Indice

Abbreviazioni

CBCR   Krautheimer, R. / S. Corbett / W. Frankl / A.K. Frazer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.),* 5 voll., Vatican City / Roma / New York 1937-1977 (Monumenti di antichità cristiana, serie 2, 2).
1 1937, 2 1959, 3 1967, 4 1970, 5 1977 (edizione inglese).
Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX), 5 voll., Città del Vaticano 1937-1980 (Monumenti di antichità cristiana, serie 2, 2).
1 1937, 2 1962, 3 1971, 4 1976, 5 1980 (edizione italiana).

LTUR   *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae,* 6 voll., M. Steinby ed., Roma 1993-2000.
1 A-C (1993), 2 D-G (1995), 3 H-O (1996), 4 P-S (1999), 5 T-Z, *Addenda et corrigenda* (1999), 6 *Addenda et corrigenda,* indici (2000)

LP   *Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire,* L. Duchesne ed., 2 voll., Paris 1886-1892; *Additions et corrections,* C. Vogel ed., Paris 1955-1957.

AHP   Archivum historiae pontificiae
AJA   American Journal of Archaeology
ArchEspA   Archivio español de arqueología
ASRSP   Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria
ArtB   The Art Bulletin
BAV   Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BdA   Bollettino d'Arte
BSR   Papers of the British School at Rome
CArch   Cahiers archéologiques, fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge
DOP   Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EAM   Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale
FrühMitAltSt   Frühmittelalterliche Studien
JbAChr   Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MededRom	Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité
MEFRM	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen âge - Temps modernes
MemPontAc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia - Memorie
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, J.P. Migne ed.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, J.P. Migne ed.
RAC	Rivista di archeologia cristiana
RendPontAc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia - Rendiconti
RM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung
RömJb	Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte / Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana
RQCAKG	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte
StRom	Studi romani
ZKunstG	Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte

Premessa

Oltre trenta anni fa apparve in neerlandese l'opera pionieristica di C.J.A.C. Peeters sulla disposizione liturgica nelle chiese paleocristiane (*De liturgische dispositie van het vroegchristelijk kerkgebouw*, Assen 1969). Lo studio, purtroppo mai divenuto accessibile in altra lingua, fu il primo tentativo di delineare un quadro generale dell'arredo liturgico degli edifici ecclesiastici, muovendo da un approccio integrato che considerava le suppellettili stesse, la loro collocazione nello spazio e la relativa funzione. Il libro rifletteva l'interesse crescente per una visione unitaria dello spazio liturgico. Da allora si sono susseguiti sempre più numerosi gli studi di aspetti particolari che, pur apportando molte informazioni nuove, hanno evidenziato al contempo quanto scarse siano tuttora le nostre conoscenze nonché lontana una nuova sintesi dell'argomento.

All'Istituto Olandese a Roma è stato avviato nel 1994 un progetto di ricerca incentrato sulla disposizione liturgica nelle chiese di Roma, da quelle risalenti al periodo costantiniano fino a quelle del Concilio tridentino. Varie sono le iniziative promosse in questi anni e tutte volte ai molteplici aspetti del rapporto tra liturgia e rituale da una parte e architettura ed arte dall'altra. A cominciare dal simposio svoltosi ad Amsterdam nel 1995, per iniziativa dell'Huizinga Instituut di quella città e dell'Istituto Olandese a Roma, da cui è scaturita una serie di contributi sul tema "Arte, architettura e rituale in Italia 1000-1800", pubblicati nel numero 55 del presente periodico. Nel 1997 è seguito il convegno sull'arte e la liturgia nel medioevo, organizzato a Roma dalla Bibliotheca Hertziana e l'Istituto Olandese. Gli atti di questo incontro sono stati pubblicati sotto il titolo *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter: Akten des internationalen Kongresses der Bibliotheca Hertziana und des Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Rom, 28.-30. September 1997* (a cura di Nicolas Bock / Sible de Blaauw et al., München 2000, Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana - Beihefte 33). Dopo questi incontri dagli orizzonti tanto vasti sotto il profilo sia tematico che metodologico, emerse il bisogno di concentrare l'attenzione su oggetti concreti e più circoscritti. Nacque così il progetto di un convegno interamente dedicato agli oggetti dell'arredo liturgico e la loro disposizione nelle chiese romane fino in epoca rinascimentale, e in particolare alla presentazione di nuovi dati e interpretazioni. Il simposio ebbe luogo il 3 e il 4 dicembre 1999 presso l'Istituto Olandese e il presente numero del bollettino dell'Istituto ne è il risultato.

I vari contributi al convegno *Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV* prendevano in esame elementi concreti dell'arredo delle chiese di Roma, muovendo in parte dalle evidenze archeologiche e da analisi sto-

rico-artistiche e in parte dalle fonti scritte. Gli interventi confermano lo stato attuale della ricerca, che appare sia caratterizzata da studi approfonditi e metodologicamente vari di monumenti singoli o anche parti di essi, ma che non offrono una visione sintetica del nesso di tempo e di luogo. Malgrado le tante domande ancora senza risposta, i contributi permettono di ravvisare una direttrice di massima nell'evoluzione storica del fenomeno. Le caratteristiche fondamentali dell'arredo cultuale romano appaiono perfettamente delineate già entro l'ottavo secolo e mostrano una chiara tendenza di simbiosi tra elementi che hanno origine nei *martyria*, ed altri tipici delle chiese cittadine. Durante il periodo 'carolingio' saranno oggetto di una sostanziale reinterpretazione e di un arricchimento formale. Le tradizioni affermatesi nel frattempo erano tuttavia talmente radicate da continuare a dominare l'assetto interno delle chiese romane fino al Rinascimento inoltrato. Eppure i vari articoli sul tardo medioevo e il primo Rinascimento, raccolti in questa sede, mostrano come entro questo contesto tradizionale predominante fossero ugualmente possibili innovazioni notevoli.

Tra le fonti citate nei diversi contributi quella più ricorrente in assoluto è il *Liber Pontificalis*: in effetti, se questa compilazione delle vite dei papi non esistesse le possibilità di conoscere e interpretare gli arredi delle chiese romane tardoantiche e altomedioevali sarebbero di gran lunga più limitate. I problemi metodologici posti dall'utilizzo di questo ricco serbatoio di dati si sono rivelati tuttavia non meno pressanti che all'epoca dell'edizione monumentale di Duchesne. Gli animati dibattiti che hanno accompagnato le varie relazioni hanno messo ulteriormente in luce le difficoltà terminologiche e filologiche suscitate dal confronto di fonte scritta e monumento materiale. Sulla scia di questa problematica è nato all'Istituto Olandese un altro progetto che intende dedicare al *Liber Pontificalis* una serie di seminari interdisciplinari.

Quasi tutti i relatori al convegno hanno elaborato il testo del proprio intervento per farne l'articolo che figura in questa raccolta. Manca solo l'ultimo intervento dell'incontro, che aveva il carattere di una presentazione orale e visiva di grande attualità: la relazione di Arnold Nesselrath sull'appena restaurata transenna marmorea nella Cappella Sistina in Vaticano. Desideriamo ringraziare tutti i relatori, i moderatori Herman Geertman, Valentino Pace, Francesco Gandolfo e Francesco Caglioti e tutti i presenti per l'apporto dato ad un incontro tanto stimolante e ci auguriamo che questi atti possano essere un valido contributo ad un approfondimento delle conoscenze e a un affinamento delle capacità di osservazione storica circa gli arredi di culto delle chiese di Roma.

Sible de Blaauw

Atti del colloquio internazionale
Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV
(Istituto Olandese a Roma, 3-4 dicembre 1999)

Focusing on the Celebrant: The Column Display inside Santa Prassede

Judson J. Emerick

Pope Paschal I's new church

The *Liber Pontificalis* (henceforth: *LP*) tells that Pope Paschal I moved S. Prassede, one of Rome's twenty-five, Early Christian, title churches, to its present site on the Esquiline some 90 meters south of S. Maria Maggiore, and built it there from the ground up anew.[1] The construction took place during the opening two years of Paschal's papacy, between 817 and 819.[2] Indeed, the account of the project appeared early in the pope's *vita* in the *LP* where it functioned in the text as anchor - as the great event that set the keynote. This still seems to me the right place for the building in our own histories of Paschal's reign, and in this paper I want to explore the content of this inaugural, papal, program statement. Among the popes of the Republic of St. Peter during the fat years when the Republic first flourished under Frankish military protection, that is, from the reigns of Popes Hadrian I (772-795) and Pope Leo III (795-816) on down through the 820s,[3] Paschal was the noted builder of churches: he raised some two imposing ones after S. Prassede, namely, S. Maria in Domnica, and S. Cecilia. All three were erected during the relatively short time he was in office between 817 and 824.

We do well to remember that buildings served people of pre-Modern times as one of their most effective mass media.[4] Those who could afford to build - and these were almost always the ruling elites - mostly used structures to shape the behavior of others, and to claim political power and social position. By rebuilding the *titulus sanctae Praxedis* in Rome, Paschal intervened in the system of papal stational churches there. The new S. Prassede, I will argue, helped the pope shape a ceremonial world in the capital of the Republic of St. Peter where he could appear effectively as leader.

Despite being pummeled about by remodeling in Modern times, Paschal's three-aisled basilica, S. Prassede, and his Chapel of S. Zeno which was attached to the basilica's north flank, still largely survive.[5] Two short but masterful studies of the complex published in the 1960s - Bruno Apollonj Ghetti's handbook,[6] and Richard Krautheimer's chapter in the third volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*[7] - and now the new book by Maurizio Caperna,[8] summarize and coordinate the documentary and archaeological data, and allow us to talk with confidence about the building's original plan and elevations. Spencer Corbett's much reproduced reconstruction drawing, first published in the *Corpus*, still best presents the main features of Paschal's project at a glance;[9] and

A. De Marchi's and P. Gallio's plans and elevations, prepared in 1993 and reproduced in Caperna's monograph, best document the building's present state.[10] The *LP* reports that Paschal also attached a monastery to his new church, and built a chapel in it to the martyr Agnes, but no trace of any of these structures remains at the site. Nor can one locate the church's original *secretarium*, or sacristy. The *LP* tells that Paschal installed Greek monks at S. Prassede "to chant the psalms in the Greek manner, and to sing the praises of God and of the many saints resting within".[11]

Many indeed! The *LP* goes on to tell how Paschal designed S. Prassede to receive the remains of some thousands of Early Christian martyrs and confessors that he had diligently collected from the ruined cemeteries outside the city's walls. Rather than leave these bodies in isolation and neglect, the writer of the *LP* says, Paschal removed them and reverently reburied them at S. Prassede inside the city, where they might be constantly attended and celebrated. He did so with the assistance, we read, of "all the Romans, bishops, priests, deacons, and clerics chanting psalms of praise to God", that is, Paschal transferred the relics from the suburbs to the city center in a great public procession.[12] Other popes in the seventh and eighth centuries had already performed such translations, but only with a few bodies at a time, and never before with such clamor and pomp.[13] Paschal knew how to use the means at his disposal to draw attention to his role as leader. Indeed this unusually elaborate procession looks to have served as the dedication ceremony for his new church, something that can be deduced from the fact that the translation in question occurred around the time that construction of the new church must have begun. Did it start with the crypt, the final resting place for the saints's relics? An inscribed marble plaque now affixed to west face of the present church's north-west nave pier, whose larger top portion dates almost certainly to the time of Paschal I (and whose smaller bottom portion seems to be a more or less faithful, fifteenth-century copy of the original) tells that on July 20th, 817, Paschal blessed the site by laying the relics of 2,300 saints (!) to rest in the new sanctuary, most of them beneath the building's main altar, but some in the chapels to Agnes and Zeno, and some in the *secretarium*.[14] In a 1987 study, Marchita Mauck argued that this very event, this translation, was enshrined and made permanent in the mosaic decor of S. Prassede's triumphal arch, which depicted the dedication of the church in terms of the advent of God's saints into paradise, victorious over death (fig. 1).[15]

Did Paschal act thus to put himself before his audience as sponsor and continuator of Rome's Early Christian church? The massive translation of relics has often enough been read as a claim on Paschal's part to have assisted at the rebirth of Christian Antiquity. Already in 1942, in his seminal *Art Bulletin* article, Richard Krautheimer cited Paschal's S. Prassede as the best preserved architectural example of this 'rebirth program', or less abstractly, as the best preserved example of the Carolingian revival in Rome.[16] Twenty-five years later, in the 1967 *Corpus* volume, Krautheimer might sum up saying that the church witnessed "to the continuation of the movement which, begun under Hadrian I and Leo III, strove toward a renascence of Early Christian types and ideas in poli-

tics, liturgy, and architecture."[17] What made such an interpretation plausible were all the ways in which S. Prassede's design matched that of one of Rome's greatest Early Christian sanctuaries, Emperor Constantine's St. Peter's, the martyrium and cemetery basilica at the Vatican.[18] The nexus between the original S. Prassede and Old St. Peter's is undeniable despite the much smaller size of the former (S. Prassede has only three, not five aisles; and only eleven pairs of columns in the nave instead of twenty-two). Both were occidented; both had an *atrium* with a *quadriporticus* reached by a stairway from the street; both had a trabeated nave with Corinthian columns; both had a prominent triumphal arch that opened the nave to a continuous transept whose ends projected beyond the aisle walls; and both had Corinthian column screens between the aisles and the transept. In both, moreover, the nave colonnades and triumphal arch focused worshipers's attention visually on the presbytery with its large apse; and finally,

1   Rome, S. Prassede. View of presbytery (photo Eugenio Monti)

in both an annular crypt beneath the presbytery floor provided a dignified resting place for the relics of the martyrs. Krautheimer argued that Paschal copied Constantine's Old St. Peter's at S. Prassede in order to provide a proper 'Early Christian' setting for the remains of the Early Christian saints he reburied there - though, to be sure, the crypt at the Vatican complex was not quite 'Early Christian', that is, not originally a Constantinian feature, but had been added by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). Krautheimer judged that by the early ninth century Romans generally accepted the annular crypt at Old St. Peter's as an integral part of the Constantinian complex.[19] Thus, Krautheimer concluded, Paschal built his new church to restore the glory of Early Christian Rome, and by extension, to celebrate its imperial defenders, especially Constantine, the builder of the great Vatican complex, but also the Carolingian emperors, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious who were like Constantine in their devotion to Peter.

In his 1980 volume, *Rome, Profile of a City*, Krautheimer insisted, moreover, that Paschal also decorated his new church in an old fashioned, that is, Early Christian style.[20] According to him, the iconographical scheme of the mosaics in the apse (Christ in Majesty with Peter and Paul introducing Praxedis and Pudentiana in Heaven) and on the apsidal wall (the Adoration of the Lamb by the Twenty-Four Elders) had a distinct Roman, Early Christian prototype, now lost (fig. 1).[21] Krautheimer granted that the iconography of the mosaics inside the Zeno Chapel was new: the planners there had set out images of Christ, angels, saints, narrative scenes, and certain epiphanies just as these same elements would be in the decor of contemporary, Middle Byzantine, centrally-planned churches.[22] But in style and technique, he argued, the early ninth-century mosaics in both S. Prassede and the Zeno Chapel revealed a heavy debt to a long, local, Roman, Early Christian tradition stretching back to the fifth century.[23]

Finally, inside S. Prassede (fig. 2), Krautheimer noted that Paschal's architects sought to provide a rich, scenic, columnar composition, in Corinthian style, of just the kind found inside the city's four greatest Early Christian sanctuaries - that is, inside the three founded by emperors in the fourth century (the Lateran and the Vatican by Constantine; S. Paolo fuori le mura on the Via Ostiensis by Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius) and inside the one founded by a pope in the fifth (S. Maria Maggiore by Sixtus III).[24]

S. Prassede's scenic Corinthian orders

Now there can be no doubt that the designers of S. Prassede sought to stage its interior with column screens to focus and control a worshiper's attention. First of all, the nave colonnades helped amplify the effect of the triumphal arch by directing a worshiper's attention to the main altar in the presbytery. Today it takes some imagination to see these colonnades as the early ninth-century worshipers did (fig. 2). For one thing, we must think away the thirteenth-century diaphragm arches, the piers of which encase some of the columns and break the entablatures.[25] For another, we must restore the capitals and entablatures to their

2   Rome, S. Prassede. View in nave looking west (photo Eugenio Monti)

original splendor. Damaged and worn over the centuries, they were repaired (covered over in part) by stucco around 1600. The blocks with the architrave and frieze from the entablatures are now free of plaster; but the entablatures's cornices are now all in stucco (their original cores survive inside). As for the capitals, soundings show that they were shaved off and their surfaces restored in plaster. Judging from their present height, they must have been either Corinthian or Composite in form.[26] The bases in the nave colonnades, all in white marble, vary in size, but all have the normal Corinthian Attic profile. All the shafts on the nave's south side were carved from a fine pink granite, while the shafts on the north side vary between pink and gray granite; all shafts are plain and unfluted.

That Paschal's builders intended these nave colonnades to draw a worshiper's attention to the ceremonial center of the church at the west, in the transept, can be deduced immediately from the peculiar use of reused parts in them (indeed all their parts are reused): the builders put the fanciest pieces available for the entablatures, the ones with carved ornament, near the triumphal arch at the west end of each flanking nave colonnade. Moreover, just as at Old St. Peter's, at S. Prassede too, the builders used fancy colonnades at the head of each aisle to screen off the transept: the Corinthian order in these positions (at the head of each aisle), which was taller than the order in the nave, formed another kind of scenic climax that helped set off the space in the transept devoted to the Early Christian martyrs (fig. 3).

But among all this stage-machinery the most important attention-getter in S. Prassede was the series of six fancy columns that Paschal's builders almost surely set up at the focus of their composition (at the church's west end). These still survive in two colonnades that the titular Cardinal Ludovico Pico della Mirandola (1728-1731) erected at either side of the presbytery during the great remodeling campaign he undertook there, which ran from 1728 to 1734.[27] Cardinal Pico did not just remodel or 'modernize' S. Prassede's presbytery, he dismantled and mostly destroyed an ancient altar-grave and ciborium that stood there, then dug down five meters and more into the earth below the transept floor in a search for catacombs and relics. Conscious of the importance of the objects being found, then destroyed and/or modified in reuse, a participant in the project, Don Benigno Aloisi, the prior and curate of the church, took care to leave a written account of them. According to Aloisi, the fancy columns emerged by surprise from two former presbytery flanking walls which stood beneath two choir lofts that the titular Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini (1489-1503) had built into the transept wings. The newly discovered columns were set up again beneath new choir lofts much as they had been found, but in another position further to the north and south in the transept. Indeed, Aloisi stated unequivocally that the columns had been neatly boxed into a series of pilasters that decorated the late fifteenth-century walls beneath the choir lofts: six fluted pilasters made of colored marble plaques.[28]

The columns in the northern colonnade measure 3.50 meters in height overall,

3   Rome, S. Prassede. Column screen separating the south aisle and transept (photo Emerick)
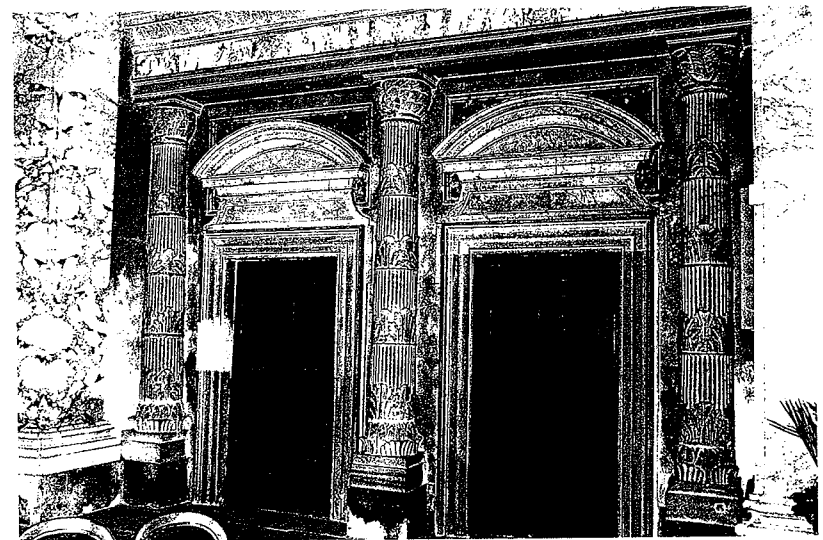
4   Rome, S. Prassede. Presbytery, view of north flank: Corinthian column screen supporting the choir loft (photo Emerick)
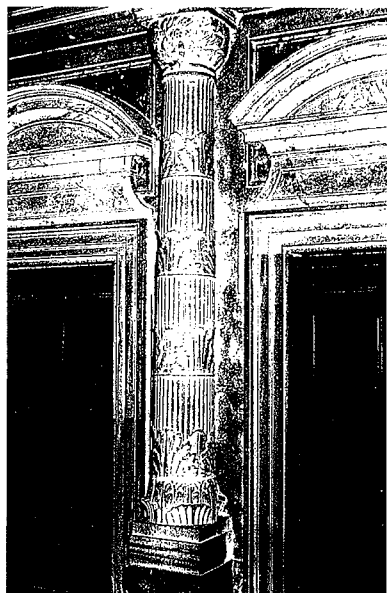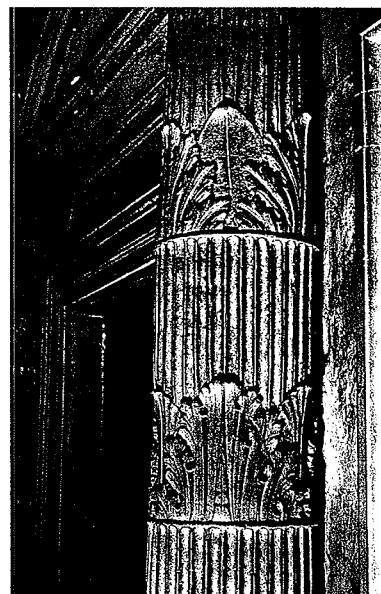
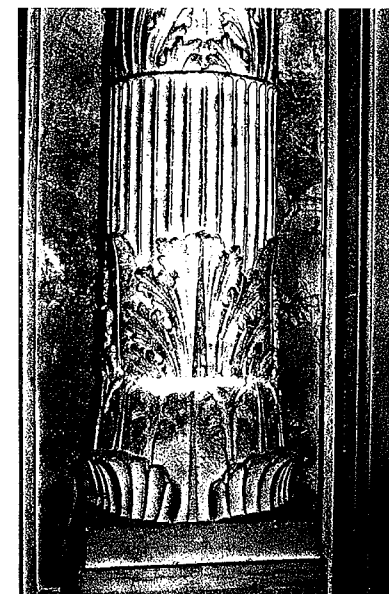5   Rome, S. Prassede. Middle support from the column screen on the presbytery's north flank (photo Emerick)
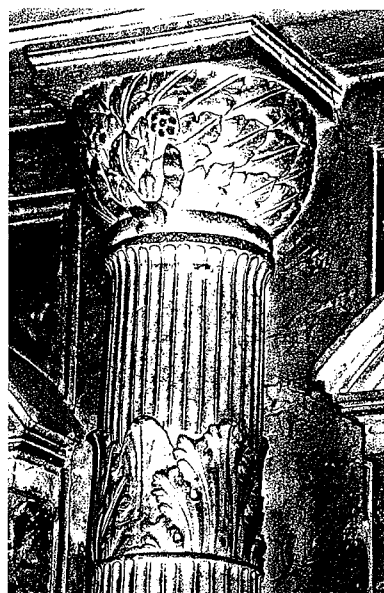
6   Rome, S. Prassede. Middle support from the column screen on the presbytery's north flank: detail of capital (photo Emerick)


7   Rome, S. Prassede. Middle support from the column screen on the presbytery's north flank: detail of the shaft (photo: DAI neg. 55 360)

8   Rome, S. Prassede. Middle support from the column screen on the presbytery's north flank: detail of the base (photo Emerick)

not counting their pedestals; the columns to the south, measured the same way, rise 3.44 meters; by contrast, the columns in the nave rise exactly 5 meters. Fig. 4 shows the colonnade on the presbytery's north flank, and figs. 5-8, a representative column, indeed the middle one from that colonnade. Carved of a compact, creamy white marble (Pentelic marble?[29]), all six columns feature fluted shafts articulated by a series of four vegetalized, ornamental rings with palmettes and acanthus. Their bases have a most unusual form: from a plane rectangular plinth, a robust calyx composed of fluted palmettes springs up; this gives birth to another calyx composed of acanthus (an acanthus ring) punctuated by *cauliculi* from which sprout tulips. Thus the acanthus ring at the bottom of each shaft sits immediately upon a similar such ring belonging to the base. Their basket capitals have windblown leaves resembling laurel, or possibly oak, gathered by a fillet and enriched with rosettes and berry-like fruits.

The columns appear to have been re-erected in 1729 in the same condition as they were found. It is true that their bases were fitted very crudely to their shafts: at just the point where one would expect a molding of some kind (at least a simple fillet) separating the acanthus ring at the bottom of each shaft from the acanthus ring at the top of each base, one finds instead a broad, irregular, plas-

ter-filled seam (figs. 4 and 8).[30] The original manufacturers of these columns could not have been responsible for this rough seam (their handiwork shows only great refinement). Doubtless the columns were thus modified to adapt them to a new use, not the use for which they were originally made: indeed, a section of each column was almost surely removed in this way to shorten them. The builders of 1729 do not look to have been responsible for this adjustment; precision and close tolerances mark the fit of all the other stones they cut to remodel the presbytery at that time. The modification of the columns must have occurred sometime before 1729.[31] Otherwise, I detect no telltale inconsistencies or odd transitions in these columns that might indicate any actual recarving. Their surfaces are intact, and still reveal the subtlest touch of the original sculptors's chisels. The columns appear in almost 'new' condition - just as they came from their manufacturers - having been more preserved than damaged by having been immured. Indeed, the columns have never been exposed to the weather.

The entablatures found with these columns in 1729, however, have not fared as well: they were all but entirely re-manufactured, that is, 'modernized' for the present choir-loft support-walls in the eighteenth century (fig. 9). That is probably why they have escaped all scholarly notice until now: but it is exciting to
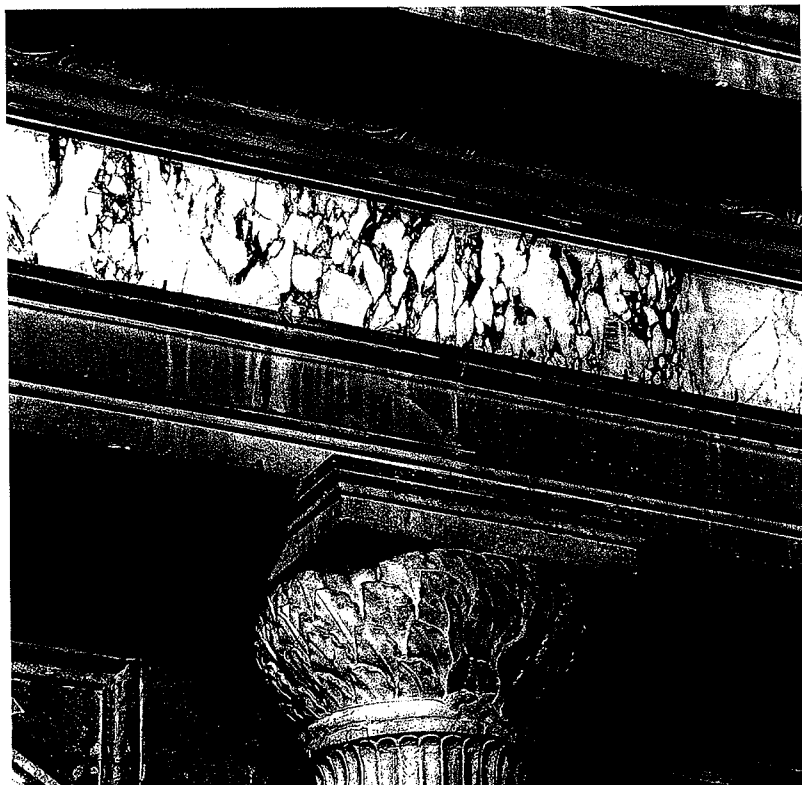
9　Rome, S. Prassede, presbytery. View of south flank: detail of the entablature of the column screen (photo Eugenio Monti)

contemplate the possibility that these historic entablatures may long have served to crown the six fancy columns. They seem to have had only two parts upon discovery in 1729: an architrave and a cornice. Cardinal Pico's remodelers added the frieze and faced it with *pavonazzetto*. The architraves, reportedly, were 34 cm. high and 45 wide (1.5 x 2 *palmi romani*); but they were radically cut down on all sides for reuse (indeed, the architraves now measure 25 cm. in height). The cornices were some 74 cm. wide (3 1/3 *palmi*; we have no report on their height). These, however, were refashioned in 1729 to virtually hide them: only a small portion of the original cornices remained visible in the new entablatures - in the bed moldings beneath their coronas. Here one sees flat, canted, frieze-like moldings that feature, in low relief, vegetal candelabra with vine scrolls alternating with candelabra featuring acanthus leaves (fig. 9). All the ornament is detached from the ground and has an almost purely two-dimensional significance in the

usual manner of 'Lombard sculpture', that is, of the standard, carved marble, architectural décor that spread widely in Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries. Hidden in deep shadow beneath the coronas they support, these remains of an Early Medieval cornice in S. Prassede have quite escaped scholarly notice. Judging on the basis of style, the carved décor in question could well have been prepared for actual use inside S. Prassede by the church's builders themselves. Finally, the eighteenth-century discoverers of these entablatures recorded clearly that these parts of the original architrave and cornice had 'due facciate'. They must have belonged to colonnades that once stood mostly free of walls.[32]

Already in 1967, Krautheimer surmised that the columns (he did not consider their entablatures) once stood in Paschal's presbytery in an elaborate baldachin just like the one that Constantine set up over the tomb of Peter at the Vatican. Spencer Corbett's reconstruction of the early ninth-century church shows how this might have been accomplished.[33] The hypothesis is not implausible. For one thing, the columns in question were actually found in 1728 next to S. Prassede's main altar: throughout the history of Christian architecture in Rome, fancy columnar apparatuses linked with sacred sites tended to stay at those sites no matter how subsequently they might be reused there.[34] Moreover, the columns from S. Prassede resemble those from Peter's shrine at the Vatican closely in style. True enough, those at the Vatican have an extraordinary spiral form, while the columns from S. Prassede's presbytery are straight. But both sets feature luxurious ornaments, shafts with multiple zones separated by acanthus rings, and fancy bases and capitals.[35] Both conform to the same Ancient Roman Imperial Corinthian standards.[36] Indeed, both sets of columns were probably manufactured sometime during the first three centuries A.D. then reused at the Vatican and S. Prassede respectively. Though we cannot know for a certainty that the six fancy columns at S. Prassede were reused in Paschal's church in the early ninth century, the presumption that they were is very safe.

An Early Christian revival?

Krautheimer's suggestion that even the fancy columns at S. Prassede copied Constantine's Old St. Peter's fit with his argument that Paschal aimed here at an Early Christian, indeed, Constantinian revival. Now we are all familiar with the claim. Over the last half century it has taken on virtually foundational significance in our studies of Early Medieval architecture. But increasingly problems appear. For one thing the architectural movement which Krautheimer insisted S. Prassede belonged to, the Carolingian *renovatio*, has become, during the last dozen years, more and more difficult to pin down, and especially in Rome and the Republic of St. Peter. Recently Franz Alto Bauer looked again in detail at the building activity of Popes Hadrian I (772-795) and Leo III (795-816), whose pontificates overlap the reign of Charlemagne (768-814): neither pope built any T-shaped basilicas with splendid Corinthian orders in the style of Constantine's Old St. Peter's.[37] Hadrian I's sole, major, new foundation, S. Maria in Cosmedin,