CIRCULATION OF RELICS
This paper focuses on the origins and practice of relic distribution in the West, a strategy strongly advocated and pursued by Ambrose of Milan, who served as bishop 374–97, and his successors during the fifth century. The directions in which Milanese relics were distributed are traced in the first section of this paper, which then argues that the circulation of relics not only forged strong links among ecclesiastical communities, but also promoted the circulation of ideas. This approach enables the mapping of significant connections that are otherwise difficult to reconstruct. The transmission of iconographical and architectural models, along with certain decisions made in urban planning, is to be understood within the complex phenomenon of relic circulation. Three case studies of churches in which the presence of Milanese relics has been supposed or attested support these assertions, which are based on the catacomb of San Severo in Naples, the Concilium Sanctorum church in Aosta, and the Baptistery of Albenga.

/Keywords/ Cult of Relics, Ambrose of Milan, Catacombs of San Severo in Naples, Concilium Sanctorum in Aosta, Baptistery of Albenga
The Circulation of Blood, Clay, and Ideas: The Distribution of Milanese Relics in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

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Churches dedicated to the Milanese saints, Gervasius and Protasius, are prevalent in many diverse locales of northern Italy, but they can also be found in other regions of the peninsula, throughout France, and in North Africa1. When we consider the fact that these saints are today not well known outside of the northern Italian region, the sheer volume of churches bearing their names is quite surprising. In many cases, major sections of these churches have either been completely rebuilt or have later construction that obscures the original early medieval buildings. Adherence to tradition and the presence of sacred relics have insured that the original dedications remain intact to the present era.

Gervasius and Protasius are the best-known Milanese saints; and their cult was certainly the largest and most wide ranging, but other saints from this city have been venerated since the time of Ambrose (374–397). The list includes Nabor and Felix, Nazarius and Celsus, and later also Vitalis, whose remains Ambrose himself found in Bologna together with those of the martyr Agricola in 3932, and who was himself identified as their father in a later legend3. Since the sixth century, the cult of Vitalis has in certain instances overshadowed the cult of Gervasius and Protasius. The most famous

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1 Churches dedicated to Gervasius and Protasius can be found or historically attested for instance in Italy: Mantova, Firenze, Venezia (San Trovaso: Venetian contraction for Saints Gervasius and Protasius), Trasquera, Bariano, Baveno, Bormio, Rapallo, Spirano, Bernareggio, Mestre, Gorgonzola, Someglio, Domodossola, Parabiago. In France: Rouen, Vienne, Tours, Paris, Sens, Soissons, Clermont-Ferrand, Nantes, Le Mans, Castanet-Tolosan. In Switzerland: Geneva, Saint-Maurice d’Agaune. In Northern Africa: Sbeitla (Tunis), Hippo.
example of this occurrence is the renaming of the San Vitale church in Rome, which was originally dedicated to the saints Gervasius and Protasius.

By what means did the veneration of Milanese saints spread to so many disparate places? In all likelihood, the cult of a particular saint was spread with the circulation of his or her relics. As Cynthia Hahn affirms, relics were frequently exchanged as gifts and therefore became “a purposeful enactment of ties of friendship and other affiliations.” Thus, as I argue in this paper, the high number of churches dedicated to Gervasius and Protasius can be explained by an extensive campaign of distribution of their relics by the bishops of Milan, whose ecclesiastical authority was expanding since the episcopacy of Ambrose at the end of the fourth century.

In addition to his influence in Milan, which at the time still served as the capital of the Roman Empire, Ambrose maintained powerful connections with eminent authorities throughout the Christian world. Under Ambrose’s episcopacy, the See of Milan gained an undeniable level of prestige as an ecclesiastical center, a fact that is underscored by Louis Duchesne’s remarkable declaration: “For a short but important period it would thus appear that the Western episcopate recognized a twofold hegemony – that of the Pope and that of the bishop of Milan.” Significantly, during the period of his incumbency, Ambrose created many new bishoprics (Como, Torino, Aosta, Novara). Northern Italy was still a Christian frontier in the process of conversion and dominated by sees scattered across a vast area. Ambrose, intervening in the episcopal elections of the bishoprics under his jurisdiction and also abroad, constructed a northern Italian hierarchy that was far more closely linked to its own metropolitan than it ever was to the bishop of Rome.

It is significant that in both the dioceses created by Ambrose and those with which he and his successors maintained close ties, churches were dedicated to Milanese saints or possess credible evidence of the presence of their relics. For example, a homily of bishop Gaudentius of Brescia, on the occasion of the dedication of the church Concilium Sanctorum in Brescia, recounts the presence of relics, “sanguinem gypso collectum”, of Gervasius and Protasius, among other saints. In another important document, De laude sanctorum (397) by Vitricius of Rouen, Ambrose is named as a donor of relics of the blood of Milanese saints to the Christian community of Rouen. Based upon other evidence, which I will explore in the

2/ Saint Protasius, Catacombs of San Severo in Naples, 400 c.
following discussion, we can affirm that Ambrose distributed relics in quantities quite unprecedented in the West and over an extraordinary geographical range. Neil B. McLynn considers this a “marketing strategy” employed by Ambrose, a term also valid for the succeeding bishops of Milan. To understand the factors that may have led to such actions by bishops of Milan from the end of the fourth century and during the fifth, we must first consider briefly about the policy governing relics during this era.

In the East, the relic policy was much less conservative than in the West, with the first translation of the bodies of saints taking place in the middle of the fourth century, even though the Roman law expressly forbade any disturbance, dismembering, or moving of dead bodies. In Rome, there are no convincing examples of the authorities even distributing quasi-corporal relics (e.g., blood or hair) or secondary relics (e.g., the chains of Saint Peter) before the late fifth or early sixth centuries. In fact, there is little evidence that Rome distributed relics at all, except to one or two very important imperial protégés, such as the contact relics known as brandea—strips of cloth that touched the corporeal relics or the tomb of a saint—given to Ambrose for the dedication of the basilica Apostolorum. Some scholars suppose that the Roman brandea were preserved in the silver casket of Saint Nazaro. Nevertheless, Rome probably did not distribute its relics on a larger scale until the beginning of the sixth century. The position taken by Rome in this matter can be explained by its adherence to Roman law, but even more significant, it was caused by certain political and traditional considerations. Rome essentially created a monopoly on the most important relics of apostles and martyrs, seeking to maintain its cultural hegemony as the center of Christendom by keeping the greatest number of significant relics in its possession.

On the other hand, Milan does not seem to have possessed the relics of its own martyrs. Interesting, Ambrose even designated Milan as a city sterile of martyrs. But this was the case only until the miraculous inventio of Gervasius and Protasius, which Ambrose carried out himself in 386. Thus, after the inventio, the bishop headed an extensive campaign to promote the cult associated with these saints by distributing their relics to other locales. It is undoubtedly significant that until the eclipse of Milan in the later fifth century, the cult of Gervasius and Protasius spread more widely in the Christian West than that of any other Roman martyr and perhaps even more
than those of the apostles themselves\textsuperscript{20}. In Gaul, for instance, fifth-century suggests that when relics of especial prestige were required to consecrate a new basilica or cathedral, bishops applied to Milan or to one of the other northern Italian cities that housed relics of Ambrosian saints, rather than to Rome\textsuperscript{21}.

It is apparent that Ambrose’s politics of relic distribution was one of the key factors responsible for the consolidation of the authority and fame of the metropolitan see of Milan, in the city’s ongoing rivalry with Rome. The distributions Ambrose made to his immediate circle – Vitricius of Rouen, Gaudentius of Brescia, Paulinus of Nola – exhibit a remarkable level of consistency. Each involves relics of the saints of his own discovery, and also those of the eastern apostles or quasi-apostles: Thomas, John the Baptist, and Luke. It is important to note that there was never a hint of any Roman saint or apostle in his choice of relic gifts\textsuperscript{22}. As touched upon earlier, it was only at the beginning of the sixth century, under popes Symmachus (498–514) and Hormisdas (514–23), that Rome finally followed in Milan’s footsteps and began to distribute relics, though only those categorized as contact or secondary relics\textsuperscript{23}. Nevertheless, at the end of the fourth century and during the entire fifth, the principal distributors remained the bishops of Milan. Using three churches as case studies – the Catacomb of San Severo in Naples, the church known as the Concilium Sanctorum in Aosta, and the Baptistery of Albenga – I will argue that the circulation of relics had an important impact on the transmission of iconographic and architectural models originating from the churches in Milan.

In the only accessible cubiculum in the catacomb of San Severo alla Sanità in Naples, dating to the beginning of the fifth century, there is a central arcosolium, decorated with five figures set against a blue background, while on the arch of the right arcosolium the figure of Protasius, identified by an inscription, can be discerned /Fig. 2/\textsuperscript{24}. The presence of the image of Gervasius on the other side of the arch is attested by a 1906 drawing of Galante, who documented the representation when the paintings were in a better state of preservation\textsuperscript{25}. It is significant that Protasius, and previously also Gervasius, were provided with inscriptions while the other figures in the central arcosolium were not. It is entirely possible that figures like Peter and Paul and perhaps even Agrippinus, represented in the center, did not need to be identified via text because their iconography was already fixed, and would thus have been easily recognized by viewers. In contrast, Gervasius and Protasius, saints from Milan, do have these distinctive attributions, most likely to avoid confusion about their identity\textsuperscript{26}. Protasius is represented as a young beardless man with short hair, bearing a cross. This exact iconography can be found on a much later monument, the Pace di Ariberto da Intimiano (970–1045)\textsuperscript{27}. A recent study by Ivan Foletti and Irene Quadri proposes that the Pace di Ariberto was an echo of the primitive composition of the apse in the Basilica Ambrosiana\textsuperscript{28}. The apse was probably decorated with an image of Christ in the center, flanked on either side by Gervasius and Protasius, each young beardless and bearing a cross on the shoulder, who occupied a visually significant position that echoed that of Peter and
Paul in Rome /Fig. 3/. It is very unlikely that such an identical iconography of Protasius would be the result of chance. It rather leads us to suppose that the figure of the saint depicted in Naples kept his original attributes, conceived in Milan\textsuperscript{29}.

Considering that the catacomb with its original decoration, obviously repainted in the following centuries, must have been completed in the middle of the fifth century at the very latest, Chiara Croci and Ivan Foletti suggest that it is impossible to think about a ‘progressive migration’ of iconographic models in this early period of the cult of Gervasius and Protasius\textsuperscript{30}. The saints’ presence in Naples can be explained, according to these scholars, only in terms of the arrival of depictions of their effigies in this southern Italian city, which may have taken the form of a reliquary decorated with the saints’ portraits. Such items, mainly silver caskets or lead \textit{ampullae}, dispersed since the end of fourth century; some of them actually bore the effigies of the saints\textsuperscript{31}. It is also possible to imagine that Milanese relics were shipped to Naples, due to the religious friendship, documented in a letter, between Ambrose and the bishop Severus, after whom the hypogeum is named\textsuperscript{32}. Thus, a reliquary with the effigies of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius could become both a material and visual means through which the transfer of culture, here the iconography of Milanese saints, was accomplished and witnessed by the painting in the catacomb of Saint Severus.

\textsuperscript{29} Thacker, \textit{Rome of the Martyrs} (n. 16), p. 42
\textsuperscript{30} Ibidem, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibidem, p. 40.
Concilium Sanctorum of Aosta

A second example of cultural transference is linked to the church Concilium Sanctorum in Aosta. The city of Aosta first belonged ecclesiastically to the diocese of Vercelli, but by the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth, it was raised to a bishopric. The bishops of Aosta were then subject to the jurisdiction of Milan33.

The Concilium Sanctorum was built upon a pre-Roman necropolis and contained the burials of the first bishops of Aosta and their families34. This basilica, which can be dated to the fifth century, was consumed by fire in the eighth century, and now offers only the remains of the old perimeter wall. Later in the ninth century, a small church was built and dedicated to Saint Lawrence upon these walls35.

The plan of the original basilica is constructed according to the shape of a Latin cross, with arms that end in apses. /Fig. 4/Preceded by a porch, its entrance is positioned within an apse that is polygonal on the exterior, but circular on the interior. The chevet is also constructed as a rounded wall, with a polygonal exterior facade. The side arms are likewise terminated by apses, though of a different type; these are rounded on their outer surface and flanked by buttresses. Two annexes were placed on either side of the choir, through which one might enter the sanctuary. The sanctuary was likely raised, and in the main apse, a semi-circular bench has been discerned. The site of the original church of Concilium Sanctorum was organized around a sculpted structure in the center of the sanctuary. According to Charles Bonnet, this structure should be considered an ossuary and not a tomb. Bonnet suggests that some of the graves were perhaps venerated in the burial area and that such a device must have functioned as a reliquary36.

In the West, the architectural development of the cruciform type is closely related to the life and thought of Ambrose. In a dedicatory inscription, the so-called ‘Condlist Ambrosius’37 to the Basilica Apostolorum (San Nazaro), he wrote, “Forma crucis templum est; templum victoriae Christi; sacra triumphalis signat immaculatum locum”38. Because of the general plan, but also due to certain elements, such as the semi-circular bench, the raised presbytery, and the sculpted reliquary, scholars have directly linked the Concilium Sanctorum church to the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan and have identified the latter as its prototype39. Although studies of the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan seem to indicate that the first phase of construction...
at *chevet plat* predated the establishment of Romanesque apses, the uniformity of the plans of Aosta and of Milan has convinced us to seek a similar pattern /Fig. 5/48. As Charles Bonnet suggested, it is very likely that the cruciform sanctuary in Aosta was built according to the model of the Basilica Apostolorum, but a few intervening decades have enabled new architects to propose a slightly different plan that more closely conforms to the general evolution of the few known cruciform buildings49. The analogous plans, along with other archeological observations, establish the dating of the basilica in Aosta to the early fifth century45.

The name of the church – Concilium Sanctorum (‘The Gathering of the Saints’) – suggests that this church preserved the relics of several saints. We do not possess any literary evidence of the transfer of Milanese relics to Aosta, nor any material testimony of such a fact. Nevertheless, an important clue to suggest the presence in Aosta of relics from Milan is the church’s name. This clue is provided when considering another church of the same name, the Concilium Sanctorum in Brescia, now non-existent, also built at the very beginning of the fifth century43. The presence of relics in this church is attested in the previously mentioned homily of Bishop Gaudentius45, which confirms the possession of relics of apostles John the Baptist, Andrew and Thomas, and the Evangelist Luke – relics that were also deposited in Basilica Apostolorum in Milan by Ambrose45. To these relics, Gaudentius appends the relics (blood) of the martyrs Gervasius, Protasius and Nazarius46. It is thus incontestable that the Concilium Sanctorum of Brescia possessed relics from Milan.

Therefore, if we consider the ecclesiastical dependence of Aosta on Milan, and the fact that both the basilica in Aosta and the one in Brescia bear the same name, with the latter possessing confirmed relics from Milan for its consecration, we can make the following suggestion: it is very likely that the Concilium Sanctorum in Aosta would also have preserved relics gifted from Milan, and probably even the same as those housed in Brescia. It is otherwise hard to imagine that the newly created bishopric in Aosta, depending upon Milan, would have had means to obtain the relics of the apostles or other saints in the East.

In conclusion, we can estimate that the shipping of relics from Milan to Aosta would have gone hand in hand with the transfer of the cruciform architectural model, first employed, in the West, by Ambrose for the Basilica Apostolorum.  

### Baptistry of Albenga

The third and final example I shall cite in order to demonstrate the connection between the transfer of culture and transmission of relics is the case of the baptistery of Albenga, in Liguria. Ecclesiastically, the city of Albenga was suffragan to the See of Milan, as the first bishop confirmed in 45147. On the exterior, the baptistery takes a rather irregular decagonal form, while the interior of the building is constructed on an octagonal plan, but with sides that are not completely in the axis /Fig. 9/. The drum is also octagonal with a double arch elevation. The lower arcade is supported by eight columns with Corinthian *spolia* capitals. In the center, there is an original octagonal baptismal font48.

38 “The church has a cross shape, for the conquest of Christ, the conquering image is a sign of this place”. See *Ambrogio e la cruciforme “Romana” Basilica degli apostoli nei millesecolo anni della sua storia*, Giulio Giaconetti, Piero Sessa eds., Milano 1986; Cagiano de Azevedo, “Sant’Ambrogio committente di opere d’arte”, in *Cultura e tecnica artistica nella tarda antichità e nell’alto medioevo*, Silvia Lusuardi Siena, Maria Pia Rossignani eds., Milano 1996, pp. 151–172.
41 Bonnet, “L’église cruciforme” (n. 36) p. 20.
42 Ibidem, p. 20.
44 Gaudentius, *Tractatus* (n. 10), 17. 3–16.
46 Gaudentius, *Tractatus* (n. 10), 17.12.
In a principal niche facing the entrance, a mosaic decoration has been preserved /Fig. 6/. This mosaic presents a central chrismon on a field composed of three expanding rings of successively darker color, each of which contains an alpha and omega, surrounded by twelve doves, positioned in a vault covered with white stars and set against a dark blue background. This arrangement indicates a clear profession of faith in the Trinity. Depicted in the lunette above the window is a central gemmed cross, flanked on either side by a lamb set within a floral landscape. The most important element, for our purposes, is the external decoration of the arch that encloses the niche /Fig. 7/. Here one finds a vegetal band that includes the inscription:

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\text{(NOMI) NAMUS QUIRUM HIC RELIQUIAE SUNT STEFANIS IOHANNIS LAURENTINAVORIS PROTASI EVANGEL– FELICIS GERVASI}
\]

The incomplete inscription reads, “Here are the relics of Steven, John Evangelist, Laurent, Nabor and Felix, Protasius and Gervasius.” It is possible that the missing sections of the inscription, indicated by the blank areas below the names of Stephen and Lawrence, were intended more fully to identify these saints with epithets such as proton martyr and diaconi, in the same manner as the epithet EVANGEL–, or Evangelist to John. Another possibility is that the spaces were meant to hold the names of other saints, Sixtus II and Hyppolitus or Victor\(^{49}\).

From an archeological standpoint, based upon discoveries made during the excavations, Mario Marcenaro argues that the relics were originally placed in the rectangular basin located in the floor of the niche that houses these mosaics\(^{50}\). Today, the relics are no longer preserved in the baptistery, but it is significant that when the mosaics were conceived, at a date that corresponds to the period of the construction, the above-mentioned inscription confirmed the presence of relics of four Milanese saints.

The meaning of the decoration and the analysis of the epigraphy date the mosaic to between the second half of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth\(^{51}\). According to Carlo Bertelli, there is indeed a possibility of a link with Milan, not only because of the presence of Milanese relics, but also on a pictorial level as observed in an analysis of the mosaic. Speaking of the unique and highly meaningful composition of triple XP, he affirms that “il grande moto dei tre cerchi concentrici (...) non è stato inventato per il luogo in cui si trova e deriva invece da un modello monumentale assai più grande, forse dal battistero del duomo di Milano”\(^{52}\). It is quite difficult to make
such a link because the baptistery San Giovanni alle Fonti in Milan is no longer extant; however, the numerous excavation campaigns have resulted in the discovery of its foundations [Fig. 9](53). This baptistery – with its ground plan of columns at the corners of the octagon, the baptismal font, and also the various decorative objects that have been found in the vicinity – permits a direct comparison with the baptisteries of Albenga, Novara, Como or Vicenza, all places where Milanese relics were likely also sent34.

Thus, the visual emphasis on the presence of the Milanese relics in the inscription on the arch of the baptistery in Albenga, which resulted in a *reprise* of the architectural plan of the Milan Baptistery and perhaps also its mosaic decoration.

**Conclusion**

As I have demonstrated, the campaign for the distribution of relics of Milanese saints was a widespread phenomenon since the time of bishop Ambrose, and one that continued during the years of his fifth-century successors. During that same period, Rome observed an ancient prohibition on the disturbance of tombs and the dismembering of the bodies of the dead. The popes refused to distribute relics because they sought to preserve Rome’s hegemony by maintaining their possession of the largest number of relics of martyrs. Employing an alternative tactic, Ambrose engaged a relic policy that

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directly opposed that of Rome. He distributed these items in order to strengthen the bond between the see of Milan and the requesting communities, who used the Milanese relics to consecrate new churches. In addition to the churches that still bear or once bore the names of Milanese saints, and today continue to bear witness to the extent of their cult, there are other ecclesiastical buildings of different names in which the presence of relics from Milan can be confirmed or supposed, thanks to other forms of evidence. This body of evidence falls into various categories, whether textual (attestation of shipping, receiving or possessing relics), pictorial or architectural. In the strongest cases, the various types of evidence are complementary.

In this paper, I endeavored to demonstrate, by way of three case studies, that the circulation of Milanese relics not only created and strengthened the relationship between the Lombard metropolis and other ecclesiastical communities, but that these relics also served as cultural mediators. Through the transmission of the iconography of the saints, as is the case in the hypogeum San Severo in Naples, or through the transmission of an architectural model, as we witnessed in the Concilium Sanctorum in Aosta, almost identical to the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan, as well as the baptistery in Albenga, whose ground plan corresponds to the model of the baptistery of San Giovanni alle Fonti in Milan, we have been able to support this conclusion. But the corpus of monuments linked to Milan through the possession of Milanese relics is much larger. Other examples and approaches might perhaps provide other views on this matter, but many have yet to be studied. One of the most striking aspects can be seen in the urban planning strategies of various cities. Many northern Italian churches that preserve relics from Milan are built near gates and upon roads that lead to Milan, including the previously mentioned Concilium Sanctorum of Brescia or the church of Saints Gervasius and Protasius of Pavia, both of which are among the best examples. By their positioning, these cities clearly mark their relationship to the metropolitan see of Milan, the principal and only municipality in the West to distribute the relics of saints in the fourth and fifth centuries.

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Círžulace krve, ostatků a myšlenek: distribuce milánských relikvií ve 4. a 5. století

Zasvěcení kostela milánským světcům Gervasiovi a Protasovi, jakož i dokumenty o přítomnosti relikvií ostatních raně křesťanských milánských světců v sakrálních stavbách jsou jevem, s nímž se můžeme setkat napříč územím dnešní Itálie, Francie či severní Afriky. Toto značné rozšíření jejich kultu je možné pozorovat od dob biskupa Ambrože (374–397) a dále po celé 5. století, v době, kdy byl Milán jediným městem na západě Římské říše, které relikvie svatých vydávalo. Zatímco Řím si pečlivě chránil své bohatství nejvýššího počtu relikvií mučedníků a kontaktní relikvie (nejčastěji látky přiložené na hrob světců, tzv. brande) začíná rozdávat až koncem 5. století, Milán zaujímá zcela opačnou strategii: skrze šíření relikvií krve svých mučedníků, jejichž ostatky byly zázračně nalezeny Ambrožem samotným, potvrzuje rozsah a upevňování své moci jako církevní metropole konkurující Ambrožem samotným, potvrzuje rozsah a upevňování své moci jako církevní metropole konkurující Římu. Význam Milána v této době je možné pozorovat nejen skrze šíření distribuce jeho relikvií, ale také díky rozšiřování jeho staveb a dekorací jako ikonografických a architektonických modelů pro stavby v místech, kde je přítomnost milánských relikvií pokud ne literárně či archeologicky doložena, tak alespoň předpokladatelná na základě jiných důkazů. Ve světle těchto poznatků je tedy možné se domnívat, že círulace relikvií není izolovaným jevem, nýbrž že je nutné ji nahlížet v širším kontextu nejen církevně-politickém, ale zejména v kontextu stavitelství a umění, což se tento článek pokouší dokázat na třech vybraných příkladech. V katakombech San Severo v Neapoli, kde je přítomnost milánských relikvií předpokladatelná na základě Ambrožova duchovního přátelství s biskupem Severem (357–400), podle nějž je hypogeum pojmenováno, se nachází malba znázorňující sv. Prostasia (dříve též sv. Gervasium, jehož obraz se kvůli špatným podmínkám nezachoval) z počátku 5. století. Ikonografie odpovídá předpokládané podobě tohoto světce v původním apsidě milánské Ambrožovy baziliky. Baziliká Concilium Sanctorum v Aostě, v diecézi patřící pod církevní jurisdikci Milána, má stejný půdorys jako Basilica Apostolorum v Miláně, což je první stavba na západě na půdorysu kříže. Název “shromáždění svatých” pak zřejmě odkazuje k původnímu zasvěcení světům, jejichž ostatky byly uloženy právě ve zmíněném milánském kostele apoštolů. Nakonec baptemisterium v Albenze, kde je původní přítomnost ostatků Gervasia, Protasia, Felix e Nabora doložena monumentálním nápismem vyvedeným v mozaice v nice naproti vchodu, má velmi podobný půdorys a další architektonické prvky jako milánské baptemisterium San Giovanni alle Fonti a představuje tak nejzjevnější a nekompletnější příklad kulturního transferu jdoucího ruku v ruce s přenosem relikvií.