Visiting a 'Home of the Saints': S. Prassede in Rome

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The many Christian churches in late antique and early medieval Rome were places of worship, not only for the members of the church communities attached to them, but also for pilgrims and other travellers who would visit a church on a particular occasion or for a specific reason. This contribution analyses one such church, S. Prassede, and its developments over an extended period of time, i.e. from Late Antiquity until early modern times, with a particular focus on the *memoria* function of the church. As will be demonstrated, changing, and possibly even invented, constructions of *memoria* served the popularity of the church throughout the centuries.

Carolingian Period

Little is known about the earliest building of the church. However, based on the *Liber pontificalis* and other documents, scholars agree that at some point in the fourth century there must have been a *titulus* in the direct vicinity of where the Church of S. Prassede was erected later.[1] The *Liber pontificalis* states the church was not built on the exact location of the *titulus* but 'in another place not far away'.[2]

In its earliest stage the location seems to have served as a place of worship for the Roman martyr Prassede.[3]

Pope Paschal I (817-24) is held responsible for extensive building activities in and around the church, improving a structure supposedly in ruins.[4] The rebuilding and renovations led to a new prominence and visibility for S. Prassede. Scholars have tried to interpret Paschal's aspirations within the context of his papal position.[5] They regard his building activities, which focused on three churches (S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Maria in Domnica and S. Prassede, the latter being Paschal's first church building project[6]), as public and visible statements of his papal power within the larger political power structures in, but also outside of Rome. Through his building activities Paschal is said to have positioned the papacy and his own personal ambitions in rela-
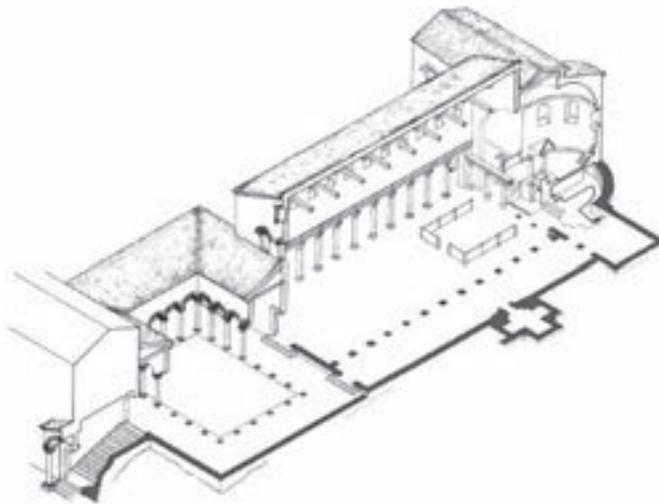

Fig. 1. Isometric reconstruction of S. Prassede as in 825. From: De Blaauw, Fig. 5 (after Emerick).
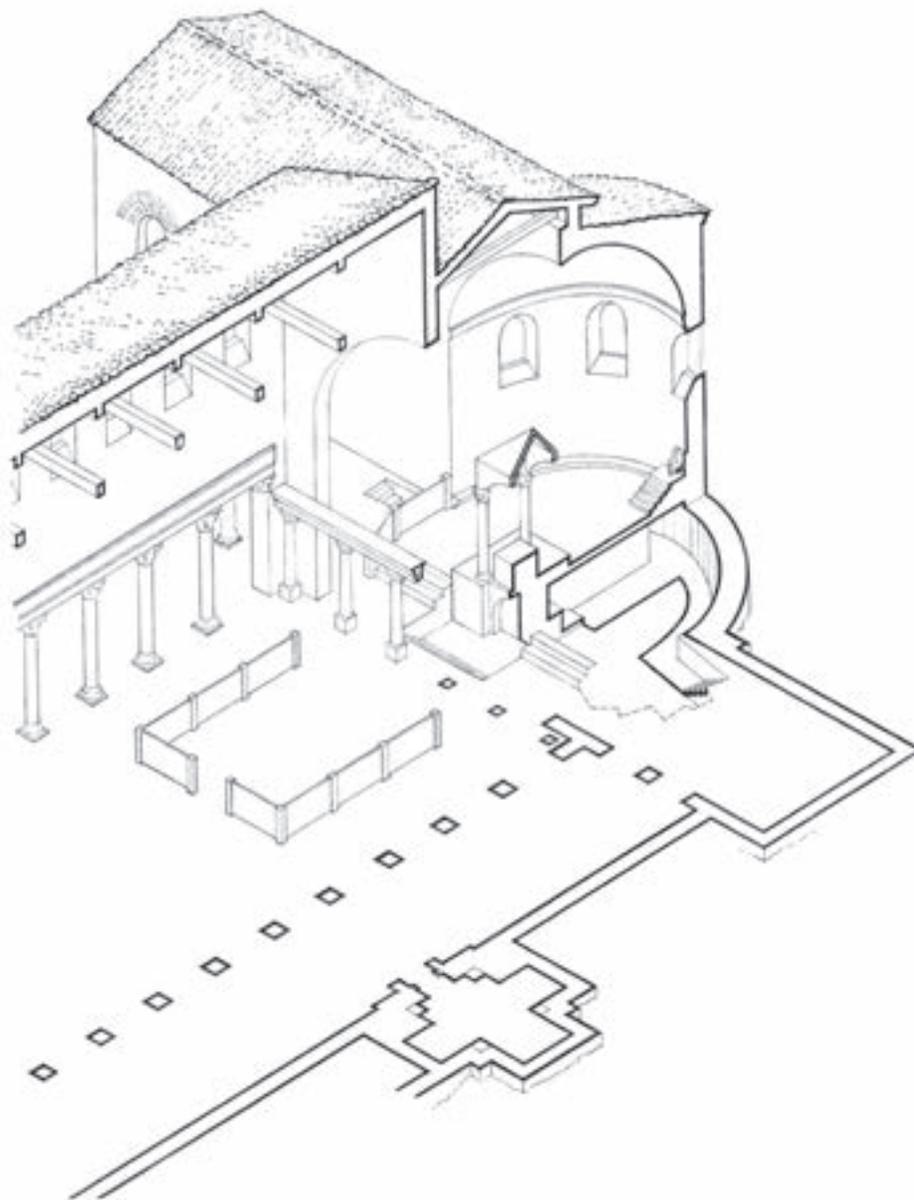
Fig. 2. Reconstruction of Pope Paschal's choir and the 'stage set' in S. Prassede as in 825. From: Emerick, Fig. 10.

tion to or even in competition with the western kingdoms and the Eastern Byzantine Empire.[7]

The chosen location of S. Prassede was prominent as it was situated along the processional route used during the papal liturgy. As it became one of the stational churches, the pope would celebrate mass at S. Prassede at least once a year at a key moment in the liturgical year: the Monday of the Holy Week, when Romans and pilgrims from outside Rome must have attended mass in large numbers.[8]

The entire Church of S. Prassede, including the annular crypt, the atrium and the *quadriporticus*, was designed in a consciously traditional way, copying important characteristic features of St Peter's (Fig. 1).[9] Medieval visitors ascended to the atrium and entered the church through one of its three doors on the east of the building,

instead of entering it (as it is now) through the right (i.e. northern) aisle. As far as the liturgical furniture inside the church is concerned, especially the 'Paschalian liturgical stage set' (Fig. 2), 'the design of this church was unique', that is: 'new and startling'.[10] Emerick argues that the ninth-century arrangement of the (*spolia*) columns was meant to draw attention to the celebrant, thus to the main altar; a pergola served the same purpose.[11] The church was flooded by light through numerous windows, and the famous mosaics of the apse and the triumphal arch must have made an overwhelming impression. The apse mosaic (Fig. 3) portrays Christ, flanked by Peter and Paul presenting the titular saint Prassede next to Paul and her sister Pudentiana next to Peter. In addition, next to Paul and Prassede the founder Pope Paschal with square blue halo is depicted, and at the other end a further male saintly figure is presented, whose identification is uncertain.[12]

Although it is unclear if Prassede's body was indeed buried in the church,[13] she was certainly depicted and mentioned in the mosaics of the apse. Furthermore, according to the mosaic inscription Paschal brought PLVRIMA S[AN]C[T]ORVM […] CORPORA into the church.[14] He seems to have opted for a strong focus on relics, and a long inscription in marble mentions no less than 2300 relics from saints being translated by Paschal to the church.[15] The inscription places most relics 'under this sacred altar',[16] but it adds that some of them were carefully distributed throughout the building: in the oratory of St Zeno supposedly Zeno himself 'and the two others' were buried, in 'the oratory of Blessed John the Baptist, at the left hand of the above-mentioned basilica, which is also recognized as the sacristy, […] Maurus and […] other forty

Fig. 3. Rome, S. Prassede, apse mosaic. Photo: Nine Miedema.

Fig. 4. Rome, S. Prassede, mosaic with Theodora (left) in the Zeno Chapel. Photo: Nine Miedema.

martyrs', in 'the oratory of the blessed Virgin of Christ Agnes, which high up in the monastery is situated, […] Pope Alexander, […] priests Eventius and Theodulus'.[17] The *Liber pontificalis* especially emphasizes that Paschal removed the bodies of martyrs 'with great affection and veneration'.[18] Scholars have tried to position his relics translation into the larger context of the importance of relics for the early Church. According to Mancho, the great relics translations in Rome started already in the seventh century, and Paschal, driven by religious, political, and economic motivations, placed himself into that longer tradition.[19] Goodson, on the other hand, stresses that Paschal's relic translation was revolutionary in two respects.[20] First, veneration of relics had, before Paschal, taken place outside the city walls; and second, the sheer number of corporeal remains to be translated to this one church within the walls was unprecedented.

Whereas the oratories of St John the Baptist and St Agnes did not survive the building activities of subsequent popes, the so-called Zeno Chapel has; it still contains most of its original mosaic decoration.[21] The chapel, attached to the right aisle of S. Prassede (outside the nave and aisle, but marked by a splendid entrance – for a detail, see cover photo), was dedicated to St Zeno, but also seems to have been designed as a place of remembrance for Theodora, the mother of Pope Paschal.[22] The meaning of Theodora in the chapel has puzzled scholars for the past decades as they have tried to understand Paschal's intention, giving his mother a prominent role and yet dedicating the chapel to St Zeno. Notably, the mosaics offer a portrait of Theodora (Fig. 4), but in the *Liber pontificalis* she is not mentioned. In her interpretation of Theodora's role in the chapel, Goodson sees a direct connection between Theodora and her papal

son, as 'Theodora's position in the chapel, on the left-hand side of the northern niche echoes the position of Paschal in the main apse mosaic, where he stands among the saints and Christ'.[23] Furthermore, Goodson emphasizes that the Zeno Chapel was designed as a funerary chapel for Theodora, which seems to endorse Davis in his ideas that the chapel 'is based closely on the architecture of two Roman mausoleaums, one pagan (the tomb of the Cercenii), the other presumably Christian (the so-called chapel of St Tiburtius adjoining SS Marcellino e Pietro)'.[24] However, it is uncertain if Theodora was indeed buried in the chapel. The above mentioned marble inscription refers to the presence of Theodora's body in the chapel: 'manu dextra ubi utique benignissimae suae genetricis scilicet domnae Theodorae episcopae corpus quiescit'.[25] There is some scholarly debate about the age of the inscription – its upper part seems to date from the ninth century, the lower part was probably renewed during the fifteenth century.[26] Davis even argues that the (entire) inscription dates from the eighteenth century and 'was intended as a more legible version of a 13th-century original', 'but may have been based on a 9th-century document'.[27] Nilgen's explanation, based on the different fonts used in the inscription, that the lower half (which contains the reference to Theodora) was not part of the original inscription, leads to the possibility that Theodora had in fact not been buried in the chapel. Nevertheless, Goodson claims that it was precisely the combination of relics of Zeno and other saints as well as Theodora that offered Paschal 'a vehicle for the redemption of the soul of Paschal's mother and a glorification of the episcopal family'.[28] In other words, Theodora, celebrated symbolically or in reality in death in this chapel, and presented in the mosaic with a square halo, could be seen as yet another confirmation of Paschal's claim to a prominent position in the church.[29]

Another aspect that has caught scholarly attention is the fact that the Zeno Chapel is often considered to be one of the most prominent examples of Byzantine influence on art in Rome in the ninth century, not only in the portrayal of the images but also in the presentation of the hierarchy of Christ, the mother Virgin, apostles, saints, and martyrs.[30] Krautheimer sees in the mosaic panels of S. Prassede both a Carolingian revival of 'Roman late antique Christian monumental art' as well as the influence of Byzantine models.[31] However, this merging of two traditions has led to scholarly discussions if the mosaics in S. Prassede show differences from or similarities with both the western and eastern traditions.[32] The Byzantine influence on the artistic expressions in S. Prassede during Paschal's papacy has often been connected with the presence of Greek refugees in Rome who had fled there because of the second period of Iconoclasm in Constantinople. Byzantine influence is not only to be detected in the iconographic programmes in the church, but also in the adjacent monastery built by Paschal, where he gathered 'a holy community of Greeks, which he placed therein to carry out carefully by day and night praises to almighty God and [again] his saints resting therin, chanting the psalms in the Greek manner'.[33]

Some scholars even go so far as to argue that in the mosaic programmes as well as in the presence of the Greek monks in the monastery at S. Prassede, Paschal's iconophilism can be detected.[34] Even though this point would be difficult to validate, it is clear that ever since the first wave of iconoclasm in Byzantium in the eighth century, the Greek community in Rome that had already been there for many centuries had experienced an increase of Greek refugees from the East.[35] Surely, Greeks who ended up in Rome, as any other group would, brought with them their own language, their own cultural and religious practices, and their own artistic styles and customs, but simultaneously they took over customs of life in Rome.[36] Many Greeks might have lived in the Greco-Oriental quarter along the banks of the Tiber, at the foot of the Aventine hill, as well as along the Via Ostia. As Ekonomou argues, this quarter of the city might in the sixth and seventh centuries be seen as the centre of Byzantine Rome with its own church, S. Maria in Cosmedin.[37] However, in the early ninth century, when more Greeks, especially clergy and monks, fleeing from iconoclasm, had arrived in Rome, Paschal might have had them in mind as
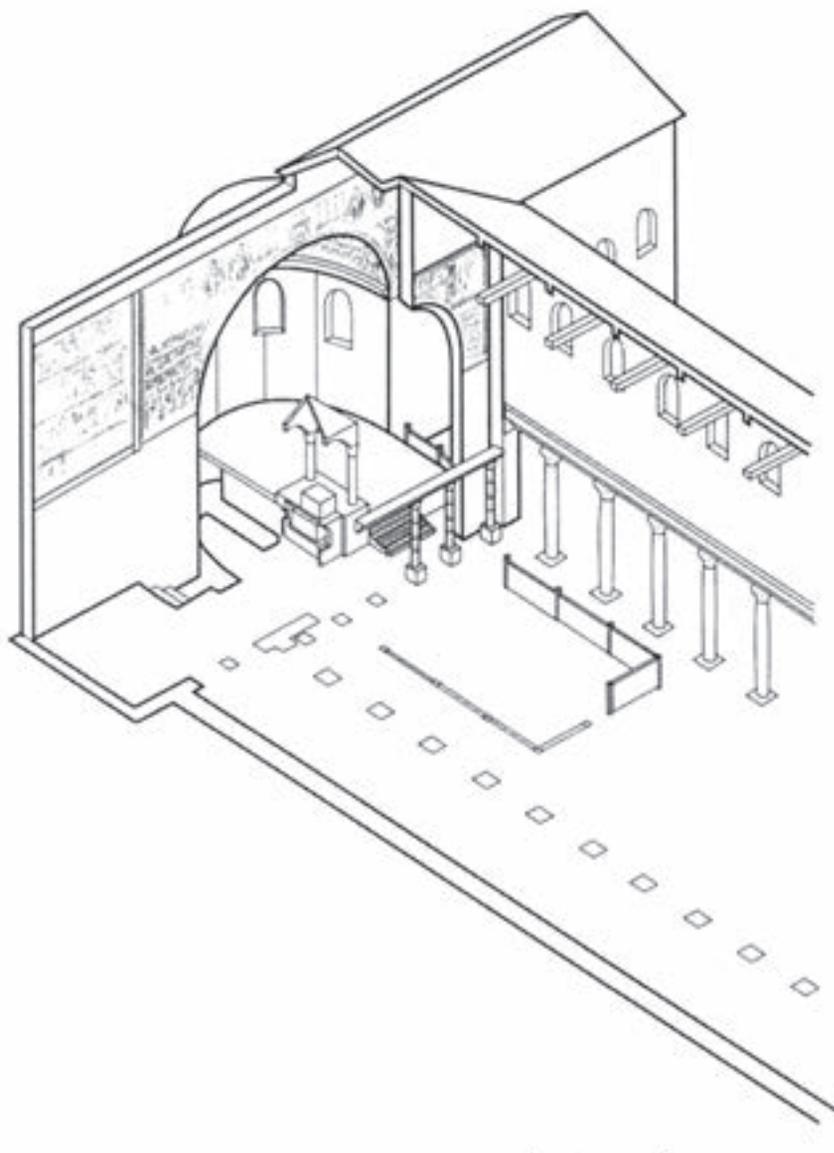
Fig. 5. Reconstruction of Pope Paschal's choir in S. Prassede as in 825. From: Goodson, Fig. 29.

well as a community that he wanted to provide with a particular location for worship, when he (re)built S. Prassede and the adjacent monastery.

High Middle Ages

The function of S. Prassede in the cycle of stations of the liturgical year secured that the church continued to attract some attention throughout the centuries, even after the Greek monks left the monastery.[38] It is, however, difficult to reconstruct the exact developments of the building after the ninth century.[39] Scholars have combined stilistical arguments (prone to change due to developing scholarly insights) as given by singular aspects of the building with text sources (often written centuries after the renovations in question). Buchowiecki suggests, for example, that the campanile (on top of the left arm of the transept, destroying part of the Carolingian frescoes) was built when Benedetto Caio (1073–87) repaired the crypt;[40] but according to Caperna the campanile dates from the second half of the thirteenth century,[41] built

roughly at the same time when the diaphragm arches within the church were added.[42] The cosmatesque remains of the high altar which are nowadays in the crypt[43] are difficult to date precisely as well, but the stilistically similar cosmatesque grave of Cardinal Pantaleone Anchier was erected in 1286;[44] during this time, the right arm of the transept was obviously already used as a seperate chapel, probably first dedicated to All Saints, later to the Crucified.[45]

These sources indicate that there were substantial changes to the building during the thirteenth century. Notably, this changed the design of the Carolingian church as described by Emerick: the diaphragm arches reduced the visibility of the apse, the triumphal arch and the frescoes;[46] as the arms of the transept were closed, the latter were definitely no longer visible, which means that the *memoria* of those saints depicted in the frescoes who were not mentioned in the Carolingian marble relic inscription was interrupted.[47] Furthermore, the concentration on the high altar (Emerick) was by now given up: apart from the oratories of St Zeno and probably St John the Baptist, which may still have been in use in the thirteenth century, both located beyond the aisles of the church, the Chapel of All Saints now formed part of the transept and right aisle.[48]

Perhaps the fact that Giovanni Colonna, who kept the title of S.Prassede from 1211-45, is said to have donated the column of Christ's flagellation to S. Prassede in the year 1223,[49] was even more important for the history and function of the church and the *memoria* it communicated than the changes in the building structure. By allegedly bringing this relic to Rome, S. Prassede remained, as in Paschal's time, a 'neocatacombal[.]' 'home of the saints',[50] but now the Roman martyrs were complemented with a relic of even higher significance, diminishing Paschal's and especially Theodora's *memoria*.[51] This is affirmed by the earliest manuscripts of the pilgrim's guides for Rome, the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, for example by the *rotulus* of St Gall (late fourteenth century), which second to none refers to the column:[52]

Jn ecc*lesia* Braxedes jbi est q*u*arta pars colu*m*p-
ne ad qua*m* flagella*tus* fuit C*ris*t*us*, *et* sup*er* co-
lu*m*pna*m* jac*et* corpus s*an*cti Valentini m*artiris*[53]
et m*u*lta corpora s*an*cto*rum* m*artirum*, et q*u*arte
p*ar*tis remissio p*e*ccato*rum*.[54]

Late Middle Ages

During the fifteenth century, the perception of the church as a 'home of the saints' changed once more. After the end of the Great Western Schism,[55] several attempts were made to reinventory the relics kept in S. Prassede – surprisingly, without making use of the Carolingian inscription in marble, although it was still in the church, 'as we com in at Þe dore', as John Capgrave testified in 1450.[56] The different catalogues of relics compiled by Nicolò Signorili (*c.* 1430),[57] by the anonymous author of the extensive Wolfenbüttel manuscript (in German, 1448),[58] and by Davanzati (1725)[59] deserve further research, which, however, can not be accomplished here. But crucial for an interpretation of S. Prassede in the fifteenth century is the reference to a new element, which, though obviously borrowed from the late antique *vita* of Prassede, within the descriptions of the church first seems to be mentioned in 1447:[60]

*Z*u sant Praxedis, da ist grosser ablas. Vnd sun-
der da ist ein cappell, do thuren auch die fraw-
en nit ein gen,[61] jn der cappellen ist vergebung
aller sund alle tag. Jn der cappellen ist auch ein
virteil der **sewl**, doran vnnser*r* her Ih*es*us Cris-
t*us* ist gegeyselt vnd geschlagen worden. Item
in der selben cappellen ligt auch der heylige
merterer vnd frevnde gottes sant Valentin.
Jtem darnach kumbt man zu einem eysen git-
ter, vnd das ist ob einem **pru*n*nen** [= 'well'],
vnd darein hat sant Praxedis das plut der mar-
ter*er* getragen, als das da geflossen ist von der
vorgenanten kirchen bey den fleischpencken,
als die Tyber ist drey tag geflossen mit plut. Vnd
do die heylige Praxedis also trug, do sprach sie
zu got: 'Ach lieber her*r*, wye lestu mich al-
lein tragen, das ich nit gehilffen hab, das ich
mocht das plut deiner dyner auff geschopfen!'
Do sprach*en* die heyligen zu ir: 'Meynstu, das
dw das alleyn habst gethan? Wir sind stetes bey
dir gewest vnd haben dir geholffen!' Vnd wer
von der gassen vber die steynen stygen hinein

get mit andacht, der hat vergebung aller sund, wan*n* vber die stieg hat sie das plut getragen, als man noch rote mal sicht auf den steynen, als sie das plut hat gereret, als sie es trug in den prunen in der kirch*en*. Vnd wer ein p*ate*r n*os-te*r da pet bey dem prun*n*en, der hat besund*ern* gross*en* ablas. […]

The well,[62] allegedly containing the martyrs' blood which Prassede according to her *vita* collected, redirects the attention to the Roman martyrs, and to Prassede; 'wol IIJ tausent marterer' are now remembered (fol. 9ᵛ), but Paschal's name is left out in the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century guides to the Roman churches.

The supposed location of the well is nowadays still marked in the neo-Cosmatic floor designed by Antonio Muñoz in the early twentieth century (Fig. 6). Caperna rightfully deplores

the fact that Muñoz left '[n]essuna relazione' on what is hidden now under the new pavement of S. Prassede.[63] Obviously a hexagonal well was removed which (in this form) dated from the seventeenth century (Fig. 7).[64] It is unknown what the well exactly looked like before the seventeenth century; earlier texts do not mention a well enclosure of marble or masonry, but only a metal grid and/or a round stone stone with a metal fence.[65]

Looking back at the Carolingian design of the church as described above, it seems necessary to rethink the 'grande venerazione' 'sin da tempi rimoti' of the well.[66] We would like to hypothesize that the well did not yet exist during Paschal's time: if the *titulus* would have been near the spot of the legendary well, it would have been surprising if Paschal would have built his new church as a *lieu de mémoire* for the well

Fig. 6. Rome, S. Prassede, neo-Cosmatic floor, detail marking the supposed location of the blood well, as since 1918. Photo: Nine Miedema.

Fig. 7. Rome, S. Prassede, central nave with the blood well as before 1918. Photo: Courtesy of the Centre for Art Historical Documentation (CKD), Radboud University Nijmegen.

somewhere else, 'in alio non longe demutans loco', as the *Liber pontificalis* states (see above). It should be remembered that Paschal is said to have brought the bodies of many martyrs from different cemeteries in and around Rome to S. Prassede, not to have built his church on the exact location of one of these catacombs. It would have been surprising as well if, instead, Paschal's new church would have been built on the orginal site of the well without incorporating it into the design of the church, either by placing the high altar on top of the well (as the example of St Peter's would have suggested) or by mentioning it in the mosaic or marble inscriptions. Furthermore, the 'Paschalian liturgical stage set' within the Carolingian church,[67] which concentrated on the high altar, would have been severely disturbed by a second place of worship in the middle of the central nave.[68]

Thus, it seems possible that the well is a fifteenth-century 'invented tradition', or rather: an 'invented *lieu de mémoire*': reading in the *vita* of the holy Prassede that she collected the blood of the Roman martyrs, a search for the place where the blood was deposited, maybe during repairs of the pavement of the church, might have 'recognized' any antique structure of the *insula* beneath the church, even a simple wall, as being (part of) the legendary well.[69] The tendency to an affective realization and visualisation of the atrocities the martyrs suffered, as shown especially by the Berlin manuscript quoted above, seems to fit well into late (rather than high or early) medieval religious culture.

Regardless of the age of the well, in 1913 the Fondo per il Culto decided to restore the floor (finished in 1918); while the aisles were repaved without Muñoz (who had in 1914 become Soprintendente) being able to interfere, he decid-

edly influenced the design of the central nave's pavement – though never mentioning the well, on whose removal both the Fondo and Muñoz as well as the Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e Belle Arti seem to have tacitly agreed – evoking criticism for example by archeologist Orazio Marucchi.[70] If our hypothesis that no antique well existed is true, the clergy in charge of the redecoration of S. Prassede might have wanted to attract as little attention as possible to this (alleged) fact, and thus had no interest in documenting the excavations. It does catch the eye that the new inscription which marks the old site of the presumptive well reads [chi-rho] CONDITORIVM RELIQVIARUM SANCTORVM MARTYRVM IN AEDIBVS SANCTAE PRAXEDIS (Fig. 6), thus neither mentioning a well nor the blood of the martyrs – nor, for that matter, Paschal.

A short glance at the further developments of the descriptions of S. Prassede in the fifteenth century must suffice here – the most popular printed late fifteenth-century pilgrims' guide in Latin is, as far as is reconstructable now, the first description of Rome to merge the Carolingian as well as the high and late medieval features of S. Prassede. This guide returns to Paschal's relic inscription, although it only quotes the first few lines:[71]

> Ad Sanctam Praxedem. **Temporibus sanctissimi ac beatissimi apostolici domini Pascalis pape introducta [sunt] veneranda sanctorum corpora in hanc sanctam et vene[rabilem] basilicam beate Christi virginis Praxedis, que predi[ctus ponti]fex diruta et cimiterium seu corporis iacentia auferens sub altari summo proprijs manibus collocauit in mense julij die XX, indictione X.**
> In capella Libera Nos a Penis Inferni et ortus paradisi est **columna** in quam ligatus fuit dominus noster Jesus Christus in passione sua, et super dicta columna sunt corpora sanctorum martirum Ualentini et Cenonis. Et in medio capelle sub lapide rotundo sunt corpora XL martirum, et in sinistra manu super quem positum est plumbum cum quo columna fuit mutata, quem mulieres tangunt, ex quo mulieres non possunt intrare capellam; sub isto lapide sunt sepulti XJ summi pontifices. Et sunt indulgentie quotidie XIJ M

annorum et totidem quadragenarum et tertie partis remissio omnium peccatorum.
Jn medio ecclesie vbi ferrum circumdat lapidem rotundum sub illo lapide dicitur esse sanguis sanctorum martirum quem beata Praxedis cum quadam spongia colligens in hunc **puteum** lapide rotundo conclusum infundebat et multa sanctorum corpora in Christo zelauit, per quorum merita concedat nobis deus celorum regna. Jtem in hac supradicta venerabili capella est altare super quo Pascalis papa predictus celebrauit quinque missas pro quadam anima defuncta, quibus finitis visibiliter vidit illam deferre beatam virginem in gremio omnipotentis dei, vt euidenter patet in pariete dicte capelle supra fenestram ferream. Quo viso miraculo auctoritate apostolica dimisit quod si quis celebrari fecerit, extrahat vnam animam de purgatorio.

Panvinio (1570-84), again combining references to the well, the column and the many relics listed by Signorili, is the first author to quote the entire Carolingian inscription – thus re-establishing not only the memory of Pope Paschal, but also of Paschal's mother Theodora.

Conclusion

During the Carolingian period, four aspects of S. Prassede stand out: (1) its location along the processional route for the papal mass on the Monday of Holy Week which would attract many pelgrims and visitors; (2) the importance of relics to worship, reinforced by Paschal's translation of thousands of relics to the church; (3) the importance and presence of Theodora, Paschal's mother, in the Zeno Chapel; and (4) the possible connection with the Greek community in Rome materialized in the style of the mosaics especially in the Zeno Chapel.

Whereas the first aspect remains relatively stable during the centuries to follow, the *memoria* of (3) and (4) proved to be of short duration. Although Paschal obviously exerted himself in order to secure the *memoria* of his personal activities as a pope (arising from religious, political and economic ambitions) and of Theodora, those visiting S. Prassede from the tenth century onwards were obviously hardly interested in the founder pope and his mother. As for the

relics of the church, all written witnesses agree upon the fundamental importance of S. Prassede as a 'home of the saints' – but the question which saints exactly were to be venerated in the church was answered in various ways. The column of Christ's flagellation shifted the attention of the visitors from the numerous lesser-known Roman martyrs to the martyr with the highest possible authority, probably from the thirteenth century onwards. Supposedly during the fifteenth century, after the 'discovery' of a blood well where under the pavement of the church

antique remains were visible, the *memoria* of the Roman saints was re-added to the memory of Christ's passion; varying inventories of the unprecedentedly rich treasure of relics S. Prassede housed were written, but it was not before the sixteenth century that all accessible sources (Carolingian relic inscription including Paschal and Theodora, blood well, and late medieval relic inventories) merged into an exhaustive documentation of all those deserving worship in the Church of S. Prassede.

Notes

1   The *titulus* probably existed since the fourth century; the first inscription referring to it dates from 489 (Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms: Der römische Sakralbau in Geschichte und Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 vols, vol. 4 ed. by Brigitte Kuhn-Forte (1997) (Vienna: Hollinek, 1967-74), III (1974), pp. 591, 594; Richard Krautheimer and others, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum urbis Romae: The early Christian basilicas of Rome* (hereafter *CBCR*), 5 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934-77), III (1967), pp. 232-59 (p. 234); correction of the date from 491 to 489: Caroline J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 77 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 93 with further references), and it is the first to be mentioned in the list of the Roman *tituli* written during the synod of 499 (*CBCR* III, p. 234). Cf. Raymond Davis, *The lives of the ninth century popes ('Liber pontificalis'): The ancient biographies of ten popes from AD 817-891*. Translated Texts for Historians, 20 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 9, n. 19: 'Perhaps the most likely suggestion is that the site of the *titulus* (with, then, no purpose-built church) was the *insula* which has partly survived in the houses along the Via di San Martino and higher up below the *atrium* and façade of Paschal's church, some 8 m above the ancient street level'. S. Prassede was one of Rome's twenty-five early title churches (Judson J. Emerick, 'Focusing on the celebrant: The column display inside Santa Prassede', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 59 (2000), 129-59 (p. 129)), a 'Kardinal-Priesterkirche' (Buchowiecki, III, p. 591). – For the *insula*, cf. Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, *Santa Prassede*, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 66 (Rome: Edizioni 'Roma', 1961), pp. 12-31.

2   *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), C, c. 8: 'in alio non longe demutans loco'. Davis, pp. 9-13 is the description of Paschal's work on S. Prassede (chapters 8-11 of Paschal's life).

3   The legend tells that Prassede collected the blood of prosecuted Christians during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-61), which is, however, incompatible with the fact that her *vita* also states that she was the daughter of Pudens, who hosted the apostles Peter and Paul in his home (Buchowiecki, III, p. 593) – 'die Widersprüchlichkeiten der Legende sind offensichtlich und es ist vergeblich, Personen und Tatsachen organisch zu gruppieren' (Buchowiecki, III, p. 594).

4   *LP* C, c. 8, Davis, p. 9. Buchowiecki, III, p. 594; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a city, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 123; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 92. See Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984) for a general historical context of the papal state in the seventh through ninth century.

5   Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 14, 35, 101.

6   *LP*, C, c. 8-11; Rotraut Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom: Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), p. 13; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 81, 92.

7   Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 124. The Carolingian popes seem, even by building and decorating churches in a specific manner, to have underlined the fact that they were the sovereign leaders of an independent state, the Republic of St Peter's (Emerick, p. 140; cf. Noble). Paschal is said to present himself as a 'champion of images', against the iconoclastic emperors Leo V (Greek) and Louis the Pious (Frank) (Emerick, p. 141). By drawing attention to the high altar (see below), Paschal might have tried to reduce the possibilities of worldly political display, favouring a glorification of the celebrant and thus, indirectly, of the independence of papacy from the Frankish (and Greek) kings (Emerick, p. 149). Cf. Wisskirchen, pp. 14-18.

8   S. Prassede was one of the station churches, but 'wohl nicht nach der ursprünglichen Ordnung' (Buchowiecki, III, p. 591); the station of this day was transferred from Ss. Nereo ed Achilleo to S. Prassede, which may have happened as a result of Paschal building his new church. Emerick interprets this as a statement claiming 'to shape a ceremonial world in the capital of the Republic of S. Peter where he [= Paschal] could appear effectively as a leader' (Emerick, p. 129; cf. Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 101-02, 136). – Petrus Mallius (*Descriptio basilicae Vaticanae*, end of the twelfth century) erroneously mentions Ss. Nereo e Achileo as the station church on Monday before Easter (Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 81, 88, 90, 91, 4 vols (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1940-53), III (1946), p. 441), although he does know the Church of S. Prassede (p. 438). John Capgrave (*c.* 1450) states, after having described S. Prassede as the station church on Monday before Easter: 'This same day eke is Þe stacion at a noÞir cherch dedicat to Þese seyntes <u>nereus and achilleus</u>'. John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrims: A Description of Rome, circa AD 1450*, ed. by Charles A. Mills, British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 148; underlining as in this edition).

9   *CBCR* III, p. 259. Emerick, p. 140 argues that Paschal was the first to copy St Peter's, other than Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 122-23, who argued for a Carolingian Renaissance preceding Paschal. Goodson, *Rome*, p. 86, however, shows that 'the so-called Constantinian basilica was an architectural form current throughout the period between Constantine and Paschal'; there was no time 'in the sixth to eighth centuries, during which basilican churches were not built' (p. 87, examples: pp. 88-90), which means the choice of the form of the basilica was 'not a revival of a long-dead way of building' (p. 90). According to Sible de Blaauw, 'Liturgical features of the Roman churches', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 61 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2014), pp. 321-37 (p. 334) the 'western direction of the apse' can be seen as 'the most decisive aspect in the definition of a "Carolingian Renaissance of Early Christian architecture"' in order to meet (Gregorian) liturgical needs.

10   Emerick, pp. 151, 141.

11   Ibid., pp. 133, 148.

12   Whereas Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 126, recognizes one of the brothers of Prassede and Pudentiana in this male figure, Wisskirchen, pp. 28-29 refrains from identifying him. Paola Gallio, *La basilica di Santa Prassede*, 4th edn (Genova: Marconi, 2013), p. 12, points to the possibility of this man being a church official such as a deacon (Zeno? Ciriaco?). See for a similiar scheme the apse mosaic of S. Cecilia. Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 126-27; Wisskirchen, pp. 29-31.

13   During the Late Middle Ages several other churches in Rome claimed to possess relics of Prassede (Nine R. Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 97 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), p. 867).

14   Quoted after Gallio, p. 13. Cf. Joseph Dyer, 'Prolegomena to a history of music and liturgy at Rome in the Middle Ages', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone, Isham Library Papers, 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 87-115 (pp. 94-99) and Emerick, p. 130, for a discussion on the possible reflection of the relic translation in the imagery of the mosaics.

15   Ursula Nilgen, 'Die große Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Zeno-Kapelle', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 69 (1974), 7-29; Caterina-Giovanna Coda, *Duemilatrecento corpi di martiri. La relazione di Benigno Aloisi (1729) e il ritrovamento delle reliquie nella basilia di Santa Prassede in Roma*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 46 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004), pp. 127-50; Caroline J. Goodson, 'Transforming city and cult: the relic translation of Paschal I (817-824)', in *Roman Bodies: Metamorphoses, mutilation, and martyrdom*, ed. by Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke (London: British School at Rome, 2005), pp. 123-41; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 165 (Fig. 34), 166-68, 327-33 (text and translation); Gallio, Fig. 29 (the inscription is still visible in the church).

16   Translation quoted after Goodson, *Rome*, p. 327.

17   Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 328-29.

18   *LP* C, c. 9. The *Liber pontificalis* thus repeats what is told at the beginning of Paschal's life: he 'sought out, found and collected many bodies of saints [...] lying in destroyed cemeteries' (Davis, p. 10).

19   Charles Mancho, 'Pasquale I, santa Prassede, Roma e Santa Prassede', *Arte medievale*, IV série, 1 (2010-11), 31-48 (pp. 35 and 41-42).

20   Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 202-28. According to Emerick, p. 130, Paschal used unusual 'clamor and pomp' during this translation of relics in order to emphasize his own papal position; but there is no contemporary documentation on Paschal's search for relics in the Roman catacombs. The relics were kept in a *camera delle reliquie* in the annular crypt below the altar, not in the altar itself (Emerick, pp. 143-44). Cf. Goodson, 'Transforming'.

21   Wisskirchen, p. 27; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 160. On the architecture of the Zeno Chapel, see Margo Paulter Klass, 'The Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome' (unpublished diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1972), microfilm Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International 1973.

22 *LP* C, c. x: 'Also in that church he built an oratory of Christ's martyr St Zeno, and there he also placed his holy body, and fully adorned it with mosaic' ('oratorium beati Zenonis Christi martyris, ubi et sacratissimum eius corpus ponens musibo amplianter ornavit'). Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 130; Davis, p. 12; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 166-70.

23 Goodson, *Rome*, p. 168.

24 Davis, p. 12; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 166.

25 Goodson, *Rome*, p. 328: 'on the right hand-side where truly the body of his benign mother, Mistress Theodora Episcopa, rests'.

26 Nilgen; Davis, pp. 10-11 (following *CBCR* III, p. 235); Emerick, p. 130; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 166.

27 Davis, pp. 10-11 (following *CBCR* III, p. 235).

28 Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 170-71.

29 On the meaning of square halos, see John Osborne, 'The portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: a re-examination of the so-called "square" nimbus in medieval art', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 47 (1979), 58-65; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 166-68.

30 Beat Brenk, 'Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom', *Archivio Español de Arqueologia*, 45-47 (1972-74), 213-22; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 128-34; Robin Cormack, 'The Mother of God in apse mosaics', in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. by Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 91-106; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 160-70.

31 Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 124-34. Cf. Wisskirchen, pp. 18-25, on the Carolingian *renovatio* and Caroline J. Goodson, 'Revival and Reality: The Carolingian Renaissance in Rome and the Case of S. Prassede', in *Atti del seminario in onore di Hans Peter L'Orange*, ed. by Siri Sande (= *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, n.s., 5 (2005)), pp. 163-92.

32 Brenk; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 124-26; Wisskirchen; Cormack.

33 *LP* C, c. 9-10; Wisskirchen, p. 13; Davis, p. 11; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 187.

34 Brenk; Cormack. Cf. Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 165-66, 188-90.

35 Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 89-108; Michael McCormick, 'The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration', in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. by Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki Laiou (Cambridge, MA: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), pp. 17-52; Andrew Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009); Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 187-90. Cf. Judith Herrin, *Margins and Metropolis: Authority across the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 220-38.

36 Brenk; Marianne Asmussen, 'The Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome: New Aspects on the Iconography', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 25 (1986), 67-87; Ekonomou, pp. 14-23.

37 Ekonomou, pp. 42-45.

38 Pietro Fedele, 'Tabularium S. Praxedis', *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria*, 27 (1904), 27-78, and 28 (1905), 41-114 ((1904), pp. 28, 32) proves that already during the tenth century there were Latin monks in the monastery.

39 The church is mentioned (without further description) in the *Mirabilia Romae* (*c.* 1143, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: Die Wunderwerke der Stadt Rom*, ed. by Gerlinde Huber-Rebe and others (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2014), p. 72), the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* (second half of the twelfth century, Valentini and Zucchetti, III, p. 83), and in Cencio Camerario's (1192) as well as the Parisian catalogue (1320) of Roman churches (Valentini and Zucchetti, III, pp. 230, 289). The *Itinerarium Einsiedlense* (Stefano del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'Anonimo Augiense*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 48 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004), pp. 4-5) and Giraldus Cambrensis (*c.* 1200) do not mention S. Prassede (Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: Olschki, 1927; repr. Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1975), pp. 18-19; cf. pp. 53, 63, 68, 69 for further references to S. Prassede during the fifteenth century). The documents concerning S. Prassede published by Fedele 1904-05 (tenth to fourteenth centuries) reveal no details on the structure of the church.

40 Buchowiecki, III, pp. 598, 602; cf. Apollonj Ghetti, p. 44; Maurizio Caperna, *La basilica di Santa Prassede: Il significato della vicenda architettonica* (Rome: Monaci Benedettini Vallombrosani, 1999), pp. 14, 25, n. 20.

41 Caperna, p. 17; cf. Anna Maria Affanni, *La chiesa di Santa Prassede: La storia, il rilievo, il restauro* (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 2006), pp. 20-21; Gallio, Fig. 88.

42 Gallio, p. 3 assumes this happened when the Vallombrosani took over the custody of the church; Caperna, pp. 16, 59-82, and Emerick, p. 132 claim it was done in the thirteenth century. Buchowiecki, III, pp. 599, 603-04 points to the fact that if the arches must have been completed before 1388, as a burial stone of this date (Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols (Rome: Bencini, 1869-84), II (1873), no. 1504) was partly covered by one of the bases of the arches (cf. Gallio, Figure on pp. 32-34). Benigno Davanzati, *Notizie al pellegrino della basilica di Santa Prassede* (Rome: De Rossi, 1725), p. 211, mentions an inscription in the crypt which only consisted of the date 'MCXXIX, volendo forse denotare, che questo S. Luogo fosse restaurato nell'anno medesimo'.

43 Emerick, p. 143; cf. Gallio, Fig. 24.

44 The grave still stands in the right arm of the transept (Gallio, Fig. 20), but probably not at its original site (Buchowiecki, III, p. 621). A contemporary inscription proves that the grave was erected in 1286 (Forcella, II, no. 1496; Gallio, Fig. 20).

45 An inscription records donations, CV[M] ALTARI. OB. REVERE[N]TIA[M] O[M]NI[VM] S[AN]C-/ [TO]RVM (Forcella, II, no. 1495). As Pantaleone Anchier was murdered in the church, the Chapel must have been reconsecrated, but the altar dedicated to All Saints is mentioned in this inscription after Anchier's death, so the new dedication of the chapel seems to be later than 1286.

46 The frescoes had most likely only been visible from the *presbyterium* and *schola cantorum* (Fig. 5; cf. Goodson, *Rome*, Fig. 29). Claudia Zaccagnini, 'Nuove osservazioni sugli affreschi altomedievali della chiesa di S. Prassede', *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, 54, Série 3, 12 (1999), 83-114 (p. 114) describes the decoration of the apse, triumphal arch and transept as 'episodi agiografici di natura "terrena"' in the frescoes, enhanced to 'lo splendore dei gruppi di eletti che ricevono il premio per la loro fedeltà spirituale' in the mosaics.

47 Buchowiecki, III, p. 624: from the saints mentioned in the fresco's inscriptions (Iulianus and Celsus, Leo and Marcianus, Hilaria, Iason and Maurus, Chrysanthus and Daria) only the last two are also mentioned in the Carolingian inscription. Buchowiecki unconvincingly adds: 'Wahrscheinlich hat aber Paschalis auch die Reliquien der anderen für die Fresken genannten Martyer in die Kirche übertragen' (p. 624; cf. Zaccagnini, pp. 93, 101, who oberves that Prassede, Pudentiana, Pudens and Paulus were also depicted in the frescoes, 'realizzati in un posto d'onore, in quanto più bassi rispetto agli altri e quindi meglio visibile dai devoti'; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 239, n. 182, who assumes Basilissa was also mentioned in the inscriptions and states (p. 241) that Paschal meant to show that his own deeds mirrored those of the saints in the frescoes, especially Hilaria and Prassede, who devoted themselves to the enshrinement of relics).

48 Affanni, p. 28. A further chapel seems to have been added in the year 1331 (Forcella, II, no. 1500: HIC. IACET. CECCHVS DE. PETESCE. QVI FECIT FIERI. HA[N]C CAPPELLA[M] [...]), but it is unclear where it was located. Davanzati, p. 193 located it in 1725, '[d]alla parte destra della medesima porta', thus at the right-hand side of the nave, immediately after entering the church, which can hardly be the original site of the chapel.

49 There is hardly any reliable source for this occurrence. Contemporary documentation on Giovanni Colonna's life can be found in *Matthaei Parisiensis [...] Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-83), III (1876), pp. 219, 444-46; IV (1877), pp. 59, 165, 168, 250, 287; V (1880), p. 65, and in papal documents published and analysed by Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227): Etude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 97 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), but the

column is not mentioned here. Two sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inscriptions refer to Colonna bringing the column to Rome (Forcella, II, no. 1546; *La Descrittione di Roma di Benedetto Mellini nel codice Vat. lat. 11905*, ed. by Federico Guidobaldi and others, Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane, 23 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2010), pp. 478-79). The first reference to the Colonna family (without Giovanni's name) being connected with the column seems to be Giovanni Rucellai, 1450 (Valentini and Zucchetti, IV (1953), p. 411). The year 1223 is first mentioned by Mellini, p. 479, who copied a 1566 inscription referring to this date.

50 Mancho, p. 36; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 197.

51 It seems the column was placed in the Zeno Chapel, thus drastically changing the chapel's original memorial function and linking its name to Christ; the chapel was now also called *Hortus Paradisi* and, because of its indulgences, *Libera nos a Poenis Inferni* (Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 753-54). Leopold of Vienna (1377) seems to be the first traveller to mention the column as standing in the Zeno Chapel: Joseph Haupt, 'Philippi *Liber de terra sancta* in der deutschen Uebersetzung des Augustiner Lesemeisters Leupold, vom Jahre 1377', *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie*, 10 (1871), 511-40 (p. 525): 'Doselb ein chappelln ist do ist ein gancz stukch der säul do vnser herr an geslagen ist vnd getar chain fraw hin in gen'. Mellini, pp. 466-67, adds in the late seventeenth century that the column stood in the right-hand niche, coming in from the aisle.

52 Transcription after the facsimile given by Clemens Müller, '[Die Sehenswürdigkeiten der Stadt Rom, ausgezogen] aus der Chronik', in *Vedi Napoli e poi muori: Grand Tour der Mönche*, ed. by Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (St Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2014), pp. 96-111 (adding a modern interpunction; italics mark dissolved abbreviations). The Latin text has been edited before by Hülsen, p. 154, using five late fourteenth- and a fifteenth-century manuscript; only the St Gall, the Stuttgart, and the (fifteenth-century) Munich manuscripts mention the column, as well as Leopold (1377, see n. 51). Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 746-56, especially p. 749, relics no. 4. – Nicolás Rosell, who died in 1362, in mentions S. Prassede in his *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae*, without giving any further details (Valentini and Zucchetti, III, p. 189).

53 Of the Latin manuscripts used by Hülsen, p. 154, only the St Gall codex mentions Valentinus (he is omitted by Leopold of Vienna as well, see n. 51). Valentinus is not recorded in the Carolingian relic inscription (Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 327-33); tradition has it he was Zeno's brother and rested together with him in the Zeno Chapel (Buchowiecki, III, p. 612), but it is unclear how old this tradition is.

54 The indulgence mentioned in this text is unauthorized, as are most of the indulgences in the *Indulgentiae*

ecclesiarum urbis Romae. The only verifiable indulgence for S. Prassede was granted by Nicolas IV on 13 March 1290, see Fedele 1905, pp. 107-08 (one year and 40 *carenae*).

55 Manetti claims Pope Nicolas V restored S. Prassede ('Vita Nicolai V. summi pontificis auctore Jannotio Manetto Florentino', in Ludovicus A. Muratorius, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, III.2 (Milan: Societas Palatina in Regia Curia, 1734), pp. 907-60 (pp. 930-31): 'Stationum Ædes [...] reparare ac reformare decreverat, atque hoc [...] officium in plurimis minoribus', for example 'Beatæ Praxedis, reparationibus constructionibusque inchoavit'). However, 'I restauri [...] di Nicolò V [...] non sono individuabili' (Apollonj Ghetti, p. 10).

56 Capgrave, p. 148.

57 A scholarly edition of Signorili's *Descriptio urbis Romae* is a *desideratum*, as Valentini and Zucchetti, IV, pp. 151-208 and Hülsen, pp. 43-52 only publish extracts from the text. We will quote Signorili using *Onvphrii Panvinii [...] De præcipvis vrbis Romæ sanctioribusque basilicis [...] Liber [...]* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1584), pp. 318-20. We have not been able to consult Panvinius's 1570 edition.

58 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 16. I. Aug. quart., published by Nine R. Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Die Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar.* Frühe Neuzeit, 72 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), pp. 91-133.

59 Davanzati, pp. 283-436. Davanzati, pp. 397-99 quotes two inscriptions in 'Tavole di Marmo' (p. 397), possibly made when Carlo Borromeo (1538-84) built the reliquaries on the balconies attached to the triumphal arch (Gallio, Fig. 66; cf. Mellini (third quarter of the seventeenth century), p. 469: 'sono scolpiti i nome d'esse reliquie'). No trace of these inscriptions is left. – Benigno Aloisi in 1729 especially focused on the crypt of S. Prassede (Coda, pp. 17-78).

60 Quoted from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 1168, fols 9[r/v] (using modern interpunction; italics mark abbreviations). Cf. the excerpts from this codex in Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 751-52. This manuscript, which belongs to a group of five containing a rather extensive version of the *Indulgentiae* (Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 51-52), was written in or little later than 1456; an 'I' presents itself as an eyewitness to Pope Nicolas V celebrating mass in S. Giovanni in 1447 (fol. 4[r]). – A comparison of Panvinio's 1584 text with the Vatican manuscript Vat. lat. 3536, one of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts containing Signorili's text (originally written *c.* 1430; see n. 57 above), fols 58[v]–60[r], shows differences between Signorili and Panvinio, which, however, do not concern the well, as it is left out in (the Vatican manuscript 3536 of) Signorili's text.

61 That women had no access to the chapel is also mentioned for example by Leopold of Vienna (1377), see n. 51. Davanzati, p. 231 adds that this resulted from the narrowness and darkness of the chapel and was supposed to protect women, so that 'non vi nascesse qualche confusione'.

62 We would like to thank Maarten van Deventer (Radboud University) for his substantial help on the interpretation of the blood wells in S. Prassede and S. Pudenziana. Caperna, p. 141, n. 8, assumes Fra Mariano da Firenze (1517) was the first to mention the well, but this date can be corrected to 1447 by using the German manuscripts. See Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 751-52, relics no. 18, and Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, con introduzione e note illustrative del Enrico Bulletti, Studi di antichità cristiana, 2 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1931), p. 179: 'Non longe a porta ecclesiae in medio sui sub rotundo lapide ferreis cratis circumdato, puteus est sanctorum martyrum sanguine repletum a sancta Praxede cum spongia et linteaminibus collecto dum Christi martyres torquebantur trucidabanturque'.

63 Caperna, pp. 128, 127. Muñoz's letters on this subject were summarized by Caperna, pp. 141-42; some important further documents were published by Calogero Bellanca, *Antonio Muñoz: La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il governatorato*, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Supplementi, 10 (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2003). Bellanca, p. 321 shows, for example, that Muñoz suggested to reuse ancient marbles from the Baths of Caracalla for the pavement in S. Prassede, in order to keep the costs of the floor as low as possible.

64 Titular Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini (1489-1503) is said to have repaved the church. Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma che si celebrano la Quadragesima* (Rome: Bonfadino, 1588), fol. 299[r]: 'rinouò il piano della chiesa' (copied by Mellini, p. 466). It is possible that Pallavicini only renewed the presbytery's floor (Apollonj Ghetti, p. 10; *CBCR* III, p. 236; Emerick, pp. 135, 156, n. 52). *Le cose maravigliose* (1558) state the well was closed by Leo X (1513-21) (*Le Cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1558), [n.pp.]), but some fifty years earlier, John Capgrave already remarked, '[t]he well is now closed with a round ston and grated aboute with irun'. – In the eighteenth century Davanzati, p. 289, also refers to Leo X as having closed the well 'con pietre, e calce' after having taken 'a prova dell'esistenza del suddetto sangue'; Leo wanted to 'togliere in avvenire il luogo alla curiosità de' popoli, ed a gli inconvenienti, ed indecenza'. Davanzati, p. 290 also describes that in 1686 (*recte*: 1688, as Forcella, II, no. 1553 shows) the well was 'abellito' by Leone Strozzi (Caperna, p. 141, n. 18, cf. p. 126, erroneously mentions the year 1618, when Leone Strozzi was not yet born); according to

Giuseppe Finocchio, 'Riflessioni sul pavimento pres-biteriale della chiesa di S. Prassede', in *Atti del XV colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* [...] *(Aquileia, 4-7 febbraio 2009)*, ed. by Claudia Angelelli and Carla Salvetti (Tivoli: Scripta manent, 2010), pp. 305-14 (p. 310) and Caperna, p. 126 the pavement was altered again in 1742. The nineteenth-century situation, which is probably basically identical with the eighteenth-century arrangement, is documented in drawings and etches by Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray (1805; Rolf Bothe, *Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray: Ein deutscher Architekt des Klassizismus* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), Fig. 245), J. M. Knapp (1823), Giacomo Fontana (1838), L. Rossini (1839-43), and Luigi Canina (1846) (Caperna, Figs 82, 19, 120, 5). A few photographs also survive: e.g. *CBCR* III, Fig. 211 (Alinari), Caperna, Fig. 160 (Anderson), Fig. 161. They all show a hexagonal structure of some one metre high; in some cases the well is closed.

65   The Wolfenbüttel manuscript (1448) adds it was a high metal grid: 'ain hoch eisni gätter'. See Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, p. 752; Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, p. 122. The printed Latin *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae* speak of 'pute*um* lapide rotu*ndo* co*n*clusu*m*' '[j]n medio ecclesie vbi ferru*m* circu*m*dat lapide*m* rotu*n*dum', see below (similar is Fra Mariano, p. v); the German version of the printed text (produced from 1475 onwards) leaves the well out (Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, p. 275).

66   Caperna, p. 141; Marco Cecchelli, 'Alcuni effetti delle grandi traslazioni nelle basiliche romane: I pozzi dei martiri. L'esempio di S. Pudenziana', in *Qvaeritvr inventvs colitvr: Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola, B.*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 40 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1989), pp. 107-21 (p. 120) also assumes the well formed part of Paschal's Carolingian church.

67   Emerick, p. 151.

68   Goodson, *Rome*, p. 137, describes how the celebrants would walk 'in procession up the centre of the nave, passing through the chancel barriers that marked the boundary between the lay and clerical areas'.

69   In 1452, Muffel even asserted one could walk underground in a 'gruft' from S. Pudenziana to S. Prassede, obviously assuming the church was built on catacombs (Nikolaus Muffel, *Descrizione della città di Roma nel 1452: Delle indulgenze e dei luoghi sacri di Roma [Der ablas und die heiligen stet zu Rom]*, ed. by Gerhard Wiedmann (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), p. 82). John Capgrave (1450) thought ,[t]his cherch was hir [Prassede's] halle' (p. 148). – The excavations documented by Apollonj Ghetti do not touch the structures immediately below the church; Federico Guidobaldi, 'L'inserimento delle chiese titolari di Roma nel tessuto urbano preesistente: Osservazioni ed implicazioni', in *Qvaeritvr inventvs colitvr. Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola, B.*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 40 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1989), pp. 381-96 (p. 390) pointedly summarizes there are '[s]olo indicazioni frammentarie ed inutilizzabili sul sottosuolo della chiesa'. Antonio Muñoz, 'Studii sulle basiliche romane di S. Sabina e di S. Prassede', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana d'Archeologia* 13 (1918), 119-28, and Antonio Muñoz, 'Studii e restauri nelle chiese di Roma', *Capitolium*, 3, 9 (1927), 441-51, can hardly be called scholarly documentations of the excavations (Caperna, p. 128).

70   Caperna, pp. 126-28. Muñoz later (1928) also had to defend himself against reproaches from Arduino Colasanti, Direttore Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti (Bellanca, p. 324). Furthermore, there were disagreements between Muñoz and his engineer Umberto Bertolini about the design of the nave's floor; Muñoz enforced his own design, about which he wrote in 1921: 'La perizia dei marmorari medioevali ancor oggi perdura nelle maestranze moderne di Roma, come può vedersi [...] nell'ultima opera che può dirsi più propriamente cosmatesca, nel pavimento di S. Prassede, compiuto nel 1918 nello stile di quelli antichi già ricordati' (Antonio Muñoz, *Roma di Dante* (Milan: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1921), pp. 131-32), proudly depicting (p. 116) the floor in a book otherwise dedicated to the Middle Ages. – We are grateful to Dr Alessandro Maranesi (Radboud University) for his kind help on the interpretation of Munoz's letters.

71   *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae*; first Latin prints probably *c.* 1480, earliest dated print: 1489; quoted here from a 1500 edition (l 81: Rome: Johannes Besicken and Martinus de Amsterdam, 16 August 1500; Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, p. 13 with n. 43), fols 45^v–46^v. A critical edition is currently prepared by Miedema.