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Making Italianness at Rome's Piazza Termini: The Restoration of Santa Maria degli Angeli at the Baths of Diocletian and *Roma 1911*

Anna Mascorella

Of the many transformations of Rome after the city became the capital of Italy in 1870, the restoration of Santa Maria degli Angeli presents a complicated case. Created in the 1560s out of the Baths of Diocletian by Michelangelo, the church was overhauled in 1749 by Neapolitan architect Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773). Among Vanvitelli's many interventions, targets of scathing criticism upon their completion, his greatest "delitto artistico" (artistic crime) was perhaps the addition of his late Baroque façade, which reoriented the church's entrance and covered a previously exposed apse of the ancient Roman baths.[1] Following Italy's unification, the church became the crowning feature of Piazza Termini (today's Piazza della Repubblica),[2] the starting point of the new avenue, Via Nazionale (fig. 1). As such, it framed the route from Termini Station to the historic center, serving as a monumental gateway to the Eternal City. Santa Maria degli Angeli thus occupied a vital space in the cultural imaginary of Roma Capitale and, by extension, the Italian nation. Yet Vanvitelli's façade remained problematic in the eyes of Italians and foreigners alike, to the extent that it was removed for the 1911 International Exposition in Rome (*Roma 1911*), held in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Italian state.

The Kingdom of Italy's jubilee festivities brought to the fore critical questions about style, taste, and authorship in the making of Italianness or *italianità*. In sifting through the peninsula's geopolitically and stylistically fragmented past, the notion of a national architectural style remained desired yet perennially contentious.[3] In commemoration of the nation's fiftieth anniversary, the 1911 international expositions held in Turin and Rome—the respective first and current capitals of Italy[4]—served as battlegrounds for debates over the national style. In an effort to connect the expositions and offset their regionalist implications, the pavilions of both cities'

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[1] Corrado Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme Diocleziane," *Bollettino d'arte* 3 (1909): 367. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[2] This piazza has also historically been called "Piazza d'Esedra." I use "Piazza Termini" in this article because that is the name most frequently used to discuss the square in the period publications and archival documents upon which I draw.

[3] Giuseppe Strappa, "La continuità con la tradizione nell'edilizia romana del '900," in *Tradizione e innovazione nell'architettura di Roma capitale 1870–1930*, ed. Giuseppe Strappa (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 1989), 43.

[4] While Florence also held an exhibition for the jubilee as the second capital of Italy, emphasis centered on the international expositions of Turin and Rome, whose administrations also collaborated on the festivities. See Laura Moure Cecchini, "The Baroque's Revenge: The 1911 Jubilee Exhibitions and the Search for an Italian Style," in *Baroquemania: Italian Visual Culture and the Construction of National Identity, 1898–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 55.

exhibitions were designed in a neo-Baroque style (fig. 2).[5] Writing on the occasion of *Roma 1911*, cultural critic and journalist Ugo Ojetti proposed that "lo stile secentesco"—a modern version of Baroque "seventeenth-century style"—should become the official style of the new Italy's public buildings.[6] While referencing the 1600s in name, Ojetti's conceptualization of the style, as Laura Moure Cecchini has pointed out, also incorporated the eighteenth century.[7] "Lo stile secentesco," Ojetti explained in the *Corriere della Sera*, "è il primo e l'utimo stile diffusamente italiano; è nativamente romano e, nel buon senso, classico in architettura e in scultura…" (is the first and last widely Italian style; it is natively Roman and, in the proper sense, classical in architecture and in sculpture…).[8] While grounding the historical Baroque as both Roman and "classical," in order to emphasize its continuity with the ancient world, Ojetti contended that the style had spread from Rome to the rest of Italy and beyond. In this light, its reiteration as the contemporary neo-Baroque *stile secentesco* served as a fitting form for the celebration of a unified Italy.

This decision reflected the growing rehabilitation of the contested style. By the 1760s, Francesco Milizia (1725–1798) had spurned the Baroque, later criticizing it as "bizarre" and "delirious."[9] In the next century, Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) framed it as the degradation of the Renaissance.[10] The Italian Renaissance was, in turn, exalted in the immediate post-Unification years—shaped by Burckhardt and tied to the legacy of Florence's stint as the nation's capital (1865–1870); the subsequent nationalization of the Florentine Michelangelo in 1875 for his four hundredth birthday further aggrandized the style.[11] This state-sanctioned celebration of the Renaissance anchored the post-Unification embrace of ancient Rome and its classicism—not to mention its imperialism—to the detriment of the Baroque. Yet by the *fin-de-siècle*, the Baroque also began to be recuperated, most notably by the creation of another national icon: Gian Lorenzo Bernini. On the occasion of his three hundredth birthday in 1898, public officials—including Corrado Ricci, who will become this article's key protagonist—celebrated Bernini as a "post-Unification hero" given his work across Naples, Florence, and Rome, with strategic emphasis, as Cecchini has argued, on his projects in Rome's secular urban spaces, like Piazza Navona.[12] Indeed, such nationalization required detaching the Baroque from its papal associations. Ojetti's promotion of "lo stile secentesco" and its realization in the exposition's pavilions thus perpetuated this

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[5] Cecchini, "The Baroque's Revenge," 56. For additional discussion of the pavilions' style, see Todd Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome: Architecture, Archaeology, and National Identity," *Journal of Historical Geography* 37 (2011): 445.

[6] Ugo Ojetti, "A Roma e a Torino," *Corriere della Sera* (8 August 1911), 3.

[7] Cecchini, "The Baroque's Revenge," 80.

[8] Ojetti, "A Roma e a Torino. Per un'architettura italiana," 3.

[9] Francesco Milizia, *Le vite de' più celebri architetti d'ogni nazione e d'ogni tempo* (Rome: Paolo Giunchi Komarek, 1768), Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, vol. 2 (Bassano: Remondini di Venezia, 1785), 158–59, and Francesco Milizia, *Dizionario delle belle arti del disegno: Estratto in gran parte dalla enciclopedia metodica*, vol. 1 (Bassano, 1797), 90. Also see Helen Hills, "The Baroque: The Grit in the Oyster of Art History," in *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 11–36.

[10] See Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone* (Basel, 1855).

[11] Lisa M. Rafanelli, *Michelangelo's Vatican Pietà and its Afterlives* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 93–97. Also see Lina Bolzoni and Alina Payne, eds., *The Italian Renaissance in the 19th Century: Revision, Revival, and Return* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018). On the Italian embrace of Burckhardt's conceptualization of the Renaissance, see D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 19–55.

[12] Laura Moure Cecchini, "Decadent Seicento: The Emergence of the Baroque in the Italian Fin de Siècle," in *Baroquemania: Italian Visual Culture and the Construction of National Identity, 1898–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 38 and 41; for a full discussion of Bernini's third centenary, see pp. 36–44.

secularizing line of transregional thinking. However, this reasoning remained tenuous and, as we shall see, was constantly negotiated—and contradicted—in Rome's built environment.

Nevertheless, the exposition's executive committee envisioned *Roma 1911* with its neo-Baroque pavilions as a "complete manifestation of italianità, inspired by the past splendor of the Risorgimento, gazing with faith and hope towards the future."[13] While aimed at cultivating patriotism in a domestic audience, the exhibition also strove to position the nation internationally, showcasing all things made and to be made in Italy, with its emphasis on art, architecture, and history.[14] The exposition's key features included the Ethnographic and Regional Exhibitions (Piazza d'Armi), the International Fine Art Exhibition (Valle Giulia), retrospective exhibitions (Castel Sant'Angelo), and the Archaeological Exhibition, held at the Baths of Diocletian.[15] *Roma 1911* ran from March to October, and while most of the exhibition openings faced delays, the Archaeological Exhibition was inaugurated on time in April 1911 in the freshly isolated baths.[16] Their excavation in anticipation of the exposition thus served as the motivation to finally confront arguably one of the most contentious architectural interventions in Rome: the mid-eighteenth-century addition of Vanvitelli's façade onto Michelangelo's Santa Maria degli Angeli. The irony should not be lost on the reader: the late Baroque face of the adaptively reused ancient Roman baths was deemed unacceptable for *Roma 1911*, despite the use of the stile secentesco for the exposition's pavilions and despite the exaltation of the façade's Neapolitan designer in the Regional Exhibition's Southern Pavilion. On the world stage of Piazza Termini, was Vanvitelli's façade simply not as "Italian" as Michelangelo's interventions, nor as "Italian" as the apse of the ancient Roman baths it covered—the "eastern" genesis of which, as we shall also see, was likewise questioned?

Situating Santa Maria degli Angeli's restoration into the context of *Roma 1911*, this article examines the legacy of the Baroque in the cultivation of turn-of-the-century italianità. It first traces the history of Santa Maria degli Angeli from Michelangelo to Vanvitelli through the lens of its critics. It then chronicles the post-Unification interventions in the church and its piazza, leading to the demolition of Vanvitelli's façade and "restoration" of the ancient wall behind it. It closes with a return to *Roma 1911* to examine the exposition's negotiation of southernness in relation to Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Baths of Diocletian. Engaging questions of style, historic preservation, and urbanism, this article shows how the new state cultivated the aesthetic codes of Italianness at Piazza Termini through the construction of a past that was "Made in—*the ideal part of*—Italy."

Santa Maria degli Angeli: From Michelangelo to Vanvitelli

Pope Pius IV (1559–1565) commissioned Michelangelo to design the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli and Carthusian monastery at the Baths of Diocletian in 1561, at the end of the architect's life. The project, as David Karmon has noted, "signaled the sixteenth-century revival of the traditional Roman practice of converting ancient structures to serve Christian liturgical

[13] Comitato Esecutivo, *Roma: Rassegna illustrata della Esposizione del 1911* 1 (June 1910): 7, quoted and translated in Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 441.
[14] Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 441. Giovanni Giolitti, president of the Council of Ministers, specifically contended that Rome's exhibitions should be "patriottiche, storiche, ed artistiche." Giolitti to the Prefects of the Kingdom, May 31, 1909, Festeggiamente per il 1911 in occasione del 50° anniversario della proclamazione del Regno d'Italia, Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1910, busta (b.) 401, fascicolo (f.) 16.
[15] Comitato Esecutivo, *Guida ufficiale delle esposizioni di Roma* (Rome: G. Bertero & C., 1911), 15.
[16] Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 441, 443, 449.

functions."[17] Yet the papal bull that recorded the foundation of the church at the baths also declared their preservation a priority.[18] Significantly, this preservation also honored the lore that enslaved Christians had built Diocletian's baths.[19] The construction of the church would thus simultaneously repair the ruins, thereby enhancing the city's decorum, and commemorate Christian martyrdom by converting the baths into an ecclesiastical space.[20] Indeed, when the conservators approved the plan, they celebrated the fact that the remnants of the ancient baths "will also be restored, much amplified, and embellished" as a result.[21] Following this directive, Michelangelo superimposed a Greek cross plan for the church, aligning its liturgical spaces with the sequential order of the bathing complex's original program, and placed an entrance at the side that would eventually face Termini Station (fig. 3).[22] Despite the addition of considerable structural components, this layout necessitated fewer alterations while "isolating and preserving" the vaults of the baths' *frigidarium* by using that space as the church's nave.[23] While a close examination of the project is beyond this article's scope, these decisions highlight the sensitivity of Michelangelo's intervention and therefore contextualize the deluge of criticisms later hurled at Vanvitelli's transformations.

Following almost two hundred years of alterations and increasing urbanization, in 1749, under Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758), the Carthusians commissioned Vanvitelli to restore the church in anticipation of the 1750 Jubilee.[24] Working just prior to the construction of his renowned Royal Palace of Caserta (1752), which he designed for the Bourbon king Charles VII of Naples, Vanvitelli walled up Michelangelo's then-abandoned main entrance to create the chapel of the Blessed Albergati, as requested by the Carthusians, transforming Michelangelo's nave into the crossing. Even before Michelangelo's entrance had been abandoned, a small door in the thermal apse facing Piazza Termini was more frequently used, being closer to the *abitato*, or inhabited area of the city, and thus always remained open. With the reorientation of the nave, Vanvitelli transformed this small entrance into the church's main façade (fig. 4).[25] He enhanced the door with a classical portal framed with a travertine architrave and capped with a pediment. Plastering the apse's elevation, he articulated the façade with vertical low-relief pilasters that extended from the shallow entablature. Projecting twin horizontal bands ran the width of the façade, framing the pediment, and continued onto the adjacent structure used for olive oil storage.[26] In contrast to the heavily ornamented

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[17] David Karmon, "Michelangelo's 'Minimalism' in the Design of Santa Maria degli Angeli," *Annali di architettura* 20 (2008): 141.
[18] The papal bull was enacted on July 27, 1561. Karmon, "Michelangelo's 'Minimalism,'" 143.
[19] Arthur Weststeijn and Frederick Whitling, *Termini: Cornerstone of Modern Rome* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2017), 32.
[20] Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 32.
[21] *Camera capitolina*, cred. I, vol. 21, 111–12, quoted and translated in Karmon, "Michelangelo's 'Minimalism,'" 143.
[22] Karmon, "Michelangelo's 'Minimalism,'" 144.
[23] Karmon, "Michelangelo's 'Minimalism,'" 144.
[24] Luciana Gaudenzi, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri: Storia di una fabbrica…a risparmio," in *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri: Incontro di storie*, ed. Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici del Lazio e di Roma (Rome: La Meridiana Editori, 1991), 68.
[25] Costantino Maes, "Cose vecchie e nuove curiosità romane: Una deturpazione, una profanazione d'arte in S. Maria degli Angeli; dovere di espiarla," *Il Cracas: Diario di Roma*, no. 188 (21 March 1891), 996–99. Citation includes previous sentences.
[26] Gaudenzi, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri," 70–72. Antonio Federico Caiola questions Vanvitelli's authorship of the façade, speculating that another architect completed it for the 1675 Jubilee. Regardless of the accuracy of the attribution, the protagonists in contention, from the nineteenth century through the Fascist period and beyond, assign the façade's design to Vanvitelli and base their decisions on that designation. See Antonio Federico Caiola, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri da Antonio Lo Duca a Michelangelo e a Vanvitelli: Un riepilogo degli

interior, the sober façade offered a geometric design that anticipated Vanvitelli's courtyard of the convent of Santi Marcellino e Festo in Naples (1772) (fig. 5).[27] Yet in reorienting the church to the abitato, the new façade more prominently announced the religious function of the baths-cum-church. While Michelangelo's intervention emphasized the ancientness of the Baths of Diocletian by leaving the exterior relatively untouched, Vanvitelli's intervention aligns with what Lisa Rafanelli has called Benedict XIV's "plan of reviving faith by transforming familiar spaces to stir greater piety," recasting "key monuments" as "'sacred' venues."[28] Vanvitelli's late Baroque façade expressed externally the internal sacredness of Michelangelo's church, and its form was almost immediately controversial.

Criticizing Vanvitelli

As Luciana Gaudenzi has traced, the façade received the brunt of the criticisms lobbed at Vanvitelli's interventions. As early as 1754, scholar and antiquarian Giovanni Bottari called the façade "una mostruosità" (a monstrosity).[29] Such criticism persists throughout the historiography of Santa Maria degli Angeli, each contribution entangled with a predecessor's interpretation of the site. For instance, in his book *Roma nell'Anno MDCCCXXXVII* (1839) Roman archaeologist Antonio Nibby directly quotes art historian Filippo Titi's 1763 overview of Vanvitelli's transformation of Michelangelo's work.[30] While Titi remains neutral in his description of Vanvitelli's changes, Nibby interjects a cutting analysis: "Questo strano mutamento fu operato con architettura di Luigi Vanvitelli, e certo fu un ardire il suo di porre le mani in una cosa del Buonarroti, e peggiorarla, con dispiacere universale e danno delle arti" (This strange alteration was brought about by the architecture of Luigi Vanvitelli, and it was certainly daring on his part to lay his hands on the work of Michelangelo and make it worse, to the universal displeasure and detriment of the arts).[31]

The criticisms continued throughout the nineteenth century. Writing in the famous Roman newspaper, *Il Cracas: Diario di Roma* in March of 1891, librarian Costantino Maes devoted an article to eviscerating Vanvitelli's restorations.[32] His critiques of Vanvitelli's "imperdonabile… misfatto" (unforgivable misdeed), however, cannot be divorced from his admiration for Michelangelo's church.[33] He frames his discussion of Vanvitelli's intervention as the "storia del sacrilegio, che profana l'arte, e deturpò il concetto del gran Michelangelo" (story of the sacrilege that profaned art and disfigured the vision of the great Michelangelo).[34] After effectively plagiarizing Nibby's criticisms, Maes charts how, with Vanvitelli's transformation of the façade

studi," in *Le Terme di Diocleziano: La Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, ed. Rosanna Friggeri and Marina Magnani Cianetti (Milan: Electa, 2014), 248–50.

[27] A. Schiavo, "Santa Maria degli Angeli alle Terme, in *BArchit* 8 (1954), 34, cited in Caiola, "Santa Maria degli Angeli," 248.

[28] Rafanelli, *Michelangelo's Vatican Pietà*, 88.

[29] Giovanni Bottari, quoted in Gaudenzi, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri," 81.

[30] See Filippo Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, e architetture esposte in Roma* (Rome: Marco Pagliarini, 1763).

[31] Antonio Nibby, *Roma nell'Anno MDCCCXXXVII*, *Vol 3. Parte Prima Moderna* (Rome: Tip. delle Belle Arti, 1839), 332.

[32] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 987. Notice the subtitle of the article from note 25: "A defacement, a profanation of art in Santa Maria degli Angeli; a duty to atone for it." *Il Cracas* was founded in the eighteenth century by Giovan Francesco Cracas and restarted by Maes in 1887. Ermanno Ponti, "Cracas," *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1931), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cracas_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/.

[33] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 990.

[34] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 996.

and reorientation of the nave, "la grand'opera di Michelangelo fu così deformata in modo deplorevole" (Michelangelo's great work was thus deformed in a deplorable manner).[35] On Maes' list of Vanvitelli's seven principle misdeeds, the façade appears first: "Si diè per ingresso a un gran tempio una porticina, mal rispondente alla grandezza di esso" (A little door was made the entrance to a great temple, poorly suited to its grandeur).[36] Vanvitelli's alterations to the interior composed the rest of the list. He closes his essay with a petition to remove Vanvitelli's added plaster and stucco from the original granite and marble elements and to expose the ancient columns inside the church. Interestingly, he did not call for any adjustments to the façade, but all of his concerns related to questions of authenticity and origin: to reveal the work of Michelangelo and the ancients—the two ideological anchors of post-Unification aesthetics—by removing the late Baroque masks.[37] Yet, the problem of the façade would be the focus of criticism in the coming years and, with it, the question of which "Italy" to represent continued.

Maes' article reflected the rise of post-Unification interventions to the church and surrounding piazza, which were inextricably linked to both the creation of Termini Station (1866–1874) and the removal of the Baroque. The central train station fueled the modern development of the area, and city more broadly, by reorienting visitors' arrival in Rome to this formerly suburban edge "by rail."[38] This new origin point—created by the expropriation and demolition of the Baroque villas and gardens that punctuated this once-rural periphery[39]—was transformed by the construction of hotels and five-story apartment blocks, many with commercial spaces at the ground floor.[40] The destruction of the Baroque would not be limited to this area, however. Such demolition coincided with the erasure of several Baroque churches along the nearby Via Venti Settembre for the construction of the Ministero della Guerra (Ministry of War, 1872–1876), among other administrative headquarters, and prefigured the early 1880s razing of the bulk of Villa Ludovisi (1625) for what would become Via Veneto.[41] The elimination of Baroque-era additions from ancient and medieval monuments followed suit, with the coeval removal of the Pantheon's seventeenth-century bell towers and the 1890s stripping of Giuseppe Sardi's late Baroque façade (1718) from Santa Maria in Cosmedin.[42] Nevertheless, the reorientation of the city's entrance to this modernizing zone transformed Piazza Termini into Rome's new gateway and brought renewed attention to Santa Maria degli Angeli, which was nationalized a decade after the train station's inauguration.

Declared a national monument by the Royal Decree of May 13, 1884, Santa Maria degli Angeli fell under the purview of the state's Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (Ministry of Public

[35] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 999.
[36] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 999.
[37] Maes, "Cose vecchie," 1007–8.
[38] Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 70 and 80.
[39] Termini Station necessitated the demolition of pope Sixtus V's Villa Montalto (Domenico Fontana, 1578), which he built as cardinal Felice Peretti di Montalto. On the villa's transformation, renaming, and expropriation, see Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 37–45 and 55–60.
[40] Italo Insolera, *Modern Rome: From Napoleon to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Lucia Bozzola, Roberto Einaudi and Marco Zumaglini (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 56–81.
[41] Insolera, *Modern Rome*, 33, 70–71.
[42] Robin B. Williams, "A Nineteenth-Century Monument for the State," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 367, and G.B. Giovenale, *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome: P. Sansaini, 1927), 393–94.

Education or MPI).[43] The church subsequently underwent steady maintenance,[44] but the façade remained a topic of concern, revealing its critical role as the international face of the city. Two intertwined events intensified the scrutiny directed at the façade: first, the 1887 construction of Gaetano Koch's twin *palazzi*, which created a monumental frame for Piazza Termini by articulating the Baths of Diocletian's exedra and flanking the start of Via Nazionale (figs. 6–7);[45] and second, the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II, emperor of Germany and king of Prussia, in October 1888. In preparation for the monarch's arrival, the mayor of Rome lamented to the head of the MPI that the façade of the church and its surroundings "non sono in armonia con la rinnovata condizione di quella località" (are not in harmony with the renewed condition of that location), demanding repairs that could "provvisoriamente riesca a dare un aspetto meno indecoroso all'estero di quell'insigne monumento" (temporarily give a less unsightly appearance to the exterior of that illustrious monument).[46] Subsequent correspondence across state agencies requested that Santa Maria degli Angeli's façade be painted and repaired to offer "una degna accoglienza all'Augusto Ospite" (a worthy welcome for the august guest).[47] Ministerial exchange confirms arrangements for the façade's cleaning and refurbishing at the behest of the MPI's Direzione Generale per le Antichità e Belle Arti (General Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts) in order to give it "un aspetto decoroso" (a dignified appearance).[48] This growing concern over the appearance of Vanvitelli's façade reflects its increasing urbanistic role, serving as the grandiose threshold to Rome by framing the hinge of the route from Termini Station to the city center by way of Via Nazionale (fig. 8). Its function as the backdrop for the arrival of illustrious foreigners was taken seriously by the city and the state.

Beyond decorum, this backdrop played a central symbolic role in the increasingly nationalist route that visitors to Rome followed upon leaving Termini Station. As historians Arthur Weststeijn and Frederick Whitling have detailed: "The Termini area had become a gateway to an empire of martyrs, a focal point of the cult of the nation."[49] Stepping off the train and into Piazza dei Cinquecento, visitors first set foot in a square that memorialized the roughly 500 Italian soldiers killed at Dogali, Eritrea (1887), complete with a re-erected Egyptian obelisk inaugurated the same year. Visitors continued along this nationalist and indeed imperialist route of martyrdom past Santa Maria degli Angeli, itself a commemoration of Christian martyrs enslaved under imperial Rome (as noted), and down Via Nazionale.[50] The route's opposite direction also held significant national

[43] Direzione Generale per il Fondo per il Culto, Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, August 30, 1888, ACS, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (MPI), Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti (AABBAA), II vers., II parte (1891-1897), b. 392, f. 4415.

[44] See, for example, Director of Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti delle Provincie di Roma, Aquila, Chieti, to Direzione Divisione Arte Antica, December 5, 1891, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, II vers., II parte (1891–1897), b. 392, f. 4415.

[45] The project was approved in 1886. See Archivio Storico Capitolino, Titolario Postunitario, Tit. 54, Prot. 87547, 1886.

[46] Sindaco Alessandro Guiccioli, Comune di Roma, Ufficio Vº Ispettorato Edilizio, to Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, August 29, 1888, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, II vers., II parte (1891–1897), b. 392, f. 4415.

[47] Sindaco Guiccioli, quoted in letter from the Direttore Generale del Fondo per il Culto, Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, August 30, 1888, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, II vers., II parte (1891–1897), b. 392, f. 4415.

[48] Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti to architect Angelo Contigliozzi, September 3, 1888 and Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti to Direzione Generale del Fondo per il Culto, September 3, 1888, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, II vers., II parte (1891–1897), b. 392, f. 4415.

[49] Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 79.

[50] Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 79.

weight, as Weststeijn and Whitling have charted. For archaeologist Roberto Lanciani—who played a critical part in the Termini area's development and later directed the Archaeological Exhibition at the baths—the pathway through Rome began at Piazza del Popolo, moved through the Rome of the popes along Via del Corso and, after reaching Piazza Venezia, extended up Via Nazionale to culminate at Santa Maria degli Angeli, which he termed a "masterpiece of ancient and modern art."[51] For Lanciani, this route merged the first (ancient), second (papal), and third (modern) Romes, concluding at a church that similarly merged the three Romes—especially after becoming a national monument.

Its façade did not live up to this new role, however. In 1896, Santa Maria degli Angeli hosted the wedding of Elena of Montenegro and Vittorio Emanuele, then heir to the throne of Italy, who later reigned as Vittorio Emanuele III. While the wedding secured the church's status as a national symbol, a temporary façade was created for the festivities, completely covering Vanvitelli's elevation with swaths of tapestries, stucco decorations, and candelabras (fig. 9).[52] Giuseppe Sacconi, who had just won the design competition for the Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, designed the ephemeral façade;[53] he subsequently proposed a new permanent façade for Michelangelo's church. Approved by the Giunta Superiore di Belle Arti (Superior Council of Fine Arts) in March 1904 (18 months before the architect's death), Sacconi's design offered a monumental, "dignified" face to Santa Maria degli Angeli that stylistically echoed the Beaux-Arts neoclassicism of his colleague Koch's recently completed palazzi (see fig. 7).

The controversy over Santa Maria degli Angeli's façade and its pending changes also reached an increasingly popular international audience via tourism. The 1909 Baedeker guide, *Central Italy and Rome*, weighed in on the façade as it led *stranieri* into the capital, reinforcing the church's primacy of place. Directing visitors from Termini, the guide addresses Piazza Cinquecento's Dogali monument as it moves visitors to the Baths of Diocletian.[54] After detailing how Michelangelo transformed the baths into a church, the guide addresses Vanvitelli's alterations with overt criticism: "In 1749 Vanvitelli *disfigured* the church by converting the nave into the transept and placing the entrance on the W. side…where now a new façade is about to be erected."[55] Perpetuating the opposition between Michelangelo and Vanvitelli, the guide communicates to the foreign masses the proposed changes to the façade, underscoring its broad importance. However, financial issues stalled the execution of Sacconi's design; meanwhile, the Italian Parliament passed a law on July 11, 1907 to restore and isolate the Baths of Diocletian by demolishing all modern additions, making the adoption of the late architect's proposal impossible.[56]

Enter Corrado Ricci. Among the most respected Italian archaeologists, Ricci served as the MPI's Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts from 1906 to 1919. By 1911, he had initiated the excavation of the Roman Forum and would later demolish extensive amounts of Baroque-era urban fabric in the process, particularly during his excavation of Trajan's Market. In the years leading up to the excavations at the Forum, he had set his sights on Santa Maria degli Angeli.

In 1909, Ricci chronicled his evaluation of Santa Maria degli Angeli in an article for *Bollettino d'arte*, the MPI's periodical focused on galleries, museums, and monuments. He begins his article

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[51] Roberto Lanciani, quoted and translated in Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 82.
[52] Gaudenzi, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri," 76 and Mariasanta Valenti, "Santa Maria degli Angeli: Un fondale di lusso," in *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri: Incontro di storie*, ed. Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici del Lazio e di Roma (Rome: La Meridiana Editori, 1991), 164.
[53] Caiola, "Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri," 257.
[54] Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome: Handbook for Travellers* (Toronto: WM. Tyrell & Co., 1909), 190.
[55] Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 191. Emphasis added.
[56] Corrado Ricci, "Interpellanza," March 10, 1908, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

by reviewing Michelangelo's intervention, drawing first on Vasari's celebration of the original entrance to the church, thus foreshadowing his own priorities for the monument.[57] From Vasari, Ricci shifts his focus to Titi, whom he situates in a key position. Writing in 1763, Titi had had the opportunity to see the church as Michelangelo intended and then experience the "sventura" (misfortune), as Ricci editorializes, of Vanvitelli's alteration.[58] Critically, Ricci includes Titi's discussion of the original entrance, which notes how Michelangelo opened a "sontuosa porta" (sumptuous door), designed in accordance with "buon gusto greco" (fine Greek taste).[59] Concluding his extended citation of Titi's measured account, Ricci turns to architectural historian Amico Ricci who, writing in 1858, criticized all of the restoration work Vanvitelli had carried out in Rome: "con tutta la sua fama non fece mai cosa buona innestando il moderno con l'antico" (despite all his fame, he never did anything good when blending the modern with the ancient).[60]

After building up a historiographical litany of criticisms, Ricci launches his own critique, centered on the problematic façade. Like the other critics, Ricci pits Vanvitelli against Michelangelo. For Ricci, Michelangelo's concept was the work of a "grande artista" (great artist), while Vanvitelli's concept, he contends, was "un espediente assolutamente meschino" (an absolutely wretched expedient) that was "suggerito da comodità esteriori e topografiche, anzi che da rispetto all'arte" (driven by external or topographical convenience rather than respect for art).[61] Not only did Ricci deplore Vanivtelli's masking of the thermal apse, thereby reducing it to a façade ("ridotta a facciata"), but he detested its form, skewering it as having an "incrocio singolarissimo di linee orizzontali e verticali che la fanno parere una gabbia" (a most peculiar intersection of horizontal and vertical lines that make it look like a cage).[62] His included image of the façade (see fig. 4) also depicts the small lantern that caps the dome of the thermal hall, a Vanvitellian addition that Ricci terms a "sconcio" (disfigurement).[63] While acknowledging Vanvitelli's talent, he contends that the Neapolitan's "delitto artistico" (artistic crime) was ruining Michelangelo's vision for renewing the grandeur of the ancient monument by creating a church that, with its new entrance, prioritized the convenience of its users while obeying the "insensate ordinazioni dei fratti" (senseless demands of the monks).[64]

Ricci's exaltation of Michelangelo's treatment of the ancient in this passage reiterates the dual anchors of the post-Unification aesthetic and, further, the project of nationalizing Michelangelo; it also echoes the framework of the Southern Question. Ricci positions the "criminal" Vanvitelli in direct opposition to "il grande Buonarroti," which is to say: the Florentine hero versus the Neapolitan villain. But while born in Naples (to a Dutch father and an Italian mother), Vanvitelli moved to Rome in his infancy and trained at the Accademia di San Luca. Nevertheless, Vanvitelli remained a professional outsider in Rome, with Santa Maria degli Angeli among his last early-career Roman projects before being called back to Naples to work for Charles VII, where he remained for the rest of his career.[65] His enmeshment with the South, the southern Baroque, and

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[57] Corrado Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme Diocleziane," 361.
[58] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 361–62.
[59] Filippo Titi, quoted in Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 363.
[60] Amico Ricci, quoted in Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 365.
[61] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 365.
[62] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 365.
[63] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 365.
[64] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 367.
[65] On Vanvitelli's Roman period, see Anna Giannetti, "Luigi Vanvitelli, architetto romano," in *Luigi Vanvitelli*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Naples: Electa, 1998), 7–49. On Vanvitelli and the *polemica antibarocca*, see Cesare De Seta, "Luigi Vanvitelli, l'Antico e il Neoclassico," in *Luigi Vanvitelli*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Naples: Electa, 1998), 157–65. On

foreign monarchs, epitomized by his Royal Palace of Caserta, colored Vanvitelli's modern reception at the turn of the twentieth century. Such associations clearly shape Ricci's analysis.

Nevertheless, Ricci offers a solution. Citing the July 1907 law, he highlights his Ministry's authority to expropriate and demolish many of the later additions—the "misere croste" (miserable crusts), as he calls them—attached "alle osse dell'enorme colosso" (to the bones of the enormous colossus). Furthermore, he contends that this work will be able to redeem "quanto il possible" (as much as possible) Michelangelo's church while restoring the baths' "effetto esterno" (external effect).[66] Here the twin aims of the restoration become clear: to restore the work of both the Renaissance and antiquity by removing the Baroque. Ricci follows this logic to advocate for the current façade's erasure, further contending that no one would even consider attaching a new façade to the baths once isolated from all external additions.[67] Here Ricci turns to Michelangelo for support: "Non era egli uomo da ideare e da alzare facciate Michelangelo? Eppure egli non la progettò, e nemmeno la pensò per S. Maria degli Angeli" (Was Michelangelo not a man capable of designing and erecting façades? And yet he did not design one nor even conceive of one for Santa Maria degli Angeli).[68] Indeed, Ricci commended Michelangelo for choosing to leave the baths' rough and massive external walls "solennemente nude" (solemnly bare) rather than creating "maschere bianche ed urtanti al sole" (white masks glaring in the sun), praising the architect for restricting himself to the interior.[69]

Ricci then leads his readers through a sequence of early modern prints depicting the baths before and after Michelangelo's intervention. With these visuals, he identifies the thermal apse that Vanvitelli covered, along with its initial small doorway, as well as the portal to Michelangelo's original entrance, which he contends that Vanvitelli reused for his façade (fig. 10).[70] After making these connections, Ricci offers his proposal: "bisogna, tornando al concetto di Michelangelo, ridare all'abside di Piazza Termini…il suo aspetto antico, col levare la maschera appostavi dal Vanvitelli, e riaprire l'ingresso principale della chiesa…dalla parte che oggi riguarda la stazione ferroviaria" (we must, returning to Michelangelo's concept, restore the ancient appearance of the apse at Piazza Termini…by removing the façade added by Vanvitelli, and reopen the church's main entrance…on the side now facing the railway station).[71] These interventions, Ricci contends, will not only "liberate" the baths from all "indecorose invasioni" (unsightly intrusions) but will restore its monumental presence. Even removing its "misera lanterna" (wretched lantern), he notes, will redress the otherwise "disturbed" profile of the monument. Ricci then proposes to reapply the travertine jambs and architrave of the portal of Vanvitelli's façade to Michelangelo's original ceremonial entrance as part of its restoration.[72] Returning to the question of the façade, he concludes that any previous plan to embellish the exterior of Santa Maria degli Angeli would be inconceivable today, as if at the moment of the baths' liberation and archaeological restoration anyone "volesse nasconderne una delle parti più belle e più importanti…" (would want to hide one of the most beautiful and important parts).[73]

Vanvitelli's work for Charles VII, see Robin L. Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft: Charles of Bourbon's Naples, 1734–1759* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

[66] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 367. Citation includes preceding sentence.

[67] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 367–68.

[68] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 368.

[69] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 368.

[70] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 369–70.

[71] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 370

[72] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 370. Citation includes the preceding sentences.

[73] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 372.

Ricci closes by reflecting on the broader impact of the baths' restoration following his proposed erasure of Vanvitelli's façade. "Così le Terme," he concludes, "liberate dalle meschine croste che v'apposero meschini tempi, torneranno a grandeggiare nella loro cupa severità, imponendo subito al forestiere che entra in Roma il rispetto per la sua potenza e per la sua storia" (Thus the baths, freed from the miserable crusts added by miserable times, will once again stand in their solemn severity, immediately imposing on the foreigner entering Rome a sense of respect for its power and its history).[74] By referring to the additions, namely Vanvitelli's façade, as having occurred in "meschini tempi," Ricci denigrates the Baroque by describing it as an era of poor taste, implying that it is far less worthy of consideration than both the Renaissance and antiquity. Moreover, by emphasizing the reception of the "forestiere," Ricci underscores how the foreigner's perception of Rome—and by extension Italy itself—was shaped by that site. Thus, the projection of a proper, even ideal form of Italianness was especially weighty in the case of Santa Maria degli Angeli; it would be consciously cultivated by demolition and restoration in the years that followed.

Removing the Façade, Inventing Precedents

Ricci's October 1909 *Bollettino* article resulted from decades of debates in Italy over Vanvitelli's façade. Originally a report he had delivered to various ministries that summer,[75] the article's subsequent publication shaped public opinion, cultivating a consensus in support of the Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts' proposals for the baths. Indeed, on December 3, 1909, the Superior Council for Antiquities and Fine Arts accepted the Directorate's proposals. As the Council declared: "le Terme Diocleziane siano esternamente del tutto liberate da ogni superfetazione escludendo fin d'ora qualsiasi idea di nuove costruzioni che possano anche in minima parte coprire i grandiosi ruderi" (the exterior of the Baths of Diocletian should be completely liberated from any superfluous additions, excluding from now on any idea of new constructions that could even partially cover the grandiose ruins).[76] This determination would be the final nail in the coffin for any proposal to create a new façade for Santa Maria degli Angeli; it would also be the official first step towards the demolition of Vanvitelli's façade. Yet the isolation of the baths, and expropriation of adjacent structures, became the focus of this enterprise.

Expedited in anticipation of *Roma 1911*, the excavated baths, as the venue of the exposition's Archaeological Exhibition, would champion archaeology's role in advancing a nationalistic conception of *romanità* (Romanness) as one of the event's key features.[77] This romanità centered on showcasing "Roman civilization under the Empire," which exhibition director Lanciani narrated through a display of artifacts and plaster casts that highlighted the scale of Roman imperial power across the Mediterranean and Europe.[78] Such a rhetorical move shifted the Termini area's symbolism away from martyrdom and towards empire. In so doing, the exhibition's nationalist romanità promoted the young nation's colonial agenda—with eyes fixed on Libya—which Italy

[74] Ricci, "S. Maria degli Angeli," 372.
[75] Corrado Ricci, "La facciata di S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme Diocleziane," August 11, 1909, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.
[76] Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e per le Belle Arti, Sezioni I e II, December 3, 1909, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.
[77] Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 449.
[78] Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 87. On the exhibition's display of plaster casts, see Ketty Iannantuono, "Displaying Plaster Casts, Staging Romanization: The Mostra Archeologica at the Baths of Diocletian and Nationalistic Biases in Roman Provincial Archaeology," *Journal of the History of Collections* 34, no. 1 (2022): 95–112.

would invade in September 1911, and the reconquering of the Mediterranean more broadly,[79] already initiated by the Risorgimento's occupation of the Italian South.[80] For this recapitulation of empire, rather than constructing a new façade for Santa Maria degli Angeli, the task of bringing the ancient ruins to light for Italy's jubilee celebrations took priority. But this task also necessitated the external transformation of Santa Maria degli Angeli.[81] The exterior interventions consisted of three interrelated projects that ultimately secularized the exterior of the church, reifying its romanità: the demolition of Vanvitelli's small dome (*cupolino*), the demolition of his façade, and the restoration of the ancient Roman wall unveiled by the façade's removal.[82] The unexpected condition of the wall presented a problem, however, and its "restoration," as will be discussed, reveals the construction of Italianness at the site.

The Superior Council's December 1909 acceptance of the Antiquities and Fine Arts Directorate's proposals to isolate the baths included the removal of Santa Maria degli Angeli's cupolino. The following December, in response to a request from the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici (Ministry of Public Works), the MPI appointed a special commission of artists and architects to study whether the "sacrificio" (sacrifice) of Vanvitelli's dome "debba assolutamente decretarsi" (should absolutely be decreed) since, the Ministry claimed, the proposed demolition "potrà dar luogo a pareri diversi e, forse, a critiche" (could give rise to differing opinions and, perhaps, criticism).[83] The special commission of experts, which included artist Giulio Aristide Sartorio and architect Gustavo Giovannoni, visited the site on December 18, 1910 and, after deliberations, aligned itself with the Superior Council by applauding the isolation of the baths and determining that Vanvitelli's small dome "possa abbattersi non sola senza danno della storia e dell'arte ma con vantaggio del monumento, di cuì rappresenta una tarda e inutile superfetazione" (may be demolished not only without harm to history and art, but to the advantage of the monument, of which it represents a late and useless addition).[84] The commission then advocated for the façade's removal.

Two months later, on February 14, 1911, the proposal for the demolition of Vanvitelli's façade was submitted to the Directorate for Antiquities and Fine Arts by the Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti per le Provincie di Roma e Aquila (Superintendency of the Monuments for the Provinces of Rome and Aquila). The project was entrusted to the Unione Edilizia Società Anonima Cooperativa, the same contractor that had executed the isolation of the baths.[85] The submitted report that accompanied the proposal rehearses familiar criticisms. After briefly describing

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[79] Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 452, and Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 87.

[80] Here I draw on Claudio Fogu's framing of the "Southern Question" as a "Mediterranean Question" and, as he notes, the perception of the South as "African soil." Claudio Fogu, *The Fishing Net and the Spider Web: Mediterranean Imaginaries and the Making of Italians* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 5. The exhibition would serve as the forerunner of the 1937 Mostra Augustea della Romanità. On the Fascist exhibition, see Joshua Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity: The Roman Past in Fascist Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 91–124.

[81] Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, December 18, 1910, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.

[82] Roberto Lanciani had already secularized the adjacent monastery in 1889 by transforming it into the Museo Nazionale Romano. Weststeijn and Whitling, *Termini*, 86.

[83] Segretariato Generale, Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, December 14, 1910, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

[84] Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, December 18, 1910, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.

[85] R. Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti per le provincie di Roma e Aquila, "Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli, Demolizione dell'attuale prospetto della chiesa per trarne in luce le mura delle Terme," Impresa Unione Edilizia, Verbale di consegna, February 25, 1911, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

Vanvitelli's transformation of Santa Maria degli Angeli's interior, the report explains that "per dare un prospetto qualsiasi alla Chiesa, [Vanvitelli] mascherò l'abside termale con tale un incrocio di linee da farla parere, come disse un illustre scrittore, una gabbia" (to give the church a more formal appearance, [Vanvitelli] masked the thermal apse with such a crisscrossing of lines that it looked, as an illustrious writer put it, like a cage).[86] Having evoked Ricci's prose, the report then uses the demolition of the cupolino to make its case and, in the process, prefigures the rhetoric later deployed under the Fascist regime: "Ma ora che la vanvitelliana lanterna della cupola ha ceduto sotto i colpi del piccone ed è stata rasa al suolo, è giusto il momento di tornare al concetto di Michelangelo, ridonando all'abside di piazza Termini il carattere antico facendo cadere la maschera appostavi dal Vanvitelli" (Now that the Vanvitellian lantern of the dome has succumbed to the blows of the pickaxe and been razed to the ground, the time has come to return to Michelangelo's concept, restoring the apse of Piazza Termini to its ancient character by bringing down the mask placed there by Vanvitelli).[87]

The scope of the demolition work included specifications that emphasized material reuse in part and whole. As suggested in Ricci's *Bollettino* article, the door, along with the travertine door jambs, architrave, and tympanum of the façade—assumed to have been repurposed from Michelangelo's ceremonial entrance—were to be dismantled carefully to ensure their reuse in their original position.[88] The subsequent task was to demolish the new masonry (that is, Vanvitelli's façade) superimposed on the ancient wall. Here the directive specifies that the contractors exercise caution "per non danneggiare le vecchie costruzioni" (so as not to damage the old constructions).[89] The work estimate includes another critical task: "eventuali riprese a piccoli tratti di muro a mattoni ad imitazione delle antiche costruzioni" (possible repairs to small sections of the brick wall in imitation of the ancient constructions).[90] This encouragement to "imitate" the brick of the ancient thermal wall would go against later restoration practices, which required using distinct materials to differentiate between original building components and modern reconstructions.[91] Its inclusion in the estimate, however, foreshadowed work to be done—work that also strove to shape the aesthetic codes intended to be projected at the site. Moreover, the demolition of the façade was flagged as extremely urgent, given the pressure of the Archaeological Exhibition's April 1911 inauguration. While not completed in time for the exhibition opening, the work would nonetheless continue unabated, despite hitting significant snags.

Antonio Muñoz, then an inspector for the Superintendency,[92] detailed in a July 1911 report the issues that arose upon the removal of Vanvitelli's façade. Revealing unanticipated structural

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[86] Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, "Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme Diocleziane, Demolizione dell'attuale prospetto della Chiesa per tornare in luce le mura delle antiche Terme," Relazione, February 14, 1911, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

[87] Ibid.

[88] R. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti per le provincie di Roma ed Aquila, "Lavori di demolizione del prospetto della Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli," Impresa Unione Edilizia, Registro di contabilità, April 20, 1912, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

[89] Ibid.

[90] R. Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti per le provincie di Roma e Aquila, "Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme, Preventivo per la demolizione del prospetto attuale della chiesa onde scoprire gli antichi avanzi delle Terme Diocleziane," February 14, 1911, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 539, f. 6.

[91] See Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e Belle Arti, Norme per il restauro dei monumenti, Carta Italiana del restauro, 1932.

[92] Muñoz served as an inspector of the Superintendency from 1909 until 1914, when he assumed the role of director. Calogero Bellanca, *Antonio Muñoz: La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2003), 15–16.

and material problems that brought about questions of origin and, ultimately, Italianness, Muñoz framed the removal of Vanvitelli's façade as part of the larger renovation work of the baths. He begins the report by stating that the semicircular apse that served as the church's façade needed to be given "un aspetto simile a quello dei muri [sic] e dei ruderi circostanti" (an appearance similar to that of the surrounding walls and ruins).[93] He then charts the assumptions made before the commencement of the work, namely the expectation that the baths' ancient curtain wall would be found under Vanvitelli's eighteenth-century plaster. The plan was to leave the unearthed ancient wall visible and remove the tympanum, believed to have damaged the "carattere semplice" (simple character) of the ancient wall. But as the façade began to disappear, so too did this vision for the thermal apse. Muñoz details how the curtain wall was preserved in only two very short sections, leaving many gaping holes as well as two lateral grooves that created large indentations in the wall. The right corner of the wall was in turn found to be completely missing, and Muñoz estimates that barely a tenth of the curtain wall remained in the form of small patches. As he contends, "tutto l'emiciclo aveva insomma l'aspetto di un rudere informe" (the entire hemicycle had the appearance of a shapeless ruin).[94] As later reported, the façade was believed to have been a simple facing of thin masonry; in actuality, it was over a meter thick in some areas, out of plumb, and detached from the core of the Roman masonry.[95] In response to this state of affairs, Muñoz quite explicitly addressed what he perceived as the need to negotiate the authenticity and aesthetics of the site:

> Apparve subito chiaro che data la località, così in vista, dell'abside, non era possible lasciarla scoperta a quel modo, ma che era necessario conciliare il rispetto degli avanzi monumentali con le esigenze della estetica: sullo sfondo di Via Nazionale e della fontana di Termini, non potevasi lasciare un rudere informe e crivellato di buche e di tagli.
>
> It immediately became clear that, given the apse's prominent location, it was not possible to leave it uncovered in that way, but that it was necessary to reconcile respect for the monumental remains with aesthetic requirements: a shapeless ruin riddled with cuts and holes could not be left against the backdrop of Via Nazionale and the Termini fountain.[96]

The primacy of the location—as the backdrop to the modern road leading visitors from Termini Station to the historic center, culminating at the recently inaugurated Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II at Piazza Venezia—required, for Muñoz, a partially invented façade, one that could establish the aesthetic codes desired for this urban gateway.

The prescribed work included a combination of invention and rearticulation. As Muñoz describes in the report, the Superintendency decided to redo the base of the curtain wall to a height of about two meters, raising the lateral pillars of the former façade's edges to match the height of the apse. Above the door, where the curtain wall "appariva un poco conservata" (appeared somewhat preserved), Muñoz calls for its restoration by filling in the spaces with a wall made of

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[93] Antonio Muñoz, "Relazione sulla sistemazione dell'emiciclo absidale delle Terme Diocleziane, ora ingresso di S. Maria degli Angeli," July 2, 1911, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Superintendent Goffreddo Badiali, R. Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, December 4, 1912, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.
[96] Muñoz, "Relazione sulla sistemazione dell'emiciclo absidale delle Terme Diocleziane."

"mattoni a punta" (pointed bricks), thereby attempting to recreate ancient *opus testaceum*. He also calls for conserving the jambs and architrave of the original portal. This renovation work in turn revealed a significant finding: traces of three arches at the center of the apse, which Muñoz identifies from a sixteenth-century print already recalled in Ricci's 1909 article—the central arch had been destroyed by Vanvitelli's tympanum (fig. 11). This discovery in turn enabled Muñoz to put on his art historian hat. A Byzantine expert by training,[97] Muñoz identifies this type of arched apse as a common motif in sixth-century Byzantine architecture, referencing in his report the church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (Constantinople), the open exedras of San Vitale (Ravenna), the exedras in the dome of Hagia Sophia (Constantinople), and those of San Lorenzo Maggiore (Milan). While he notes that, given the respective dates of these examples, the arched exedra is believed to have been a Byzantine creation—indeed, the Byzantines fleetingly controlled Milan in the mid-sixth century—he goes on to articulate precedents specifically "in Italia" for this form, citing the fourth-century arched tribune of San Giorgio Maggiore (Naples) and choir of San Sebastiano (Rome), as well as the Baths of Nero as rebuilt in the third century.[98] His motivation for restoring the three discovered arches aligns quite explicitly with the post-Unification nationalist project. As Muñoz concludes: "Parve così evidente la necessità di conservare nelle Terme Diocleziane questo importantissimo esempio di abside archeggiata, che dimostra in modo sicuro l'esistenza in Roma di motivi creduti orientali" (It thus seemed evident that it was necessary to preserve this very important example of an arched apse in the Baths of Diocletian, which clearly demonstrates the existence in Rome of motifs believed to be eastern).[99]

This determination requires contextualization on two levels. Muñoz actively tries to dissociate this architectural motif from its supposedly eastern origins: the arched exedra, he asserts, not only existed in Roman antiquity but preceded its Byzantine existence. Aligned with this account is the coincidence of the baths' abandonment in the 530s during the Gothic War that subsequently led to the Byzantine conquest of parts of the Italian peninsula. Identifying the Roman precedent for the arched exedra at the baths not only enables Muñoz to claim it as Roman and therefore "Italian," but it reasserts the power of the baths on ancient terms following their abandonment. The restoration thus resurrects the third-century baths—a move that diminishes their later Christianization by Michelangelo while simultaneously erasing Vanvitelli's late Baroque façade that, however regrettably, emphasized the ecclesiastical function of the structure. This geospatial logic of secularization extends to the urban rhetoric of the monument. At this most critical site, the monumental gateway to Rome and backdrop of Via Nazionale, the Baroque is to be erased and a Roman, which is to say, "Italian" antiquity is to be resurrected. In the process, an architectural precedent believed to have been an "eastern" invention is likewise reclaimed as Italian. These decisive aesthetic codes are further negotiated in the international exposition itself.

Vanvitelli, the Baroque, and *Roma 1911*

The restoration of Santa Maria degli Angeli continued during *Roma 1911*, following the on-time inauguration of its Archaeological Exhibition that April. The same company that demolished the façade received the contract to "restore" the baths' unveiled thermal apse.[100] The specifications for

[97] Bellanca, *Antonio Muñoz*, 15 and 253–55.
[98] Muñoz, "Relazione sulla sistemazione dell'emiciclo absidale delle Terme Diocleziane."
[99] Muñoz, "Relazione sulla sistemazione dell'emiciclo absidale delle Terme Diocleziane."
[100] Superintendent Badiali to Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, February 1, 1912, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908–1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.

the work, including the use of "muratura speciale di mattoni a cortina rustica lavorata a malta fina ad imitazione di vecchia costruzione" (special masonry made of rustic bricks worked with fine mortar to imitate ancient construction), clearly documented the inventive part of the restoration, which realized and subsequently reinforced Muñoz's claims.[101] The catalogue for the Archaeological Exhibition acknowledged that this work was in progress and tied to the restoration of the baths; it also addressed the status of the façade's removal. Of the baths' *calidarium*, it describes, "resta solo l'abside che ora serve di facciata alla chiesa di S. M. degli Angeli e che si sta ripulendo dall'intonaco del sec. XVIII" (only the apse remains, which now serves as the façade of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli and which is being cleaned of the eighteenth-century plaster).[102] The official guide to *Roma 1911* likewise weighed in on Santa Maria degli Angeli, and took the opportunity to criticize Vanvitelli's interventions. Having changed the axis of the church, the guide explains, "il Vanvitelli fece uscire la nuova abside, turpe e misera aggiunta!" (Vanvitelli extended the new apse, a vile and wretched addition).[103] The guide praises the recent isolation of the baths, however, contending that "i saloni ampli e maestosi sono ritornati allo stato primitivo" (the spacious and majestic halls have returned to their original state).[104] The ideological intent of the guide is clear: the ancient is exalted and the Baroque is rejected. Yet this intent is not without irony, since the Southern Pavilion of *Roma 1911*'s Regional Exhibition aggrandized none other than Vanvitelli, never mind the choice of a neo-Baroque style for the exposition's pavilions more broadly. Thus, in addition to questions of style, the question of which region, or rather, which Italy to prioritize was key. Ricci's own writings on the Baroque navigate this conundrum.

In the wake of the removal of Vanvitelli's façade, Ricci published *Architettura barocca in Italia* in 1912, which simultaneously appeared in English as *Baroque Architecture and Sculpture in Italy*.[105] In the book, Ricci exonerates the Baroque style, contending that "accusations of falsity and of folly…are no longer tenable."[106] On the heels of Ojetti's celebration of the Baroque as the first "Italian" style, Ricci surveys Baroque architecture across Italy, while nevertheless acknowledging Spain's role in the process of its development. Contending that Naples, Lecce, and Palermo "impress us as Baroque cities," he notes the palpable "influence of Spain" in those southern locales.[107] In contrast, Ricci asserts that the Baroque triumphed in Rome because "aveva cantato all'unisono con la voce di Roma antica!" (it sang in unison with the voice of ancient Rome!)[108] For Ricci, the Roman Baroque—as opposed to the Baroque elsewhere in Italy—is redeemed by its association with ancient Rome; that is, it triumphed because it is Roman. While Vanvitelli is not mentioned in this passage, this reasoning perhaps undergirded Ricci's criticisms of the Neapolitan architect's now-demolished façade. Indeed, Vanvitelli designed his most significant work, the Royal Palace of Caserta, for Charles VII of Naples, who later became Charles III of Spain after reestablishing the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily as an independent state after

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[101] R. Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti, "Chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme, Preventivo per lavori occorrenti per la ripresa delle murature nei vecchi ruderi scoperti colle demolizione dell'antico prospetto," January 12, 1912, ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1908-1924), 6 Roma, b. 870, f. 2.

[102] *Esposizione internazionale di Roma: Catalogo della mostra archeologica nelle Terme di Diocleziano* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1911), 18.

[103] Comitato Esecutivo, *Guida ufficiale*, 201.

[104] Comitato Esecutivo, *Guida ufficiale*, 201.

[105] Corrado Ricci, *Architettura barocca in Italia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1912) and Corrado Ricci, *Baroque Architecture and Sculpture in Italy* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), with German and French editions.

[106] Ricci, *Baroque Architecture and Sculpture in Italy*, vi.

[107] Ricci, *Baroque Architecture and Sculpture in Italy*, vii and x.

[108] Ricci, *Architettura barocca in Italia*, xiv. In contrast to the English edition, the original Italian phrasing is more emphatic.

centuries as a Spanish possession. Might these associations have shaped the aesthetic reception of his façade at Piazza Termini? More directly: was it a problem to have the work of an architect so inextricably linked to the foreign-tinged southern Baroque on display at Rome's monumental gateway?

And yet, these associations are celebrated in the Southern Pavilion of the Regional Exhibition, which strove to cultivate a regionally diverse sense of italianità.[109] Officially known as the Pavilion of Campania, Basilicata (Lucania), and Calabria, the so-called Southern Pavilion offered the three regions dedicated exhibition space around a central salon. Campania, however, held primacy of place: the art and architecture of eighteenth-century Naples served as the leitmotif of the pavilion's design (fig. 12).[110] As explained in an accompanying publication, the organizers intended to evoke the eighteenth century due to its "gesto imperiale" (imperial gesture) and "lusinga decadente" (decadent allure), choosing Vanvitelli's Royal Palace of Caserta as the pavilion's inspiration (figs. 13–14).[111] The "settecentesco" (eighteenth-century style) was, for the organizers, indispensable to the pavilion's design, which strove to convey a "spirito schiettamente napoletano" (distinctly Neapolitan spirit).[112] Positioning the Baroque as expressive of the artistic genius of the South, the publication heralds Naples-born Gian Lorenzo Bernini as the founder of a new Rome—tying the legacy of the South to the capital. As the organizers caution, feigning humility: "poteva mai osarsi da noi meridionali di recare in seno alla città eterna il simbolo stilistico del nostro barocco?" (could we southerners ever have dared to bring into the heart of the Eternal City the stylistic symbol of our Baroque?).[113] Addressing the foreign control over the region, the organizers contend that, in the art of the eighteenth century, "l'anima napoletana ritrova finalmente sè stessa" (the Neapolitan soul finally found itself again) even if compensating "dell'immediata servitù di uno scettro straniero" (for the immediate servitude of a foreign scepter).[114] Crucially, they glorify Charles VII as the patron of architectural interventions akin to those of ancient Rome, noting how he called Vanvitelli back from Rome "per dar forma e struttura alla nuova sede Cesarea" (to give form and structure to the new imperial seat).[115] The organizers continue to lavish Vanvitelli with praise, referring to him as the "concittadino ed erede geniale del grande Bernini" (fellow citizen and brilliant heir of the great Bernini), and call the local architectural style of the century "vanvitellesco" (Vanvitellian).[116] Here they strategically link seventeenth-century Bernini, as the peak of the Roman Baroque, to eighteenth-century Vanvitelli, as the peak of the Neapolitan Baroque. They conclude by elevating eighteenth-century Neapolitan life as "uno spettacolo di squisitezza, di grandezza e di gloria che non trova riscontro in verun'altra regione d'Italia" (a spectacle of exquisiteness, of greatness, and of glory which finds no counterpart in any other region of Italy), stressing that Campania served as the heart and soul of the Kingdom of Naples, which, they remind the reader, was "quasi mezza la Penisola Italiana" (almost half of the Italian peninsula).[117] Such positioning clearly aimed to rectify the legacy of the South and the Southern

[109] Courtenay, "The 1911 International Exposition in Rome," 457.
[110] Giovanni Tesorone, *Il padiglione della Campania, Basilicata e Calabria all'Esposizione di Roma del 1911 nella Mostra regionale di Piazza d'Armi* (Milan: Alfieri & Lacroix, 1913), 17.
[111] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 19.
[112] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 17 and 30.
[113] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 32.
[114] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 38.
[115] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 40–41.
[116] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 41 and 46.
[117] Tesorone, *Il padiglione*, 52–53.

Question more broadly, which in part attributed the region's underdevelopment to its Spanish colonization and later Bourbon control.[118]

The Southern Pavilion's organizers thus walked a fine line. They celebrated Naples but only insofar as it echoed Rome. They in turn positioned Vanvitelli as an extension of fellow Neapolitan architect Bernini, whom they praised for his work in Rome and who had been nationalized some thirteen years prior. By associating Vanvitelli with Bernini, the organizers likely strove to nationalize Vanvitelli and, in so doing, recuperate the South and its *settecentesco*. In the process, the organizers whitewashed the Bourbon rule over the South by drawing parallels between Charles VII and ancient Roman emperors. Returning to the Archaeological Exhibition, and keeping in mind Ricci's celebration of a specifically Roman Baroque, we must ask: is it a coincidence that the only Baroque element left at the Baths of Diocletian was the portal of the storage building adjacent to Santa Maria degli Angeli's restored entrance, designed by *Roman* architect Pietro Camporese, the Elder (1726-1781) in the decade following Vanvitelli's intervention? Perhaps Vanvitelli could be reclaimed as "Italian" for the sake of the South, but not for Rome's monumental gateway.

Conclusion

As a 1931 photograph of the façade of Santa Maria degli Angeli attests, traces of Vanvitelli's *prospetto* remained following its demolition (fig. 15). Articulations of its pilasters and banding persist as impressions in the "ancient" curtain wall and in the extant portion of the façade that wrapped the front of the adjacent storage building, where Camporese's 1763 portal still stands in its Baroque glory. Vanvitelli's cupolino has vanished, while the exposed elevation of the thermal apse reveals its original construction—at least until meeting the "restored" portion with its modern bricks that imitate the ancient ones. The restoration recomposes the three discovered arches of the exedra, strategically calling attention to Muñoz's Roman—and therefore Italian—precedent to the Byzantine "invention." The work of Michelangelo remains confined to the interior, as intended. The Fascist-era photograph's resonance continues, however. Not only did the church undergo changes during the *ventennio*,[119] but the rhetorical strategies and restoration practices that transformed the monument in liberal Italy, with their emphases on temporal redefinition and rearticulation (italianità and romanità), intensified under Fascism, when much the same personnel (Corrado Ricci and Antonio Muñoz, among others) transformed Rome's built environment for the city's regime-installed Governatorato and Fascist state.

In the pursuit of cultivating the aesthetic codes of Italianness at Piazza Termini for *Roma 1911*—for *italiani* and *forestieri* alike—the liberal state negotiated the Southern Question and a broader Mediterranean Question at this most potent of sites.[120] While removing the work of a prominent eighteenth-century southern architect enmeshed with foreign power from the monumental gateway to Rome, the architectural precedents associated with the Byzantine East, from the shores of the Adriatic and beyond, were recast as Roman and therefore Italian. Despite the emphasis on the baths' Romanness, the cultivation of Italianness drove Santa Maria degli Angeli's transformation—an Italianness that was not too far south and not too far east. What

[118] Positivist academics including Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909), Alfredo Niceforo (1876–1960), and Pasquale Villari (1827–1917) each made such claims. See Aliza S. Wong, *Race and the Nation in Liberal Italy, 1861–1911: Meridionalism, Empire, and Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[119] On the later restoration work at Santa Maria degli Angeli, see ACS, MPI, AABBAA, div. II (1925-1928), 6 Roma, b. 287, f. 18.

[120] See Fogu, *The Fishing Net and the Spider Web*.

remains at Piazza Termini is a constructed Italianness, “made in—the ideal part of—Italy” by the restoration of the exterior of Santa Maria degli Angeli, designed to impress the foreign visitor upon arrival to the city and, indeed, to the new nation.



Fig. 1. Ernesto Richter, *Roma, Fontana dell’Esedra*, postcard showing view of the façade of Santa Maria degli Angeli at the Baths of Diocletian, Rome, 1901. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Becchetti, n. FB005636-073; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 2. *Roma 1911, Esposizione Etnografica*, postcard depicting the Palazzo delle Feste, designed by Marcello Piacentini, International Exposition, Rome, 1911. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Becchetti, n. FB003381; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).

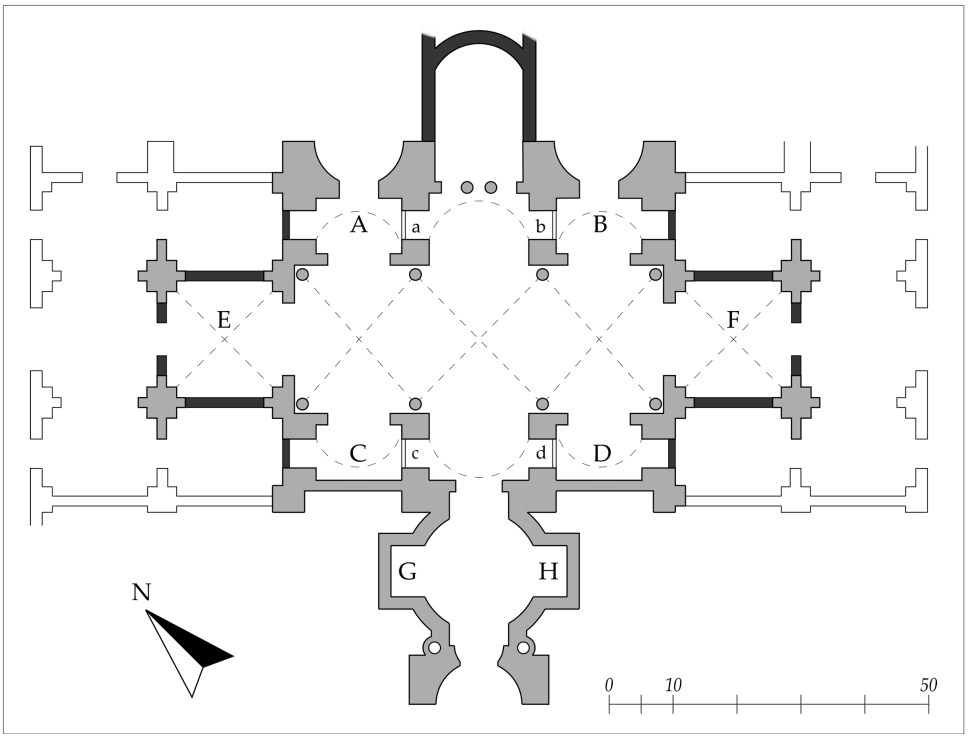

Fig. 3. Plan of Santa Maria degli Angeli as designed by Michelangelo, mid-sixteenth century. Original entrance on right adjacent to area labeled "F." (Redrawn by Juan Carlos Artolozaga after Herbert Siebenhüner, "S. Maria degli Angeli in Rom," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 192, fig. 19).



Fig. 4. Façade of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Rome, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli (1749), gelatin silver print, c. 1908-1909. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Archivio Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. E002719; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 5. Courtyard of the complex of Santi Marcellino e Festo, Naples, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli (1772), photograph, early twentieth century. (Wikimedia Commons).

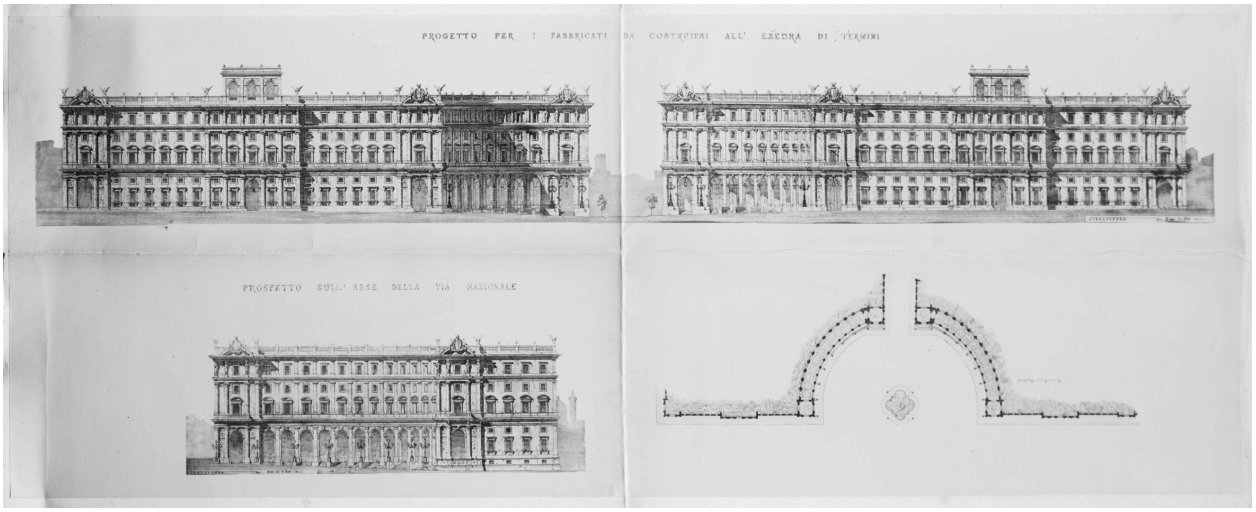

Fig. 6. Gaetano Koch, *Progetto per i fabbricati da costruirsi all'exedra di Termini*, Rome, 1886. (Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Fotografico, n. 2218; by permission of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina, Rome).



Fig. 7. View of Piazza Termini from Santa Maria degli Angeli showing twin palazzi designed by Gaetano Koch, Rome, gelatin silver print, c. 1901-1910. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Beccarini, n. CB000062; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 8. *Roma, Fantasia delle Naiadi e la stazione Termini*, postcard depicting view of Termini Station from Piazza Termini with a portion of Luigi Vanvitelli's façade of Santa Maria degli Angeli in view on the left, Rome, c. 1911. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Ferro Candilera, n. FFC007803; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).

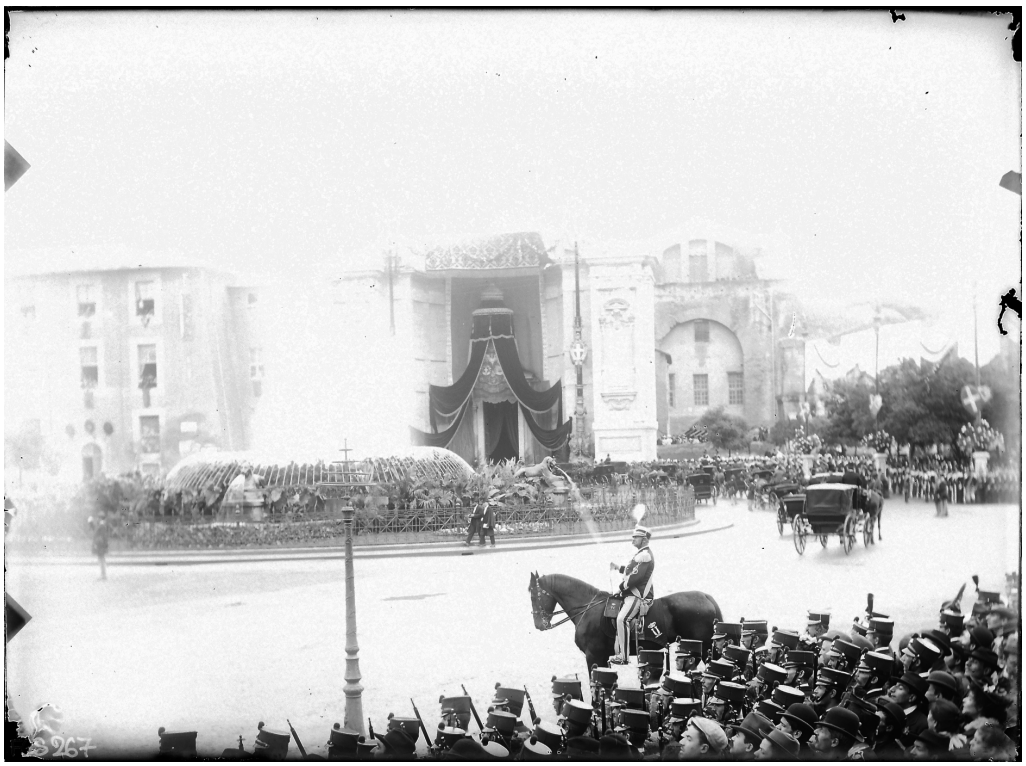

Fig. 9. View of Santa Maria degli Angeli on the wedding day of Vittorio Emanuele, Prince of Naples, and Elena of Montenegro, depicting temporary façade designed by Giuseppe Sacconi, Rome, gelatin silver print on glass, 1896. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Casa Savoia, n. FCS000267; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).

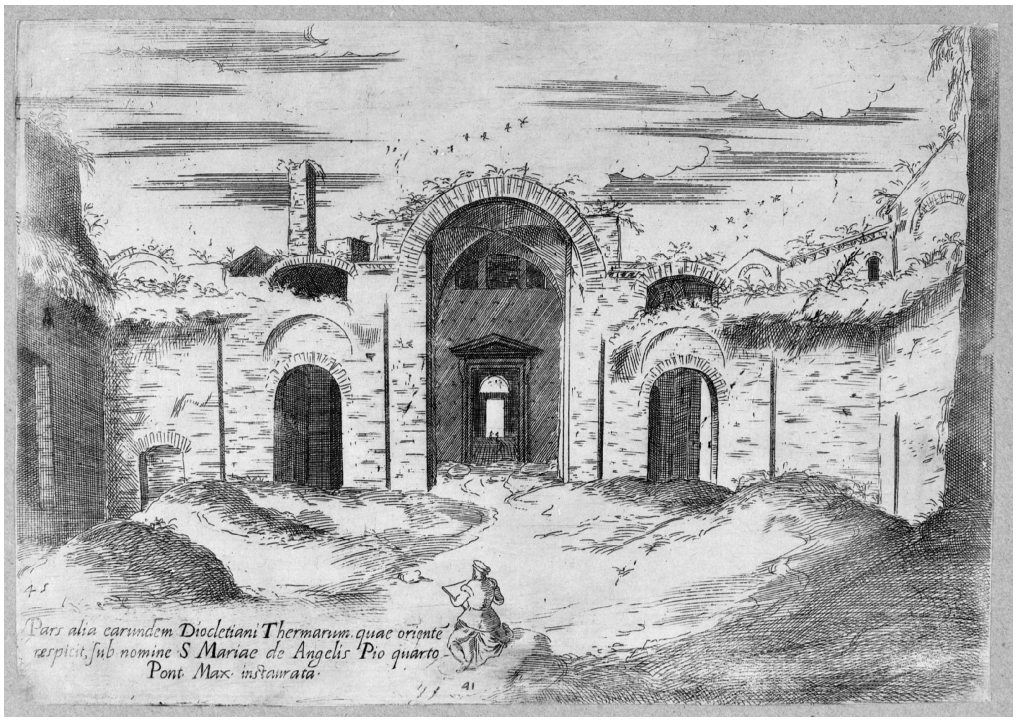

Fig. 10. Giovanni Battista De Cavalieri and Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Pars alia earundem Diocletiani Thermarum*..., engraving, 155 x 223 mm, 1569. View of Michelangelo's original entrance to Santa Maria degli Angeli. (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Fondo Corsini, n. S-FC94882, property of Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura; further reproduction prohibited).

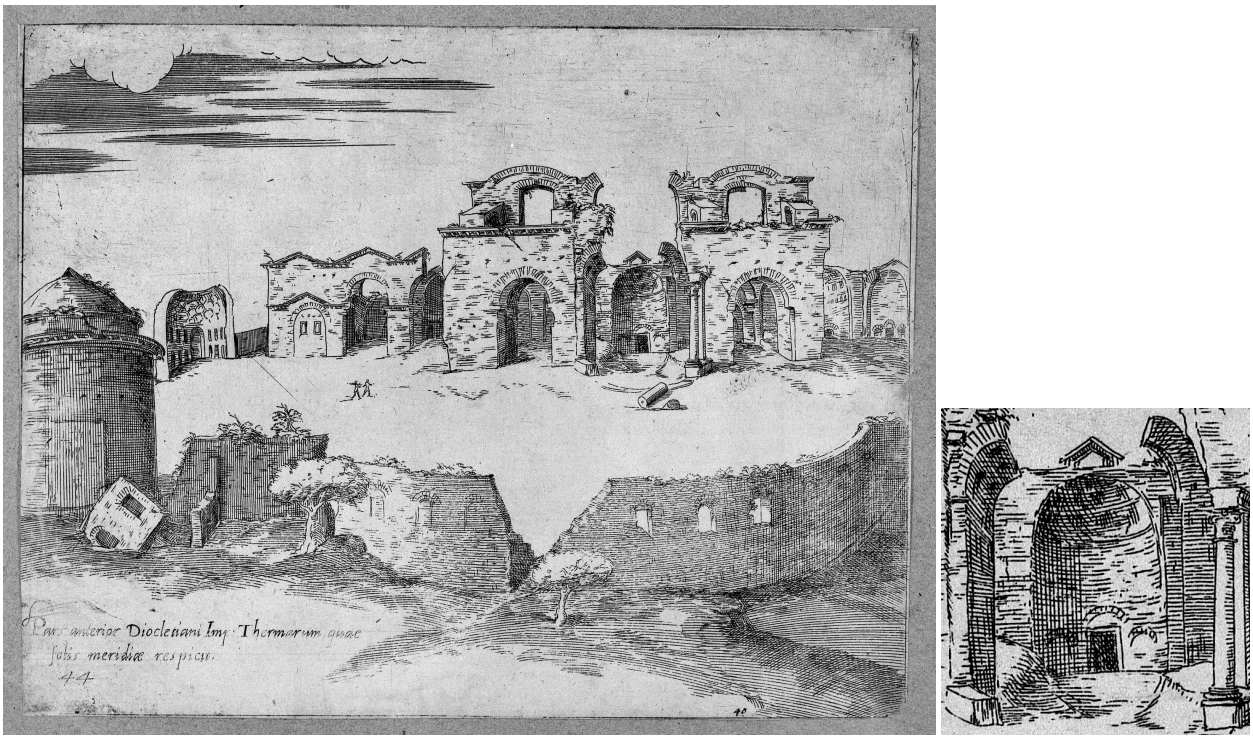

Fig. 11. Giovanni Battista De Cavalieri and Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Pars anterior Diocletiani imp. Thermarum*…, engraving, 170 x 218 mm, 1569. With detail showing the Baths of Diocletian's exposed central exedra with three arches, later covered by Vanvitelli's façade. (Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Fondo Corsini, n. S-FC94881, property of Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 12. View of the Pavilion of Campania, Basilicata, and Calabria in Piazza d'Armi, designed by Antonio Curri, International Exposition, Rome, gelatin silver print on glass, 1911. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Archivio Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. C011044; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 13. View of the interior of the Pavilion of Campania, Basilicata, and Calabria in Piazza d'Armi, designed by Antonio Curri, International Exposition, Rome, gelatin silver print on glass, 1911. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Archivio Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. C011068; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 14. View of the Hall of the Bodyguards, Royal Palace of Caserta, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli (begun 1752), gelatin silver print, second quarter of the twentieth century. (ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo Archivio Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, n. MPI6141283; by permission of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, Rome; further reproduction prohibited).



Fig. 15. Domenico Anderson, *Facciata della basilica di S. Maria degli Angeli a Roma*, *costruita sfruttando i resti dell'esedra di una sala delle Terme di Diocleziano*, Rome, gelatin silver print, c. 1931. View of the restored façade incorporating the exedra of the Baths of Diocletian. (Archivi Alinari, Archivio Anderson (n. ADA-F-031243-0000), Florence).