castrum	500-600	84.5km	2.35	2.82	lay elite

(see *Building ORBIS* by Scheidel and Meeks 2012). A number of characteristics can thus be discerned:

- Churches established near episcopal towns present the greatest percentage of (likely) episcopally-sponsored foundations (71%).
- The areas around Avenches and Martigny show the highest percentage of churches (likely) sponsored by lay elite (83.3% and 100% respectively).
- The closest bishopric to chapels built in the region of Ticino was Como, a suffragan of Milan, and well-established during the fourth and fifth centuries (see Ostinelli 2005). 66.7% of churches might have been established by its bishop, including the baptistery of Riva San Vitale (just 16.6km from Como).
- 60% of churches at Chur were sponsored by bishops.
- Fort-churches established near the Rhine were built closest to Windisch – a bishopric only active between AD 517 and 535, similarly established in a fort.

Some points of caution must be raised. First, Bowes maintains that the villa-church of Vandoeuvres was a private foundation, and yet its close proximity to Geneva (only 6.4km), a well-established and wealthy bishopric, might suggest an episcopal creation. Moreover, this methodology relies on a number of assumptions: 1) churches built into villas were more likely to be privately built; 2) churches built further away from an episcopal centre were less likely to be founded by bishops; and 3) bishops were less active on rural estates than sources suggest (Bowes 2007: 158).

Further ambiguity arises when considering the historical context in certain regions. Thus, Western Switzerland during Late Antiquity saw the Burgundians settled in the region of *Maxima Sequanorum*, including the region around Geneva, while the Ostrogoths under

Theodoric had control over parts of Ticino - the epitaph at the church of St Martin in Morbio Inferiore (**F19**) indicates a tomb belonging to one Eutaric, an Ostrogothic consul (AD 519-522) and heir to Theodoric the Great (Cass., *Var.* IX, 25). From this, one might even ask whether fifth- and sixth-century churches around Geneva and in the region of Ticino were founded by Arian or Orthodox Christians. A letter between Avitus of Vienne and Victor of Grenoble indicates that Burgundians indeed built up both private and public churches (*Ep.* 7; Wood and Shanzer 2002: 299-302):

The question you pose about [their] oratories or small private basilicas is just as difficult to make a decision about as it is in the case of their [larger public] churches....I would not wish us to invade heretical places of worship; I would prefer them to be avoided, like unused prisons. We must always hope, not that they may be changed and come over to us, but that they rot unused. Let them be eternally widows, once they have been deserted by a populace now healthily corrected. Nor let our congregations ever take back what in the zeal for conversion is repudiated by its own owners.

Avitus argues further against their reuse for Catholic purposes, which implies that furnishings and organisation would have been similar to a standard Orthodox church. Despite the difficulty in distinguishing between Catholic and Arian and between episcopally-sponsored and privately-founded churches, it is clear that both public and private churches were a reality of the period. In theory, all churches were administered by the bishop, since his consecration would have been required for it to be a sanctioned place of worship with an appointed priest (S. Wood 2006: 9; Thomas 1987: 11-13). In exchange for this consecration, the church and any endowments would pass to the local bishopric. However, this process did not necessarily occur. Indeed, Susan Wood (2006: 10-11) supports Bowes' analysis that the more distant a church was from the bishop seat, it is more likely that they remained in private hands.

Regional Church councils also tackled the problem of churches falling outside the purview of the bishop. A ruling by the Council of Orleans (AD 511) pushed for all churches "that have been built and are being built every day by various people to stay in the power of the bishop in whose territory they are sited" (*Conc. Gall.* I. XVII, p. 181; cf. S. Wood 2006: 15). Similar issues arose in Spain, where bishops at the Council of Toledo (589) complained that founders demanded to have churches consecrated but continued to hold the endowments that came with the church construction (*Conc. Visig.* III. XIX, p. 131; cf. S. Wood 2006: 18).

5.5.2 Early Medieval Period (AD 600-800)

Unsurprisingly, the issues addressed by Church councils in the fifth and sixth centuries continued into the early medieval period. Building churches remained a goal for elite euergetism (Christie 2006: 148; S Wood 2006: 26-30). In some cases, an elite landowner might set himself or a family member up as the priest, creating a certain level of independence from the bishop (S. Wood 2006: 75). Various scholars (see Halfond 2009; S. Wood 2006; Fouracre and Davis 1995) have taken on the challenge of investigating the many canons of Church law and offer a more detailed account on Church properties, the development of the tithe system, and Carolingian attempts to regulate Church lands of the eighth and ninth century. A general recognition is that the seventh- and eighth-century Frankish Councils were especially concerned with the protection of Church property (see Halfond 2009: 99-131 for an excellent summary of these councils). For example, the Council of Paris (AD 556/573) forbade the seizure of not only a bishop's personal but also ecclesiastical property (Halfond 2009: 126; *cf. Conc. Paris. 556-573, I*).

In the study region, the early medieval period witnessed significant changes. The bishoprics of Konstanz and potentially Basel were more securely established; Sion replaced Martigny as the seat of the bishop in the Valais region; and the seat of Avenches moved to Lausanne around AD 585 (see Section 3.2). The region of Switzerland was relatively consolidated under the hegemonic power of the Merovingian kings with the exception of the Ticino region, controlled by the Lombards from the 580s (see Section 2.3.3). We observe prolific monastic building, led by the Merovingian and the Carolingian Franks, and church building in both town and country (see Chapter 4). Royal, monastic, lay, and ecclesiastical founders were undoubtedly active, but while the urban picture is fairly clear, identifying these patrons in rural contexts is a troublesome task.

In this regard, historical documentation ranging from wills and deeds offer some insight. Indeed, many churches and their associated lands were donated to both bishops and abbots by nobles and royal elite, suggesting ownership in the hands of the non-ecclesiastical elite (S. Wood 2006: 27-30; Christie 2006: 142-143). Susan Wood (2006: 29), however, highlights that the donors were not necessarily the founders of the bequeathed churches – rather they inherited the church from a forefather. For example, one such

deed records Waldrata, widow of the tribune Waltram, donating land and a church in Romanshorn to the monastery of St Gall in AD 779 (UB St. Gallen, nr 85, 1). The donation might have been given for familial and political purposes: Waltram, *tribunis Arbonensis*, was purportedly a founder and benefactor of the monastery of St Gall and Walafrid Strabo (VG II; MGH, SS rer. Merov. IV, p. 319) writes how Otmar, the first abbot of the monastery, was Waltram's choice and had appealed to the bishop of Chur to construct the monastery on his lands (McKitterick 1989: 102-103). Members of Waltram's family subsequently joined the monastery – a Waltram is mentioned in the ninth century as a student of the abbot; another Waltram between 886 and 909 is recorded successively as a monk, subdeacon, deacon and librarian here (*ibid*: 103). Similar donations to the abbey of St Gall occur in ninth- and tenth-century documents, usually involving a private church. McKitterick (*ibid*: 98-104) places considerably value on charters which not only bequeath territory but also list witnesses, arguing that the witnesses in these charters were likely the “head man [who] in some sense was the representative of authority, royal authority, in the localities”.

The eighth-century Will of Tello is another crucial document for its description of territory in the Upper Rhine territory. As discussed in Section 5.4.4, the *donatio* contains sections which describe Tello's landholdings in the Upper Rhine which were to be donated to the monastery of Disentis after his death (*post obitum*). Many of the place-names mentioned can be linked to modern settlements, some of which have evidence for early medieval church foundations (Table 5.2):

Table 5.2: Places Listed in the Tello Document (AD 765)		
Modern Name and Associated Church	Name in Tello Document	Date Range of Foundation (archaeological)
Brigels, St Mary (B1) ; St Eusebius (B2)	<i>Bregelo</i>	600-700; 700-800
Castrisch, St George (B3)	<i>Castrices</i>	700-800
Domat/Ems, St Peter (B11)	<i>Colonia de Amede</i>	700-800
Flums, St Justus (B13)	<i>Flumini</i>	600-700
Ilanz, St Martin (B15)	<i>Iliande</i>	700-800
Mels, SS Peter and Paul (B19)	<i>Maile</i>	700-800
Ruschein, St George (B24)	<i>Rucene</i>	700-800
Bregl, St Columbanus (B25)	<i>Secanio</i>	600-700
Sagogn, St Mary (B26)	<i>Secanio</i>	500-600
Trun (B34)	<i>Tauronto</i>	500-600

The document also indicates that the donated land initially belonged to Tello's father, who was the local governor (*CDL* 9, pp.16; trans. author):

Hoc est terra vel hereditas patris mei Victoris vel illustris Praesidis.

This is the land, inheritance of both my father Victor and my esteemed governor.

Thus, the donated lands were not episcopal territories but rather the inheritance of a son from his father. These donations to the monastery of Disentis are also of relevance: Condrau (1996: 37) notes that the donation could be viewed as Tello atoning for his father, who allegedly killed the monk Placidus at the beginning of the eighth century. The bishop indeed begins the will by describing himself and his family as possessing sins and hoping that the donation to Disentis might 'wash away the many sins of my parents'.

The Will of Tello also provides insights into parishes, private land, and church land (Kaiser 1998: 214). Chaplains and priests are mentioned in association with communities, such as a *presbyter Sylvanus* in Trun and a *presbyter Lopus* in the unknown community of *Falarie*, perhaps indicative of early parishes (*CDL* 9, p.16; Müller 1967: 8-9). Moreover, parts of the text refer to churches as a point of reference (*CDL* 9, p. 16):

Item pratum curtinum subter Secanio et onera sexaginta cum aedificio suo, confiniente ad S. Columbani.

The same at Sagogn a 60 wagon-load meadow, bordering [the church of] St Columbanus.

These elements suggest the rural landscape was already organised to such a degree that churches acted as boundary markers and communities had their own priests. Furthermore, Müller (1967: 24) proposes that the use of dedications to refer to churches, rather than church founders, is indicative of parish organisation. Finally, while the Tello document does not specifically refer to private churches, nor includes churches in the donation to the monastery, both Müller (*ibid*: 20) and Kaiser (1998: 210-214) perceive that the absence of 'private churches' is indicative of a strong episcopal presence and even a 'Roman' legal legacy whereby the rulings of episcopal councils in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period were upheld in the Alpine valleys of Graubünden.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the Christianisation of the countryside, exploring the topographic and archaeological settings of rural church foundations. The two time blocks explored (AD 400-600; 600-800) revealed many commonalities in church form, construction, and size. However, key differences are apparent in church distribution and in the frequency of constructions, with the seventh and eighth centuries marking an increase of church foundations, notably in regions devoid of earlier, late antique Christian sanctuaries. This might well relate to the settlement changes discussed in Chapter 2 – namely an increase in population, as well as a more established non-Roman elite – enabling areas formerly underdeveloped to be (re)settled and new regions settled. In addition, the seventh and eighth centuries feature a greater number of monumental churches in rural spaces, indicative not only of patronage but also of larger congregations. However, despite these larger churches, there is a lack of evidence to discuss aspects of their superstructures. We might expect the Alpine conditions of some regions, namely a larger snowfall, would have resulted in sloping roofs and well-supported eaves set at right angles to the front of the house.

Striking is the appearance of fonts and baptisteries associated with fifth- and sixth-century contexts. These liturgical features could be signs of early parish formation as well as churches founded by bishops. While Bowes (2007: 155-157) questions this connection, the proximity of the baptistery of St John in Riva San Vitale to the episcopal centre of Como certainly points to an episcopal hand active in this countryside since baptisteries were designed to act as points of conversion and involved a ritual usually under the purview of the bishop. Ticino's connection with Northern Italy has also been noted by Foletti (1997: 114) who observed comparable architectural features, such as in the Adriatic-style church of St Victor in Muralto. Finally, while not analysed here, we can speculate that dedications to St Carpophorus at Gorduno and Mesocco point to a connection with Como, since this particular saint was a Christian soldier martyred at Como and mostly venerated in that diocese (Butler and Doyle 1996: 196).

In considering the builders of these rural establishments, it has emerged that bishops, while important agents, were undoubtedly confronted with private landowners establishing their own chapels. This characteristic could be regarded as the 'privatisation' of Christianity. These issues were addressed by episcopal councils of Late Antiquity,

indicating how the organised Church was concerned about their control of rural churches and a possible loss of income from the associated land. The matter certainly did not disappear during the Merovingian and early Carolingian period. Founders began to use the establishment of a new church as a means to administer their territories (and sins) and even to establish a family member as the resident clergy. Eighth-century donations in particular point to an elite which saw churches as their possessions, rather than the property of the ecclesiastical authority.

The Will of Tello, however, contrasts this image of a 'privatised' Christian landscape. As discussed, the document gives the impression of a landscape organised into parishes and private land. Tello's landholdings donated to the monastery at Disentis do not include churches, suggesting the Victorids during the time of Tello did not own church property. However, it is conceivable that the churches once founded by the Victorids had *already* been donated to the episcopate of Chur. The Victorids are known to have been a family which controlled both episcopal and public offices during the Merovingian period, overseeing the valleys of the Upper Rhine. We would expect the family to be Church patrons (much like the family of Waltram near Bregenz) and when the Victorids came to occupy both seats, those churches would have been passed to the episcopate. Unfortunately, we lack sufficient evidence to directly attribute church foundations in rural settings to Tello's family.

The complexities of church ownership, patronage, and donations gradually petered out during the ninth century. Susan Wood (2006: 48) suggests the following for its cessation:

Bishops may however have become less zealous about maintaining their own stock of churches, being willing to alienate as well as acquire them by exchange; and this could bring churches back to the laity.

The laity, notably the 'commoners', bring to mind the fact that the processes of Christianisation and questions of patronage very much continue to produce top-down descriptions of society. While the elite (nobles, bishops, kings, etc.) were undoubtedly an important factor behind the spread of the Church into rural regions, our image of the countryside still remains largely vague in terms of how the normal farmer and his family would have engaged with the new religion.

A final point relates to the transition from a pagan to Christianised landscape. As seen, by the eighth century the study area is busy with churches. The slower rate of church creation in the fifth century, however, could signify residual paganism and a more gradual conversion to the new religion. This, in turn, would impact on subsequent investment in church building on estates. Finally, that some old rituals, traditions and superstitions endured even in a Christianised landscape is likely – the Church cannot have wiped out all such beliefs and customs – but we have too few well-excavated late Roman pagan shrines to assess in coherent fashion the question of ‘pagan resistance’ and the potential for episodic violence as hinted in hagiographies.

Chapter 6

Forging Identities in Death?

The study region features a number of excavated cemeteries, both church-related and seemingly ‘detached’ necropoleis, associated with both the late Roman and post-Roman periods. Investigations on these burial grounds have yielded a significant corpus of data which can be explored to ask how Christianity came to impact on pre-existing Roman and Germanic burial customs. Previously, changes from a N-S to E-W orientation and a decrease in grave goods were proposed as signs of a ‘Christianised’ population. More recently, burial data have become integral to discussions on identity (including religious and social identity) and ethnicity. This chapter, therefore, seeks to examine expressions of religious change and the characteristics of social identity, if any, through the burials uncovered in Switzerland. What changes can be traced and from when? Are there regional variations? And from when and why do grave goods decline?

6.1 Necropoleis

For our study period and region, burials often occur in groups or necropoleis. These are usually inhumations oriented either W-E or E-W with the body lying in a supine position in a simple cutting, stone cist, or wooden grave chambers (Halsall 1995b: 14-16). On the other hand, grave goods and the organisation of necropoleis vary notably from region to region. For example, *Alamannia* (i.e. Southern Germany and parts of Switzerland) is characterised by lavish burials: women tended to be buried with jewellery, brooches, and spindlewhorls whereas men were commonly buried with weapons and belt buckles (*ibid*: 15). Burial grounds here were frequently organised into rows (i.e. *Reihengräber*). These attributes are noticeable at Bülach: 300 row-graves were oriented E-W, with a high percentage of the burials featuring grave goods (94%), including swords in male tombs and jewellery in female graves (Werner 1953: 72-75).

In comparison, in southern Francia, “funerary customs represent more straightforward continuations of late Roman practice, with inhumation accompanied by few or no grave goods” (Halsall 1995b: 21). Cemeteries were sometimes organised around

religious buildings, although in most cases there is no clear organisation and grave goods are less prevalent. This is exemplified at the cemetery of Pré-de-la-Cure near Yverdon: use of the cemetery ranged from the fourth to fifth century; grave goods were rare; and burials were oriented in a diverse manner (Steiner 2003: 307-308).

Indeed, from a sample of sixteen necropoleis across the study region two groups can be discerned (Fig 6.1): those that were established in the late Roman period and saw continued use up until the seventh century (e.g. Sézegnin, Yverdon Pré-de-la Cure, and Bonaduz); and those that appear to match well with the historical appearance of 'barbarian' newcomers (e.g. Basel-Bernerring, Elgg-Ettenbühl, and Riaz). But is this observation archaeologically-defined or historically-defined? In general, it would appear that both cemetery types were abandoned around the eighth century, with the exception of Kallnach which continued into the eleventh century. This trend of abandonment is noticeable elsewhere - thus Zadora-Rio (2003: 1) comments how the widespread abandonment of necropoleis in France and Britain c.AD 700 is predominantly tied to a standardisation of burial practices and the rise of churchyards. However, if taken on a local level, what do the grave goods, spatial organisation, and location of these burial sites tell us? Do many of these sites attract church building? To answer these questions, three thematic case studies will be studied using examples: land use and continuity, identity, and burial variances.

6.1.1 Theme 1: Land Use and Continuity

A first main question regards the actual site of a burial ground. Do cemeteries represent a single community? How far do these reveal continuity of population and local settlement? Identifying and understanding continuities/discontinuities in land use are current emphases in late antique and early medieval studies, such as Périn's (2004) study on origins of Gallo-Roman villages as well as Arthur's (2004) work examining the transition from Italian *vici* to villages. Research on necropoleis complements this theme, since many Gallo-Roman examples demonstrate continued use during the so-called migration periods. What does this signify? Does a regularly-used burial ground mean strong local demographics and continued occupation of land? Do changes suggest new population

integrating into the former demographic? When do churches, if any, appear in these burial settings?

For Switzerland, a good starting point is the necropolis at Sézegnin. Located in south-west Switzerland, 13km from Geneva, this necropolis was first discovered in 1895. Between 1973 and 1979 the site was systematically excavated by the Genevan Archaeological Service (Fig 6.2), with findings published in 1983 by Béatrice Privati. The total number of burials remains in question, although Privati stated that of the 710 preserved plots, there were over 1000 graves likely dating to the mid-fourth to late eighth centuries (Privati 1983: 11). A variety of grave types, including plain earth, wooden coffins, tiled coffins, and flagstone tombs, was identified and assisted in establishing a general chronology of deposition. Notable was the discovery of a wooden *memoria*, holding three graves, including a child burial, located at the centre of the necropolis. Yet, despite the large population, grave goods were rare with only 30 graves containing these. The site went out of use shortly after the eighth century.

On account of the limited artefact assemblage, Privati (*ibid*: 65) focussed her research on the organisation and development of the necropolis: she found that 11 tombs, dated to the late Roman period, were grouped in the western extent of the site and oriented N-S; these contrasted sharply with the majority of the eastern-facing graves which belonged to the mid-fifth century. While earlier theoretical models would have explained such an orientation change as signs of a newly 'Christianised' population, Privati (*ibid*: 65) instead reflects upon demographic and settlement implications of the continued site use, noting that a lack of grave goods makes any 'ethnic' or 'religious' interpretations of changes in orientation very difficult to develop.

Excavations (1990-93) at Pré-de-la-Cure, Yverdon-les-Bains revealed like patternings: over 300 inhumations were excavated next to the remains of the late Roman fort of *Eburodunum*. The earliest burials had variable orientations (i.e. N-S, E-W, W-E), but from the mid-fifth century the structure of the necropolis became more regular, with W-E orientations prominent (Steiner 2003: 182-183). Finds, in the form of ceramic or glass vessels, while few in number, were present in graves dated to Phase 1 (c. AD 350-400) whereas Phase 2 (c. AD 450-525) featured no offerings and few dress items (belts, bracelets, etc.). The final phase (c. AD 550-c. 625) saw the introduction of stone-lined

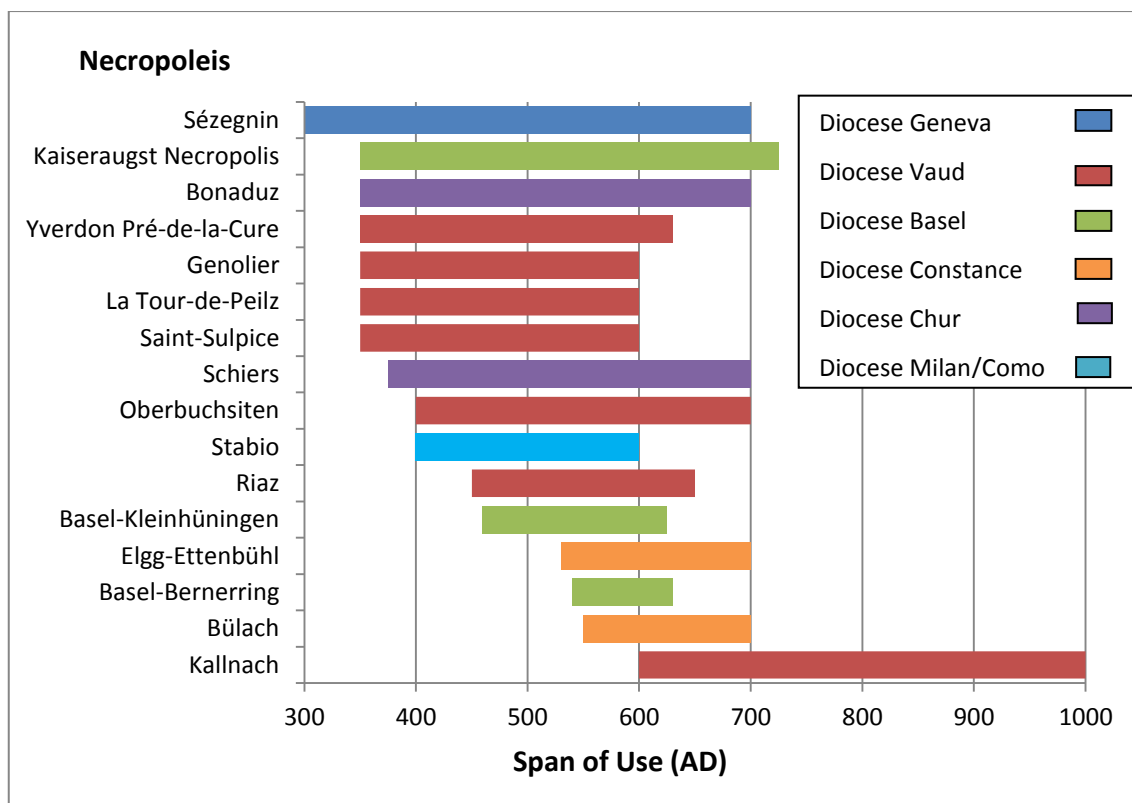


Figure 6.1: A representative 'cross-section' of necropoleis in late Roman – early medieval Switzerland citing their proposed date-ranges, organised by diocesan-territory.

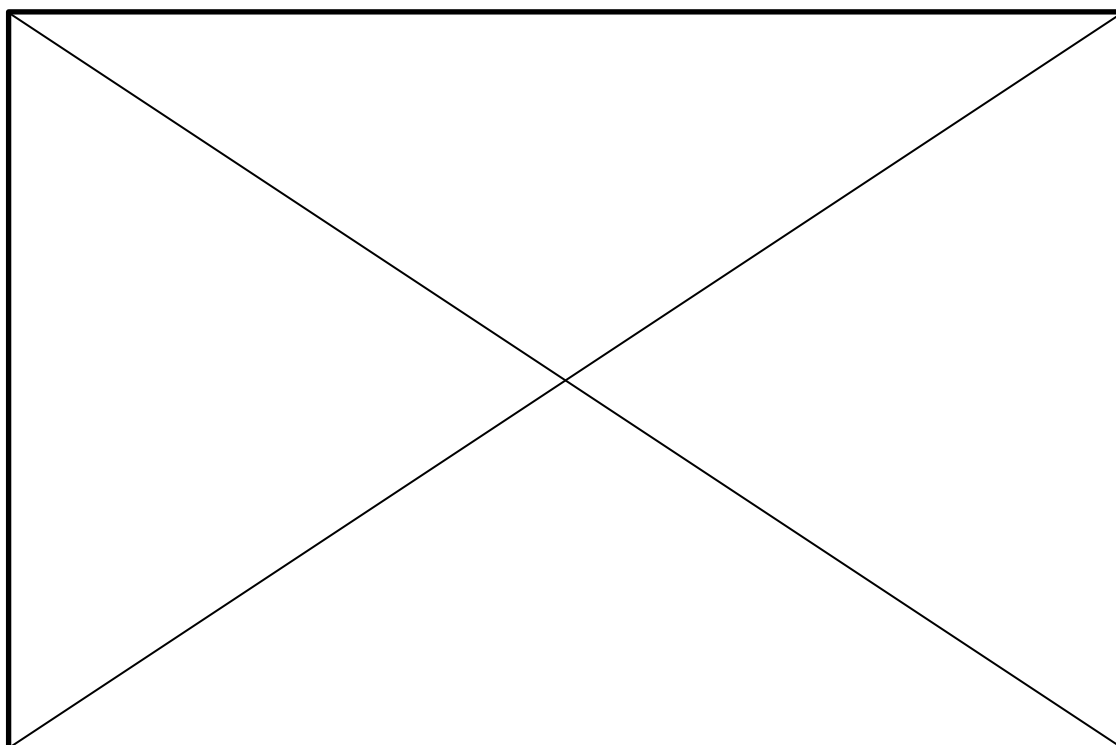


Figure 6.2: The necropolis of Sézeznin (Privati 1983: Cover image)

burials, which allowed for up to three people to be interred. The tombs often lay above earlier burials. Grave goods gradually cease to be provided with the exception of bracelets and brooches. Other necropoleis displaying a similar progression found in the Lake Geneva and Lake Neuchatel regions are Saint-Sulpice, La Tour-de-Peilz, and Genolier.

The necropolis excavated at Bonaduz can likewise be classed as a 'transitional necropolis'. Located in eastern Switzerland, 13 km from Chur, 720 graves were traced during excavations in the 1960s, buried either in wooden coffins or in plain earth; cist graves were also present (Furger *et al.* 1996: 132). Two main phases have been determined: an early c. AD 350-400 period where the west-facing dead were buried in full costume with offerings; and a radical change during the fifth century when burials became east-facing and contained few or no grave goods (Durst 2002: 51-52). This necropolis went out of use c. AD 700 and despite the fact that the associated settlement remains unknown, the establishment of a church at Rhäzüns (**B23**) and a prominent hill-church overlooking the valley at Tamins (c. AD 800) may signify that the people who once used Bonaduz now began to bury their dead close to those churches (Furger *et al.* 1996: 132; Durst 2002: 52); however, excavations at Rhäzüns have thus far only unearthed two W-E oriented burials dated between c. AD 500 and 600.

The significance behind extended cemetery use at these sites has predominantly been connected to political and economic factors. Privati (*ibid*: 71-72), for example, concludes that Sézegnin's location near Geneva, a major episcopal and Burgundian centre, contributed to a safe and stable environment, enabling population continuity. Thus, one would expect that along the frontier in northern Switzerland, cemetery use between the fifth and sixth centuries would have decreased, especially considering the settlement loss observed during this period (Chapter 2.2.4). However, the cemetery of Kaiseraugst, with 1313 burials dating from c. AD 350-720, gives evidence of a resilient community near the former Roman frontier. Thus, other factors, notably defensive capabilities, should also be considered when examining the significance of continuity and discontinuity.

6.1.2 Theme 2: Forging Identities in Burials

If, as previously discussed, transitional necropoleis signify continuity in land-use and have implications pertaining to settlement safety and demographic stability, what do the introduction of 'new' burial sites mean? Research on cemetery sites such as Riaz, Basel-Kleinhüningen, Elgg-Ettenbühl, Basel-Bernerring, Bülach, and Kallnach emphasise the 'post-Roman' (meaning after the withdrawal of Roman troops in c.AD 401) dating of these sites as well as their geographical location: namely situated at the Rhine frontier or the central Swiss plateau. Interpretations of these burial groups often focus on the identification of peoples as well on rank or religion. How are Swiss archaeologists 'forging' identity within these funerary contexts? Is there merit in this line of research or is the term 'identity' (as discussed earlier) being made synonymous with 'ethnicity'?

We can first examine Basel-Bernerring (Fig 6.3). Excavated in the 1930s and 1950s, this necropolis consists of 46 burials, three of which were surrounded by circular ditches (Fig 6.4: graves 25, 27, and 37). Used for 60 years, c. AD 540-600 - based on the typology of grave finds including pottery and weaponry (Martin 1976: 136-141) - Basel-Bernerring is an interesting case: out of the 46 burials, 95% contained objects, ranging from domestic objects (ceramics, combs, spindles), weaponry (spears, swords, shields, arrows), and dress items (belt buckles, brooches, rings, bracelets) to equestrian objects (reins and bits) (for complete inventory see Martin 1976: 207-314). The bodies were in supine position with a solitary ceramic vessel placed near either the head or the legs. Martin ascertained that 19 bodies were buried in wooden chamber graves, based on the space of the grave and the wood residue found in one case (Grave 33), and 14 other graves featured wooden coffins (Effros 2003: 210). However, the most prominent graves would have been the three surrounded by circular ditches. Dated to the origin of the cemetery, each of these may have supported a mound up to 3m in height, each entailing "a significant expenditure of effort for its construction, compounding the investment required by the goods already in their interiors" (*ibid*: 210).

Analysis of the cemetery included discussions on identity, ethnicity, and religion. Thus, discoveries of a deer and horse burial have been used as

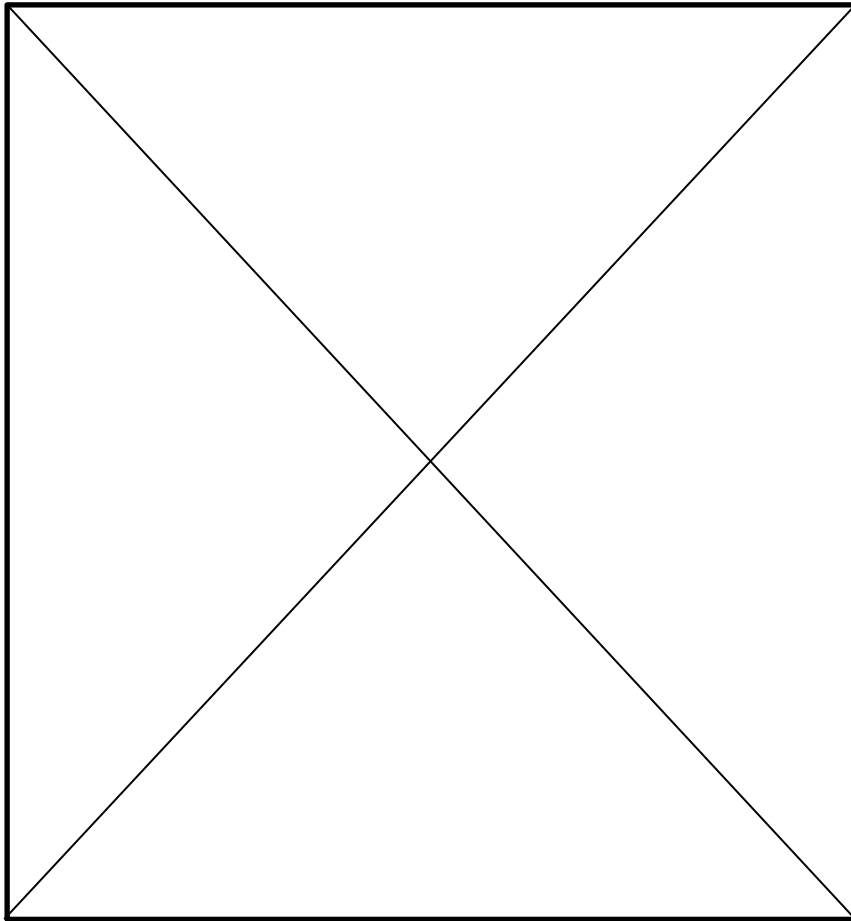


Figure 6.3: The burial topography of Basel.
(www.archaeobasel.ch; accessed: 13 May 2012)

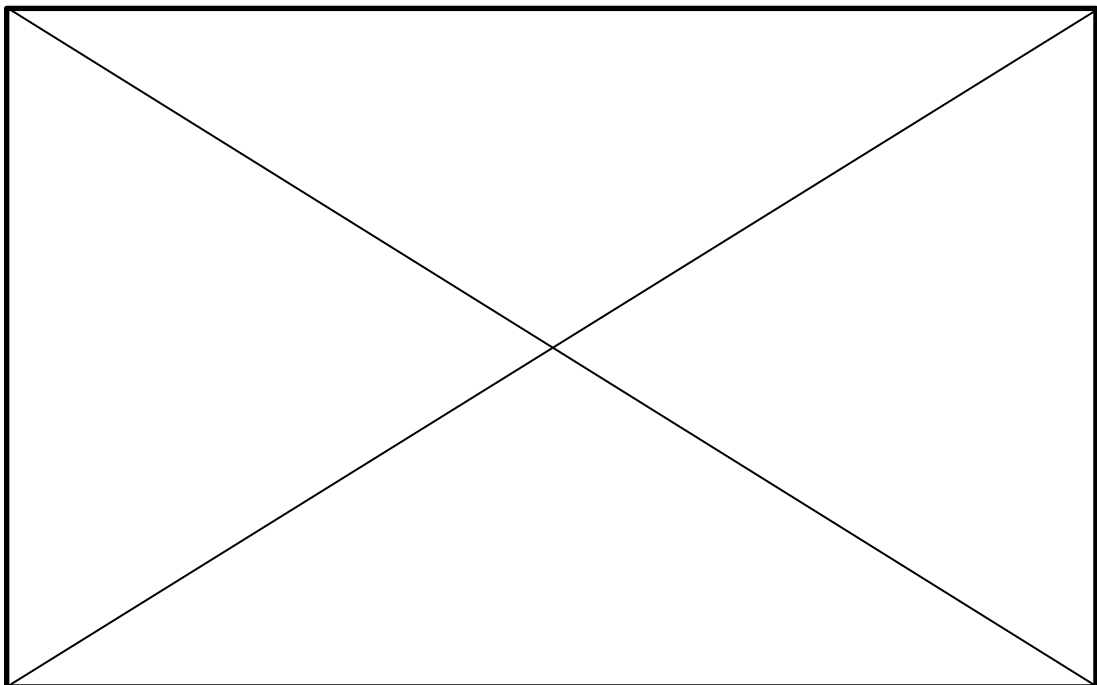


Figure 6.4: The necropolis of Basel-Bernerring. Yellow boxes: women; red boxes: men; white boxes: undetermined (Kokkotidis 1999: 16, cf. Martin 1976)

evidence for non-Christian beliefs (Fig 6.5). But while the Church did condemn the practice of animal internment as 'pagan', Halsall (1995b: 62) notes that the practioners of this tradition may have been Christians persisting with old practices, much like the persistence of non-Christian festivals, such as the Lupercalia at Rome. Martin (1976: 165) meanwhile also views the placement of the ceramic vessels next to the deceased's skull or leg of the body as another 'pagan' tradition.

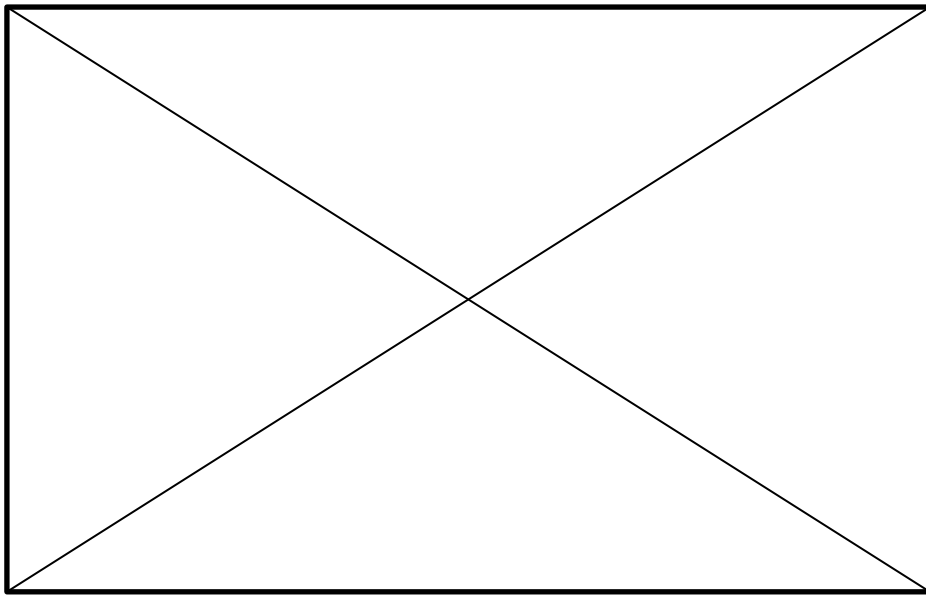


Figure 6.5: Horse-burial of Basel-Bernerring
(www.archaeobasel.ch; accessed: 13 May 2012).

Two main social groups were identified - 'nobility' and 'serfs' - based on grave goods and burials types. For example, the bodies in Graves 5, 33, and 39 are described as horse riders, warriors, and of noble rank based on the weaponry, high status objects (i.e. ornate belt buckles), and horse-riding equipment (*ibid*: 165-166). The serfs (e.g. Graves 6, 11) generally occur in more basic graves, containing spears or knives. High social rank is understandably assigned to those individuals interred within the burial mounds, these including two women (*ibid*: 136-141). In sum, Martin (*ibid*: 155) classes Basel-Bernerring as a noble burial space, a characteristic reflected in the associated material culture, especially the weaponry and pottery.

Ultimately, Martin (*ibid*: 146-155) hoped to determine the ethnicity of these people, through contextualising the burials and objects in a wider historical and political setting. The earliest graves had artefacts seemingly originating from northern Gaul, including a fibula from Grave 42 and decorated pots in tombs 5 and 8. The wooden

chambers are viewed as tomb types more associated with 'Frankish' cemeteries in comparison to 'Burgundian' and 'Alamannic' necropoleis (*ibid*: 154). His final overview observed how the dating of the cemetery, largely based on the grave goods, aligns with the Frankish take-over of Alamannia (AD 539); he (*ibid*: 155) theorises that this was a small group of Frankish nobles who may have established their presence at Basel as part of attempts to control the Alamannic people, who were known for their rebellions.

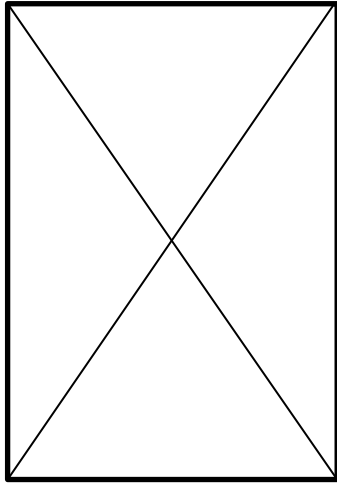


Figure 6.6: The chi-rho symbol on the fibula.
(www.archaeobasel.ch;
Visited May 13, 2012)

The area around Basel is particularly interesting. Roman settlement and signs of Christianity are evident in the fourth century: a Roman soldier was buried with a 7.5 cm long fibula engraved with a chi-rho in the cemetery of Aeschenvorstadt (Fig 6.6). Despite a brief hiatus, this cemetery was used between the fifth and seventh century and is identified as 'Provincial Roman' (see Fig 6.3). The necropoleis of Kleinhüningen, St Theodor, and Gotterbarmweg are meanwhile viewed as 'Alamannic'. This implies that around the sixth century provincial Romans, Franks, and Alamanni inhabited the Basel-region (Martin 1976: 146-155). Intriguingly, the 'Alamannic' cemeteries are found north of the Rhine, potentially signifying that the Rhine still acted as a nominal frontier in the sixth century (see Fig 6.3).

'Alamannic' labels at Elgg-Ettenbühl were similarly derived from analysis of grave goods and tomb types. However, unlike the cemeteries around Basel, the necropolis of Elgg-Ettenbühl displayed signs of gradual intermingling of Germanic people with remnant Gallo-Roman groups (Windler 1994: 9). 202 graves were excavated and all were oriented E-W (Fig 6.7). The first phase, AD 530-550, saw two distinct burial zones: a western group featured elaborate tombs and grave offerings, including drinking vessels, late Roman brooches with filigree work, and a 'Frankish' sword; an eastern group comprised few offerings and mainly earthen tombs. The second phase (c. AD 600-650) is interpreted as the beginning of 'Germanisation' of the necropolis, marked by a significant increase in population and a rise in grave goods, notably weaponry and 'Germanic' belt-buckles (*ibid*: 176). In this phase, the material culture has more affinity with south-west Germany, such as biconical vessels found in graves 207 and 216. By c. AD 700, the custom of grave goods

stop and the use of the cemetery wanes. Overall, Werner (1994: 177) interprets this cemetery as one first established by Gallo-Romans but from around the seventh century, one used by Alamanni.

A similar hypothesis has been proposed for the cemetery of Bülach, where 300 burials were uncovered during excavations in the 1950s dating from AD 550-700. The necropolis comprised three groups (a small group in the N-W, a large middle group, and south group) and featured characteristics associated with *Reihengräber*: bodies placed in supine position, burials arranged in rows, and oriented W-E. An increase in grave goods and in numbers during the seventh century, led Werner (1953: 77) to argue that the cemetery began to be used by Alamannic people. Mid-seventh-century belt buckles were particularly ornate and often featured silver inlaid plated decorations, such as one from Grave 100 dated to c. AD 650 (Fig 6.8).

While military roles, social rank, and religious beliefs are aspects of identity examined within these burial contexts, the main point of controversy is the use of ethnic labels. As discussed in Chapter 2, our understanding of the names and the practices of these groups of people derived from Roman or 'outsider' perspectives. As such, identification of necropoleis as 'Frankish', 'Burgundian' or 'Alamannic' is reliant upon these histories, which provided the framework for an ethnocentric typology of grave goods and types to be developed. Considering these facts, Brather (2008: 286) argues that burials are best examined through local contexts and viewed as the result of familial traditions. However, we cannot deny the existence of new powers like Burgundians, Franks, and Alamanni and while it is perhaps incautious to locate them in specific burial types, we cannot exclude that these identities *were* expressed by some people in burial customs. Moreover, this line of research has certain merits, such as developing a better understanding of the demography of the migration period (see Kokkotidis 1999) and settlement history. Importantly, it offers clarity; as Halsall (1995b: 60-61) comments, "if we focus on just the local, there would be too many ethnicities in early medieval Europe".

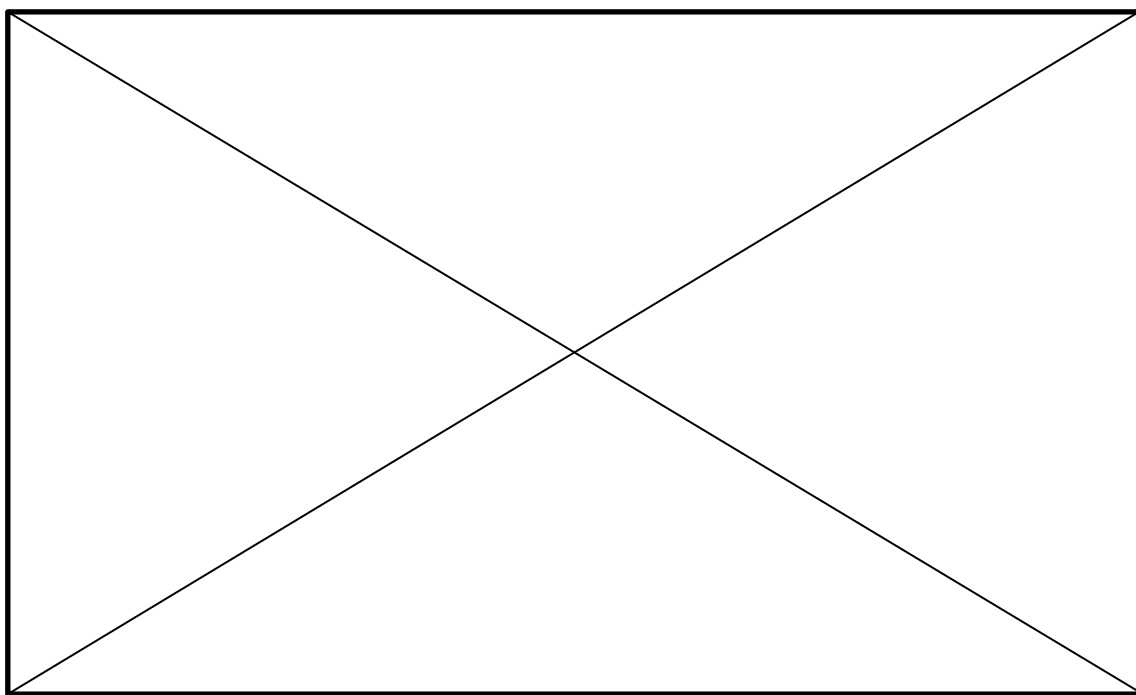


Figure 6.7: The necropolis of Elgg-Elgenbühl. Yellow: women; red: men; light blue: unknown; white: (Kokkotidis 1999: 51)

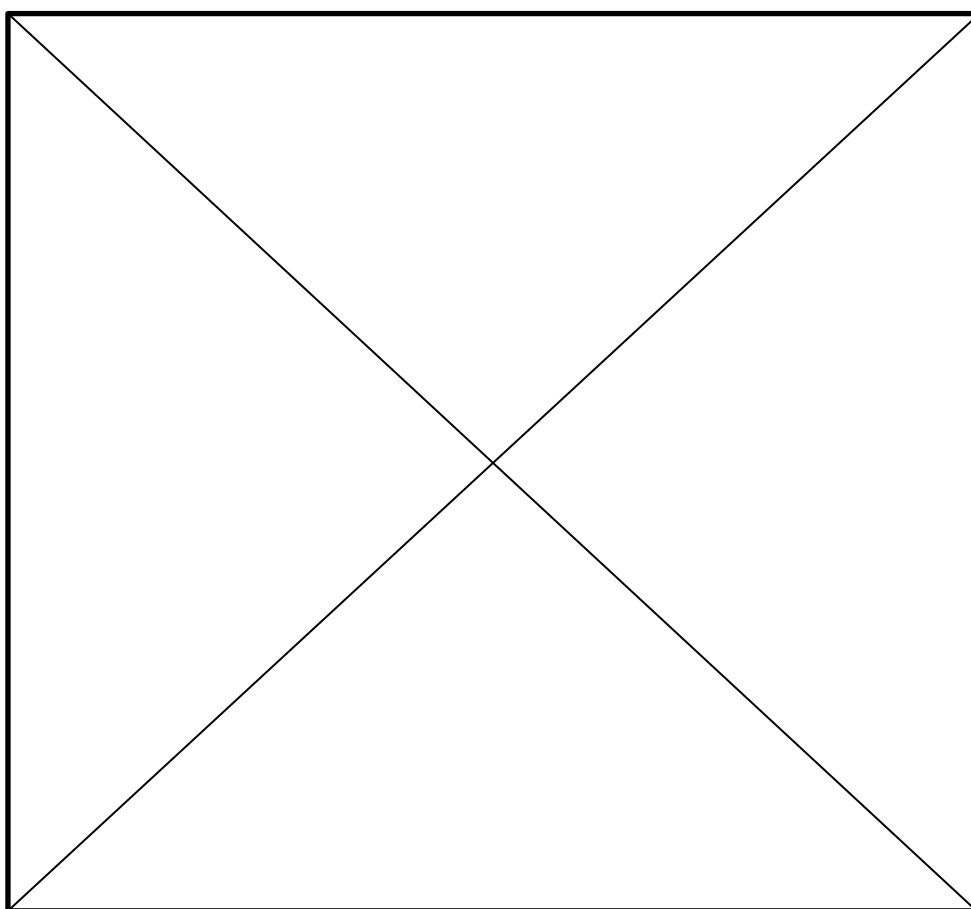


Figure 6.8: A silver inlaid belt buckle and ornaments (1-2) from Grave 100, Bülach (Werner 1953: 101; Plate XXV)

6.1.3 Theme 3: Burial Variances

While necropoleis can often be said to fit into larger trends, such as row-graves, there will always be variances and oddities which make some cemeteries stand out. What is the significance of these differences? Within our sample of sixteen necropoleis, three main points of divergence appear: extended site-use at Kallnach, an absence of church construction, and necropoleis situated near Roman temples.

Excavations at Kallnach, a small farming village located a few kilometres south-east of Lake Biel, occurred in 1988-89 and traced a Roman settlement which was abandoned in the fifth century. The community lay near a major road connecting Kaiseraugst (*Augusta Rauricum*) to Avenches (*Aventicum*). The material culture, including foundations of a large building, stamped *Legio I Martia* tiles, and third- to late fourth-century pottery, suggests the community acted as as a *mutatio* or *mansio* for troops travelling to the northern frontier (Gaillard de Sémainville 2007: 386-387). The site then saw no activity until the mid-sixth century when the area began to be used for burial. 155 inhumed bodies were excavated, anthropologically processed, and sampled for radiocarbon dating (Kissling 2003: 193). Eight types of tombs were defined and attached to three major phases of use: mortared-masonry walled tombs (late sixth century), stone-lined cysts (seventh century), and narrow earthen burials (c. AD 800-1000). 46 graves yielded artefacts - a modest yield compared to other sixth-century burials in central Switzerland (*ibid*: 194). Finds included a belt buckle with a rectangular plate (Type B), characteristic of the Romano-Burgundian region, and two Type-D buckles with decorative motifs, including a hippogriff and two men with lions (Gaillard de Sémainville 2007: 287). After comparing Kallnach to nearby necropoleis (Oberwangen, Neiderwangen, and Langthal), Kissling (2003: 200-201) found two main traditions: a low percentage of grave goods at Kallnach, Oberwangen, and Niederwangen (20-40%) versus a very high percentage at Langenthal (90%). She equates Kallnach as Burgundian based on the buckle types and the low yield of grave goods.

Kissling, however, omits to debate two other intriguing aspects of Kallnach: its long, continual use into the eleventh century (a date derived from radiocarbon-dated skeletal remains) and the presence of a cremation urn deposited in a memoria dated to the necropolis' earliest phase of use (Kissling 2003: 193). Neighbouring necropoleis were abandoned around the eighth century, making Kallnach unique for the zone. It seems reasonable to hypothesise that a local tradition, linked to memory and familial heritage

are at play here. Williams (2006: 15) has highlighted that social memory - defined by Williams (*ibid*: 2) as “selective remembering and the active forgetting of the past” - is linked to identity construction at individual, family and even religious levels as well as processes of remembering. In maintaining this burial site, the mortuary process for the associated settlement can be regarded as a set of practices and ‘technologies’ concerned with the relationship between the living (mourners), the corpse (burial), the dead (i.e. ancestors, heros, important person, etc.). The individual presence of the cremation urn inside the memoria is particularly interesting - no other burials were found within the structure nor were there any other cremation burials. Whether this denotes the reverence of a figure of local significance or whether the long continuity of use is linked to this feature is a possibility that cannot be proven.

The necropoleis of Riaz and Stabio were also situated next to Roman remains, but in these cases, temples. The cemetery of Riaz, located in canton Fribourg, was excavated from 1975-76. Made up of 470 E-W oriented burials and placed in rows, the graves gathered around a still visible temple and reused parts for tombs (Graenert 2002: 37; Fig 6.9). Graenert’s (*ibid*: 40) analysis of the cemetery found that the regularity of the organisation must have involved an ‘instructing hand’, especially considering five burials (Graves 1, 58, 131, 138, 143) aligned from head to toe. While Graenert’s focus regards the social and communal characteristics of the cemetery, the gathering around a previous ‘sacred landscape’ is interesting. The temple, attributed to *Mars Caturix* by an inscription, dates back to the first century and was destroyed in the mid-third century - nearly four hundred years before the establishment of the necropolis. Would the people, classed as Romano-Burgundian by Graenert, have been aware that this was a pagan temple? Did they choose this particular area because of the ruined temple’s sacredness or for the material available for reuse in the tombs? Or was this an elevated landmark that attracted burials and reflected control of that landscape?

Stabio features another remarkable reuse of Roman sacred space. Famous for the discovery of gold foil crosses in a seventh-century ‘Lombardic’ necropolis, Stabio is a known Roman settlement with public monuments, such as its temple to Mercury. Two churches were built, one (**F26**) dated to the fifth century and associated with a ‘Roman’ necropolis, while the other (**F27**), of the seventh century, is associated with a ‘Lombard’ burial ground (Sennhauser 2003: 179-180; Foletti 1997: 177). As at Riaz, parts of the

temple were reused in the 'Lombard' burials, proving that the new population was aware of the older structures. The construction of two churches near a former temple could meanwhile signify Christians transforming 'pagan' sacred space into their own (*cf.* Caseau 2003).

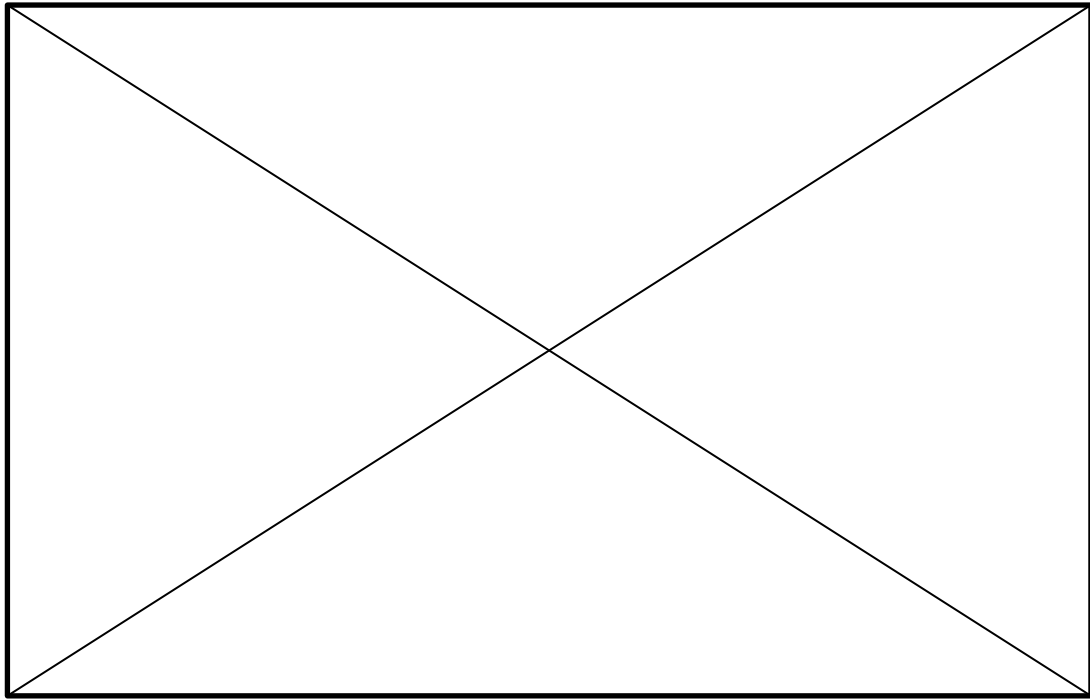


Figure 6.9: Necropolis of Riaz (Graenert 2002: 37).

Stabio is an example of church building in late Roman or 'Germanic' funerary settings. This is principally evident in suburban areas of major centres, such as St Gervasius (**C5**) in Geneva, Sion's Sous-le-Scex (**G5**), or Kaiseraugst's cemetery 'church' (**A5**) and has also been noted in the countryside. Terrier (2002a: 195-205) found that many early medieval churches were established near late Roman mausolea (e.g. Meinier (**C13**), Presinge (**C14**), Satigny (**C16**)). However, within our sample of 16 necropoleis, some funerary grounds never witnessed the foundation of a church. What might this absence signify? While it is too simplistic and naïve to view the lack of a church at an early medieval necropolis, especially those dating to the sixth century, as evidence for a non-Christian population, a better suggestion might relate to an absence of Christian support as well as location. Riaz, Genolier, Oberbuchsitzen, and Kallnach are rural necropoleis situated away from the main contemporary centres, and perhaps were areas therefore lacking the funds and skills for church construction. In the case of Saint-Sulpice and Yverdon-Pré-de-la-Cure the abandonment of the associated settlement, which coincides

with the end of the cemetery, may indicate a failing population and the lack of a need for a church.

Steiner (2003: 312) importantly observes that many necropoleis go out of use at the same time a nearby church cemetery begins to see use. For example, as a necropolis at Sur-le-Vieux-Moulin was gradually abandoned in the sixth century, burials began to multiply around the nearby church of Saint-Prex (**E10**). A similar process has been proposed in the Imboden district of Graubünden, where an early medieval church at Rhäzüns (**B23**) was constructed around the same time the necropolis of Bonaduz failed (Furger *et al.* 1996: 76). These transitions imply that the Church was developing and dictating new holy ground.

In general, necropoleis are a difficult body of evidence to consider when studying the Christianisation of a region. Some sites were reused and thus have data associated with Roman period whereas others were established on new ground. Current studies of these funerary spaces focus on demographics. Thus we have Kokkotidis (1999), who found that there were a greater number of burials in the late sixth century in northern Switzerland, proposing that these act as evidence of late fifth- or early sixth-century settlement of a new people to the region. This is not seen in the west, where Steiner's (2003) research around Lake Geneva and Lake Neuchâtel found continuity of necropolis use. Studies on population and demographics in the eastern and southern parts of Switzerland have yet to be conducted, although both Durst (2002: 54) and Pauli (1984: 45) have argued that the area of Rhaetia was largely stable in this transitory period. More work is needed to explore whether new burials represent new settlements and new people in the north.

6.2 Burials and Churches

From the fourth to the seventh centuries CE, it became increasingly common to breach church pavements to inter the bodies of "ordinary" Christians.

(Yasin 2005: 433)

The next aspect to consider comprises burials in and around churches, whether under the floor level of a church, above the floor in stone sarcophagi or arcosolia, or outside, often 'hugging' the walls. These can be labelled as 'funerary' churches and are found throughout

Western Europe; they make up the chief corpus of early medieval church types. Burials connected to churches are, of course, commonly regarded as an expression of a Christian identity or at least a Christian identity for the people depositing the body. Care is needed, however, as poor excavation may fail to show whether the burials are directly associated with the church or whether the church appropriated an earlier, possibly non-Christian, space. Thus, it is not surprising to see a high proportion of churches whose burial history is 'unknown' (Fig 6.10). Despite this setback, studies of this large corpus of data have found specific trends and qualities which will be examined here: *ad sanctos* burials and founders' graves (*Gründergräber*).

6.2.1 Ad Sanctos Graves

The rise of the cult of saints rapidly manipulated Christian burial practices. Not only did it influence where churches were to be built, but it soon became apparent that there was also an "eschatological advantage of being buried near the tombs of saints" (Yasin 2009: 70). This interpretation derived from the influential model of graves of saints as meeting places between heaven and earth. As such, burials near saints' tombs or relics, classed as *ad sanctos* ('next to the holy'), became the most *privileged* and *sought after* places of burial and this placement conveyed the deceased's merit as a Christian (Effros 2003: 111; Effros 1997: 15-16). Eventually the perception of *ad sanctos* space extended to sacred areas within a church: at/near altars, baptisteries, reliquaries and apses (Christie 2006: 155; Fig 6.11). Tombs of bishops also became *ad sanctos* burial zones. While many scholars (e.g. Effros 2003: 111; Sapin 1999: 39-40) state that for a burial to be *ad sanctos*, the graves should lie within or around liturgical or sacred spaces, arguably another convention is to regard all burials within a church *ad sanctos* thus creating a dichotomy: burials within churches versus burials outside of churches. The data pertaining to this observation will be discussed in Section 6.3.

The creation of this sacred space thus presumably divided the church into hierarchical sections: space for the privileged (those inside) and space for the ordinary (those outside). Despite the 'equality' of Christianity, there were still higher ranking Christians. In Italy, epigraphic records, as well as textual sources, indicate that already in the fourth century, bishops would often be interred *ad sanctos* - an unsurprising trend as

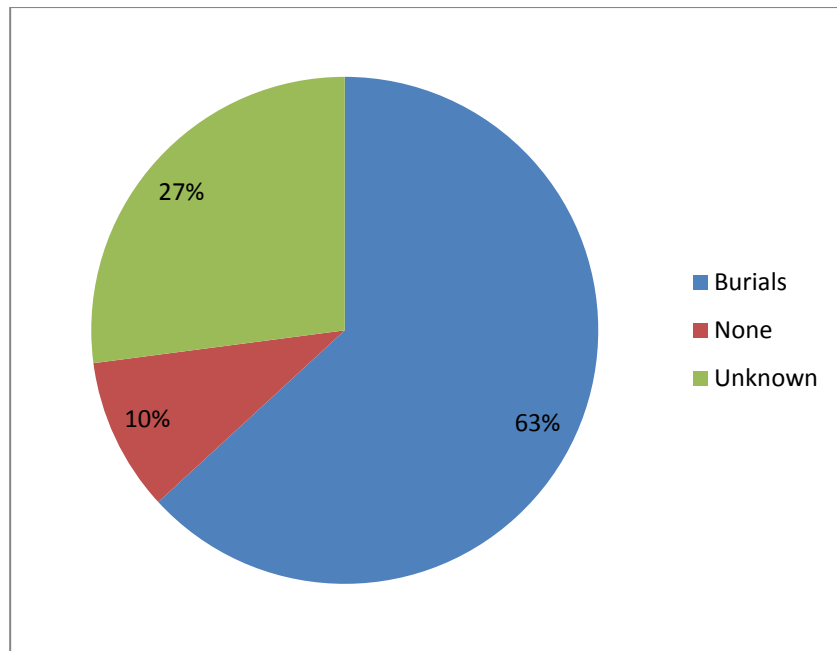


Figure 6.10: Proportion of churches with burials contrasting those without (Sample Size: 129)

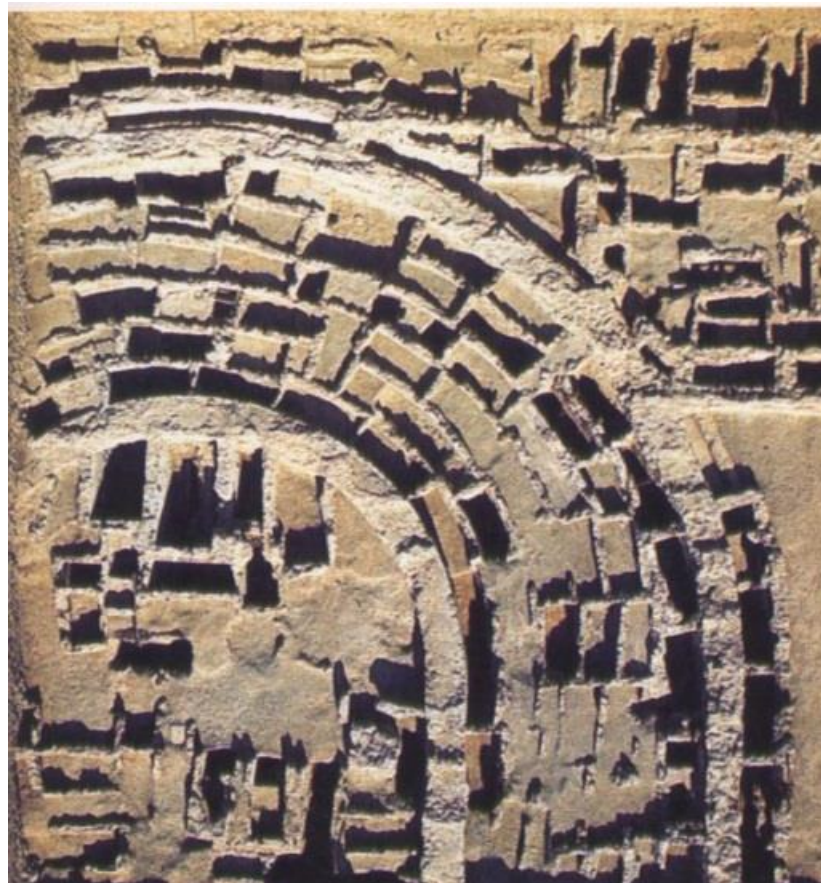


Figure 6.11: Example of ad sanctos burials at San Marco, Rome (Image courtesy of N. Christie)

they were the main intermediaries between God, the saints, and the people (*ibid*: 156). Ambrose of Milan, for example, was buried in the extramural basilica of his own design (now called *Sant'Ambrogio*), alongside the bodily relics of Gervasius and Protasius.

Ad sanctos burials associated with saints' relics are attested in monastic settings as well. The Verenamünster at Zurzach developed as a Christian centre on the belief that a late Roman cemetery contained the remains of Verena. An obscure saint linked to the Theban Legion cult, Verena is claimed to have travelled with the troops to Switzerland, where she performed several miracles and was famous for her healing. A fifth-century cruciform church was built above a Roman cemetery near the Roman fort of *Tenedo*, which preserved the supposed tomb of Verena in the apse (Marti and Windler 2002: 241-242). The church and tomb subsequently featured graves in both the interior and exterior. Eventually a monastic community (post-Carolingian) developed around the church. Sennhauser, the main excavator, theorises that the settlement of Zurzach crystallised around Verena's relics, as implied by the central location of the church in the medieval and modern village, whereas the former fort became a peripheral feature (Meier 2002: 281-282; Fig 6.12). The relics are still interred at the Verenamünster, and in 1986 and 2004 delegations brought parts of these remains to Cairo (Egypt) and Anaheim (USA) respectively.

While the evolution of Zurzach's topography demonstrates the power of *ad sanctos* burials, the wider trends find these burials placed in or in close proximity to sacred zones of the church but with no evidence for a saint or relic. Thus the dead are placed in or near apses, baptisteries, choir zones, and near altars, with apse the favoured location: 61% of graves lie near or in the apse area. This figure, however, is expected: many churches did not have choirs or altars to denote the sanctuary of the church (or at least excavations found no evidence for these features) and thus the option of being buried in this area may not have been possible. A clustering of burials inside and outside a church, crammed close to the apse area, such as the example of San Marco in Rome, is not a regular feature.

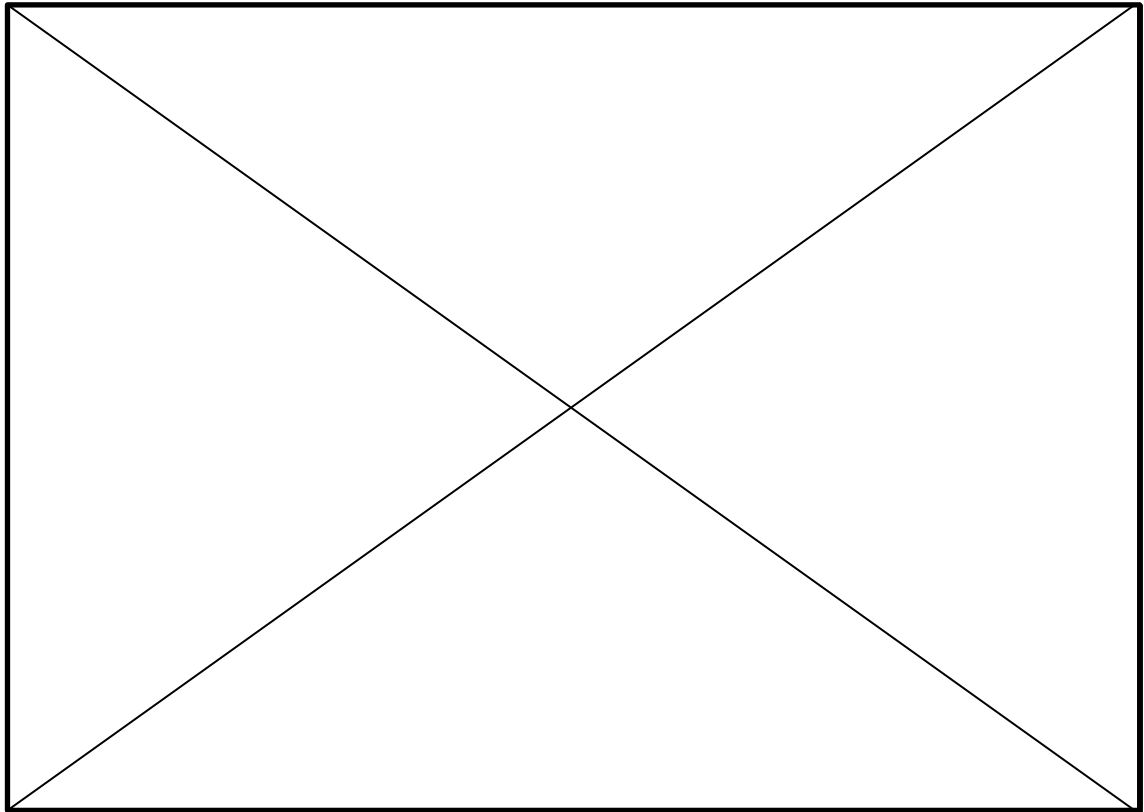


Fig 6.12: Early medieval topography of Zurzach depicting the village's growth around the 'Verenakirche' (later to become the Veranamünster) with the peripheral fort and associated church (Meier 2002: 281).

Sion's Sous-le-Scex is a rare example of clustering near sacred zones (Antonini 2002: 225). All the associated church burials date between the fourth and eighth century and comprise an array of tomb types: earth-cut, wooden coffins, tiled, mixed (tile and stone), stone-lined, stone sarcophagi and a variety of others (*ibid* 2002: 174-175; Fig 6.13). The extensive excavation determined that the 40+ tombs found within the central apse of Sous-le-Scex were distinctive in being masonry tombs (*tombes maçonnées*); flagstone tombs were placed in the most prominent locations, whereas earth-cut ones and wooden coffins occupied the nave area. However, large clusterings of earth-cut burials ringed the exterior of the central apse and lay inside the northern apse.

The significance of *ad sanctos* burials lies in the assumption that these settings required an elite or privileged social status. Yasin (2009: 82) notes that even to be buried within a church was a significant mark of status. One would expect the elite and privileged to have had the most prominent tombs - a trend noted in the central apse. However, what about the group of earthen burials in the northern apse and within the nave? Are the dead in these tomb types 'privileged' enough to be interred within the confines of a church but

not wealthy enough to afford a more 'elite' tomb type? This might suggest that *ad sanctos* burials are reflective of a higher *religious* status, and not dependent on wealth (observed through the type of tomb), rather than a higher social status.

Interestingly, the majority of late Roman and early medieval church burials in Switzerland were not interred *ad sanctos* (Fig. 6.14) but either in annexes situated away from the nave and apse of the church. Does this suggest that the sacred areas within some churches were taboo? Might this trend indicate differences of attitude towards sacred spaces within churches? In the case of Diegten (**A2**), the striking clustering of graves along the walls led archaeologists to describe both nave and apse as 'off limits' or 'taboo'. But by avoiding certain spaces, this might free space for visitors to walk without stepping on the dead as well as create specific zones for commemoration – recall that these churches functioned as places of congregation and ritual (Yasin 2009: 71). Indeed, many graves were placed in 'strategic' zones, such as entrances, side aisles, and narthexes – places where visitors could not fail to encounter them (*ibid*: 71). For example, the small church of Chironico (**F7**) featured a solitary interior tomb covered with two stone slabs next to the north-western corner beside the only entrance. Similarly, at Schiers (**B30-B31**), burials were placed near the entrances of the churches. Thus funerary churches also had the added function of acting as points of local remembrance.

6.2.2 Founders' Graves

During the early medieval period, private churches "constituted the most rapidly growing genre of high-status deposition" (Effros 2003: 213). These churches occur in rural contexts, presumably attached to an estate, and provided opportunities for elite display because wealth was needed to sponsor such building. Importantly, private churches illustrate the importance the landowning elites had on the spread of Christianity into the countryside (Bowes 2008: 125-126). Associated with these private churches are founders' graves (*Gründergräber*), tombs of the patron and sponsor. Steuer (*ibid*: 113) describes founders' graves thus:

We are dealing here with burials that are located in a central site in a church, but that may also contain precious goods. The church was in effect built as a cemetery for the land holder's family.

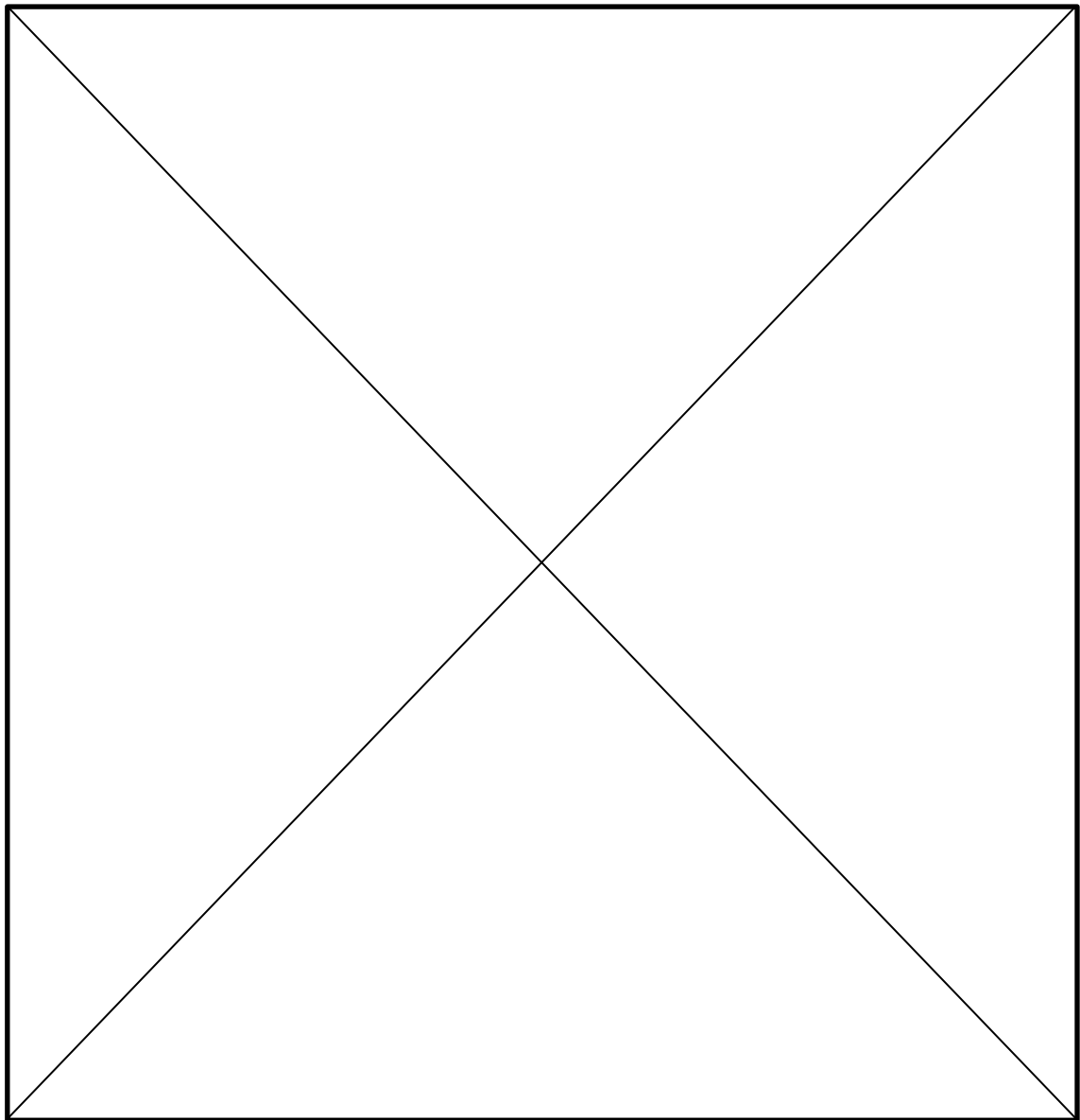


Fig 6.13: Typology of tombs and placement associated with Phase I (AD 400-500) at Sous-les-Scex, (Antonini 2002: 174-175)

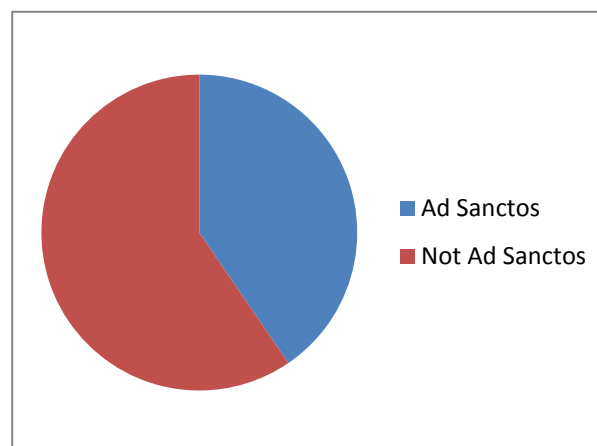


Figure 6.14: Proportion of burials found ad sanctos (those placed in or near altars, apses, and baptisteries), AD 400-800.

They form an equivalent to barrow burials in cemeteries or holders of prominent plots and wealth in grave goods. While Steuer (1989: 114-116) proposes that church founders' graves characterise the seventh and eighth centuries, a number of founders' graves in this study region have been found to date back to the sixth and even fifth century. The foundation also acted as a means to ensure one's commemoration (Donat 1988: 20). In other words, the identity and memory of the individual would continue to be recognised and interacted with after death by visits, prayers, liturgical services and even successive burials. Family members then sought burial (or were required to) inside their church.

There are two potential problems with identifying founders' graves in churches. First, the determination that a church was built in conjunction with a specific grave relies heavily on the quality of archaeological data. Excavators must be able to identify that a tomb belongs to the same building phase as the church or that it was interred slightly after it was built. Where a number of different tombs are built or even reused, disturbances and destructions occur, muddling our ability to read the sequence of construction and internment. For example, excavators of St Ambrose in Chironico (**F7**) were not able to determine whether the solitary internal burial was interred before, with or after the church (Foletti 1997: 126). If prior to the church, it would suggest the burial was what attracted church construction and thus may not signify the burial of a patron; in contrast, if the tomb came during or slightly after the church foundation it might indicate that the purpose for the church's construction was specifically to house this tomb.

The second problem relates to *memoria*-to-church transitions. Many churches, especially in canton Basel, were initially established as *memoriae*, usually containing a few graves and, in some cases, solitary ones. Should a Christian religious identity be attributed to the deceased simply because a church is later established above their remains? Burnell's (1988) thesis of founders' graves in southern Germany and northern Switzerland often automatically attributed a Christian identity to those interred in *memoriae* based on this assumption and this was an integral part to his discussions of the impact of Christianity on the Alamanni. Rather, the construction of a church near a *memoria*, with signs of founders' graves, and evidence of special treatment for the initial tombs, should be considered a sign that the *subsequent* builders perceived the *older* tombs as Christians.

For example, Saint-Julien-en-Genevois (**C15**) in France, a late antique funerary church located 9 km from Geneva, consisted initially of a rectangular building containing a

solitary N-S oriented mortared stone tomb set against the south wall under an arcosolium. A late fifth-century church, with a single nave and semi-circular apse, was appended to this first structure and a number of tombs dating from the late fifth and eighth century were interred within the structure, including two set in the eastern apse (Terrier 2002a: 197-198). Colardelle (1983: 84-87) believes that the older tomb relates to the founder or possibly a local holy man - an idea stemming from his observation that, prior to the abandonment of the church c. AD 800, the skeleton was purposefully removed, suggesting the subsequent keepers of the church regarded the mortared tomb as one of special status, and presumably a Christian one. A similar case is made for St John, Zell (**D19**). Excavations beneath the present church found a solitary grave chamber in the S-E corner of a 13-metre long rectangular building. The tomb was plastered and an eighth-century date was determined by radiocarbon dating. A church was established sometime in the early ninth century, preserving the area of the single tomb. Sennhauser (2003: 202) argues that the initial tomb and *memoria* were perceived as Christian by the subsequent builders; he reports a mention of Zell in AD 741 in the ownership of Beata, an Alamannic noblewoman who set up the nunnery of Lützelau. In both cases, the emphasis was placed on how the founders' graves were likely perceived as Christian based on subsequent action rather than the original tomb, although the burial at Zell is unlikely not to be Christian given to the late date.

Thus, despite the large number of *memoria*-to-church types, it is not surprising that this author has found only six founders' graves (Tuggen (**D16**), Vaz/Obervaz (**B25**), Oberbipp (**A9**), Lausen (**A7**) and the two above) in Switzerland out of the 104 early medieval churches with associated burials. If Steuer's qualifiers (single burial placed in key location such as nave; contains grave goods), alongside the depositional history, are considered, however, 12 other early medieval churches may have contained founders' graves:

Table 6.1: Suggested Churches with 'Founders' Graves'				
Location, Present Church Name (unknown = abandoned)	Central burial location (nave/apse)	Grave goods	Deposition around same time as church	Subsequent burials inside
Vandoeuvres, Saint-Jacques (C17)	yes – nave	no	yes	yes
Saint-Prex, St Prothasius (E10)	yes – apse	no	no	yes
Meinier, unknown (C13)	yes – nave	unknown	yes	yes
Dongio, St Peter (F8)	yes – nave	no	unknown	no
Biel-Mett, St Stephen (E1)	yes – nave	yes	no	yes
Serrières, St John (E11)	yes – nave	yes	no	yes
Sonvico, St Martin (F25)	yes – nave	yes	yes	yes
Morbio Inferiore, St George (F18)	yes – nave and apse	yes	yes	no
Morbio Superiore, St Martin (F19)	Yes	yes	yes	no
Gravesano, St Peter (F10)	yes – nave	no	yes	no
Bioggio, St Maurice (F5)	yes – nave	yes	no	yes
Chironico, St Ambrose (F7)	yes-nave	yes	unknown	no

The listed sites usually featured a prominent burial (sometimes more than one) in the nave or apse and grave goods were relatively common (Fig 6.15). In the case of Sonvico's St Martin, the hesitation to identify the remains inside the church as a founder's grave, despite the four tabulated qualifications, stems from whether the initial structure was indeed a church. The uncertainty at Biel-Mett, Serrières, Bioggio, and Saint-Prex arises from the observation that the burials were not interred around the same time as the church construction. Rather, the possible founders' graves here were placed in *memoriae*. While churches were eventually erected, there is no evidence to prove that the earlier burials had a special status or were treated as founders of a new Christian burial place. Chironico and Dongio both feature a prominent tomb in the nave placed near the entrance. Inadequate data relating to deposition history make these two tombs difficult to accurately class as founders' graves. Valuably, at Morbio Superiore, a tombstone with an inscription and an incised cross on the epitaph was excavated. It belongs to Eutharic, a Ostrogothic consul between AD 519-522, and son-in-law of Theodoric the Great (Sennhauser 2003: 130-131). This burial was prominently placed at the centre of a square-apsed church and four subsequent burials were placed along the southern wall, signifying Eutharic as the probable church founder (*ibid*: 131).

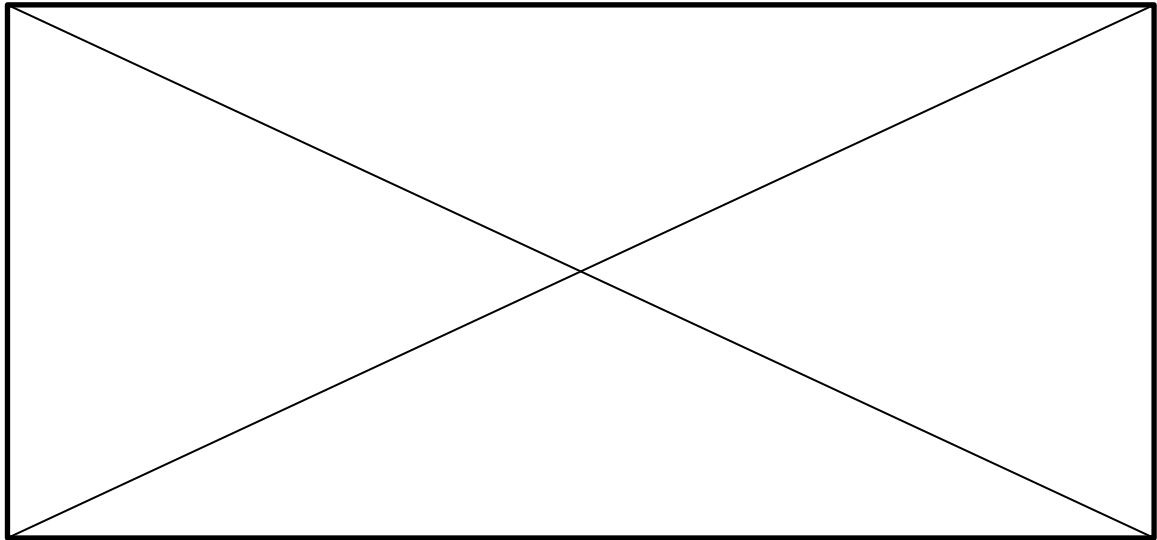


Figure 6.15: Church plan of St George, Morbio Inferiore (Sennhauser 2003: 129)

Additionally, it is curious that many of these tombs are not set up in privileged zones. This might relate back to Yasin's (2009: 82) suggestion that placement of a burial in a nave or central location might relate to familial heritage and remembrance. For example, at Bioggio's St Maurice, the proposed founder's tomb, interestingly containing the remains of a fifth-century woman, was reused in the eighth century for the burial of a man and child (Sennhauser 2003: 57). While hard to argue for a direct familial link, does the reuse of the original tomb mark another attempt to connect with a past heritage? Economics might also have been a factor: rather than spend money to build a tomb or to be buried *ad sanctos*, a convenient alternative could have been to reuse a still visible and prominent tomb. Yet the very reuse of a founder's tomb suggests it was the act of someone of authority. Finally, the placement of a tomb might relate to intercessory prayer – namely the praying to God on behalf of another. Rapp (2005: 84) emphasises the influence and power of this form of prayer since it relates to the belief that prayer for the dead reduced the time it took to transition to heaven. Importantly this means while a man or woman might be connected to more than one church foundation, only the church with his/her burial would gain the benefits of prayer after death.

6.3 Modelling the Burial Landscape

The burial landscape of Switzerland is complex. It comprises a large body of evidence composed of not only Roman and early medieval necropoleis but also private mausolea and church burials. In the past, the focus of modelling this landscape was on migration-period necropoleis and grave goods to discuss ‘barbarian’ settlement and demography. For example, Moosbrugger-Leu (1967, 1971) examined the distribution of necropoleis containing non-ferrous fifth- to seventh-century belt-buckles and developed three periodisations based on his data: fifth-century necropoleis established near Roman forts and roads; sixth-century burial groupings found in the north and in the south-west near the River Aare near Bern; and seventh-century necropoleis throughout the Swiss plateau down to Lake Geneva with a mixing of cultural groups featuring Type-BA and Type-C belt buckles around Lake Neuchâtel and near Bern. The classification of the burials depended greatly on belt fittings and their typologies. Thus, the burial groups associated with Type-C are identified as Alamannic, contrasting Type-BA associated with Burgundians (Moosbrugger-Leu 1971: 22-24). Importantly, these distribution maps identify an increase in population: more necropoleis are apparent in the sixth and seventh centuries than in the early fifth century (Fig 6.16-6.17). In sum, Moosbrugger-Leu (*ibid*: 20) proposed that the Swiss late Roman and early medieval burial landscape reflected settlement dynamics affected by migration-period events: the Alamanni in the north and the Burgundians in the south-west gradually establishing bases along the Swiss Plateau. With regards to Romans and Franks, groups difficult to identify in the region, Moosbrugger-Leu (1971: 19) suggests the best evidence lies with the development of parishes – a small administrative district typically having its own church and priest - and the study of language.

As highlighted in Section 6.2.3, churches were sometimes established within pre-existing burial grounds while other necropoleis continued to be used yet never came to feature a funerary chapel or church. While a complete tabulation of necropoleis without churches has yet to be completed for Switzerland, Moosbrugger-Leu’s database of 227 burial grounds reveals just 16% which eventually featured a church or a chapel (see Moosbrugger-Leu 1971: 156-157 for complete list and distribution map).

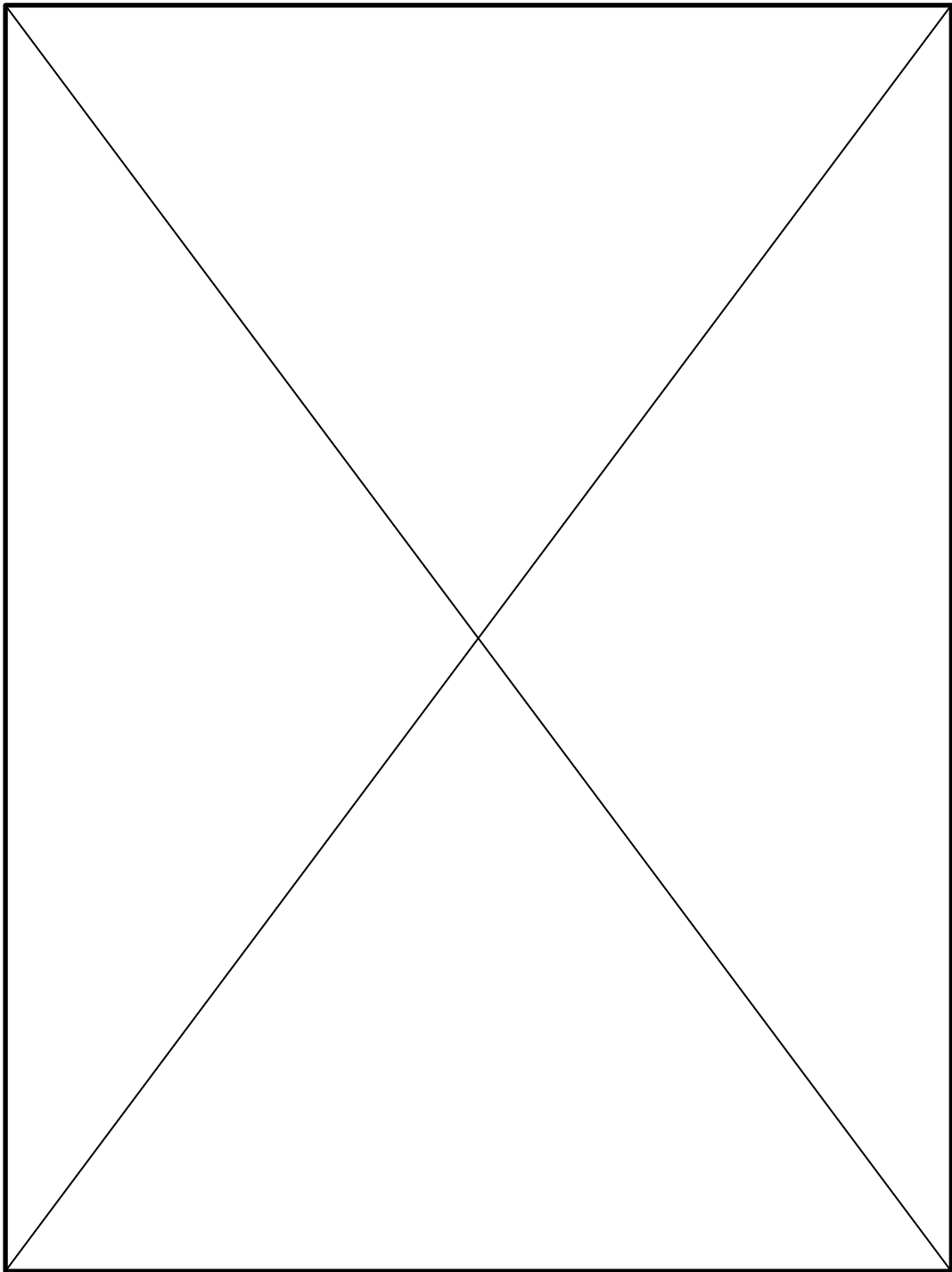
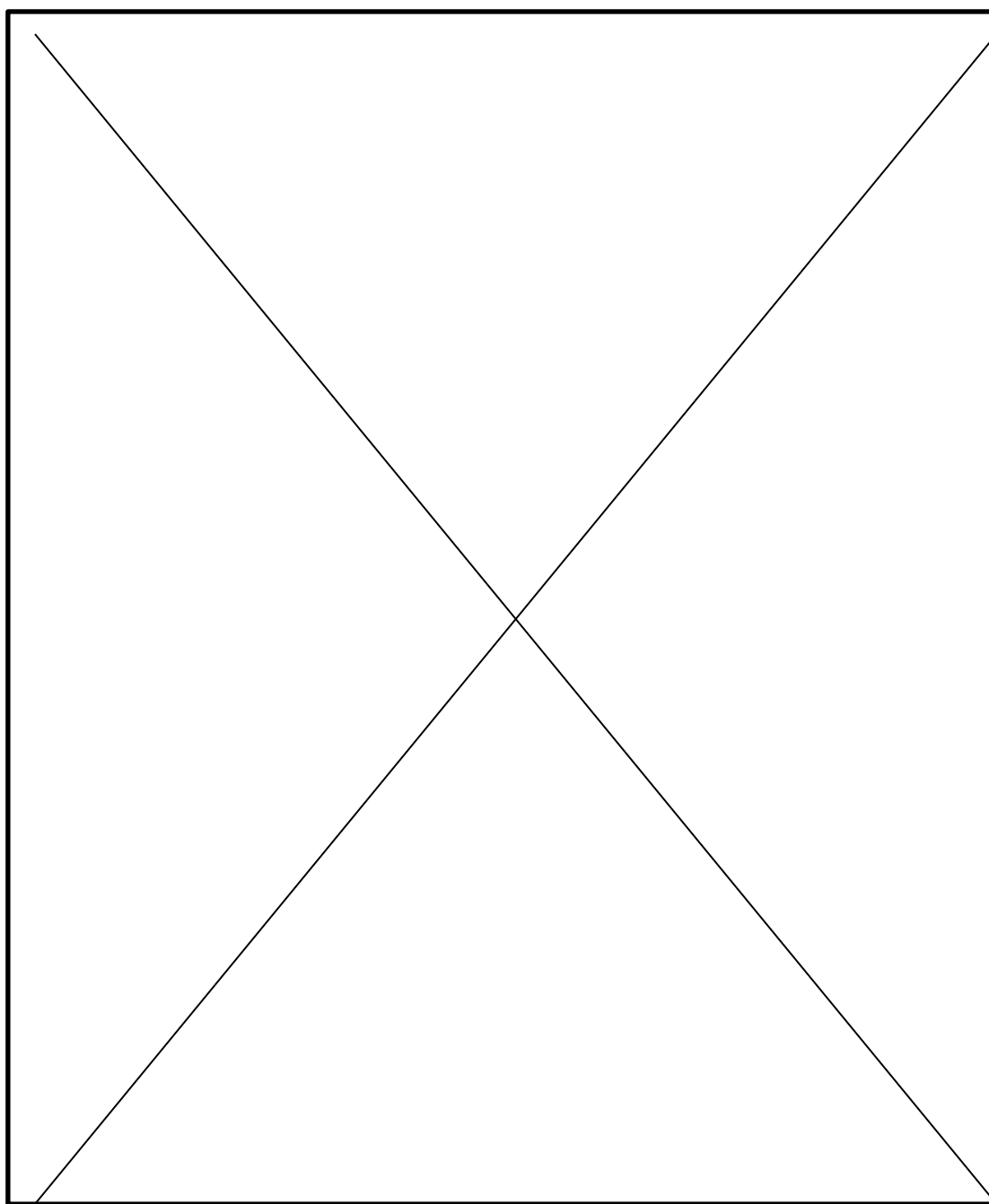


Figure 6.16-17: Settlement distribution proposed by Moosbrugger-Leu based on analyses of necropoleis dated to the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries as well as typologies of belt-buckles (Moosbrugger-Leu 1967: 201-202)

In many areas, early medieval funerary churches are situated only a few kilometres from a maintained necropolis. Indeed, a survey of sites in canton Jura, dated between the sixth and seventh centuries, highlights this characteristic (Fig 6.18; Stékofer 1996: 36-37). From this distribution, we can see many settlements and funerary churches located near



1	Montignez	11	Fregiécourt	21	Courrendlin	31	Reconvilier
2	Beurnevésin	12	Cornol	22	Vieques	32	Tavannes
3	Bonfol	13	Saint-Ursanne	23	Liesberg	33	Péry
4	Courtemaîche	14	Asuel	24	Laufon	34	Orvin
5	Grandfontaine	15	Boécourt	25	Wahlen	35	Sombeval
6	Chevenez	16	Develier	26	Montsevelier	36	Saint-Imier
7	Fontenais	17	Bassecourt	27	Vermes	37	La Neuveville
8	Courgenay	18	Courfaivre	28	Crémines	38	Douanne
9	Alle	19	Courtételle	29	Grandval		
0	Miserez	20	Delémont	30	Moutier		

*Figure 6.18: Early medieval sites and burials in the Jura region
(Stékoffer 1996: 34-35)*

necropoleis, such as at Moutier-Grandval (29-30) or the agglomeration around Develier (16) and Delémont (20). Interestingly, we find similarities between burial grounds in tomb types and orientation: the necropolis of Badry in Moutier, for example, featured monolithic sarcophagi made of limestone and tufa but without grave goods oriented E-W (Stékoffer 1996: 142); burials associated with the abbey church comprised comparable sarcophagi (see Chapter 4.3.4). At Develier, the small necropolis of Maichières, located near the ruins of a Roman villa, consisted of 39 cist tombs and one trapezoidal sarcophagus made of local limestone. A funerary chapel, located 2km from the necropolis, contained five limestone sarcophagi placed under the choir, two of which also had a trapezoidal form.

The relationship between ongoing necropoleis and nearby funerary churches remains unclear. In the Moutier-Grandval area, we might expect the burials at the abbey church to contain monks, whereas the nearby necropolis would have been utilised by the local population. At Develier, the fact that the necropolis lay only 1.3km from seventh-century farms, might signify that the inhabitants utilised this burial ground while another group focussed their burials on the funerary chapel.

Research on necropoleis has been useful for identifying aspects of status and wealth, such as with Martin's observations at Basel-Bernerring. Equally, studies on the relationship between burials and churches have added to these discussions, notably through the discovery of founders' graves and *ad sanctos* burials (see Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). Do we see common trends regarding church burials across Switzerland? Or does the placement of burials within churches and the presence of founders' graves differ in between diocesan territories? To consider this, the location of burials with respect to churches was examined: interior, exterior, both inside and outside, no burials, and unknown (Fig 6.19). Through these categorisations, we can observe the following:

- The diocese of Martigny/Sion was the only region to have 100% of churches associated with burials.
- The proportion of churches which presented only internal burials is between 27% and 36% across Switzerland, with notable outliers in the dioceses of Konstanz (7.14%) and Como/Milan (46%).

- Churches with only external burials varied: 0% in the Genevan and Valaisan dioceses, 12% in Chur, and 8% in Basel, contrasting with higher proportions in Konstanz (36%), Como/Milan (23%) and Lausanne (21%).
- The dioceses of Geneva (55%), Basel (46%), Martigny/Sion (80%), and Milan/Como (34%) present the highest proportion of burials found inside and outside churches.
- The diocese of Avenches/Lausanne has the highest proportion of churches with only internal burials (36%).

These variances regarding the relationship between churches and burials are to be expected as studies on late Roman and early medieval Christian mortuary rituals reveal that the Church did not initially have strict rules regarding burial (Zadora-Rio 2003: 2).

Yet within this diversity possible trends may be observed. While some observations, such as the 100% of churches with related burials for the diocese of Martigny/Sion, might relate to sample size, of significance is the low proportion of churches with related burials (both interior and exterior) in the dioceses of Konstanz and Chur in comparison to regions in the western parts of Switzerland. Intra- and inter-church burials, as discussed above, reveal aspects of status and belief. What might the lack of church burials at Konstanz and Chur suggest in terms of people, status and belief? One possible explanation might be the decline of and restrictions on inter-church burials around the eighth century. At Konstanz, a relatively 'new' diocese, the main trend was to not bury the dead within churches. The minority of churches with internal burials might reflect a local tradition and possible private churches (Fig 6.20). At Chur, churches with

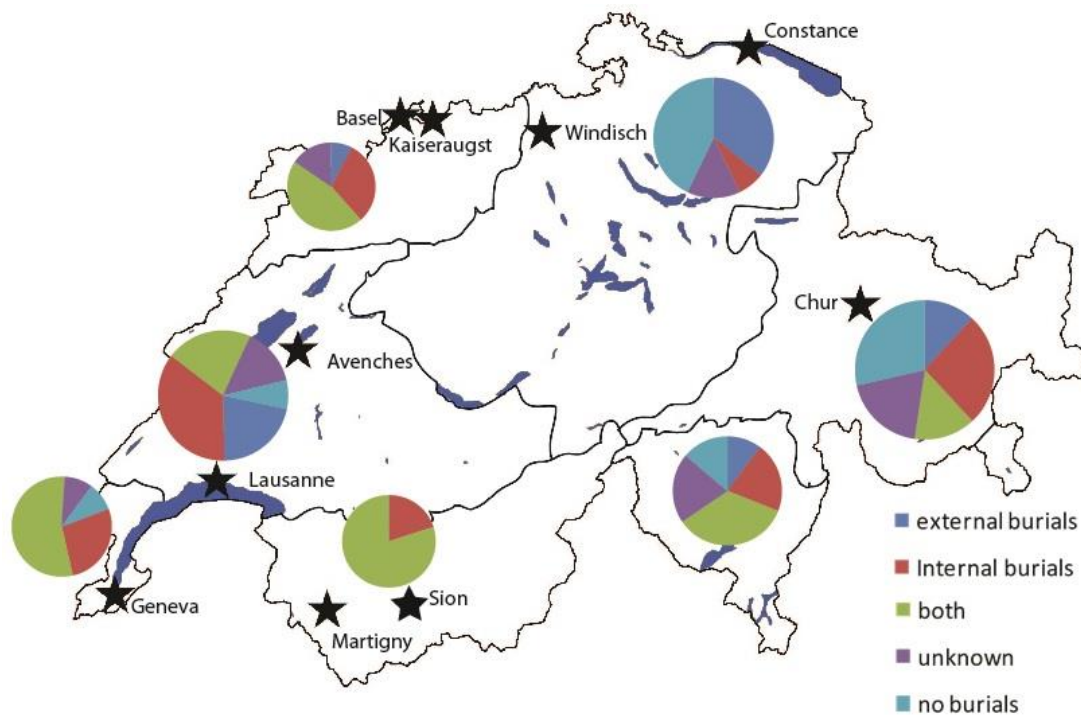


Fig 6.19: Church burial trends by diocese.

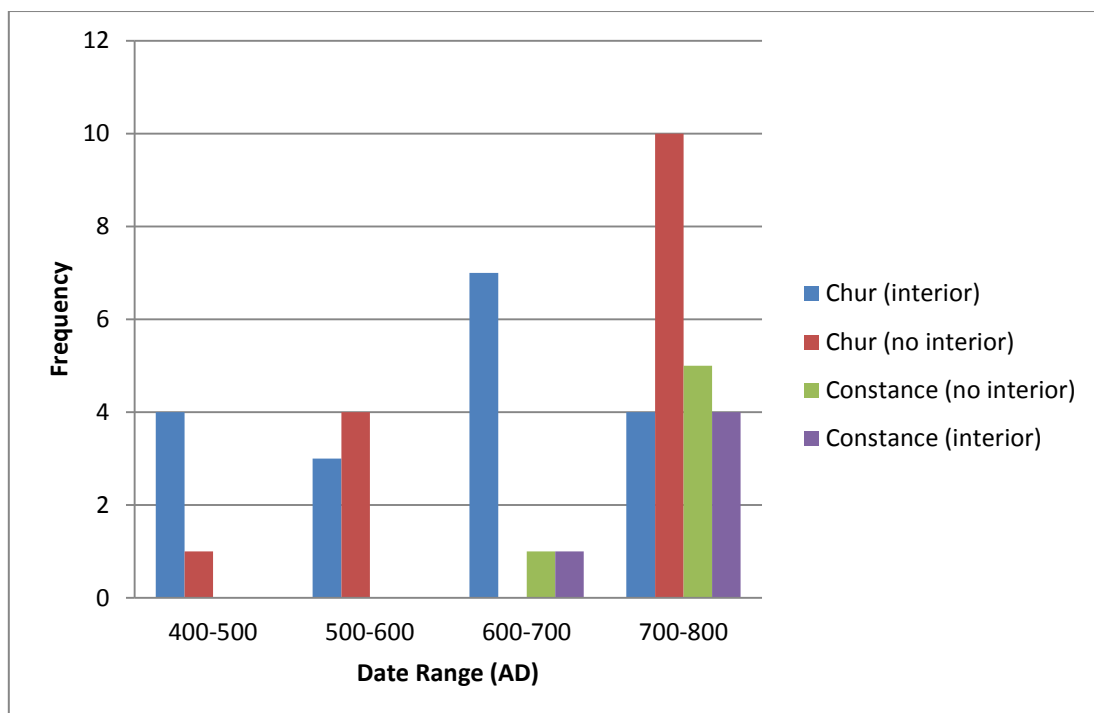


Figure 6.20: Interior church burials in comparison to churches with no interior burials in the dioceses of Konstanz and Chur

internal burials are predominantly attested in the seventh century, and with a significant decline during the eighth. In comparing churches with internal burials to those without, it is clear that, by the eighth century, the tradition was to not bury the dead under church floors in these two regions, suggesting, especially at Chur, a gradual change in tradition. Moreover, this might reflect the Church finally beginning to dictate burial rites. Indeed, it was not until the tenth and eleventh centuries that Christians were obliged to be buried within churchyards (Zadora-Rio 2003: 2).

In general, the main period for burying the dead under the church floors is the seventh century (Fig. 6.21). Dioceses in the west, especially Geneva and Martigny/Sion, appear to have taken up this tradition rather early, in some cases from the fourth and fifth centuries. This observation appears to follow the conclusions of similar studies of Christian burial rites elsewhere: Yasin (2005: 433) states that from the fourth to the seventh centuries it was common in Western Europe for Christians to place their dead by breaching the church pavements; she connected this practice with the rise of extramural churches in order to maintain the Roman custom of burying the dead beyond the city walls.

Ad sanctos burials versus non-*ad sanctos* burials are another categorisation for modelling the burial landscape (Fig 6.22). Surprisingly, the region of Ticino had a high proportion of non-*ad sanctos* burials. Considering the significance Ambrose placed on relics, the cult of saints and even his own *ad sanctos* burial, one would expect the tradition to be present in a region under the control of his diocese and suffragan at Como. However, the apparent absence of local saints might have meant less demand for *ad sanctos* burials. Although it was argued that the term *ad sanctos* eventually extended to other sacred areas within a church, without the initial impetus to be buried next to a saint, this tradition may not have been followed in Ticino. Moreover, Ticino had no urban centres during this period and the region in general is void of references to bishops and the Church in general. The absence of *ad sanctos* burials here might thus reflect the absence of a bishop, who often acted as an instrument of agency, influencing traditions.

In contrast, the dioceses of Geneva, Sion/Martigny and Chur have the highest proportion of churches with *ad sanctos* burials. In the case of Sion/Martigny, Bishop Theodore's discovery of the relics of Saint Maurice and his supposed construction

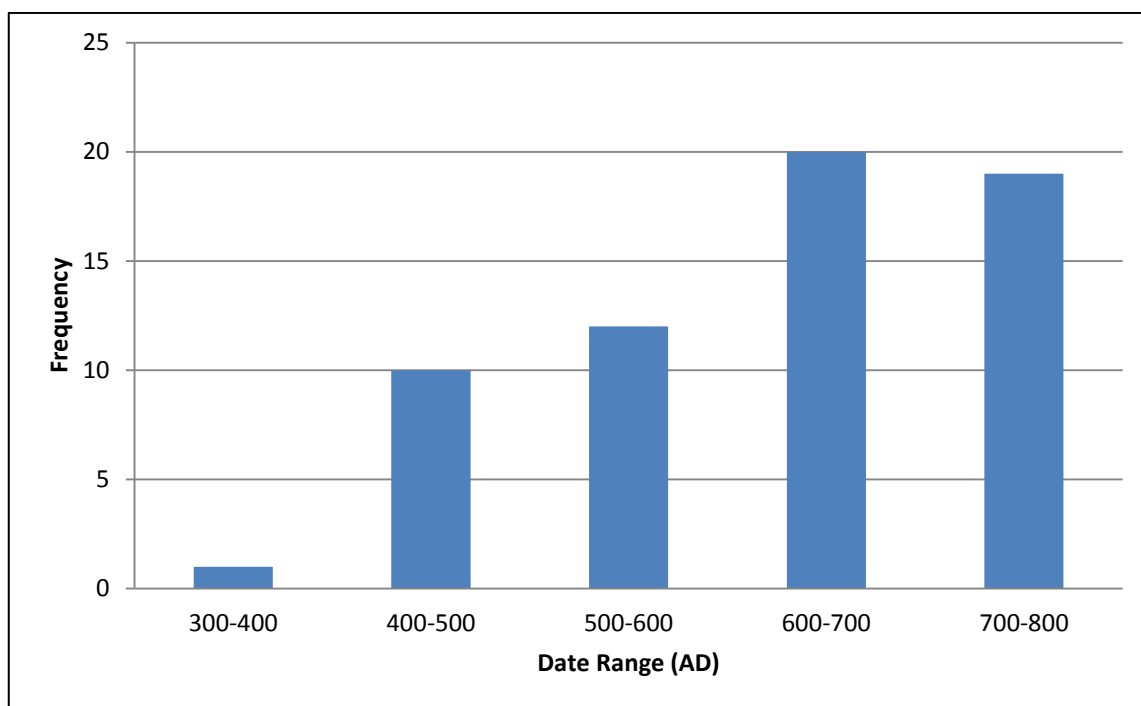


Figure 6.21: Interior church burials over time across Switzerland

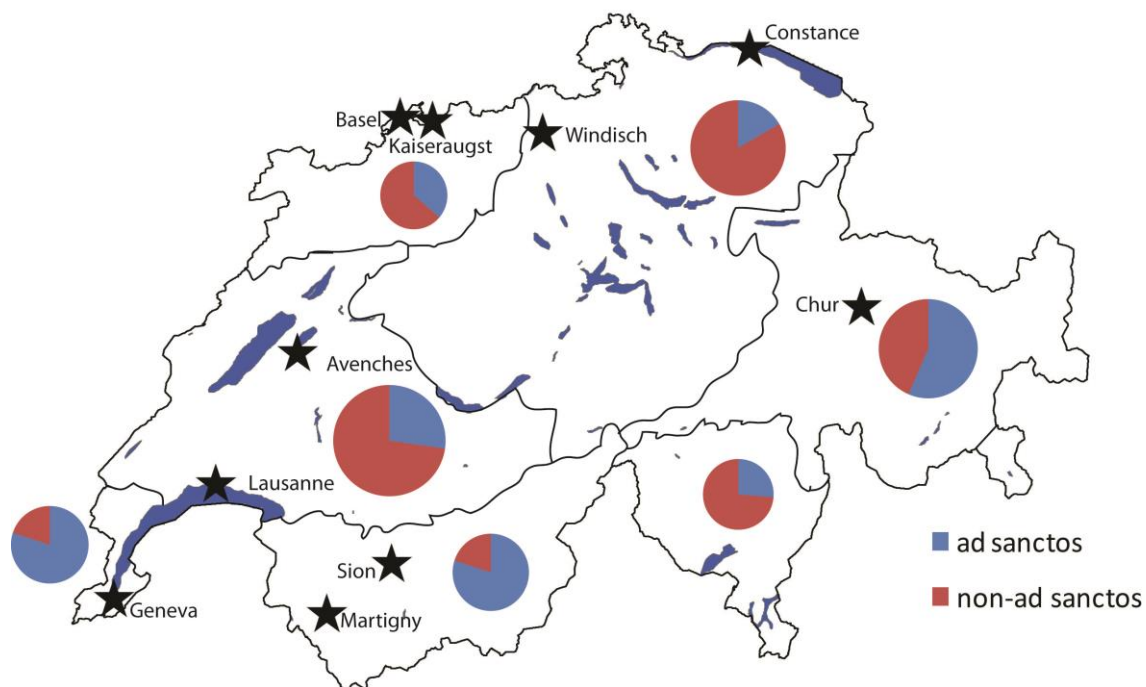


Fig 6.22: Ad sanctos burials versus non-ad sanctos organised by diocese.

of a basilica at the Abbey of St Maurice likely promoted the cult of saints in the Valais region leading to a desire for *ad sanctos* burials. Geneva and Chur also had charismatic bishops and elite men who promoted foreign and local saints. At Geneva, Bishop Maximus alongside King Sigismund requested relics of St Peter for their cathedral. At Chur, the provision of *loculi* at the church of St Stephen to house relics also demonstrates the prominence of the cult of saints (albeit here an unnamed saint).

The absence of *ad sanctos* graves at Konstanz is undoubtedly tied to the main period of church building in the eighth century, when interior burials were less popular and the Church was imposing more regulation over burial placement. Interestingly, the dioceses of Lausanne and Kaiseraugst/Basel featured relatively low proportion of churches featuring *ad sanctos* tombs despite being regions known for prominent bishops (e.g. Bishop Marius) and saints (e.g. Saint Germanus). This might relate to sample sizes as well as uncertain burial contexts.

6.4 Conclusion

One of the primary difficulties with examining Christianisation processes on burial customs is the absence of recorded Church regulations and restrictions during the early medieval period (Zadora-Rio 2003: 2). As a result, the primary focus of studies on Late Roman and early medieval burials has been artefact assemblages and depositional histories. The purpose here has been to shift the spotlight onto religious identity and social status, while at the same time discussing the implications of research focussed on ethnic identity.

The first section focussed on necropolis-use between the fourth and eighth centuries and on questions of land use, ethnic identity, and burial variances. Burial grounds often lay near Roman forts and along Roman routes, whereas new necropoleis b vbPlateau. It is proposed that continued use of late Roman necropoleis into the early medieval period, termed 'transitional' burial grounds (such as the necropoleis of Sézegnin and Bonaduz), reflected settlement stability. These particular sites never attracted church foundations despite their proximity (only 10km) to major episcopal centres, suggesting that people continued to utilise their traditional burial grounds. Indeed, the burial landscape comprised necropoleis and church burial grounds being used concurrently, as exemplified in canton Jura. With founders' churches, *ad sanctos* burials, and the inherent

status of being buried inside a church, we might envision the burial landscape as largely defined by social rank and local tradition, with elites buried inside the church and non-elites in the necropoleis.

However, as Figure 6.1 shows, many necropoleis were abandoned c. AD 600 or c. AD 700, suggesting a gradual change to burial customs. These results also brought to light a possible regional pattern: burial grounds that end around AD 600 are usually found in western Switzerland (notably along the Swiss Plateau) while those that end c. AD 700 are found in the east, notably in the dioceses of Konstanz and Chur. I would argue that these patterns relate to the foundation of churches. For example, in eastern Switzerland, the peak period of church foundations occurred between the seventh and eighth centuries (see Section 5.2-5.4); in the west, churches were established largely between the fifth and sixth centuries. From this, it is possible to hypothesise that burial customs were gradually changing - not in form, orientation, or grave-goods, but rather in their *location*. This observation does not necessarily apply to all necropoleis: the exceptional site of Kallnach, for example, persisted to c. AD 1000.

These necropoleis also raised questions of ethnicity: many burial grounds founded in the seventh century have been classed as 'migration-period' and studies attempted to identify the ethnicity of their occupants. While attributing ethnic labels to burials based on grave goods has garnered criticism, as discussed in Section 1.2.1, Martin's research on Basel-Bernerring provides a convincing example of the value of such research. Namely, by considering the burial site with its local context and comparing the site with other local burial grounds, Martin was able to suggest the occupants of this particular necropolis were elites, possibly Franks. Moreover, based on the animal burials, the religious identity of the occupants has been classed as non-Christian. In truth, however, the burials considered were all likely Christian or made in periods when Christianity was established. We might read some non-Christian elements and trace some non-Roman presences, but these are oddities within the burial landscape and thus should not be used to represent examples of wider trends or patterns.

Equally difficult to discuss in secure fashion are what we can call 'church burials' – burials gathered around, along the side of or inside churches. Church burials prove useful in questioning the mortuary traditions and rituals of Christians during this period as well as for discussing aspects of private (estate churches) and public space (i.e. community).

Albeit limited to placement of burials, such as *ad sanctos* or not, as well as founders' graves, it was evident that there were regional if not diocesan differences. This implies that Christianisation processes relating to burial customs were not the same throughout Europe. This is especially evident in the distribution of *ad sanctos* burials, where some dioceses had a significant proportion of church burials observing this tradition contrasting with dioceses which had a minority of *ad sanctos* burials. Analysis of founders' graves illustrated how, in some cases, burial placement was focused on commemoration rather than sanctity.

Examining the wider patterns relating to burial placement and *ad sanctos* burials illustrated the diversity of burial customs in each diocese. This might relate to the lack of regulation with respect to burial practice from the early Church and thus allowed more localised burial traditions to occur, resulting in the variation witnessed in Section 6.3. Despite this apparent diversity, the observation that necropolis-use (those without churches) began to end from the seventh century and from when rural church building was at its peak, surely indicates a shift towards a new burial landscape – one centred on the Church - and thus demonstrates a stronger Christianisation of burial customs.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The rise of Christianity and its impact on town and country has become a central theme within studies of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. A review of the related literature (Chapter 1) highlighted recent studies of Christianisation and noted models proposed for both urban (e.g. Christie 2006; Cantino Wataghin 1995) and rural spaces (e.g. De Vingo 2012; Codou and Colin 2007; Caseau 2003). These works emphasised the need to use an interdisciplinary methodology, employing both archaeological and historical data — an approach necessitated by gaps in each. However, most of these existing studies have focused on core Roman provinces in the Mediterranean heartlands and chosen to analyse one aspect of Christianisation (often urban space), without considering how these changes might link to developments in rural and burial landscapes. Thus, this thesis has set out to examine Christianisation processes and Christian presences in a ‘fringe’ territory, in the understudied region of Switzerland between AD 300 and 800, utilising a more robust methodology in order to:

1. Trace the progress of Christianity within three ‘landscapes’: urban (Chapter 3), rural (Chapter 5), and burial (Chapter 6),
2. Consider the topography of the study zone, notably in terms of the Alps, as a possible isolating and limiting factor to the development of urban and rural spaces,
3. Re-evaluate how monasticism fits within Christianisation processes (Chapter 4) and question whether missionary work, led by monks and nuns, was significant to the development of Christianity in this region,
4. Explore how the different administrations and ‘states’ (Chapter 2) may have influenced the development of Christianity,

5. Assess the ‘movers’ of Christianity in the region, including bishops, royalty, abbots, missionaries, and elite landowners and to ask if their activities forged both urban and rural landscapes.

Core to this thesis has been the consideration of these questions within the geopolitical backgrounds of the region — contexts explored in Chapter 2. Three important periods were apparent, all marked by different administrations: (i) the instability of the fourth century and the failed attempts by the late Roman State to control the frontier, culminating in the withdrawal of Roman forces in AD 401; (ii) the formation of the Burgundian Kingdoms in western Switzerland (?-443; 443-534); and (iii) the systematic takeover of the region by the Merovingian and later Carolingian Franks between AD 534 and 768. The thesis asked how far the archaeologies of town, country, and church reflects these changing powers. While these three key administrations largely frame the context of this thesis, it is also important to focus on local power - ‘brokers’, notably the Victorids in Chur and parts of the Alamannic Duchy south of the Upper Rhine. How did these local authorities affect and impact upon Christianisation processes in Switzerland? Did they create specific local traditions? Can the influence of these different powers be traced in church design, in donations, in monastic foundation or even in burials? Potential answers to these research questions will be provided in the following sections.

7.1 Christianisation

As discussed in Chapter 1 (pp. 42-47), Christianisation has been defined on a number of different levels: (i) the processes by which people converted to the new religion; (ii) the evangelisation of both urban and rural landscapes; and (iii) the religion’s impact on burial customs. A number of models have been prepared, usually differentiated between urban and rural zones, such as in Cantino Wataghin’s (1995) work on urban spaces (see Fig 1.2). This section considers how the region of Switzerland aligns with or is different to these models and questions the significance behind these commonalities or differences. We start with urban spaces.

7.1.1 Urban Spaces

Both Cantino Wataghin’s (1995) and Guyon’s (2006) studies on urban Christianity are valuable starting places for comparison. Here, by exploring Switzerland across AD 300-800,

we have the chance to see how this region compares with Gallic and Italian models. We will start first with a comparison with the Italian model.

The first pre-Constantinian phase of Christianisation as defined by Cantino Wataghin does not appear to have heavily impacted on towns in Switzerland, and later episcopal towns show noticeable absence of evidence for late third- and early fourth-century Christianity. An exception to this is the development of Geneva's episcopal complex. Analysis of the site's stratigraphy indicates that the town's eastern sector originally featured a large Gallo-Roman structure with sections dedicated to wheat processing. Circa AD 300, this building was demolished (determined by a layer of rubble) and in its place a small timber structure was built, described by Bonnet (1993: 3) as a Christian oratory. However, Bonnet's basis for calling the small timber structure a Christian chapel is largely centred on the subsequent construction of a cathedral.

Another qualification for evidence of Phase I Christianisation elsewhere is the veneration of martyrs of the Diocletianic Persecutions. This criterion is again absent. While the incident in Valais with the Theban troops certainly qualifies them as martyrs of the Great Persecutions, evidence for their veneration on our study zone emerges only from late fourth-/fifth-century contexts.

After Christianity became an imperial-supported religion, considerable investment for the religion begins to appear in urban centres, evident in the construction of extramural and intramural churches (Cantino Wataghin's Phase II). Episcopal centres emerge first at Martigny, Kaiseraugst and Geneva in western Switzerland, contrasting with a void of material in the Chur-Rhaetic and Lake Constance regions. The impact on urban settings is evident at Kaiseraugst and Geneva, where complexes established c. AD 350 occupied significant intramural space. Martigny, on the other hand, saw its first church built away from the heart of the Roman centre in a suburban setting. We also begin to observe signs of Church administration, with bishops from Kaiseraugst (343) and Martigny (381) attested at church councils. However, these latter bishoprics seemingly fail after Phase II, with seat transfers to Sion (589) and Basel (615). The reasons for these failures likely relate to a redistribution of territory based on changing politics (e.g. Kaiseraugst to Basel) as well as demographic reasons (e.g. Martigny to Sion). Indeed, the absence of other substantial church constructions at both Martigny and Kaiseraugst, as well as the

lack of evidence for the veneration of relics, may well point to a cessation of Christian patronage.

Subsequent activity at Geneva, on the other hand, continues to follow Cantino Wataghin's model. The fifth century was marked by a number of extramural churches, relic worship likely at the church of St Gervasius whose construction above the remains of a Gallo-Roman temple surely signifies a deliberate attempt to appropriate former pagan sacred space. Moreover, building in this area indicates how the local urban administration continued to maintain certain elements of Roman infrastructure, including roads and bridges, such as the bridge across the Rhône River connecting the funerary church of St Gervasius to the intramural space. Further changes to the episcopal church altered the eastern sector of the city, with the construction of a South Cathedral c. AD 400 and an enlargement to the North Cathedral, thereby creating a monumental episcopal complex. There is also regular episcopal activity with the presence of Bishop Salonus at three Gallic Church Councils (441, 442, and 455) and the rise of Maximus not only as city bishop but also as a key supporter and teacher of the Burgundian King Sigismund.

Indeed, the sixth century was another period of major change and Christian activity in Geneva. The fire, which seriously damaged the North Cathedral, brought about its reconstruction, with the Burgundian Kings Gundobad and Sigismund as documented patrons. That Geneva's Christianisation had entered a third phase is also evident in the construction of new intramural churches (St Germanus) and the beginning of intramural burials. The episcopal complex next saw the construction of a third monumental church, regarded as a church of relics based on its liturgical furnishings. However, an interesting absence at Geneva, as well as in all episcopal towns, is with regards to urban monasteries. While normally emerging as a mid-fifth-century urban feature (Cantino Wataghin 1995: 221), monastic activity seems to have been localised solely in the countryside.

Another unique aspect in the Swiss context is the use of active or former militarised space as episcopal hubs: Kaiseraugst, Windisch, Konstanz, and Chur were all late Roman military forts on or near the frontier (in the case of Kaiseraugst, the first-mentioned bishop coincides with ongoing late Roman military activity along the Upper Rhine frontier). Considering the turbulent fourth and fifth centuries, one might expect the use of a military hub as a bishopric as a logical, strategic move and a key factor in a smooth transition into the early medieval period. However, the failed bishoprics at

Kaiseraugst and Windisch should indicate that other factors – related to population, patronage, and economy – were important for stable and successful episcopal centres.

Overall, applying Cantino Wataghin's model to this study region is problematic. Different trajectories are apparent, as evident with the construction of the first church at Konstanz in the seventh century, contrasting with the mid fourth-century cathedrals in western Switzerland. More understanding is required of urban and demographic forms in our zone: this was not the stable Mediterranean world but a frontier region; scales of wealth and territory were diverse and lower population density may have meant resulted in fewer 'calls' for the development of Christian centres and monumental churches. Moreover, the model places considerable significance on palaeo-Christian places of worship – at Rome and other major Mediterranean zones, *tituli* often became zones of later church construction and yet this patterning is absent, with the exception of the so-called 'church of relics' at Geneva.

Despite notable differences with Cantino Wataghin's model, we can observe similarities with Guyon's study of urban Christianisation. First, the location of Swiss episcopal churches in peripheral zones matches a general trend in Gaul. Furthermore, the observation that church building occurred predominantly between AD 400 and 600 matches with Gallic patterns. Finally, the absence of urban monasteries and other intramural churches is another characteristic that southern Gaul shares with the majority of Swiss cities. However, if these commonalities demonstrate how models are regional specific, why does the development of Geneva's Christian urban space complement Cantino Wataghin's study? A possible (and likely) answer relates to patronage, which will be addressed in Section 7.2.

7.1.2 Rural Spaces

The recent study by Codou and Colin (2007) will act as the model for comparison on rural Christianisation. This proposed that the 'birth' of a Christian countryside began during the fifth and sixth centuries, only *after* the establishment of neighbouring urban bishoprics (Sami (2011) suggests the same for Sicily). Towns were transformed as Christianised spaces, with elites converted and pagan spaces closed. Potentially rural Christianisation could only proceed once these elites – often the main landowners – had converted. During

the initial phase of rural Christianisation, it is possible to discern different types of Christian buildings: baptismal churches, tied to bishoprics with the purpose of converting the local populace and acting as a place of congregation; funerary chapels established by rural landowners, forming modest structures for private purposes; and monastic foundations established by holy men, women, and hermits. Between AD 650 and 800, these older structures are enlarged, seemingly becoming places of congregation and losing their private function. This period also experienced a 'wave' of monastic foundations followed later by the construction of new churches under Carolingian administration. Thus key to Codou and Colin's model is determining who the patrons and the 'movers' of the Church were: Can we trace those main agents in all this; whether the rural elite, bishops, or monks?

Unlike Cantino Wataghin's model, Codou and Colin worked within a Gallic framework and thus similarities with Switzerland should be expected. Indeed, the evidence analysed in Chapter 5 above seemingly supports Codou and Colin's model: the two time-blocks explored (AD 400-600; 600-800) revealed that the first rural churches emerge in the fifth and sixth centuries, although a few churches (e.g. Stein-am-Rhein) built along the frontier suggest that connection to an established bishopric was not necessary. Some of these were private foundations, like the villa-church at Ardon, whereas others were episcopal in nature, such as indicated by the baptistery of St John in Riva San Vitale. Most were modest structures and featured burials, suggesting these churches often had funerary purposes, with founders' graves apparent in some foundations (e.g. Meinier). By the seventh and eighth centuries, older churches were often rebuilt with extra naves or annexes and large rural churches (e.g. Ramosch) emerge, suggesting rural churches now acted as places of public congregation.

But our study discovered striking variances to Codou and Colin's model. First, the early appearance of baptisteries in rural contexts contrasts with the noted absence of baptisteries in the seventh and eighth centuries. Traditionally, rural baptisteries, a sign of parish formation, emerge in the early medieval periods rather than the fifth and sixth centuries. The close proximity of Riva San Vitale to Como should betray a strong episcopal connection. Yet how should we evaluate the baptistery discovered at the church of St Mary in Glisacker? Located 81km from Martigny, the connection between the bishopric and the community there is tenuous and might even give some validity to Bowes' (2007:

156) comments that baptisteries might not always signify episcopal activity in the countryside. Second, similarities from apse-types and dimensions to funerary and parish functions suggest that design and functional changes between the late antique and the early medieval periods were negligible.

Moreover, if we consider specific intra-regional cases, different trajectories are apparent. Kaiseraugst, for example, presented both archaeological and historical evidence indicating the presence of an established bishopric in the mid-fourth century. Typically, we would expect to see the first rural churches emerge in the fifth or sixth century. Rural Christianisation, however, only begins in the Baselland area in the late sixth and seventh centuries. The early absences of episcopal activity and of rural churches have been attributed to the unstable conditions of the frontier brought about by the raids of the Alamanni and the void left by the retreat of the Roman army and, presumably, Roman administrators. The case of Chur, similarly, offers a different trajectory, with rural churches and episcopal activity occurring concurrently – the two churches at Schiers, for example, were built around the same time as the first extramural *memoria* at Chur in the fifth century. While Durst (2008: 31) implies that the foundations of rural churches in the fifth century (as well as comparisons to other frontier provinces) acts as evidence to suggest Chur acted as an episcopal seat in the fourth century, neither historical nor archaeological evidence supports this claim.

The cases of Chur and Kaiseraugst thus demonstrate a problem of using a general model, as proposed by Codou and Colin, for the Christianisation of the Swiss countryside, namely that other variables, such as the geopolitical context in the case of Kaiseraugst and the imposing geography (namely the Alps) of the Chur diocese, need to be factored into any model. Furthermore, another key factor is patronage and how the Christian countryside was regulated (see below, Section 7.2).

7.1.3 Monastic Spaces

But first we must examine how monasticism fits into Codou and Colin's model and how the phenomenon progressed in the Swiss region between AD 300 and 800. Monasticism is generally seen as a prominent presence in both texts and in the landscape. This thesis attempted to tie the role of monasticism into the wider settlement picture and discuss

how its structures 'fit' into processes of Christianisation, especially considering how, traditionally, they are often seen as distinct or detached from the organised Church.

The first monasteries were built in fifth-century western Switzerland, followed by the so-called 'Hiberno-Frankish' wave of monastic development in the seventh century. By the eighth century, Carolingian monastic influence came to dominate the countryside in eastern Switzerland. This phasing corresponds loosely with the patterning of rural Christianisation. Whereas two different time-blocks were apparent with regard to rural church foundations, the three 'waves' of monasticism might suggest more connection with wider changes in administration and state because royalty and high nobility were the main patrons. However, similar patterns are present: the initial constructions built around the fifth century; their location near pre-existing roads; earlier constructions built within abandoned or existing Gallo-Roman structures; the establishment of new communities on 'virgin soil' in the later periods; and the ties to local, non-episcopal, power (see Section 7.2).

Interestingly, whereas monastic foundations are normally perceived as the consequences of missionary activity, the historical and even hagiographical evidence does not support this for the region of Switzerland. For example, while the hagiographic tales of Gall describe his encounters with non-Christians, the same sources indicate the presence of pre-existing church administration and even structures. Walafriid Strabo's *Vita Sancti Galli* includes a number of passages where Gall interacts with local clergy, bishops, and even how the saint declined an offer to become bishop of Konstanz. Another striking characteristic is the absence of urban monasteries, as highlighted above. Their non-appearance even in later literature suggests the lack of evidence for their presence in urban centres is not the product of later destructions or rebuildings. Considering these characteristics, the relationship with Christianisation processes becomes clearer: namely that monasticism in Switzerland should not be perceived simply as missionary activities but rather as a reinforcement of the local Christian community and examples of the continual process of rural Christianisation.

Archaeologically, while different periods of monastic patronage have been recognised, a comparison of monastic plans, namely Romainmôtier and Münstair, found that while the monumentality of the abbey churches increased over time the overall layout of the communities did not vary significantly (Section 4.3.2). The dominant

distinction was in church form: fifth- and seventh-century examples featured different apse types, numbers of naves, and even orientation; the Carolingian period, on the other hand, favoured the triple-apse form and its regular use in the Chur-Rhaetic region might indicate an attempt to regulate the organisation (as seen with the enforcement of the Rule of Benedict) and structure of monastic living but also targeted efforts to draw in pilgrims.

7.1.4 Burial Spaces

Despite being one of the most contentious areas of early medieval archaeology, burials offer one of the best windows into the actual populations living and worshipping in the region. It was hoped that exploring these would give us more insight not only into personal belief but also into aspects of status, wealth, and identity.

Burials were studied in the following settings: urban (Chapter 3.4); monastic (Chapter 4.3.4); and rural (Chapter 6). These were examined in different categories: necropoleis and church burials, *ad sanctos* and founders' graves, and urban intramural burials. Despite attempting to provide a robust overview of the different burial settings and how these relate to processes of Christianisation, it was immediately apparent that there was an imbalance in the evidence. Reports on urban churches focused predominantly on the monumentality of the churches and discuss little of the significance of the first intramural burials. These reports, in turn, are overshadowed by the studies on necropoleis, their graves and grave goods. Despite this imbalance, discussions of burials cannot be ignored since changing rituals might be a result of Christian conversion or influence.

Between the fourth and seventh centuries, it appeared there was an absence of regulation from the Church on how people should be buried. Despite late antique Christian centres emerging at different episcopal hubs, some late Roman and pre-Christian necropoleis persisted well into the early medieval period undoubtedly mixing 'pagans' and Christians. New necropoleis also formed during the fifth and sixth centuries, such as at Basel-Bernerring or Elgg-Butenal. These are likely indicative of not only the arrival of new people but also, as in the case at Basel-Bernerring, the practice of residual non-Christian rituals, such as the burial of animals. Grave goods, including weaponry, ceramics, and

jewellery were a regular feature. But in theory these newcomers were Christian and so what we see here is diverse expressions of Christian belief – or at least a modified way of living and dying as Christians (Effros 2003: 118-119).

The impact of Christianity on pre-existing Late Roman burial customs and the creation of new traditions are also evident. Some churches were built within active necropoleis, such as at Bioggio or the extramural necropolis at Kaiseraugst. The exceptional example of Sion's Sous-le-Scex church, where some burials are pre-Roman, indicate a local custom of burying the dead next to the Valere mountain, a tradition appropriated by the construction of a funerary church. In other cases, correlations between changes in burial customs and Christianity are less apparent. At Bonaduz, the change from fourth-century west-facing burials with grave goods to fifth-century east-facing burials with no offerings has been tied in the past to the influence of Christianity. More recent studies, however, argue that the abandonment of the site shortly after the construction of neighbouring churches is more indicative of Christian influences.

Church burials mark a notable change in older burial customs, namely placing the body near or within a church. This emerges predominantly in the early fifth century, when the first rural churches were built and when extramural funerary chapels at Geneva and other episcopal centres were erected. Indeed, it was a common trend, with 63% of the researched churches featuring burials. Placing the body near the altar (*ad sanctos*), interestingly, was not a widespread custom. The regions of Konstanz and Chur contained the largest amount of churches with no interior burials. However, the desire by clerical and secular elites to be at death *ad sanctos* must have impacted on settlement and investment. The recent excavations at Zurzach demonstrated how the establishment of a *memoria* (allegedly dedicated to Saint Verena) resulted in a shift in settlement, with the earlier church within the fort at Zurzach subsequently abandoned. As the *memoria* developed into a church and later a medieval monastery, activity around the former fort declined. Moreover, *ad sanctos* burials were present in every settlement setting: urban, rural, forts, and monastic spaces. They denote in particular the well-to-do (spiritually and socially) vying for contact with the saints.

Founders' graves were another custom that emerged in primarily rural church contexts. These burials were placed at the centre of the churches, rather than near the altar or apse. As a result, when one entered the church, the founder's grave would be one

of the first things seen by the worshipper. Thus, while they are perceived as a sign of patronage from rural (non-episcopal) elite, this placement indicates a focus on the commemoration of the *person* rather than an attempt to be closer to a saint (or the altar). At the same time, the usual central nave placement of the founder grave would line up visually with the altar, thus connecting founder, saint, and God.

Despite the presence of both founders' graves and *ad sanctos* burials throughout Switzerland (if more common in some regions than others), the main observation from this overview is the sheer diversity of burial customs, with evidence of necropoleis and nearby funerary churches being utilised concurrently (e.g. Canton Jura). This reinforces the notion that across AD 400-800 the Church did not have particular restrictions on burial location, placement, and grave goods. Moreover, it implies burial customs, namely in rural contexts, were determined primarily by familial or communal traditions. This diversity begins to fade in the late seventh century when we start to see more commonalities. Separate necropolis-use wanes, with many abandoned by the eighth century; graveyards attached to churches dominate; inter-church burials are less common; and grave goods are all but abandoned. This particular change seems to suggest that the Church was more stronger and that burial rites were regulated.

7.2 Agency: The 'Movers' of Christianity

Throughout this thesis, considerable attention has been placed on the patrons to the early Church. Who were the 'movers' of the new religion and how directly were they involved in the development of Christian spaces in town and country? A top-down image emerged when exploring both archaeological and historical data, centred on four main types of patrons who have been highlighted throughout – bishops, royal elite, private landowners, and holy men. The role of bishops will be examined first since the impact and influence of royalty and the kingdoms which came to control the Swiss region emerge after the first bishops.

7.2.1 Bishops

Most sources (ancient and modern) emphasise the role of bishops in the spread of Christianity. Powerful individuals, such as Ambrose of Milan or Martin of Tours, drove Christianisation their regions and more widely. The attendance of Swiss bishops in Church Councils, notably Theodorus at Aquileia and Justinianus at Serdica and Cologne, indicate their involvement in wider Church matters. These Church Councils should, we assume, be signals of active debate on Church roles, impacting on episcopal policy, such as baptism and regulating ownership of church land. Bishop Maximus' assistance with King Sigismund's conversion and later construction of the monastery of St Maurice in the early sixth century denotes an active political and advisory role. More secular intrusions arise in the early medieval period, evident in Bishop Leudemund's plot to replace Chlothar.

The role of bishops in the spread of Christianity in Switzerland will have begun in Constantine's reign, although episcopal seats were not necessarily all established then. Initially, their influence was urban oriented: at Geneva, Kaiseraugst, and Martigny, monumental cathedrals were erected, including baptisteries. These were major built statements of a new, state-supported religion. Their very construction will have been highly visible, symbolic, and attracted visitors. Bishops surely exploited this by converting non-Christians. At the same time, we must consider that these buildings took many years to build. Thus, where did baptism occur when building work was going on? Early Christian Fathers, such as Tertullian, specify the importance of baptism in a church, so we might suspect temporary chapels were used (Jensen 2005: 117-144). This might offer explanation for baptisteries found in nearby forts, such as at Schaan and Zurzach.

The Ticino region, although lacking a local bishop, undoubtedly was influenced by the see of Como and a striking early survival is the baptistery of Riva San Vitale. Episcopal influence in the countryside, however, is harder to trace: while rural churches founded close to bishoprics certainly would suggest an episcopal hand at work, the puzzling case of the supposed private villa-church at Vandoeuvres, only 5km from Geneva, indicates how proximity may not have been the sole factor. Moreover, in Switzerland, only the work of Bishop Maximus at Geneva and Saint-Maurice denote clearly documented episcopal involvement with the development of new and old Christian spaces – although in both cases the focus of activity was in either urban or monastic settings.

It was not always an upward trajectory: indeed, as the role of the bishop at Geneva seemingly fades during the early medieval period, strong episcopal presences arise in other parts of Switzerland. Marius of Avenches (574-596) and the Victorids in Chur (614-836) emerge as important bishops: the metrical inscription of Marius indicates his involvement in the foundation of churches at Avenches and later the church of St Thrysus in Lausanne. The investment put into the extramural *memoriae* at Chur, later churches, indicates an active, if not controlling, hand on the development of the cult of saints, especially when the church of St Lucius appears to have been re-designed to act as a burial ground for bishops.

We then begin to see a connection between bishops and neighbouring monastic foundations: Bishops Johannes (759-782) and Waldo (782-812) were abbots not only of the monastery of St Gall but also of Reichenau. Furthermore, the donation of land to the monastery of Disentis, as described in the Will of Tello, is suggestive of bishops trying to influence or to control nearby monasteries.

7.2.2 Royalty

Between the fifth and eighth centuries, the region of Switzerland was controlled by different Germanic kingdoms: the Burgundians in the west and Ostrogoths in the east during the fifth and sixth centuries; the Merovingians (west) and Lombards (south) between the mid-seventh and eighth centuries; and the Carolingians from the mid-eighth centuries. Sources such as Gregory of Tours describe a close relationship between the nobility of these administrations and the Church. Donations of land, valuables, and resources were important factors into the development of new sacred places in both urban and rural settings.

Under the Burgundians, two notable leaders emerge – Kings Gundobad and Sigismund. While the question of Gundobad's support for Christianity centres on whether this was demonstrative of support for the Arian or Orthodox faiths, I would argue that the end result is the same, since both religions were sub-sects of Christianity. Thus, his likely involvement with the reconstruction of the North Cathedral in Geneva represented a major investment, impacting upon the urban core of his capital. The nature of Sigismund's support, on the other hand, is more straightforward: with the letters of Avitus and the

History of Gregory of Tours, Sigismund's conversion to Orthodox Christianity in the early sixth century is undeniable. His contribution in AD 515 to the foundation of the abbey of St Maurice is perceived as the beginning of a new alliance between Burgundian royalty and the Orthodox administration in Geneva and Lyon. This foundation's legacy and popularity spread throughout Western Europe, as marked by the many dedications of churches in Saint Maurice's name and in donations from elsewhere in Europe to the monastery in later periods. Sigismund's patronage continued throughout his reign and included a request for relics of Saint Peter from Rome.

The change to Merovingian hegemony saw a substantially reduced royal presence and a heavily reduced Church prominence. With the exception of King Guntram in Geneva, Frankish kings rarely travelled to the region, leaving the civic and administrative responsibilities in the hands of dukes and of counts (On whose role in the spread of Christianity, see Section 7.2.3). A monastic connection to the Merovingian kings, on the other hand, is present via King Chlothar II, who granted 'monastic immunity' to the abbey of St Maurice.

This apparent Frankish 'disconnectedness' with Church development in the Swiss region may even persist under the Carolingian royals. Local traditions at different churches, such as at Oberbipp, do describe some Carolingian kings as founders but historical and archaeological evidence does not support these connections. Royal roles in the creation of different monastic communities also are a common trend. Table 7.1 lists the various Carolingian kings who allegedly founded monasteries, either directly or indirectly via a third-person:

Period AD 700-800	Monastic communities	Connections to Administrations
	St. Gallen (?)	Carloman (?)
	Disentis	Charles Martel via Saint Pirmin
	Reichenau	Charles Martel via Saint Pirmin
	Pfäfers	Charles Martel via Saint Pirmin
	Lucerne (?)	Pepin the Short (?)
	Müstair	Charlemagne (?)

Table 7.1: Monastic Communities tied to Carolingian Royalty

These claimed connections have had a considerable impact on modern perceptions of early medieval eastern Switzerland. Some historians (e.g. Rosenwein, Zettler) perceive the role of Carolingian kings in the creation of monastic communities as indicative of a wider

Carolingian-led initiative to regulate monasticism and make it uniform in terms of layout and Rule. Others (notably Sennhauser) argue that Charlemagne and Pepin the Short did indeed have a hand in the foundation of these particular monasteries as they were located in hard-to-reach areas and overlooked key mountain passes. A direct connection is also claimed for the abbey of St Maurice, via the donation of a golden jug from Charlemagne.

7.2.3 Other Elites and Holy Men

The recent work of Bowes on villa-churches and Effros on founders' graves in Merovingian Gaul importantly questions past studies which emphasise episcopal roles in the development and creation of new Christian spaces. Rather, both demonstrate the significance of considering pre-existing later Gallo-Roman upper-class landowners as well as Germanic nobles as patrons, not only through donations of land and wealth but also via the construction of churches.

The impact of these elites on Christianisation processes in Switzerland is best traced in the countryside, contrasting the urban dominance of bishops. Private church foundations emerge in the fifth century, such as the few cases of chapels in Gallo-Roman villas. Founders' graves commence in this same period, indicating that from the fifth century, secular elites regarded burial within churches as a mark of high status. This trend increased between the sixth and eighth centuries, with what is perceived as a 'privatisation' of Christianity as well as, potentially, the use of churches not as places of worship but rather as centres of commemoration and memory for the individuals interred. Church Councils across our time-frame duly addressed the problem of private churches and the loss of revenue from associated lands. Indeed, donations of churches and land to monasteries from local noble families suggest that bishops in these areas were often disconnected from the countryside and their control over 'all churches in their diocese' was largely in name only rather than in practice. This should be a sign of ongoing private land-owning and of limited landed Church control. Only the Victorids, who controlled both religious and civic offices in the Churrhaetic region, emerge as a group with considerable control over Church properties, indicative of the donations to Disentis as well as the placement of family members in monasteries and convents.

From the sixth century, foundations of new monasteries were also tied to nobles who controlled different districts on behalf of the Merovingian king (see Table 7.2). While hagiographical sources reveal holy men were usually involved in these constructions, other factors include local power, family and influence. The development of Moutier-Grandval, for example, strengthened ties Duke Gundoin (mid-seventh century) had with the mother monastery of Luxeuil, an influential community in Merovingian politics. Control over the Jura region was undoubtedly another reason behind the monastic foundations, especially considering all three were developed around the same time and in the same region.

Period	Administration	Monastic communities	Connections to Administrations
AD 550-700	Merovingian	Moutier-Grandval	Duke Gundoin via Saint Germanus
		Vermes	Duke Gundoin via Saint Germanus
		St Ursanne	Duke Gundoin via Saint Germanus
		Romainmotier	Duke Ramelen in Jura via wife
		Baulmes	Duke Ramelen in Jura via wife
AD 700-800	Alamannic	Lützelau	Sheriff Landolt via his wife Beata

Table 7.2: Monastic Communities tied to Other Elites

A similar connection comes when considering the reestablishment of Rominamotier and Baulmes: Duke Ramelen's father, Duke Waldenen, was friends with Columbanus and his brother, Donatus, was a monk at the monastery and later was made bishop of Besançon. Uncovering other motives or connections behind monastic foundations remains difficult: the convent of Lützelau (built at the request of Beata) was later sold to a neighbouring monastery and never rose to prominence. The community's location on a small island in Lake Zürich perhaps indicates a simple religious motivation rather than one related to power and politics, although this would have been a highly visible product placement.

The case of Moutier-Grandval (as well as Vermes and Saint-Ursanne) demonstrated that holy men could also shape the way Christianity impacted on the countryside and developed new (and old) settlements. In Switzerland, the most famous patron saint is Gall, whose hermitage near Lake Constance in the seventh century led to the creation of a monastic centre that came to dominate the region to such a degree that during the formation of Switzerland in the twelfth century, the land connected to the abbey would form the territory of the canton. Other key patrons included Saints Pirmin

and Germanus. In all cases, their hermitages and actions were backed by powerful lords, as highlighted in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. Noticeably, the *Life of Saint Gall* (VSG X; trans. by Joynt 1935: 122) recounts how the monk was supported by local nobles and how the nobles donated the first portions of land that would later see the construction of a community and abbey church under the patronage of Pepin.

Only the actions of Romanus let him be read as an ‘independent’ holy man. Giving up his status as a son of a wealthy family, he left home and established monasteries in the Jura Mountains. The hagiographic accounts offer nothing to suggest these foundations were backed by local aristocracy; however, his connection with Romainmôtier is tenuous and relies predominantly on onomastics, local tradition, and the discovery of a fifth-century church. While difficult to evaluate, holy men should be considered a factor in the rise of Christianity in Switzerland especially as we may simply lack the written evidence.

In sum, the Christianisation of both urban and rural spaces was unquestionably the result of patronage from different groups of elite, high status, men and women. The intriguing aspect is the (relative) detachment between bishops and the countryside contrasting with the networks of contacts in the countryside via holy men, royalty, and elites.

7.3 Five ‘Christianisations’ of Town and Country

In bringing together the discussions and analyses of urban, rural, monastic and burial spaces, it can be argued that five different ‘zones’ rather than one territory of Christianisation emerge (Fig 7.1):

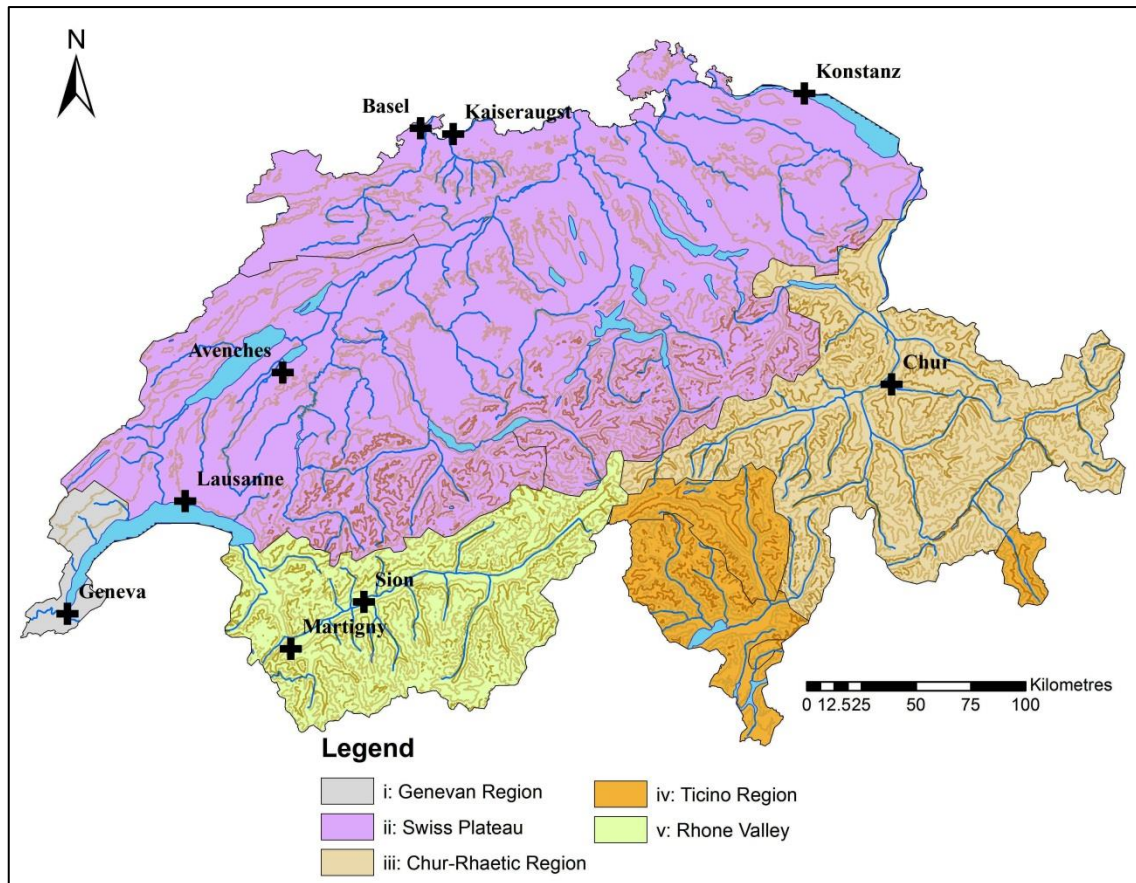


Figure 7.1: Five 'Christianisations' of Switzerland.

(i) The episcopal centre of Geneva and the surrounding diocese represents an example of a region which follows Cantino Wataghin's and Codou and Colin's models on urban and rural Christianisation respectively. Starting in the fourth century, a small timber oratory points to an emergent Christian population, which by mid-fourth century, is apparent with the development of the triple-church episcopal complex and a number of extramural chapels; churches, predominantly funerary in nature, then arise in the surrounding countryside in the fifth and sixth century. Geneva is unique in that it is the only episcopal site to have had a royal presence under the Burgundians and during this time key individuals, namely Sigismund, Gundobad, Avitus, and Maximus surface as active players in the city's development. After the sixth century, however, a weaker image prevails with fewer foundations and reduced patronage at the episcopal complex. The worship of saints occurred and relic translation into the city points to Frankish influences at play.

(ii) The Swiss Plateau acts as another region, albeit a large one, taking up three bishoprics. With the established centre at Kaiseraugst dated to the fourth century, typically one would expect the first rural churches to appear near this bishopric. The fifth

century, notably along the Rhine River and at Lake Constance, saw very few church foundations and little episcopal activity. The late-sixth- and eighth centuries were instead the main periods of church and monastic building, with signs of private, royal, and episcopal patronage. This region's sequence was perhaps conditioned by the arrival of Columbanus and Gall as well as signs of saints' worship, as at Zurzach's cult of Saint Verena. The eighth century in particular marked strong church patronage around Lake Constance and Zürich. Some regional characteristics develop as well: the use of the square apse and timber built churches.

(iii) The third region comprises the Chur-Rhaetic zone in eastern Switzerland. Episcopal activity is evident only in fifth-century Chur and coincides with small rural foundations, including remote sites such as Zillis. This indicates the Christianisation of both town and country began concurrently with private founders perhaps key agents in the rural zones. The cult of saints, on the other hand, was especially important at the episcopal centre with two extramural churches designed to house relics. The main church and monastic activities in the countryside occurred in the seventh and eighth century, culminating in the rise of the Victorids controlling both administrative and episcopal seats (effectively a precursor to the prince-bishops of the medieval period). Moreover, the Will of Tello offers the best evidence to suggest that parish boundaries were forming around 760s, with churches already acting as markers to differentiate between villages and farmland or at least an organisation of the landscape by the presence of churches had already formed by the eighth century, with churches acting as markers to differentiate between villages and farmland.

(iv) The Ticino region forms a distinctive area, lacking urban zones and a local bishopric. Rather, foundations here appear tied to the Italian episcopal centre at Como, whose proximity to major sites including the baptistery of Riva San Vitale suggests that its diocese controlled this territory. Like the Chur-Rhaetic region, the main period of church construction was the seventh and eighth centuries. An interesting characteristic here is the lack of rural monasteries as well as of local saints.

(v) The final region displaying unique Christianisation processes lies in the upper Rhône valley, although this area is particularly difficult to evaluate given knowledge of two rural foundations only. Starting in the mid-fourth century, an episcopal presence arose under Bishop Theodorus who allegedly began the cult of the Theban martyrs at Saint-

Maurice. This cult became the focus of patronage for Sigismund and the Gallic bishoprics of Geneva and Vienne – the involvement of the bishop at Martigny or Sion is strikingly absent. Rural Christianisation begins in the fifth century but signs of early medieval foundations are lacking. The seventh and eighth centuries are largely characterised by Sion's development as the new episcopal seat, where further worship of the cult of saints is evident in the modification of two late antique funerary churches with crypts. While architecturally, these structures point to connections with Italy, politically, the region began to show a shift towards the Frankish Kingdoms.

7.4 Significance of Identity and Topography

Throughout this thesis, aspects of identity, as well as the significance of topography, have been addressed since both undoubtedly were key factors in the religion's progress. But Switzerland was never unified territory in antiquity, comprising different Roman territories, taken over by different post-Roman powers, and geographically split between east and west. Thus, it was expected that no fully *uniform* image would appear.

7.4.1 Identity

With regard to identity, Christianisation has always been regarded as a two-way process: as the religion impacts on a region, so the customs and traditions of that region will affect the religion. Based on this perception, it was examined whether we could see signs of different identities of church patrons and builders affecting church design and ritual. This exploration necessitated the use of an intra-regional comparative approach, as differences in identity only emerge through comparison with the 'Other'. Noted difficulties were established: for example, analysis of recent debates on ethnogenesis and Germanic ethnicity revealed how archaeological and written evidence act as poor guides to qualifying the identification of a particular ethnicity. Indeed, in Chapter 6.3.2, it was possible to see how scholars have attempted to 'forge' ethnicity by assuming that certain artefacts (e.g. dress, brooches) were emblematic of specific identities.

Despite this, several impressions regarding identity were noticeable via the analysis of urban, burial, and rural landscapes. The first and most obvious was rank and

power. Founders' graves, *ad sanctos* burials, and the construction of churches themselves act as expressions of power and social status. In particular, the placement of founders' graves at the centre of the church demonstrates how an elite's rank influences design, as the very placement of his burial is integral to the foundation. *Arcosolia* and *formae* are other indicators of displayed social status: these arched recesses and built-in burial plots - e.g. found at Saint-Julien-en-Genevois, Saint-Maurice, and the crypts of St Theodorus in Sion and of St Stephen in Chur - are built into the first fabric of the churches and thus indicate the planning process for the church was not only focussed on the building acting as a place of congregation and liturgy but also as a means for an elite member to display his rank in death.

Expressions of familial and local traditions were another social quality that emerged. At Sissach, the church of St James was originally utilised by both genders, with male and female burials presented with high status goods. But its Phase II, the burial evidence suggests that the church was next utilised only for women. This unique transition suggests that a local tradition or even belief structure regulated how burial space was to be used and imposed a division between the sexes (thus, gender comes into play as well). While this patterning might be indicative of the creation of a nunnery during Phase II (when Burnell (1998: 33) proposes that the founder's family had other estates and established a secondary church for the men), eleventh-century documentation attesting to this church's parish function argues against a convent (Marti 2000: 162).

Other local traditions emerged: the construction of churches near ring-stones in Chur-Rhaetic region and the continuity of so-called 'pagan' rituals in relation to these stones (Section 5.1.1); the tradition of burying the dead with a ceramic vessel (traditionally seen as a 'pagan' ritual) at Basel-Bernerring and the use of mounds to commemorate the dead (Section 6.1.2); and the long use of the necropoleis at Kallnach acting as a point of memory for the inhabitants of the region (Section 6.1.3).

Another aspect of identity that materialised through our analyses were power dynamics. The foundation of monasteries in particular emphasised the connection these supposed 'ascetic' communities had with wider politics. The placement of elite family members, or the later control of different abbeys by bishops, demonstrates how churches and monasteries became commodities and possessions of elites as well as communities/buildings designed for worship. Chapter 5 (see Section 5.5.1-5.5.2) identified

how the Church throughout Late Antiquity and the early medieval period struggled against the rise of private churches and the failure to control their owners. Power dynamics tie into a variety of different social categories, ranging from rank and wealth to familial heritage (e.g. donations to Disentis of land passed down to Tello from his father).

Finally, the establishment of churches, monasteries, and chapels is the most obvious expression of religious identity and devotion. The construction of a church demonstrates the founder's commitment to Christianity and their interment within these indicates belief in a favoured afterlife. Sigismund's construction of the abbey of St Maurice, for example, is seen as a gesture to the Orthodox Church of his commitment to his conversion from Arianism as well as a sign of his own power as co-ruler of the Burgundian kingdom. However, religion and the related art, buildings, and material culture should also be seen as a form of style. Crosses, while often regarded as signs of Christian believers, have been used as a symbol for many different religions and thus the famous Lombard gold crosses of Stabio and Stein-am-Rhein are perhaps indicative of style rather than personal belief.

7.4.2 Topography and Settlement Context

The unique geography and environment of Switzerland described in Chapter 2 were clearly important determinants. Studies on landscape archaeology emphasise how settlement development and travel networks were dependent upon the topography in which they lay. Thus, this thesis attempted to evaluate how far pre-existing topography influenced the development of Christian sacred spaces and their distribution in the landscapes.

In both urban and rural contexts, pre-existing topography was crucial in the location and placement of churches. In towns and forts, there appears to have been a negotiation of space: most churches arose in peripheral settings if not away from the former centre of towns (e.g. Martigny and Avenches); fort-churches were often placed in a corner against the circuit walls, as at Kaiseraugst and Schaan. This raises questions of agency, specifically whose choice of where these structures would stand. In the case of Geneva, the destruction of a large, presumably civic, Gallo-Roman structure to make way for the first church in the fourth century should signify permission of higher authorities. In

some cases, churches occupied elevated sites, such as the hill-churches and sun terraces of Graubünden. These sites, notably the hill-church of Trun, demonstrate that well-established settlements were not always the target location for church construction.

Clusters of both churches and settlements around well-maintained roads, routes which followed the natural geography of the land, are telling indicators of the significance of natural landmarks and boundaries. The Alps, in particular, acted as natural isolating and limiting factors to choice of location. Most churches in the Chur-Rhaetic and Ticino regions were built along major valleys, the main thoroughfares connecting rural communities to towns and forts. In other cases, churches were difficult to access and could only be reached by using mountain passes, such as the eighth-century churches and monastic communities at Ramosch and Müstair. Indeed, the Alps and the apparent isolation of the Chur-Rhaetic region have been perceived as a factor to the development of the language of Romansch and to the spread of Christianity. This link, however, is misleading since historical records show the area was connected to the Frankish Kingdoms through the activity of bishops, who attended synods; indeed, hagiographical texts indicate regular travel between the region of Konstanz and Chur and the designs of churches and crypts, such as St Stephen and St Lucius in Chur, potentially signify communication with Italy.

Landscape and topography determined networks and connections between communities. As discussed in Chapter 5, proximity to episcopal centres was a probable indicator of which churches were established and controlled by bishops. Maintaining regular contact with these settlements and parishes was not only an important display of the bishop's power but also his administrative duties as shepherd. We have stressed, however, that these connections could be affected by climate and snow: seasonal weather resulted in the use of different, usually longer, routes, fewer visits from pilgrims, bishops, and other travellers, prompting us to consider climatic impacts on economic and demographic activities too.

7.5 Christianisation: Time to Move On?

The above discussion shows that the picture of 'Christianisation' is by no means simple. As seen, studies on Christianisation predominantly fall into two groups: socio-historical analyses on conversion or archaeological analyses on the impact of the religion on urban

and rural landscapes. In recent years, these types of studies have seen criticism (like Romanisation), with suggestions that we should abandon the term 'Christianisation' for more flexible phrasing, such as 'religious transformation' (see Dijkstra 2008; Bowes 2008). This argument is based on the observation that the term 'Christianisation' implies a focus on the change from pagan landscapes to Christian ones, thus enforcing the traditional 'pagan versus Christian' dichotomy. Since both approaches to Christianisation utilise primary sources, including hagiographic accounts and Christian historians, critics argue that our perception of the past events is viewed through the writers' perspective which thus skews our interpretations. This problem is inevitably present in Switzerland. While other faiths, notably Judaism, were likely practised in the region, unfortunately the evidence for these different religious groups is lacking. However, some other faiths (e.g. Mithraism) or sub-sects of Christianity (notably Arianism) were also discussed, offering a more robust image.

Another issue regarding Christianisation relates to the simplification of an undoubtedly complex and gradual process. Moreover, the scale of these complexities is often lost. Indeed, similarities between regions are often stressed to justify the creation of models whereas explanations of any differences are usually quoted as a 'local factor'. This issue was counteracted here in a number of ways: utilising a region that was affected by not just one Germanic group but many; examining multiple aspects of the ancient world affected by Christianity (i.e. urban, rural, burial, identity); and considering these areas within their topographical and environmental setting (including climate). This approach revealed a full five zones that experienced and accommodated Christianity in different ways. However, other essential factors were necessarily overlooked, notably local economies and stages in church construction; scope does exist to do more micro-regional studies to assess these, although arguably the archaeologies of settlement here are still too partial to achieve this.

Perhaps the greatest issue with studies of 'Christianisation' is the implication of agency. By developing models with phases how a region was affected by Christianity, the key related question becomes about who was leading and directing these steps. As a result, we stress and emphasise the role of elites – kings, bishops, landowners, nobles, holy men – and thus lose sight of others. How did these people contribute? What role did they play in the foundation of churches and monastic communities? They were often the

workers – cutting and transporting stone – but they were also worshippers – praying in a church, perhaps being married there and ultimately being buried as a Christian. How did they view these places? Were they involved or detached? Can we even be certain they were allowed inside churches?

Despite these problems, research and studies on Christianisation still provide valuable data, notably on growth and spread of the religion, on the development of the Church as an administrative and political power, on the diverse ways this religion impacted on urban and rural landscapes, and, importantly, on the different social responses to the religion. Like Romanisation, where scholars long perpetuated a theory that every province ‘became Roman’ in the same way, much care is needed to avoid developing a simplistic image of the Church spreading and growing in an organised and controlled fashion. Indeed, by focussing on Switzerland, a non-Mediterranean region and an area divided by different people and (initially) by different geo-political powers, and yet consists on micro-zones geographically defined (e.g. Chur-Rhaetic Alps, Lake Geneva and Rhone Valley basin, Swiss Plateau, and Lake Constance basin), it was possible to demonstrate the diversity, alongside inherent commonalities, of the development of Christianity. Different variabilities, such as landscape, military pasts, diverse powers, communications, and localised economic bases, can be proposed as key to the apparent varied take-ups and rates of Christianisation and church-building. ‘Fashions’ or ‘trends’ exist to show uniformity but often this is open to some regional variation, including how Christianisation was a long drawn-out affair that did not finalise between the fourth and fifth centuries but continued into the eighth century.

7.6 Scope for Future Research

While this thesis has produced some answers with regard to Christianisation in Switzerland, it has also identified gaps that exist within our data and has questioned how these gaps affect our interpretations. This final section outlines six potential research topics and details how the research should be approached (Table 7.3).

First, as identified in Chapter 2, our understanding of Swiss late antique and early medieval settlement dynamics remains fragmentary. This, in turn, affects our

Table 7.3: Proposed research topics			
Topic	Targeted Subjects	Action	Aims
Rural Settlement Dynamics	Rural zones	Field walking Ground penetrating radar Large-scale excavation	Better trace the development of rural villages Evaluate the organisation of rural zone via church parish system Assess the importance of parishes to settlement dynamics
Urban Redesign	Episcopal centres	Archival research Ground penetrating radar Excavation focus on housing and internal routeways	Determine how far church districts radically change urban design Establish other non-Christian districts – residential, economic etc. Question whether internal routeways change in new Christian topography
Monastic Networks	Monastic zones	Monastic archaeology Archival Research	Evaluate the networks between monasteries and bishoprics Assess their potential involvement in parish development Evaluate whether workshops were present and how much these contributed to wider economy Better understand their layouts and development
Tracing Networks	Episcopal centres and rural areas	Spatial analyses (e.g. least-cost path via ArcGIS 10) Field surveys	Assess the connectivity of rural communities to episcopal centres; Better understand development of episcopal and parish roles Evaluate how seasonal weather (e.g. snow) impacted on these networks and potentially isolated monastic and rural zones from urban centres
Assessing Familial Funerary Churches	Burials customs and Christianity	Osteology Radiocarbon dating DNA modelling	Validate (or disprove) theories that graves placed in founders' churches were relatives of the founder Better define phases of use Explore aspects of relationships between burials
Christianity in Frontier zones, AD 300-800	Rural and urban zones	Textual sources Church and settlement archaeology	Evaluate the development of Christianity in other non-Mediterranean zones Establish 'Christianisation models' for these areas

understanding of the growth of the Church, how churches impacted on pre-existing as well as new communities, and how parishes developed. For example, attempts to address the question of whether churches acted as 'magnets' for settlement or were established through a negotiation of space within a pre-existing community were stifled by poor or absent contextual data. Thus, one avenue of potential research is examining rural settlement dynamics with the aim of evaluating the organisation of rural spaces via the parish system and assessing parish roles in settlement forms and functions, aspects of research explored in excavations at Lausen-Bettenach (Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992). Methodologically, key tools will be geophysical surveys, considering the probability that many modern villages lie above their early medieval counterparts. These types of surveys have been met with considerable success - notably the Landscape Research Centre's work on the Vale of Pickering (Powlesland *et al.* 2006) and the Whittlewood Project (Jones *et al.* 2006) - and can prove valuable to focus excavation projects but also to clarify past settlement contexts when excavation is not an option. Larger-scale rural excavation projects, however, need to be conducted to better place previously excavated churches within their settlement context. Too many of the churches analysed within this thesis only saw limited excavation, often in relation to restoration projects, and thus the surrounding environ is lost, producing an image of churches standing alone in the rural landscape.

A similar project is proposed on urban redesign, with aims to determine how far church districts radically changed pre-existing urban layouts and their internal routeways. An important part of this project would be to establish other potential districts (e.g. residential, economic, public, etc.) in order to better understand urban change from the Roman to the Medieval periods. Targeted excavations in these zones would seek to yield data on structural and economic data; re-investigations of ceramic assemblages and environmental data (e.g. soil sampling to discuss agricultural yield) would also highlight on living conditions and possible trade networks. Indeed, Geneva's recent excavations and investigations act as a local guide while the recent Wallingford Project (Christie *et al.* 2009) demonstrates the value of varied methods to evaluate urban transformations.

Further work in monastic archaeology also needs to be conducted, especially if we are to better discuss them in the wider economic and social world of Late Antiquity and the early medieval period. As observed in Chapter 4, our understanding of these communities largely stems from excavations focused on abbey churches and primary

sources. A project concentrating on the settlement context and the monastic layout as a whole would not only produce more data on other buildings important to monastic communities (notably workshops, living spaces, kitchens, etc.) but also feed into a key project of how these communities interacted with neighbouring Christian spaces. What types of relationship did monasteries, notably rural ones, have with parish churches? Do we see a determined effort of bishops or abbots to develop monasteries as pilgrim zones?

By developing a more robust image of how Christianity developed in both urban and rural landscapes, we will be better equipped to evaluate how these two zones interacted, especially in terms of how episcopal centres controlled villages and their churches. Was there a 'strategy' of church placement by bishops? How are parishes and churches set up in remote areas regulated? A project on this avenue of research would focus on the theme of networks. Did communities interact strongly? How can we trace movement between villages and towns. Trade items would act as a guide. The consideration of weather, vegetation, elevation, and other potential 'hindrances' to routeways between urban centres and rural communities will be essential to trace these networks. Moreover, bearing in mind the seasonal nature of weather in Switzerland, this project has the potential to evaluate whether some parishes were 'closed' during winter seasons.

Burial customs, as seen, are a potentially valuable avenue to pursue the growth and spread of Christianity. While Switzerland boasts an impressive record for excavation on necropoleis and church burials, scientific analyses on these remains have rarely been conducted in a systematic fashion. DNA analyses, for example, would be especially useful to validate the theory that subsequent burials in founders' churches indeed contained relatives. An increase in radio-carbon dating would better assess the chronology of church use and construction phases, especially considering how older excavations relied predominantly on burial typologies to date church foundations. Finally, stable isotope analyses on skeletal remains have the opportunity to evaluate diet and health and thus have the potential to add another layer to discussions of status and rank, and also on mobility of population. For example, should we expect burials within churches to have better diet and health than those found outside?

Finally, the impact of Christianity on other non-Mediterranean zones needs to be explored. It was argued that many models of Christianisation have been developed in

regions rich with textual and archaeological data, notably North Africa and Italy. Thus, utilising these models within a non-Mediterranean context forms an inadequate comparison and likely produces conclusions stressing differences rather than commonalities. We should instead ask how Switzerland compares with Noricum or Bavaria - do these fringe territories have comparable Christianisation processes? By applying similar projects in these areas and creating region-specific models, we might better evaluate the factors behind the growth of a strong, centralised, medieval Church north of the Alps.

My exploration and questioning of the 'Christianisation of Switzerland' between AD 300 and 800 has, hopefully, shown the value of studying a Roman 'frontier' province and territory open to diverse post-Roman powers. My work has revealed an image of multiple Christianisations, demonstrating, on the one hand, the importance of considering both local and regional factors to the development of this religion, as well as the inherent complexities behind these Christianisations. Indeed, this research illustrates that the early Church was not as organised as once was believed and that the religion met with failures and hindrances during its early development, as evidenced by failed episcopal seats. Switzerland presents some fascinating but also some frustrating data; the challenge exists to build on those data and to develop further our interpretations for Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Major roots of change are evident in these eras, likely contributing to the diverse identities which later emerge in the High Middle Ages and potentially reflect in the cultures of modern day Switzerland.

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**A Christianisation of Switzerland?
Urban and Rural Transformations in a Time
of Transition -
AD 300-800**

Volume II: Gazetteer and Appendices

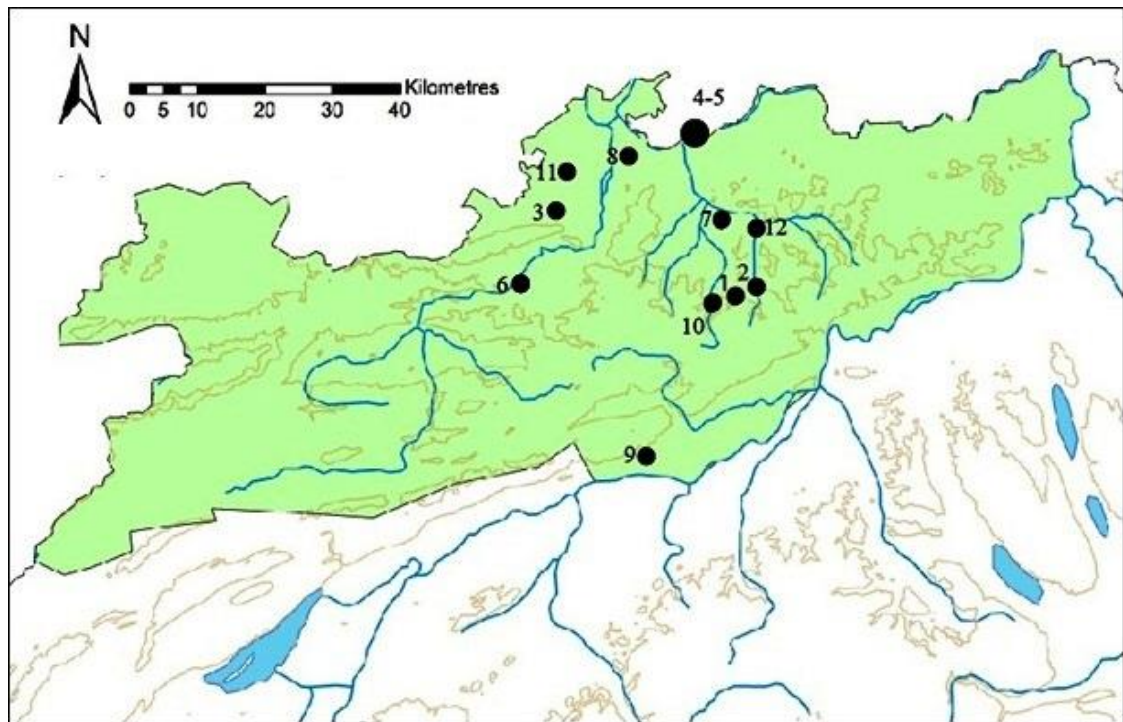
Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester
by

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August 2013

Volume 2 comprises the gazetteer and appendices of this thesis. The gazetteer is broken up into the seven diocesan regions and organised alphanumerically, where the letter corresponds to the specified gazetteer and the number to the order within the gazetteer. Each entry contains key fields: site name, canton, associated settlement, construction phases, dedications, and excavation history. This is followed by descriptions on the plans, construction materials, internal furnishings, related burials, and other data pertaining to the churches. Each entry provides a floor-plan of the early medieval phase and where possible, images of the excavations, modern constructions, artefacts, and burials. This information is necessarily abbreviated and provides the essential core data which have been referenced and used within the main text. Not included in this gazetteer are churches related to monastic sites, which are evaluated individually in Chapter 4 rather than assessed statistically as a group. The reason for this relates to an inadequate sample size as well as incomplete data (e.g. lack of excavation reports).

Gazetteer A: Diocesan region of Kaiseraugst/Basel



A1: Bennwil
A2: Diegten
A3: Ettingen
A4: Kaiseraugst episcopal church
A5: Kaiseraugst cemetery church
A6: Laufen

A7: Lausen
A8: Muttenz
A9: Oberbipp
A10: Oberdorf
A11: Oberwil
A12: Sissach

A1. ST MARTIN, BENNWIL

Site Name: St Martin

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (rectangular building)
- Phase Ia: c. AD 800-900 (square apse)
- Phase II: 1617 (damage caused by fire)
- Phase III: 1620s (tower)
- Phase III: 1648/49 (enlarged)

Dedications: Saint Martin (1218)

Excavation History: Small-scale project by J. Ewald and J. Tauber in 1982.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular hall (5.8 x 8.8m). In the south wall, two window arches are present; in the western wall, a central entrance. A choir was added to the eastern wall (*Phase Ia*).

Construction Materials: Stone-built; south-wall preserved from early medieval period, featuring two arched windows.

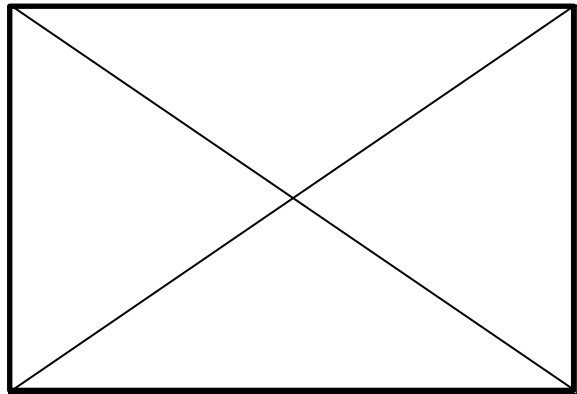
Internal Furnishings: No evidence recovered.

Related Burials: 6 tombs were found inside the original church. Tomb 8 was stone-lined. An empty grave (labelled 'Kenoftaph') was located south of the central nave.

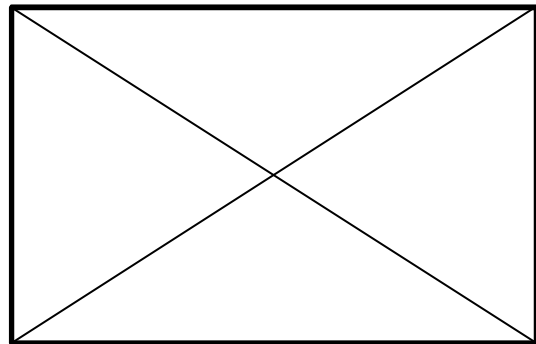
Other: During the Middle Ages the church and land was owned by the counts of Frobourg, a noble family of the region. It was later donated to Schöntal Abbey in Germany.

Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 184-185.



*Floor-plan of St Martin, Bennwil
(Marti 2000:184).*

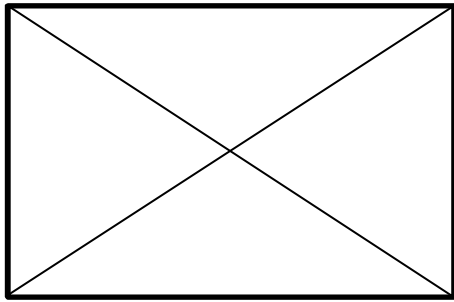


*Reconstruction of Phase I hall church;
showing façade and the south wall and its
two arched windows. (Marti 2000:184).*



*Church of St Martin, Bennwil
(Photo courtesy of Dietrich Weidmann, 2011).*

A2. SS PETER and PAUL, DIEGTEN



*Floor-plan of SS Peter and Paul, Diegten
(Marti 2000: 1683).*

Site Name: Diegten

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: *villa*

Dedications: Saints Peter and Paul (1275)

Excavation History: 1958-1959 by Walter Drack.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (*memoria*/church?)
- Phase II: 11th century (apse/enlarged)

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised an E-W oriented rectangular room (7 x 5.5m). In the 11th century, the room was enlarged and an apse was attached to the eastern wall.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Absence of any choirs or altars.

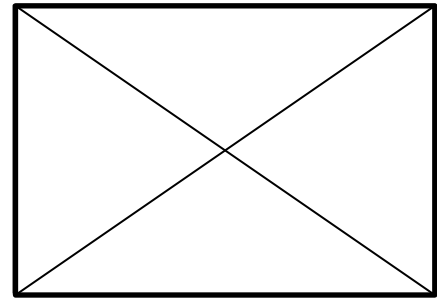
Related Burials: 14 flagstone graves were placed inside the initial structure. 6 other graves were found outside the proposed northern wall (two of which were earthen). Three-quarters of the adult graves contained fragments of belts, including buckles.

Other: Diegten was a rural centre in the late medieval period and bordered the region of Sissach.

Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 168-169.

A3. SS PETER and PAUL, ETTINGEN



*Floor-plan of Ettingen with respect to possible
temple (Marti 2000: 173).*

Site Name: Ettingen

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: farm?

Dedications: Saints Peter and Paul

Excavation History: 1994 by Amt für Museen und Archäologie.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 1st-3rd century (temple?)
- Phase II: c.AD 700 (*memoria*/church?)
- Phase III: c.750-850 (church with choir)

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular E-W oriented structure (8 x 6m). *Phase II* saw the original building extended (11 x 6 m), using some of the foundations of the earlier structure.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with *spolia*.

Internal Furnishings: Excavators may have detected a circular font, which drained into a pit. A choir space was delimited by a screen or fence, determined by four postholes.

Related Burials: Two interior children burials, placed against the southern wall, are associated with *Phase I*. Earthen graves (Grave 41, 42, possibly 2) were found outside the church. Wheel-thrown early medieval shards were found in the backfill of Grave 42, dated to the late 7th or early 8th century.

Other: Marti (2000: 173) notes that *Phase I* could be interpreted as a Roman temple.

Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 172-174.

A4. ST GALL, KAISERAUGST

Site Name: Kaiseraugst

Canton: Aargau

Associated Settlement: *castrum Rauracense*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 350 (hall church)
- Phase II: 5th century (sacristies/annexes)
- Phase III: 14th century (new construction)
- Phase IV: 1736-1750 (Baroque interior)

Dedications: St Gall (10th century)

Excavation History: 1960-66 by Max Martin.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a E-W oriented rectangular building (17 x 11.5m), with an eastern semi-circular apse. Annex rooms were located to the north, including a bath, and a courtyard. *Phase 2* saw annexes attached to the apse as well as the expansion of the north annex rooms, including a large basin interpreted as a baptistery.

Construction Materials: Tile and mortar (floor); Roman brick (*spolia* from *Augusta Raurica*?).

Internal Furnishings: An eastern choir, on a slightly elevated floor, was separated by the nave by a chancel. The floor was made of tile and mortar. Elements of hypocaust system were found under the floor possibly indicating heating was used for the church.

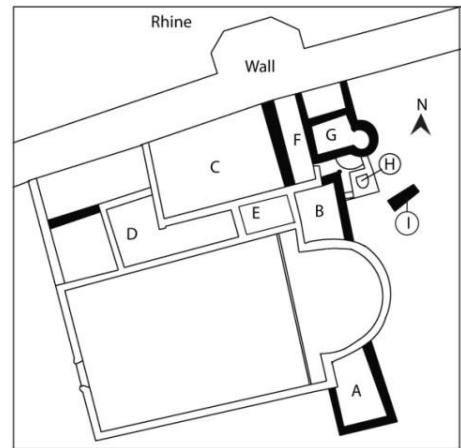
Related Burials: A solitary burial was found outside the apse dating to the 5th or 6th century.

Other: Kaiseraugst is famous for a large silver hoard, dated to the mid-fourth century, discovered in the 1960s. Many of the vessels feature images, including Christian iconography, Greek heroes (Achilles, Odysseus, etc), and even a portrait of Constans (342/343). King Arnulf owned the church and later granted it to his vassal Anno in the 9th century. In the 10th century, it was granted to the Abbey of St Gall.

Select Bibliography

Schwarz 2002: 153-165.

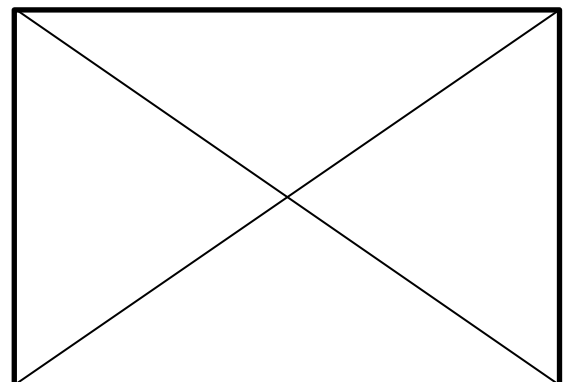
Marti 2006: 26-47.



Plan of St Gall church;
Phase I (white); Phase II (black)
(Image Courtesy of Marti 2006).



Archaeological remains preserved under the
courtyard of present church.



Artist's interpretation of the 5th-century church
(www.augusta-raurica.ch, accessed: 4 Jan 2011).



Close-up of a chi-rho on a stylus from the treasure
hoard

A5. UNKNOWN, KAISERAUGST (?)

Site Name: Kaiseraugst

Canton: Aargau

Associated Settlement: *Augusta Raurica*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (*memoria*/church?)

Dedications: unknown

Excavation History: First excavated 1839/1840 by J.J. Schmid; M. Martin re-excavated the area, uncovering more tombs in the 1970s.

Description of Plan: The only construction, an E-W oriented rectangular plan, 9.5 m long and 6 m wide surrounded by burials.

Construction Materials: Brick-built.

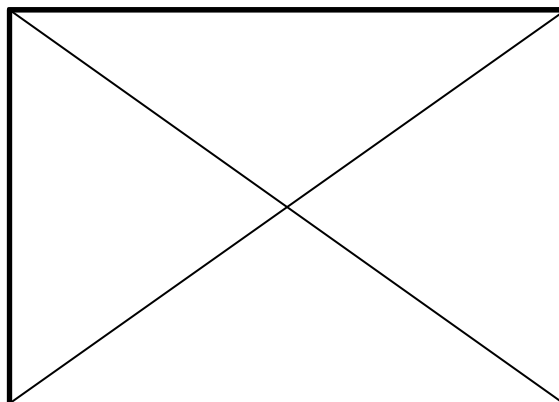
Internal Furnishings: No evidence for a choir, altar, or divisions.

Related Burials: Six graves were found inside the building, one of which (380) was placed after the church where as the others were relatively contemporaneous with the construction of the church. Inscriptions associated with exterior graves 88 and 95, both with 'Germanic' names (Baudoaldus and Radoara, respectively). Rich grave offerings were found in grave 88, including belt buckles, gold coins, and glass vessels.

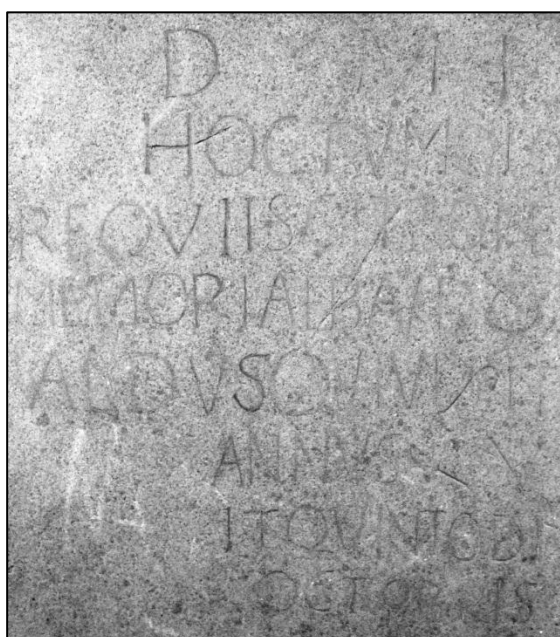
Other: The early excavations have led to some doubt over the exact locations of many of the graves found by Schmid. The dating of the chapel/*memoria* has been based on grave-goods.

Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 154-156.



Kaiseraugst cemetery church located in the necropolis (Marti 2000: 154).



7th-century inscription from Kaiseraugst cemetery:

'To the Manes. In this burial mound lies Baudoaldus, remembered as a good man, who lived peacefully for 55 years and died on 17th of October'.



7th-century inscription from Kaiseraugst necropolis: 'Here lies Radoara'.

A6. ST MARTIN, LAUFEN (?)

Site Name: Laufen

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Former Roman *villa*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century AD (church?)
- Phase II: 10th-11th century (annexes)
- Phase III: 1404 (new roof)
- Phase IV: 1637 (ruined)
- Phase V: 1766 (rebuilt)
- Phase VI: 1809 (demolition and construction of modern church)

Dedications: Saint Martin (1265)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavations by H. Courvoisier and H. R. Sennhauser in 1966.

Description of Plan: *Phase I:* excavations found a northern wall and a NE corner. Length and width are unknown.

Construction Materials: Limestone-built with mortar; some *spolia* evident in the foundation walls.

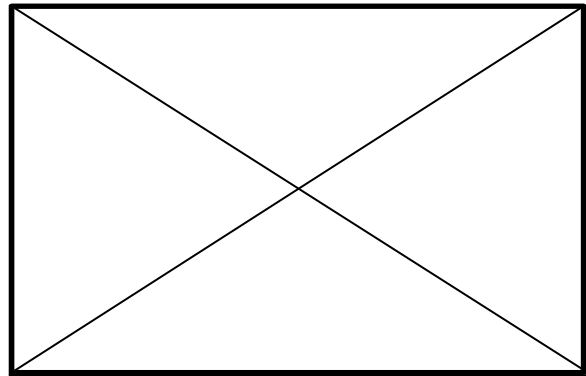
Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

Related Burials: A small number of earlier 2nd and 3rd century burials were found in the vicinity of the church and the village but no information was listed regarding early medieval graves.

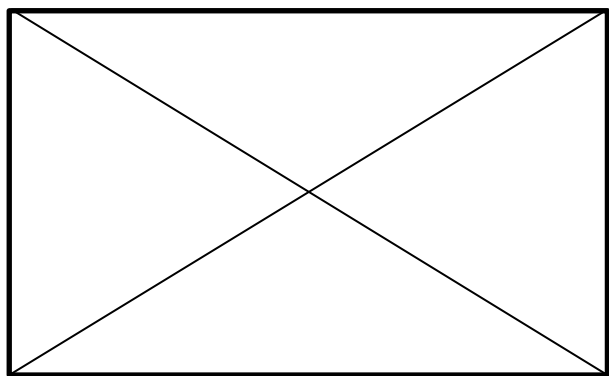
Other: The *villa rustica* located near the church went out of use around AD 300.

Select Bibliography

Oswald *et al.* 1966-1971: 168-169.



Floor-plan of excavated remains; black = Phase I; grey = Phase II (Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 169).



Reconstruction of the villa rustica house (Gerster-Giambonini 1978: 30).



Church of St Martin, Laufen (Image Courtesy of Roland Zumbuehl, 2004).

A7. ST NICHOLAS, LAUSEN

Site Name: Lausen

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: Adjacent to a former Roman *villa*; *Bettenach* (early medieval village 5th - 14th century)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 600 (hall church)
- Phase II: c. 650 (annexes)
- Phase III: 11th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 15th century (Gothic)

Dedications: Saint Nicholas (modern dedication)

Excavation History: M. Schmaedecke and J. Tauber led full-scale excavations from 1985-92.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a E-W oriented rectangular nave with a semi-circular apse (4 x 6 m). Annexes were added in *Phase II* to the north and west.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A small wall, placed across the building (Phase 1) about 2m deep created a choir zone. Indications for an altar suggest that the church was designed for preaching (Marti 2000: 159). A narrow cavity was found attached to the small wall.

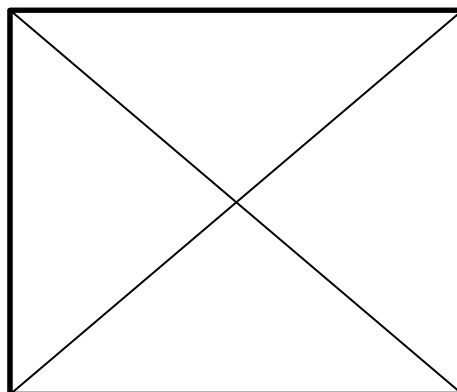
Related Burials: A solitary grave inside the church was found near the choir but had no grave goods. The annex in *Phase II* served as a burial room with 9 graves. Graves outside the building were also found. All have similar orientations - facing direction of apse - except for grave 28 of E-W orientation.

Other: Excavations uncovered many *Grübenhauser* and ceramic vessels, including wine amphorae from north Africa, an 8th-century brooch in the shape of a cross, and signs of crafts, including glass and iron processing. The village of *Bettenach* was abandoned in the 14th century, while the church continued to be used and modified.

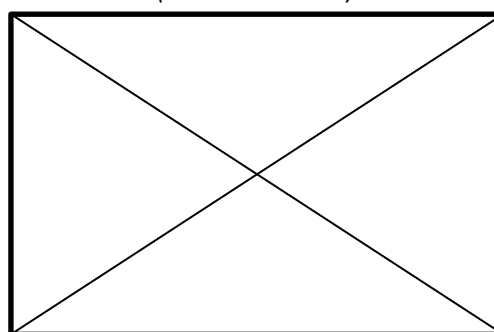
Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 158-159.

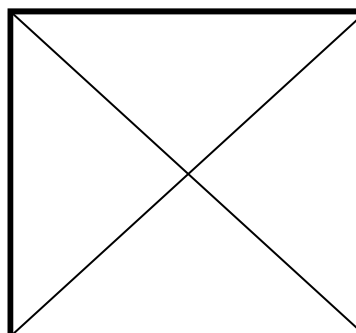
Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992.



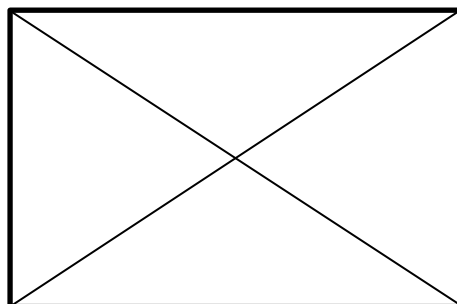
*Floor-plan of St Nicholas, Lausen
(Marti 2000: 158).*



*A pit-house excavated at Bettenach
(Schmaedecke and Tauber 1992: 20).*



*8th-century cross brooch
(www.archaeologie.bl.ch; accessed: 15
Mar 2012).*



*Current church of St Nicholas
(www.baselland.ch; accessed 20 Jun 2012).*

A8. ST ARBOGAST, MUTTENZ

Site Name: MuttENZ

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: Early medieval village

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase Ia: c. 750 (extension)
- Phase III: 12th century (late Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 15th century (fortified with walls)
- Phase V: 1630 (enlarged)

Dedications: Saint Arbogast (11th century)

Excavation History: 1972/1973 by; 2008 by von Wartburg and Marti, part of Archäologie Baselland projects.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an oblong nave with a square choir (15 x 6m). Soon after, *Phase Ia*, the church was extended westward by 1.2m.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A barrier divided the nave from the choir. An altar base was found at the centre of the choir. Its deposition went past the level of *Phase Ia*, suggesting the feature was present in *Phase I*.

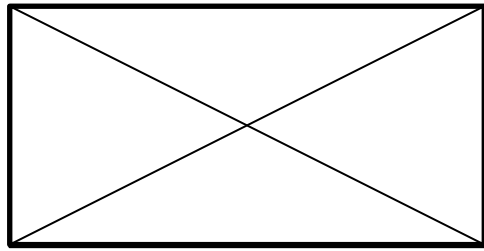
Related Burials: 6 burials were found inside the church, all stone-lined. Graves 21-24 were adjacent to the southern wall, while Grave 20 was closest to the choir. External graves were also found (although in poor condition) outside the western wall. Many graves contained children. In one case, a child was buried inside the church with a knife, dated to the 8th-9th centuries, the only grave with an item.

Other: Ceramics and coins suggest an earlier Roman phase, but no walls or evidence of a structure were found. Recent work in 2008 has identified pit-houses behind the church, suggesting settlement immediately alongside the church. There is no clear tie-in to a proposed Roman site.

Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 169-170; 189.

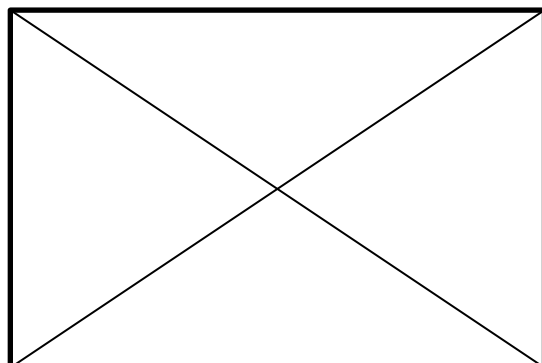
von Wartburg and Marti 2008: 47-48.



*Floor-plan of St Arbogast, MuttENZ
(Marti 2000: 170).*



*Current church of St Arbogast
(Image Courtesy of Roland Zumbühl, 2008).*



*View of the exposed northern half of
a pit-house
(von Wartburg and Marti 2008: 47).*

A9. ST JOHN, OBERBIPP

Site Name: Oberbipp

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Abandoned 3rd-century Roman *villa*; 7th-century necropolis.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 2nd/3rd century (estate house)
- Phase II: 5th century (annex room)
- Phase III: 7th-8th century (burials and 'phantom church')
- Phase IV: 8th century (Carolingian)
- Phase V: c. AD 1100 (Romanesque)
- Phase VI: 14th century (renovations)
- Phase VII: 15th century (basilica tower)
- Phase VIII: 1686 (preaching hall)

Dedications: Saint John (AD 963)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation by H.R. Sennhauser in 1959.

Description of Plan: The first potential signs of Christianity derive from 8 tombs, potentially outlining the interior of a small church (*Phase III*). More substantial evidence for a church is in *Phase IV*, which consisted of a northern and western wall, and a northern small semi-circular apse. A three-apsed plan was suggested based on the wide rectangular apse and a later extension (12.90 x 13.30m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with mortar.

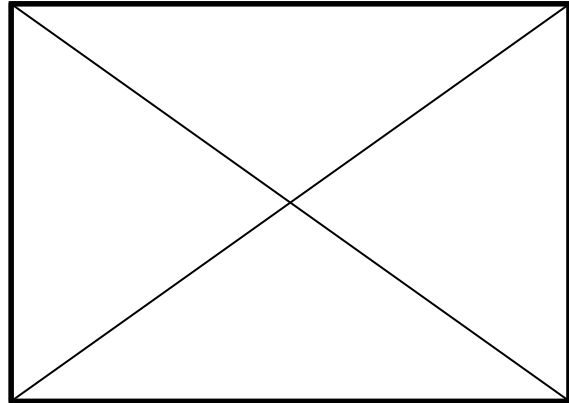
Internal Furnishings: No evidence recovered.

Related Burials: A solitary prominent tomb was found inside the church, perhaps suggesting a founder grave. The tomb was made with lime mortar preserving the image of wrapped clothes.

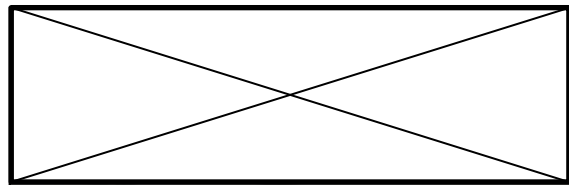
Other: According to legend, Pippin is the founder of the church at Oberbipp: the village was first mentioned as *Pippa*, in AD 923.

Select Bibliography

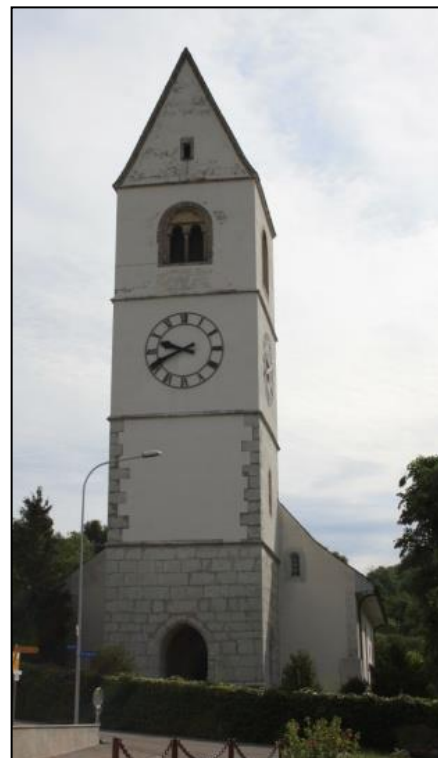
Sennhauser 1968: 240.
Gutscher *et al.* 2006: 1-2.



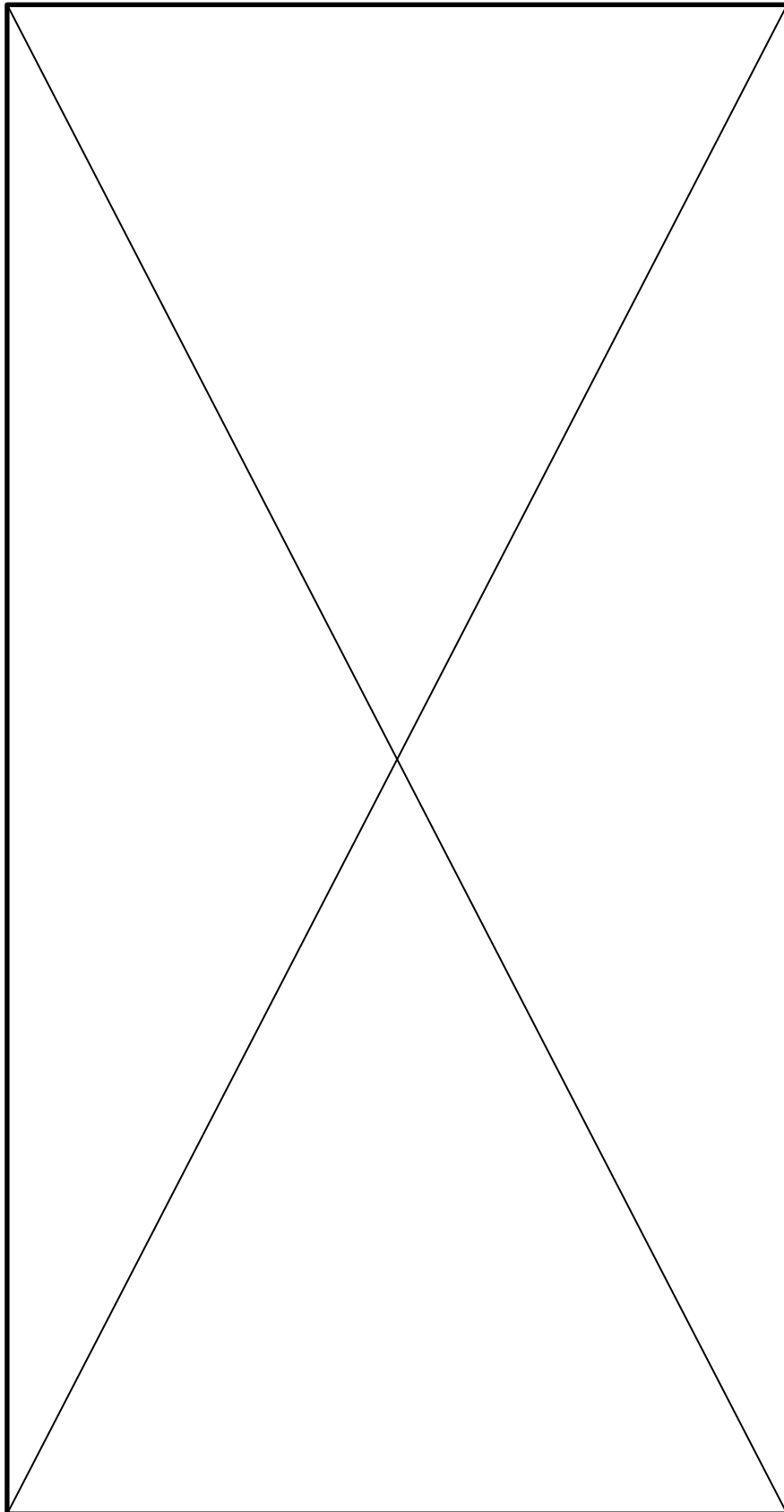
Photograph of excavations depicting Phases I-IV (Gutscher et al. 2006: 1).



Grave goods from the early medieval necropolis: A gold filigree fibula and a silver belt (Gutscher et al. 2006: 2).



Current church of St John (Image courtesy of Lutz Fischer-Lamprecht, 2011).



*Detailed plan of Oberbipp excavations depicting building phases
(Gutscher et al. 2006: 1-2).*

A10. ST MICHAEL, OBERDORF (?)

Site Name: Saint Michael

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: former Roman *villa* site;
early medieval village

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: mid-8th century (*memoria*-church?)
- Phase II: 13th century (choir)
- Phase III: 1604 (Baroque church)
- Phase IV: 1764 (tower)

Dedications: Saint Michael (12th century); Saint Peter (modern)

Excavation History: 1970 by; 2011 by von Wartburg and Marti, part of Archäologie Baselland excavations.

Description of Plan: A small, almost square plan (5.5 x 4.5m). In the 13th century a choir was added.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Small steps were set up to allow access into the *memoria*, which was partially built in a hillside.

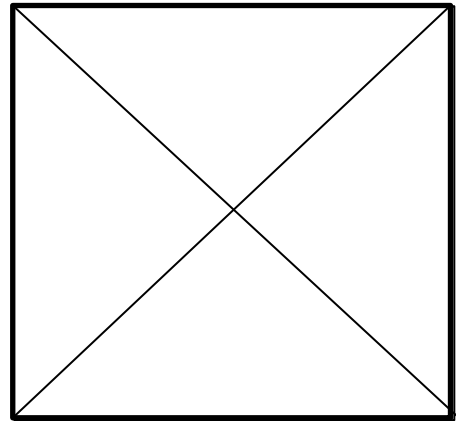
Related Burials: Four graves were found inside the small square building. Grave 2 was a sarcophagus made out of tuff, Grave 4 was a stone grave, and Grave 1 and 3 were stone-lined graves. All graves were oriented E-W. Grave 1 was found in NE corner whereas the three others were lined against the southern wall.

Other: Recent rescue excavation at Oberdorf uncovered an early medieval village with 6 farms. While situated near a former Roman villa, finds and *spolia* from the site were minimal. One of the pit houses contained textile objects and tools. Marti (2011) comments that the Roman villa was uninhabited during the late antique period, with only a few graves. The new settlement began in the seventh century and lay 230m east of the funerary chapel of St Michael.

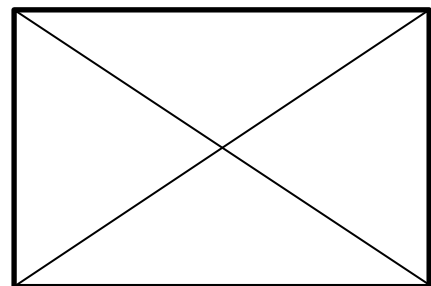
Select Bibliography

Marti 2000: 171.

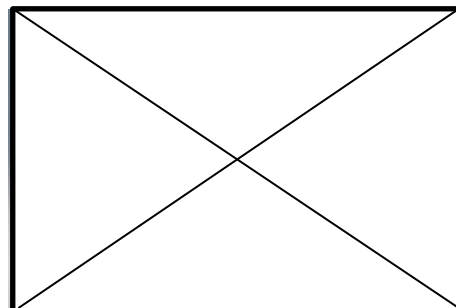
von Wartburg und Marti 2011: 45-53.



Floor-plan of Phase I-II (Marti 2000: 171).



Excavated remains of a sunken-featured building (von Wartburg and Marti 2011: 50).



Textile tools found in a sunken-featured building (von Wartburg and Marti 2011: 51).



Reform church of Oberdorf (Image courtesy of Dietrich Weidmann, 2011).

A11. SS PETER and PAUL, OBERWIL

Site Name: Oberwil

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: Roman wall foundations (unknown)
- Phase II: 5th century (*memoria*?)
- Phase III: c. AD 650(hall church)
- Phase IV: 8th century (enlarged)
- Phase V: 12th/13th century (widened apse)
- Phase VI: 14th century (tower)
- Phase VII: 1696 (polygonal apse)
- Phase VIII: 1896 (new nave)

Dedications: SS Peter and Paul (unknown origin)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation conducted in 1964 by Jürg Erwald; a renewed effort in 2003 by Archäologie Baselland.

Description of Plan: *Phase II* consists of a square building (8 x 8m). A square apse was added at the eastern extent (*Phase III*) and the building was eventually extended by 3m to the west (*Phase IV*). The latter phase is dated via ceramics. The apse was reconstructed, after an apparent fire.

Construction Materials: Brick-built with mortar; earthen floor (*Phase I*); Stone-built with limestone mortar (*Phase II*).

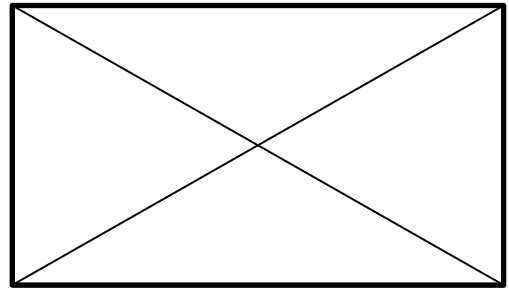
Internal Furnishings: A reused whetstone found at the centre of the nave (associated with *Phase IV*) has been theorized as belonging to a font.

Related Burials: One rich female's tomb, containing an ornate silver and brass wire belt bucklet, lay at the centre of the nave (*Phase I*). Subsequent burials are associated with *Phase II*

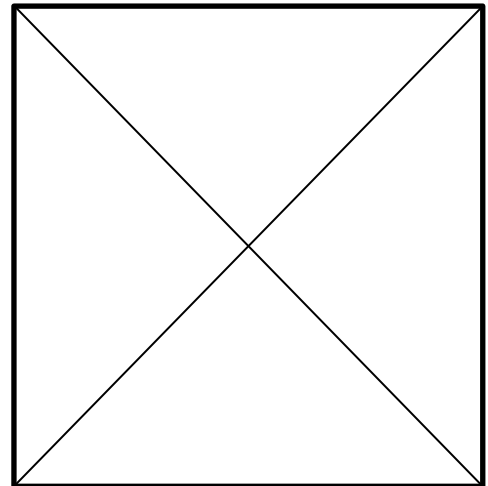
Other: A piece of a lead coffin was found during excavations, believed to belong to the original tomb. Marti (2000: 168) hypothesizes that the expansion in the 8th century indicates the church becoming a parish.

Select Bibliography

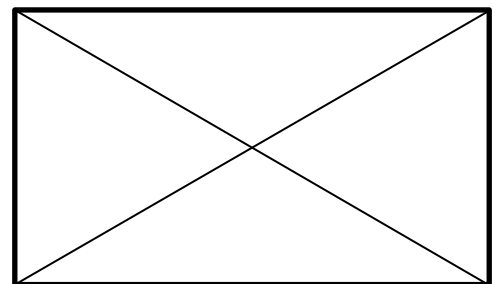
Marti 2000: 147-149; 167-168.



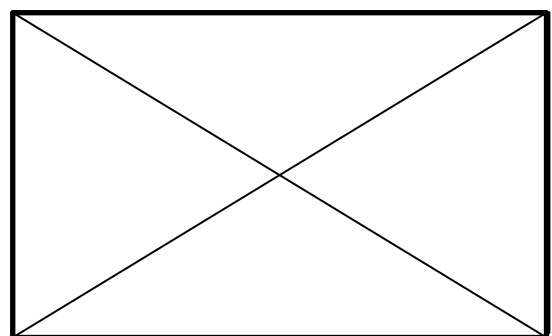
Excavation of 1964/1965
(www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



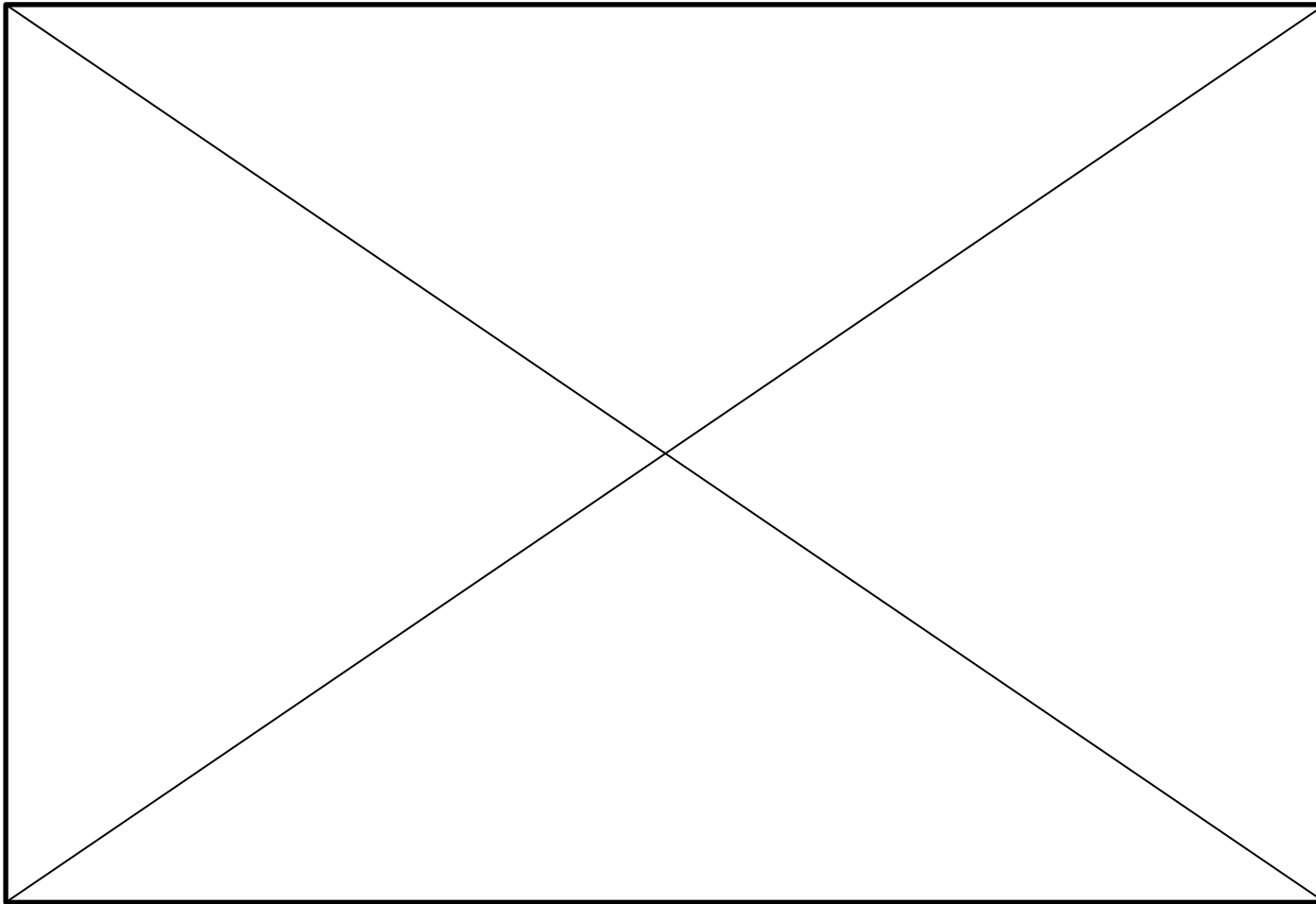
Piece of a lead coffin from the original tomb
(www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



Seventh-century silver inlaid belt-buckle
(www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



Picture of church in 1896
(www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



*All construction phases of Oberwil's SS Peter and Paul
(www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).*

A12. ST JACOB, SISSACH

Site Name: Sissach

Canton: Basel

Associated Settlement: *vicus* (?)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 620/30 (hall church)
- Phase II: AD 700 (choir barrier)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (interior changes)
- Phase III: 14th century (tower)
- Phase IV: 1612 (enlarged)
- Phase V: 1840 (late Gothic)

Dedications: St Imier (8th or 9th century); St James (11th or 12th century); St Jacob (modern)

Excavation History: 1981-1988 by Archäologie Baselland archaeologists; published reports by Simon Burnell (1988).

Description of Plan: Irregular angled corners resulted in a rhombus-shaped hall church (14.8 x 9.5m), terminated by an eastern square apse. *Phase II* saw the church floor raised about 15 cm.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

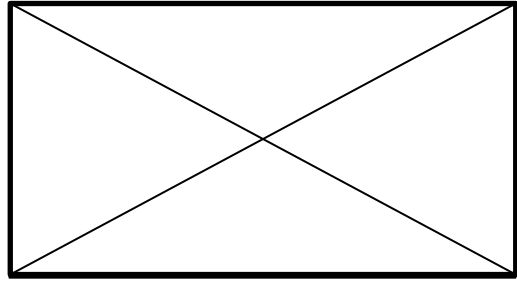
Internal Furnishings: An altar was found in the choir space and some indications that there was a N-S wall dated to *Phase II*.

Related Burials: Grave 27, located closest to the choir, is perceived as a founder's grave, containing belt buckle and a spur. Grave 28 was the richest burial, belonging to a girl and containing glass vessels, a mosaic with a cross, and a plate. In total 14 burials are associated with *Phase I*: 8-11 women, 2 men, and a child of about 6 years. Burials avoided the choir space. In *Phase II* only a few burials were set inside the church.

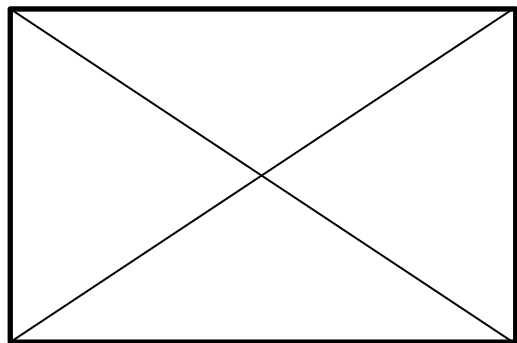
Other: Sissach becomes a major parish church during the 10th century, acting as the main centre of a number of villages. The initial church, however, is perceived as a private church, for a wealthy family.

Select Bibliography

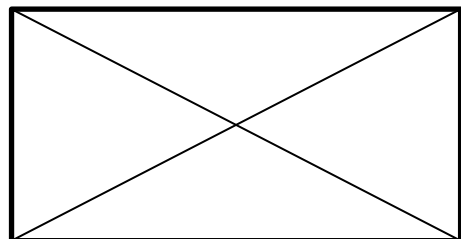
Marti 2000:
Burnell 1998.



Floor-plan of the church with respect to the current building (www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



Silver belt buckle from Grave 27 (www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).

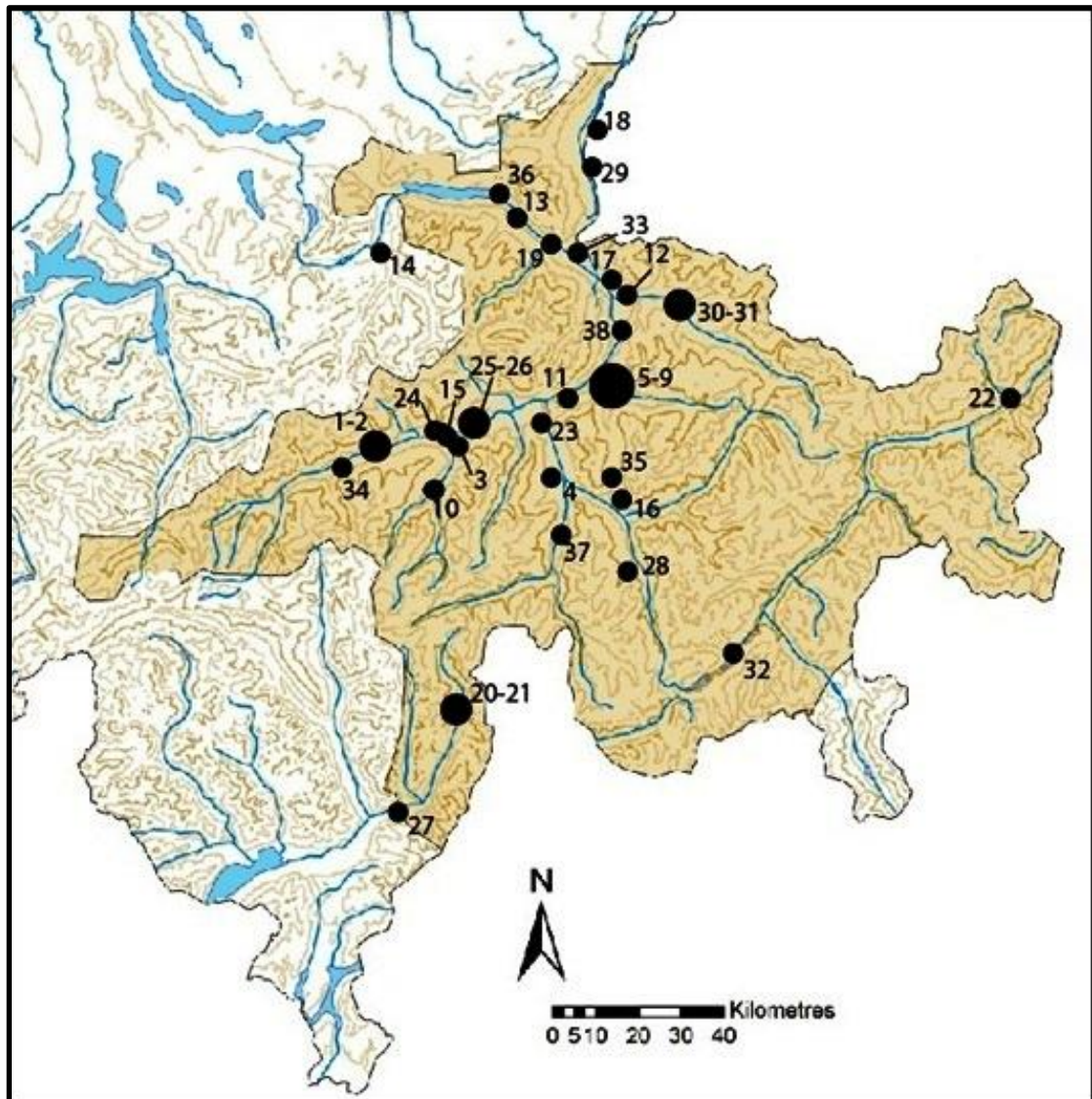


Mosaic from Grave 28, which lay on the grave (www.archaologie.bl.ch; accessed: 20 May 2012).



Church of St Jacob (Image courtesy of Roland Zumbuehl 2011).

Gazetteer B: Diocesan region of Chur

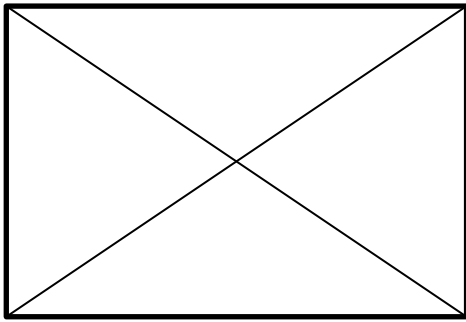


B1: Brigels, St Mary
 B2: Brigels, St Eusebius
 B3: Castrisch
 B4: Cazis
 B5: Chur, St Lucius
 B6: Chur, St Mary
 B7: Chur, St Martin
 B8: Chur, St Regula
 B9: Chur, St Stephen
 B10: Degen
 B11: Domat/Ems
 B12: Eschen
 B13: Flums

B14: Glarus
 B15: Ilanz
 B16: Lantsch
 B17: Malans
 B18: Mauren
 B19: Mels
 B20: Mesocco, St Peter and Paul
 B21: Mesocco, St Carpophorus
 B22: Ramosch/Remüs
 B23: Rhäzüns
 B24: Ruschein
 B25: Sagogn, St Columbanus

B26: Sagogn, St Mary
 B27: San Vittore
 B28: Savognin
 B29: Schaan
 B30: Schiers, North Church
 B31: Schiers, South Church
 B32: Silvaplana
 B33: St Luzisteig
 B34: Trun
 B36: Walenstadt
 B37: Zillis
 B38: Zizers

B1. ST MARY, BRIGELS



*Floor-plan of St Mary
(Sennhauser 2003: 62).*

Site Name: Brigels

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Bregelo* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 600-700 (hall church with apse)
- Phase II: c. AD 900 (trapezoidal apse)
- Phase IV: 1397 (rebuild after fire)
- Phase VI: 1500 (rebuild after fire)
- Phase VII: 1808 (Gothic)

Dedication: Saint Mary (1397)

Excavation History: 1962 small-scale excavations by I. Müller.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented rectangular nave with a horse-shoe apse (12.5 x 7m). A north annex also had a semi-circular apse.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: No evidence of a chancel or altar was found.

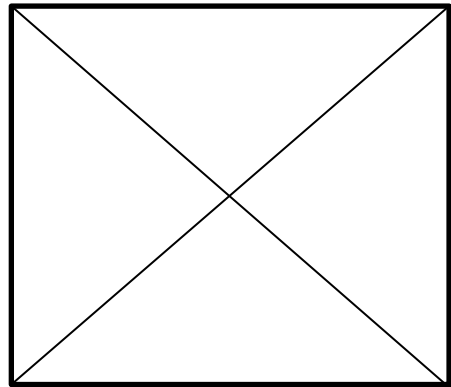
Related Burials: 8 graves were placed in the church, 7 of which lay in the northern annex while one was sited in the nave. 2 trapezoidal sarcophagi were found outside the apse; no grave goods were present.

Other: The area of Brigels was first mentioned in AD 765 in the Will of Tello.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 59-62

B2. ST EUSEBIUS, BRIGELS



*Floor-plan of St Eusebius
(Sennhauser 2003: 62).*

Site Name: Brigels

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Bregelo* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (tower added)

Dedication: St. Eusebius (1185)

Excavation History: 1970-72 by S. Nauli.

Description of Plan: The early medieval church (*Phase I*) consisted of a hall church, oriented E-W (8.50 x 5 m). An eastern horseshoe-shaped apse was present.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar impression was found in the centre of the apse (100 x 90 cm).

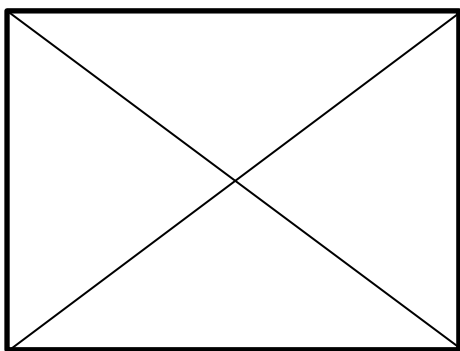
Related Burials: No known early medieval graves.

Other: A 90cm wall was found around parts of the site.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 62-63.

B3. ST GEORGE, CASTRISCH



*Floor-plan of St George
(Sennhauser 2003: 66).*

Site Name: Castrisch

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Castrices* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 1150 (Tower added)
- Phase III: 15th century (Gothic)

Dedication: Saint George (?)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation in 1956 by W. Sulser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consists of an E-W oriented nave with an eastern horseshoe-shaped apse (13.5 x 4.7m). Some walls located northern of the church might indicate an annex.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A barrier created a choir zone, distinct from the nave.

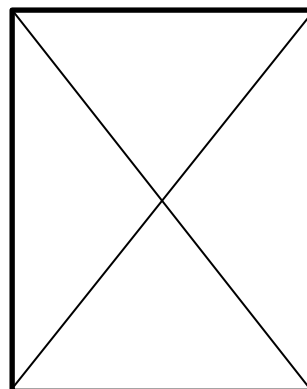
Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: Castrischs was first mentioned in the Will of Tello document and the name derives from the Latin term *castrum*.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 65-66.

B4. ST MARTIN, CAZIS



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Sennhauser 2003: 66).*

Site Name: Cazis

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (rectangular hall)
- Phase II: 9th-10th centuries (repair)
- Phase III: 1156 (tower)

Dedication: Saint Martin (1156)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation by W. Stöckli and H.R. Sennhauser in 1968.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular building oriented E-W (10.10 x 5.50 m). Parts of the southern wall were destroyed by the *Phase III* tower.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The building had façades with blind arcades on the west and east sides - the arches were supported by pilasters. No signs of windows on the northern wall.

Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: Local tradition dictates that the site was originally an Iron Age 'sun shrine'.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 66.

B5. ST LUCIUS, CHUR

Site Name: St Lucius

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Curia* (episcopal town)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400? (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 6th century (ring crypt)
- Phase III: c. AD 730 (three-apse church)
- Phase IV: 1295 (Romanesque)
- Phase VI: 1500 (Gothic)

Dedication: Andrew (c. AD 400?); Lucius (1140)

Excavation History: Large-scale excavations in 1943-45 and 1951-52 by W. Sulser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* found evidence for two vaulted grave chambers (Chamber I: 3.5 x 4m; Chamber II: 4 x 5m). *Phase II* built an E-W oriented semi-circular crypt incorporating the grave chambers. The length of the crypt remains unknown, although its width is about 10.50m. *Phase III* consisted of a 10.50 x 15m hall-church with an exterior semi-circular apse.

Construction Materials: Local stones with mortar (unspecified type), brick and limestone. Both grave chambers had barrel vaulting.

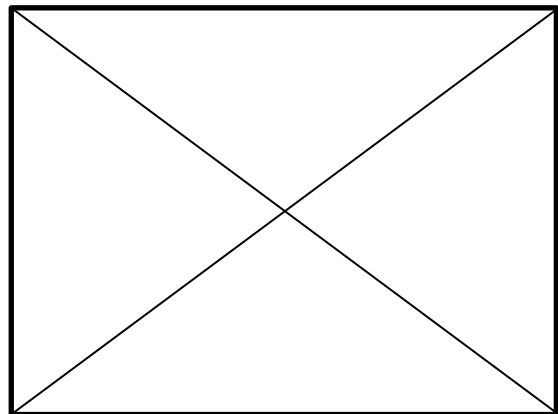
Internal Furnishings: Three internal horseshoe-shaped apses, each with an altar (1.50 x 1m; 85 x 45cm; 94 x 45cm) were built during *Phase III*. The choir had evidence of a podium and a step. Stairs from the earlier crypt remained while a central set lead to the elevated nave. Steps leading down into the ring crypt date to *Phase II*.

Related Burials: Three tombs were found: one located in the eastern grave chamber (pre-8th century), and two located next to the central steps.

Other: Epigraphic evidence suggests episcopal use of the church.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 72-73; 691-706.
Fürger *et al.* 1996: 127.



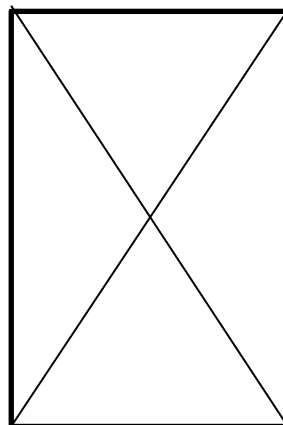
Floor-plan and reconstruction of the crypt and church (Sennhauser 2003: 704).



Preserved ring-crypt at St Lucius (Image courtesy of Helena Carr).



Church of St Lucius (right), (Image courtesy of Helena Carr).



*Left: Marble tombstone found in church detailing the graves contained bishops. For full transcription and translation, see Chapter 6.7.2 (Fürger *et al.* 1996: 127).*

B6. ST MARY, CHUR

Site Name: Chur

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Curia* (episcopal town)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 450 (cruciform church ?)
- Phase II: c. 760 (hall church with apse)
- Phase III: 1178 (choir; Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 1272 (final construction)
- Phase V: 1921 (restoration)

Dedication: Saint Mary (831)

Excavation History: Excavation by B. Hug and H.R. Sennhauser in 1967.

Description of Plan: Only a semi-circular apse and a south annex hall with a wall remain from *Phase I*. It is hypothesized that this structure was a cruciform church. *Phase II* saw a completely new construction: the semi-circular apse was replaced with a horseshoe-shaped apse.

Construction Materials: Wall thickness was around 72 cm and the building was constructed in cut stone. Mortar consisted of a mixture of gravel, sand and crushed brick. Red plaster was present. *Phase II*: wall thickness increased to 82 cm. The new building was constructed 'sloppily' reusing materials from *Phase I*.

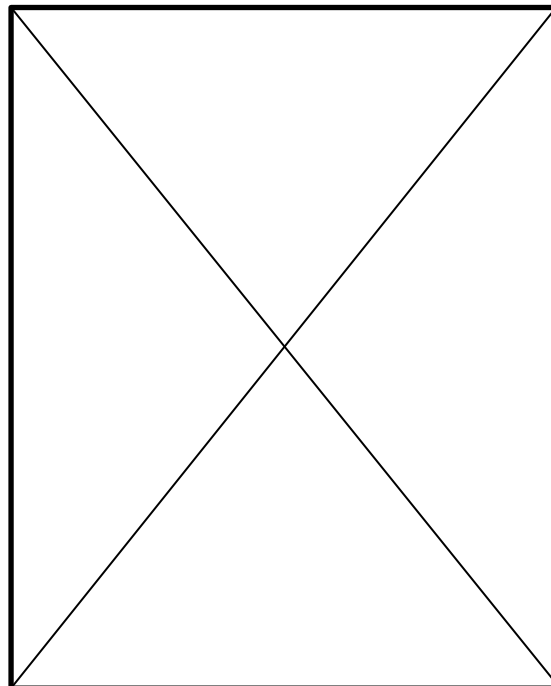
Internal Furnishings: Numerous fragments of stucco and altar barriers were found in the excavation process.

Related Burials: No evidence of related burials.

Other: *Phase I* is associated with Asinius, the first bishop of Chur, mentioned in AD 451. The later building in *Phase II* is associated with Bishop Tello, dated to c. AD 765. Carolingian decorations were reused to create the St Laurentius Altar, which unfortunately was destroyed in the 1950s.

Select Bibliography

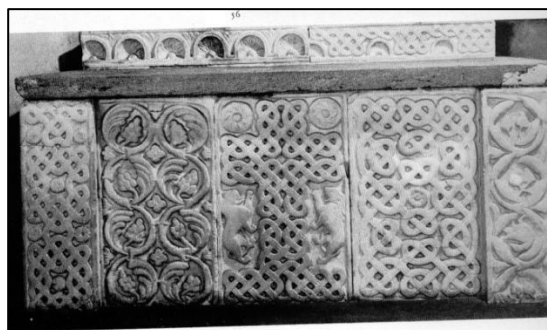
Sennhauser 2003: 70-71.



Floor-plan of St Maria, depicting Phases I and II of construction in juxtaposition to current cathedral (Sennhauser 2003: 71).



St Mary's Cathedral of Chur.



*St Laurentius Altar
(Image courtesy of A. Fucher).*

B7. ST MARTIN, CHUR

Site Name: Chur

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Curia* (episcopal town)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 750 (three-apse church)
- Phase II: 1464 (fire)
- Phase III: 1491 (reconstruction)
- Phase IV: 1509 (tower)

Dedication: Saint Martin (AD 800)

Excavation History: 1988-89 excavations focused only on the interior of the church by H. Steifert and M. Janosa.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of triple-apse rectangular hall church with a max length of 16.90 m and a width of 11.50 m. The apses were semi-circular with a larger centre apse.

Construction Materials: Stone-built (mainly limestone). Parts of the Carolingian masonry have been preserved in parts of the southern and northern façade. Signs of scaffolding work to the north with round holes are preserved in the existing walls. Lime plaster was detected as well. Carolingian arched windows survive.

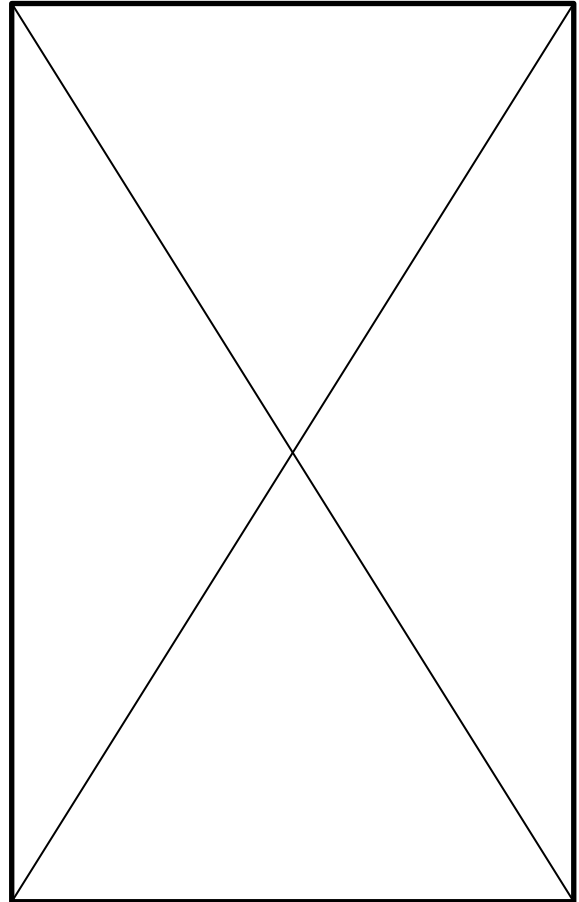
Internal Furnishings: Fragments of marble reliefs came to light in the south façade, which are now preserved in the local museum.

Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: The church was first mentioned in 800 but is more famous for being a major site of the Reformation. Local tradition states that Martin Luther delivered a short speech there in the 1520s.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 76-77.



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Sennhauser 2003: 77).*



Church of St Martin.

B8. ST REGULA, CHUR

Site Name: St Regula

Canton: Grisons

Associated Settlement: *Curia* (episcopal town)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 800 (hall church)
- Phase II: 1500 (Gothic construction)
- Phase III: 1652 (Tower enlarged)

Dedication: Saint Regula (AD 1150)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavations by P. Zurbuchen and H.R. Sennhauser, 1967-68.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a hall church with a northern annex and lobby room. A barrier was found to demarcate the choir.

Construction Materials: Local stone with mortar (unspecified type) mixed with gravel.

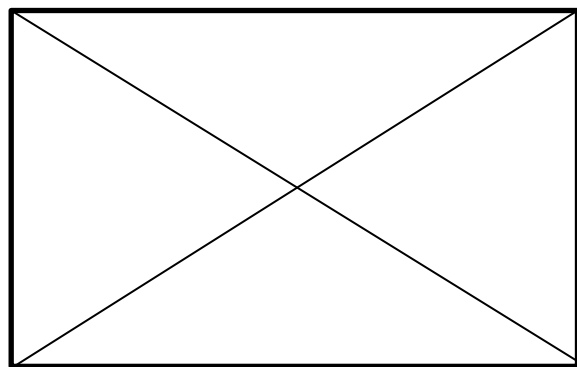
Internal Furnishings: Inside there was a horseshoe-shaped apse with an altar (1 x 1m) placed at the middle. The floor in the altar area was mortared.

Related Burials: Burials were found underneath the church probably belonging to a pre-church phase (possibly 4th-century).

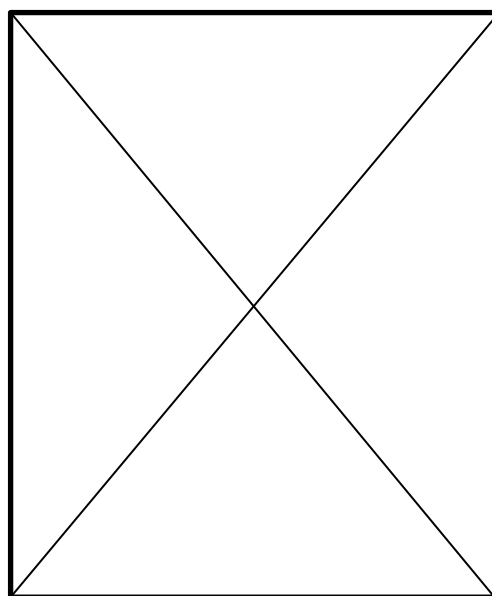
Other: Someone's footprint was found preserved in the mortar floor of the altar area. The excavations found signs that the site was originally part of an Iron Age fort and continued to be used in the Roman period.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 74-75.



*Floor-plan of St Regula
(Sennhauser 2003: 74).*



*Detailed excavation plan of St Regula
(Sennhauser 2003: 75).*



*The church of St Regula in Chur
(Image courtesy of Xenos, 2010).*

B9. ST STEPHEN, CHUR

Site Name: Chur

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Curia* (episcopal town)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (crypt)
- Phase II: 5th-6th century (church)

Dedication: St Stephen (12th century)

Excavation History: 1851; 1955-56; 1978.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an early 5th century crypt (surface area = 4.56m x 7.15 m). It had a vaulted ceiling and observations of the eastern end of the crypt found evidence for a *loculus* (a place for relics) under the apse. *Phase II* comprised a hall church (+ 11m x 4.56m) leading to a semi-circular apse. Two annexes are present: the north annex spans the length of the nave; the south annex is situated further east and is only 4.7 m long.

Construction Materials: Brick, local stone, mortar (unspecified type) and plaster.

Internal Furnishings: An unusual choir is evident, located beyond the eastern wall of the crypt. With possibility of *loculi* beneath the church, excavators presume that the altar would have been placed directly above the reliquary. A possible bench was also found in the choir area. The eastern wall of the crypt was richly furnished with a possible representation of the apostles paying homage to a symbol of Christ. Geometric mosaics were found, outlining the apse of the overlying church and in the northern annex.

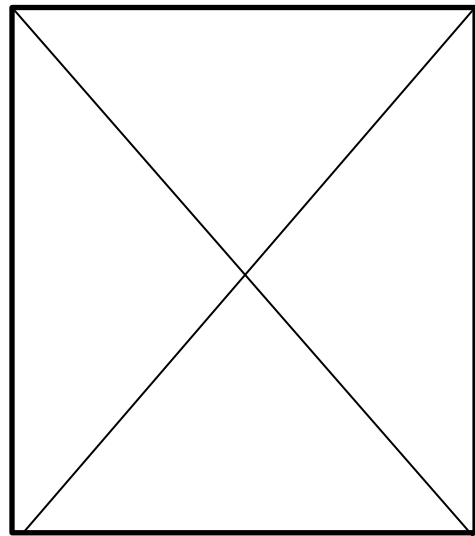
Related Burials: The crypt contained sarcophagi and *formae*, regularly placed grave cells. A large *forma* was located in the western corner of the crypt. Burials were also found in the northern annex of the overlying church.

Other: Located north of St Lucius, outside the walls of the fortified settlement.

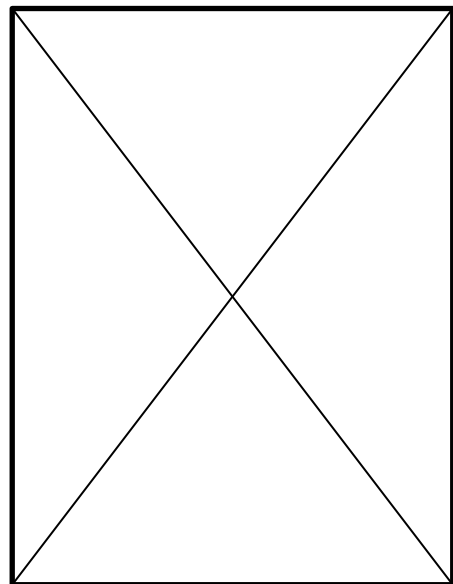
Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 77-78.

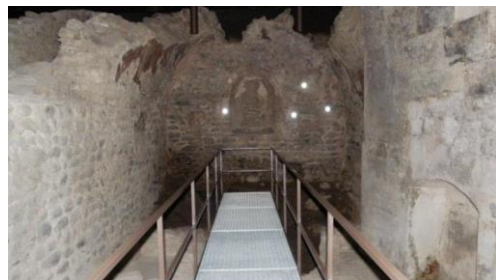
Sulser and Claussen 1975.



*Floor-plan of the excavated remains
(Sennhauser 2003:77).*

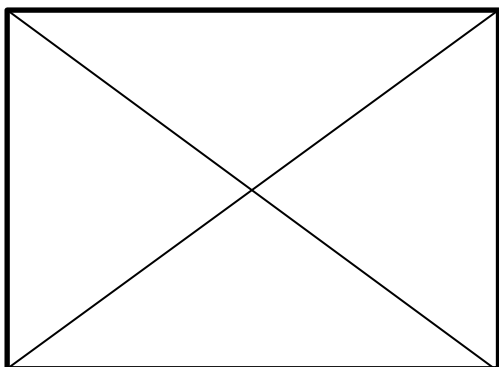


*Axonometric reconstruction of St
Stephen's church and crypt
(Sulser 1978: 22).*



Preserved crypt of St Stephen.

B10. ST MARY, DEGEN



Floor-plan of St Mary (Sennhauser 2003: 79).

Site Name: Degen

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown; *Higenae* mentioned in AD 840.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 1504 (tower; enlarged)

Dedication: Saint Mary (AD 842/843)

Excavation History: 1974 excavations by S. Nauli.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented rectangular building (8.60 x 5.90 m) ending in an external trapezoidal-apse. Internally the apse was semi-circular with a middle passage.

Construction Materials: Large 'flat' stones ('Plattensteine') with mortar (unspecified type).

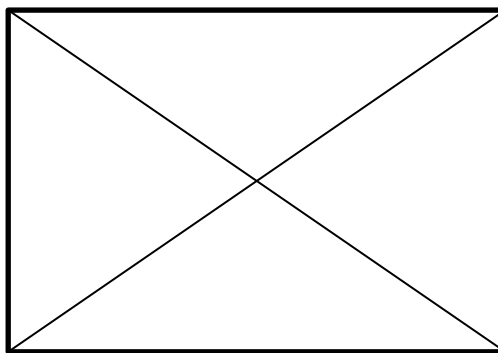
Internal Furnishings: A small altar (90 x 65cm) was found in the apse area. The ground was made up of a bed of mortared broken stones. The nave and the choir were at the same level.

Related Burials: No evidence for burials.

Other: Degen is located next to a small hamlet known as Rumein, which is mentioned in AD 840 as *villa Ramnensis*.

Select Bibliography
Sennhauser 2003: 79.

B11. ST PETER, DOMAT/EMS



Floor-plan of St Peter (Sennhauser 2003: 87).

Site Name: Domat/ Ems (Romasch)

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Colonia de Amede* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (multi-room complex)
- Phase II: c. AD 800 (hall church)
- Phase III: 1698 (Baroque church)

Dedication: Saints Hilarius and Fridolin (1026)

Excavation History: 1975-77 (large scale) by the cantonal archaeological services.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a 2-storey divided into several rooms (20 x 8m). *Phase II* saw the construction of an E-W oriented, rectangular, hall church (8.80 x 9.20 m).

Construction Materials: Bricks and local stone; mixed mortar made up of gravel and small shells. It had white plaster on the walls and bleached white pilasters.

Internal Furnishings: An altar (90 x 70cm) was found in the apse area, which was horse-shoe shaped on the inside. A choir is also present.

Related Burials: No current evidence for burials.

Other: Two Carolingian coins, dated to c. AD 774, provided the *terminus post quem* for the church.

Select Bibliography
Sennhauser 2003: 87-89.

B12. ST MARTIN, ESCHEN (?)

Site Name: Eschen

Canton: N/A; located in Lichtenstein

Associated Settlement: Unknown; settlement first mentioned in AD 842

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (wooden church?)
- Phase II: c. AD 800 (small hall church)
- Phase III: 1448 (restoration)
- Phase IV: 1893/94 (demolition)
- Phase V: 1900s (neo-Gothic church)

Dedication: Saint Martin (?)

Excavation History: 1979 excavation in the NE side of the church by G. Malin.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* - the excavation area found around 103 postholes. Reconstructions of a timber semi-circular hall church and a square-apse church have been suggested - but Sennhauser (2003:89) is unconvinced. *Phase II* consists of a rectangular E-W oriented hall church with a horseshoe-shaped apse (10.50 x 7 m).

Construction Materials: Local stone mixed with mortar (unspecified type) and pebbles.

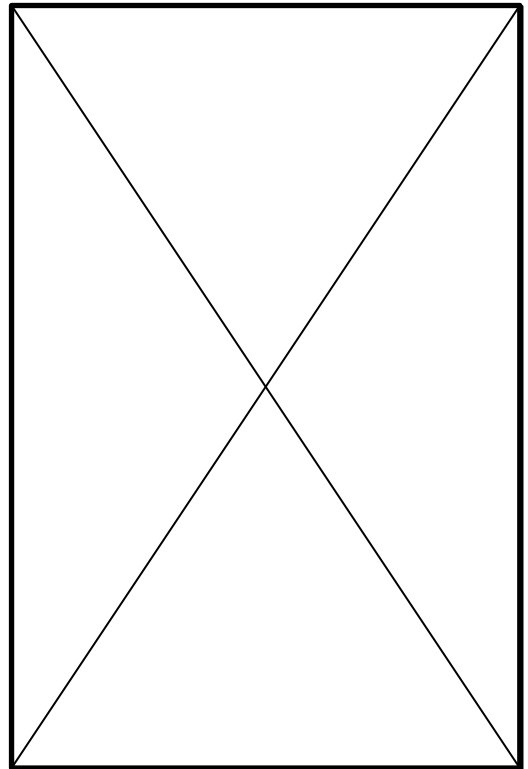
Internal Furnishings: The nave floor was made of clay. No signs of a choir or altar.

Related Burials: Eight burials were found during the excavations, four near the apse and four outside building near the western wall. One burial was oriented N-S while the rest were E-W.

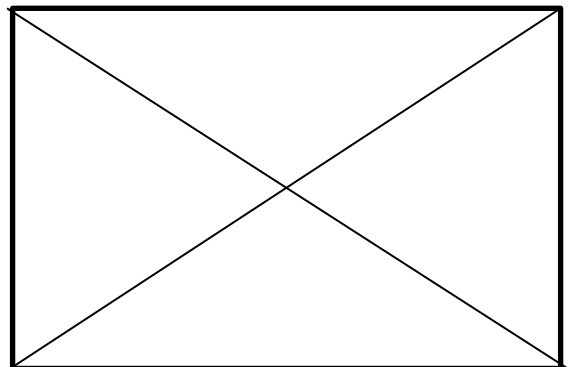
Other: This church was listed in the Reichsgutsurbar of 842/843 as a private church of the monastery Pfäfers.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 89-90.



*Floor-plans of St Martin, Eschen
(Sennhauser 2003: 90).*

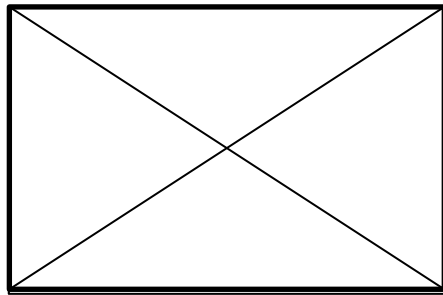


*Details of church excavations - the interior apse
belongs to the church of Phase II
(Sennhauser 2003: 90).*



*Church of St Martin in Eschen
(Image courtesy of Press- und
Informationsamt, Vaduz 2009).*

B13. ST JUSTUS, FLUMS



*Floor-plan of St Justus
(Sennhauser 2003: 93).*

Site Name: Flums

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Signs of Roman settlement; known as *Flumini* by AD 765

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: pre-7th century (Roman *memoria*?)
- Phase II: 7th-8th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 12th century (tower)
- Phase IV: c. 1450 (reconstruction)

Dedication: St Justus the Martyr (pre-10th century)

Excavation History: Full-scale excavations by A. Hild and J. Hecht, 1932-34.

Description of Plan: Burned daub and post holes indicated a timber structure (*Phase I*). This has been interpreted as a *memoria* (5 x 5m). The later church (*Phase II*) consisted of an E-W oriented building (8 x 9m) with a narthex and a possible south annex. A square choir was added to the eastern extent.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was detected (90 x 60 cm) in the apse area.

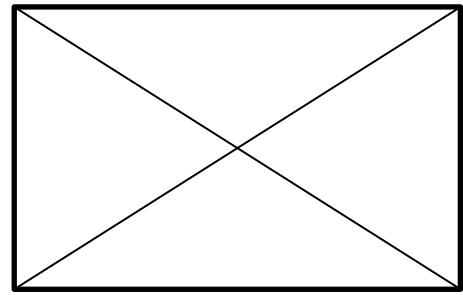
Related Burials: *Phase II*: 8 partially excavated graves were found in the nave and south annex.

Other: The arrangement of the graves might indicate a predecessor to the *Phase II* church.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 93-94.

B14. SS HILARIUS and FRIDOLIN, GLARUS (?)



*Floor-plan of SS Hilarius and Fridolin
(Sennhauser 2003: 94-96).*

Site Name: Glarus

Canton: Glarus

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (square-apse church)
- Phase II: 7th century (semi-circular apse)
- Phase III: 1478 (rebuilt after fire)
- Phase VI: 1960s (current church)

Dedication: Saints Hilarius and Fridolin (1026)

Excavation History: Small excavation led by B. Hug and H.R. Sennhauser in 1968.

Description of Plan: Only parts of the apses or choirs were preserved. The full extent of the church is thus unknown. All appear to be E-W oriented, starting with a square choir (*Phase I*), which was remodelled into a semi-circular apse. Walls were about 1m in thickness.

Construction Materials: Stone and brick-built with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: The floors of both phases of building consisted of stone beds with mortar.

Related Burials: No known burials.

Other: First mention of Glarus is from the late 9th century as *Clarona*.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 94-96.

B15. ST MARTIN, ILANZ

Site Name: Ilanz

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall)
- Phase II: 8th century (apse)
- Phase III: 1000 (side annexes and tower)
- Phase IV: 1500 (four altars added)
- Phase V: 18th century (extended choir)

Dedications: St Martin (AD 765)

Excavation History: Excavations by W. Sulser in 1951 during restorations.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprises a rectangular E-W oriented hall (4 x 3m). The subsequent constructed consisted of a nave with an eastern semi-circular apse (8.7 x 5.5m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built; mortar used in construction.

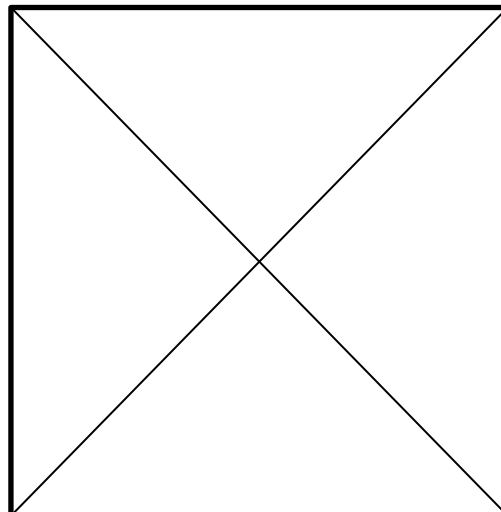
Internal Furnishings: A barrier to the semi-circular apse denotes the separation between the altar and the nave in *Phase II*.

Related Burials: No associated burials.

Other: The church features some exterior paintings dating to c. AD 1400, including a depiction of St Lucius

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 102-103.



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Sennhauser 2003: 103).*



*Current church of St Martin
(Image Courtesy of Adrian Michael).*



*Close-up of fresco on St Martin, Ilanz
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2008).*

B16. ST CASSIAN, LANTSCH

Site Name: Lantsch

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (chapel)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (hall church)

Dedication: unknown.

Excavation History: H. Erb led excavations in 1962.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a (3.80 x 3.50 m) hall church with an E-W orientation and a semi-circular apse.

Phase II saw the creation of a completely new, square nave. It was widened and lengthened (5 x 5m). A horseshoe-shaped apse was added, possibly incorporating parts of the earlier structure.

Construction Materials: Masonry consisted of small, well-wedged stones.

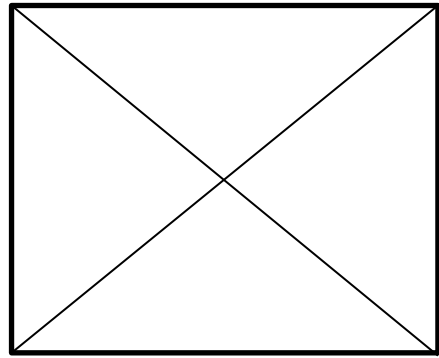
Internal Furnishings: *Phase I* has no indications of an entry way or barrier. Excavations found an entryway in the middle of the western wall of Building II. Also, two spaces, an altar room and nave, were defined by the addition of barriers near the apse. An altar, made of same masonry as the walls of the building, was built into the eastern wall of the apse.

Related Burials: No associated burials.

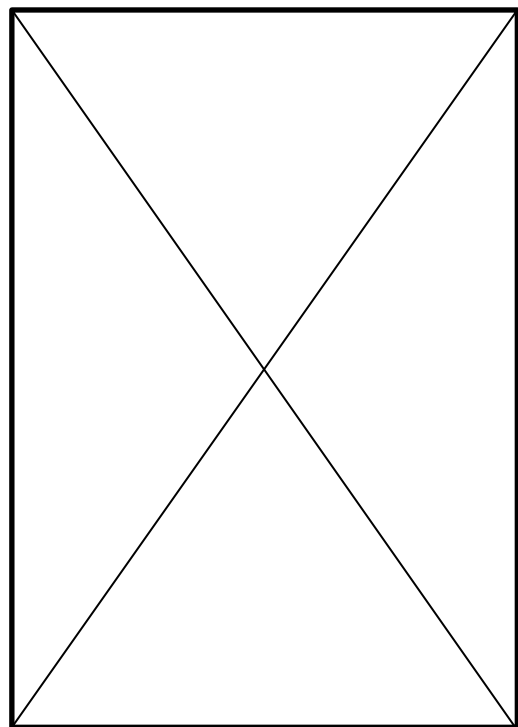
Other: The church went out of the use sometime before the 12th century when another church was built.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 108-109.



Floor-plans depicting Phase I and II (Sennhauser 2003: 108).



Detailed illustration of foundations discovered during excavation (Sennhauser 2003: 108).



Site of the early medieval church – a predecessor of current St. Cassian? (Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2010).

B17. ST CASSIAN, MALANS (?)

Site Name: St Cassian

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *in villa Mellanze* first mentioned in AD 840.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (*memoria?*)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 10th-11th century (new interior apse)
- Phase IV: 1469 (new choir)
- Phase V: 17th century (extended vestibule)
- Phase VI: 1773 (rococo construction)

Dedication: Cassian (12th century)

Excavation History: 1979/80: small scale excavation by archaeological service of Canton Grisons.

Description of Plan: The complete plan of *Phase I* remains unknown. The floor of the small structure consisted of small stones set in clay. This structure was demolished. *Phase II* consisted of a semi-circular apse with an altar. The width and length, however, remain unknown.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar mixed with small, tightly wedged, stones.

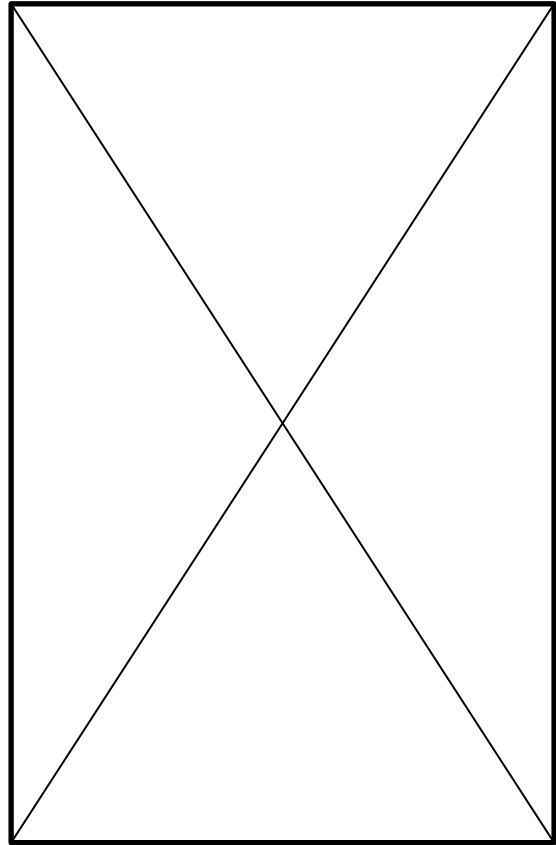
Internal Furnishings: An altar was found next to a small structure containing at least two graves and may have been used in *Phase II*.

Related Burials: The burials in *Phase I* consisted of two infants with two adults. No grave goods were found.

Other: Only the apse was found in the excavations thus the width and length of the early medieval church are unknown.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 208-210.



Church floor-plans depicting Phases I-III (Sennhauser 2003: 208).



Present church of St Cassian in Malans (Image by Adrian Michael, 2008).

B18. SS PETER and PAUL, MAUREN

Site Name: Mauren

Canton: N/A; located in Liechtenstein

Associated Settlement: Roman rural *villa* (used during 4th century)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: end of 7th century (rectangular hall)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 15th century (extension of choir)
- Phase V: 1843 (complete reconstruction)

Dedication: Saints Peter and Paul (1290)

Excavation History: 1986-88 excavation project led by H.J. Frommelt, part of a restoration project.

Description of Plan: The building in *Phase I* is located in roman ruins and oriented NE. It is a rectangular building, about 8m wide. The full extent of the structure is not known. *Phase II* consisted of the addition of a horseshoe-shaped apse to the previous building.

Construction Materials: Stone-built bound by lime mortar; wall thickness varied - *Phase I* had walls about 50 cm thick while *Phase II* walls were 80 cm thick. Plaster evident on the walls.

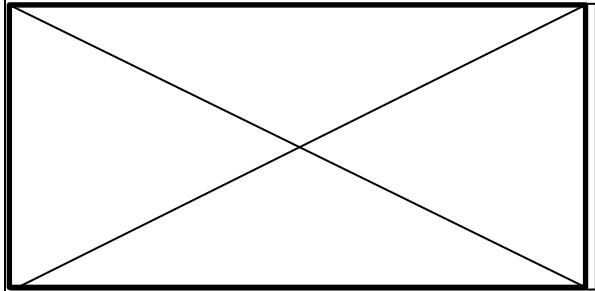
Internal Furnishings: A wall divided the church into nave and choir. Also the levels varied as well - the choir was deeper than the nave. An altar was placed at the centre of the apse.

Related Burials: In *Phase I*, burials were located on the east side.

Other: The church was built on the estate ground of a *villa*, which may have still been used in the 4th century. Reports, however, do not indicate whether the site was abandoned and subsequently reused or saw continued use into the early medieval period.

Select Bibliography

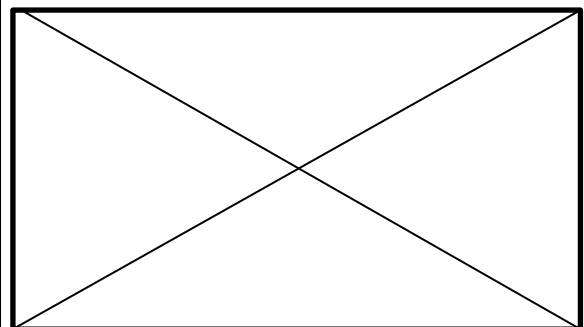
Sennhauser 2003: 112-113.



*Floor-plan of SS Peter and Paul
(Sennhauser 2003: 113).*

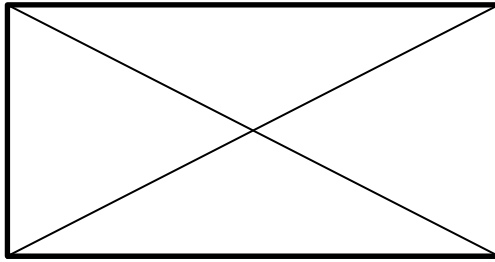


*Church of Mauren
(Image Courtesy of Sharon).*



*Tour visiting excavations preserved underneath
the church of SS Peter and Paul, Mauren
(<http://www.volksblatt.li>; accessed: 15 Feb
2013).*

B19. SS PETER and PAUL, MELS



*Floor-plan of Phases I and II
(Sennhauser 2003: 114-115).*

Site Name: Mels

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: *Maile* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 8th century (hall church?)
- Phase III: 10th cent (tower?)
- Phase IV: 1607 (Gothic reconstruction)

Dedication: Saints Peter and Paul (AD 842/843)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavations by I. Grüninger in 1972.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised a rectangular N-S oriented structure with evidence of a possible portico to the west (11 x 5m). *Phase II* saw the addition of a trapezoidal choir and a likely western room, changing to an E-W orientation (15 x 11m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: Two columns may have been present in the western room.

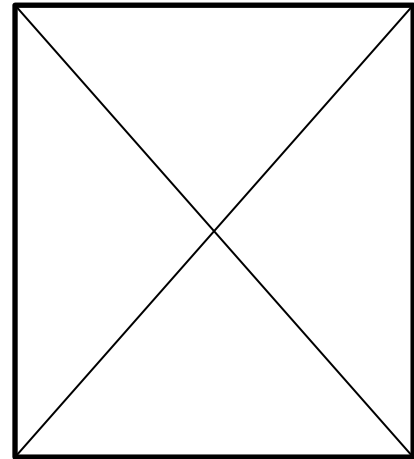
Related Burials: *Phase I*: 14 graves oriented N-S with three exceptions, dated between the 6th and 8th century. *Phase II*: graves added to the west with mixed orientations.

Other: Mels is first mentioned in Will of Tello as *Maile*.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 115-117.

B20. SS PETER and PAUL, MESOCCO



*Floor-plan of SS Peter and Paul
(Sennhauser 2003: 121).*

Site Name: Mesocco

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Roman *vicus*?

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 700-800 (hall church)
- Phase II: 10th-11th century (two-apse church)
- Phase III: 1611-38 (new choir and nave)

Dedication: SS Peter and Paul (1219)

Excavation History: 1959 small-scale localised archaeology by W. Sulser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W hall church with an apse (19.50 x 10m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar, attributed to the 10th or 11th century, was detected in the small apse to the south and hypothesized in the northern space.

Related Burials: No known burials.

Other: Mesocco is situated at the southern side of the San Bernardino pass.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 120-121.

B21. ST CARPOPHORUS, MESOCCO

Site Name: Mesocco

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unnamed Roman settlement located on the Gorda Hill.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 9th-10th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 11th century (Romanesque tower)
- Phase IV: 1520 (abandoned)

Dedication: Saint Carpophorus (1219)

Excavation History: Excavations by E. Propst 1925-26; architectural studies by S. Mazza 1972.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular hall with walls about 52 cm thick with an eastern oriented horseshoe-shaped apse (7.00 x 3.80m). *Phase II* consisted of a broadened nave (6.80 x 7.00m) and the eastern end consisted of an interior horseshoe-shaped apse.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

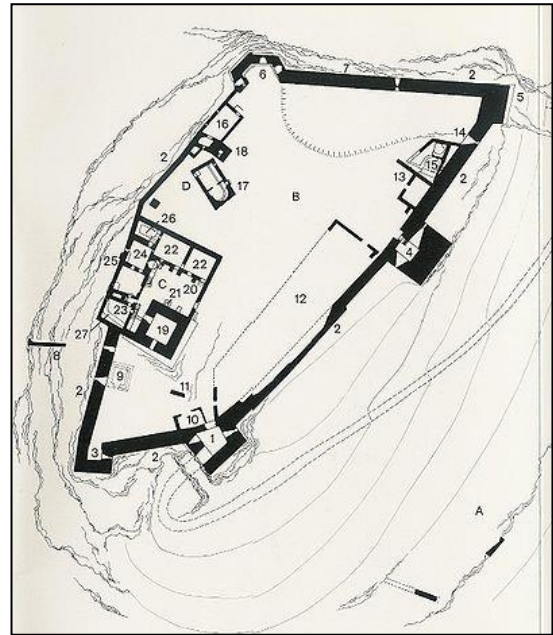
Internal Furnishings: Two arched windows have been suggested for the southern wall of *Phase I* based on the surviving masonry, including straight jambs. A door has been suggested in the south-west corner. *Phase II* saw the addition of a N-S oriented barrier, indicating a choir. Narrow arched windows present in the apse walls.

Related Burials: No evidence for early medieval burials.

Other: Despite the evidence for early Roman settlement, there have been no traces of dwellings dated to the 6th and 7th centuries.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 118-120.



General plan of Mesocco castle dating to 11th century. The church of St Carpophorus (D) has two earlier phases.

(Image Courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2010).



View of the Phase II apse of the church
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2010).



Abandoned state of the church
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2010).

B22. ST FLORIN, RAMOSCH/REMÜS

Site Name: Ramosch/Remüs

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (triple-apse church)
- Phase II: 10th-11th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 1530 (tower)
-

Dedication: Saint Florin (AD 930)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation by A. Planta and W.A. Stöckli 1966-67.

Description of Plan: Excavations uncovered parts of a church, including a northern wall, three semi-circular apses, and a southern annex. Reconstruction of the plan suggests dimensions of 14.10 x 18.10 m.

Construction Materials: Mixture of brick, tuff, and local stone bound by lime mortar.

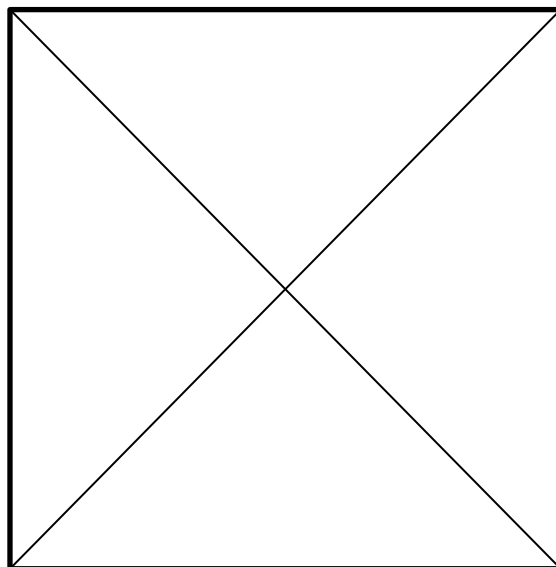
Internal Furnishings: Floor heights between the nave and the space closest to the apses might indicate a raised choir. Steps were needed to gain access to this raised area.

Related Burials: No known burials.

Other: St Florin was a local saint who died around 854 and was apparently of Anglo-Saxon origin. He decided to settle in the region of Remüs on his way back from a pilgrimage to Rome.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 146-147.



*Floor-plan of Ramosch
(Sennhauser 2003:1487).*



*St Florin, Ramosch
(Image courtesy of Florian, 2007).*

B23. ST GEORGE, RHÄZÜNS

Site Name: Saint George

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (extension)
- Phase III: 14th century (paintings)
- Phase IV: 15th century (tower)
- Phase V: 16th century (new entrance)
- Phase VI: 1731 (renovation)

Dedication: Saint George (1150)

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation by W. Sulser, 1961-1962.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented building with a semi-circular apse and an anteroom (7 x 5m). *Phase II* saw the building extended to the east.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

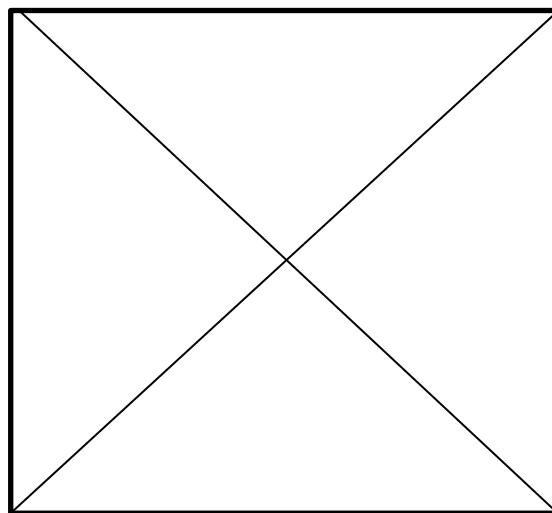
Internal Furnishings: No evidence of a defined choir or altar space.

Related Burials: Two W-E oriented burials, assigned to *Phase I*, were found in the narthex in rough chalky soil.

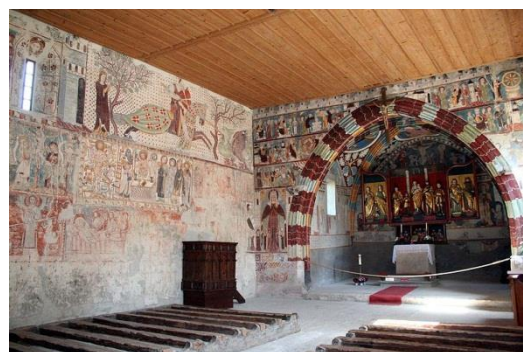
Other: Charred beams and a layer of worn rock were found during the excavations. This church was given to the episcopal seat of Chur by Otto I in 960. It remains a site of significance for the unique paintings preserved from the 14th century.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 149-150.



*Floor-plan of St George
(Sennhauser 2003: 147).*



*Interior of church with 14th-century paintings
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2007).*



*Church of St George
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2007).*

B24. ST GEORGE, RUSCHEIN

Site Name: St George

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Rucene* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (burial porch?)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 11th century (Romanesque tower)
- Phase IV: 1496 (new porch)

Dedication: Saint George (AD 1440)

Excavation History: Excavation by H. Erb, 1965.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a wall, possibly a small area defined for burials. A church was built during *Phase II* featuring a trapezoidal floor-plan (7.60 x 7m). An eastern semi-circular apse was added.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

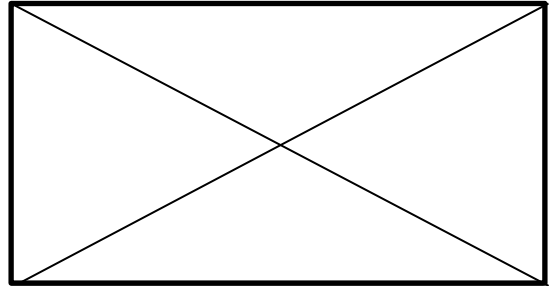
Internal Furnishings: The incorporation of the western wall of *Phase I* and segments of a N-S wall near the apse might indicate a tripartite structure: a narthex, nave, and choir.

Related Burials: Five W-E and one N-S oriented graves were found *Phase I*. The second construction preserved the graves. The N-S burial (Grave 8) was buried under a large group of local stones. Six graves of an unspecified date were located outside the eastern wall.

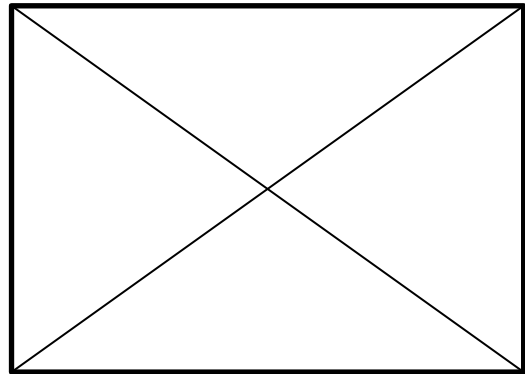
Other: This church was owned by Pfäfers monastery in AD 843, mentioned in the *Reichsgutsurbar* as 'in ecclesiam in Rusin'.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 156-157.



Floor-plan of St George, with respect to modern church (Sennhauser 2003: 157).



Detail plan of excavation (Sennhauser 2003: 156).



View of the church of St George from the west (Image courtesy of Dautrich, 2005).

B25. ST COLUMBANUS, SAGOGN

Site Name: St Columbanus

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Bregl da Haida (fort)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (rectangular room)
- Phase II: 7th-8th century (hall church)
- Phase IIa: 8th century (further building)
- Phase III: c. AD 1000 (castle built)
- Phase IV: 14th century (fire and destruction)

Dedication: Saint Columbanus (AD 765)

Excavation History: 1965: H. Erb; 1966/67: W. Stöckli; 1993: H.R. Courvoisier, H.R. Sennhauser (University of Zurich).

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular room (14.5 x 7.5m) with a door in the north wall. Subsequent building (*Phase II*) included a small horseshoe-shaped apse and a northern annex. This space was divided into narrow eastern and western compartments with a larger central room. An N-S wall was added to the nave, creating a possible narthex. *Phase IIa* comprised narrow rooms attached to the northern annex and a number of walls within the nave.

Construction Materials: Stone and mortar (unspecified types); crushed tiles for the floor.

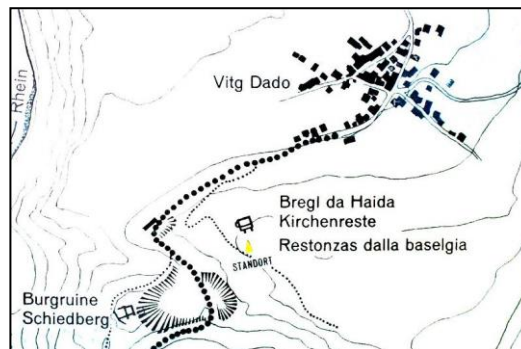
Internal Furnishings: Crushed stone in the nave (marked by a circle in the plan) has been interpreted as an ambo in *Phase I*. Work within the nave in *Phase III* created a choir and a division in the southern annex.

Related Burials: Three groups of burials: 2 E-W oriented graves were found in the western anteroom (not dated); 5 E-W oriented graves located near the apse (*Phase II*); 2 tombs in northern annex (*Phase III*).

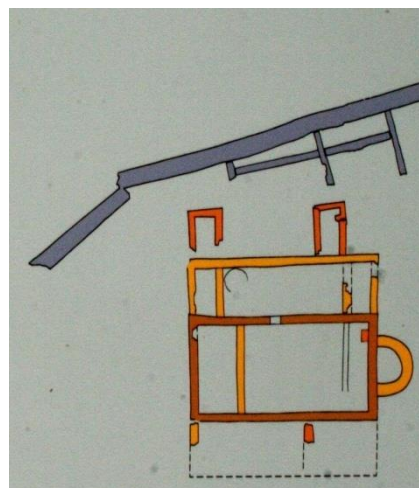
Other: The church's dedication to St Columbanus is mentioned in the will of Tello (AD 765).

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 158-160.



Topographic plan including location of the church next to the Shiedberg castle and next to Vitg Dado, the Innerdorf of Sagogn village (Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2007).



Plan of the ruined church; Phase I = red; Phase II = yellow; Phase IIa = orange; Phase III: grey (Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2007).



Foundation outline of church of St Columbanus (Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2007).

B26. ST MARY, SAGOGN

Site Name: St Mary

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: *Secanio* (AD 765)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (cruciform church)
- Phase II: 8th/9th century (apses)
- Phase III: 12/13th century (church rebuilt)
- Phase IV: 1449 (tower)
- Phase V: 1664 (transept and chapels added)

Dedication: Saint Mary (1640)

Excavation History: 1987-88 surveys by Poeschel.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented hall church ending with a semi-circular apse. A northern and southern annex near the apse formed a cruciform plan. Dimensions of nave: ~20 x 10m. Small apses were added to the northern and southern annexes in *Phase II*.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with mortar (unspecified types).

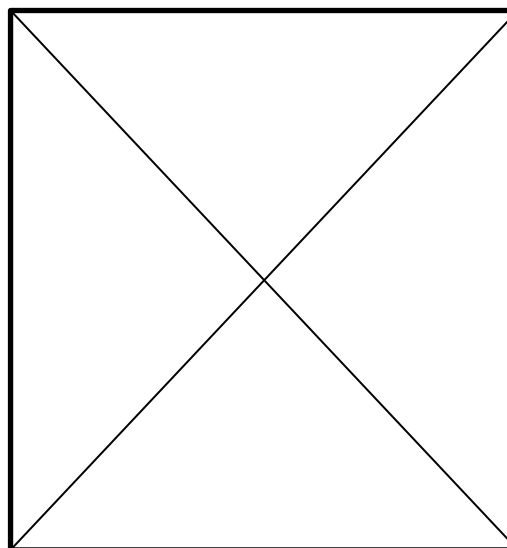
Internal Furnishings: A 'Priesterbank' (an interior semi-circular apse bench) and a small step were documented in *Phase I*, creating a choir space. An altar impression was detected in *Phase II* atop of the 'Priesterbank'.

Related Burials: Two burials lay just outside the eastern main apse. The first grave - outlined by stones - dated to *Phase I*, was further north. The second grave, outlined by flagstones, dated to *Phase II*, lay south of the first but contained no skeletal remains.

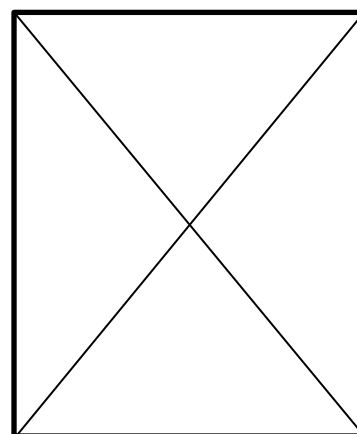
Other: The early medieval church here was larger than the cathedral at Chur which might imply it serviced a large population or had close ties to a major patron (Bishop of Chur or a local noble). Pit houses were found in the vicinity of the nearby castle, dated to the 6th-8th century.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 171-172.



Floor-plan of Sagogn with respect to modern church (Sennhauser 2003: 157).

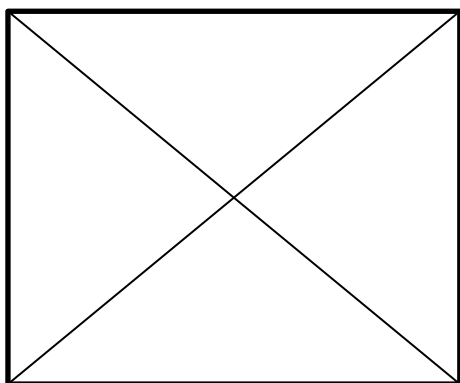


Detail of central apse of Phase II (Sennhauser 2003: 158).



Church of St Mary viewed from the east.

B27. ST LUCIUS, SAN VITTORE



*Floor-plan of the rotunda of St Lucius
(Sennhauser 2003: 161).*

Site Name: Saint Lucius

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (rotunda)
- Phase II: 13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase III: 1400 (paintings)
- Phase IV: 17th century (deconsecrated)

Dedication: Saint Lucius (1419)

Excavation History: 1977, 1978, 1982/83: University of Zurich investigations.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a small rotunda (3.10m inner diameter). Wall thickness ranged from 1m to 1.5m. Three semi-circular niches were detected inside the rotunda.

Construction Materials: Stone and brick-built.

Internal Furnishings: The interior and exterior of the rotunda were plastered with lime with red lines on the cornice. An arched window to the east provided the lighting. Several niches are located inside the rotunda.

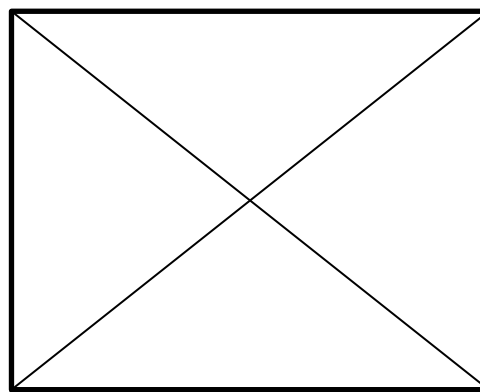
Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: The shape of the building would suggest it functioned as a baptistery. However, the niches inside the building might indicate a chapel for housing relics.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 161.

B28. ST MICHAEL, SAVOGNIN



*Floor-plan of St Michael
(Sennhauser 2003: 171).*

Site Name: St Michael

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th - 9th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (Romanesque tower)
- Phase III: 16th century (rotunda)

Dedication: Saint Michael (AD 1623)

Excavation History: 1963: a small-scale excavation by W. Sulser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented hall-church with a semi-circular apse (5.30 x 8.80 m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A 1.40m wide door was detected in the northern nave wall.

Related Burials: No burials mentioned in report.

Other: The church was located near the Julier and Septimer passes, routes both well-used during Roman period.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 171-172.

B29. ST PETER, SCHAAN

Site Name: Schaan

Canton: n/a Liechtenstein

Associated Settlement: Roman *castrum*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 9th/10th century (Chapel?)
- Phase III: 1499 (new construction)
- Phase IV: 1640 (new chancel, three altars)
- Phase V: 1849 (vestry roof)

Dedication: Saint Peter (1298)

Excavation History: 1958: excavation during restoration by D. Beck; 1960: follow-up excavation by H.R. Sennhauser; 2006: excavation of 'Reberastrasse' in 2006 by Landesarchäologie Schaan.

Description of Plan: Located in the NE corner of a late Roman fort, *Phase I* consisted of a hall church divided into three sections (20 x 8m). The western room formed the baptistery. An E-W wall divided the space into two sections. The most eastern part was constructed into the NE fort tower, a space interpreted as the presbytery. The nave was divided into two by a N-S wall.

Construction Materials: Roman tile and brick.

Internal Furnishings: A font lay inside the baptistery; postholes around the font might indicate a canopy.

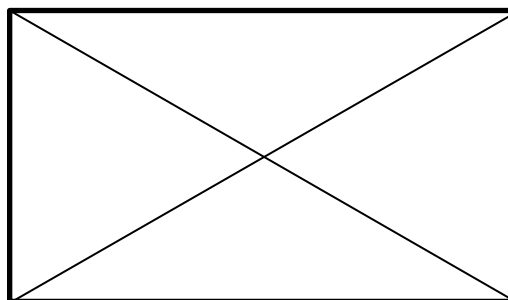
Related Burials: The southern part of the baptistery was used for around five burials. One burial lay at the centre of the nave.

Other: Region was described in AD 842/843 as a zone with a mill, church (St Peter) which paid tithes. Recent excavations in the village have found 6 graves, containing 2 children, a new-born, and 3 adults, of early medieval date; proximity to the fort might suggest the area was used as a cemetery.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 172-173.

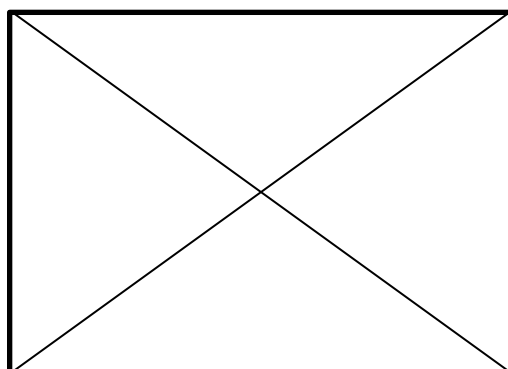
Beck 1958: 284-297.



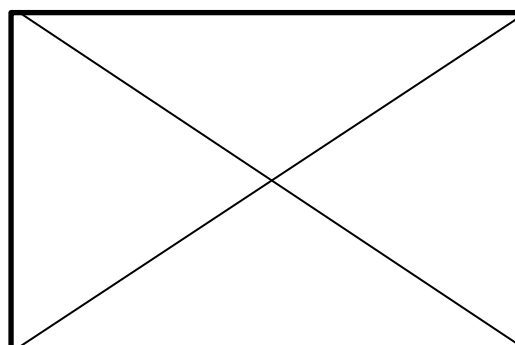
*Floor-plan of St Peter of Schaan
(Sennhauser 2003: 172).*



*Reconstruction of Roman fort
(Image courtesy of Sven Beham,
Liechtensteinisches Landesmuseum).*

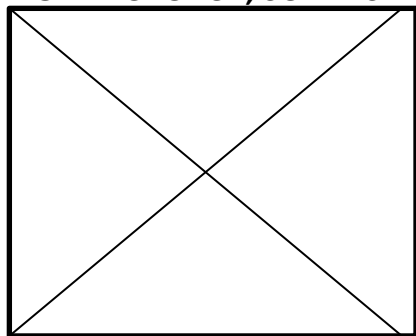


In-situ font of St Peter (Beck 1958: 297).



*Excavation of stone-lined graves in 2006
(www.schaan.li accessed 20 May 2012).*

B30. NORTH CHURCH, SCHIERS



*Plan of North Church, Schiers
(Sennhauser 2003: 174).*

Site Name: Schiers

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (hall church)
-

Dedication: Unknown

Excavation History: H. Erb, 1955-60.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an irregular/trapezoidal shaped apse and square nave (3.60 x 4m). A porch was added shortly after. Orientation was NE-SW. North of the church was a semi-circular wall, possibly a *memoria*.

Construction Materials: Quarry stones and wood.

Internal Furnishings: An altar (80 x 80cm) was placed at the centre of the apse. A division between the choir and nave was made with a barrier in front of the apse. The room was whitewashed and painted with shed wreaths, stylized leaf tendrils and some birds.

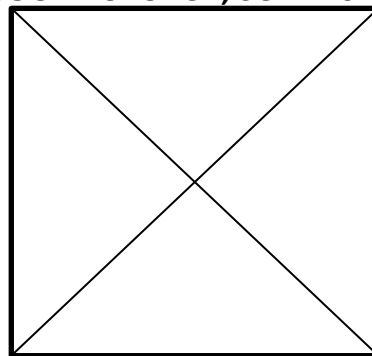
Related Burials: Church was placed south of 7 N-S, 2 E-W and 1 S-N oriented earthen graves. 2 stone-lined graves, also N-S, were placed in the porch. A NE-SW oriented grave was located outside the semi-circular wall in the north.

Other: The churches were excavated in a vicarage garden.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 174-175.

B31. SOUTH CHURCH, SCHIERS



*Plan of South Church, Schiers
(Sennhauser 2003: 174).*

Site Name: Schiers

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (hall church)

Dedication: Unknown

Excavation History: H. Erb, 1956-60.

Description of Plan: A tripartite church divided into a narthex, rectangular nave, and a small eastern grave chamber (7.7 x 5.5m).

Construction Materials: Limestone-built; plus some blocks of tuff; all bonded by lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: An 80 x 80cm mortar floor was found in the SE corner of the rectangular nave - perhaps a platform. A potential altar was located next to the eastern wall near the grave chamber. The nave walls were whitewashed and plastered.

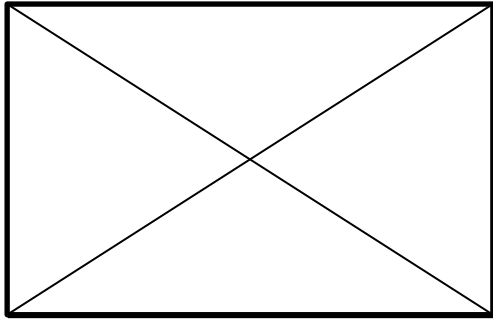
Related Burials: 10 N-S, 1 S-N, and 2 W-E oriented graves were located in the western porch; the grave chamber had 4 N-S and 1 S-N oriented burials. Just outside the northern wall, three tombs were found in an E-W orientation.

Other: The two churches went out of use with no building phases after *Phase I*.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 174-175.

B32. ST THOMAS, SILVAPLANA



*Floor-plan of St Thomas
(Sennhauser 2003: 177).*

Site Name: Silvaplana

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Unknown; later mentioned as 'Soviene' (AD 842/843).

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (apsed church?)
- Phase II: 1000 (rectangular nave)
- Phase II: 1449 (choir and sacristy)
- Phase III: 1687-91 (last construction)

Dedication: Saint Thomas (1647)

Excavation History: 1969 by S. Nauli.

Description of Plan: Only parts of an apse were found dating to the earliest phase; the nave belongs to *Phase II*.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Plaster was used on the walls of the apse.

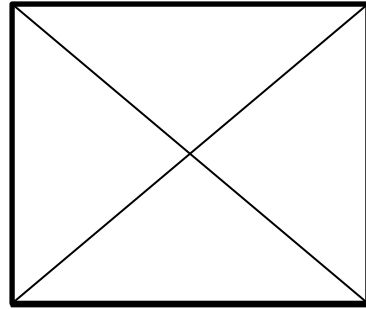
Related Burials: Three E-W oriented graves were buried just outside the apse.

Other: The settlement is located near the Julierpass.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 176-177.

B33. ST LUCIUS, ST LUZISTEIG



*Floor-plan of St Lucius
(Sennhauser 2003: 171).*

Site Name: St Luzisteig/Maienfeld

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Roman *villa*; *Lupinis* (AD 831)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 1300 (later medieval)
- Phase III: 1457 (Gothic)
- Phase IV: 1621 (rebuild after destruction)

Dedication: Saint Lucius (AD 842/843)

Excavation History: 1944 by W. Schaefer.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented hall church with an off-angled horseshoe-shaped apse (approx. 10 x 8m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The interior has signs of plaster as well as a raised altar area in the apse, suggested by 3 steps in front of the apse.

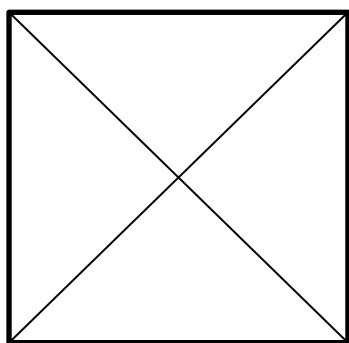
Related Burials: None known.

Other: This small village revealed signs of Roman use and was located on an important Roman route to the St Luzisteig Mountain Pass which connects modern Liechtenstein with Graubünden.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 171.

B34. UNKNOWN, TRUN



*Floor-plan of the excavated church
(Sennhauser 2003: 191).*

Site Name: Trun

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (abandoned)

Dedication: Unknown

Excavation History: 1932-34: discovered by W. Burkart; 1942-43: fully excavated by B. Frei.

Description of Plan: An E-W oriented structure with a semi-circular apse (9.65 x 5.5m). A southern annex was built shortly after and was 60 cm higher than the foundation of the church (7.65 x 3.25m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: Two altars were excavated: one in the church (70 x 70cm); another in the annex (65 x 65cm). Three entrances were found. The walls were plastered and painted (red and black residue).

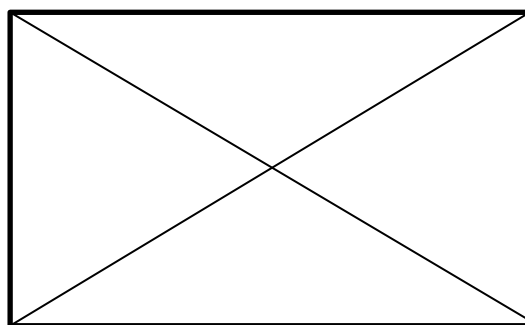
Related Burials: A child's grave lay in vicinity of the church, containing a 7th-century belt-buckle.

Other: The church was placed on a prominent hill with fortification walls still visible.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 191-192.

B35. ST DONATUS, VAZ/OBERVAZ



*Floor-plan of St Donatus
(Sennhauser 2003: 197).*

Site Name: Vaz/Oberbaz

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 650 (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (tower)
- Phase III: 1874/75 (reconstruction)

Dedication: Saint Donatus (1218)

Excavation History: 1974 excavation by archaeological service led by S. Nauli.

Description of Plan: Oriented E-W, the first church consisted of a rectangular nave and an interior horseshoe-shaped apse. Dimensions: estimated at 12.5 x 9m.

Construction Materials: Brick- and stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The organisation of the burials indicates a barrier.

Related Burials: 7 graves were found within the church, 3 of which had N-S orientations contrasting with 4 E-W oriented burials. A belt buckle, dating to the 7th-century, was placed in a central tomb, a possible founder's grave.

Other: The first mention of Vaz/Oberbaz is in AD 840.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 197-198.

B36. WALENSTADT, SS LUCIUS and FLORIN

Site Name: Walenstadt

Canton: Grisons

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church with apse)
- Phase II: 10th century (cruciform church)
- Phase III: 1200 (new altar)
- Phase IV: 1708-11 (Baroque construction)
- Phase V: 1973 (restoration)

Dedications: St Lucius (1300); St Florin (1306)

Excavation History: 1973: small excavation by I. Grüninger.

Description of Plan: The church assigned to *Phase I* consisted of an east-west oriented building with a horseshoe-shaped apse (13.50 x 7.50m). A barrier separated the altar space from the nave. The thickness of the walls in the apse was doubled in *Phase II*.

Construction Materials: Angular boulders and stone masonry was used throughout the construction. Signs of hammer use.

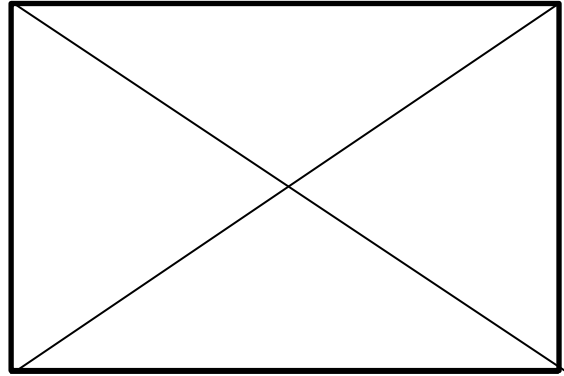
Internal Furnishings: A free-standing altar (1.10 x 0.75 m) was placed at the centre of the apse. Entry point of the church was in the western wall; a space in the choir barrier provided access to the altar. A bench near the choir walls was detected possibly for the knees.

Related Burials: One burial was placed just outside the western entrance, orientated E-W; dated to 8th-10th century.

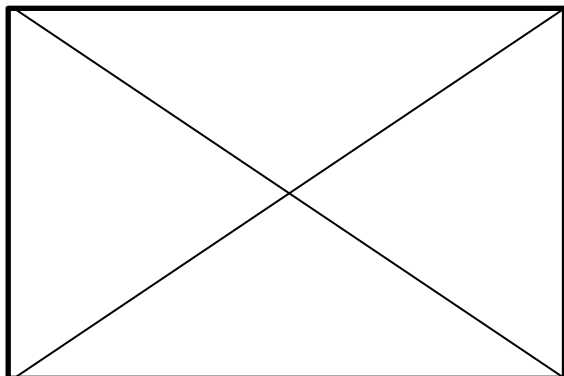
Other: Walenstadt also features a hill church, possibly dating to the 9th century.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 200-201.



*Floor-plan of SS Lucius and Florin
(Sennhauser 2003: 200).*



*Church of Walenstadt
(Image courtesy of Roland Zumbühl, 2011).*



*Hill-church of Walenstadt-Berschis
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2009).*

B37. ST MARTIN, ZILLIS

Site Name: Zillis

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: Possible Roman *villa*?

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 500 (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 800 (three-apse church)
- Phase III: 1109 (Romanesque building)
- Phase IV: 1509 (new choir)
- Phase V: 1553-74 (new roof)
- Phase VI: 1677 (spire on tower)

Dedication: Saint Martin (AD 940)

Excavation History: 1938-40: excavations led by C. Weisstanner, J. Premoli, E. Poeschel, H. Wild and C. Simonett.

Description of Plan: Built in a former Roman *villa*, *Phase I* saw the construction of a N-S oriented church with an apse (19 x 7m). A northern apse, divided into three rooms, traversed the entire length of the building. Towards the end of the 8th century, the church was rebuilt with three internal apses.

Construction Materials: Some reused Roman bricks, but construction consisted predominantly of mortared coursed river cobble stones.

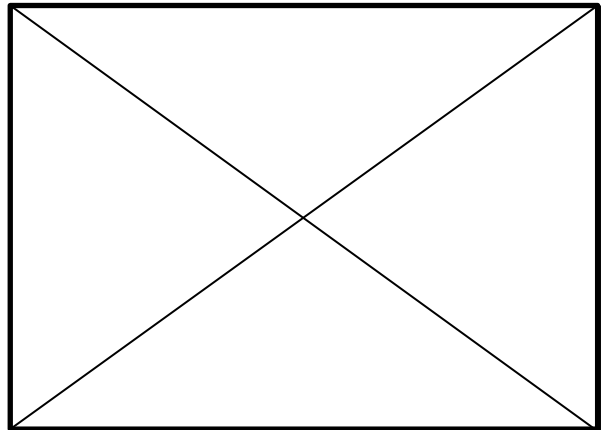
Internal Furnishings: A baptistery has been proposed in the easternmost room of the northern annex. The middle room's walls of the northern annex were plastered.

Related Burials: 7 graves were found in the church, one in middle room of the annex, 6 in the nave. 4 of these were mortared masonry tombs while 2 of which were stone-lined graves. All were oriented N-S except the E-W tomb in the northern annex.

Other: The church of St Martin is famous for its decorated wooden ceiling, dating to *Phase III*, which contains scenes of Christ's life.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 203-204.



Floor-plan of early medieval church (grey) with respect to later phases (Sennhauser 2003: 203).



Panels from the ceiling, depicting scenes from Jesus' life (Bielmann 2012).



Zillis, church of St Martin (Bielmann 2012).

B38. SS PETER and PAUL, ZIZERS

Site Name: Zizers

Canton: Graubünden

Associated Settlement: First mentioned as located in *Zizuris* (AD 824).

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (hall church with apse)
- Phase II: 10th century (hall church with square choir)
- Phase III: 11th century (tower)
- Phase IV: 15th century (reconstructed in N-S orientation)

Dedication: Saint Peter (1365)

Excavation History: 1964-65 excavations led by the Rätisches Museum of Chur.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented hall church with walls, nearly 1.50m thick. The apse was horseshoe-shaped. There are possible signs that this church had a southern annex. Dimensions: 6.20 x 3.50 m (interior length and width).

Construction Materials: Quarry stone with mortar, obliquely layered together. The floor was made up of reddish clay and brick.

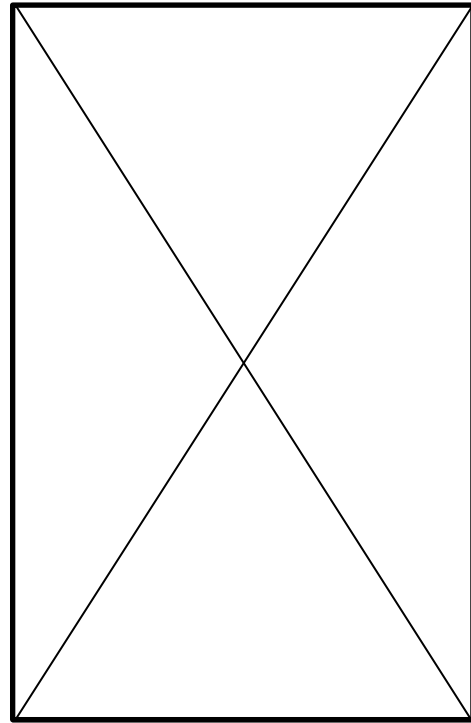
Internal Furnishings: No indications of a choir screen or an altar.

Related Burials: 8 burials were placed in context with this church. 5 E-W (3 located right next to the apse) and 1 N-S oriented graves were located inside the church. Another N-S burial was placed in the possible annex and a stone-lined tomb lay outside.

Other: Zizers is on the main route of a road leading from Lake Constance region to Chur.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 204-205.

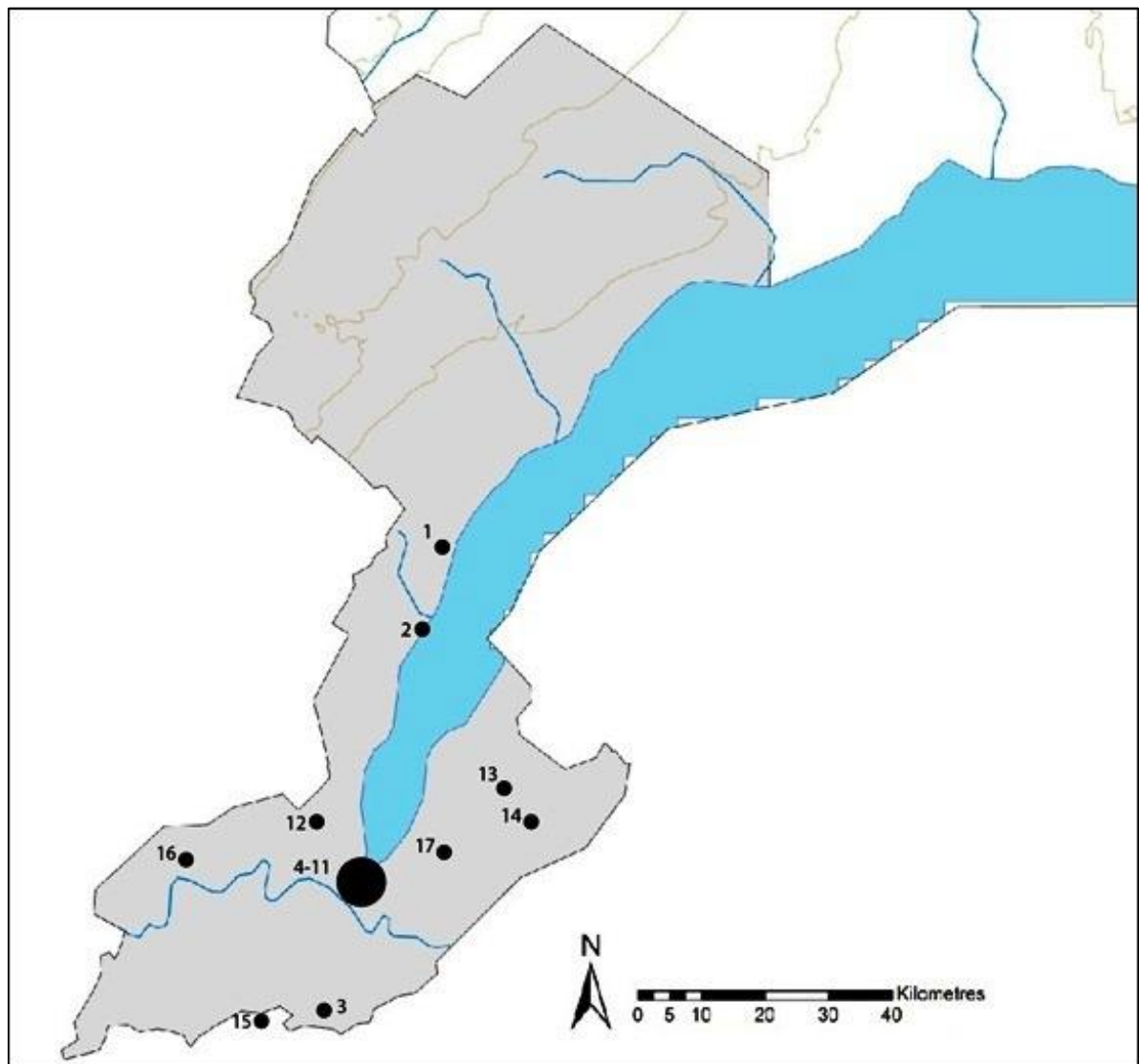


Floor-plan of early medieval church with respect to later construction (Sennhauser 2003: 205).



*Church of SS Peter and Paul
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael, 2011).*

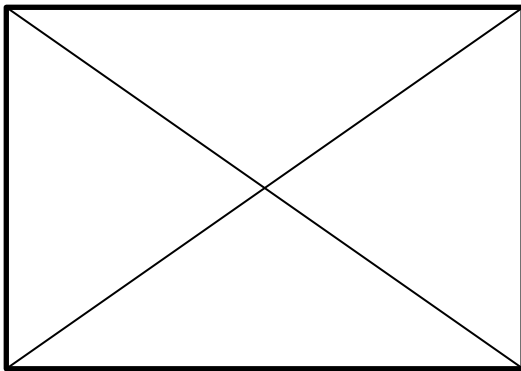
Gazetteer C: Diocesan region of Geneva



C1: Céigny
 C2: Commugny
 C3: Compesières
 C4: Geneva, St Germanus
 C5: Geneva, St Gervasius
 C6: Geneva, North Church
 C7: Geneva, South Church
 C8: Geneva, East Church
 C9: Geneva, Calvin Auditory

C10: Geneva, St Mary Magdalene
 C11: Geneva, St John
 C12: Grand-Saconnex
 C13: Meinier
 C14: Presinge
 C15: Saint-Julien-en-Genevois
 C16: Satigny
 C17: Vandoeuvres

C1. ST MARTIN, CÉLIGNY



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Terrier 2007: 89).*

Site Name: Céigny

Canton: St Martin

Associated Settlement: *villa*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th-5th century (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 5th-6th century (timber church)

Dedications: Saint Martin (13th century)

Excavation History: Investigations from 1991-1994 by J. Bujard.

Description of Plan: A rectangular three nave church, this building had a max length of 22.5 metres and 12.5 metres in width. The middle nave was longer than the adjacent ones. A square stone, building is located north of the square church.

Construction Materials: Timber-built.

Internal Furnishings: Although no barrier is present, the central nave extended further than the southern and northern aisles, perhaps to mark the altar space. To the west, a series of postholes might mark the presence of a portico.

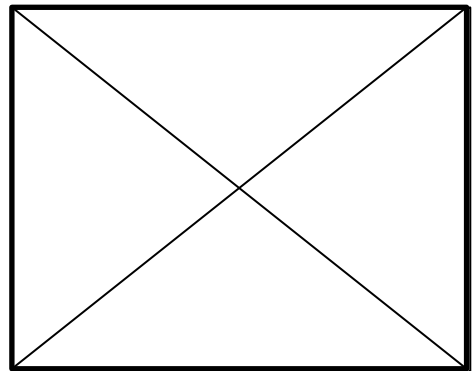
Related Burials: 20 flagstone tombs were found inside the church. Three of these had ceramic finds. Another tomb was stone-lined.

Other: The similarity between this church and the late-8th-century churches at Satigny suggest the same group of people set it up.

Select Bibliography

Terrier 2007: 87-89.

C2. ST CHRISTOPHER, COMMUGNY



*Floor-plan of St Christopher
(Stöckli 1978: 98.).*

Site Name: Commugny

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: *villa*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 11th century (choir)
- Phase IV: 14th-16th century (new chapels)

Dedication: Saint Christopher (1026)

Excavation History: Investigation in 1931 by F. Gilliard; 1973 excavation by W. Stöckli.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised a E-W oriented building with a eastern semi-circular apse (5.8 x 4.2m). A vestibule/annex may have been present to the north with estimated dimensions of 11.75 x 3.10m. *Phase II* comprised an enlarged structure, with the addition of a narthex (11.7 x 8.6m).

Construction Materials: Stone- and Roman brick-built (*spolia*).

Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

Related Burials: Several (number not specified) graves lay in the annex of *Phase I*.

Other: A 9th-century document suggests the land was donated to the abbey of Saint Maurice by Sigismund.

Select Bibliography

Stöckli 1978: 98.

C3. ST SYLVESTER, COMPESIÈRES

Site Name: Compesières

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: possible *vicus*; first mentioned as *Compeseres* (12th century).

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 2nd-3rd century (pits)
- Phase II: 5th-6th century (rectangular hall)
- Phase III: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase IV: 9th century (enlarged; square apse)
- Phase V-VI: 13th/14th century (chapels)
- Phase VI: 15th century (2 new chapels)
- Phase VII: 17th century (sacristy)
- Phase VIII: 1805 (tower)

Dedications: St Michael (modern)

Excavation History: L. Blondel in 1956; J. Terrier and Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève from 2005-06.

Description of Plan: Built upon a site with earlier vestiges, *Phase II* consisted of a near E-W oriented rectangular funerary structure, which later saw a semi-circular apse attached (*Phase III*: Nave: 8.4 x 4.8m). Another structure, only parts of which have been excavated, lay south of the church (G).

Construction Materials: *imbrices* and *tegulae*; pebbles, levels of clay containing fragments of mortar (*Phase II*). *Phase III* structure was composed of cobblestones laid dry, mixed with fragments of *tegulae*.

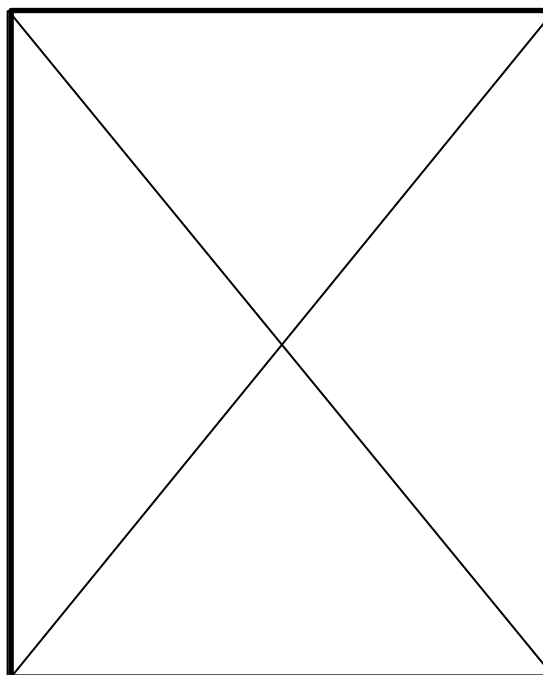
Internal Furnishings: A choir was detected during excavations.

Related Burials: *Phase II*: 2 E-W oriented burials inside the structure; 4 E-W burials just outside of the structure to the west; 3 burials outside the northern wall, 2 oriented N-S, 1 S-N. *Phase III*: 1 additional E-W oriented burial at the entrance to the choir, determined to be an infant; 2 near the remains south of the church, one of which was oriented N-S.

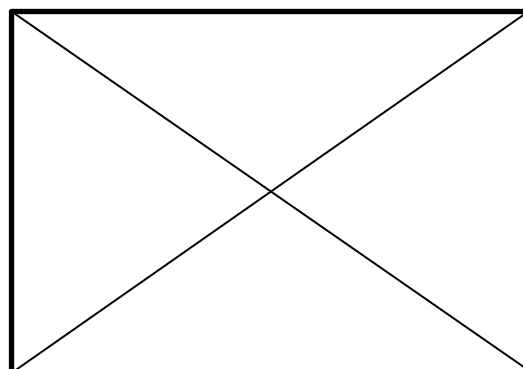
Other: Finds included ceramic fragments, including North African wares, dated to the 5th century.

Select Bibliography

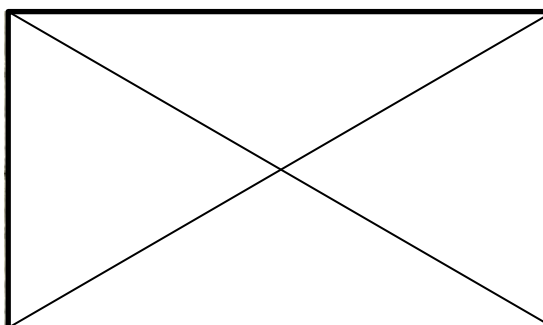
Terrier 2006: 349-362.



*Construction phases of St Sylvester
(Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 350).*



*Excavated burials and pits from St Sylvester
(Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 352).*



*Late-antique burial under the western wall of
Phase V (Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 352).*

C4. ST GERMANUS, GENEVA

Site Name: St Germanus

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 450 (hall church)
- Phase II: 6th century (enlarged)
- Phase II: 13th century (tower)
- Phase III: 1334 (destroyed by fire)
- Phase IV: 15th century (rebuilt; no tower)

Dedications: St Germanus (13th century)

Excavation History: 1906 renovations uncovered the earlier foundation.

Description of Plan: A square nave with a stilted oriented apse. Column bases were found, suggesting the nave was divided into three aisles. The length is unknown; width is approximately 10m. In *Phase II*, the nave was extended to the west and north, resulting in a narthex, surrounding by an L-shaped corridor.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

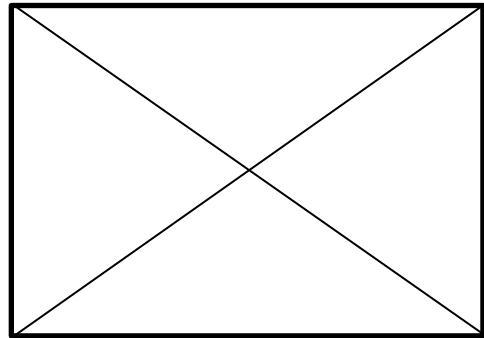
Internal Furnishings: Fragments of an altar were found during initial investigations. The decorations have been dated to the late 4th, early 5th century.

Related Burials: Unknown.

Other: The church was situated inside the walls of Geneva, about 2km from the main episcopal complex. It was also located near Roman structures, interpreted as residential houses.

Select Bibliography

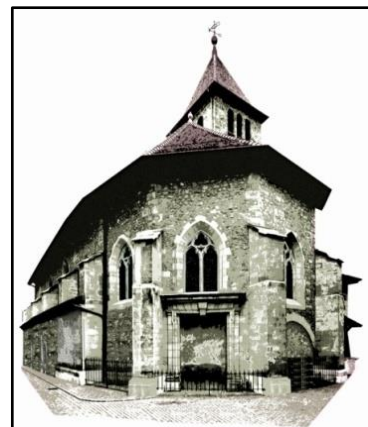
Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 93-94.
Blondel 1933: 86-89.



Floor-plan of St Germanus; Phase I: black; Phase II: diagonal stripes (Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 93).



Altar of St Germanus, dated to the fifth century (Image courtesy of François Schenk).



Church of St Germanus (Image courtesy of François Schenk).



Surviving foundations, preserved during renovations (Image courtesy of François Schenk).

C5. ST GERVASIUS, GENEVA

Site Name: St Gervasius

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (hall church)
- Phase II: 6th century (cruciform church)
- Phase III: 1345 (fire)
- Phase IV: 1435 (new construction)
- Phase V: 1688 (gallery on the north side)

Dedications: Saint Gervasius (AD 926)

Excavation History: 1902-03 excavations by M. van Berchem and G. Brocher.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised an E-W oriented hall church with a horseshoe-shaped apse (20 m x 7.3). Annexes were added in *Phase II* creating a cruciform plan.

Construction Materials: Reused limestone blocks, many of which were decorated. *Spolia* was used in the crypt.

Internal Furnishings: The walls were plastered on the interior and there may have been a porch to the West.

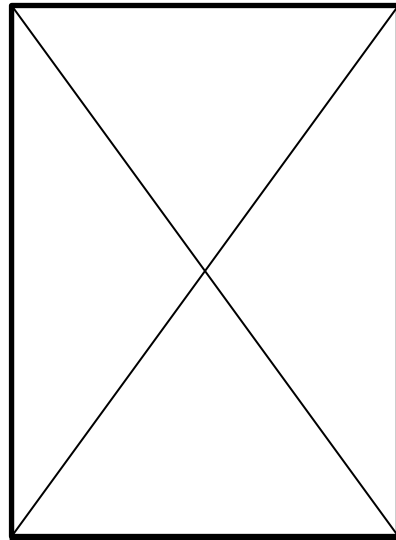
Related Burials: In the choir, a semi-vaulted (similar to a hypogeum) housed a presumably venerated tomb. Many burials were subsequently inhumed near the choir and around the apse.

Other: The church was established on the remains of an Augustan Gallo-Roman temple, which was abandoned around c. AD 350 after a fire. A Roman mausoleum also lay in the vicinity, parts of which were reused in the construction of the church.

Select Bibliography

Bonati and Privati 1987: 128-129.

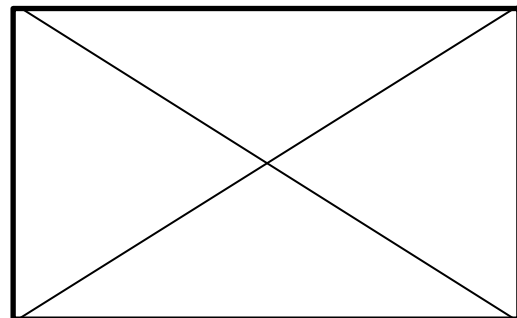
Privati 2008: 2-13.



Floor-plan of St Gervasius; Phase I=black; Phase II: light grey (Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 95).



Crypt of St Gervasius (Privati 2008: 13).



Excavated apse with ad sanctos graves (Privati 2008: 13).



Current church of St Gervasius.

C6. ST PETER (NORTH), GENEVA

Site Name: North Cathedral

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 350
- Phase II: 450-500 (internal changes)
- Phase III: 500-600 (cruciform plan)
- Phase IV: 7th-11th century (reduced apse)
- Phase V: 11th century (destroyed)

Dedications: Saint Peter (c. AD 515)

Excavation History: 1850; 1863-1869; 1956-1957: Louis Blondel; 1976-2006: C. Bonnet and Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a hall church terminated by a horseshoe-shaped apse (32 x 10m). Attached to the apse was a southern annex, which connected to a baptistery. The cathedral was enlarged during *Phase III* (42 x 17m), taking a cruciform plan. The apse was reduced in size from 11m in diameter to 6.5m during *Phase IV*.

Material and Construction: *opus africanum* Roman brickwork; tile and mortar for the floor (*Phase I-III*). By *Phase IV*, the walls were thicker.

Internal Furnishings: A tripartite division created by a choir screen near the apse and a fence near the entrance (*Phase I*). Liturgical changes in *Phase II* include the addition of a sort of corridor (*solea*) ending in a staircase to the choir screen. Circa AD 500 (*Phase III*) saw further liturgical insertions, primarily the elevation of the choir and enlarging of the presbytery.

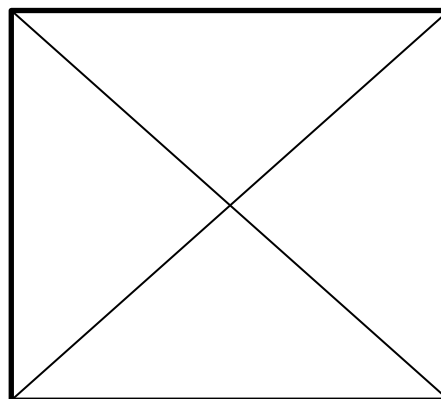
Related Burials: A stone tomb was incorporated into the barrier of the *solea* in the 5th-century. During the Carolingian period, several graves were placed side by side in the apse.

Other: Church was built upon the remains of a Gallo-Roman prominent house. Hypocaust systems were found in the side annexes, an evident sign of a heated room during the period.

Select Bibliography

Bonnet 1993: 24-30.

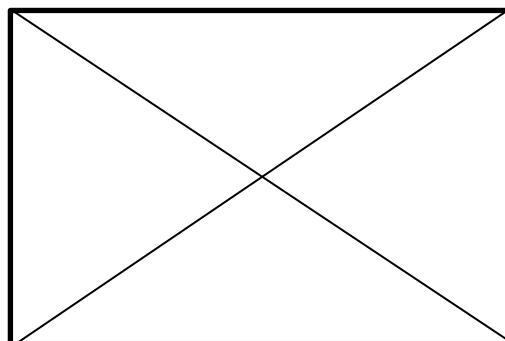
Bonnet 1987: 330-340.



Axonometric perspective of Phase III
(www.site-archeologique.ch;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).



Detail showing hypocaust system in northern annex of North Cathedral.



Reconstruction of the North Cathedral
(<http://www.site-archeologique.ch>;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).



Remains of the font.

C7. ST PETER (SOUTH), GENEVA

Site Name: Southern Cathedral

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 450 (liturgical changes)
- Phase III: 11th century (destroyed)

Dedications: Saint Peter (c. AD 515)

Excavation History: 1850; 1863-1869; 1956-1957: L.Blondel; 1976-2006: C. Bonnet and Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève.

Description of Plan: About 30 x 10m, the south cathedral had three naves terminated by an eastern horseshoe-shaped apse. It also had two annexes surrounding the apse and a reception room attached to the south wall of the church. An atrium was sited to the north.

Construction Materials: Limestone and reused Roman brick, with evidence for a wooden roof (*Phase I*).

Internal Furnishings: A three-aisle nave was initially divided by two horizontal barriers, creating an altar zone, a choir, and the nave. In the mid-5th century, the barrier was changed by the addition of a pathway (*solea*) and platform (*ambo*).

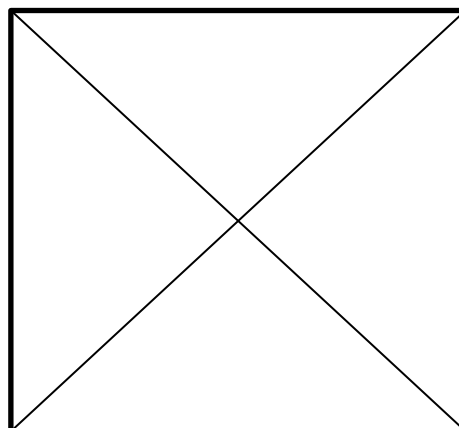
Related Burials: No related burials have been found in the South Cathedral.

Other: A large mosaic floor was found *in situ* in the south annex room. This mosaic contained 45 panels with interlacing borders, rare for the region. This mosaic room, perceived as the bishop's reception room, had evidence for heating, with pipes found under the mosaic floor (Bonnet 1996: 12-13). The South Cathedral went out of use in the 11th century and the land became the Saint Croix parish cemetery (Bonnet 1986: 60-61).

Select Bibliography

Bonnet 1993: 24-30.

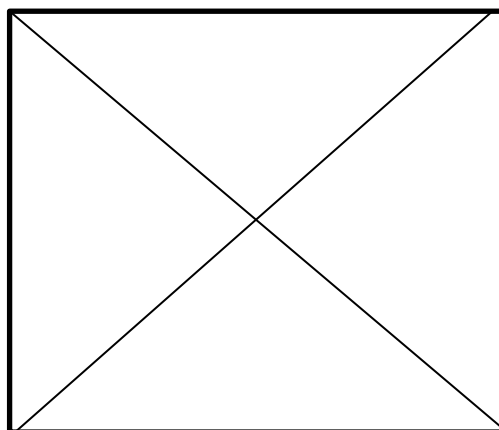
Bonnet 1987: 330-340.



Axonometric perspective of Phase II
(www.site-archeologique.ch;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).



In-situ mosaic floor of the 'bishop's room'



*An interpretation of the south cathedral as
a place for teaching the catechumens*
(<http://www.site-archeologique.ch>;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).

C8. ST PETER (EAST), GENEVA

Site Name: Episcopal cathedral

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (sanctuary)
- Phase II: 7th-8th century (triple-apsed church)
- Phase III: 11th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: 12th century (new cathedral)
- Phase V: 13th century (Gothic cloister)

Dedications: Saint Peter (c. AD 515)

Excavation History: 1850; 1863-1869; 1956-1957: Louis Blondel; 1976-2006: C. Bonnet and Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève.

Description of Plan: A wide church with three naves terminated by three apses, with the central one more prominent. About 20m wide and 22 m long, this church was set behind the central baptistery.

Construction Materials: Limestone; reused brick; large blocks; tuff and stucco decorations.

Internal Furnishings: A square enclosure delimited by barriers marks a distinct, privileged zone. The altar was raised on a platform. Main entrance located to the south was made accessible via some stairs. Tuff blocks and stucco decorations were used for the chancel.

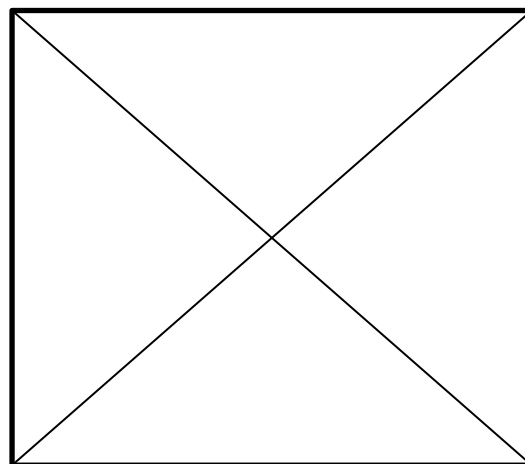
Related Burials: A sarcophagus was placed in the middle of the central apse. Two other privileged burials include those placed against the barriers of the choir stalls.

Other: Various key finds - a south-east Mediterranean amphora found intact, containing traces of oil, and fragments of an Anglo-Saxon fibula - suggest trade with other regions. Extended in the 11th century, the new works destroyed the baptistery, the northern cathedral, parts of the southern cathedral.

Select Bibliography

Bonnet 1993: 24-30.

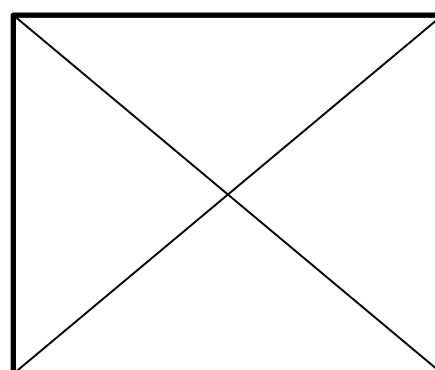
Bonnet 1987: 330-340.



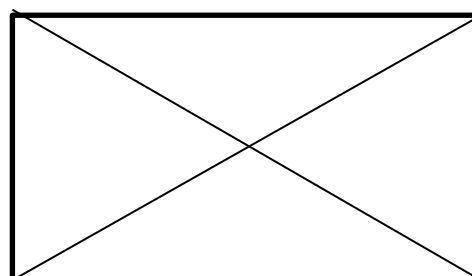
Axonometric perspective of Phase I
(www.site-archeologique.ch;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).



A limestone sarcophagus dating to the 6th century from east cathedral.



Interpretation of the choir of the Episcopal cathedral (www.site-archeologique.ch;
accessed: 18 Oct 2010).



Decorated chancel in-situ
(www.site-archeologique.ch; accessed: 18 Oct 2010).

C9. CALVIN AUDITORY, GENEVA

Site Name: Notre-Dame-la-Neuve

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: before c. AD 500 (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (crypt)
- Phase III: 12th-13th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: 1445 (new choir)
- Phase V: 1874 (redesigned)

Dedications: Notre-Dame-la-Neuve (1225)

Excavation History: L. Blondel led excavations in 1956-57.

Description of Plan: Consisted of a (nearly E-W) oriented hall church with a semi-circular apse (8.40 x 7.35m). An small annex, interpreted by Blondel as a baptistery, lay north of the presbyterium. *Phase II* saw a barrel-vaulted tunnel under the nave, accessible by a staircase.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; mortar was used, made up of crushed brick.

Internal Furnishings: A dissecting wall divided the church into two zones, interpreted as a presbyterium and a narthex (5.60 x 8.55m). Access to the presbyterium via the narthex was gained through a western doorway. The baptistery was only accessible via the presbyterium.

Related Burials: None known.

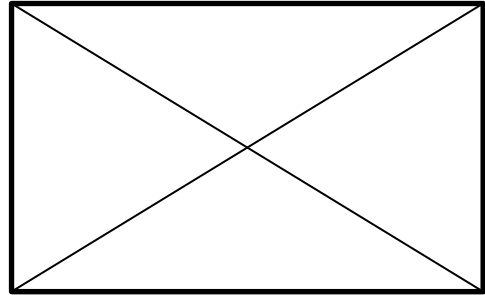
Other: Built upon a Roman building dated to the 2nd century. Part of the larger episcopal complex, described more recently by Bonnet as the 'private' chapel of the bishop.

Select Bibliography

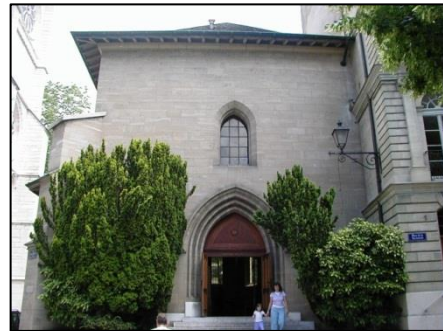
Bonnet 1993: 31-35.

Bonnet 1987: 330-340

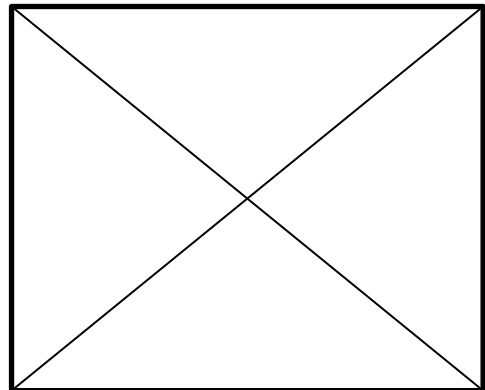
Blondel 1957: 97-128.



Excavated remains of Notre-Dame-La-Neuve (Blondel 1957).



Notre-Dame-Neuve was eventually transformed into the Calvin Auditory, the place where Calvin's teachings on Protestantism began (Image Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons).



Church under the Calvin Auditory next to the episcopal complex (Bonnet 1987:333).

C10. ST MARY MAGDALENE, GENEVA

Site Name: La Madeleine

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 6th century (funerary church)
- Phase III: 7th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: 9th century (reduction)
- Phase V: 1334;1430 (fires)
- Phase VI: 1846 (restoration)

Dedications: Mary Magdalene (1110)

Excavation History: investigated from 1914-1924 by C. Martin; re-investigated by Bonnet (1997) and Terrier (2007).

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a square building, thought to be a Roman *memoria*. The first church (c. AD 500) consisted of a square nave terminated by a semi-circular apse. The *memoria* became an annex next to the apse, accessed via a narrow corridor. An L-shaped corridor was built during *Phase III*. This resulted in a relatively large square church (15 x 15m). Circa AD 800 saw the removal of the corridors and side annex making the church much smaller (9 x 6m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built; regular masonry in *Phase IV*.

Internal Furnishings: A central altar, also used during *Phase II*, might suggest a place of worship for *Phase I*.

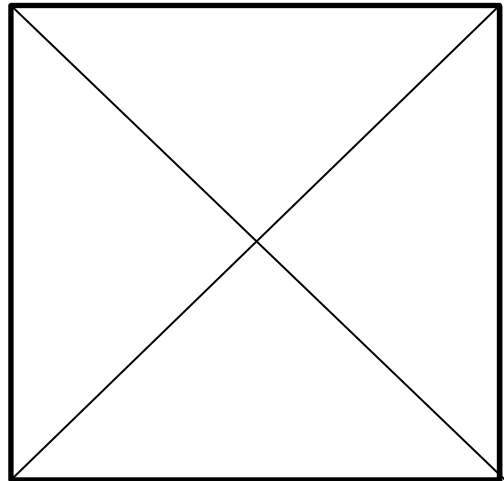
Related Burials: 1 burial in *Phase I*; interior and exterior burials during *Phase II*; prominent tombs were found in the side annex and near the apse. An arcosolium was built into the south annex room, containing a sarcophagus; the L-shaped corridor was also used for as burial space (*Phase III*). The Carolingian phase saw a decline in burial evidence.

Other: The *memoria* overlay Roman remains.

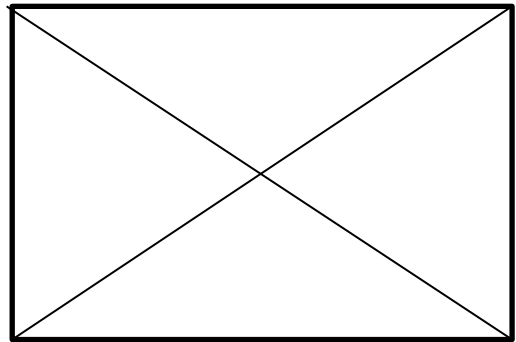
Select Bibliography

Terrier 2007: 271-272.

Bonnet 1997: 12-13.



*Construction phases of La Madeleine.
(Bonnet 1986: 45).*



*Excavation photo depicting the circular apse
(Image by Service d'Archéologie. 2008).*



Current church of La Madeleine.

C11. ST JOHN, GENEVA

Site Name: St Jean-hors-les-Murs

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *Genava (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (timber church)
- Phase II: c. AD 1000 (stone basilica)
- Phase III: 12th century (priory)
- Phase IV: Reformation (destroyed)

Dedications: Saint John (12th century)

Excavation History: Investigations in 1965-1970; 1973 by L. Blondel and C. Bonnet.

Description of Plan: Excavations found a series of postholes; their arrangement suggests the structure consisted of a three nave church (15 x 20m). The central nave featured a square apse.

Construction Materials: Timber-built (*Phase I*).

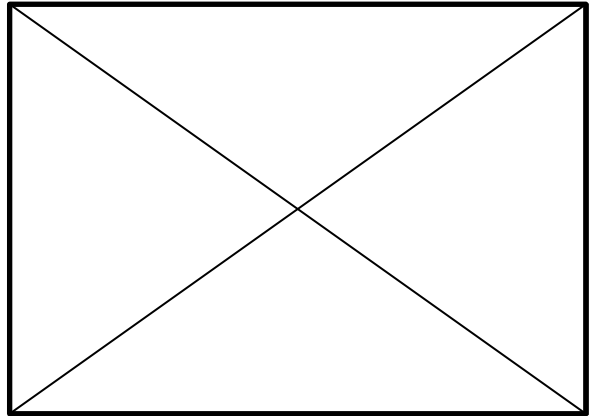
Internal Furnishings: Repair work is evident in some parts where wedging-stones were uncovered to give the base of the beams a degree of stability.

Related Burials: unknown.

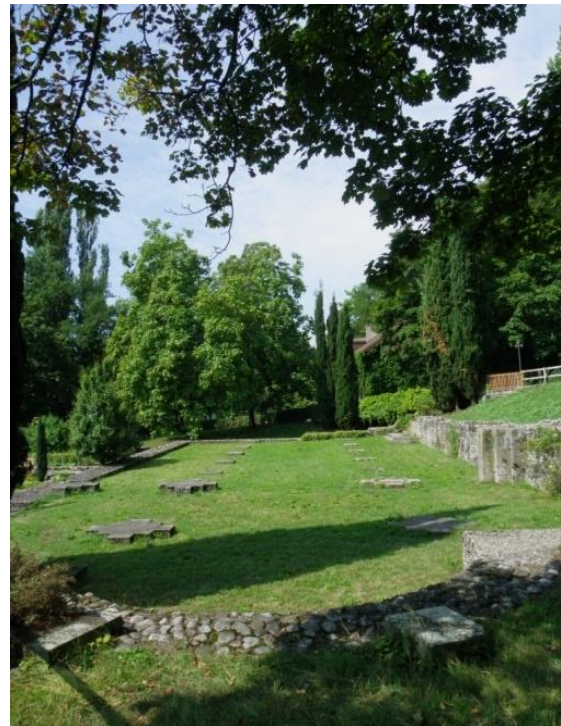
Other: A passage in the *Life of the Jura Fathers* relates how Romanus healed two lepers outside of Geneva in a cave. The site of St John is located near a rock face, suggesting that the church was constructed to perpetuate that miracle.

Select Bibliography

Bonnet 1986: 50-52.



Recreated Floor-plan of Phase I (green) and Phases II-III (blue) (Bonnet 1986: 51).



Site of St John; the park preserved the outline of the Romanesque basilica.

C12. ST HIPPOLYTUS, GRAND-SACONNEX (?)

Site Name: Grand-Saconnex

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (mausoleum)
- Phase II: 6th-7th century (church?)
- Phase III: 1837 (Neo-Gothic construction)

Dedications: Saint Hippolytus (12th century)

Excavation History: Fieldwork by J. Bujard in 1990s.

Description of Plan: A hall church oriented E-W, with a rectangular nave with a semi-circular apse, has been theorized based on the organisation of burials (8.5 x 6m). It appears to have been encircled by a portico. Very little of the building actually survives.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; tufa blocks were used in the small parts of wall discovered.

Internal Furnishings: Poor preservation makes specific liturgical arrangements difficult to determine. An assumed barrier at the apse and another in the middle of the church divides it into three areas: the sacred space of the apse (with probable altar); a rectangular choir; and a large space for a congregation. The portico surrounding the nave has a small barrier in the north and south corridors.

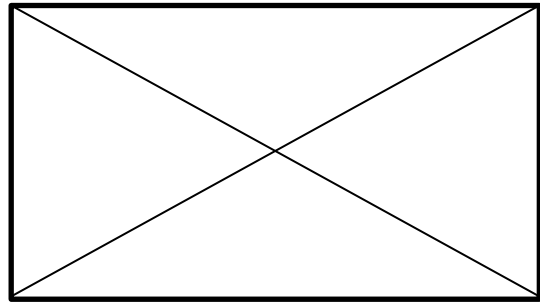
Related Burials: Many tombs were found at this site - about 20 in the portico alone. Primarily stone-lined, tombs were found within the church, outside, near the eastern apse, and in the portico. Some grave goods have been found - primarily ceramic fragments.

Other: An earlier mausoleum was discovered at the same site containing four tombs in N-S orientation, dating to the 5th century.

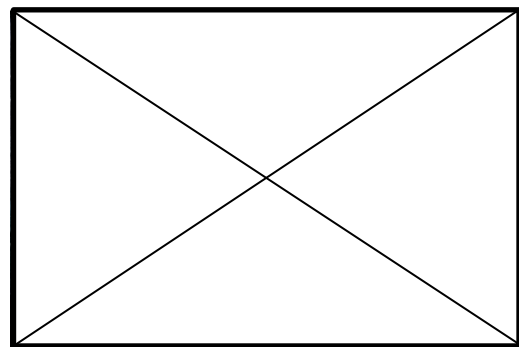
Select Bibliography

Terrier 2002a: 195-205.

Terrier 2007: 85-90.



Floor-plan of the church with respect to the current building (Terrier 2002a:197).



One of the many skeletons uncovered during excavations (Image courtesy of J. Cretton).



Church of St Hippolytus, Grand-Saconnex (Image courtesy of Emmanuel Berrod, 2009).

C13. ST PETER, MEINIER

Site Name: Meinier

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: possible *vicus*?

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (semi-circular apse)
- Phase II: 7th century (new apse)
- Phase III: 1611 (new altar)
- Phase IV: 18th century (standing church)
-

Dedications: Saint Peter (12th century)

Excavation History: Small-scale project tied to restoration project in 1990 by J. Terrier.

Description of Plan: A single rectangular nave terminating to an eastern semi-circular apse (8.5 x 6.0m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The excavations suggest the existence of a choir, originally built with the church, due to the existence of one tomb placed in a N-S orientation between two rows of E-W tombs, suggesting it was situated in front of the choir stalls. Later constructions included an unusual apse, built in the 7th century.

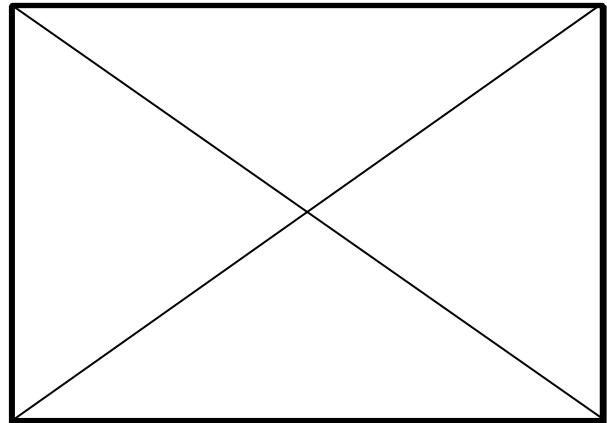
Related Burials: 15 stone tombs were found; most were oriented E-W with 3 buried N-S. 6 burials (1 earthen; 5 stone) were placed at the northern and western face of the church. At the east, 8 earthen graves and 2 stone tombs were found enclosed by a fence.

Other: First mentioned by Pope Eugene III in 1153, confirms the parish as belonging to the monastery of St-Jean-hors-les-Murs in Geneva.

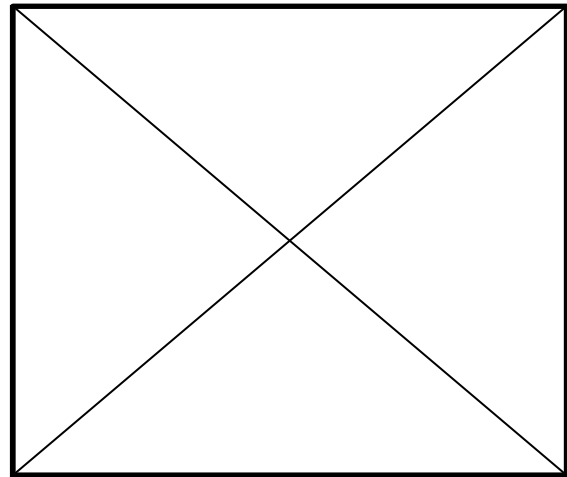
Select Bibliography

Terrier 2002a: 195-205.

Terrier 2007: 85-90.



Floor-plan of the church with respect to the current building (Terrier 2002b: 87).



Graves found at Meinier during excavation (Terrier 2002a: 198).



Current church of Meinier (Image Courtesy of Magda Ghali, 2012).

C14. ST FELIX, PRESINGE (?)

Site Name: Presinge

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: Unknown; located 1km SW of a Roman *villa*, known today as Cara.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (*memoria/church?*)
- Phase II: 9th-11th century (choir and apse)
- Phase III: 11th-12th century (hall church)
- Phase IV: 12th-13th century (new choir)
- Phase V: 15th century (northern annexes)
- Phase VI: 1764 (sacristy)

Dedications: Saint Felix (14th century)

Excavation History: Surveys (2002-03) and excavation (2004) by Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève.

Description of Plan: Irregular shaped N-S building (4 x 3.5m) was used as a mausoleum. A series of postholes found west of the funerary structure has led to a theory that there was a timber church to the west. (cf. Meinier). The knowledge that the wooden frame remains intact during *Phase II*, where a stone choir and apse are attached, would suggest an earlier Christian phase.

Construction Materials: Irregular use of stone and timber construction; *Phase II*'s stone apse might suggest it was used as a footing to support timber above.

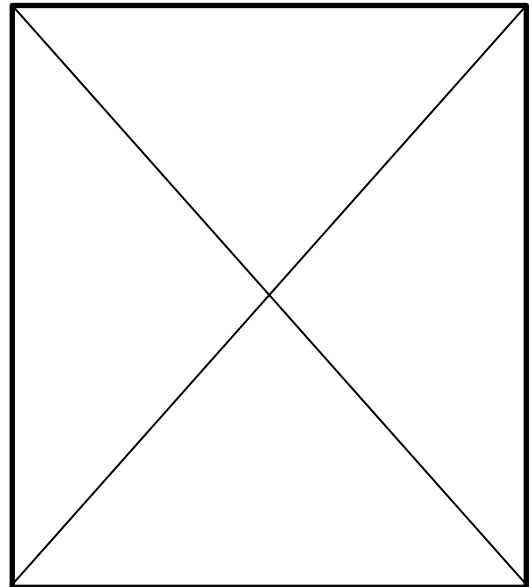
Internal Furnishings: *Phase I*: evidence of a shrine.

Related Burials: *Phase I*: 5 N-S oriented adult burials organised in rows, placed very close to each other located inside the mausoleum. 5 other burials oriented E-W, belonging to children, were also inhumed in the building. The graves are of different types: slabs of sandstone; wooden chests; earthen.

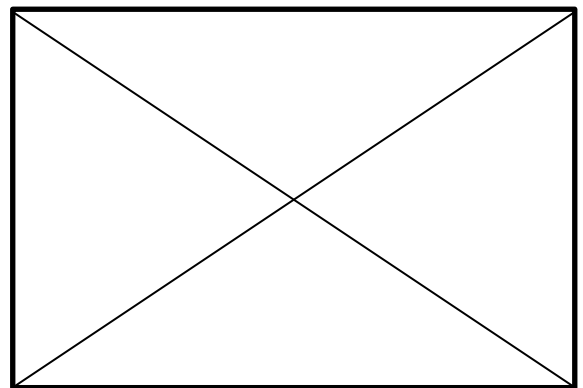
Other: Radiocarbon dating on skeletal remains helped determined the chronology of the earliest phases (I-III).

Select Bibliography

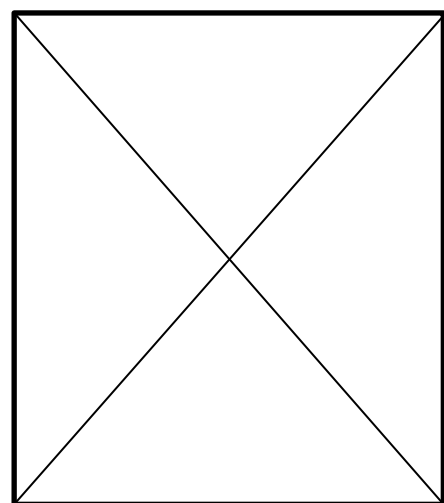
Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 339-346



*Construction phases of St Felix
(Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 342).*

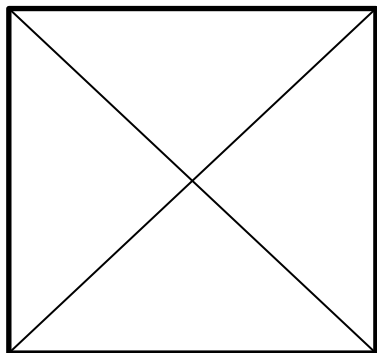


Current church of St Felix and excavations (Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 341).



*Stone-lined tomb, dated to the 7th century and associated with Phase I
(Terrier and Campagnolo 2006: 344).*

C15. ST MARTIN, SAINT-JULIEN-EN-GENEVOIS



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Terrier 2002a:198).*

Site Name: Saint-Julien-en-Genevois

Canton: N/A (France)

Associated Settlement: *villa?*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 450 (*memoria?*)
- Phase II: c. AD 600 (hall church)
- Phase III: c. AD 800 (abandoned)

Dedications: St Martin (?)

Excavation History: Fieldwork by M. and R. Colardelle in 1983.

Description of Plan: *Phase II* consisted of an E-W oriented nave terminated by a semi-circular apse (12 x 6m). A narrow annex with apse connected the church with the *memoria*. A southern annex was sited to the south.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was found *in-situ* at the centre of the apse. A choir was also present.

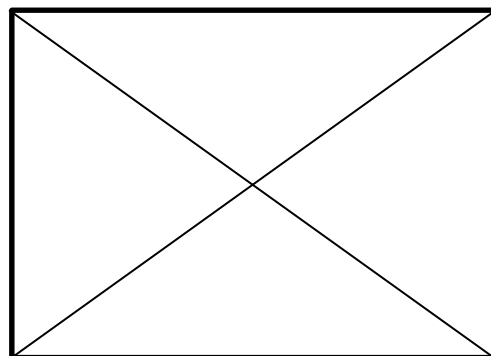
Related Burials: A possible founder's tomb in the *memoria* and 2 exterior tombs placed near *memoria*; 15 interior and 4 exterior tombs (*Phase II*), including an *arcosolium*.

Other: Different burial styles were noted: wooden, earthen, stone, monolithic sarcophagi.

Select Bibliography

Terrier 2002a: 195-205.
Terrier 2007: 85-90.

C16. ST PETER, SATIGNY



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Terrier 2002a:199).*

Site Name: Satigny

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: *villa* (abandoned AD 400)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th century (*villa*)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (timber church)
- Phase III: 12th century (stone-built)
- Phase IV: 18th century (Baroque)

Dedications: St Peter (AD 912)

Excavation History: Small-scale project tied to restoration project in 1975-76 by C. Bonnet.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* saw a timber church built. It consisted of three naves, leading to an eastern central choir (18.5 x 7.5m).

Construction Materials: Timber-built.

Internal Furnishings: No surviving internal furnishings.

Related Burials: No interior graves. A mausoleum next to the church contained 8 graves.

Other: Church is first mentioned in AD 912 by Countess Eldegard. The church was built in the north wing of an abandoned villa.

Select Bibliography

Terrier 2002a: 195-205.
Terrier 2007: 85-90.

C17. ST JAMES, VANDOEUVRES

Site Name: Vandoeuvres

Canton: Geneva

Associated Settlement: Roman *villa*. Early medieval timber structures found in vicinity of the church.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (hall church)
- Phase II: AD 500 (timber structures)
- Phase III: Carolingian period (apse)
- Phase IV: 15th century (nave and choir)
- Phase V: 18th century (rebuilt)

Dedications: St James (13th century)

Excavation History: full excavations by Service Cantonal d'Archéologie - Etat de Genève, led by J. Terrier 1988-93.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular building, oriented E-W, built against a of the old Roman *villa* (8.50 x 5.50m). The church remained the same but during *Phase II*, remaining parts of the surrounding *villa* are abandoned.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; limestone and local stone were used for this construction bound together by mortar, small pebbles and broken pieces of *tegulae*.

Internal Furnishings: A choir fence is suggested based on the presence of two postholes, dividing the nave from the altar zone.

Related Burials: 8 burials were found inside the church and one just outside the western wall. One large stone tomb incorporated into the choir suggests a privileged zone. Grave goods are not known from any of the burials.

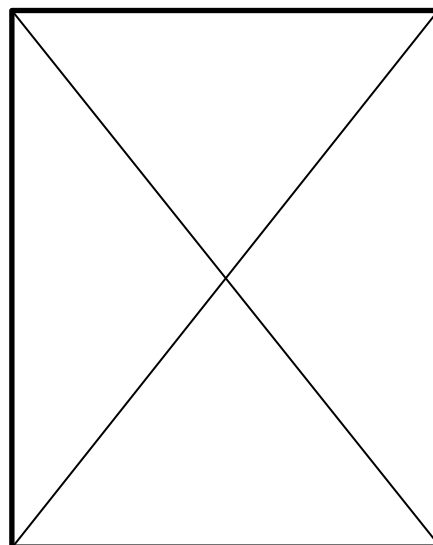
Other: The incorporation of a church into an active Roman *villa* suggests a private installation. Parts of the *villa* were gradually abandoned but the site remained settled - timber frame structures were constructed during the 6th century. The settlement eventually became a parish.

Select Bibliography

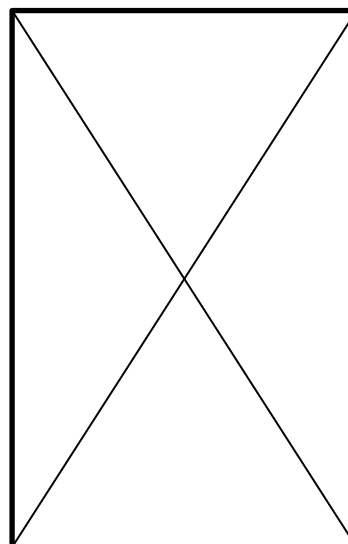
Terrier 2002a: 195-205.

Terrier 2007: 85-90.

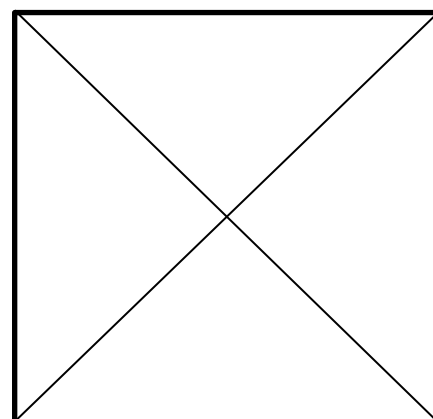
Terrier 2009: 39-53.



Floor-plan (Phase II) and nearby timber structures (Image by Service d'Archéologie Cantonal - Etat de Geneva).

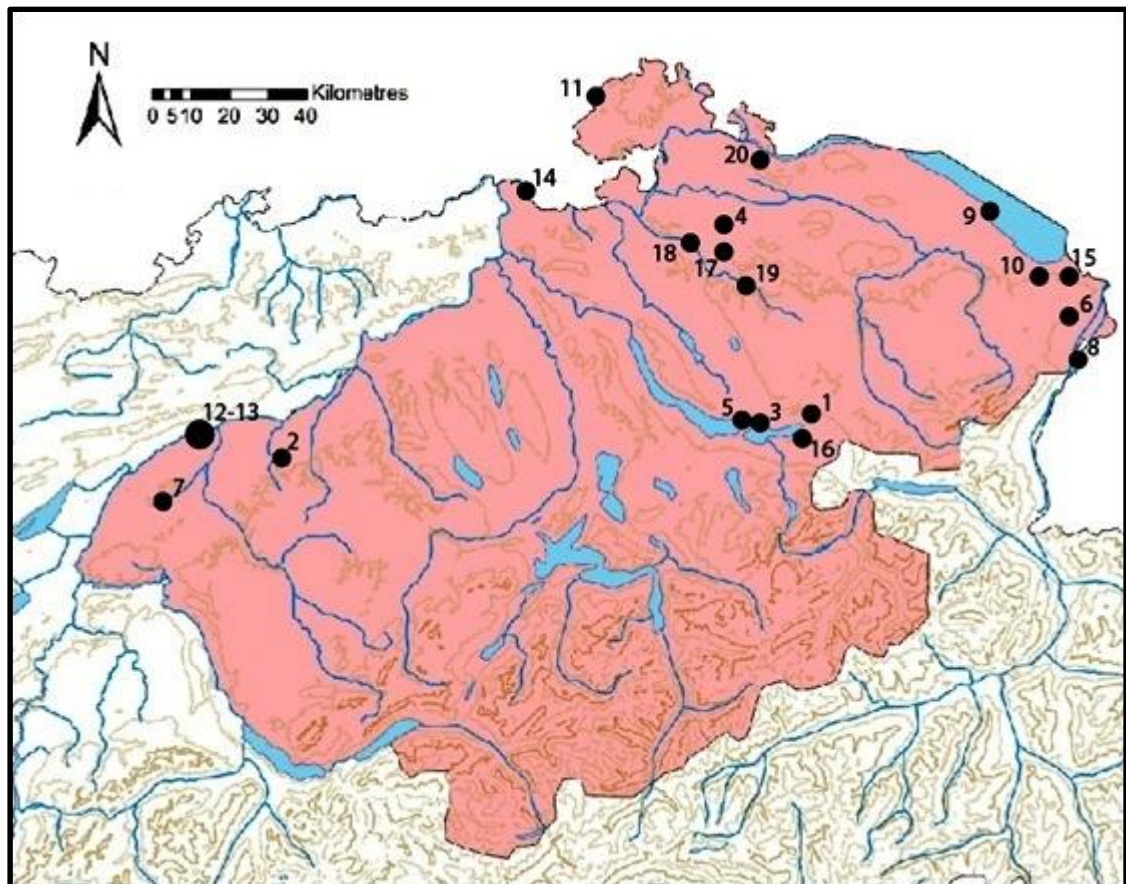


Excavations under St James (Image by Service d'Archéologie Cantonal - Etat de Geneva).



Artist's reconstruction of Vandoeuvres, early medieval phase (Terrier 2009: 48).

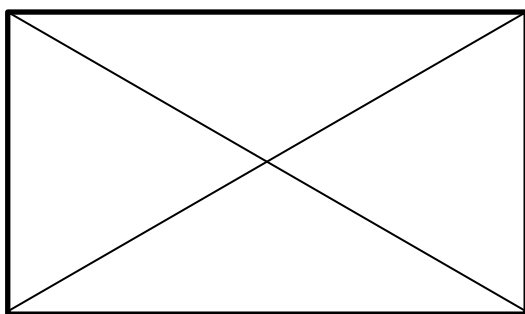
Gazetteer D: Diocesan region of Konstanz



D1: Berg
D2: Bleienbach
D3: Busskirch
D4: Dinhard
D5: Kempraten
D6: Marbach
D7: Messen
D8: Montlingen
D9: Romanshorn
D10: Rorschach

D11: Schleithelm
D12: Solothurn, St Peter
D13: Solothurn, St Stephen
D14: Stein am Rhein
D15: Thal
D16: Tuggen
D17: Winterthur
D18: Wülflingen
D19: Zell
D20: Zurzach

D1. ST MICHAEL, BERG



Floor-plan of the church with respect to current building (Sennhauser 2003: 53).

Site Name: Berg

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: *Berga* first mentioned in AD 796.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th cent. (timber church)
- Phase II: c. AD 800. (Church)
- Phase III: 1775/76: tower

Dedications: Saint Michael

Excavation History: 1978-79 by I. Grüninger.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a series of postholes in an irregular shape. *Phase II* saw the construction of an E-W oriented rectangular building made of stone (6.30 x 10.40m). Walls were around 80cm wide. A square apse was attached to the eastern end of the rectangular building.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

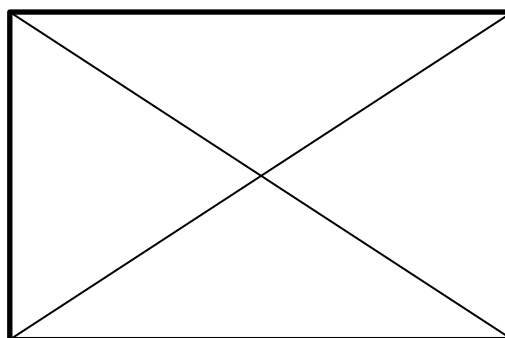
Related Burials: No known related burials.

Other: Church was first mentioned in 904, in a letter from Abbot-Bishop Salomon of Konstanz. The land was likely owned by the monastery of St Gall.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 53-54.

D2. REFORM CHURCH, BLEIENBACH



Phases I and II Floor-plans (Eggenberger 1982: 160).

Site Name: Bleienbach

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Unknown.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th-9th century (timber church)
- Phase II: 9th-10th century (stone church)
- Phase III: 15th century (ossuary)
- Phase IV: 1557 (font)
- Phase V: 1732-1734 (rebuilt)

Dedication: Unknown.

Excavation History: 1981 by P. Eggenberger.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of seven postholes outlining an E-W oriented structure. Approximate dimensions are 9.5 x 5m. The subsequent structure roughly outlined the frame of *Phase I*.

Construction Materials: Timber-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar dated to the 9th century was found in *Phase II*'s square apse.

Related Burials: None known.

Other: The church was first mentioned in 1194 but without a dedication.

Select Bibliography

Eggenberger 1982: 158-160.

D3. ST MARTIN, BUSSKIRCH

Site Name: St Martin

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Roman settlement

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 1st-4th century (Roman *memoria*?)
- Phase II: 7th-8th cent. (Hall church?)
- Phase III: 9th-10th cent. (enlargement)
- Phase IV: 12th cent. (Romanesque)
- Phase V: 15th cent. (tower; choir added)

Dedications: St Martin (1484)

Excavation History: 1975, small-scale excavation by I. Grüninger.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consists of a E-W orientated rectangular building (6 x 9 m), built in the ruins of a Roman building dating to the 1st and 2nd century. Remains debatable if the building was a church or not. *Phase II* was completely new.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; sandstone fragments of the older building were used.

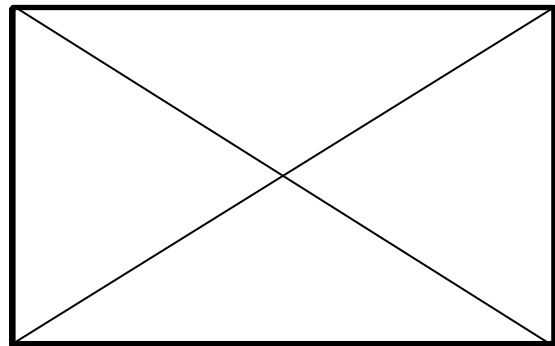
Internal Furnishings: While no known internal furnishings have been detected in the first building phase, *Phase I* had evidence of a chancel and an altar located at the eastern end of the hall.

Related Burials: the *memoria* consisted of 6 graves (two men, three women and one child) all oriented W-E.

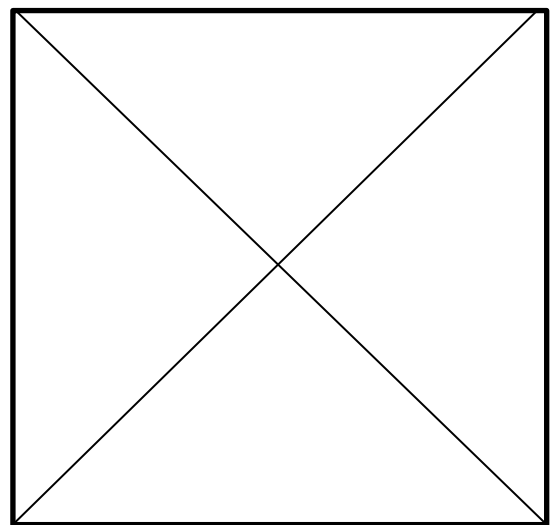
Other: Busskirch was a Roman settlement with signs of warehouses, office and residential buildings. Located at the crossroads between Zurich and Chur, it may have been an important hub for trade. However, no name of the place exists in Latin and it was mentioned first in AD 842/843 as *Fossonas ecclesiam* and in 854 as *Fussinichirichun*. The village belonged to the Pfäfers Abbey and St Martin is one of the oldest churches around Lake Zurich.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 63-64.



*Floor-plan of St Martin
(Sennhauser 2003: 63).*



*Image of the 1975 excavations
(Archaeologie Kempraten, 2009).*



*The current church of St Martin in Busskirch
(Image by André M. Winter, 2008).*

D4. ST PETRONELLA, DINHARD

Site Name: Dinhard

Canton: Zurich

Associated Settlement: *villa?*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 1000 (interior semi-circular apse)
- Phase III: 1511-1515 (Gothic)

Dedications: Saint Petronella (13th century)

Excavation History: Small-scale project from 1971-1973 by W. Drack during internal renovation.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consists of an E-W oriented building. Full extent of the church is unknown but the width is estimated at 6.80m.

Construction Materials: Cobbles mixed with mortar. Wall width at the western extent was 0.60m.

Internal Furnishings: The floor was a stone bed mixed with mortar. Eastern abutments might indicate a choir.

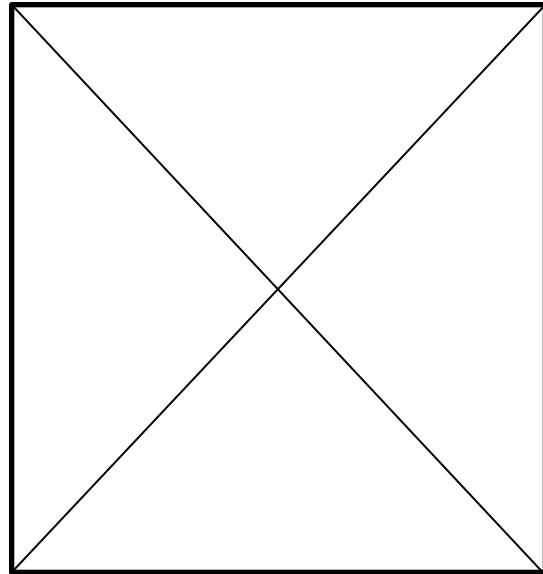
Related Burials: none associated with *Phase I*.

Other: Drack (1975: 44) notes that there is nothing to indicate whether the initial building was used as a sanctuary.

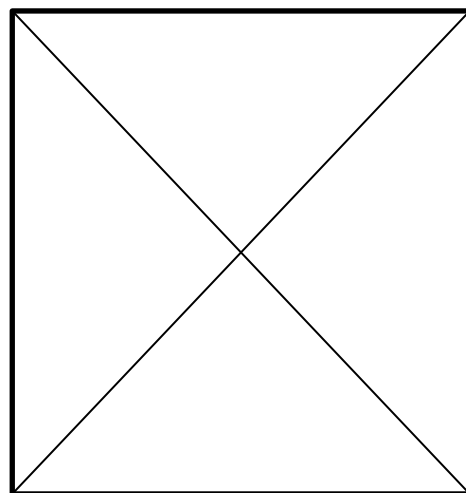
Select Bibliography

Drack 1974: 103-106.

Drack 1975: 43-58.



*Phases I and II of St Petronella
(Drack 1975: 45).*



Excavated remains (Drack 1975: 44).



*Current church of St Petronella, Dinhard
(Image Courtesy of Didi Weidmann).*

D5. ST URSULA, KEMPRATEN

Site Name: Kempraten

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Roman *vicus Centum Prata*; later listed as *Centoprato* in c. AD 741 and 744

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th -9th cent. (hall church)
- Phase II: 835 (chapel replaces church)

Dedications: Saint Alexander (9th century); Saint Ursula (13th century)

Excavation History: 1942-44: excavation of the church cemetery by E. Vogt; 1958: excavations by F. Benedikt; 1990-91: two year excavation project by I. Grüninger.

Description of Plan: An E-W oriented hall church with a square apse (19 x 9 m) features in *Phase I*. An entryway has been detected in the centre of the western wall.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

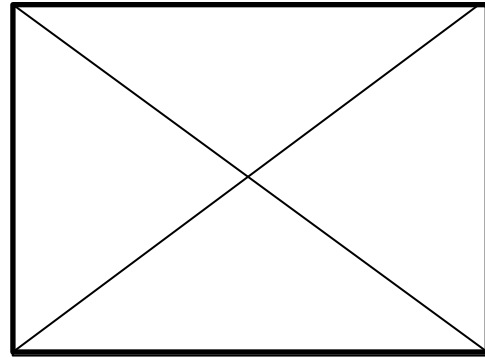
Internal Furnishings: The floor consisted of stone bed made of sandstone. Some postholes were also excavated inside the structure.

Related Burials: No burials directly related to the church; excavations in the 1940s found 5 early medieval graves dated to the 6th and 7th century neighbouring the church. The bodies in the graves were all clothed but with no grave goods.

Other: By the 9th century, the site was a pilgrimage church with a report by Monk Rudolf of Fulda stating that relics of Alexander from Rome had been delivered to the church.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 106-107.



*Floor-plan of Kempraten, St Ursula
(Sennhauser 2003:106).*

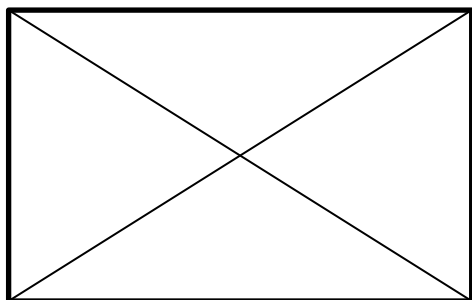


*3rd-century Roman walls at the back of the chapel
of St Ursula (Image courtesy of Roland, 2010).*



*Church of St Ursula
(Image courtesy of Roland, 2010).*

D6. ST GEORGE, MARBACH



*Floor-plan of excavated remains
(Sennhauser 2003: 111).*

Site Name: Marbach

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Marbach (AD 831)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (unknown)
- Phase II: c.800 (hall church with apse)
- Phase III: 11th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 15th century (Gothic)

Dedications: St George (first mentioned 1225)

Excavation History: 1967: small scale excavation building by B. Frei, part of a larger renovation project.

Description of Plan: The building dated to the 7th and 8th century only had one N-S oriented wall. *Phase II* consisted of a short hall, orientated E-W, with a semi-circular apse. The full extent of the church is unknown but max width was 6 metres.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was found near the head of the eastern apse.

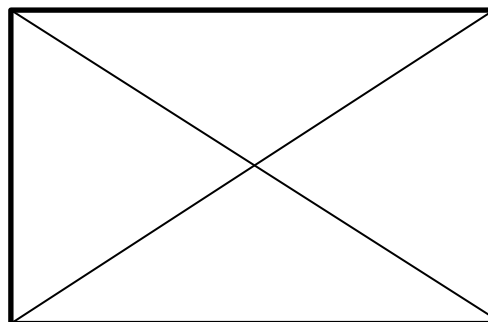
Related Burials: Two 'alamannic graves', orientated E-W, were found dating to *Phase I*: a boy's grave with an arrowhead and axe and an adult.

Other: The church at Murbach was mentioned as a private church in a 9th-century deed as a gift to the abbey of St Gall.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 111

D7. ST MAURICE, MESSEN



*Early medieval Floor-plan with respect to church
(Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 208-209).*

Site Name: Messen

Canton: Solothurn

Associated Settlement: Roman *mansio*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: AD c. 750 - 800 (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (tower and extension)
- Phase III: 1480 (new tower and sacristy)
- Phase IV: 18th century (new roof and interior)

Dedications: St Mauritius (AD 1251)

Excavation History: 1954: excavated by Th. Schweizer, G. Lörtscher, H. Guggisberg.

Description of Plan: The remains of a horseshoe-shaped apse and a slightly trapezoidal E-W orientated nave, with either a later extension or a brick porch. Dimensions: 15 x 7m.

Construction Materials: Stone-built: *spolia* from the Roman ruins, including tuff blocks and brick is evident. Mortar floor on a gravel base.

Internal Furnishings: A barrier near the apse indicates a separation of apse and nave.

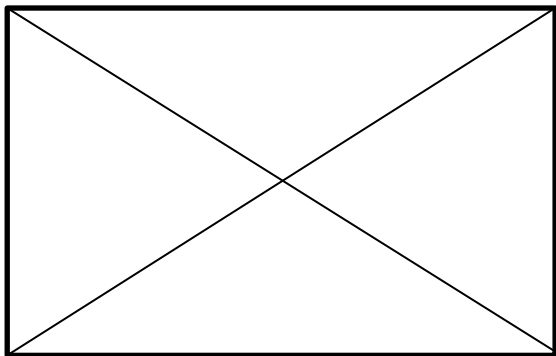
Related Burials: A tomb was found which contained a silver plate and a bronze spoon.

Other: The place-name Messen derives from '*mansio*', perhaps a reference to the Roman site.

Select Bibliography

Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 208-209.

D8. ST JOHN, MONTLINGEN



*Floor-plan with respect to church
(Sennhauser 2003:127).*

Site Name: Montlingen

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (south annex)
- Phase III: 1470 (reconstruction)
- Phase IV: 1673-74 (new nave)

Dedication: Saint John (13th century)

Excavation History: 1958: small-scale excavation by B. Frei.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* was a simple rectangular building oriented E-W (12.50 x 6.20 m). Wall thickness was about 65 cm.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: A choir and a square altar (1 x 1m) were excavated.

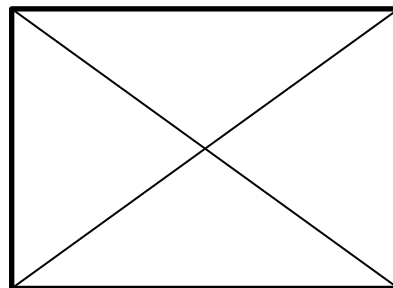
Related Burials: Unknown related burials.

Other: The church was originally in the bishopric of Chur but later became part of the diocese of Constance.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 127-128.

D9. OLD CHURCH, ROMANSHORN



*Early medieval Floor-plan with respect to church
(Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 208-209).*

Site Name: Old Church

Canton: Thurgau

Associated Settlement: *Rumanishorn* AD 779

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: AD 779 (hall church with annexes)
- Phase II: 10th cent. (choir enlarged)
- Phase III: 15th-16th cent. (tower and vestry)
- Phase IV: 17th cent. (expansion)

Dedications: Saint Mary, Peter, and Gallus (779)

Excavation History: 1964-65: full-scale excavation by W. Stöckli, A. Hofmann and HR Sennhauser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented church with an interior semi-circular apse. A vestibule to the south and annexes to the north and south were present (24 x 12m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A door leads into the nave from the western area of the south annex. Arched windows were detected in both annex areas.

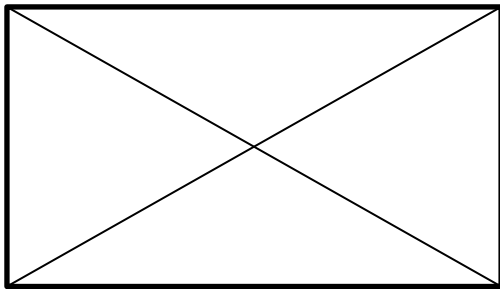
Related Burials: 5 tombs lay in the vestibule and 1 lay in the north annex. All dated to *Phase I*.

Other: This church was first mentioned in AD 779 in a land grant. Waldrata, widow of Count Waltram and her son Bert donated the land to the monastery of St Gall (UB St Gallen 1, NR. 85).

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 152-153.

D10. ST COLUMBANUS, RORSCHACH (?)



*Floor-plan of St Columbanus
(Sennhauser 2003: 154).*

Site Name: St Columbanus

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: *Rorscachun* (AD 850)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (*memoria* with grave)
- Phase II: 8th - 9th cent. (Rectangular room)

Dedications: St Columbanus (AD 850)

Excavation History: 1992-1994: church excavation project by I. Grüninger.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted a timber E-W oriented rectangular building (6 x 4.7m). *Phase II* comprised a rectangular room. The plan was determined from robber trenches (14 x 8m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built?

Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

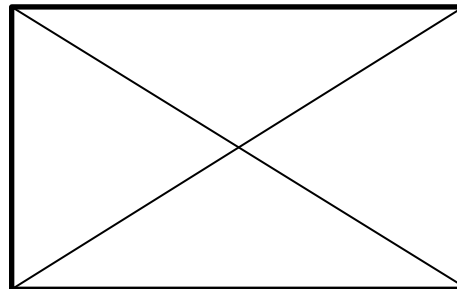
Related Burials: A partially disturbed grave was found inside the *memoria*.

Other: The *memoria's* date derives from the discovery of a bronze ring and a glass bead inside the enclosure defined by the postholes.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 154-156.

D11. DORFKIRCHE, SCHLEITHEIM



*Floor-plan of Dorfkirche Schleithem
(Burzler 2002: 279).*

Site Name: Schleithem

Canton: Schaffhausen

Associated Settlement: *Iuliomagus* (*vicus*)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 600 (hall church? - *red*)
- Phase II: 700 (hall church - *green*)
- Phase III: 986 (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 13/14th century (Gothic)

Dedications: St Mary (997)

Excavation History: 1899; 1986 small-scale project by A. Burzler and Schaffhausen Archaeological office.

Description of Plan: *Phases I-II* consist of E-W oriented buildings. Wall thickness of *Phase I*, around 80cm, was smaller than that of the latter phase, especially in the southern wall (~ 2 m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: *Phase II* had evidence for a N-S wall, presumably delineating the choir from the nave.

Related Burials: Grave 30, the central E-W oriented tomb, is a founders' tomb buried shortly before the church. Grave goods included a gold filigree brooch, a golden ring, and a disc pendant. 10 other burials were excavated, dating to both *Phase I* and *II*.

Other: A nearby 'Merovingian' necropolis was also in used during the 7th century but went out of use around 700.

Select Bibliography

Burzler 2002: 273-278

D12. ST PETER, SOLOTHURN

Site Name: Solothurn

Canton: Solothurn – St Peter

Associated Settlement: *Salodurum (castrum)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 6th century (chapel)
- Phase III: 8th-9th century (repairs)
- Phase IV: 10th century (elongated)
- Phase V: 13th century (choir enlarged)
- Phase VI: 15th century (tower)
- Phase VII: 1547 (Gothic construction)

Dedication: St Peter (1303)

Excavation History: M. Zuber and K. Ehrensperge in 1965-66; W. Stöckli and R. Delzanno in 1967; further work in 2007.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised a square building (4 x 4.7m). The walls were plastered. *Phase II* saw a square apse (3 x 1.9m) attached to the eastern end of the structure. The choir was renewed between the 8th and 9th centuries, as evident in masonry changes.

Construction Materials: Built from *spolia* from the fort, including brick, limestone; the masonry in *Phase III* changed radically – the bricks are more regular with a white, pure and brittle mortar.

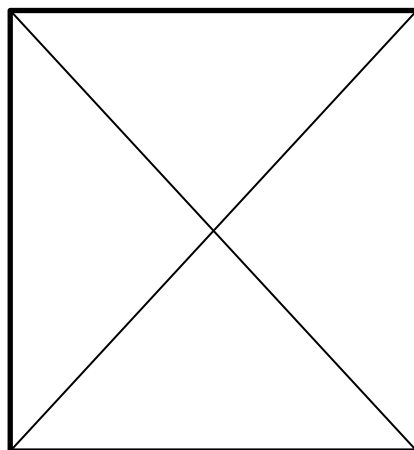
Internal Furnishings: None known.

Related Burials: A number of burials lay outside the structure, covered by the foundations of *Phase IV*. Calibrated C-14 dates have been determined for Graves 2 (660-780), 3 (1020-1160), 4.1 (890-1030), 4.2 (660-810) and 7 (650-780).

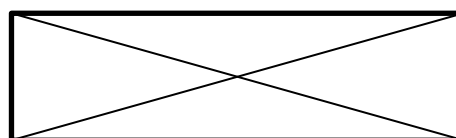
Other: A local tradition states that the martyrs of St Ursus and Victor, martyrs of the Theban legion, lay at the chapel of St Pet5er. Another tradition states that Queen Bertha founded the chapel of St Peter in the 10th century.

Select Bibliography

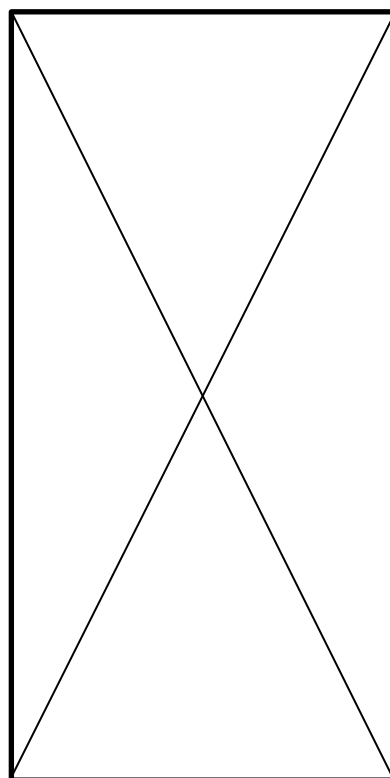
Sennhauser 1990: 168-193.
Backman 2007: 61-70
Backman 2011: 174-179



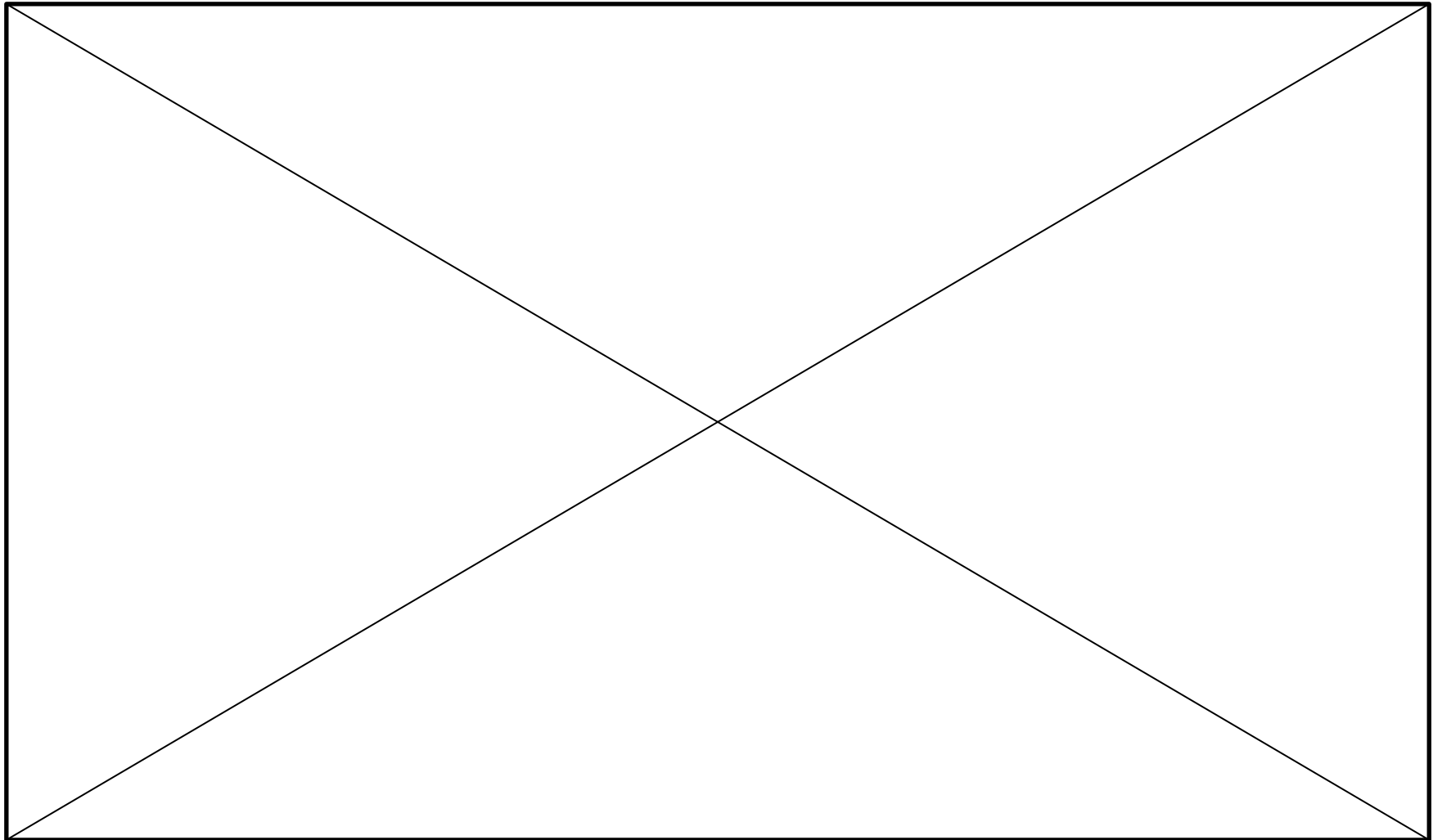
Excavation of burials in 2007 – these have been dated to the 10th century (Backman 2007: 67).



Early medieval belt buckle from Grave B19a (Backman 2007: 66).



Reconstruction of Phase I and Phase II structures (Sennhauser 1990: 182).



Early medieval floor-plan of St Peter, Schaan (Backman 2007: 61).

D13. ST STEPHEN, SOLOTHURN

Site Name: Solothurn – St Stephen

Canton: Solothurn

Associated Settlement: *Salodurum*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th-6th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 1030s (chapel)
- Phase III: 1666 (Gothic renovations)
- Phase IV: 1887/89 (demolished)

Dedications: St Stephen (1045/46)

Excavation History: Investigations by Konrad Meisterhans in 1887-89; 1946-47 by Walter Drack.

Description of Plan: Investigations by both Meisterhans and Walter Drack found walls of a southern wall, including an annex. It may have belonged to a cruciform church. Based on comparisons to Kaiseraugst's church and the position of the southern walls to the fort wall, the northern extent of the church would have leaned against the fort. Thus an estimated width of 10m is offered.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with *spolia*, such as a large stone inscription, used as a foundation base.

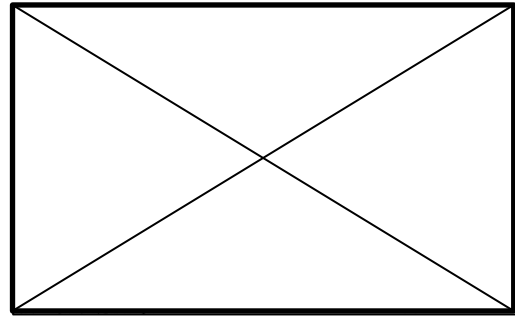
Internal Furnishings: The location of the graves away from the presumed apse led to a theory of a choir barrier.

Related Burials: 6 graves were recorded in 1887, oriented into three rows and oriented E-W. They lay on pieces of Roman roof tile and the tomb walls were built with pebbles and pieces of hewn tufa. Grave goods were found, including a bronze finger ring and a bronze decorated bangle. These have been dated to the 7th century.

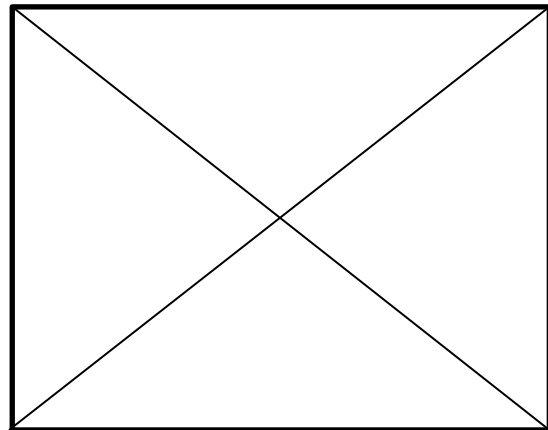
Other: The church at Solothurn is similar to those found at Kaiseraugst, Zurzach, and Schaan.

Select Bibliography

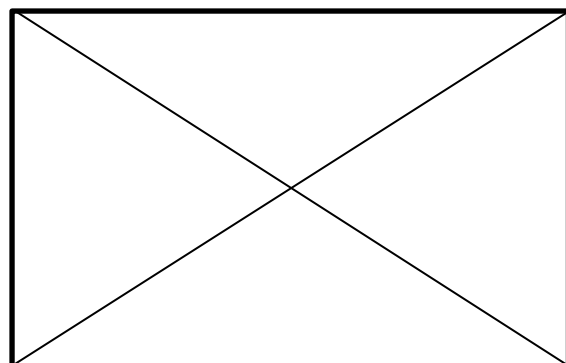
Sennhauser 1990: 130-145.



*St Stephen, St Ursula, and St Peter of Solothurn
Triangles = Roman graves;
Grey circle = Early medieval graves;
Black circle = high medieval graves
(Backman 2011: 175).*



*Floor-plan of St Stephen; excavations only
detected the southern extent
(Sennhauser 1990:140).*



*Drawing of Solothurn, 1597 with St Stephen
(left), St Ursus Cathedral, and St Peter (bottom
right) (Sennhauser 1990: 83).*

D14. ST JOHN, STEIN AM RHEIN

Site Name: Stein am Rhein

Canton: Schaffhausen

Associated Settlement: *Tasgaetium (castrum)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I and Ia: 6th century (wood; then stone construction)
- Phase II: c. 700 (hall church with apse)
- Phase III: c. 800 (square apse)
- Phase IV: 1495 (Gothic construction)

Dedications: St John (799)

Excavation History: small project conducted between 1976 and 1978 by J. Bürgi and K. Bänteli.

Description of Plan: Postholes, outlining a rectangular structure, oriented E-W (12 x 7m), are attributed to *Phase I*. A subphase (*Ia*) featured an apse. *Phase II* consists of a hall church with a semicircular apse (14 x 10 m). *Phase III* sees a square apse build. Two entrances are noted - at the centre of the western wall and in the northern wall, in the area of the choir.

Construction Materials: Timber-built (*Phase I*); stone-built (*Phases Ia-III*).

Internal Furnishings: The altar space is delineating by extending N-S walls in *Phase III*. A choir is postulated from the presence of two postholes, west of the altar space. An altar has been detected at the centre of the semi-circular apse of *Ia* and potentially used throughout all the phases.

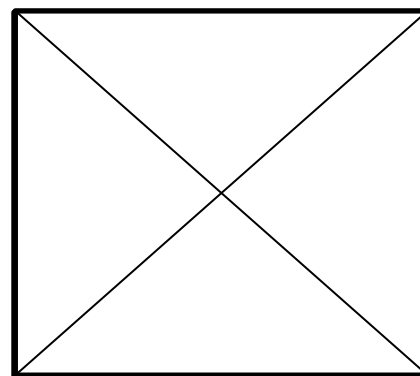
Related Burials: 3 E-W oriented graves (*Phase I*); *Phase II* consists of 25 burials, including two prominent sarcophagi, and a number of earthen burials. Only 1 interior burial is associated with *Phase III*. Grave 2, the solitary internal tomb of *Phase I*, contained a gold-foil cross, formerly sewn to a shroud.

Other: Features one of the few churches built in the centre of a fort.

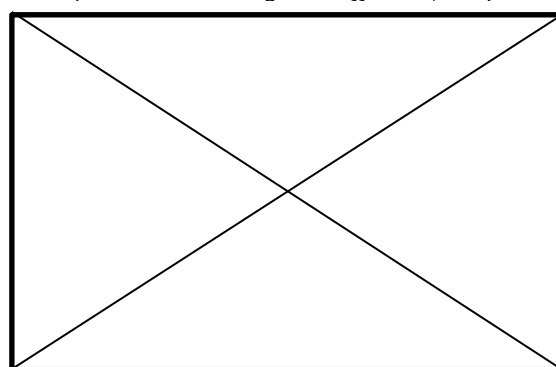
Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 1987: 153.

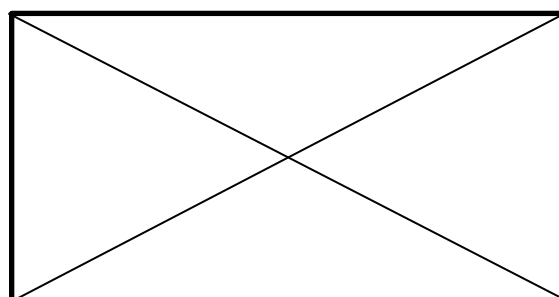
Kantonsarchäologie Schaffhausen (<http://www.sh.ch>: Visited July 15 2012)



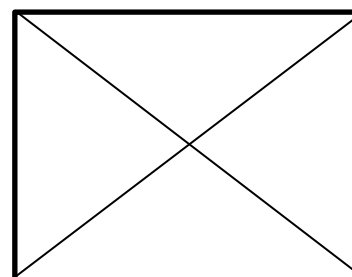
Roman fort of Tasgaetium; 1. Church; 2. Charnelhouse' 3. Rectory; 4. Mesmerhaus (?) (Kantonsarchäologie Schaffhausen, n.d.).



Floor-plan showing building phases (Kantonsarchäologie Schaffhausen, n.d.).

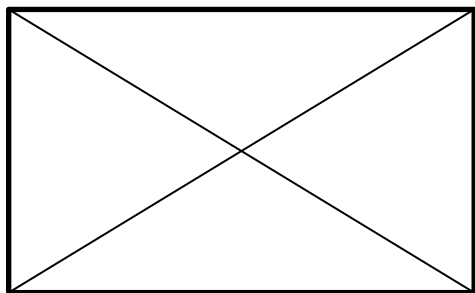


Phases I-III of St John, with axonometric reconstructions (Kantonsarchäologie Schaffhausen, n.d.).



Gold-foil cross found in Grave 2, dated to late 6th century (Kantonsarchäologie Schaffhausen, n.d.).

D15. ST MARY, THAL



Floor-plan of St Mary, Thal (Sennhauser 2003: 190).

Site Name: St Mary

Canton: St. Gallen

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 1494 (reconstruction of tower)
- Phase IV: 1770-80 (remodelling)
- Phase V: 1904 (new tower)

Dedications: St Maria (1163)

Excavation History: Full-scale excavations by I. Grüninger from 1976-1978.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented trapezoidal nave with a square apse (7 x 5.20m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with mortar comprised crushed bricks.

Internal Furnishings: A barrier dividing the nave into two parts.

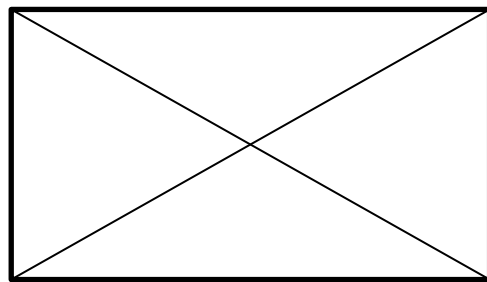
Related Burials: None found in relation to the church.

Other: In AD 1163 the Bishop of Constance sold the church to Emperor Frederick.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 188-190.

D16. ST ERHARD, TUGGEN



Floor-plan of St Erhard, Tuggen (Sennhauser 2003: 193).

Site Name: Tuggen

Canton: Schwyz

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 680-700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 1100 (Romanesque construction)
- Phase III: 14th century (Gothic construction)
- Phase IV: 1733-43 (Baroque)

Dedications: Originally Saints Mary, Catherine, Victor (12th century); Saint Erhard (1743)

Excavation History: 1958 excavations by W. Drack.

Description of Plan: Excavations revealed an E-W oriented rectangular nave with a semi-circular apse (16 x 8m).

Construction Materials: Foundation made up of entirely pebbles, not mortared and embedded with sand instead.

Internal Furnishings: *Phase I* might have featured a narrower square choir. The foundation of an altar, 80 x 80cm, was detected in the apse. *Phase II* featured a bench was found stretched along the western wall.

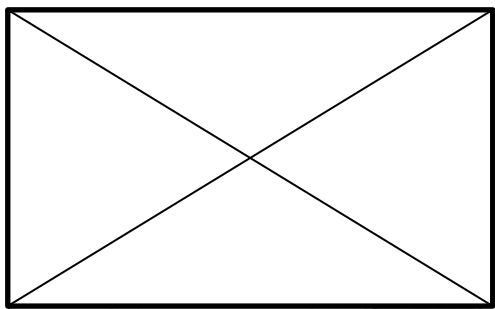
Related Burials: 3 male graves, oriented E-W, were placed at the centre of the nave, containing 7th-century grave goods, including an iron spur.

Other: Deposition of graves is placed at around time of church construction - possible founders' graves.

Select Bibliography

Meier 1972.

D17. ST LAWRENCE, WINTERTHUR



Floor-plan depicting Phase II-VII of St Lawrence, Winterthur (Eugster 2008: 429).

Site Name: Winterthur

Canton: Zurich

Associated Settlement: 2km from Roman *vicus* and fort (*Vitodurum*)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (timber church)
- Phase II: 900 (Stone church - enlarged)
- Phase IIb: 1000 (side chapels)
- Phase III-IV: 1100-1200 (triple nave)
- Phase V: 1300 (enlarged choir)
- Phases VI-VII: 1300-1400 (enlarged)

Dedications: St Lawrence (12th century)

Excavation History: 1993 investigations led by C. Jäggi, H.-R. Meier, and R. Windler.

Description of Plan: Excavations discovered a series of postholes, suggesting the presence of a timber church. It consisted of a square apse.

Construction Materials: Timber; later stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: No internal furnishings detected.

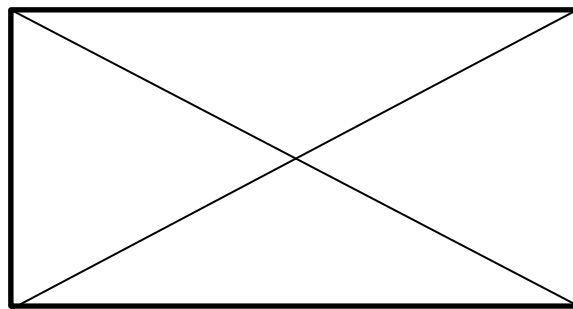
Related Burials: 2 E-W oriented graves inside the church associated with Phase I.

Other: The town grew in prominence under the Carolingians; the town of Winterthur later became the capital of the counts of Kyburg.

Select Bibliography

Meier 2000: 219-271.
Eugster 2008: 428-431.

D18. REFORM CHURCH, WÜLFINGEN



Floor-plan depicting Phases I-V of the Reform Church of Wülflingen (Meier 2000: 241).

Site Name: Wülflingen

Canton: Zurich

Associated Settlement: Roman *vicus* and fort (*Vitodurum*); timber village in AD 600-700.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (wooden church)
- Phase II: c. AD 800 (stone church)
- Phase III: 10th/11th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: c. 1550 (elongated nave)
- Phase V: 1757 (new construction)

Dedications: Unknown

Excavation History: Excavations led by cantonal archaeological services based in Zürich 1972-73.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a small rectangular timber-built church (7 x 5m). *Phase II* saw a stone church built, with identical dimensions as its predecessor and a possible square eastern apse.

Construction Materials: Timber; later stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: *Phase I* might have featured a narrower square choir. *Phase II* featured a bench was found stretched along the western wall.

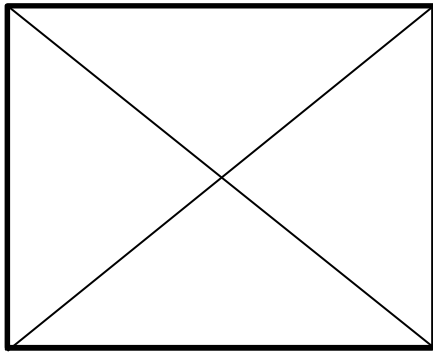
Related Burials: 3 inhumations associated with *Phase II* lay outside the church. All were earth-cut and had W-E orientations.

Other: Studies of place-names suggest Wülflingen is an Alamannic word, derived from the name Wülfilo.

Select Bibliography

Meier 2000: 219-271.

D19. ST JOHN, ZELL (?)



Floor-plan of St John, Zell (Sennhauser 2003: 203).

Site Name: Zell

Canton: Zurich

Associated Settlement: *Celle* AD 741.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church?)
- Phase II: 9th/10th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 14th century (tower)
- Phase IV: 1500 (Gothic church)
- Phase V: 1753 (extension of choir)

Dedications: St John (1492)

Excavation History: Excavation by W. Drack in 1958 and 1959.

Description of Plan: Excavations identified only small wall fragments and a grave in the south-east corner of a presumed rectangular hall church.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The grave chamber was covered in plaster and likely painted.

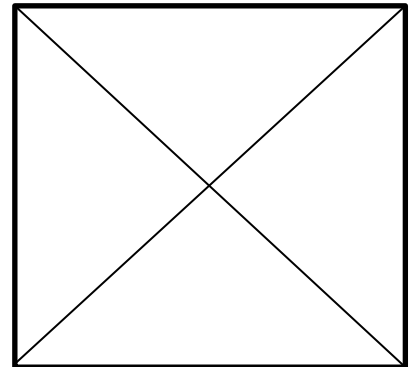
Related Burials: A burial, oriented E-W, lay in the grave chamber, dated between the 6th and 8th centuries.

Other: First mentioned as part of the land owned by Beata, the noblewoman who set up the convent at Lutzelau in AD 740.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 202-203.

D20. UNKNOWN, ZURZACH



Floor-plan of Zurzach's fort-church (Sennhauser 1990: 64).

Site Name: Zurzach

Canton: Aargau

Associated Settlement: *Tenedo* (castrum)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c.AD 450 (hall churchy)
- Further construction phases unknown

Dedications: Unknown

Excavation History: Excavated by Laur-Belart (1955) and Perler (1957).

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented nave with an eastern semicircular apse (10 x 11m). Squeezed between the south wall of the church and the fort, was the baptistery. West of the church was a two-roomed building, possibly a residence.

Construction Materials: Stone- and brick-built.

Internal Furnishings: Main entrance to the church was via the west and access to the baptistery was via a doorway the south wall. A barrier has been postulated separating the apse and the nave.

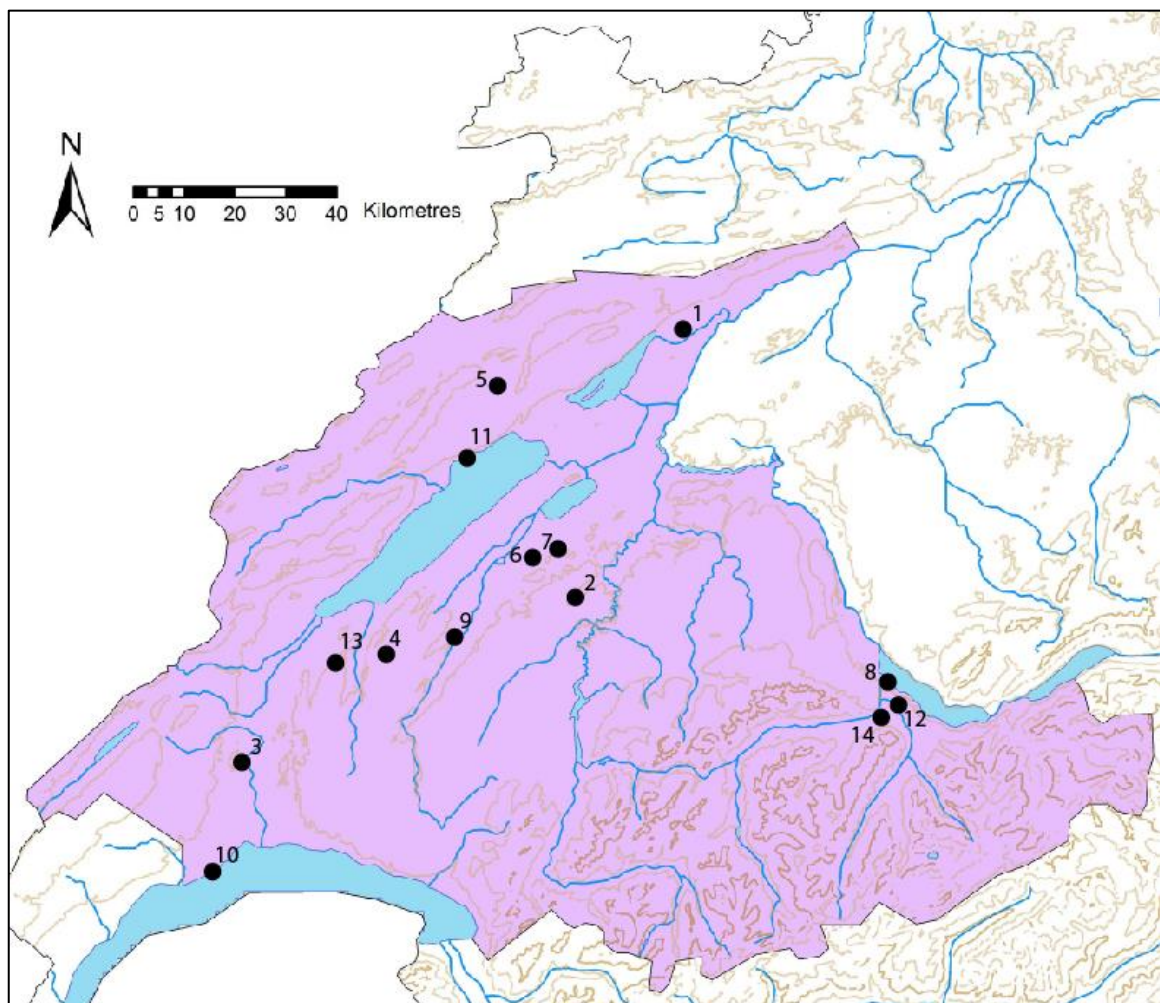
Related Burials: None found.

Other: The church at Zurzach went out of use after the rise of the Veranamunster.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 1990: 63-64.

Gazetteer E: Diocesan region of Avenches/Lausanne



E1: Biel-Mett
 E2: Belfaux
 E3: Cossonay
 E4: Demoret
 E5: Dombresson
 E6: Domdidier
 E7: Donatyre

E8: Einigen
 E9: Granges-près-Marnand
 E10: Saint-Prex
 E11: Serrières
 E12: Spiez
 E13: Ursins
 E14: Wimmis

E1. ST STEPHEN, BIEL-METT

Site Name: Biel-Mett

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: possible *villa*.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th century (single tomb)
- Phase II: c. AD 400 (mausoleum)
- Phase III: c. 600 (hall church)
- Phase IV: c. 700 (new foundation)
- Phase V: 11th century (Romanesque)
- Phase VI: 13th century (square choir)
- Phase VII: 14th century (enlarged)

Dedications: Saint Stephen (unknown)

Excavation History: small scale excavations from 1975 to 1976 by the canton archaeological services.

Description of Plan: *Phases I-II* consisted of, first, a grave pit, 2.5 x 4.1m and then three stone cist graves placed along the eastern part of the original grave building. *Phase III-IV* entailed the creation of a early medieval. This was done by adding of a square nave (8.5 x 8 m) to the mausoleum, which became the apse of the church (*Phase III*). During *Phase IV*, a higher foundation was detected, and the nave elongated by ~ 4m.

Construction Materials: Brick- and stone-built; *spolia* from Roman mausoleum evident.

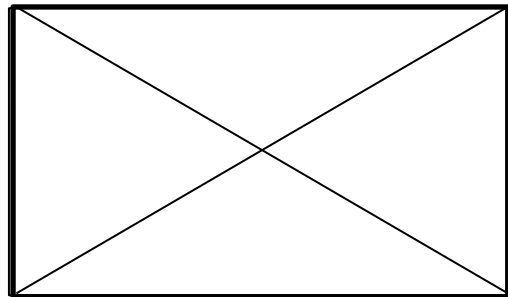
Internal Furnishings: No signs for internal barriers or altars.

Related Burials: 27 graves were excavated, assigned to *Phase III*. These were lined with stones. 28 graves were assigned to *Phase IV*, consisting of 18 earthen burials and 10 stone cist graves. Three of the earthen graves had traces of wooden remains, of which C-14 determined a c. AD 700 ± 90 date. Grave goods included decorated belt buckles, dated c. 650.

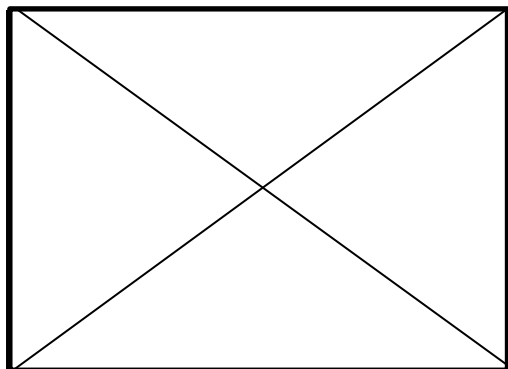
Other: Anthropological studies showed one skull with a head injury, with signs of a short-lived recovery. Another skull had large cyst caused by multiple cavities, likely resulting in a facial deformation and years of illness.

Select Bibliography

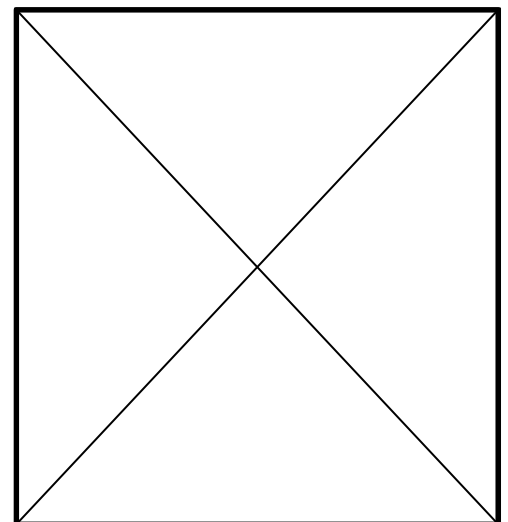
Lehner 1978: 149-154.



*Floor-plan of Biel-Mett, St Stephen
(Lehner 1978: 150).*

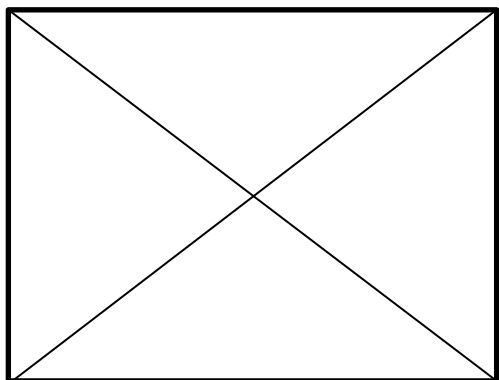


*Skulls with signs of head injury (left) and
illness (right) (Images by University of Bern
2005).*



*Church of St Stephen, Biel-Mett
(Image courtesy of Tell, 2011).*

E2. ST STEPHEN, BELFAUX



*Floor-plan of St Stephen
(Bourgarel 1990: 15).*

Site Name: Belfaux

Canton: Fribourg

Associated Settlement: early medieval village; 'pit-houses' discovered in vicinity.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (reconstruction)
- Phase III: 10th-11th century (recessed apse)
- Phase IV: 1470 and 1474 (fire)

Dedication: Saint Stephen (1137)

Excavation History: Full excavations by H. Schwab and G. Bourgarel from 1985 to 1987.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised a stilted horseshoe-shaped apse with side annexes, creating a cruciform plan (11 x 5m).

Construction Materials: masonry-built church with a mixture of brick, pebbles and mortar.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was detected at the centre of the apse (75 x 50cm).

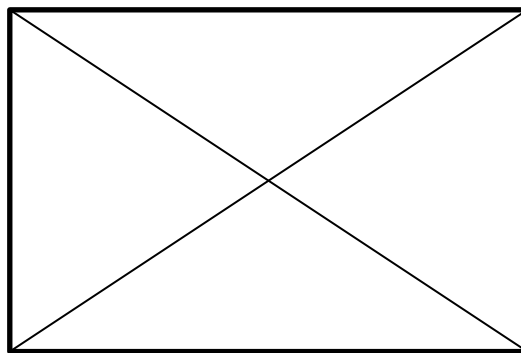
Related Burials: Burials were found within the nave and the annexes.

Other: The wooden cross of St Stephen survived the fire and was perceived as a miracle and the settlement became a zone of pilgrimage.

Select Bibliography

Bourgarel 1990: 14-20.

E3. SS PETER and PAUL, COSSONAY



*Floor-plan of SS Peter and Paul
(Stöckli 1978: 99).*

Site Name: Cossonay

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: Roman *villa*; early medieval necropolis.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (hall church?)
- Phase II: c. AD 1000 (triple-apse church)
- Phase III: 13th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: 15th century (tower)

Dedications: Saints Peter and Paul (1096)

Excavation History: 1909-11 investigations by A. Naef; reinvestigation by W. Stöckli and Sarott in 1971-73.

Description of Plan: Only parts of eastern extent of *Phase I* and *Phase II* were excavated. A rectangular apse is evident with a choir wall.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

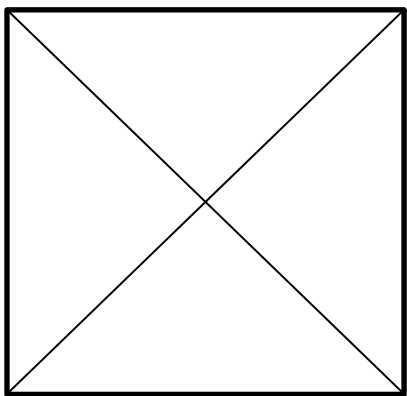
Related Burials: A child's grave lay in the altar space.

Other: The church was donated in the 11th century by Ulrich of Cossonay to Romainmôtier; it later became a Benedictine priory in the 12th century.

Select Bibliography

Stöckli 1978: 99.

E4. ST MAURICE, DEMORET



*Floor-plan of St Christopher
(Sennhauser 1969: 81).*

Site Name: Demoret

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: Unknown.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: c. AD 950 (rebuilt)
- Phase IV: 13th-14th century (present building)

Dedication: Saint Maurice (1228)

Excavation History: 1963-64 investigations by H.R. Courvoisier and H.R. Sennhauser.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented nave with a stilted apse (~10 x 5m). *Phase II* comprised an extension and widening of the nave (~13 x 7m). The apse was also extended.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with *spolia*.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

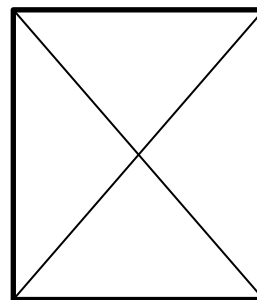
Related Burials: Earthen and stone-covered tombs were placed in the nave. The layout of the nave was determined largely by their grouping.

Other: Onomastic studies suggest 'Demoret' derives from *Domnus Maurice*.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 1969: 77-81.

E5. ST MARTIN, DOMBRESSON (?)



*Floor-plan of Dombresson, St Martin
(Bujard 1998: 272).*

Site Name: Dombresson

Canton: Neuchâtel

Associated Settlement: Unknown.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 600 (church?)
- Phase II: 1000-1100 (church with apse)
- Phase III: 12th century (enlarged church)
- Phase IV: 1696 (demolished and rebuilt)
- Phase V: 1994 (fire and rebuilding)

Dedications: Saint Martin (1178); Saint Brice (1696-98).

Excavation History: Small-scale excavation 1996-1997 by Neuchatel Archaeological Service.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a theorized rectangular building, oriented E-W. Traces of burnt wall were found. The later medieval constructions featured a single apse and a rectangular nave.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

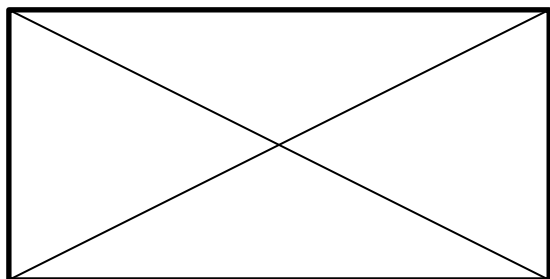
Related Burials: Excavations yielded 24 N-S oriented tombs. Their distribution led to the theory of a rectangular structure around which these tombs were placed.

Other: Grave goods included 6th and 7th century rings and double hook earrings. Two rings were marked with crosses, suggesting a Christian religious identity.

Select Bibliography

Bujard 1998: 268-272.

E6. ST MARY, DOMDIDIER



*Floor-plan of St Christopher
(Schwab 1984: 89).*

Site Name: Domdidier

Canton: Fribourg

Associated Settlement: *villa*.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 650 (annex room)
- Phase III: 8th century (annex and porch)
- Phase IV: c. AD 1100 (rebuilt)
- Phase V: 1489 (rebuilt)
- Phase VI: 1837-1842 (rebuilt)

Dedications: Saint Didier (1162); Saint Mary (19th century)

Excavation History: 1978-79 excavations by H. Schwab and P. Jaton.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised an E-W oriented hall church with a stilted horseshoe-shaped apse. An annex room was added shortly after to the north (possibly to the south). In *Phase III* the annex room/porch surrounds the nave.

Construction Materials: Stone-built mixed with *spolia*.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

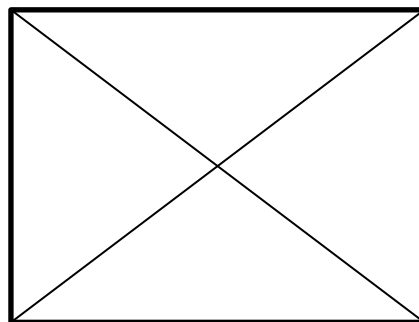
Related Burials: None known.

Other: The place is first mentioned as *Donno Desiderio* in 1157-62.

Select Bibliography

Schwab 1984: 89-92.

E7. ST STEPHEN, DONATYRE



*Floor-plan of St Stephen at Donatyre
(Jakobsen et al. 1991: 96).*

Site Name: Donatyre

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: *Aventicum (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 11th century (Romanesque apse)
- Phase III: 15th century (rebuilt)

Dedication: Saint Stephen (1228)

Excavation History: 1905 investigation by L. Bosset and A. Naef.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented square nave terminated by an eastern semi-circular apse (10 x 8m). The later constructions built upon these foundations.

Construction Materials: Built with the spoils from nearby Avenches.

Internal Furnishings: An altar may have lay at the centre of the apse.

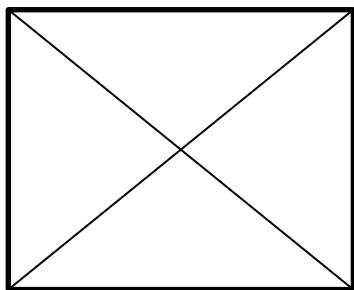
Related Burials: 4 rows of E-W oriented stone-lined tombs and sarcophagi lay in the nave. Two sarcophagi lay in the corners of the apse. Early medieval dates for these tombs, however, are uncertain.

Other: The first record of the town is from 1228 as *Donnatieri*, in reference to the female martyr Thecla.

Select Bibliography

Jakobsen et al. 1991: 96

E8. ST MICHAEL, EINIGEN



*Floor-plan of St Michael, Einigen
(Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 67).*

Site Name: Einigen

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 10th-11th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 1230 (fire and rebuild)
- Phase IV: 16th century (tower)

Dedications: Saint Michael (1228)

Excavation History: Excavations by E.F. Baumann in 1954 and 1955.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an NE-SW oriented church with a horseshoe-shaped apse and a southern annex.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with signs of tuff and limestone; large parts of the structure were determined from robber trenches.

Internal Furnishings: Baumann's plan suggests his investigations were able to determine the entrance to the south; no signs of a chancel or choir.

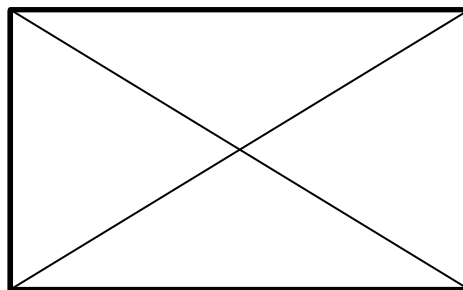
Related Burials: Two burials were found within the church, including a possible founder's grave.

Other: A 12th-century chronicle recounts that the Einigen's St Michael was the 'mother-church' of a group of churches known as the 'zwölf Thunerseekirchen' (12 Lake Thun churches).

Select Bibliography

Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 67.

E9. UNKNOWN, GRANGES-PRES-MARNARD



*Floor-plan of St Mary
(Stöckli 1973: 96).*

Site Name: Granges-pres-Marnard

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: *villa?*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th-6th century (burial house?)
- Phase II: 7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 9th-10th century (rebuilt)
- Phase III: 11th-12th century (tower; new apse)
- Phase IV: 13th-14th century (new choir)

Dedications: unknown

Excavation History: 1970-72 excavations by Claude Jaccottet.

Description of Plan: The church was built into the earlier building, consisting of a long nave with a square apse (10.5 x 3.6m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with mortar; limestone rubble in later periods.

Internal Furnishings: The square nave was 30 cm lower than the nave indicating a separation between choir and nave.

Related Burials: Several graves were found; one interior grave was distinguished for its close proximity to the choir and grave goods: a possible founder's grave.

Other: First mentioned as *in fine Graniacense* in AD 811, possibly a derivation of *granea*, the Latin for granary.

Select Bibliography

Stöckli 1973: 92-105.

E10. ST PROTHASIUS, SAINT-PREX

Site Name: Saint-Prex

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: Roman *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 3rd/4th centuries (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 4th century (annexes)
- Phase III: 5th/6th century (hall church)
- Phase IV: 6th/7th century (enlarged church)
- Phase V: 10th/11th century (further annexes)
- Phase VI: 17th century (rebuilding of church)

Dedications: Saint Prothasius (14th century)

Excavation History: 1910-13; 1977-79: run by Canton Vaud Cantonal Archaeologists.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a small N-E oriented, Gallo-Roman mausoleum or *memoria* (5.60 x 8.40m). Annexes to the west and northern sides were added in *Phase II*, making an overall plan of 10.50 x 12.50m. *Phase III* saw a horseshoe-shaped apse attached to the NE wall on Annex C. The NE wall was demolished to allow access to the apse from the nave. The western annex likely became a portico, allowing access to the nave and annexes A and B. A second apse was added to the annex. The final early medieval phase saw the demolition of the first church and annex D while annex A and B was preserved. The church was rebuilt and enlarged 3 m to the north, 0.40 m to the east.

Construction Materials: Roman brick and mortar (*pietra rasa*).

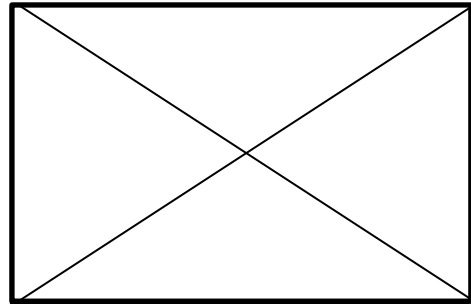
Internal Furnishings: The Gallo-Roman building had signs of heating under the northern wall.

Related Burials: A total of 197 tombs were found inside and just outside the church dating from the 4th and 10th centuries. Many were disturbed or destroyed. Tomb 65 was the sole burial in the 3rd/4th century, suggesting the *memoria* was built for that tomb. Inner burials end in the 8th century. Wooden coffins were found as well.

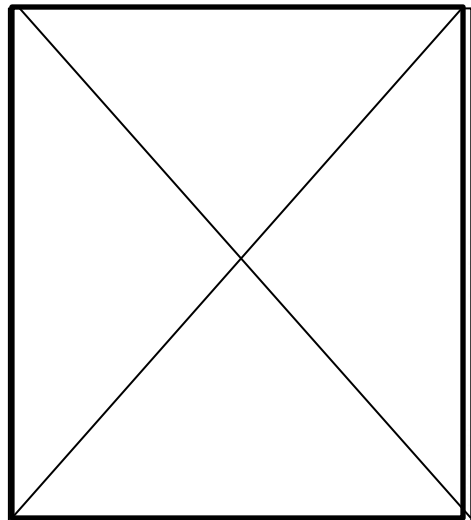
Other: Local tradition states the church was built in honor for Bishop Prothasius of Lausanne (652), giving the name of the town Saint-Prex.

Select Bibliography

Eggenberger, P *et al.* 1992.



Floor-plan of St Prothasius, Phase III (Eggenberger 1992).

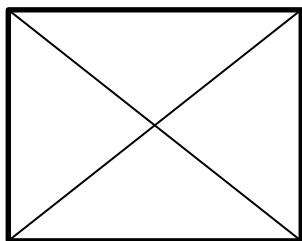


Reconstruction of Phase III (Eggenberger 1992).



Church of Saint Prothasius (Image by Roland Zumbuehl 2009).

E11. ST JOHN, SERRIÈRES



Plan of Church at Spiez (Bujard 1998: 265).

Site Name: Serrières

Canton: Neuchâtel

Associated Settlement: Roman settlement?

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 600-700 (mausoleum)
- Phase Ia: 700-800 (square apse)
- Phase II: 800-900 (semi-circular apse)
- Phase III: 1000-1100 (tower)
- Phase IV: 1666 (widened and no apse)

Dedications: Saint John (1178)

Excavation History: Excavated in 1945 by architect Samuel Perret; re-excavated in 1997.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a small E-W oriented building, measuring 3.70 m by 5.20 m. A sub-phase (c. AD 700) built a square apse to the east. Mortar was used throughout the construction. The subsequent building phases enlarged the nave and rebuilt the apse (now semi-circular).

Construction Materials: Reused brick- and stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A rectangular altar was placed within the square apse.

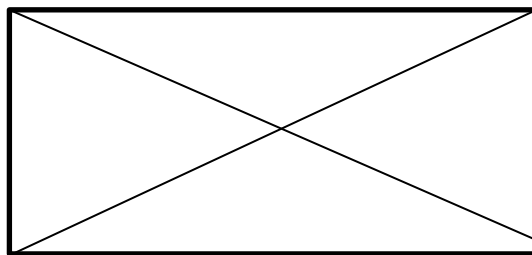
Related Burials: 9 interior tombs dated to *Phase I*: 5 N-S occupied the western part; 4 E-W tombs occupied the eastern part. The E-W tombs were made of stone slabs and saw subsequent reuse. Grave goods were found in the N-S tombs.

Other: The addition of an altar shows the building's transition into a church.

Select Bibliography

Bujard 1998: 269-264.

E12. REFORMED CHURCH, SPIEZ



Plan of Church at Spiez; early medieval phases = diagonal lines (Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 318-319).

Site Name: Spiez

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Unknown.

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 1000 (Romanesque)
- Phase III: 1453 (renewed floor and glass)
- Phase IV: 16th-17th century (enlargement)
- Phase V: 1670 (Baroque reconstruction)

Dedication: Unknown

Excavation History: W. Sulser and A. Heubach excavated in 1949 and 1950.

Description of Plan: Only fragmentary evidence exists to suggest an early medieval church; foundation walls have been found of possible lateral annexes to a hall church. An apse and nave has not been found.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

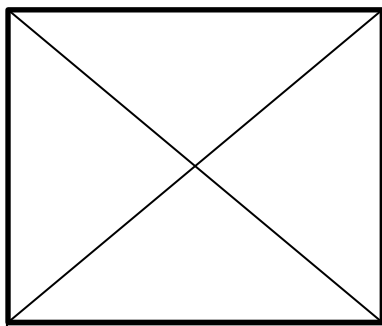
Related Burials: One grave of a rider, with riding gear as part of the grave goods, has been interpreted as a founder's grave.

Other: Spiez is one of the 12 churches of Lake Thun, made famous through the Strättiger Chronicles by Reverend Elogius Kiburger in the 15th century.

Select Bibliography

Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 318-319

E13. ST NICHOLAS, URSINS (?)



*Plan of St Nicholas, Ursins
(Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 358).*

Site Name: Ursins

Canton: Vaud

Associated Settlement: Roman *fanum* (three temples; other structures)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 2nd century (Gallo-Roman temple)
- Phase II: 6th century (church?)
- Phase III: 1228 (parish church)
- Phase IV: 1702 (new choir)

Dedication: St Nicholas (mid-12th century)

Excavation History: Excavated by A. Naef from 1908-10.

Description of Plan: The supposed church at Ursins was built into a pre-existing *cella* of the Gallo-Roman temple. Dimensions: 10.3 x 8.4m.

Construction Materials: Brick-built with stone. The nave walls are largely made up of Roman brick, which can also be seen in the standing structure.

Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

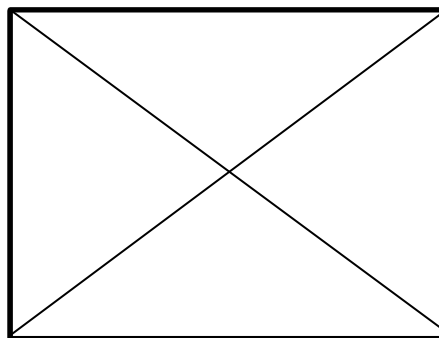
Related Burials: None related to the church.

Other: The church stands upon the platform, preserved still today, of the Gallo-Roman temple.

Select Bibliography

Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 357-358.

E14. ST MARTIN, WIMMIS



*Plan of St Martin, Wimmis
(Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 376).*

Site Name: Wimmis

Canton: Bern

Associated Settlement: Roman *vicus*?

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th-8th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 10th-11th century (tripartite)
- Phase III: 1453 (repairs)

Dedication: St. Martin (1228)

Excavation History: Excavated by R. Strobel in 1962-63.

Description of Plan: The early medieval phase consisted of a semi-circular apse, longitudinal walls to the south and north. These walls have been interpreted as annexes that spanned the length of the nave, creating an E-W church with a square nave terminated by the apse; Estimated dimensions: 11.5 x 11.5m.

Construction Materials: Foundations were set on rock; stone-built with mortar. Walls were plastered.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was found *in-situ* (0.75 x 0.85m) at the centre of the apse.

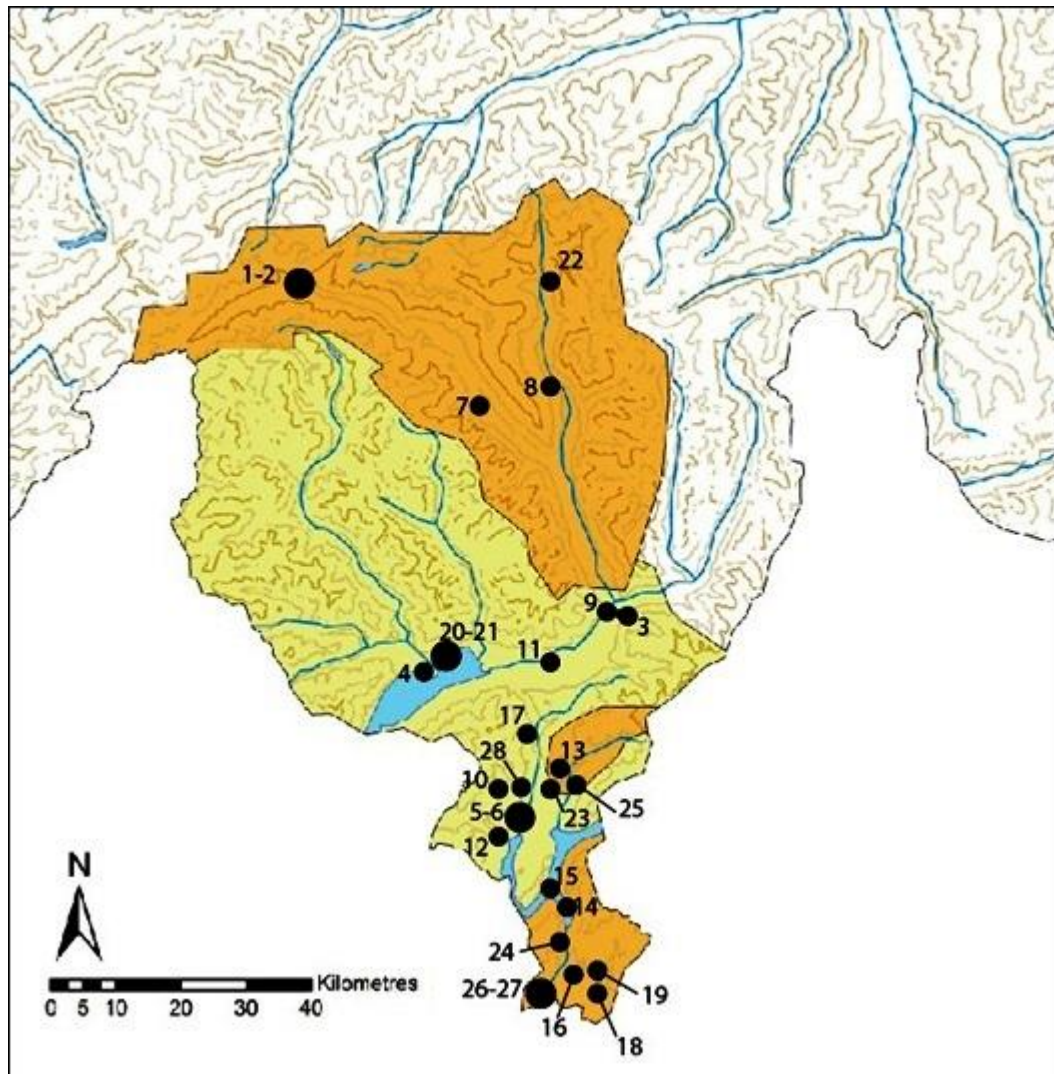
Related Burials: None known.

Other: This church belongs to the '12 churches of Lake Thun', made famous through the Strättlinger Chronicles by Reverend Elogius Kiburger in the 15th century.

Select Bibliography

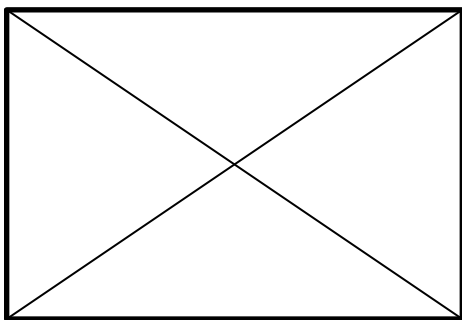
Oswald et al. 1966-1971: 375-376.

Gazetteer F: Diocesan region of Milan/Como (now canton Ticino)



- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| F1: Airolo, St Gottard | F15: Melide |
| F2: Airolo, SS Nazarius and Celsus | F16: Mendrisio |
| F3: Arbedo | F17: Mezzovico-Vira |
| F4: Ascona | F18: Morbio Inferiore |
| F5: Bioggio, St Maurice | F19: Morbio Superiore |
| F6: Bioggio, St Hilary | F20: Muralto, St Victor |
| F7: Chironico | F21: Muralto, St Stephen |
| F8: Dongio | F22: Olivone |
| F9: Gorduno | F23: Origlio |
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| F11: Gudo | F25: Sonvico |
| F12: Iseo | F26: Stabio, St Abbundius |
| F13: Lugaggia | F27: Stabio, St Peter |
| F14: Maroggia | F28: Vezia |

F1. ST GOTTARD, AIROLO



*Floor-plan of St Gottard
(Sennhauser 2003: 41).*

Site Name: Airolo

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 13th century (enlarged)
-

Dedications: Saint Gottard (13th century)

Excavation History: 1975 (Associazione Archeologica Ticinese)

Description of Plan: A church with a semi-circular apse attached to a square nave (7 x 5m); it was oriented E-W with walls c. 1m thick.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The apse was paved with small stone slabs (with a mixture of cement), the nave simply had an earthen floor.

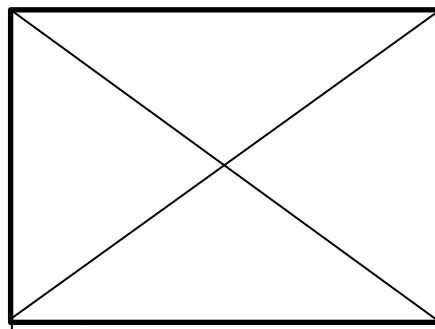
Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: Close proximity to the Saint Gottard Pass could add evidence for use of the pass in the early medieval period (Foletti 1997: 121). The church stands at an elevation of 1,175m.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 121-122.
Sennhauser 2003: 4-4.

F2. SS NAZARIUS and CELSUS, AIROLO



*Floor-plan of SS Nazarius and Celsus
(Sennhauser 2003: 45).*

Site Name: Airolo

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 400-500 (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 600-700 (hall church)
- Phase III: c. AD 1150 (Romanesque)

Dedications: Saints Nazario and Celso I (1224)

Excavation History: Small-scale project conducted in 1995 in associated with restoration work.

Description of Plan: *Phase 1* consisted of an E-W oriented rectangular building with no apse (7 x 5m). A semi-circular apse was attached to the eastern end during *Phase II*. A porch was added to the west wall.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An arcosolium was incorporated into the southern wall. Plaster and decoration was found outside of the niche. A wooden fence divided the nave.

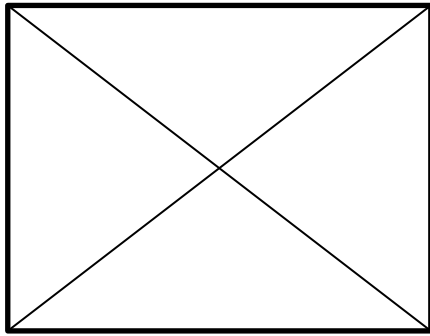
Related Burials: Inside the arcosolium, the remains of five adults and four children were found. A Roman fibula was found in the tomb.

Other: A small pit covered in small stone slabs was found west of the chancel fence, containing bits of crystal and pyrite granules. It has been interpreted as the remains of a 'pagan' rite consecrating the building.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 122.
Sennhauser 2003: 44-46.

F3. ST PAUL, ARBEDO



*Floor-plan of St Paul
(Foletti 1997: 160).*

Site Name: Arbedo

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: fort (Bellinzona)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 600-700 (hall church with apse)
- Phase II: 13th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 15th-16th century (interior and exterior frescoes)

Dedication: Saint Paul (13th century)

Excavation History: A private excavation in 1898 by A. Guidini.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* saw an E-W oriented rectangular church (8.5 x 6m) with an open portico and a semi-circular apse.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Division between the apse and nave was made apparent with a N-S wall. A small opening allowed access to the presbytery.

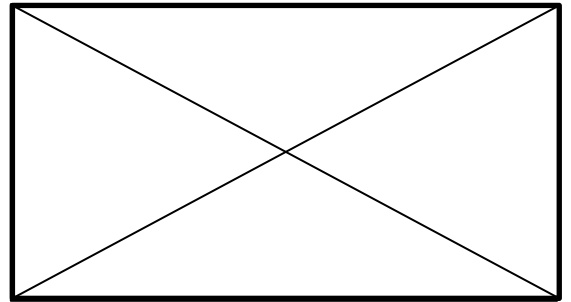
Related Burials: Next to the church was a small cemetery with graves from both the Bronze Age and the Lombard period. A total of six graves have been dated to the 7th century.

Other: Lombard-period artefacts were found in vicinity to the church including a coin with the name of king Agilulf (c. AD 600).

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 160.

F4. SS FABIAN and SEBASTIAN, ASCONA



*Floor-plan of SS Fabian and Sebastian
(Sennhauser 2003: 47).*

Site Name: Ascona

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *villa rustica* (?)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 800 (hall church)
- Phase II: 9th century (porch)
- Phase III: 16th century (new construction)

Dedication: Saints Fabian and Sebastian (1587)

Excavation History: P.A. Donati & D. Calderara led a full-scale excavation part of larger excavations concerning a large Roman structure from 1979-80.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented rectangular building with a semi-circular apse (9.5 x 6.m5).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: An altar with a square base, isolated and disconnected from the wall was found at the centre of the apse.

Related Burials: 10 burials were found around the church but not inside.

Other: It has been suggested that the nearby (3km) castle of San Michele was a *curia* and a seat of a 'sculdascio', a Lombard noble, who oversaw the Locarno district.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 123.

F5. ST MAURICE, BIOGGIO

Site Name: Bioggio

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *villa rustica*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400-500 (*memoria*)
- Phase II: 700-800 (hall church)
- Phase III: 11th century (tower, nave)
- Phase IV: 15th century (3 naves)
- Phase VI: 16th century (Baroque crypt)
- Phase VII: 18th century (rebuilt)

Dedications: Saint Maurice (1261)

Excavation History: Project led by Associazione Archeologica Ticinese between 1997 and 1998.

Description of Plan: An E-W oriented square building (7 x 5m) was built during 5th century (*Phase I*). A semi-circular apse was built at the eastern extent of the *memoria* in the next construction phase.

Construction Material: Stone-built.

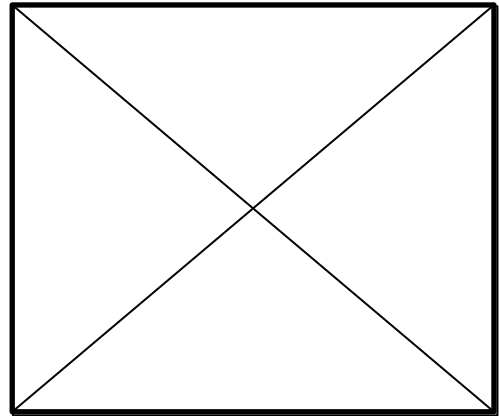
Internal Furnishings: The original building had a terracing wall enclosing a cemetery. An altar, made of a mixture of Roman tiles and clay, was excavated, associated with *Phase II*.

Related Burials: A solitary tomb of a woman which contained spindle whorls found in some glazed terracotta while three other graves were set-up outside the building. *Phase II* saw two more bodies, a man and child, added to the interior tomb.

Other: A Roman *villa* was the main settlement, largely deserted in the 5th century, except for the main hall, reused and modified in the 6th and 7th centuries. The remains of a prostyle Roman temple of Corinthian order were discovered in 1992 (unique to the region) and an inscription dedicated to Jupiter and Nennic (Bieler-Cavadini 2008: 10).

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 57-58.



Floor-plan of church with respect to later construction phases (Sennhauser 2003: 57).



*Current church
(Image Courtesy of Ilario 2010).*



*Excavated remains (left) and Etruscan stele
(Images Courtesy of Ilario, 2010).*



*Tomb outside apse wall
(Images Courtesy of Cassiman, 2010).*

F6. ST HILARY, BIOGGIO

Site Name: Bioggio

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Roman *villa*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700-750 (wooden church?)
- Phase II: 800-850 (stone church)
- Phase III: 14th century (enlarged)
- Phase IV: 16th c. (sacristy and annex added)
- Phase V: 17th c. (Baroque interior)

Dedications: Saint Ilario (13th century)

Excavation History: Private excavation in 1962; small-scale project by Associazione Archeologica Ticinese in 1987.

Description of Plan: Postholes outlining an E-W oriented rectangular building (7.5 x 5.5m) were excavated and associated with *Phase I*. *Phase II* saw the initial building (ruined by fire) replaced by a construction (max length 11m); while a southern wall and eastern apse is evident, excavations never found a western wall nor the extent of the northern wall.

Construction Materials: Timber-built initially; replaced by reused Roman brick mixed with stone.

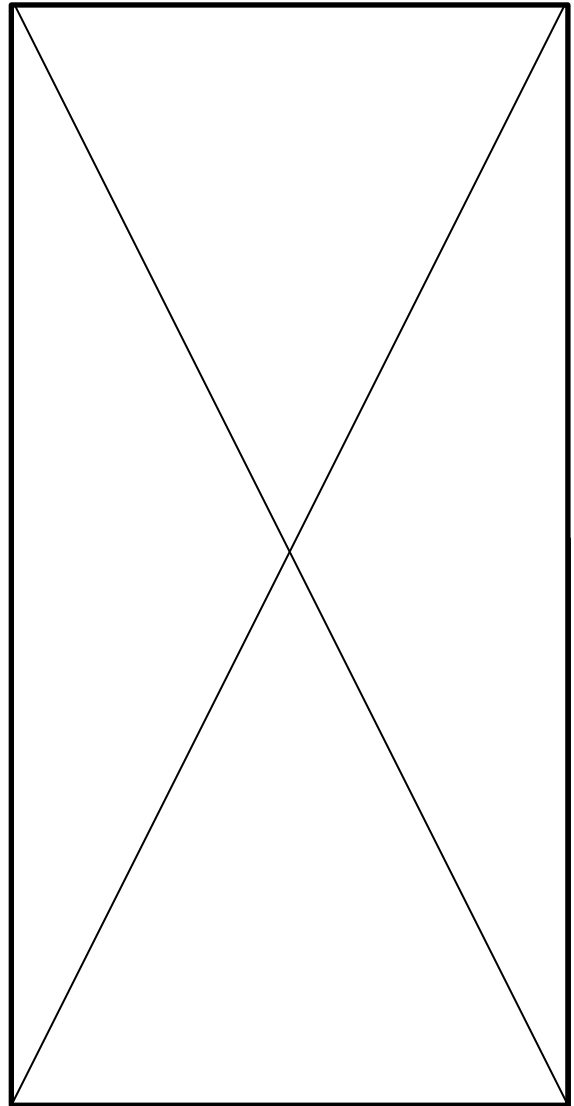
Internal Furnishings: The floor was made up of stones and clay mixed together with cement. No signs of an altar were found. Post holes at the centre of the wooden construction suggest a barrier. The chancel in the stone construction was separated from the nave by a step, leaning against the northern wall. An altar base (rectangular) was found located in the eastern end of the apse. A small window was detected in the apse wall.

Related Burials: None known.

Other: Located on a hill overlooking the village, the church was set up only a few kilometres from the Roman *villa* located behind the church of Saint Maurice (parts of which are visible in the car park).

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 124.



Plans of the early medieval foundations with respect to the present church plan (Foletti 1997: 161).



Current church of Saint Hilary (Image Courtesy of Ilario 2010).

F7. ST AMBROSE, CHIRONICO

Site Name: Saint Ambrose

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase III: 16th c. (baptistery)
- Phase IV: 19th c. (bell tower)

Dedications: Saint Ambrose (13th century)

Excavation History: Alberto Camenzind discovered the early medieval remains during restoration work in 1940.

Description of Plan: *Phase 1* consisted of a N-S oriented hall church (7 x 5 m) with the semi-circular apse at the southern end.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; mortar found in foundation walls.

Internal Furnishings: A stone wall towards the southern end divided the first church into two, forming a choir and area in front of the altar area.

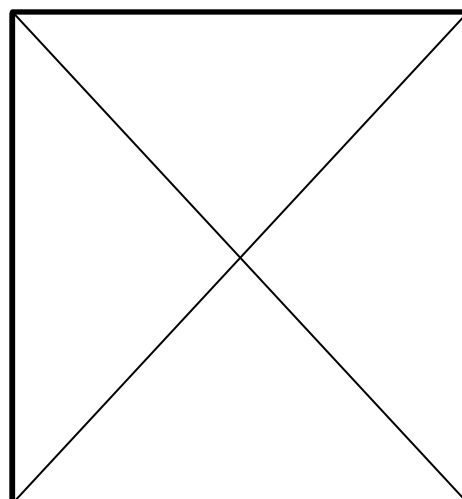
Related Burials: A solitary internal tomb covered with two stone slabs was found near the north-western corner. No clear indication emerged to show if the burial was placed before or after the construction of the church; it is not clear if there were any finds.

Other: Comparative studies liken the church plan and orientation to Saint Martin of Vezia (Ticino) or Saint Peter of Gravesano (Foletti 1997: 126). The village is first mentioned in 1202 as *Cuirono* and was situated next to a medieval route.

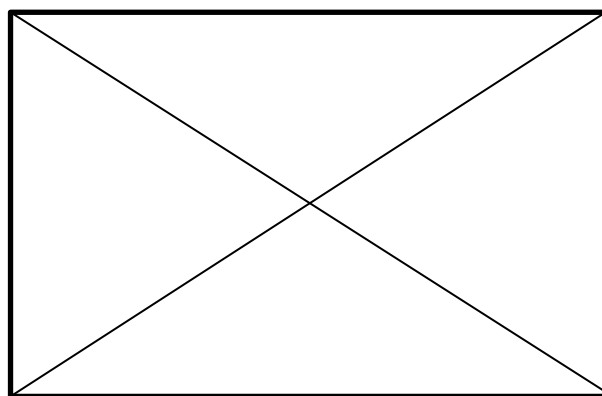
Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 126.

Sennhauser 2003: 67-69.



*Early medieval Floor-plan
(Foletti 1997: 163).*



*Detailed floor-plan depicting the early medieval
design with the later twin-apse church
(Sennhauser 2003: 68).*



*Village of Chironico
(Image courtesy of Wikicommons, 2007).*

F8. ST PETER, DONGIO

Site Name: Saint Peter

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 600 (hall church)
- Phase II: 13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase III: 1581 (enlargement)

Dedications: Saint Peter (1293)

Excavation History: small scale excavation, part of restoration works on church by A. Donati, Associazione Archeologica Ticinese in 1978.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented nave (6 x 6m) with an eastern semi-circular apse adding two metres to the length.

Construction Materials: Stone-built. Mortar (unspecified type) and plaster were also used.

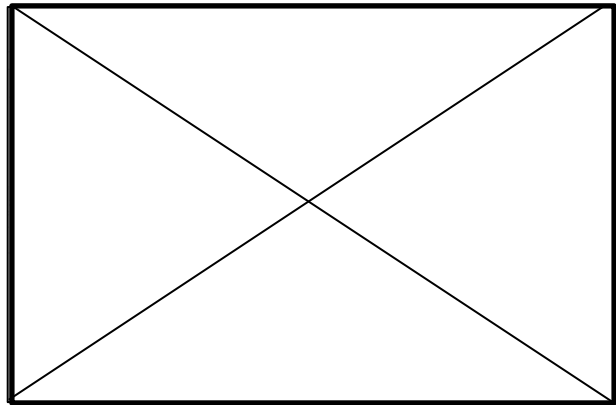
Internal Furnishings: A wall separates the apse from the nave. The floor was a mixture of mortar and plaster. The sacred area in the east was slightly elevated to the point that a step was later added.

Related Burials: A trapezoidal tomb made of stone slabs was found in the north-eastern corner, the only internal tomb, while outside a few graves were detected included a very large one containing two burials.

Other: A church cemetery only appears in the 16th century. Inside, paintings from 14th century are preserved.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 126.



Plan of Saint Peter (black) in relation to modern and present church (Foletti 1997: 163).



*Church of St Peter in Dongio
(Image Courtesy of Renzo Dionigi 2010).*



*Interior of St Peter; paintings
(Image Courtesy of Renzo Dionigi 2010).*

F9. ST CARPOPHORUS, GORDUNO

Site Name: Gorduno

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: 3 km from the *castrum* of Bellinzona

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 650-700 (hall church)
- Phase II: 9th - 11th century (tower; enlarged)
- Phase III: 12th century (new choir)
- Phase IV: 13th century (cemetery added)

Dedications: Saint Carpophorus (1132)

Excavation History: D. Calderara of Associazione Archeologica Ticinese led excavations from 1994 to 1995.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented structure (5.5 x 3.5m). A semi-circular apse was engaged directly to the walls of the nave. Excavations detected a separate wall, west of the church, perhaps signs of a portico.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A negative of an altar was found at the eastern end of the church.

Related Burials: The church was built next to the burial of a 7th-century warrior, dressed with a sword, scabbard, and belt-buckle. A tomb next to the north wall contained a skeleton which dates to the same period as the artefacts (Foletti 1997: 127). Another tomb is located at the back of the nave.

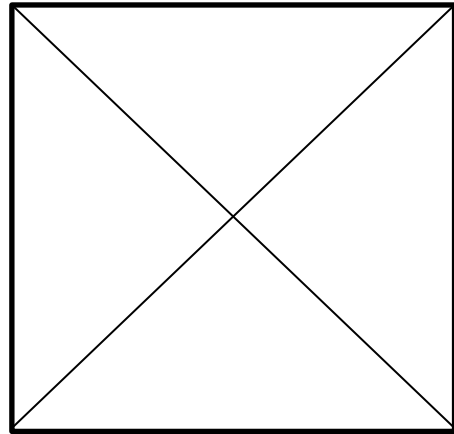
Other: The church occupies a strategic location, overlooking the valley and away from the flood plain. The church was first mentioned in the 12th century in a contest over ownership between the Dioceses of Como and Milan (Calderara 1996: 274). Saint Carpophorus was a Christian soldier who was martyred at Como during the reign of Maximian (285-305). The saint became most venerated in the diocese of Como which included parts of Ticino.

Select Bibliography

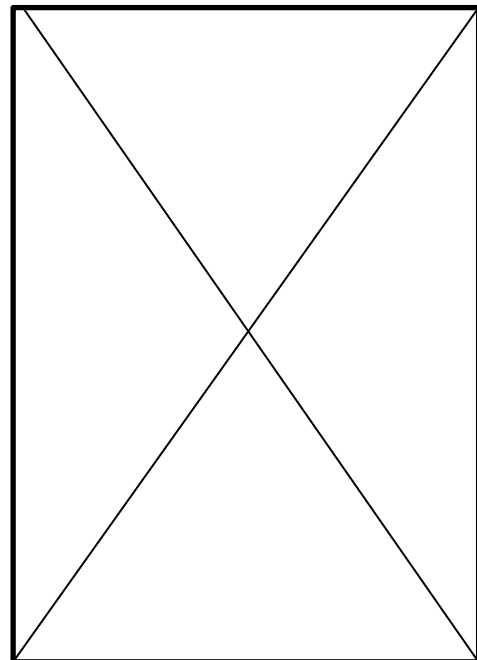
Foletti 1997: 127.

Calderara 1996: 274-276

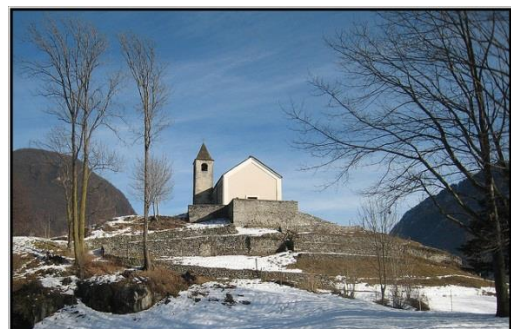
Sennhauser 2003: 97-98.



Floor-plan of Phase I and associated burials (Foletti 1997: 163).



Horizontal plan of Gorduno excavations (Sennhauser 2003: 98).



Current church of Saint Carpophorus (Image courtesy of Athos 2008).

F10. ST PETER, GRAVESANO

Site Name: Gravesano

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 200-300 (temple?)
- Phase II: 400-500 (*memoria*/church?)
- Phase III: 700-800 (hall church)
- Phase IV: 12th century (Gothic)

Dedications: Saint Peter (12th century)

Excavation History: D. Calderara with Associazione Archeologica Ticinese excavated in 1994.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* comprised evidence of an altar and post-holes suggesting a rectangular wooden structure. A square stone building, possibly a *memoria* (5.5 x 4.5m), oriented E-W, was subsequently constructed (*Phase II*). By the 8th-century an eastern semi-circular apse, adding an extra 3 m in length.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with limestone mortar.

Internal Furnishings: A fence with a small opening separated the apse area from the main hall, creating a bipartite church with a nave and choir. In the apse a negative impression suggests the presence of an altar (*Phase III*).

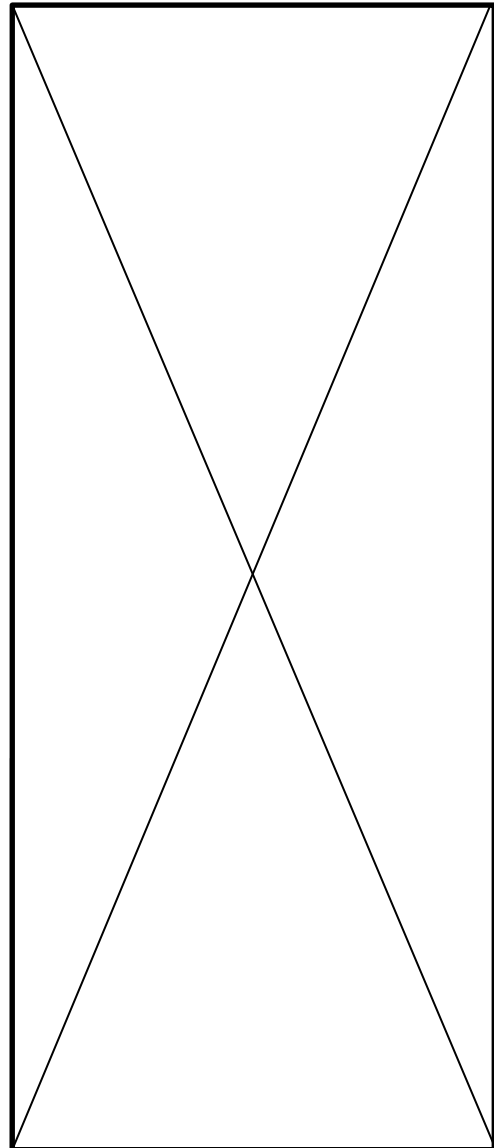
Related Burials: Located in the S-W corner was an E-W oriented sarcophagus made of granite (*Phase I*) an E-W orientation. Another E-W, male burial, inside a trapezoidal stone tomb, was interred near the choir (*Phase II*). No finds came from the tombs.

Other: Finds included tiles, fragments of bronze and marble dating to the Roman period. The structure was completely destroyed in the Romanesque period in order to build the present church.

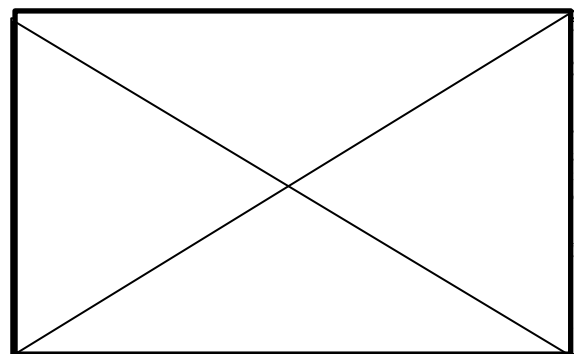
Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 127-128.

Sennhauser 2003: 98-99.

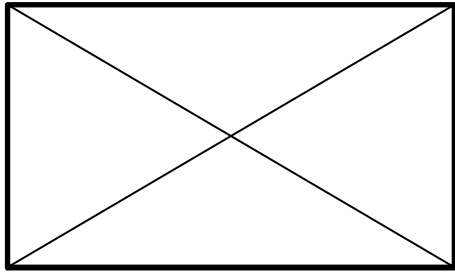


Floor-plans of Phases I-III with respect to current church (Sennhauser 2003: 98).



Detailed schematic of excavated remains (Sennhauser 2003:99).

F11. ST LORENZO, GUDO (?)



Floor-plans of the early medieval St Lorenzo (Sennhauser 2003: 100).

Site Name: Gudo

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Muralto (*vicus*)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (*memoria*?)
- Phase II: 600 (church?)
- Phase III: 12th-13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 1576 (belfry)

Dedications: Saint Lorenzo (14th century)

Excavation History: P.A. Donati led a small-scale excavation project (1992-93).

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consists of an E-W oriented *memoria* (7 x 5m). By c. AD 600 (*Phase II*), another room was added to the rectangular building to the north, lengthening the structure by 4m.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: None known.

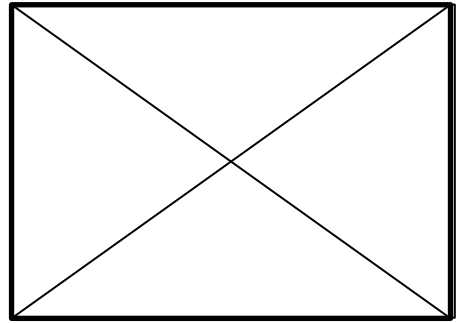
Related Burials: All the graves were rectangular tombs and had E-W orientations. *Phase I*: 5 interior sarcophagi; 6 exterior graves. *Phase II*: 2 sarcophagi; one lay the centre; the second (next to north wall) contained the remains of a pregnant woman; 3 new graves were added to the southern room while 4 others were placed outside.

Other: A Theodoric *siliqua* (c. AD 500) was found next to the head of the person in the central sarcophagus of *Phase II*.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 128-129.

F12. ST MARY JUVENIA, ISEO



Floor-plan of St Mary Juvenia, Iseo (Foletti 1997: 166).

Site Name: Iseo

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 800 (church)
- Phase II: 11th century (extension of nave)
- Phase III: 14th century (second apse added)
- Phase IV: 1670-1677 (reconstruction)

Dedications: Saint Mary Juvenia (15th century)

Excavation History: P.A. Donati led excavations in 1986.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a hall church with a narrow nave leading to an eastern semi-circular apse (5 x 4 m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A small box enclosed by a *pioda* indicates the location of the altar in the apse.

Related Burials: Located near a later medieval cemetery but no early medieval burials were found in context with the church.

Other: Dating is based on comparative analyses of other early medieval Ticino churches; in particular the church of St Carpophorus in the castle at Mesocco; however, an even earlier date for the first phase of building is not to be ruled out.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 129.

F13. ST PETER, LUGAGGIA

Site Name: Lugaggia

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 800 (double-apsed church)
- Phase II: 10th century
- Phase III: 11th century (belfry)
- Phase IV: 13th century (reconstruction)
- Phase V: 18th century (Baroque)

Dedications: Saint Peter (12th century)

Excavation History: P.A. Donati with Associazione Archeologica Ticinese led long-term excavation from 1968-1972.

Description of Plan: The first design consisted of a 14.5m long nave leading to eastern twin apses. Made of stone, the church was 9 metres wide, orientated W-E. The church may have had two entrances to the south and another to the west.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with mortar; plaster on the walls is still visible today.

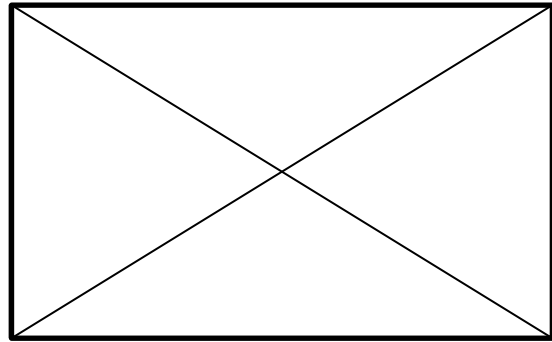
Internal Furnishings: There is no evidence of a choir or altar. Two windows were placed in the western wall.

Related Burials: The nave was used for stone graves as remains of funerary stone slabs were reused for the Romanesque flooring of the present church. The exact number of burials, however, remains unknown.

Other: The modern church walls follow the same outline and foundation as the *Phase I* construction. The twin-apse feature is a typical church plan in south-alpine Grisons region during the early Carolingian period. The church preserves 12th-century paintings, including a depiction of Milan.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 129-130.
Donati 1978: 90.



Floor-plan of the early medieval church (Foletti 1997: 166).



Current church of Saint Peter, Lugaggia (Image courtesy of WikiCommons 2008).



Depiction of Milan, Saint Peter, Lugaggia (Donati 1978: 90).

F14. ST PETER, MAROGGIA

Site Name: Maroggia

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 750 (church with apse)
- Phase II: 11th century (enlarged)
- Phase III: 15th century (Baroque)

Dedications: Saint Peter (16th century)

Excavation History: 1973

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a semi-square nave and an eastern horseshoe apse. The maximum length including the apse area was 11m and had a max. width of 6.5 m. The axis of the church was not centred; the angle of the apse was significantly off with respect to the nave; the northern wall was not perpendicular with the southern wall.

Construction Materials: Stone-built; The floor was made from a mixture of coarse gravel and limestone. The choir wall was plastered.

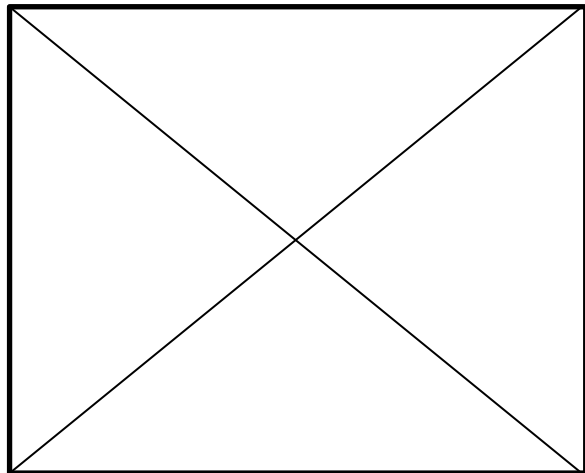
Internal Furnishings: A fence, plastered and painted, separated the choir area from the nave. The entrance to the church was not found but was likely located on the southern wall, which was largely destroyed.

Related Burials: The centre of the apse had evidence for a tomb but numerous modifications to the altar area resulted in an indeterminate date.

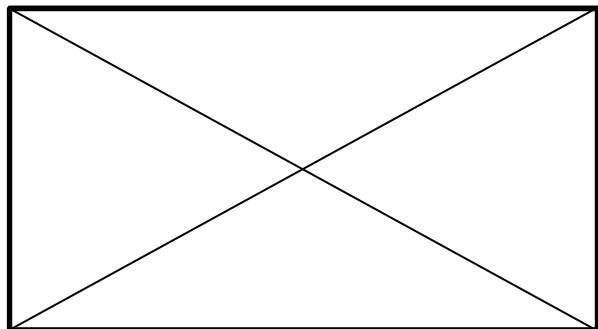
Other: The dating of the church remains debatable but Donati (1977) argues for an 8th-century date because of similarities with nearby churches at Arbedo and churches found at Castrisch and Rhäzüns in canton Graubünden. The church was located very close to the shore of Lake Maggiore.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 112.



*Floor-plan of early medieval remains
(Sennhauser 2003: 112).*



*Excavated remains of St George, Maroggia
(Sennhauser 2003: 112).*



*Church of St Peter, Maroggia
(Image Courtesy of Athos 2007).*

F15. SS QUIRICUS and JULIET, MELIDE

Site Name: Melide

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th-7th century (*memoria?*)
- Phase II: 8th-9th century (hall church)
- Phase III: 11th century (belfry)
- Phase IV: 14th century (enlarged)
- Phase V: 1525 (Baroque building)

Dedications: SS Quiricus and Juliet (unknown)

Excavation History: 1991-1992 (small-scale excavation by Donati)

Description of Plan: A small E-W oriented rectangular building (9 x 6 m) was built. *Phase II* saw the construction of a semi-circular apse and nave (10 x 6 m) built east of the original construction.

Construction Materials: Stone-built with lime mortar.

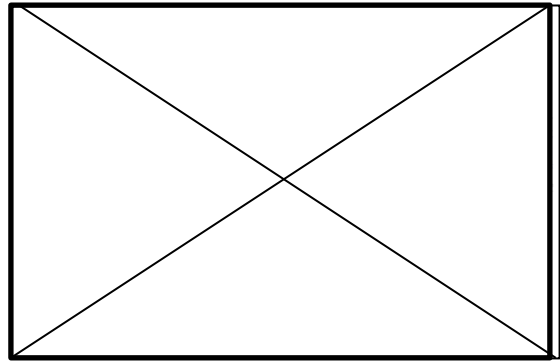
Internal Furnishings: *Phase I* had evidence for a bench lining the interior southern and eastern walls of the building. *Phase II* featured signs of an altar at the centre of the apse.

Related Burials: A central E-W oriented sarcophagus made of stone was placed at the centre of the structure. *Phase II* had no graves inside the church but a few E-W oriented graves found near the walls of the outside enclosure suggests the church was located near a cemetery.

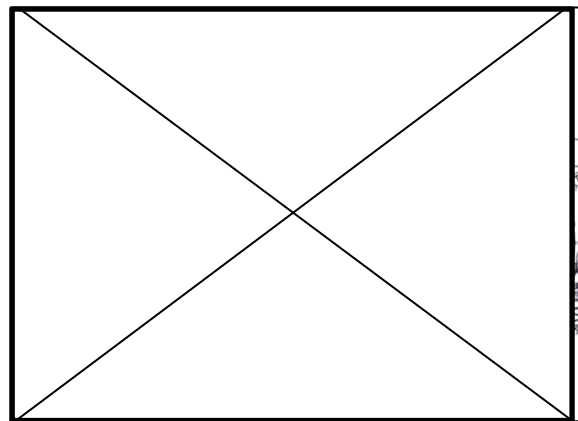
Other: Donati, the main excavator, proposed it was built between 850 and 950 but Foletti (1997) thought that a late 8th-century date is likely because the floor shows earlier traces of repair and maintenance.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 121-122.
Sennhauser 2003: 114.



Floor-plan of the church with respect to the later Romanesque building (Sennhauser 2003: 114).

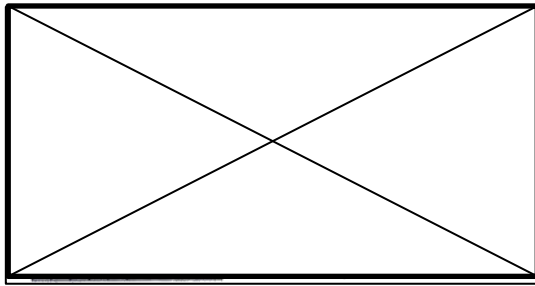


Detailed excavation plan (Sennhauser 2003: 114).



Church of SS Quiricus and Juliet, Melide (Image courtesy of Romano Camesi 2005).

F16. ST MARTIN, MENDRISIO



*Floor-plan of St Martin, Mendrisio
(Sennhauser 2003: 117).*

Site Name: Mendrisio

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (hall church)
- Phase II: c. AD 800 (twin apses)
- Phase III: 12th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 1731 (rebuilt)

Dedications: St Martin (10th century)

Excavation History: G. Borella excavated here between 1959 and 1961.

Description of Plan: Only a fragmentary plan has been determined for *Phase I* of construction, consisting of a semi-circular apse but the length of the nave is unclear. *Phase II* saw two smaller twin apses replacing the older one.

Construction Materials: Stone-built (including granite, tuff, and limestone) with lime mortar.

Internal Furnishings: A barrier made of granite slabs defines the choir space, present in *Phase I* and *II* constructions. Two steps leading to the apse indicates a d. An altar base was found in the northern apse.

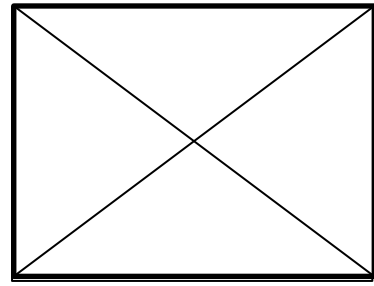
Related Burials: No related burials.

Other: It was mentioned for the first time in 962 as a dependent monastery of St Ambrose of Milan.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 117-118.

F17. ST ABBUNDIUS, MEZZOVICO-VIRA



*Floor-plan of St Abbundius, Mezzovico-Vira
(Sennhauser 2003:121).*

Site Name: Saint Abbundius

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *Villa* (Vira)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 6th century (wooden *memoria*)
- Phase II: 7th century (stone hall church)
- Phase III: 12th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 16th century (Baroque)

Dedications: St Abbundius (12th century)

Excavation History: 1990 small scale excavations by P. Donati, D. Calderara, and F. Ambrosini.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a timber *memoria* (6 x 4.5m). An E-W oriented stone church (11 x 8m) replaced the *memoria* in *Phase II*. A seemingly separate wall towards the west was also detected in the excavations.

Construction Materials: Timber-built followed by a stone-built church.

Internal Furnishings: unknown.

Related Burials: An E-W oriented tomb was located inside the *memoria*, possibly a founder's grave. Other burials were found west of the church, including 2 N-S oriented tombs.

Other: Mezzovico-Vira has been interpreted as a *curtis*, consisting of a *villa* (Vira), a *vicus* (Mezzovico) and a small settlement (Sigrino).

Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 121-122.

F18. ST GEORGE, MORBIO INFERIORE

Site Name: Morbio Inferiore

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *villa*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 500-600 (hall church)
- Phase II: 1309 (Romanesque church)
- Phase III: 1550 (expansion)
- Phase IV: 1670 (Baroque church)
- Phase V: 1750 (expansion)
- Phase VI: 1978 (restoration)

Dedications: St George (unknown)

Excavation History: 1975-76 by Alberto Finzi-a private excavation.

Description of Plan: Located in the north-western section of the present church, this church (11 x 5.5 m) had an eastern square apse. The southern wall was not perpendicular with the north.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

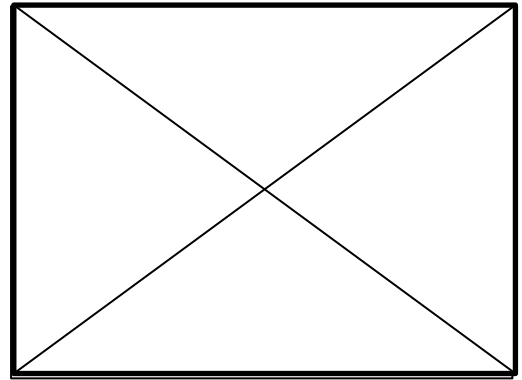
Internal Furnishings: A rectangular feature found in the centre of the apse was interpreted as the location for an altar.

Related Burials: A double burial in an E-W oriented sarcophagus was located at the western end of the nave. The sarcophagus was carefully plastered and covered in stone slabs. Its central location might suggest a founder's grave. Another burial was detected beneath the presumed altar, also oriented E-W.

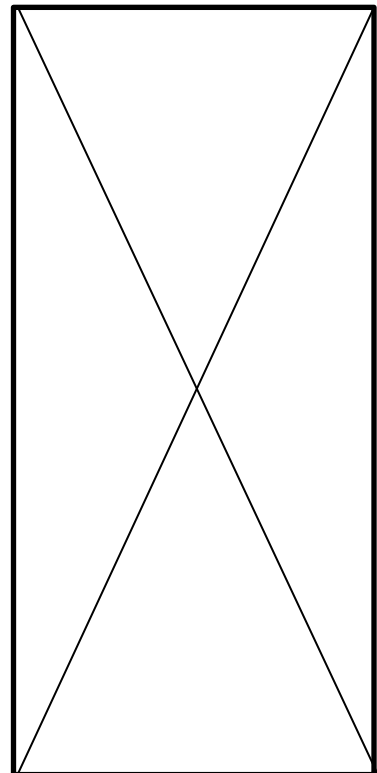
Other: A late Roman inscription was also found, reused in the walls of the 14th-century church.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 129-130.



Floor-plan of St George, Morbio Inferiore (Sennhauser 2003:129).



Detail of Phase I and Phase II, including the burials associated with Phase I (Sennhauser 2003:129-130).



Church of St George, Morbio Inferiore (Image courtesy of Francesco Piraneo 2009).

F19. ST MARTIN, MORBIO SUPERIORE

Site Name: Morbio Superiore

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 500 (Ostrogothic tower?)
- Phase II: c. 650 (hall church)
- Phase III: 12th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 16th century (new choir)
- Phase V: 17-18th century (annexes added)

Dedications: St Martin (13th century)

Excavation History: excavations by Guido Borella and Giorgio Cesconi, part of restoration work in 1971-72.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consists of a western semi-circular apse and a prominent quadrangular component situated to the NE. A hall church orientated W-E was constructed in *Phase II*. The apse was trapezoidal with a small rectangular nave (8.5 x 6m). The NE quadrangular component was extended to the east, possibly the construction of a corridor.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

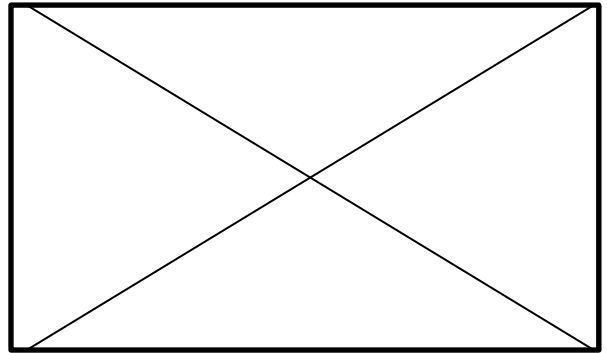
Internal Furnishings: A door was detected connecting the church to the northern corridor. A choir is discernible via N-S walls near the apse with a small space at the centre.

Related Burials: A solitary tomb, oriented E-W, was discovered near the southern wall of the nave but the associated early medieval phase was undetermined.

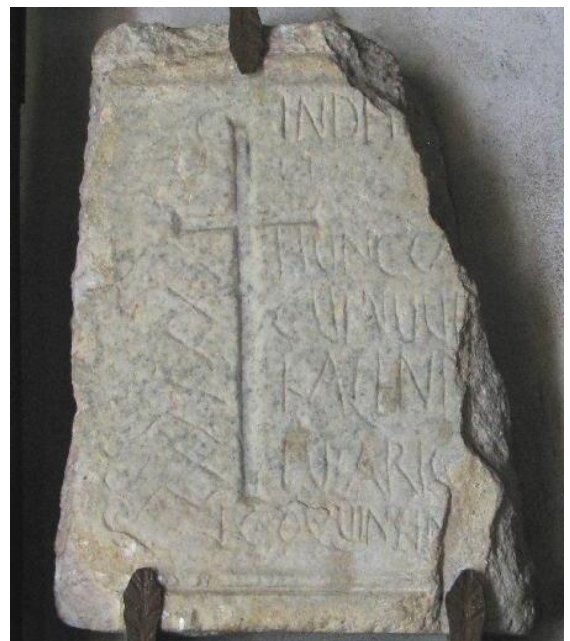
Other: Early investigations of the chapel, prominently placed on a hilltop overlooking the valleys, found a partial tombstone with a cross. Inscriptions on this find reveal the name of Eutaric, Ostrogothic consul between 519-522 and heir to Theodoric the Great (Cassiodorus, *Var.* IX. 25).

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 130-131.



Early medieval floor-plan of St Martin, Morbio Superiore (Sennhauser 2003:130).

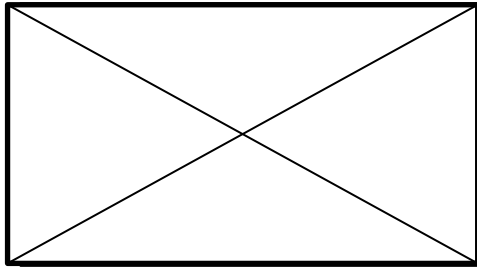


*Tombstone of Eutaric
(Inventario dei beni culturali 2012).*



*Current church of St Martin
(Image courtesy of Athos 2007).*

F20. ST VICTOR, MURALTO



*Floor-plan of St Victor, Muralto
(Sennhauser 2003: 142).*

Site Name: Muralto

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 450 (basilical church)
- Phase II: 8th-10th century (renovations)
- Phase III: 1090-1100 (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: c. 1550 (Baroque renovations)
- Phase V: 1619 (chapel)

Dedications: Saint Victor (unknown)

Excavation History: 1977-89

Description of Plan: A basilical plan with no apses, the church had three naves separated by 6 antique columns (18 x 13m). To the east, there was an attached square building (10 x 10m), possibly a large choir.

Construction Materials: Reused Roman brick and columns.

Internal Furnishings: A central square feature may have acted as the place of worship (4 x 4m).

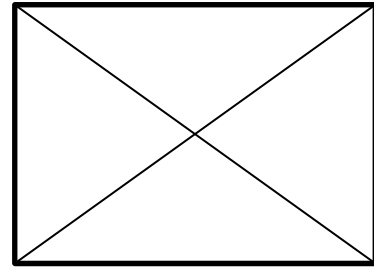
Related Burials: No interior or exterior burials; the church was built near two 4th- and 5th – century necropoleis.

Other: The plan of St Victor has more comparable contemporary churches in the Adriatic region, notably Aquileia's San Giovanni Evangelista di Castelseprio.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 142.

F21. ST STEPHEN, MURALTO



*Floor-plan of St Stephen, Muralto
(Sennhauser 2003: 141).*

Site Name: Muralto

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 400 (mausoleum)
- Phase II: 7th century (church)
- Phase III: 750-800 (Carolingian church)
- Phase IV: 13th century (enlarged)

Dedications: Saint Stephen (1264)

Excavation History: 1968-69;1977-80;1985-89

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a square mausoleum (7 x 6.5m). After a period of abandonment, the mausoleum was modified with a western square apse. A Carolingian church was later constructed (~15 x 8m).

Construction Materials: Roman brick-built mausoleum; stone-built church.

Internal Furnishings: An altar was detected at the centre of the mausoleum. A barrier divided the nave from the choir in *Phase II*.

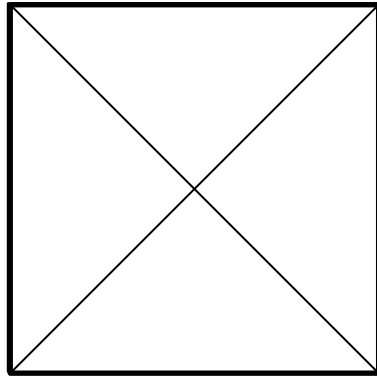
Related Burials: 4 E-W oriented tombs were buried within proximity of the mausoleum. Within the 7th-century church lay 2 internal burials. 2 large plastered sarcophagi were placed in the western room in *Phase III*.

Other: The church of St Stephen was demolished in 1905.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 142.

F22. ST MARTIN, OLIVONE (?)



*Floor-plan of St Martin, Olivone
(Sennhauser 2003: 142).*

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 8th-9th century (single apse)
- Phase II: 1136 (twin apses; Romanesque)
- Phase III: 17th century (rebuilt)

Dedications: Saint Victor (unknown)

Excavation History: Excavations from 1984-1991 - rescue work.

Description of Plan: Only the remains of a small eastern semi-circular apse were discovered.

Construction Materials: Cobblestones and lime mortar; mixture of gravel and cement for the floor.

Internal Furnishings: Unknown.

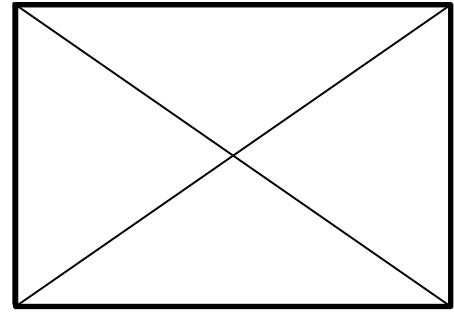
Related Burials: Unknown.

Other: The excavation only focused on the present apse area and thus the extent of the nave and the surrounding area remains unknown. Dating remains questionable.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 142-143.

F23. ST VICTOR, ORIGLIO



*Floor-plan of St Victor, Origlio
(Sennhauser 2003: 140).*

Site Name: Origlio

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: None known

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (*memoria*)
- Phase II: c. 750 (hall church)
- Phase III: c. 950 (rebuilt after fire)

Dedications: St Victor

Excavation History: 1988

Description of Plan: Robbed walls in the south and north helped reconstruct the plan of a *memoria*. Phase II saw an E-W oriented rectangular apse with an eastern semi-circular apse (8 x 4.5m).

Construction Materials: rough stone, bonded with clay; gravel and cement floor.

Internal Furnishings: A small altar was detected in the apse.

Related Burials: A central sarcophagus lay inside the *memoria*. In the N-W corner of the nave, lay 1 tomb containing two bodies. Outside the church to the west were 2 more burials. All burials had E-W orientations.

Other: The church was completely modified in the late 9th/10th century after a fire. This included reinforcing the walls and the addition of a tower.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 139-140.

F24. ST JOHN, RIVA SAN VITALE

Site Name: Riva San Vitale

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 500 (baptistery)
- Phase II: c. 600 (square apse)
- Phase III: c.800 (semi-circular apse)
- Phase IV: 10th century (adjacent basilica)
- Phase V: 11th/12th centuries (Romanesque frescoes)
- Phase VI: 17th century (Gothic frescoes)

Dedications: Saint John (6th century)

Excavation History: E. Berta investigated in 1919 and later ran a project between 1924 and 1925 with A. Ortelli; further work between 1952 and 1955.

Description of Plan: A small outwardly square building, internally the baptistery had five apses (7.6 x 7.6m). Entrances are present in the northern, southern and western wall. The eastern wall featured the primary apse which saw two transformations: in the 7th century it was a square apse; in the 8th century it was changed to a semi-circular shape. Outside the main building the building was encircled by a pilaster.

Construction Materials: Reused Roman bricks and columns; the masonry was quite regular and originally plastered.

Internal Furnishings: A large circular font was placed at the centre of the baptistery - the present font is likely a replacement, built in the 9th century. Steps were placed at the entrances and possibly near the font to allow for full immersion baptism. The floor was decorated with geometric mosaics.

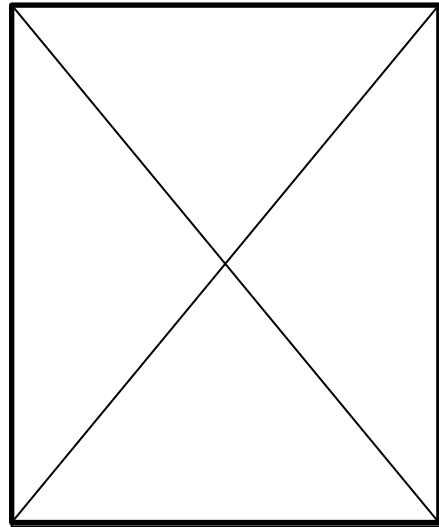
Related Burials: None known.

Other: The baptistery was built upon the ruins of a 3rd-century Roman structure; an inscription indicates that the settlement was a *vicus subinates*.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 141.

Sennhauser 2003: 751.



*Floor-plan of baptistery
(Sennhauser 2003:751).*



*The in-situ font (9th-century?)
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2011).*



*Extant baptistery of St John
(Image courtesy of Adrian Michael 2011).*

F25. ST MARTIN, SONVICO

Site Name: Sonvico

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus* (?)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 650-700 (timber church)
- Phase II: mid-8th century (stone church)
- Phase III: AD 1350 (enlarged and tower)

Dedications: Saint Martin (13th century)

Excavation History: 1967; 1986

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a rectangular wooden building (~6 x 3.5 m) beside a stone square building (6.5 x 5.5m). An entrance is noticeable to the north-east corner. *Phase II* consists of a rough brick church replacing the wooden one. It had a short nave and a semi-circular apse. The apse leaned into the southern stone building noted in *Phase I*.

Construction Materials: Timber-built; later replaced with stone in *Phase II*.

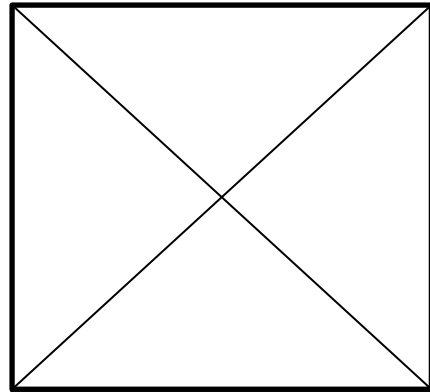
Internal Furnishings: A white marble altar, made up of a column topped by a capital. The stone building in *Phase I* was divided by a wall towards the western end of the building. The altar continued to be used in *Phase II*. The walls were completely plastered while the floor was cement. A bench was detected on the south wall and a step was placed between the apse and the nave, creating a choir.

Related Burials: Near the western end of the wooden church, a female burial was found and was contemporaneous with *Phase I*. A fibula, possibly a Lombard style, was buried with the woman. A cemetery developed in the 8th century around the church. One grave in particular was placed immediately outside the western wall.

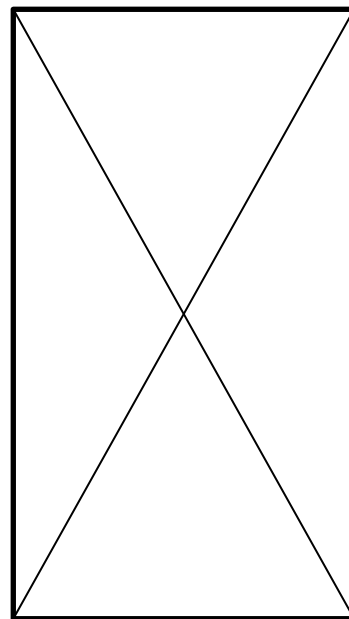
Other: Most walls were reused in the Romanesque church which still stands today. The present altar was placed directly above the early medieval one.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 178-179.



*Floor-plan of St Martin, Sonvico
(Sennhauser 2003:178).*



*Plan of excavation features at Sonvico
(Sennhauser 2003:179).*



*Church of Saint Martin
(Image courtesy of Rino Magno 2008).*

F26. ST ABBUNDIUS, STABIO

Site Name: Saint Abbundius

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th century (hall church)
- Phase II: 1104 (demolished)

Dedications: St Abbundius (11th century)

Excavation History: 1937

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a W-E oriented rectangular structure (11 x 6m).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A wall divides the rectangular building into spaces, perhaps creating a choir and a nave.

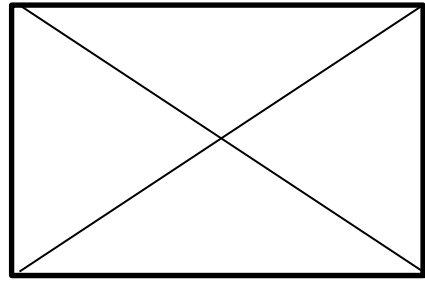
Related Burials: Two necropoleis were found in close proximity to Stabio. Near the church was a row of E-W oriented graves, all plastered and covered with stone slabs. Other graves lay to the east of the building.

Other: An early interpretation by Boggetti (1956-1957) interpreted these remains as a 'Christianised' Roman population while the other cemetery, located near the oratory of Saint Peter, dated to the 7th century was for Lombards, marked notably by two warrior graves with golden ornaments and a decorated shield.

Select Bibliography

Foletti 1997: 177.

Sennhauser 2003: 179-180.



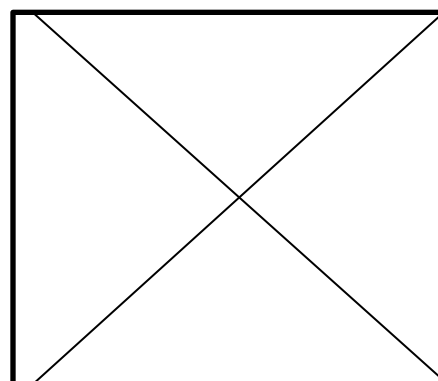
*Floor-plan of St Abbundius, Phase I
(Sennhauser 2003: 179)*



*Furnishings from Lombard shield
(Images courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, 2007).*

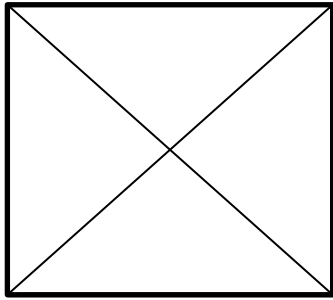


*Furnishings from Lombard shield
(Images courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, 2007).*



*Location of burials around the church
(Sennhauser 2003: 180).*

F27. ST PETER, STABIO (?)



*Floorplan of St Peter, Stabio
(Sennhauser 2003:180).*

Site Name: Stabio

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: *vicus* (?)

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 7th century (rectangular building)
- Phase II: c. AD 1000 (semi-circular apse)

Dedications: St Peter (12th century)

Excavation History: 1973

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of an E-W oriented rectangular nave with a square apse (10x 7m). The building was later enlarged and a semi-circular apse was added (*Phase II*).

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: Neither a choir fence nor an altar were detected in the excavations.

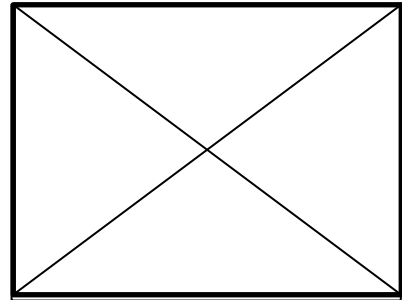
Related Burials: Three tombs were found in the nave while a small tomb was located beside the northern wall of the apse zone. The churchyard contained several tombs, mainly plastered and covered by stone slabs.

Other: Artefacts found in two graves situated outside the façade of the medieval structure help date the church to the 7th century.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 180-181.

F28. ST MARTIN, VEZIA



*Floorplan of St Martin, Vezia
(Sennhauser 2003:199).*

Site Name: Vezia

Canton: Ticino

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 700 (hall church)
- Phase II: c. 750 (nave extension)
- Phase III: 12th-13th century (Romanesque)
- Phase IV: 18th century (Baroque)

Dedications: St Martin (12th century)

Excavation History: 1994

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a E-W oriented rectangular nave with a semi-circular apse (6.1 x 4.1m). In front of the apse, excavators found stone features as well as two post-holes. The church was enlarged during *Phase II* but the exact length is unknown.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: The stone features in front of the nave are interpreted as a barrier, marking the choir. An altar was unearthed at the centre of the apse. The floor of the choir was raised slightly higher than the nave.

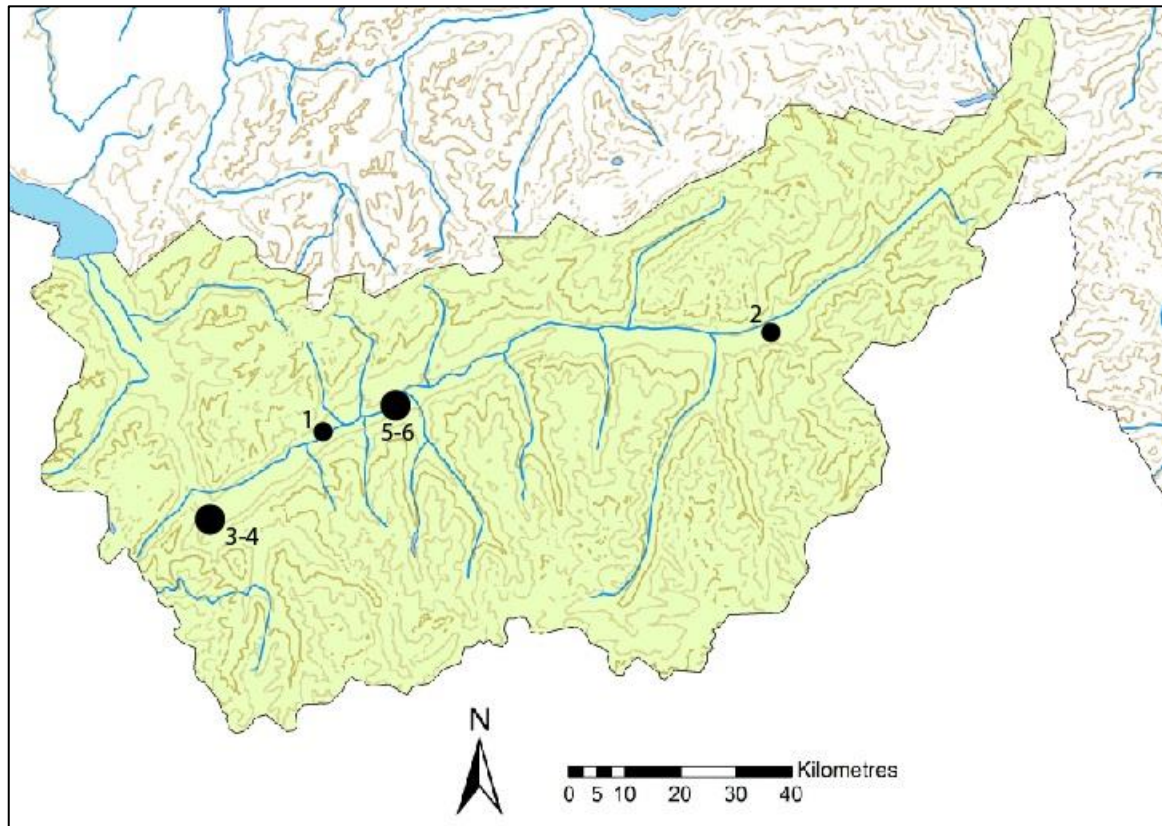
Related Burials: Unknown.

Other: The church occupied a strategic location, on a hill overlooking the valley.

Select Bibliography

Sennhauser 2003: 199-200.

Gazetteer G: Diocesan region of Martigny/Sion



G1: Ardon
G2: Glisacker
G3: Martigny, North Church

G4: Martigny, South Church
G5: Sion, Sous-les-Scex
G6: Sion, St Théodule

G1. ST JOHN, ARDON

Site Name: Ardon

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: Roman villa

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: c. AD 200-300 (stone tomb)
- Phase II: 300-400 (mausoleum)
- Phase III: 500 (hall church with apse)
- Phase IV: 700 (enlarged and annexes added)
- Phase V: 800-900 (semi-circular apse)
- Phase VI: 11th century (Romanesque)
- Phase VII: 1525 (tower)

Dedications: St John the Baptist (unknown)

Excavation History: Small scale excavations by Francois-Olivier Dubuis (1959-60).

Description of Plan: *Phases I-II* consisted of Roman burial groups, starting first with a solitary stone tomb (1.5 x 1.9) and then a mausoleum (6 x 6.6) containing five burials. Only a large N-S oriented horseshoe-shaped apse belonging to *Phase III* was excavated but it appears that it was added to the previous mausoleum. *Phase IV* consisted of an enlarged church (10 x 12 m) and an interior semi-circular apse (externally trapezoidal).

Construction Materials: Spolia from the associated Roman settlement and local stone.

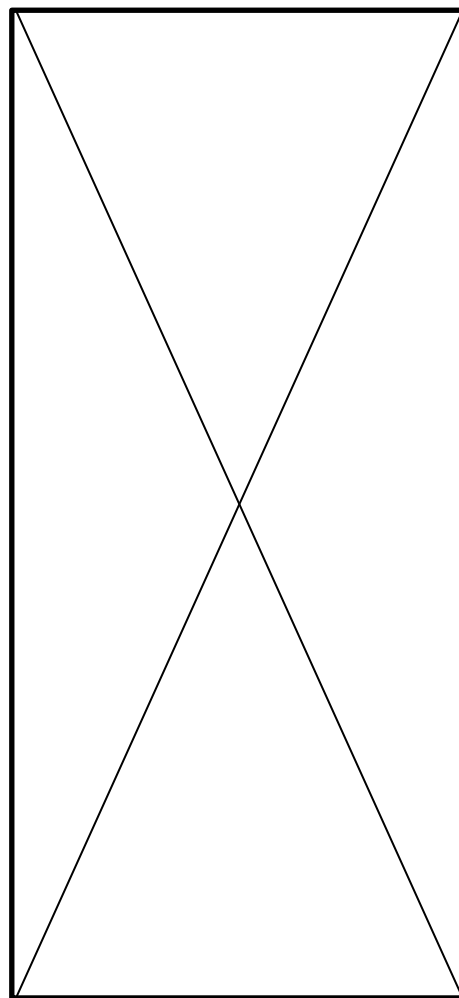
Internal Furnishings: *Phase IV* included a possible eastern annex and choir, based on interior abutments coming off the at the western wall (closer to the apse) and at the centre of the eastern wall. An altar is noted probably dating to the late 8th-century after some modifications to the *Phase IV* construction.

Related Burials: Early medieval tombs were found associated with *Phase IV and V*: a solitary tomb in the 6th-century apse and five tombs associated with Phase V, including three in the apse.

Other: Central location of *Phase I* stone tomb may have been regarded as a martyr or a saint based on its central location within the early medieval buildings.

Select Bibliography

Meier 2003: 283-84.



Floor-plan of St John, Ardon:
Yellow = Phase I; Orange = Phase II;
Red = Phase III Brown = Phase IV
Green = Phase V Lime = Phase VI
Blue = Phase VII
(Courtesy of the Ardon Community)



Church of St John at Ardon
(Image courtesy of Arnaud Gaillard, 2006).

G2. ST MARY, GLIS

Site Name: Glisacker

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: Unknown

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 5th-6th century (church & baptistery)
- Phase II: 7th cent. (church & mausoleum)
- Phase III: c. 1000 (basilica)
- Phase IV: 1150 (new construction)
- Phase V: 1519 (side chapels)
- Phase VI: 1648-70 (baroque)

Dedications: Our Lady (12th century)

Excavation History: 1984: Valais Cantonal Archaeological Services.

Description of Plan: *Phase I* consisted of a hall church with lateral rooms. To the west was a square baptismal room. Dimensions of church: 8.45 x 10 m.

Phase II saw the annexes abandoned and the space turned into cemeteries. The baptismal room was transformed into a vaulted mausoleum (5.4 x 5.3m).

Construction Materials: Brick-built; the baptistery had red mortar and a plastered interior; *Phase II* showed signs of wooden construction; postholes were found in the area of the northern annex.

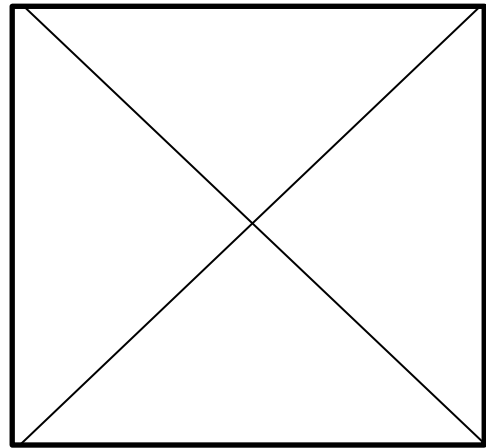
Internal Furnishings: An octagonal font was found at the centre of the baptistery. A canopy (*ciborium*) may have encircled the font, with signs of six supports. In *Phase II* two grave chambers were built into the northern wall of the baptistery; an arcosolium made of brick was constructed as well.

Related Burials: 18 graves were found in *Phase I*: 5 in the baptistery; 11 graves in rows in the nave; 2 in the south annex; In *Phase II*, a total of 90 burials were excavated: 57 in the former northern annex; 28 in nave; 3 in former baptistery; 2 outside the southern wall.

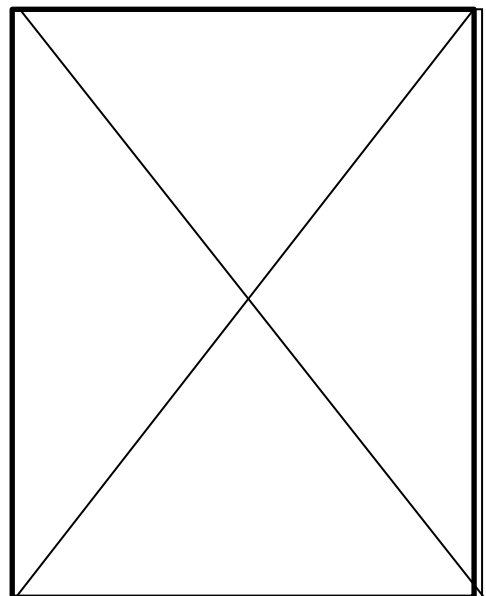
Other: Local tradition states that Bishop Leudemund of Sion built this church.

Select Bibliography

Descœudres and Saroot 1986: 349-448.



Phase I floor-plan of St Mary, Glis (Descœudres and Saroot 1986: 373).



Reconstruction of Phase I church at Glis (Descœudres and Saroot 1986: 376).



Church St St Mary, Glis (Image courtesy of Thomas Rommel 2010).

G3. NORTH CHURCH, MARTIGNY

Site Name: Martigny, St Mary

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: *Octodorum (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th century (Gallo-Roman building)
- Phase IIa-b: c. AD 350 (exedra)
- Phase IIc: c. AD 375 (widened, baptistery)
- Phase III: c. AD 400 (semi-circular apse)
- Phase IV: 8th-9th century (annexes; south chapel)
- Phase V: 12th century (single church)

Dedications: Notre-Dames-Les-Champs (1420)

Excavation History: Investigations led by G. Faccani between 1990 and 1993.

Description of Plan: *Phase IIa-b* comprised an exedra attached to a small room, part of a larger Gallo-Roman complex of *Phase I* (9.35 x 3.85m). The nave was widened (9.35 x 8m) and western annexes were added the west in *Phase IIc*. The complex was destroyed to make way for the double church; the north church consisted of a horseshoe apse (15.4 x 7.7m). By the 8th-century a corridor encircled the complex (*Phase IV*).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with reused Roman material, including brick, tile, and limestone blocks. Floors were made up of crushed tile.

Internal Furnishings: A font in a southern room of *Phase IIc*, suggests a baptistery. A limestone block was in front of the apse (a step?), providing access as the apse floor was 40 cm higher than the nave. A choir, delineated by barriers, was present in *Phase III*. An altar associated with *Phase IV* was found in the apse of northern church.

Related Burials: 1150 tombs have been found inside and outside dating from the 6th-19th centuries. The burials were largely found in the northern church.

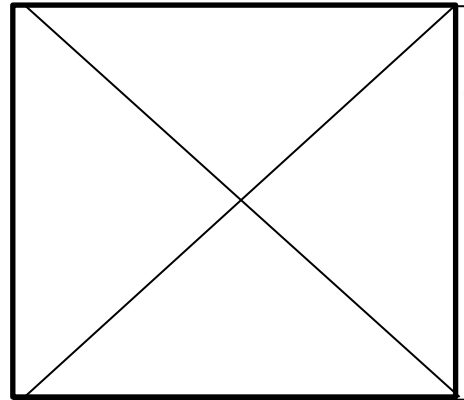
Other: 2 tombs located in the south chapel contained grave goods: belt buckle, knife, goblet, and spurs.

Select Bibliography

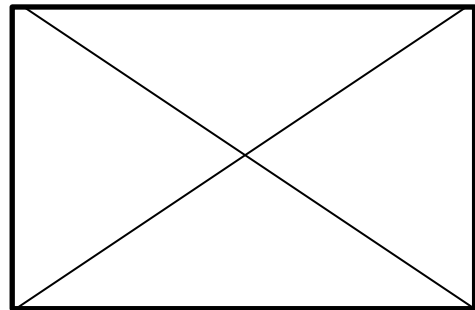
Faccani 2007: 113-134.

Faccani 2002: 169-179.

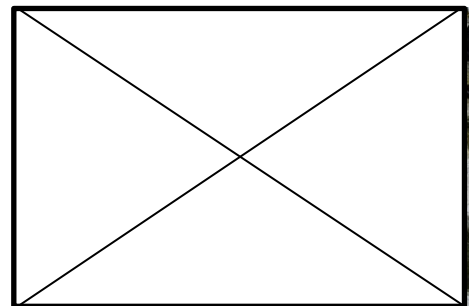
Lehner *et al.* 1996.



Phase III floor-plan of Martigny's North Church (Faccani 2007: 119).



Photograph of Phase IIc baptistery in-situ (Lehner et al. 1996: 25).



Excavation photograph depicting multiple phases (Lehner et al. 1996: 31).



Early medieval finds displayed at Martigny's Gallo-Roman Museum.

G4. SOUTH CHURCH, MARTIGNY

Site Name: Martigny, St Mary

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: *Octodorum (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th century (Gallo-Roman building)
- Phase IIa-b: c. AD 350 (exedra of north church)
- Phase IIc: c. AD 375 (widened, baptistery)
- Phase III: c. AD 400-450 (south church)
- Phase IV: 8th-9th century (horseshoe-shaped apse)
- Phase V: 12th century (single church)

Dedications: Notre-Dames-Les-Champs (1420)

Excavation History: Investigations led by G. Faccani between 1990 and 1993.

Description of Plan: In *Phase III*, the older structures were largely demolished to make way for a double church complex. The south church, placed in the area of the baptistery, consisted of a rectangular nave with a square apse (12 x 6m). The apse was changed in *Phase IV* to a horseshoe shape and a small southern chapel was added to the south wall, which consisted of another horse-shoe shape apse.

Construction Materials: Stone-built. Floors were made of crushed tile.

Internal Furnishings: A choir barrier was present. Access to the choir, however, came from the outside, near the SE corner, by passages built in the south and eastern walls. The floor of the South Church was 20 cm lower than the nave of the North Church.

Related Burials: The southern chapel consisted of 12 burials while the interior of the south church was devoid of burials.

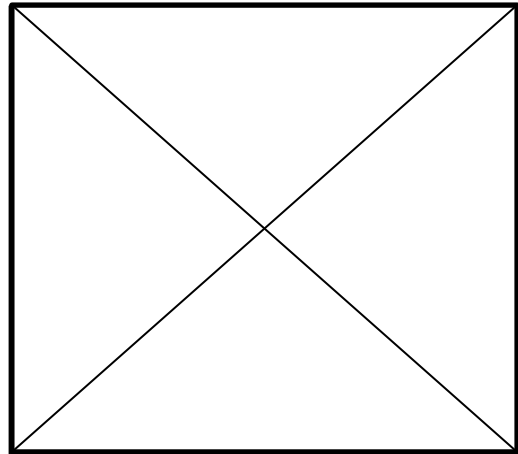
Other: The exterior of double church at Martigny was largely rectangular, comparable to churches found in the Adriatic region.

Select Bibliography

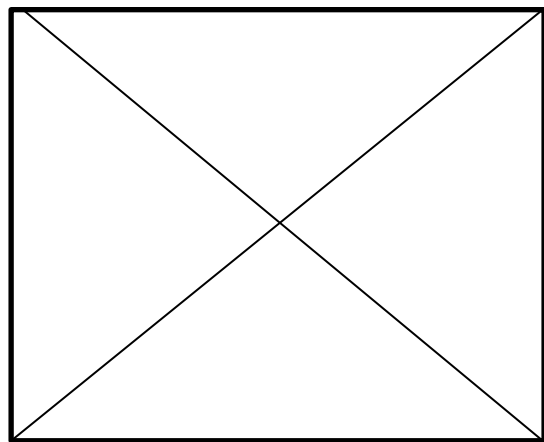
Faccani 2007: 113-134.

Faccani 2002: 169-179.

Lehner *et al.* 1996.



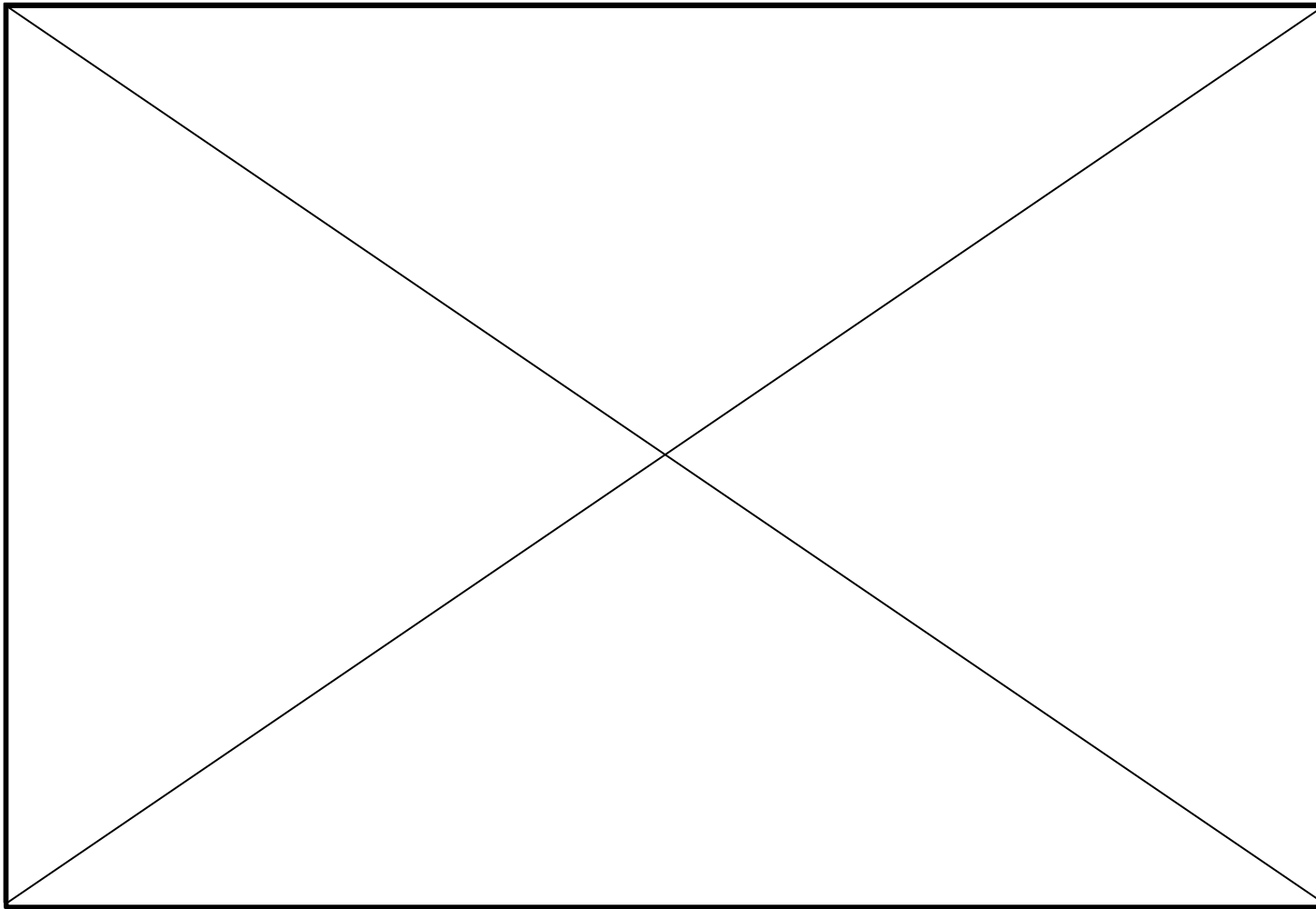
Phase III floorplan of Martigny's Episcopal Complex (Faccani 2007: 127).



Photograph of excavations (Lehner et al. 1996: 26).



Current church in Martigny.



*Floor-plan of Martigny depicting all phases related to the north (**G4**) and south church (**G5**)
(Faccani 2010)*

G5. SOUS-LE-SCEX, SION

Site Name: Sous-le-Scex

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: *Octodorum (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase IA-D: AD 400-500 (cruciform church)
- Phase IIE-F: 550-700 (southern apse; annexes)
- Phase IIIG-H: 700-800 (crypt, steps, altar)
- Phase IV: c. AD 1000 (abandoned)

Dedications: Unknown.

Excavation History: 1989-2000 excavations by Valais Cantonal Archaeological Office.

Description of Plan: During the 5th-century, a rectangular burial house oriented E-W gradually saw a transformation into a cruciform church. Semi-circular apses were added initially (B), followed by lateral annexes (C), and a smaller northern apse (D). In *Phase IIE*, a narthex and southern annex, including an apse was added. A northern annex was added in *Phase IIF*. During the 8th-century a crypt (G) was added.

Construction Materials: Stone-built.

Internal Furnishings: A primary entrance was placed at the centre of the western wall (*Phase IIB*). Entry to the outer apse was accessed outside the building. A barrier delineates the apse space and the nave. The entrance becomes more monumental with the addition of the narthex and steps. The only altar based found was located in the northern chapel in *Phase IIH*.

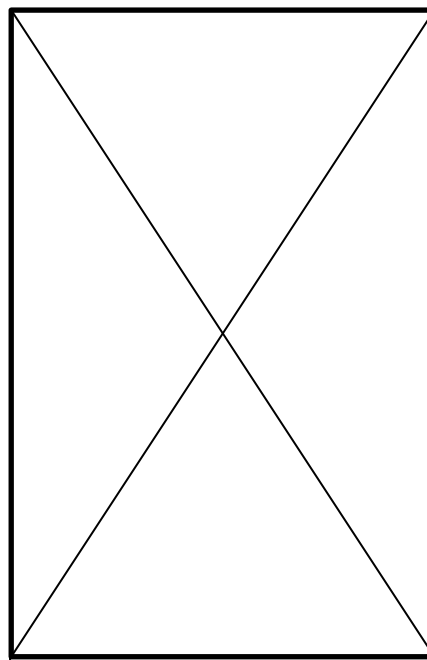
Related Burials: Across all phases, burials were laid inside and outside the church.

Other: The area of the Sous-le-Scex church has been used as a burial ground since the early Iron Age.

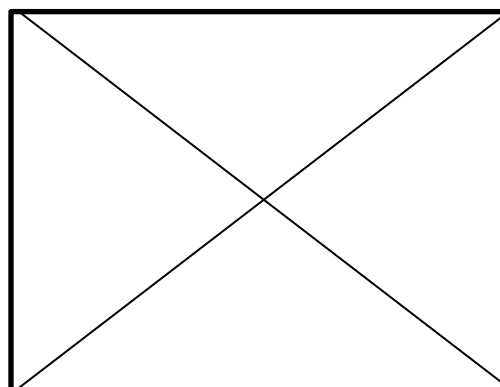
Select Bibliography

Antonini 2002.

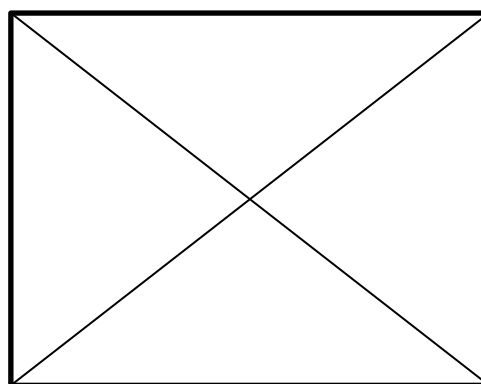
Wiblé 1989: 554-566



*Floor-plans of Sous-le-Scex, Sion
(Antonini 2002: 167; 170-171).*



*Photograph of excavations looking east
(Wiblé 1989: Plate VII).*



*Different burial types at Sous-le-Scex
(Antonini 2002: 67).*

G6. ST THÉODULE, SION

Site Name: St Théodule

Canton: Valais

Associated Settlement: *Octodorum (civitas)*

Construction Phases:

- Phase I: 4th century (Roman baths)
- Phase II: 6th century (cemetery chapel)
- Phase III: 8th century (crypt)
- Phase IV: 16th century (Gothic church)

Dedications: Saint Théodule (12th century)

Excavation History: 1960-64: F-O. Dubuis; 1987-89: A. Antonini.

Description of Plan: Built above the remains of Roman baths, the church consisted of two choirs, a central nave and annexes (approx. 22 x 19m – total width with annexes).

Construction Materials: Stone-built with Roman *spolia*.

Internal Furnishings: Stairs in the western choir provided access to the crypt. The rectilinear crypt made use of the late Roman system of heating chambers and ducts thus determining the layout of the corridor. The choirs at each end were slightly elevated in comparison to the nave and access was gained via the side annexes.

Related Burials: One central arcosolium at the centre of the crypt has been perceived as the place where the relics of St Theodore of *Octodorum* were placed. A number of late Roman burials, dating to the 5th century, lay around the church

Other: The cult of St Theodore saw its peak popularity in the middle ages and the crypt was preserved after it was filled with cement.

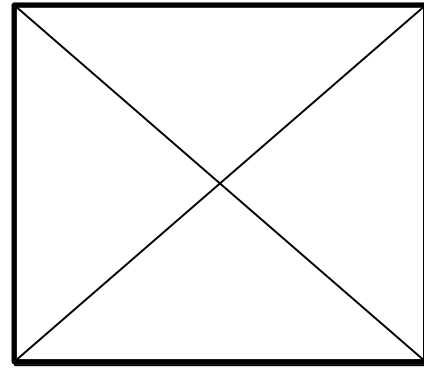
Select Bibliography

Crook 2002: 106-107

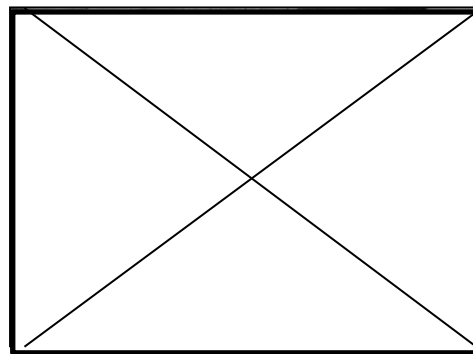
Dubuis 1981: 1-37.

Dubuis and Lugon 1988: 1-60.

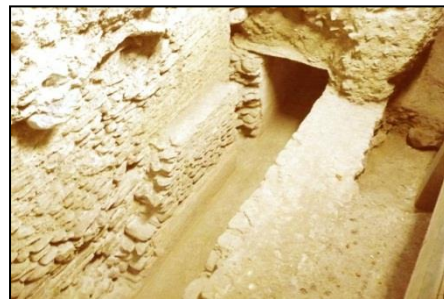
Wiblé 1989: 529-569.



*Floor-plan of St Théodule, Sion
(Jacobsen 1997: 119).*



*Photograph of excavations
(Wiblé 1989: Plate VIIIB).*

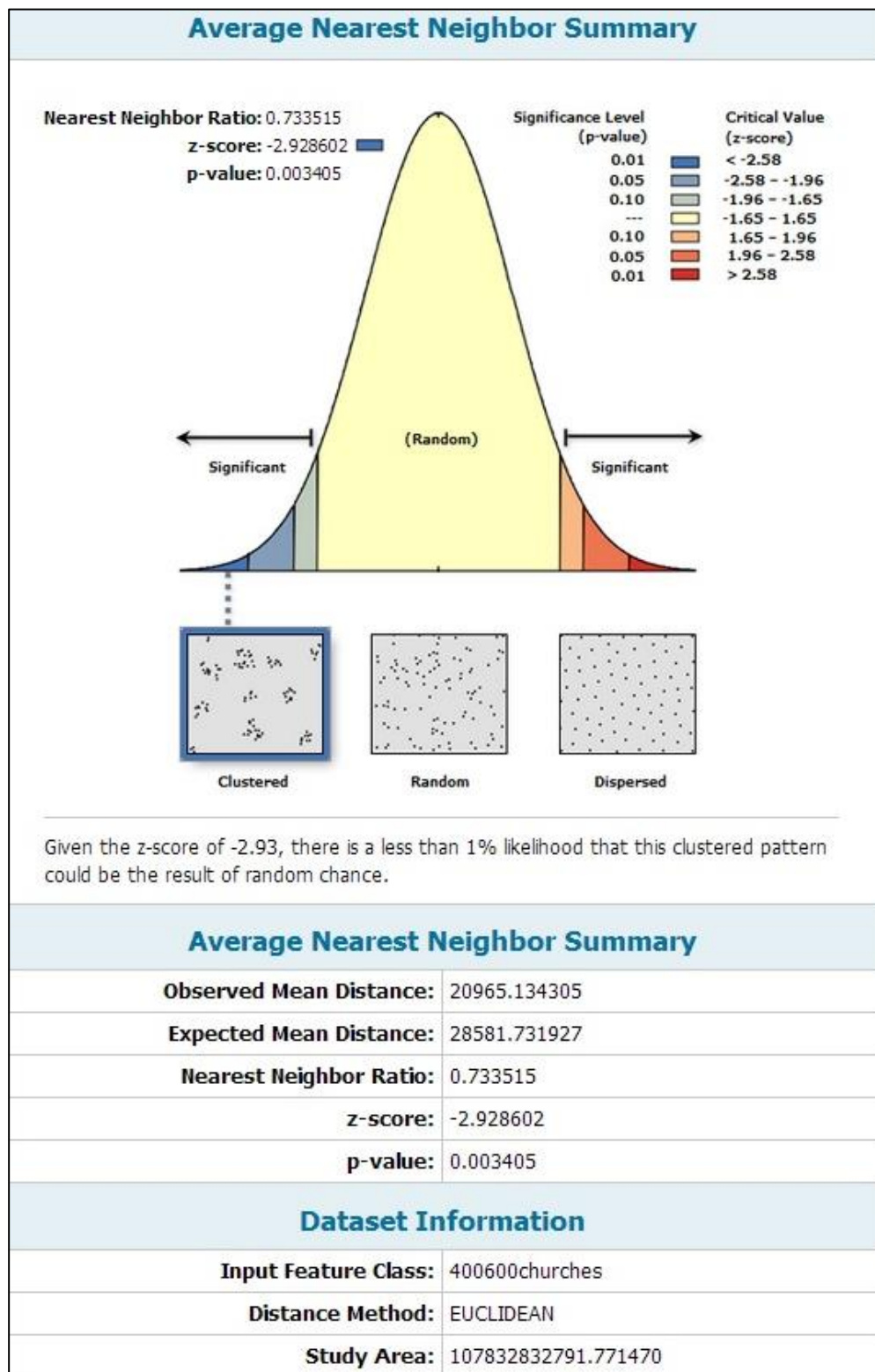


*Fig. 6.10: Passageway leading to crypt under
Saint Théodule
(Image Courtesy of Guy-Michel Coquoz 2006).*



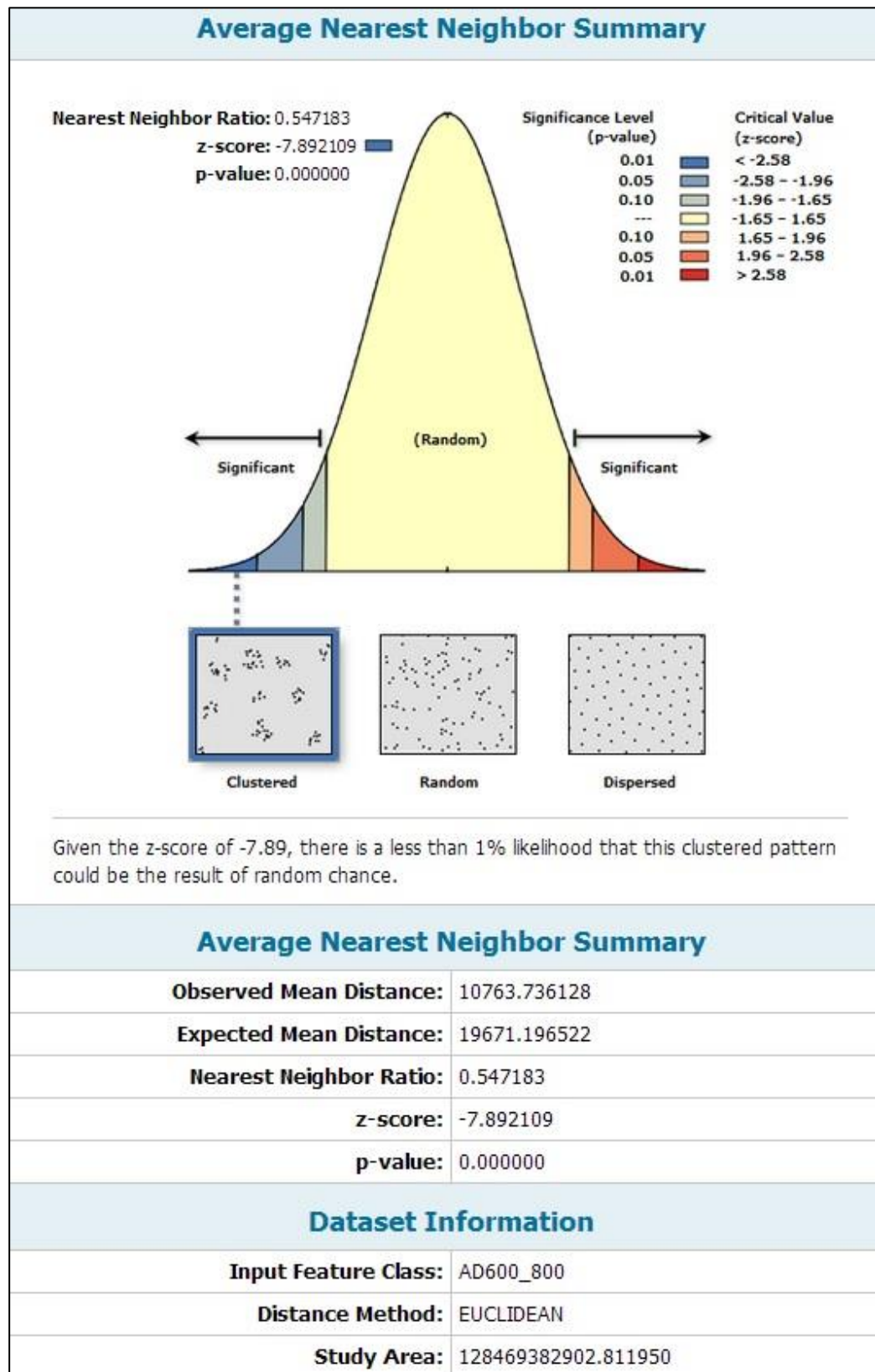
*Photograph of St Théodule
(Image courtesy of Ludovic Péron, 2011).*

Appendix A: Average Nearest Neighbor Summary AD 400-600



This report was produced through ARC GIS 10, which analysed the nearest neighbours of a distribution of points (churches from AD 400 to 600). The report states the distribution was clustered.

Appendix B: Average Nearest Neighbor Summary AD 600-800



This report shows that the clustered patterning of AD 400-600 continued with respect to churches built between AD 600-800.