

Arch of Constantine, showing the enclosure erected by Pope Pius VII in 1805. From Giovanni Battista Cipriani, *Vedute principali e piu interessanti di Roma* (1806). Getty Research Institute.



ARGO DI COSTANTINO

1. Recinto fatto costruire da Pio VII. nel 1805. 2. Avanzi del Colosseo.
3. Meta sudante

A Partly Vacated Historicism: Artifacts, Architecture, and Time in Nineteenth-Century Papal Rome

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1.

Reflections on the historicist consciousness that arose in certain quarters of nineteenth-century architectural culture have been almost entirely bracketed by a discourse on style. The stylistic revivals and eclecticism of the period were justified by the historicist narratives of writers like Heinrich Hübsch, Léonce Reynaud, or Thomas Hope, who suggested to architects that, by turning back to key junctures on a cultural path, the arc of future formal and stylistic architectural developments might yet be reinflected. The institutionalization of architectural preservation reflected another aspect of the new consciousness: its mounting awareness of the past as separate and ever receding from present experience, and of its artifacts as fragile, irreplaceable testimonies to the development of the contemporary world.

Yet these reflections should be seen against the backdrop of a much broader discourse on historicism, whose main stakes are not stylistic but religious. Indeed, a narrowly culturalist reading dissimulates a historical epistemology that has tied time to religion since the early modern period. In the dominant history of ideas, the wellsprings of nineteenth-century historicism have been located in the struggles over history that characterized the conflict between Protestants and Catholics—or, to be more precise, between the competing political and theoretical projects of Reformed churches and the Tridentine Catholic Church—during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The perennial challenge for Protestants in this struggle was to demonstrate that doctrinal change—or corruption, as they called it—had driven the Catholic Church far from the purity of its apostolic origins. Catholic historians, meanwhile, had had the opposite case to make: that the church was fundamentally unchanged from its origins to the present and that Protestants were the innovators. In light of this genealogy, it is not surprising that the emergence of nineteenth-

century historicist consciousness is typically associated with secular and Protestant thinkers in northern Europe and that architectural historiography should locate historicist architectural culture overwhelmingly in the secular or culturally Protestant parts of the same region. Excepting the isolated and *sui generis* figure of Giambattista Vico in Naples, the dominant accounts of the genesis of historicism rarely mention Italy, unless it is as the setting for the reveries of a northern intellectual.¹ Least of all do they mention Papal Rome, that final redoubt of the providential teleology of Catholic historiography. Rome is similarly absent from the literature on architectural historicism, probably because the classical continuity of much of the city's early nineteenth-century architecture seems to indicate that the Eternal City still clung to an old sense of past-present continuity that in more advanced quarters had been definitively ruptured.²

This article argues against the foregoing caricature by analyzing how architects, intellectuals, and church leaders in Rome during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century reimagined the excavation, display, repair, or reconstruction of the architectural heritage of early Christian and medieval Rome. It operates a double act of revision. First, it highlights a neglected side of early historicist consciousness, one formed not in the hermeneutics of textual interpretation among scholars but in the rearrangement of architecture and artifacts in the lived space of the city. Second, it shows that the secularization of architectural time was not only driven by the culturalist debates of the Protestant north but could even occur within the explicitly religious concerns and activities of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has always been deeply invested in history, that of Rome as much as that of the church itself, both of which it regarded as the providential playing out of a preordained divine plan. For centuries the Catholic Church regarded the Roman Empire as the providential prototype and forerunner for the Christian empire of the church and proudly adduced the city's antique architecture as proof of God's plan for the church's ultimate triumph there. The shift of attention during the nineteenth century toward historic ecclesiastical architecture can thus be viewed as a consequence of the manifold crises the church faced in its encounter with a transfigurative nineteenth century, starting in the period from 1798 to 1815, when revolutionary and then Napoleonic occupations transgressed the Eternal City, defiled its sacred prestige, and imprisoned two consecutive popes, one of whom died in exile. Despite the ostensible and ultimately ephemeral European "restoration" that followed the downfall of Napoléon Bonaparte in 1815, these and other crises soon left the church diminished, impoverished, and enfeebled on the world stage and ultimately forced

it into a profound institutional crisis of identity.³ Acutely threatened by the new European secular regimes of society and religion—in which religion was becoming a private matter, under state control, unfolding in an empty, linear, homogeneous time—the pontifical government sought to mobilize the sacred antiquity of its early Christian and medieval buildings as visible evidence of the church's stability and endurance across the long centuries and as an assurance in the face of a historic disruption of the church's traditional status in the world.⁴ Yet the manner in which these old churches were reworked, the contexts in which they were publicly displayed, and even the very endeavor of mobilizing a historic past in this way, all point in a historicist direction. For these efforts no longer sought, as they would once have done, to indicate the divinely mediated quality of sacred history by insisting on the anachronic proximity of the ancient past to the present.⁵ Instead, they implied that the authenticity of these artifacts was to be experienced in their very remoteness and distinctness from the present. They thereby offered spectators an immersive modern experience of a deep history—of a linear temporal depth measured from a firmly fixed and emphatically contemporary vantage point.

2.

What characteristics might be said to define a historicist consciousness?⁶ Karl Popper defined historicism as a kind of teleology: as the thesis that the goal of historical study is to make predictions about the future.⁷ Prediction was often the temptation that a certain kind of historicism offered up, but that cannot in itself be taken to define the whole phenomenon. I use the term *historicist* here to refer instead to an agglomeration of ideas about the past which, by the decades to either side of the year 1800, added up to a break with previous forms of historical consciousness. With a loss of conviction as to the ability of ahistorical frames or generalizations to account adequately for the real complexity of history, historicist consciousness perceived the unfolding of historical time in terms of difference, individuation, and change.⁸ This implied a powerful sense of meaningful historicity: each stage along the developmental path was defined by its unique relation to what came before it and by its unique contribution to what came after it. Time in this conception no longer possessed its traditional differentiated, heterogeneous texture but instead became linear, homogeneous, and empty. Understood in this general sense, historicism refers not to the doctrines of any specific school of thinkers in any specific location but to a broader cultural turn that manifested itself in different ways and to different degrees in different contexts.

The traditional Catholic concept of historical time was instead characterized by an Augustinian dualism that posited two planes of existence. There was the City of Man, the transient plane of temporal existence where history unfolds around the drama of human salvation in a struggle between good and evil; and the City of God, the eternal and suprasensible plane of being that enclosed temporal existence. The former, comprising history, time, and space, was created, transient, and entirely subordinate to the latter, which was without beginning or end.⁹ This framework informed a historiographical practice in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries dominated by “*historia ecclesiastica*” or “*historia sacra*”; that is, historical accounts of the institutions, cults, orders, dioceses, and people that together constituted the Roman Catholic Church. These histories were written to establish proofs of the continuity of the contemporary church with its apostolic origins in the context of the church’s disputes with Protestants and to assist in the Counter-Reformation push to regularize worship and doctrine within the Catholic world. Thus, they were predicated on a presentation of the past as being in a sense not really past at all.¹⁰ This presentation was supported by ecclesiastically sanctioned texts from late antiquity to the present, with little acknowledgment of how the evolution of beliefs, biases, or ambitions might affect their content or reliability.¹¹ Simon Ditchfield convincingly shows that this work nonetheless “laid the foundations of modern historical practice” by introducing an early distinction between primary and secondary evidence and by vastly expanding the range of written and material evidence that historians might draw on in determining the authentic truth of past events, from inscriptions and coins to human bones and architectural remains.¹² Ditchfield is, however, careful not to attribute a specifically historicist consciousness to these scholars. Taking his cue from a related scholarly dispute about whether historicist consciousness may be detected in sixteenth-century French legal scholarship, he makes a firm distinction between modern historical practice and a larger modern historical consciousness (which he takes to be synonymous with historicism).¹³ For early modern historians still lacked any sense that the historical development of beliefs, biases, or ambitions might affect the factual reliability of the centuries-old texts they used as evidence. Theirs was not a vision that perceived a unique character in each historical moment but one that believed history had always been about the same thing—the drama of human salvation—and would continue thus until the Last Trumpet.

Cracks in this stable historiographical edifice appeared, however, in the eighteenth century, when new pressures and developments—including the continual

accumulation of new church histories authored by Protestants—stirred a group of Catholic reformers in Rome to rethink their approach to history. The reform they were to author effected a methodological turn in favor of a much more critical evaluation of ancient source materials, of a kind that *did* now run the risk of invalidating cherished legends associated with early Christian martyrs.¹⁴ This elitist, anti-Jesuit critical movement within the church was intellectually exacting and openly hostile to popular religiosity, and it inaugurated a new chapter in “*historia sacra*” that was linked to an intensified rationalization of dogma and bureaucratization of the clergy. A central figure in this reform was the historian Prospero Lambertini, who upon his election as Pope Benedict XIV in 1740 directed institutional energies toward a renewal of historical scholarship, founding no fewer than three academies devoted specifically to historical research, endowing new academic chairs at the Collegio Romano devoted to church history and liturgical history, and patronizing the work of the reformist historian Giovanni Bottari, a pioneering specialist in the material culture of early Christianity.¹⁵ This reform was also closely allied with a new doctrinaire tendency in architecture, one that was hostile to the Baroque mode inherited from Francesco Borromini and his contemporaries and that aimed instead to inject the new historical criticality into a classical artistic tradition long regarded as a living and in many senses ahistorical ideal.¹⁶ Its signature achievement was Ferdinando Fuga’s restoration of the early Christian basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Fuga’s work exhibited an unprecedented historical rigor and concern for the building’s original form and can, in certain respects, even be regarded as protohistoricist.¹⁷

Church leaders began to turn against this enlightened reform movement with the election in 1758 of Pope Clement XIII, who perceived it as a secularizing threat.¹⁸ A willfully reactionary approach to understanding the historical past was now for a time the dominant mode in Rome, as church leaders doubled down on the idea of a providential typological relationship between the church and ancient Rome; that is, on exactly the kind of historical claim that emblemized the premodern temporal consciousness, privileging the mysteries of divine providence over observable chronological developments. Pope Clement XIV (1769–1774) thus sponsored accelerated acquisitions in the antiquities market, excavations aimed at unearthing new antiquities, new regulations against unauthorized art exports, and a large new art museum behind the Vatican palace, the Museo Pio-Clementino. In the encomiastic literature that accompanied these cultural policies, Time was presented as the enemy, while the embattled papal hero was lauded for protecting the city from social and

political change, his triumph lying in his aggressive efforts to maintain Rome as it had always been.¹⁹

Clement's treasurer, Gianangelo Braschi, had been instrumental in shaping this policy of reaction, and when Clement died it was Braschi who was elected as his successor. As Pope Pius VI (1775–1799), he holds the distinction of being the first pontiff to explicitly identify the secular Enlightenment as an enemy of the church, and he launched a Counter-Reformation-style “reconquest” to combat it.²⁰ Stubbornly superannuated conceptualizations of history underpinned this effort. Pius aggressively rehabilitated the politically active antiquity of the Renaissance popes, larding his *possesso* ceremony of 1775 with references to the Age of Augustus, and trying to breathe new life into the old parallel between pope and Caesar.²¹ Classicizing hyperbole that linked the present seamlessly to both antiquity and the Renaissance was summoned to reinforce the imperial parallel, while efforts were accelerated to reassert the church's visible custodianship of ancient artworks in Rome.²² The signature architectural project of the Braschi pontificate was the new Vatican sacristy, a design dotted with allusions to Rome's Baroque architectural heritage. With a determined present-mindedness starkly at odds with the historical solicitude Fuga had shown a few decades earlier at Santa Maria Maggiore, the construction of the sacristy necessitated the demolition of Santa Maria delle Febbre, an important early Christian building that represented the final surviving vestige of the old Saint Peter's Basilica.²³ By redoubling the old claim that the church alone was the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire, Pius aimed not only to assert Rome's vitality and privilege but to associate the church's custodianship of ancient art with a sense of political immunity and incontestable stasis.²⁴

Pius VI's pontificate thus appears as the antithesis of the emerging modern historical consciousness, which assumed the irreducible distinctness of the present from the past. Certainly that is the antithesis that Roman Catholic reaction intended to signal. But at the same time, it was undeniable that the enlightened Catholic reformers of the 1740s and 1750s had highlighted a real problem: namely, that the traditional Catholic insistence on the absolutely unchanging quality of Catholic doctrine and authority had lost credibility in an Enlightened age that increasingly understood the present as distant and distinct from the past and that envisaged history as broadly progressing from ignorance and oppression toward enlightenment. The historical attitudes favored under Clement and Pius were presented under the sign of continuity with tradition, but their significance was inevitably transformed by the fact that they actually represented willful gestures of reaction and resistance;

for reaction always implies an acknowledgment of the power of that against which it is directed. In this case, the obdurate resort to the old Augustinian scheme of historical time structured and enclosed by a deeper timelessness carries within it something of the historicist urge to affect the future by attempting willful course corrections on the historical journey that has produced the present.

3.

The problem only worsened with the coming of the French Revolution, which put paid to any lingering clerical fantasies about the immutable character of even the most sanctified human beliefs and institutions. In February 1798, the revolution arrived in person at Rome in the form of a French army that deposed and exiled Pius VI, who died in a French prison shortly thereafter. The French oversaw the foundation of a new Roman Republic that explicitly set out to re-create its ancient namesake. This lasted little more than a year, until September 1799, but during those short months its leaders attempted a modernizing reform of the old structures of the pontifical government. These they quickly found to be almost unfathomably archaic, as well as in dire financial straits, reflecting the torpor of an impoverished feudal welfare state with virtually no industry and hardly anything by way of a productive economy.²⁵ The leaders of the new republic had rather more success in their efforts at ideological redefinition of the spaces and places of the city, via archaeological pageants and festivals at key classical sites that aimed to explain the new regime to the baffled Roman citizenry and to present a decidedly non-Catholic image of the classical past and, by extension, the whole Roman landscape.²⁶ The conceptual violence of these efforts rested in part on their implicitly historicist conception of human affairs as a long and ongoing process of change and development.

As in the earlier struggles with Protestantism, the relationship of past to present was once again a crucial stake in the battles the church now joined. But whereas Catholics and Protestants had shared a belief that human history could be apprehended only in its relation to the stable perfection of God, the church now faced an enemy that countenanced a view of history in which meaning was immanent. A first papal restoration came after the Battle of Marengo, when the newly elected Pius VII (1800–1823) was permitted by now First Consul Napoléon Bonaparte to return to Rome. Despairing at the condition in which he found his desecrated and plundered capital, Pius resumed his government under the explicit sign of “restoration,” restarting pre-occupation programs of archaeological research and repairing

the decimated pontifical art collections in a restorative effort that clearly figured the larger political and religious restoration Pius hoped to accomplish.²⁷ To safeguard the church's association with antiquity, classical sites were scrubbed of their brief association with the republic, while new regulations tightened prohibitions on exporting classical artworks. Archaeological excavations were initiated at Ostia and in the Forum, the Museo Pio-Clementino was expanded, and the Vatican's collections of ancient art—decimated by the French occupation—were energetically restocked.²⁸ What might be regarded as the first modern restorations of entire buildings were also undertaken, as the Arch of Septimius Severus (1803) and the Arch of Constantine (1805) were both dug out and isolated, while the Coliseum (1805–1807) was cleared, isolated, and buttressed with a great spur that secured its half-ruined outer wall on the east side. Efforts were also made to remove the baker's shop and fish markets that occupied the porch and flanks of the Pantheon (1804–1806).²⁹

The essential aim was to draw a distinction between two visions of antiquity: that of the Republic and that of the church. After seeing apostles of revolution on alarmingly familiar terms with the monuments of Roman antiquity, the restored church seemed determined now to defamiliarize those monuments. Where revolutionary performers had placed the Capitoline wolf onstage for their production of Voltaire's *La mort de César* (*The Death of Caesar*), papal authorities now constructed walls or fences around ancient monuments to mark them off from the quotidian life of the city and scrubbed away later accretions and undignified contemporary users.³⁰ These efforts to evoke the anodyne space of a museum in the midst of the city presented historic monuments as architectural mummies that whispered reassuringly of timelessness and shelter from change.

The French soon returned, but with a very different kind of army: a disciplined imperial force that reannexed Rome and set about transforming it into a typical modern regional capital within Napoléon's expanding French Empire. The Eternal City was again remorselessly brought back into secular, bureaucratic time.³¹ Sweeping juridical and legislative reform brought the law into line with the rest of the empire,



while Rome's Jews were emancipated from their walled ghetto and the creation of the vast Campo Verano cemetery ended the old tradition of burying the dead within city walls. The city was also aggressively declericalized, as cardinals were expelled, other clerics dispersed, the papal court abolished, the Vatican archives removed to Paris, and the religious congregations disbanded. Priests who resisted were disappeared into exile. And while all this was going on, tremendous resources were devoted once again to the appropriation of Rome's classical heritage, as prominent excavations and restorations multiplied in the urban center.³² Framed amid an urban environment that the French occupiers were actively modernizing, these refurbished classical monuments were made to speak in a new key: not of the providential continuities binding Caesars to popes, but of the historical ones that bound them to Napoléon, and the French to the Roman Empire.

When Napoléon's empire collapsed, restored European governments mostly proved keen to retain the social, economic, and legal reforms the French occupations had introduced, and those fared best that did so most effectively.³³ But in the restored Papal States the opposite occurred. Even the feudal system was reintroduced after a discreet interval. Church leaders regarded modern sociopolitical norms as crimes against God that could not under any circumstances be allowed to stand, even if it meant condemning the pope's government and subjects to poverty, debt, and debility. But at the same time, clerical intellectuals could no longer avoid confrontation with the modern modes of understanding that were by then normative in European culture. Beyond Rome the 1820 and 1830s were to be a great age of Catholic Romanticism—exemplified by the work of men like Hugues Felicité Robert de Lamennais, Charles Forbes René de Montalembert, and Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam—a movement that Pope Leo XII briefly flirted with in the mid-1820s in the context of his dream of resacralizing Rome and sparking a great Catholic revival around the jubilee of 1825.³⁴ Catholic Romanticism was ultimately rejected by Pope Gregory XVI in the 1830s and, in its later form as liberal Catholicism, again by Pope Pius IX after 1850.

The papal territories were thus set on an eccentric course with respect to the normative European encounter with postrevolutionary modernity. Clerical intellectuals who had been unwilling subjects of a self-proclaimed modernity thrust upon them by military, economic, political, and cultural domination, and which they regarded as both geographically and culturally foreign, had to account for Catholic Rome's anomalous position with respect to the new civilizational norms, even as the church exercised a dramatically diminished influence on the European stage. This accounting eventually took the form of a resistance centered on the stubborn

Trajan's Forum, showing the enclosure erected by Pope Pius VII. From Antonio Nibby, Pietro Ruga, and Pietro Parboni, *Les monumens les plus célèbres de Rome ancienne et les quatre basiliques principales de Rome moderne* (after 1823). Getty Research Institute.

affirmation of locality against the social, political, and technological paradigms of modernization.³⁵ Perhaps the most infamous example was the long-standing pontifical refusal to countenance the construction of railroads in the Papal States—Pope Gregory XVI (1830–1846), in an apocryphal rumor, is said to have dismissed them as a “chemin d’enfer” (path to hell)—but matters of time, history, and even time-telling were also central to this resistance.³⁶ Not without defiance, the official annual directory of personnel in Rome’s governmental and ecclesiastical institutions, the *Annuario Pontificio*, specified every year in its opening pages, well into the second half of the nineteenth century, precisely how many years it had been since the “Creation of the World,” the “Universal Flood,” and “the Founding of Rome”—historical dates that contemporary critical historiography, enriched by a new consciousness of the immense depth of historical and even geological time, would have regarded as fanciful at best.³⁷ Matters of time-telling offered Catholic Rome other means of passive refusal as well. According to the British traveler James Paul Cobbett, who visited Rome in the 1820s, the local way of reckoning the passage of a day

is to begin at the evening, at which time terminates what they call “*il venti quattro*,” the twenty four, when *Ave Maria*, the concluding prayer of the day, is said in the churches. An Italian tells you that he will come to see you “*all’Ave Maria*,” that is in the evening, or at the close of the day. When the French came into Italy, they introduced the same manner of reckoning time as we have in England; and in the northern parts of Italy the new fashion has been established to the exclusion of the old. [But] in Rome almost all the people still reckon time as their ancestors did.³⁸

Unlike the modern system of uniform time, in which mechanical clocks ensure that every temporal unit is identical to all others of the same division, this was a system of apparent time, where the divisions of the day had different durations at different places and different times of the year. Time was therefore not homogeneous or empty but remained instead a differentiated, heterogeneous, and emphatically *subject* category of creation.³⁹ This is also how time was presented within the ecclesiastical calendar, which marked out certain times or seasons as sacred or festal and others as ordinary. In the nonsecular world of premodernity, such perspectives on time had been more or less taken for granted, but for a nineteenth-century Roman Catholic clerisy that increasingly defined Catholic identity in defiant opposition to the secular orientations of contemporary modernity, such traditional perspectives and

practices came to assume an implicitly religious contour. What had once been simply “time” now appeared as a specifically Catholic and Christian temporal regime.⁴⁰

The reader may already have divined that these strategies of refusal and resistance contained within themselves the seeds of the very historicism they purported to refuse. Their effectiveness as strategies of refusal depended on relinquishing the old view, wherein the past was seen as part of a seamless and stable continuity with the present, and holding up instead a view of history that hinged on difference: on a meaningful contrast between a religious, organic, authentic past and a mechanistic, scientific, impious present. A new view of the past was in effect taking hold in Rome, one in which the remote Christian past took on a sanctified hue, uncorrupted, pure, true, and holy, precisely because it was in every respect alien to the modern world. No longer was the past “not really past”; now, it really was past. This reactionary, Romantic historicism soon led conservative Catholic intellectuals—artists, architects, patrons, public intellectuals—into the same kind of historicist redactions more commonly associated with their secular counterparts.

4.

Early Christian artifacts and sites had always been objects of veneration in Catholic Rome, but until the nineteenth century this veneration rarely took the form of meticulous material preservation. An object that vibrated with sacred significance—a holy relic from a saint’s body, for instance—might warrant material preservation, even into decrepitude, but such objects were an exception, for it was acknowledged that the natural lot of all things temporal was to disintegrate and ultimately disappear. When a venerated building became unstable or unusable, its original materials were either renewed, or they were permitted to die a dignified death; a new construction might incorporate some key elements from the old building into the new, forming an indexical continuity, but the implicit sense of a history rendered meaningful by an invisible order did not depend on material preservation.⁴¹ The only buildings that were preserved meticulously like holy relics were those that had been involved in truly exceptional events; the Holy House of Loreto, for example, or the Porziuncola of Assisi, both of which had larger buildings erected around them to shelter and preserve them. But other kinds of buildings, including even the most important old basilicas, were understood without especial lament to be as subject to decay—and to substitution, and to renewal—as any other material object. When old Saint Peter’s was demolished in the sixteenth century, a few precious columns that were reputed to have come originally from Solomon’s temple were

salvaged for reuse in the new building, but little else, and very little about the new building recalled the appearance of the old. A century later, in 1646, a sharpening concern for the physical fabric of early Christian buildings led Innocent X to commission Francesco Borromini to refurbish the dilapidated early Christian basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, but with explicit instructions to preserve as much of the old building as possible.⁴² Borromini obliged by reinforcing the ancient walls and piers and then concealing them entirely beneath a modern Baroque skin, like relics in a reliquary whose presence, rather than appearance, was what mattered. Not until the time of Fuga's restoration at Santa Maria Maggiore, in the 1740s, does one encounter even the germ of the later concern with authenticity and with an archaeologically precise material preservation.⁴³

After the last of the French occupations of Rome ended in 1814, the restored Pope Pius VII faced an immense task of repair and reconstruction.⁴⁴ Hundreds of venerable old churches had been vandalized, converted to secular uses, or perilously neglected. Everything could not be repaired at once, especially given the bareness of the papal treasury, and so official priorities had to be established.⁴⁵ These proved to be historical and only secondarily aesthetic, with the consequence that architects were soon set to work on buildings that, for all their historical importance, were in many cases regarded as architecturally decadent and devoid of aesthetic worth—Early Christian churches, for example. Prior to 1814, repairs or alterations of such buildings would normally have also been renewals, with the addition of new elements in the contemporary classical manner. But the shocking violence these venerable buildings had endured during the recent occupations had illuminated their importance to a suddenly threatened sense of Roman Catholic identity. To replace or repair this wounded ecclesiastical patrimony with modern architectural forms would have been to stamp it with the very signature of the caustic modern era,



consummating what the godless French had wrought. Instead, putting things back as they had been before seemed the essential task. These restorations were thus defiant and sentimental undertakings, implicitly predicated on a sense of the historical past as irreducibly different from the present: as something vulnerable to permanent loss and thus deserving of careful repairs, reconstructions, and preservation.

Yet knowledge of how to rebuild or repair these old buildings accurately was often lacking. Roman architects had for generations been educated in the canons of classical correctness and had little fluency in the norms of early Christian or other previously deprecated styles. This deficit sparked a burst of new scholarship after 1814 on buildings in these other styles—much of it rather admiring, despite repeated disclaimers about early Christian aesthetic decadence.⁴⁶ The first modern architectural monograph on an early Christian basilica—San Paolo fuori le Mura—appeared in Rome right on schedule in 1815, written by a learned priest who had been moved by the building’s dismal plight during the French occupations.⁴⁷ Histories of early Christian basilicas had been written in the past but never this kind of careful and respectful study of architectural form. Previously, aesthetic value had been clearly distinguished from intrinsic value, and beauty from historical significance, thereby authorizing the view that Early Christian architecture was decadent while that of the pagan Roman Empire formed a timeless ideal. Works like the new monograph on San Paolo reassessed this perspective. The proverbial aesthetic decadence of early Christian architecture was now seen as a problem requiring explanation, one that would-be apologists now tended to solve in baldly historicist fashion, justifying the solecisms and crudenesses of early Christian architecture as the unavoidable consequence of the social, economic, and political breakdown of the late Roman Empire.⁴⁸ Scholarship of this sort only increased during the 1810s and 1820s, as the long slow campaign to repair and restore Rome’s damaged ecclesiastical patrimony unfolded. Given the Holy See’s enduring investment in an older conception of history, this relativistic turn invites scrutiny.

An inflection point of sorts was reached in 1823, when the subject of that pioneering monograph of 1815 burned down in a catastrophic fire. San Paolo fuori le Mura stood over the tomb of no less a Christian hero than Saint Paul and was Rome’s second most important church after Saint Peter’s, as well as its greatest surviving early Christian building. The blaze that destroyed it was interpreted by anxious reactionaries in the papal Curia as a sign of displeasure from God—as the Catholic version of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem—while the “miraculous” survival of Paul’s tomb at the center of the blackened ruin was seen to reveal

The Porziuncola—the fourth-century church where Saint Francis of Assisi received his vocation—now housed inside the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli near Assisi. Photograph by the author.

the fire's meaning: it was a divine tap on the shoulder for the church to turn back to Paul, to contest more forcefully the evils of the present day, and to uproot the damning compromises that conservatives felt the church had made with the godless modern world during the years of the French occupations and afterward.⁴⁹ To heighten the symbolism, the aging Pope Pius VII—blamed by the reactionary factions for many of those compromises—died just one month after the blaze. In his place was elected the ultraconservative Leo XII, who eagerly pursued a reform agenda that placed religion again at the center of Roman life.⁵⁰ The elder statesman of Roman architects at this point was Giuseppe Valadier, whose career stretched back decades into the eighteenth century, and he considered the reconstruction of a new San Paolo to be his commission almost by right.⁵¹ Thoroughly in keeping with the traditional view of early Christian aesthetics, Valadier conceived a modernizing classical design to replace the old basilica, describing the old church as historically precious but devoid of aesthetic value. The fire, in his view, offered a precious opportunity to replace it with a modern building that was genuinely beautiful.⁵²

Leo XII made quick work of Valadier and within a year had issued the astounding order that San Paolo was to be rebuilt exactly as it had been when it was new.⁵³ An architect of mediocre talents, Pasquale Belli, was appointed to carry out what was now explicitly to be a noncreative work of contemporary self-effacement, almost of aesthetic mortification. The material form of the old basilica was no longer to be permitted to die a natural death, as it would once have been; it was instead to be minutely reconstituted in new materials and forced to extend its life indefinitely. The deplorable present was to leave no visible trace, no signature, on the rebuilt building.

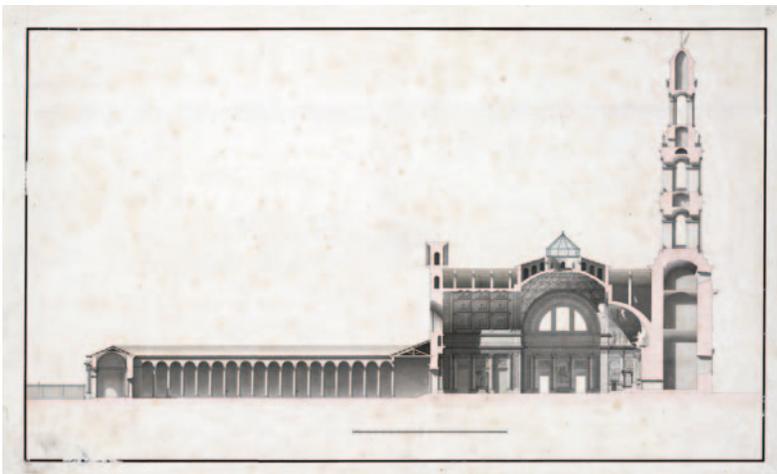
This historically momentous decision came in 1825 and had no real precedent anywhere in European architecture. It highlights a break in consciousness that was then occurring in Rome. For it was not just a relic from the old basilica, imbued with a divine aura, but the entirety of its historically contingent forms that were to be preserved, and preserved iconically not indexically; not because the beauty of



those forms offered a timeless glimpse of divine perfection but because they immersed the imagination in a better historical moment. The historicist notion of a richly variegated and meaningful historicity was thus implicitly present, for the forms of the reconstituted San Paolo aimed to gesture horizontally across history, from an evil present to a holy past, not vertically from a temporally polyvalent present toward a static telos. Before long, architects and scholars in Rome began conceptualizing how early Christian architecture might be revived as a model for new architectural production, often in terms that explicitly echoed the developmental narratives northern theorists had used to justify other revivals.⁵⁴ If the classical seemed to have been successfully appropriated by the church's enemies—by Enlightenment, by revolution, by Protestants, by secularism, by capitalism—perhaps what Catholicism now needed was a style that aspired not to universality but to the exclusivity of Catholic identity. This in itself is revealing as to how profoundly shaken the clerical intelligentsia was after 1815, amid a new landscape in which a diminished church was regarded with hostility and open contempt by forces both powerful and popular across Europe.

5.

Political violence crackled across the Papal States throughout the 1830s, fed by the brutal repressions pursued by Pope Gregory XVI against a rising tide of rebellions and reformism. After Gregory's death in 1846, a little-known provincial bishop with liberal leanings was elected to succeed him: Pius IX, destined to become the longest reigning pope in history. For the first two years of his pontificate Pius promulgated amnesties, reforms, and a far-reaching program of modernization that caused an international sensation but that also fed a dangerous misapprehension that Pius's long-term vision included democracy or even republican government—which in reality was far from the truth.⁵⁵ The initial euphoria thus gradually curdled into disillusionment before erupting in an open revolt that in November 1848 forced Pius to flee the pontifical territories. Revolutionary Rome soon declared itself once again a republic, under a government that counted Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi among its leaders. Newly elected French president Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte declared the following spring that he would send troops to reconquer the city for the pope, imagining that this would entitle him to bully a restored Pius into governing with a more liberal constitution. French troops did overthrow the republicans in April 1849 and remained in the pontifical territories for the next two decades to protect the pope and his government, but Louis-Napoléon never enjoyed



Opposite: Luigi Rossini. *Veduta della rovina della basilica di San Paolo* (Ruin of the basilica of San Paolo), 1824. Architekturmuseum der TU München.

Left: Giuseppe Valadier (assisted by Gaspare Salvi). Project for San Paolo, June 1824. Accademia di San Luca, Rome, ASL 2742. © Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Roma.

the leverage he anticipated. Pius and his closest advisers returned to Rome in 1850 defiant and bitter, absolutely determined to defend Pius's independence and that of the church.

The way history was deployed in Rome changed yet again at this point, as Pius launched what ultimately became a twenty-eight-year campaign of urban transformation in his capital city.⁵⁶ Following the debacle of 1848, and even more so as the drumbeat for Italian unification intensified through the 1850s, Pius and his advisers entrusted the everyday government of the pontifical territories to his formidable secretary of state, Giacomo Antonelli, so as to associate Pius's public image instead with the spiritual leadership of the supranational Catholic Church.⁵⁷ They also moved to centralize church authority in Pius's own person—the movement known as Ultramontanism—and used the press, among other means, to foster an international personality cult around him.⁵⁸ The public image of Rome was adjusted accordingly. The old Sistine ambition of trumpeting temporal glory and power with triumphalist piazzas, boulevards, and monuments was finally, after two and a half centuries, laid to rest. The mediatised Rome that was now to be regularly on the minds of Catholics everywhere would seek instead to evoke the benevolent spiritual father and his ancient supranational dominion of light and love.

This vision was materialized through a concerted effort to foreground the historical remains of Rome's Christian past at the expense of the putatively providential antique and pagan past that had long occupied center stage.⁵⁹ Resources were redirected away from classical archaeology, while excavations at early Christian archaeological sites multiplied. An ambitious new Commission of Sacred Archaeology was founded to coordinate and oversee this work, with the consequence that a whole lost world of ancient Christian catacombs, cemeteries, and early places of worship were excavated, studied, stabilized, sheltered, publicized, and opened to public view.⁶⁰ A new public museum was created to house the Christian antiquities drawn from these newly excavated sites. The commission had been the brainchild of Padre Giuseppe Marchi, conservator of sacred cemeteries and author of the path-breaking *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo* (Monuments of early Christian art in the metropolis of Christianity; 1844).⁶¹ Marchi had been campaigning in Rome for over a decade to end the traditional clerical practice of plundering the ancient catacombs for holy relics to be distributed to the aboveground faithful. He sought instead to reorganize these fragile spaces as an officially protected category of sacred monument. Upon Pius IX's return from exile after the 1848 revolt, the value of Marchi's vision was finally recognized, and the

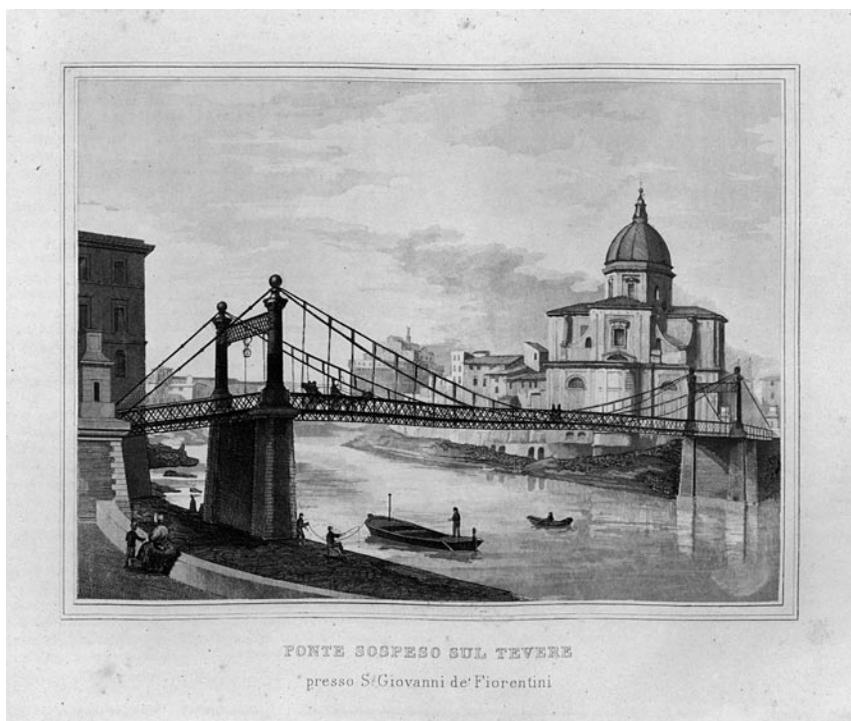
revolution he wrought in the catacombs was gradually extended over more and more Christian sites in Rome.⁶²

The historical turn of these years was of a fundamentally different nature than that which followed Pius VII's return to Rome following the Napoleonic occupations. The watchword then had been *restoration*; that is, the resumption of the providential continuum of world history following an aberrant disruption.⁶³ The continuity that Rome spoke of after 1850 was rather different; it was historical in a modern way, in that it referred to the supposed continuity of the institutional practice of the Catholic Church in Rome over a 1,500-year period. It was a continuity that was still seen to betoken divine protection and to reflect God's will, but it was also one that did not require faith to perceive, in the way that faith had been required to see the ruins of the Colosseum as evidence of God's providential plan for the church. The demonstration this time aspired to objectivity: The church had been in Rome worshiping the one true God for a millennium and a half, and these excavated ruins proved it. This shift from the attitudes of the 1810s and 1820s reflected the different anxieties that this latest turn to history was intended to assuage. The institutional church during the 1850s was entering a period of unprecedentedly compressed change, as it plunged into a long-postponed and ultimately transformative adjustment to the new realities of nineteenth-century mass-cultural modernity, even as it also prepared for the deterritorialized future that plainly lay ahead as a consequence of the gathering impetus in favor of Italian unification. This urge to unearth, protect, celebrate, and publicize the fragile emblems of an authenticating past was not a "return to normal" following an aberrant shock. Rather, it offered objective historical reassurance that the church was durable, and would endure its latest challenges as well.

This distinction also explains why the present was framed so differently in Roman urban planning after 1850 than it had been a quarter-century earlier. In the earlier period, the present had not been conceived principally in terms of its distinctness from the past. Architects and planners instead thought of themselves as working within a long and noble Roman tradition in which Renaissance and Baroque precedents were still vitally and unproblematically relevant.⁶⁴ The desire not to highlight the present as distinct reached a kind of reactionary breaking point in the decision to reconstruct the gutted San Paolo in its precise pre-fire form. There the aim had been to obliterate a present that seemed bent on rupturing the sense of historical continuity, and to restore that continuity by willfully reanimating the virtues of a heroic past. These kinds of impulses were no longer predominant after

1850, as Pius IX launched an unprecedented campaign of infrastructural modernization in the Eternal City that changed the appearance and the quotidian life of the city even more profoundly than the brief Napoleonic reforms of a half-century earlier.⁶⁵ Pius installed gas lighting in the city; he commissioned a series of iron suspension bridges over the Tiber, of which two were built; he ordered the construction of a large number of new streets and piazzas in connection with extensive new public housing; he sponsored new functional buildings that housed enterprises aimed at improving the local economy, such as the new Tobacco Manufactory in Trastevere, with several streets of adjacent workers' housing; he vastly expanded the Campo Verano cemetery that stood just beyond the city walls to the southeast; and he connected Rome to the surrounding regions with a new railway network and pontifical telegraph service.⁶⁶ The desire to recast Rome as a visibly modern city also registered in the inauguration of several new public museums that offered the Roman public didactic instruction in scientific matters that previous pontifical governments had preferred to confine to trusted specialists (human anatomy, physics, mineralogy).⁶⁷ These two aspects of Pius's transformations—the archaeological and the modernizing—worked together to ensure that past and present began speaking to each other in a new way. The jarring modernity of gas lights and iron bridges now served paradoxically to throw the venerable churches and ancient Christian ruins into an even deeper historical focus, making them seem old in a new and peculiarly modern way. One of Pius's two iron bridges was even attached directly to the second century BCE remains of the Pons Aemilius (Ponte Rotto). This was not a Christian relic, but the tectonic didacticism of the project exemplifies the new archaeological logic of stratification.

The component of Pius's Roman efforts where this stratifying logic became most evident, however, was in his extensive campaign of church restorations, in which no less than seventy-two historic churches across the city were restored and/or redecorated.⁶⁸ These churches were testimonies of the past—sometimes the remote past—and were therefore vulnerable and in need of protection. Yet they were also

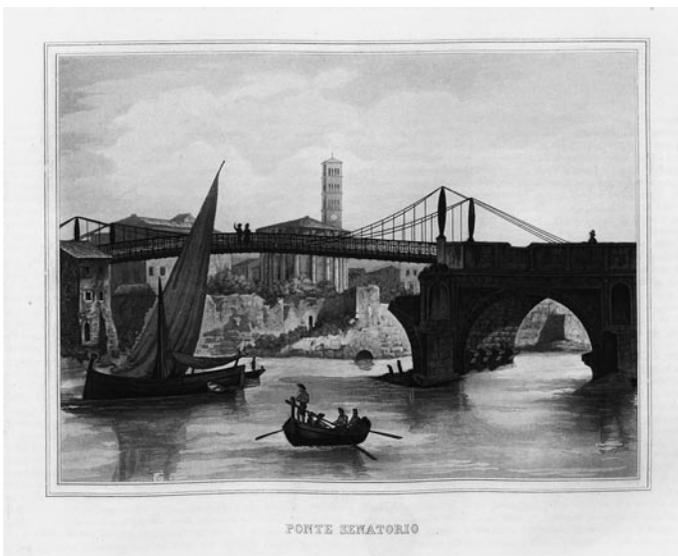


in continual use as a vital part of the city's daily life. The architect who frequently directed these restorations was Virginio Vespignani, who for years had been a lead assistant on the reconstruction at San Paolo.⁶⁹ Vespignani undertook major restorations and redecorations at San Marcello al Corso, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Pietro in Vincoli, San Carlo ai Catinari, and elsewhere, but his emblematic work came at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura (1855–1864), the interior of which he substantially reconfigured.⁷⁰ Vespignani's transformations at San Lorenzo aimed to render explicitly legible the long and complex history of the structure, rather than deny or elide the distinctions between past and present, as traditional Catholic building refurbishments (and historiographies) had done. Instead, Vespignani highlighted the reciprocity between the claims of the past and the demands of the present by leaving the historical texture deliberately uneven. Didactic juxtapositions displaced any implication of historical unity. Rather than the timelessness on which the reconstructed San Paolo had rather unconvincingly insisted, Vespignani's San Lorenzo—like his other restorations and redecorations—situated the spectator unambiguously in a present from which the antiquity of

historical elements was thrown into clear relief. Historic elements were accented, especially those representing the most remote and vulnerable parts of Christian history, like the early Christian and medieval periods. But many of the new elements that Vespignani contributed were self-evidently modern, even if in broadly historical styles. For instance, part of Vespignani's work at San Lorenzo involved clearing out an infilled space beneath the sixth-century sanctuary; if this work had been done in the 1820s or 1830s, this re-created space would almost certainly have been rendered in a



FILO ELETTTRICO-TELEGRAFICO



PONTE SENATORIO

Opposite: Suspension bridge over the Tiber in Rome near S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

Top: New electric telegraph wires on the southeast periphery of Rome. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

Bottom: Suspension bridge attached to the old Ponte Senatorio (first century BCE) in Rome. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

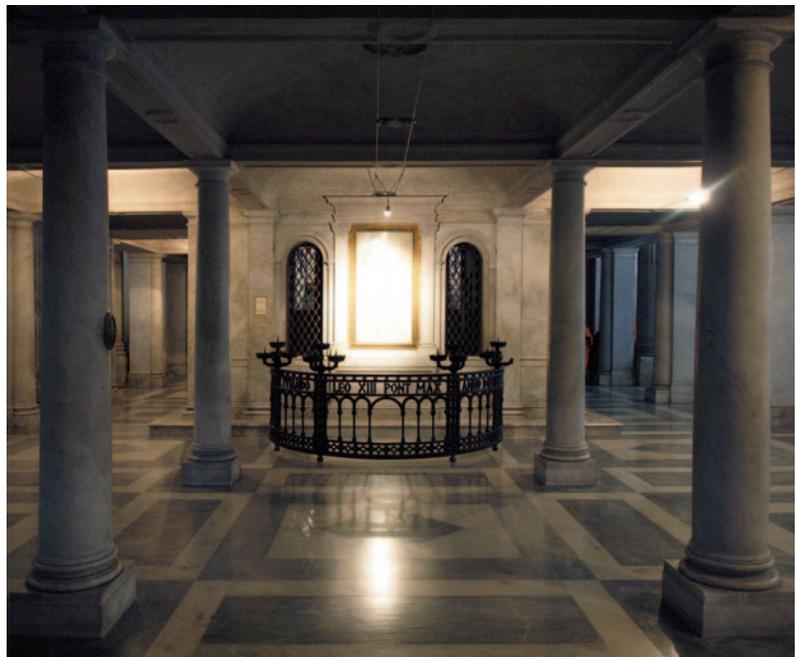
historicizing idiom in hopes of sustaining the immersive experience of an exemplary past offered by the rest of the building. Vespignani instead rendered it as fully modern. One descends to it directly from the thirteenth-century aisles of the restored nave, only to find it filled with unapologetically new and uniform Doric columns deployed on a grid within an austere neoclassical ordonnance. One encountered a similar juxtaposition on the upper part of the medieval nave walls where, before their destruction in the Second World War, there was a cycle of frescoes in the Raphaellesque idiom of the latest pictorial purism of circa 1865.

Like the iron suspension bridge that takes you to an early Christian sanctuary, the juxtaposition of these brightly modern elements with the venerable framing fabric all around them frankly admitted that hopes of timeless intimacy with the historical past were illusory.⁷¹ The past, rather, was remote, fragile, and mysterious. The implicit recognition was that the visible present was what actually illuminated the true depth of the historical field. The contemporary was what constituted the past *as past* in the viewer's experience, for it revealed the objectivity of that temporal weight that permitted the past to anchor the present and keep it from seeming to be at risk of floating away.

The way Christian archaeological sites were handled further illustrates this shift. When interest in Christian archaeology had first developed in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the model its clerical proponents had in mind was pagan archaeology. To insist that Christian historical remains be treated with the same care as pagan ones was, for intellectual clerics writing in the wake of the traumas of revolution and Napoléon, an identitarian rebellion against the traditional acceptance of the inferiority of Christian antiquities vis-à-vis pagan ones.⁷² But another aspect of this was the notion that excavated Christian ruins might now offer exemplary models for contemporary architecture. This was on stark display at San Paolo at the end of the 1830s when excavations around the *confessio* led to a wholesale reorganization of the liturgical space aimed at reconstituting the way things were “originally.”⁷³ It also underlay the ambition of Luigi Canina's book on the historical style most appropriate for Christian churches, along with the related research of figures such as Carlo Promis, Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen, and Luigi Poletti.⁷⁴

Right: Chapel beneath the choir at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, created by Virginio Vespignani following excavations in the 1850s, corresponding to the location of the fourth-century Pelagian basilica. Photograph by the author.

Opposite: Historic photograph showing the interior of the Basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome after its restoration by Virginio Vespignani (1855–1864) but before it was severely damaged in World War II. Note in particular the frescos above the main colonnade, which are no longer extant. Hungarian National Digital Archive/Kuny Domokos Múzeum. CC BY 4.0.



What was then distinctive and, in the context, innovative about Pius IX's Christian archaeology after 1850 was the distance it took from such ambitions. In subterranean excavations, such as those beneath San Clemente or the columbarium near the Porta San Sebastiano, the priority in bringing them to public awareness was to draw attention to the remoteness of their antiquity. When reinforcing arches were added for stability and public access provided via new stairwells, they were executed in an abstract style of bricks and arches that made no effort to present itself as anything but modern and that formed a sharp contrast with the patinaed tufa and brickwork of the original construction.⁷⁵ Thereby the era that had conducted the excavation was made present in ways that made the old site available, not for immersive time travel, but as something frankly ancient being viewed across a historical chasm.⁷⁶

The same impulse was in evidence at newly excavated exterior sites. When in the 1850s two lost early Christian basilicas were unearthed on the outskirts of the city—S. Alessandro on the via Nomentana and S. Stefano on the via Latina—no reference was made in any contemporary publication of their relevance to the design of new churches, nor were they garnished with the kind of historicizing frames that would once have suggested their vital availability to the contemporary visitor. Rather, they were spoken of purely as testimonies of a remote past and as proof of the long continuity of Catholic worship. The low, excavated walls of S. Stefano were simply left exposed to view in all their broken mystery. At S. Alessandro, a more elaborate presentation was envisaged. The discovery of the basilica had occurred in December 1854, when a large portion of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was in Rome to attend the ceremonies connected to the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. This dogma was one of the most important of the



Edizione inalterabile.

ROMA - San Lorenzo, interno.

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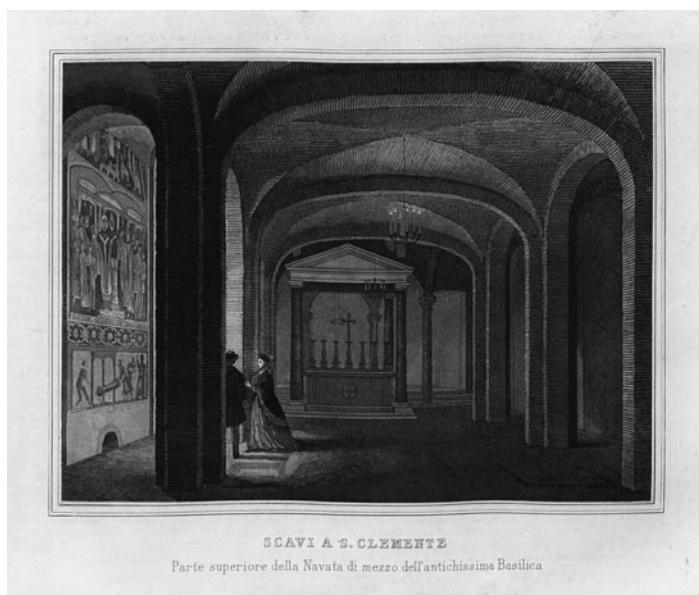
many transformations that Pius IX engineered in the life of the church in the aftermath of the crisis of 1848–1849, and the discovery of the basilica—which clerical scholars identified as marking the place of martyrdom and burial of the second-century Pope Saint Alexander I—was quickly seized on as a divine reassurance of continuity and as a reminder that, as a book published on the occasion stated, “the present worship of the Catholic Church is the same as in the times of Alexander.”⁷⁷ When Pius IX visited the site soon thereafter, he had an emotional response to his encounter with this sainted early Christian pope who had slumbered underground for so many centuries. He at once approved drawings prepared by the architect Luigi Boldrini for a new, modern, three-aisled church to be built over the ruin, which would then be visitable down in the crypt.⁷⁸ Pius laid the cornerstone for this church in 1857, in an act that a fund-raising appeal subsequently described as “reuniting the present to the past, and assuring the future to the present.”⁷⁹ Not much is known about Boldrini’s church: construction lasted just a few years before being suspended and then abandoned shortly after 1860, with the remains eventually demolished in the 1930s and replaced with a new structure.⁸⁰ But an engraving from 1865 shows that by that date Boldrini’s half-built church had been given a simple roof, effectively converting the structure into a basic shelter to protect the ruins.⁸¹ To judge by the image, the new church was to have been in the same modern, brick, arched style employed in underground excavations. Here, too, it was to have been via contrast with a modern neutrality that the visitor was to grasp the grave and awful antiquity of the ruins.

During the 1850s and 1860s, this approach was extended even to San Paolo fuori le Mura. The work at San Paolo had by this time evolved far from Leo XII’s original demand for an exact reconstruction. In the 1830s and 1840s, Belli’s successor Luigi Poletti had re-fashioned the new San Paolo as



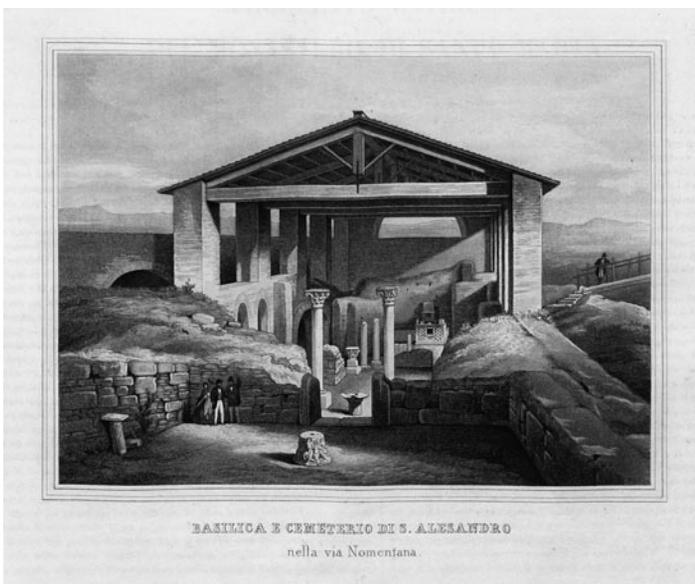
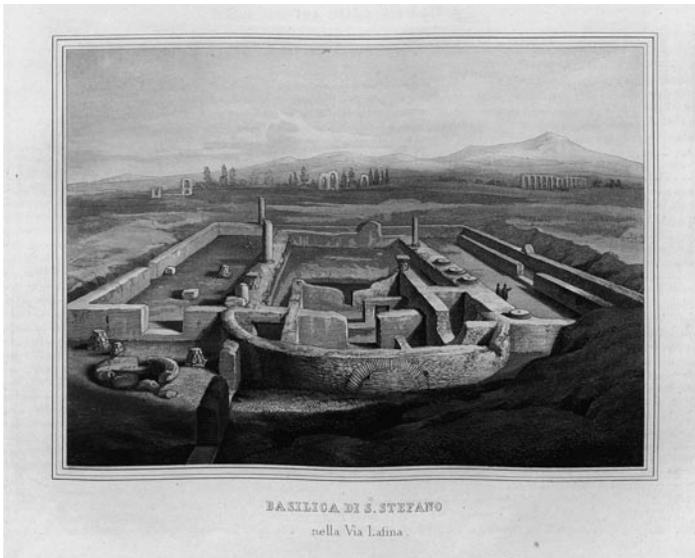
Top: Colombarium near the Porta San Sebastiano in Rome, excavated and opened to the public by Pius IX. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

Bottom: Subterranean excavations sponsored by Pius IX beneath the basilica of San Clemente in Rome. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.



an ideal Christian basilica type, synthesizing Early Christian and Renaissance forms. After 1850, however, such demi-historicist formalism looked more and more like an outdated (and very expensive) failure. Urged by the painter and Romantic Tommaso Minardi, his leading art consigliere, Pius IX decreed in 1852 that a long sequence of frescoes in the contemporary purist style should decorate the basilica's upper walls.⁸² Minardi also systematically opposed Poletti's efforts to fashion the new San Paolo as a timeless ideal synthesized out of the expressive possibilities of different historical architectures. For example, he organized the successful opposition to Poletti's project to append a colossal pronaos modeled on the Pantheon onto the basilica, arguing that only a façade in the early Christian style could be considered appropriate.⁸³ In pursuing such an argument, Minardi called Poletti's whole rationale for the reconstruction into question. Minardi's claim was rather that the only feasible rationale for reconstructing San Paolo as a replica of the old basilica was so that its original historic forms, accurately reproduced, might remain available to future scholars. Thus, whereas the present had been made visible at the *restored*

San Lorenzo by emphasizing the building's varied historical texture—its contrast between old and new parts—at the *completely rebuilt* San Paolo Minardi felt that circumstances demanded a different significant contrast: one between a uniformly modern material texture and a uniformly early Christian stylistic form. Only thereby could the building function legitimately as a modern evocation of a vanished building. The nave frescoes were the only compromise: Minardi saw them, too, as being true to the original early Christian building (which had indeed been frescoed), but he saw their modern style as authorized by the spiritual needs of ordinary



Top: The Basilica of Santo Stefano in the via Latina on the southern edge of Rome, excavated starting in 1859. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

Bottom: Basilica of S. Alesandro on the via Nomentana, discovered in 1854, surmounted by the half-built church begun by the architect Luigi Boldrini in 1857 but abandoned in the early 1860s. From *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX* (1865). Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institute for Art History.

people, for whom the dry abstractions of architecture had to be supplemented with affective images capable of stimulating the believer's subjectivity.⁸⁴

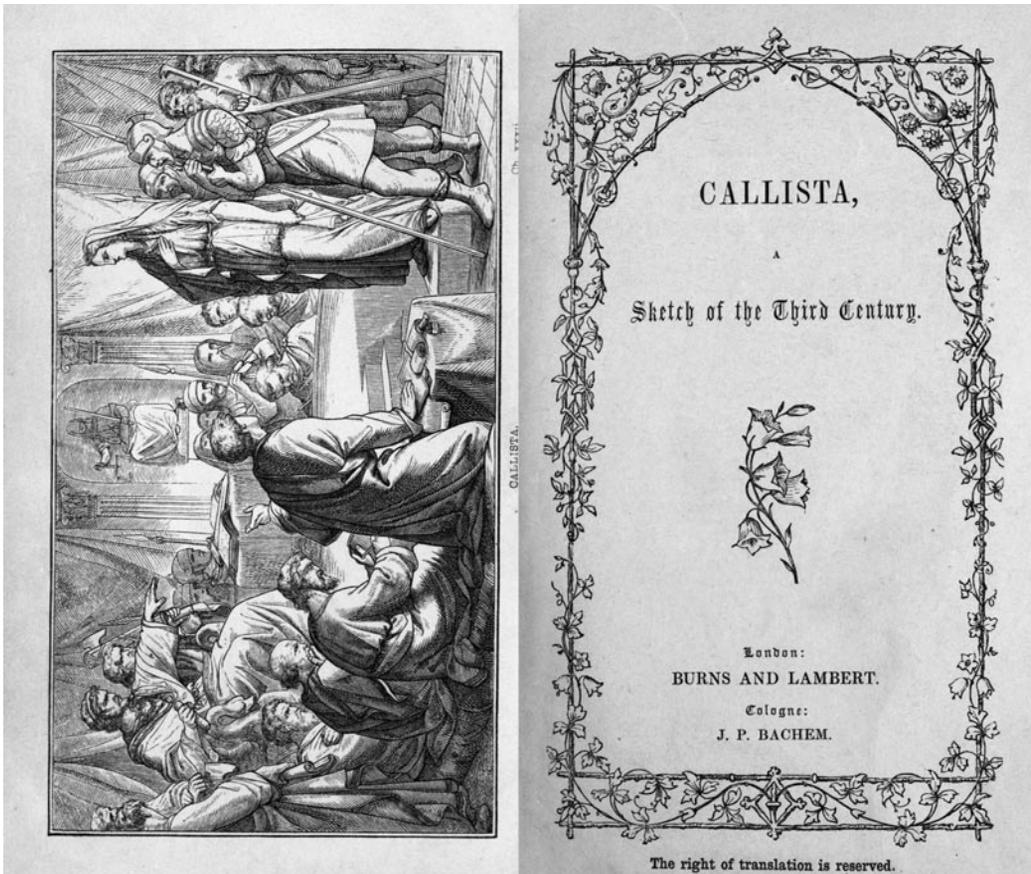
Inherent in all this was the idea that true historical understanding aspires properly to an affectless objectivity. The neutral frames of Pius IX's archaeological sites invited mental distancing in ways that, for instance, Borromini's reconstituted tombs at the Lateran basilica, composed of medieval fragments artfully reintegrated in modern Baroque frames, had not aspired to do. During these same years the literature on early Christian buildings also abruptly divided into objective and subjective modes. On the one side was a decidedly scientific turn in the scholarship on the catacombs and early Christian basilicas, which relinquished the various topical axes that scholars of the 1820s–1840s had so carefully ground, most of which had concerned the contribution of the pagan basilica to the Christian basilica type and its implications for the future of architecture. Instead, scholars now adopted a more scientific tone and a fuller appreciation of the ambiguity and provisional nature of historical knowledge. Examples include Paolo Belloni's 1853 reassessment of the original form of Constantinian San Paolo in the wake of archaeological discoveries made during the reconstruction; or, among a series of contemporary German publications, works such as Joseph Anton Messmer's 1854 attempt to demonstrate that the Christian basilica derived not from the civic basilica at all but from the private court rooms typical in a larger Roman domus.⁸⁵ The corollary to this scientific turn was a simultaneous explosion of popular historical fiction on the life of early Christianity and the spaces it had inhabited; for instance, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman's *Fabiola; or, The Church of the Catacombs* (1855) and John Henry Newman's *Callista: A Sketch of the Third Century* (1856), both best sellers destined to be translated into several languages and to stay in print for decades.⁸⁶ In a sense, the objectivity with which specialized inquiry now enveloped early Christian sites made such invitations to subjectivity necessary. These elaborate Romantic fictions encouraged the reader to feel the depth of history in a vivid personal way, as if in acknowledgment that the ostensibly objective lens of modern historiography—in making the deep past seem as remote and as mysterious as possible—had come at the price of draining the past of its affective power for the present.

6.
In 1845, less than two months after being received into the Roman Catholic Church, the same Newman, the former leader of the Oxford movement in the Church of England, published his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*.⁸⁷ This

Frontispiece and title page of the popular historical novel *Callista: A Sketch of the Third Century*, by John Henry Newman (1856).

formidable and disruptive book finally acknowledged that the old apologetics for the absolute fixity of Catholic doctrine could no longer be taken seriously in the face of contemporary historical criticism. Newman's delicate project was to acknowledge this in such a way as not to undermine the notion that divine revelation had already been complete in biblical times. The book received a generally cool reception from Catholic theologians in Rome and elsewhere. After all, what alarmed Catholic intellectual gatekeepers about developmental approaches to history was their specifically doctrinal implications. But the very publication of the book bears witness nonetheless that, despite this uneasiness, even in Catholic circles history was being thought about in new ways. Newman would likely not have thought as he did were he not a historian as well as a theologian.⁸⁸

Pius IX's Rome offers additional evidence that a modern sense of the past as differentiated and processual had made much deeper inroads than one might have suspected in the Eternal City. But the horizons of Pius IX's transformed Rome still remained religious, not temporal. The visible Christian history that his efforts brought to the fore sought to vouch for the continuity of the authority claims of the papacy as it navigated a season of epochal transformations. One might speak, then, of a partly vacated historicism, one where a mystical faith in a higher level of reality always lies beyond any discussion of the merely temporal. The peculiar and little-understood modernity of nineteenth-century papal Rome is one where neither the universal nor the eternal were ever quite off the table.



Notes

My thanks to Mari Hvattum for inviting me to present a first version of this essay as a paper in her panel at the European Architectural History Network (EAHN) meetings in Tallinn in 2018.

1. The eccentric architectural thinker Carlo Lodoli was influenced by Vico, and Lodoli in turn influenced Giovanni Battista Piranesi, but all three were rather special cases with only a limited influence on mainstream ideas. Gian Paolo Consoli, "Architecture and History: Vico, Lodoli, Piranesi," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome: Supplementary Volumes 4* (2006): 195–210; and Erika Naginski, "Preliminary Thoughts on Piranesi and Vico," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 53/54 (Spring–Autumn 2008): 152–167.

2. For instance, the 693-page *The Companions to the History of Architecture*, vol. 3, *Nineteenth-Century Architecture*, ed. Martin Bressani and Christina Contandriopoulos (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), devotes a total of two paragraphs to nineteenth-century Italian architecture and theory.

3. See my forthcoming book, tentatively titled "Reconstructions: Architecture, History, and the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Rome."

4. On secularism, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

5. See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

6. Amid the vast literature on historicism, the works I have relied on are Friedrich Meinecke, *Historism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Paul Hamilton, *Historicism*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003); Peter H. Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975); Arnaldo Momigliano, "Historicism Revisited," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 365–373; Andrew Reynolds, "What Is Historicism?," *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science* 13, no. 3 (1999): 275–287; Zachary Sayre Schiffman, "Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered," *History and Theory* 24, no. 2 (1985): 170–182; Georg G. Iggers, "Historicism: The History and Meaning of the Term," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 1 (1995): 129–152; Jacques Bos, "Nineteenth-Century Historicism and Its Predecessors: Historical Experience, Historical Ontology and Historical Method," in *The Making of the Humanities*, ed. Rens Bod, Jaap Maat, and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 131–148; Maurice Mandelbaum, *History, Man and Reason* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971); Giuseppe Martini, "Lineamenti d'uno storicismo Cattolico," *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 9, no. 6 (1954): 556–565; and Patrick H. Hutton, "The New Science of Giambattista Vico: Historicism in Its Relation to Poetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 30, no. 3 (1972): 359–367.

7. Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

8. This has sometimes been called "historism." See Meinecke, *Historism*.

9. Aron Yakovlevich Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 94–151.

10. Simon Ditchfield, "What Was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), 85.

11. This approach was exemplified by the Catholic responses to the Protestant Magdeburg centuries,

such as those of Girolamo Muzio and Cesare Baronio. See, respectively, Ditchfield, “What Was Sacred History?,” 75–76; and Heather Hyde Minor, *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 21–22.

12. Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 358.

13. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 358. For this distinction Ditchfield refers to Schiffman’s “Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered,” which critiques the attribution of historicist consciousness to sixteenth-century French legal scholars.

14. Arnaldo Momigliano, “Mabillon’s Italian Disciples,” in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 277–293; and Eric Cochrane, “Muratori: The Vocation of a Historian,” *Catholic Historical Review* 51, no. 2 (1965): 153–172. Minor, 25, offers an excellent synthetic overview of this reform movement.

15. Simon Ditchfield, “‘Historia Magistra Sanctitatis’? The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1564–1742 ca.),” in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores: Stori e storia in età posttridentina: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Torino, 24–27 settembre 2003*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2005), 6–7.

16. The essential product of the new historiography was the twenty-one-volume *Della istoria ecclesiastica*, ed. G.A. Orsi (Rome: Niccolò e Marco Pagliarini, 1747–1762). See Minor, 24, 44–58.

17. Minor, 59–90; and Christopher and M.S. Johns, *The Visual Culture of Catholic Enlightenment* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), ch. 6.

18. Minor, 6.

19. Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775–1850* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 45.

20. Jeffrey Laird Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 56–57.

21. Collins, 36–37.

22. Carlo Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il pontificato di Pio VI* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani editore, 1958); and Springer, 43, 54.

23. Collins, 88–120.

24. Springer, 46.

25. Philippe Boutry, Francesco Pitocco, and Carlo M. Travaglini, *Roma negli anni di influenza e dominio francese 1798–1814: Rotture, continuità, innovazioni tra fine Settecento e inizi Ottocento* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2000).

26. Maria Pia Donato, “Lo specchio di un progetto politico: L’antichità nella Repubblica giacobina romana,” *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, no. 1 (1994): 82–119; and Springer, 65–68.

27. Springer, 75.

28. Springer, 77–78.

29. Marita Jonsson, *La cura dei monumenti alle origini: Restauro e scavo di monumenti antichi a Roma 1800–1830* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, 1986), 18–38; Ronald T. Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 35; and Ronald T. Ridley, “In Defence of the Cultural Patrimony: Carlo Fea Goes to Court,” *Xenia Antiqua* 5 (1996): 143–158.

30. Springer, 65–66; Angelo Uggeri, *Edifices de Rome antique déblayés par S.S. le pape Pie VII depuis*

l'an 1804 jusqu'au 1816 (Rome, 1817); and Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 35–44. On frames, see Karsten Harries, *The Broken Frame* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), esp. 67.

31. Boutry et al., *Roma negli anni di influenza*; Carla Nardi, *Napoleone e Roma: La politica della Consulta romana* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989); and Carla Nardi, *Napoleone e Roma: Dalla Consulta romana al ritorno di Pio VII (1811–1814)* (Rome: Gangemi, 2005).

32. Monica Calzolari, “Le commissioni preposte alla conservazione del patrimonio artistico e archeologico di Roma durante il periodo napoleonico (1809–1814): Nuove ricerche sui fondi documentari dell’Archivio di Stato di Roma,” in *Ideologie e patrimonio storico-culturale nell’età rivoluzionaria e napoleonica: A proposito del trattato di Tolentino: Atti del convegno, Tolentino 18–21 settembre 1997* (Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 2000), 515–559; Luigi Gallo, “Du Campo Vaccino au Forum romain: La mise en scène de l’antique à l’époque napoléonienne,” in *L’architecture de l’empire entre France et Italie*, ed. Letizia Tedeschi and Daniel Rabreau (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2012), 369–382; Clémence Versluys, “Le préfet Camille de Tournon et la mise en valeur des monuments antiques romains: Projets, réalisations et propagande,” *Anabases*, no. 5 (2007): 161–177; and Suzanne Mulder, “La tutela del patrimonio culturale a Roma tra il 1800 e il 1870,” *Mededelingen van het Nederlandse Instituut te Rome* 53 (1994): 81–133.

33. Christopher Kortzen, “Financial Policies in the Papal States, 1790s–1848: A Comparative Study of Napoleonic Europe,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 23, no. 3 (2018): 234–255, esp. 242–243.

34. Philippe Boutry, “Une théologie de la visibilité: Le projet zelante de resacralisation de Rome et son échec (1823–1829),” in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Catherine Brice (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 317–367; Pietro Pirri, “Il movimento Lamennaisiano in Italia: Nel centenario dell’enciclica ‘Mirari Vos’: Il P. Ventura e il ‘Giornale Ecclesiastico,’” *La civiltà cattolica* 83, no. 3, quad. 1972 (12 August 1932): 313–327; and Pietro Pirri, “Il movimento Lamennaisiano in Italia: Nel centenario dell’enciclica ‘Mirari Vos’: Il P. Ventura e il ‘Giornale Ecclesiastico,’” *La civiltà cattolica* 83, no.3, quad. 1974 (9 September 1932): 567–583. See also my forthcoming essay, “San Paolo fuori le mura and Catholic Romanticism,” in *Dinamiche e politiche culturali nell’età di Leone XII (1823–29)*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli, Ilaria Fiumi Sermattei, and Roberto Regoli (Ancona, Italy: Consiglio Regionale Assemblea legislativa delle Marche, forthcoming).

35. The forms of resistance described in this paragraph offer a suggestive parallel with the situation in colonial Egypt. See On Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Modern Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013).

36. Pietro Negri, “Le ferrovie nello Stato Pontificio (1844–1870),” *Archivio economico dell’unificazione Italiana*, 1st ser., 16, no. 2 (1967): 1–164.

37. Lionel Gossman, “History as Decipherment: Romantic Historiography and the Discovery of the Other,” *New Literary History* 18, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 23–57.

38. James Paul Cobbett, *Journal of a Tour in Italy, and also in part of France and Switzerland . . . from October, 1828, to September, 1829, etc.* (London: The Author, 1830), 253.

39. Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, 1968), 261.

40. For comparison, see Asad; and Barak.

41. On this phenomenon, see Nagel and Wood.

42. Anthony Blunt, *Borromini* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 134.

43. On Fuga’s restoration, see Minor, 59–90; and Johns, ch. 6.

44. Springer, 75.
45. Sonia Martone, “1797–1814: L’alternanza dei Governi francese e pontificio a Roma: Note sui criteri adottati per la conservazione dell’architettura ecclesiastica,” in *Restauro architettonico a Roma nell’Ottocento*, ed. Maria Piera Sette (Rome: Bonsignori Editore, 2007), 87–106.
46. For example, Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Georges Seroux d’Agincourt, *Histoire de l’art par les monuments depuis sa décadence au IV^e siècle jusqu’à son renouvellement au XVI*, 6 vols. (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1823); and Angelo Uggeri, *Édifices de la décadence; Journées pittoresques des édifices de Rome ancienne / Par l’abbé architecte Ange Uggeri, Milanois, Supplément* (Rome, 1809).
47. Nicola Maria Nicolai, *Della basilica di S. Paolo* (Rome, 1815).
48. Angelo Uggeri, *Della basilica di S. Paolo sulla via Ostiense: Nota dell’Abbate Angelo Uggeri, Architetto ed Archeologo* (Rome, 1823). A second edition was published in 1825.
49. Wittman, “Reconstructions.”
50. Raffaele Colapietra, “Una riflessione sul Giubileo di Leone XII,” in “*Si dirà quel che si dirà: si ha da fare il Giubileo*” Leone XII, la città di Roma, e il giubileo del 1825, ed. Raffaele Colapietra and Ilaria Fiumi Sermattei (Genga, Italy: Assemblea Legislativa delle Marche, 2014), 15–35; Boutry, “Une théologie.”
51. Valadier was also active in Rome as a restorer of antique monuments. On restoration in Rome during this period, see Jonsson, *La cura dei monumenti alle origini*; Elisabetta Pallottino, “Cultura della ricostruzione a Roma tra Ottocento e Novecento: Precedenti e prospettive,” *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, no. 95 (2008): 7–29; Stella Casiello, “Problemi di conservazione e restauro nei primi decenni dell’Ottocento a Roma,” in *Restauro tra metamorfosi e teorie*, ed. Stella Casiello (Naples: Electa, 1992), 7–49; and Clemente Marconi, “Roma 1806–1829: Un momento critico per la formazione della metodologia del restauro architettonico,” *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, no. 8 (1979): 63–72. In English, see Jukka Jokilehto, “A History of Architectural Conservation” (Ph.D. diss., University of York, 1986), 122–148.
52. Good published accounts of the early debates are found in: Michael Groblewski, *Thron und Altar: Der Wiederaufbau der Basilika St. Paul vor den Mauern (1823–1854)* (Vienna: Herder, 2001); Elisabetta Pallottino, “La nuova architettura paleocristiana nella ricostruzione della basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura a Roma (1823–1847),” in “Revival paleocristiani, 1764–1870,” special issue, *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, no. 56 (1995): 30–59; and Paolo Marconi, *Giuseppe Valadier* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1964).
53. Pope Leo XII, *Chirografo della santità di nostro signore Papa Leone XII in data dei 18 settembre 1825 sulla riedificazione della Basilica di S. Paolo nella via Ostiense . . .* (Rome: Presso Vincenzo Poggioli Stampatore Camerale, 1825).
54. See Luigi Canina, *Ricerche sull’architettura più propria dei tempj cristiani* (Rome: Tipi dello stesso Canina, 1843), which offered a kind of Roman Catholic edition of Heinrich Hübsch’s *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?* of fifteen years earlier. These efforts to rethink the basis of a new Catholic architecture in a paleo-Christian key were, however, short-lived and were already winding down by the time Canina’s book appeared.
55. Ignazio Veca, *Il mito di Pio IX: Storia di un papa liberale e nazionale* (Rome: Viella, 2018).
56. Gianfranco Spagnesi, “Roma capitale dello stato pontificio e il ‘programma’ di Pio IX (1846–1878),” in *Roma: La Basilica di San Pietro, il borgo e la città* (Milan: Palombi Editori, 2003), 165–181; and Marcello Fagiolo, “La Roma di Pio IX: Revival della controriforma o autunno del Medioevo?,” in *Arte a Roma dal Neoclassico al Romanticismo*, ed. Franco Borsi (Rome: Editalia, 1979), 87–120.

57. Frank J. Coppa, *Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli and Papal Politics in European Affairs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); and Giacomo Martina, *Pio IX*, 3 vols. (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1974).

58. Veca.

59. Spagnesi, 167–168; Maurizio Caperna, “Archeologia cristiana e restauro nella Roma di Gregorio XVI e Pio IX,” *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, no. 50 (2007): 447–460; Maurizio Caperna, “Il restauro delle chiese romane durante il pontificato di Pio IX: Preesistenze e rinnovamento figurativo,” *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, no. 34/39 (1999–2002): 505–516; and Suzanne Mulder, “Image Building by Means of Church Restorations, Conservations of Ancient Monuments, Evangelic Diligence and Church Policy under the Pontificate of Pius IX during the Years 1850–1870,” in *The Power of Imagery: Essays on Rome, Italy and Imagination*, ed. Peter van Kessel and Nederlands Instituut te Rome (Rome: Apeiron Editori, 1992), 83–97.

60. Antonio Ferrua, “I primordi della Commissione di Archeologia Sacra 1851–1852,” *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 91 (1968): 251–278; and Vincenzo Tizzani, *Della commissione di archeologia sacra, del museo Cristiano-Pio, e dell'antica basilica di S. Clemente* (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1886).

61. Giuseppe Marchi, *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo* (Rome: Tip. di C. Puccinelli, 1844).

62. “Relazione dei lavori intrapresi e compiuti dalla Commissione di Archeologia Sacra nel primo biennio dalla sua istituzione,” *Giornale di Roma*, no. 161 (19 July 1853): 641–642.

63. Springer, 64–97.

64. To pick an example almost at random: When the Modenese engineer Luigi Poletti unsuccessfully proposed the construction of an iron suspension bridge in central Rome in 1824, he spent a significant portion of his justificatory memorandum explaining why his proposal would be better than one proposed by Carlo Fontana for the same site in 1692. Yuri Strozzi, *Luigi Poletti: Gli orientamenti del restauro nella prima metà dell'Ottocento: Stile, filologia, storia* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2021), 114–115.

65. Paolo Cacchiarelli and Gregorio Cleter, *Le scienze e le arti sotto il pontificato di Pio IX*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Rome: Tipografico di G. Aurelj, 1865); Alessandro Atti, *Della munificenza di sua santità Papa Pio IX, felicemente regnante* (Rome: Fratelli Pallotta Tipografi, 1864); Spagnesi, “Roma capitale dello Stato pontificio,” 165–181; and Fagiolo, “La Roma di Pio IX,” 87–120.

66. Convenient contemporary inventories of these accomplishments are furnished by Cacchiarelli and Cleter; and Atti, *Della munificenza di sua santità Papa Pio IX*.

67. Cacchiarelli and Cleter; and Atti, *Della munificenza di sua santità Papa Pio IX*.

68. Caperna, “Il restauro delle chiese romane durante il pontificato di Pio IX,” 505–516; Mulder, “Image Building by Means of Church Restorations,” 83–97; Armanda Pastorino and Laura Pastorino, “I restauri delle chiese a impianto basilicale a Roma durante il pontificato di Pio IX,” in “Revival paleocristiani, 1764–1870,” special issue, *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, no. 56 (1995): 60–72; and Giovanna Capitelli, “Mecenatismo pontificio, cantieri di restauro e decorazione pittorica nella Roma ‘sacra’ di Pio IX (1846–1870): Storia e conservazione dell’oggetto d’arte e d’architettura” (Ph.D. diss., Università Roma Tre, 2000).

69. In addition to the works already cited, see, for Vespignani specifically, Clementina Barucci, *Virgino Vespignani: Architetto tra Stato Pontificio e Regno d'Italia* (Rome: Argos, 2006).

70. The S. Lorenzo restoration is discussed in some detail in Mulder, “Image Building.”
71. The strategies of restoration developed during these years seem almost predictive of the styles of restoration subsequently formulated in the postunification Italian kingdom—a connection that has not been remarked in the historiography. My thanks to Lucia Allais for this insight.
72. See, for instance, Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli, *Lezioni elementari di archeologia: Esposte nella Pontificia università di Perugia*, 2 vols. (Perugia: Francesco Baduel, 1822), 2:350.
73. Wittman, “Reconstructions”; and Giorgio Filippi, “Nuovi documenti sui lavori del 1838 nella Vecchia Confessione,” *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 25 (2006): 87–95.
74. Elisabetta Pallottino, “Architettura e archeologia intorno alle basiliche di Roma e alla ricostruzione di S. Paolo f.l.m.,” in *Roma fra la Restaurazione e l’elezione di Pio IX: Amministrazione, economia: Società e cultura*, ed. Anna Lia Bonella, Augusto Pompeo, and Manola Ida Venzo (Vienna: Herder, 1997), 329–347.
75. Caperna, “Archeologia cristiana,” 452–453.
76. For illustrations of other contemporary examples, see Cacchiarelli and Cleter.
77. *Atti del martirio di S. Alessandro Primo, pontefice e martire e memorie del suo sepolcro al settimo miglio della via Nomentana* (Rome: Morini, 1858), 54.
78. *Atti*, 65–68.
79. *Atti*, 75.
80. Pietro Card. Fumasoni Biondi, “Ficulea e la Basilica Cimiteriale di Sant’Alessandro,” *Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita romana* 21, no. 8 (August 1943): 282–283. Work was abandoned because of the crises precipitated by the start of the Italian Risorgimento, as well as because of scholarly concerns that the Alexander referenced in certain inscriptions at the site might have been an Alexander other than the sainted pope. Caperna’s otherwise exemplary “Archeologia Cristiana” contains errors with respect to this site (451–452).
81. The engraving is from Cacchiarelli and Cleter.
82. Luigi Moreschi, “Congregazione Speciale deputata alla riedificazione della Basilica di S. Paolo,” *Giornale di Roma*, no. 150 (5 July 1852): 597–598. On Minardi and Pius IX, see Giovanna Capitelli, *Mecenatismo pontificio e borbonico alla vigilia dell’Unità* (Rome: Viviani Editore, 2011), 36–39.
83. Ferrua, 265–269.
84. For Minardi’s expression of these ideas, see the document reproduced in Ferrua, 265–269.
85. Paolo Belloni, *Sulla grandezza e disposizione della primitiva Basilica Ostiense stabilita dalla sua absida rinvenuta nell’anno 1850* (Rome: Tipografia Forense, 1853); and Joseph Anton Messmer, *Ueber den Ursprung: Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Basilika in der christlichen Baukunst* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1854).
86. Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, *Fabiola; or, The Church of the Catacombs* (London: Burns and Lambert, 1855); and John Henry Newman, *Callista: A Sketch of the Third Century* (London: Burns and Lambert, 1856).
87. For the claims made in this paragraph, I direct the reader to Owen Chadwick’s excellent book, *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1957), esp. 139–195.
88. Chadwick, 100.