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Berretta del Prete :

A COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE
LITERARY AND VISUAL HISTORY OF THE
DOMED ROTUNDA AT THE APPIAN WAY

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A Collection and Analysis of the Literary and Visual History of the Domed Rotunda at the Appian Way

AUSGEFÜHRT ZUM ZWECKE DER ERLANGUNG DES AKADEMISCHEN GRADES
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UNTER DER LEITUNG
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Abstract:

EN The 'Berretta del Prete' is a domed rotunda, located between the eighth and ninth milestone of the via Appia Antica in the suburban Rome. Dated to late antiquity, the building is classified as a roman mausoleum of unknown patronage. Although the dome is one of the few preserved in its entirety and the rotunda has been carefully structurally restored, the building doesn't occupy a lot of space in the discourse of roman sepulchral architecture. In publications on mausolea of similar structure, 'the Berretta del Prete' is only mentioned as a side note - if at all - and comprehensive monographies were never published.

In this thesis the available existing literary and visual documentation of the mausoleum is catalogued and analysed. The mausoleum's recognition in the arts and written historic accounts, including the reports of archaeological excavations in the 1980s, are gathered and expanded with present-day personal observations. A comprehensive image of the documented elements of the mausoleum as well as the structural changes that occurred through reuse and restoration are presented with the aid of the historic descriptions of the rotunda's use, alteration and abandonment from antiquity to the present.

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DE Die Berretta del Prete ist ein Kuppelbau, der zwischen dem achten und neunten Meilenstein, der via Appia Antica im suburbanen Rom liegt. Das Gebäude wird auf die Spätantike datiert und ist als römisches Mausoleum unbekannter Herkunft klassifiziert. Obwohl die Kuppel eine der wenigen vollständig erhaltenen ist und die Rotunde baulich sorgfältig restauriert wurde, nimmt das Gebäude im Diskurs der römischen Sepulkralarchitektur keine große Rolle ein. In Veröffentlichungen zu Mausoleen ähnlicher Typologie wird der Bau – wenn überhaupt – nur am Rande erwähnt, umfassende Monographien wurden nie veröffentlicht.

In dieser Arbeit wird die vorhandene literarische und visuelle Dokumentation des Mausoleums katalogisiert und analysiert. Die Anerkennung des Mausoleums in der Kunst und in den historischen Aufzeichnungen, einschließlich der Protokolle der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der 1980er Jahren, werden zusammengetragen und um persönliche Beobachtungen ergänzt. Mit Hilfe der historischen Beschreibungen der Nutzung, Veränderung und des Verfalls der Rotunde von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart wird ein umfassendes Bild der dokumentierten Elemente des Mausoleums sowie der, durch Umnutzung und Restaurierung entstandenen, baulichen Veränderungen dargestellt.

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Preface:

I was introduced to the Berretta del Prete in autumn 2017 as a part of the university module on building archaeology by the Department of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology in the master's program of the Faculty of Architecture at the Technische Universität Wien. Access to the mausoleum was provided by the department and with courtesy of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo as part of the module's courses in order to perform a building survey.[1] During this five-day period in November 2017, a series of 3D scans in combination with photographic documentation and sketches were produced, capturing the mausoleum in high detail. These activities took place in combination with on-site discussions between teachers and various student groups.

During this survey, in cooperation with Clemens Braun and Philipp Hausladen, I was given the chance to contribute to the documentation of the rotunda's interior wall facings. Our observations resulted in an analysis and a catalogue of the rotunda's interior walls and apsidal niches. Four student groups produced the documentation and analysis of the exterior wall facings, construction of the dome, surrounding extensions, and accurate sections and plans of the rotunda. These collective findings were discussed among the module's participants who later produced individual seminar papers. My initial personal investigations focused on an analysis of the interior and exterior damages of the Berretta del Prete with the aim to reconstruct the original antique floor levels. This prompted further investigations and my interest in expanding upon the surveyed material by deepening the research into the visual and written historic documentation that had the mausoleum as a subject.

A second journey to Rome in October 2019 further allowed me to study the exterior of Berretta del Prete, as the focus in 2017 was the interior of the rotunda. It also allowed me to expand my observations onto other domed rotundas in Rome and on the numerous sepulchral monuments of the via Appia Antica.

During the research phase, Prof. Döring-Williams of the Department of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology granted me access to the unpublished documentation of the 2017 building survey; these materials will serve as a reference for the description of the current state of the mausoleum. The material gathered in 2017 is the basis for my understanding of the building. I would like to point out that the building survey was a collective effort, and so I extend my gratitude to my colleagues.

In my research I focused on the historic record produced prior to the TUW survey with the aim to establish a reference for future research. The researched documentation included literature written in Italian, French, German and English. I took special care to accurately translate the original source material, but of four, only one is my mother tongue, therefore I advise the diligent reader to revisit the source material, if any doubt of accuracy arises.

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1   Modul: "History of Architecture and Building Archaeology" at TU Wien, course number: 251.691

Introduction:

At the ninth mile of the via Appia Antica, in the suburban Rome, almost half-way between the Alban Hills and the city of Rome, we find the Berretta del Prete – a domed rotunda mausoleum. The unassuming but compelling tomb has been structurally restored in the 1980s and is well preserved.

Following the restoration, two excavations campaigns produced extensive findings around the rotunda, and the subsequent reports presented the mausoleum under two separate aspects, the initial antique construction and a medieval repurposing of the drum and the surrounding area. In the reports the building was introduced as a structure of great opportunity for further investigations. Yet it appears that the research presented in the 1980s was never expanded upon. An initial exploration of the historic documentation showed that the mausoleum, although mentioned under different aspects, is located in an area that is largely overlooked in the topographical and historical studies of the Appian Way. The absence of detailed records raised the question about the extent of the documentation, i.e. if the mausoleum has been recorded in its entirety.

The focus of this thesis was on cataloguing the existing written and visual documentation of the Berretta del Prete in order to determine the actual extent of the historic records.

The collected records offered insight into the existing structures, the hypothetical reconstructions, and the possible antique plan of the mausoleum. Descriptions in the documentation of the Appian Way, illustrations and paintings from various archives, as well as selected academic sources that captured the mausoleum were analysed to determine which elements of the mausoleum are documented in detail and which remain unaddressed.

In the process, the connections, parallels, and contrasts between the two main types of the documentation became visible, and the various narratives that were told by the authors and artists who captured and analysed the mausoleum were uncovered.

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The main published research on the rotunda is based on the 1980s excavations by the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma*. The excavation reports mainly address the medieval structures, located between the rotunda and the road, but also offer valuable information and insights on the construction phases in late antiquity. The report by Antonella Sveva Gai as well as several shorter articles by Maria Nicoletta Pagliardi serve as the main sources for more recent publications that do acknowledge the building, albeit rather briefly. In only a few cases the building is shown in a broader context. These publications, like the gathered historic literature, range from scientific publications to traveling guides. Surprisingly, some of these reports include unsubstantiated pieces of information, that cannot be traced back to their sources they include.

Two architectural surveys offer further insights. Both of these are unpublished, but partial results of the first are available, and the second one by the TUW initiated my investigation into the Berretta del Prete, and serves as a basis for the building description.

The first of these two surveys preceded the excavations, and was executed in 1959 by Peter Marzolff and Peter Grossmann as part of the extensive documentation of domed rotundas for the project *"Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium"*.[2] This unpublished and unavailable survey prompted the inclusion of the Berretta del Prete in the discussion on the construction methods of roman domes by Jürgen J. Rasch. Two microfilms in the archives of the DAI,[3] dated to 1959, serve as additional visual sources of information about the state of the building at the time of the survey.[4] These images also lead to a better understanding of the approach others chose in their record of the rotunda.

The second and most recent architectural survey from 2017 was, as previously mentioned, initiated and conducted by the TUW – Department of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology. Composed of photographic evidence as well as processed and evaluated three-dimensional scans of the building's interior and surrounding structures, the resulting architectural plans document the state of the building in its most recent form. The findings of the 2017 survey are also unpublished and have not been interpreted and processed for publication. They are a principal source of my understanding of the building, and will therefore be a starting point for this discussion, but since the results are a collective effort, and the aim of this thesis is the historic documentation, the materials of the survey will not be discussed in detail.[5]

This thesis comprises two parts:

- The first part presents the literary documentation, including the published architectural surveys and their respective interpretations;
- The second part addresses the visual documentation. These historic illustrations were produced in the past five hundred years, and include maps, architectural plans, etchings, drawings, paintings and photographs.

Timelines constructed from the gathered material show the structural changes of the building. They illustrate that written and visual documentation followed different narratives and in part contradict each other.

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2   Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium   T → "centralized buildings in late antiquity Rome and Latinum"
3   DAI: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut   T → "German Archaeological Institute"
4   SEE → <u>The collected images in the DAI archive</u>, published on 10/02/2020
5   For access to the material, I advise the interested reader to contact the Department of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology at TU Wien.

Naming:

The building was given multiple names that can be traced back to its shape, use, and location. It was also misidentified, and an inaccurate patronage was attached to its description in the literature and on historic maps. The same misidentification occurs in the visual documentation, as well as a tendency to simply leave the depicted subject unnamed, only referencing the location: via Appia Antica, Campagna Roman or just Rome.[6]

Two main names reoccur throughout the collection:

FIG.1: "STAMPA ANTICA – BERRETTA DEL PRETE ALBERO, FIORI BACCHE BOTANICA" C.1890 DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://WWW.EBAY. IT/ITM/232678687044 ACCESSED 23/04/2021

- The primary name for the mausoleum used today: 'Berretta del Prete'. It was given to the building in modern times and does not give any indication about the ancient function, dedication or patronage of the mausoleum; it is known from oral tradition.[7] The origins of the name depend on the author. Most reports connect the name to the shape of the roof, which resembled a priest's hat. De Rossi, however, gives a different source of the name: a small tree growing on the top of the monument, which survived until a few years prior to him documenting the building circa 1970.[8] The tree known as spindle tree (Euonymus europaeus),[9] shares its Italian name with the mausoleum.

- The second name that recurs in the literature and visual documentation is 'Torraccio del Palombaro'. Canina referred to the tomb as the Torraccio del Palombaro, because of palombe pigeons nesting in it,[10] but the name carries two associations and offers more information about a possible use and reuse of the mausoleum. Firstly, torraccio is a pejorative form of the Italian tórre[11] – tower, synonymous with torracchione – a "Large tower, mostly isolated and abandoned"[12]. This part of the name describes the buildings shape and condition and indicates the possible reutilisation as a tower while at the same time implying that the building is dilapidated. Secondly, Palombaro refers to the 'Palombaro estate', the lands wherein the Berretta del Prete is located[13]. This second name offers information on its appearance and on the later ownership of the tomb by declaring it a part of the surrounding grounds.

As a part of my efforts to expand the material, I observed that the two main names appear in several variations, and in many cases I identified the building not based on the 'reported' name, but rather based on my interpretation of the text, and the comparison I made with present-day resources. The name known from oral tradition, *Berretta del Prete,* is used in this thesis, while the encountered variations are mentioned in connection with their sources.

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6   SEE → Table 3 for an overview of the different names given to the mausoleum.
7   Gai 1986, p.365
8   De Rossi 1969, p.31
9   'Euonymus Europaeus Spindle Tree' in PFAF Plant Database, - accessed 15/05/2020
10   Canina 1853a, p.183
11   'tórre' in Vocabolario – Treccani, - accessed 22/01/2020
12   "Grossa torre, per lo più isolata e in abbandono"   T → "Large tower, mostly isolated and abandoned"
         'torracchióne' in Vocabolario – Treccani, - accessed 22/01/2020
13   Corbascio 2017, p.23

Building description:

THE MAUSOLEUM AS IT IS TODAY.

Based on its architectural characteristics, the Berretta del Prete is categorised as a mausoleum. Based on the masonry technique applied to the building – *opus vittatum*[14] – and the typology of a domed rotunda, Pagliardi dated the building between the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century CE.[15] In comparison to other sepulchral buildings along the via Appia that are built close to the road, and in direct comparison to the neighbouring aedicule tomb, the Berretta del Prete is located at a greater distance – 38.5 metres from the curb.[16] Cylindrical in shape, the rotunda has an outer diameter of about thirteen metres and is almost thirteen metres high.[17]

Several larger blocks of stone and undefined structures can be seen from the road in the area in front of the mausoleum. These structures are made of irregularly shaped stones and are mostly overtaken by vegetation, and, while they can be made out on the axis between the road and the mausoleum, a clear structure is not apparent.

The walls of the rotunda itself are executed in a crude form of opus vittatum. The courses of red brick and grey leucite rock do not follow a regular line count – usually two, but sometimes three layers of stone are followed by one to three rows of brick. The opus vittatum is the original roman wall facing. Its surface is just partially preserved. In the lower section of the drum damages were repaired with irregularly set stones during the 1980s restorations. The same irregular surface repair occurs in the area of transition from the drum to the dome, atop an area where the damage remains visible. In the transitional area, the rotunda decreases in diameter twice, creating two smaller cylindrical sections, step-rings, that each decrease in diameter by 1.1 metres.[18] Even though the step-rings have suffered damage, the intact surfaces of opus vittatum can also be found. At the height of 10.5 metres, the dome emerges. It too is covered with the irregularly laid stone as the exterior of the dome was also renewed during the restorations. The opus vittatum surface of the rotunda is interrupted by alternating large relieving arches made of *sesquipedalis* (bricks with a length of 1½ *pedes*, 42cm)[19] and

14   D → *opus vittatum:* Opus vittatum is a roman construction technique for walls, consisting of a core of *caementicium* and an outer shell made of rows of stone or alternating rows of brick and stone. (Rasch 1984, p.41) In the case of the Berretta del Prete leucite rock (Gai 1986, p.372) was used, but the use of other natural stone is common in roman buildings. e.g. volcanic tuff, as is the case with the Mausoleum of Maxentius. According to Rasch, the technique occurs in the literature as *"opus listatum", "opus mixtum", "*opus vittatum *mixtum"* and *"opus listatum mixtum"*. Terms that Rasch argues should not be used, since all of them are of modern origin, based on Italian and not rooted in the Latin language [roman origin]. (Rasch 1984, p.41) The use of these various names persists to this day and is also found in the source material of the Berretta del Prete. [e.g.: "*opus listatum*" (Gai 1986, p.372)]
      Following the definition by Rasch, in this thesis the technique is referred to as opus vittatum in all descriptions.
15   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
16   Unlike many other monuments at the via Appia Antica the Tomb and its surrounding structures are inaccessible. The structure is protected by a fence and cannot be approached freely. The entrance to the tomb has an additional iron barred gate.
17   All measurements are based on the 2017 survey. During the survey, a project specific zero point was set on the inside of the mausoleum. The zero point is set seven centimetres below the modern concrete floor. The lower point is based on a set of exposed stone tiles in the floor and can be observed on site. The original floor level of interior and exterior of the mausoleum does not exist anymore. Images of the DAI show a different floor level on the inside, different sources give measurements of the architectural elements based on the exterior ground level. This allows for retracing of the ground level over time but does not offer precise information about the building, as the top of the ground also underwent changes.
18   The values vary, as the uneven wall surface does not produce a perfect round shape. On a north-south axis the diameter decreases from 12.9 to 11.8 and then 10.7 metres forming the expected 1.1 metre decrement.
19   Adam 2005, p.293

small semicircular niches. Four niches follow three arches. The antique wall facing is present inside and below the relieving arches, as well as inside the niches, but in the areas under the arches damages occurred. These damaged areas show different repairs. Firstly, the irregular set stone that we can connect to the restorations encases the rotunda above its base as a continuous ring. The same repairs occur in the areas under the arches. Secondly, a type of repair made of the similar bricks as seen in the opus vittatum in combination with larger stones. This type dominates below the arch on the southeast and northeast sides. The arch on the northwest side shows just the first type of repairs, attributed to the 1980s restorations. A fourth arch of *bipedales* (bricks with a length of 2 *pedes*, 59.2cm)[20] faces the road on the southwest side and spans above the entrance to the tomb.

The tomb can be accessed by crossing an annular corridor that surrounds the mausoleum and is partially filled with blocks of *opus caementicium*[21], elements of marble décor, and earth. The 2017 survey has shown that the corridor slopes down by 53 centimetres to the northeast where it reaches its lowest point at 1.68 metres below the interior floor (zero-point) – 2.72 metres below the current entrance level. A circular outer wall defines the annular corridor at an average distance of 1.8 metres from the drum. From wall a small rectangular section extends at the southwest side of the rotunda towards the road. The main wall of this rectangular extension is parallel to the road and creates a small vault that can be accessed through an opening, in the circular corridor. The exterior structures, the exterior wall of the circular corridor, the base of the rotunda inside the corridor, and the rectangular extension are also constructed in opus vittatum. Leucite rock, sometimes in larger irregular shapes, is almost exclusively utilised for this lower section of the mausoleum. The extensions have a smoother surface than the upper sections of the rotunda, as a form of mortar that levels the gaps between has been applied in their construction. Several secondary dry-stone structures interrupt the annular corridor, one of which serves as foundation for the access to the tomb.

The interpretation of the debris in the corridor and the correlation with the damaged surface of the mausoleum is a part of the discussion on the excavation reports. The reports also offer more information about structures in the area between the mausoleum and the road. Below the relieving arch, on the right side of the entrance, the wall facing of opus vittatum forms a defined corner on the edge of the rotunda's entrance. The rows of brick and stone run in continuous courses, connecting the exterior and interior wall facing. The walls of the rotunda have a maximum depth of the 2.2 metres which becomes apparent in the entrance. At a width of 3.15 metres, the access to the mausoleum is constructed as an arch featuring courses of constructive brick ribs – *nervatura.*[22] The nervatura are visible in the intrados of the entrance. On the outside the entrance is defined by an arch made of bipedales, on the inside by an arch made of two rows of sesquipedalis, the only arch in the drum with two rows of brick. At the base of the entrance arch horizontal formwork impressions are visible, a remainder of the centering used during the construction. At the corners of the entrance, the wall facing

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20   Ibid.
21   D → *opus caementicium*: Opus caementicium is roman concrete. (Lancaster 2005, p.3) Lancaster explains the significant difference between the roman opus caementicium and modern concrete. "...Modern concrete [...] consists of mortar mixed with an aggregate of [...] smaller stones usually ranging in size from a pea or walnut [...] and is being poured into place over a network of steel reinforcing bars, whereas the caementa and mortar of Roman concrete were laid separately, by hand and trowel. In both ancient and modern concrete construction, some type of structure, or centering, is necessary to contain and model the wet mortar until it sets and gains strength." (Lancaster 2005, p.3) Her account on the vaulting process also relates to the construction of roman walls. The construction of roman walls was laid in courses of caementa, at the core of the wall, and wall facing in the same step. The wall facing made of brick (opus testaceum), brick and stone (opus vittatum) or other materials is the differentiating factor between the constructions.
22   Ribbing in the construction of vaults and domes is referred to by Rasch as 'nervature' plural of 'nervatura' – the Italian terminology. (Rasch 1985, p.138)

shows several degrees of damage, uneven courses of stone are exposed as the smooth surface is partially broken off. On the west side of the entrance, at its lowest point, a small, sixteen-centimetre recess features a smooth opus vittatum surface.

After entering the mausoleum, the eye is immediately drawn up to the dome and the *oculus*[23] – the only source of light next to the entrance. A modern concrete ramp leads down to the interior floor, also made of concrete. On the inside of the rotunda, three large semicircular niches expand the central circular room. While the central room is topped with a dome made of opus caementicium, these apsidal niches are topped with semi-spherical domes and set below three arches made of sesquipedalis. These interior arches correspond to the relieving arches seen on the outside. Equal to the outer sesquipedalis arches, they are positioned in southeast, northeast, and northwest direction, at 90 degrees to each other. The semicircular niches have a wall facing of opus vittatum and feature wells that extend below the floor level.[24] These wells are thought to be for the placement of the sarcophagi.[25] The wells are rectangular and made of *opus testaceum*.[26] The semi-spherical domes of the niches are made of opus caementicium. The *caementa*[27] is partially exposed, but in the southeast and northeast apsidal niche, vertical formwork imprints are still visible in the remaining mortar.

The wall surface of the interior is heavily damaged and shows different degrees of repair and alterations. In the top section of the interior walls the late antiquity surface of opus vittatum is still intact, with only minor visible repairs. Like on the outside the courses of stone and brick are of irregular count. The lower sections of the wall show rough stone surfaces as damaged areas expose the caementa. At a height of 2.5 metres four smaller rectangular niches are placed in the walls between the large niches. Inside these rectangular niches, on the walls between the arches and in the area between the arches, the even surface of brick and stone is still preserved. Here the continuous character of the courses of opus vittatum throughout the whole building can be observed.

The repairs seen on the outside of the rotunda continue on the inside, where irregular set stone indicates alterations to the walls inside the large niches. In the lower sections between the southeast and northeast niche, next to the repairs of the 1980 restoration, additional alterations occur on in the lower section of the central room. At a height of 95 centimetres a console was added during the restorations. It divides the interior wall into a lower section of smaller diameter and an upper section that continues to the base of the dome. A similar console can be found in the apsidal niches, at the transition between the rectangular to the semicircular sections. In addition to the restorations a second form of repair can be seen in on the walls of the large niches and along the drum's interior wall. Sections of the wall are covered in smooth mortar, or plaster. Irregular set bricks and stones are visible at the edges. This is repair that was apparently made with debris from the damaged walls that predates the 1980s interventions.

The dome of the central room is almost preserved in its entirety. Exposed caementa similar in appearance to the one in the half-domes of the apsidal niches can be seen. Next to the oculus at the dome's crown we can see a second opening on the south axis. While the second opening has been closed by the repairs made on the outside, the

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23 D → *oculus*: Oculus is the Latin terminology for "a circular opening or rooflight in a roof or dome, especially that in a Roman building." (Davies; Jokiniemi 2008, p.254)
24 Gai 1986, p.372
25 Johnson 2009, p.178
26 D → *opus testaceum*: Opus testaceum is a "classical Roman facing of broken tile or triangular brick embedded into the surfaces of concrete walling structures." (Davies; Jokiniemi 2008, p.258) The concrete walling structure referred to by Davies and Jokiniemi to is a core of caementa.
27 D → *caementa*: "The word caementa means rough, unhewn quarried stones and refers to the rubble of fist-sized pieces of stone or broken brick that were used in the mortar as aggregate." (Lancaster 2005, p.3)

interior of the dome appears to have remained largely unaddressed during the restorations. This allows for an additional observation on a roman construction technique: exposed brick ribs radially arranged in pairs are visible around the oculus.

The mausoleum appears to be in a very good state for further investigations, as the restorations were limited and leave damaged areas and original surfaces exposed. The building displays a range of construction methods, from the different wall facings to the exposed nervature in the entrance and the dome.

The recent restorations show the building in a state close to the presumed antique plan. The descriptions in the analysis of the literature do not show this to be the case. Many sources record the building before it was returned to its initial layout. The historic descriptions and the related interpretations might appear unusual when compared to the building today, but they still offer insight on how closely the building was observed in the historic accounts.

Literary documentation:

Initially, it appeared there is very little, if any, record of the Berretta del Prete in the literature. In the course of the investigation it became clear that the building was mentioned and described (as well as painted and photographed), just not comprehensively. Early written records, historic traveling guides, and recent touring guides all captured the rotunda in their descriptions of the Appian Way. At the end of the nineteenth century, very similarly worded descriptions and translations, ranging from French to Danish, made the information about the monument available throughout Europe. Authors interpreted the mausoleum as imperial tomb, church, watchtower, farmhouse, and even as the base of a shepherd's hut. These different narratives, that were historically recorded mostly as very brief accounts and anecdotal descriptions, persist as individual theories even today. For example the description of the shepherd's hut built atop the dome is part of a guide from 2019.[28] Although the primary use as a mausoleum was known, and the Berretta del Prete even served as an example in the definition of the word *'tombeau'* – tomb – in Ernest Bosc's *'Dictionnaire raisonné d'architecture et des sciences et des arts qui s'y rattachent'* from 1877,[29][30] it is not the primary antique function, but the narratives of the rotunda's historic reuse and reutilisation that lie at the core of the mausoleums documentation.

Initially the mausoleum was misidentified as the resting place of the emperor Gallienus. Such identifications and the supporting visual material still offer insight into the architecture and the suburban context of the monument, while the described historic context requires a revaluation. The first of these accounts can be found in Francesco Maria Pratilli's report from 1745, where he described the emperors tomb. He included a map that placed the Mausoleum of Gallienus on the left side of the Appian Way, in the place where the Berretta del Prete is.[31] Antonio Nibby continued the mistaken identification in 1837, when he described the architecture of the Berretta del Prete as the tomb suitable for the emperor.[32] He provided the historic context that later authors like Canina drew from.[33] The confusion between the emperor's tomb and the mausoleum is not limited to the literature – it also occurs in the visual history. The misunderstanding becomes more complex when we look at traveling guides, where the use of the toponym *Torraccio del Palombaro* or *Colombaro* occurs for both mausolea. This can be seen in Gsell-Fels's *"Rom und Mittel-Italien"* from 1875, one of the early German guides, that places the Torraccio after the ninth milestone, in the area of the emperor's tomb.[34]

28   Macmillan 2019, chapter II
29   Bosc 1880, p.322
30   Bosc refers to a round tomb that shares similarities with the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. He called it 'il Torracio' or 'il Palombaro'. According to Corbascio's account on the 'Tenuta del Palombaro' the Berretta del Prete best matches the description within the Palombaro grounds. Nibby addressed the Mausoleum of Gallienus as torraccio in 1837. Canina prominently introduced the name "Torraccio del Palombaro' for the Berretta del Prete in 1853. It appears that in 1880 Bosc indeed refers to the Berretta del Prete.
31   Pratilli 1745, p.70
32   Nibby 1837b, p.555
33   Canina 1853a, p.183
34   Gsell-Fels 1875, p.433

While those names continued to be used for both buildings, the location of Gallienus's resting place was ascertained in 1853. Canina established the position of the emperor's mausoleum on the right side of the Appian Way. He reinterpreted the information given by Nibby, corrected the location of the emperor's tomb, and stated an unknown patronage for the Berretta del Prete, while calling it Torraccio del Palombaro.[35] In Canina's work we can also observe a change in the way the Berretta del Prete was presented. He was one of the first to add visual material in form of maps and etchings to support his description of the Berretta del Prete.

The written and visual accounts became more precise at the turn of the last century with the inclusion of photographs. The photographs captured the state of the mausoleum in great detail. The first published photograph can be seen in Leoni and Staderini's guide of the Apian way. In 1907 the two authors delivered a precise description of the mausoleum. They were also the first to refer to the mausoleum as the 'Berreta del Prete'.[36] From this point on, almost all authors included supporting images into their works, making their publications sources for both types of documentation discussed in this thesis – the literary and the visual history (this can be seen in Table 1). In the second half of the twentieth century, archaeologists and architects alike made the Berretta del Prete the object of their research. They established three out of the six narratives discussed in this thesis. Their works serve as main sources for the literary documentation.

- The first source is a collection of works by de Rossi. He included the Berretta del Prete in four publications between 1968 and 1981. In his first-hand accounts, he placed the mausoleum in the context of medieval fortifications as three of the publications were collections on guard towers in the Roman Campagna.[37]

- The second source are the collected works describing and documenting the 1980s restorations and excavations. Research on the mausoleum was primarily performed during these interventions, that remain the only archaeological exploration to date. We drew the knowledge of the extended layout beyond the central rotunda, evidence of the integration into a medieval farm, and the basis for the reconstruction of a probable original design of the mausoleum from the two main authors: Pagliardi and Gai.

- The third source are the publications by Rasch. He published his works in parallel to the excavation reports but based them on a different a survey. The one that documented the Berretta del Prete under the name Torraccio del Palombaro in 1959. Rasch focused on the antique core of the mausoleum as he analysed the dome of the mausoleum as part of his research on the development of roman construction techniques.

In the collection of the literary history, I structured the three main sources and the supplemental literature into six chapters:

- The first chapter addresses the only narrative predating the surveys: the conversion of the mausoleum into an early Christian church.

- The second chapter follows de Rossi's writings about the mausoleum as a guard- or watchtower (the second narrative presented in the literature).

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35   Ibid.
36   Leoni; Staderini 1907, p.246
37   He also provided us with otherwise unpublished visual resources of remarkable detail.

- The third chapter presents restoration efforts, and introduces the excavations with a focus on the antique layout (introducing the third narrative: the antique mausoleum).
- The fourth chapter talks about the aspect of a medieval farmstead, and is solely based on the work of Gai (this is the fourth and final narrative discussed in the literary history). Her discoveries on the antique structures will be included in this chapter and connect to the remaining chapters on the antique elements.
- The fifth chapter addresses the construction of the antique dome in the works of Rasch.
- The sixth chapter gathers the supplementary literature that presents additional antique aspects, including the suburban context.

...a deserted church, a monument with a round crypt... – the interpretation of the *annali camaldolesi*

The *annali camaldolesi* are one of the earliest records that introduce the question of the ownership of the Palombaro grounds. Dated to 945 CE, the work is referenced by almost all authors who investigate the *Berretta del Prete*. We find it mentioned by de Rossi and later by Gai. These records are the source for a controversial interpretation of the use of the antique rotunda as an early medieval church. De Rossi included this newly interpreted role of the building into his timeline of the reutilization of the mausoleum's central structures.[38] Pagliardi, in her initial introduction of the historic monument, also mentioned the possibility that the mausoleum was a church.[39] Later, Gai disagreed with such premise, basing his opinion on the lack of written and archaeological evidence.[40] The notion still reoccurs to this day,[41] in the works of Coarelli and[42] Corbascio,[43] as well as in the collection of Zocchi. Coarelli attributed the mausoleums state of preservation to the transformation into a church, dating it before the tenth century.[44] Zocchi, who offers an extensive reference catalogue on the mausoleum's visual history, dated the transformation into a church to a period between the fifth and eighth century.[45] For the most part, the interpretation of Berretta del Prete as a church is based on the reading of the Latin text, provided in print by Mittarelli:

> "... ID EST CASALE UNO IN INTEGRO QUI APPELATUR PALUMBARIO CUM TERRIS SEMENTARITIIS : CAMPIS : PRATIS : CUM FONTANA SUA

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38   De Rossi 1969, 30.
39   Pagliardi 1983, p.22
40   Gai 1984b, p.14
41   The Berretta del Prete is also listed as 'Santa Maria Genitrice' on the roman churches' fandom | wiki. Although this entry is presented without any sources it shows how the information is consciously communicated.
       'Santa Maria Genitrice a Via Appia' in Churches of Rome Wiki, accessed 18/04/2020
42   Coarelli 2007, p.399
43   Corbascio 2017, p.41.
44   Coarelli 2007, p.399
45   Zocchi 2009, p.188

AQUA VIVE : CUM ECCLESIA DESERTA IN HONORE SANCTE MARIA : DEI GENITRICES : CUM MONUMENTO SUO : QUOD EST CRIPTA ROTUNDA : CULTUM VEL INCULTUM : & CUM OMNIBUS AD SUPRASCRIPTUM CASALE IN INDE PERTINENTIBUS : POSITO FORIS PORTAM APPIAM MILLIARIO AB URBE ROMA PLUS MINUS OCTAVO : VEL NONO …"[46]

This text describes the Palombaro estate and lists the significant structures and assets within its boundaries. It is also a basis for the interpretation of the mausoleum – the *'monument that is a round crypt'*[47]– as the *'deserted church dedicated to Sancte Maria dei Genitrices'*[48]. Gai sees the use of the Latin *CUM* as a counter for the listed items of the estate. Others read it as a connector between the church and the monument, as a church with/within a round crypta monument.[49] We can see this second interpretation in the earlier historic accounts on the mausoleum.

1837

Nibby's "Analisi Storico-Topografico-Antiquaria della Carta de'Dintorni di Roma, TOMO II & III"

In 1837 Nibby included the Palombaro estate and the Latin description we found in the *annali camaldolesi* in the second volume of his analysis of the historic, topographic and antiquarian surroundings of Rome. Describing the estate, he identified the circular monument that is listed in the *annali* on the left side of the Appian Way. He did not describe the monument itself, and also refrained from calling it a church, or indeed giving it any other role.[50]

Upon revisiting the eight mile of the Appian Way, in the third volume of his analysis, he did say that the building on the left side of the road is a church of *S.Maria*. He wrote that this church had been remembered since the eleventh century. He described the building as having a round shape, with an antique core surrounded by an exterior addition. In his opinion, these additions were erected during the time the building was used as a church.[51]

According to proof submitted by Gai, there indeed were additions to the rotunda that were in use between the tenth and fourteenth century. Furthermore, these extensions are shown to have been used in an agricultural context.[52]

The visual history can only confirm the existence of the conical roof and an alteration to the antique entrance. An external addition to the rotunda, as mentioned by Nibby, cannot be found in the etchings predating or following his work. Nonetheless, the Berretta del Prete appeared as an impressive freestanding structure leading him to assume who the patron of the mausoleum was. *"For the shape, greatness and location […]"*[53] of the ancient nucleus he believed the tomb to be the Mausoleum of the emperor Gallienus. This concluded his account on the mausoleum.[54]

Nibby continued his collection with other monuments on the Appian Way and thereby added a second instance of mistaken identity. Like Gsell-Fels, Nibby described a second monument known as the *'Torraccio del Palombaro'* located on the right side of the

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46   Mittarelli 1764, p.56
47   Ibid.
48   Ibid.
49   Gai 1986, p.369.
50   Nibby 1837a, p.535
51   Nibby 1837b, p.554
52   Gai 1986, p.369.
53   Nibby 1837b, p.555.
54   Ibid.

Appian Way. A large round monument at a distance of about nine metres from the road. Made of thin red brick, featuring four external and four large curved interior niches. He described remains of Doric capitals around it. The monument was not showing any signs of having been decorated. It rose above a substructure that left space to give the burial chamber some elevation.[55] Nibby's Torraccio del Palombaro seems to be the structure now known as the Mausoleum of Gallienus. Some architectonic elements in his description sound reminiscent of the Berretta del Prete, but all elements described can be connected to Gallienus. The number of niches and the undecorated substructure can be seen in the layout of the mausoleum's crypt, the masonry technique and the location are additional indicators for the emperor's tomb.

Nibby is one of the first to describe both tombs and mistake one for the other. He is also the first to interpret the mausoleum as the core structure of a church. His interpretation will be reiterated and prevail for several decades.

1853

Canina's 'La prima parte della Via Appia dalla Porta Capena a Boville – Descrizione'

Canina corrected the mistaken identities. Firstly he recorded the names *'Torraccio'* or *'Palombaro'* solely for the Berretta del Prete. He connected the name's origin to the Palombaro estate, and indicated wild doves – *'palombe'* as a possible name-giving element.[56] His study of the *annali camaldolesi* also led him to the conclusion that the mausoleum's rotunda was transformed into a church dedicated to to *S.Mariae Dei Genitricis*. While he knew of Nibby's account, he states that this connection was based on the record from the tenth century.[57]

Secondly, he classified the Berretta del Prete as a late antiquity tomb of great importance without known patronage. Thereby he resolved the second mistaken identity, as he was aware that the mausoleum was not the resting place of the emperor Gallienus. While he wanted to see the Berretta del Prete as the mausoleum of the emperor, neither the position nor the structure seemed sufficient to serve the purpose of an imperial mausoleum.[58] In his very compact description of the rotunda he referenced the second volume of Nibby and an illustration by Rossini. A map illustrated the topographic setting, and two depictions make his account also a part of the visual history. The fist etching is an apparent record of the rotunda similar to the work of Rossini and the second one shows an idealised reconstruction of the mausoleum's exterior.[59]

The interior of the tomb was described as preserved almost in its entirety, with a vaulted ceiling and four large recesses – the apsidal niches and the entrance vault – that were in use as a rural shelter.[60] The exterior is shown on the accompanying etching paired with the neighbouring aedicula tomb.[61] While the etching captures the state of the monument in detail, showing a damaged zone in the transition from the drum to the step-rings and a conical roof, it also includes possible artistic interpretations that altered the exterior niches, relieving arches, and the entrance.

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55   Ibid.
56   Canina 1853a, p.183
57   Ibid.
58   Ibid.
59   Canina 1853b, TAV XLIV
60   Canina 1853a, p.183
61   Canina 1853b, TAV XLIV

Canina established a separation between the Mausoleum of Gallienus and the Berretta del Prete. He identified the emperor's tomb as the rotunda on the ninth mile of the Appian Way and listed it in a separate entry.[62] His interpretation of the *annali camaldolesi* led him to interpret the Berretta del Prete as the church. He did not, however, state any specific alterations to the structure that would have been part of the church. The only secondary use he observed was the repurposing of the apsidal niches as shelter.

1954

Desjardin's 'Essai sur la topographie du Latinum'

Canina's interpretation of the mausoleum as a church was referenced in Desjardin's dissertation in 1854. His account does not provide us with new written descriptions; instead, he added to the visual history by publishing a map depicting the rotunda with the designation *"Chiesa di Sa. Maria Genitrice"*.[63] In his dissertation he wanted to provide a topography of the antique Latin world with a focus on the ancient roman road network. He chose the Appian Way as main representation of the ancient roads, and included prevailing excavations in the area.[64] Thereby Desjardin created one of the early works that recognize the existence of the Berretta del Prete and its role as a church, without further discussing the monument.

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Articles following the work of Nibby and Canina referenced their accounts and repeated the idea of the construction of a church in connection to the mausoleum. This was the case with Tomassetti whose work from 1910 mentioned this connection.[65] Although in 1837, in an article on the Palombaro estate in the *'Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana'*, Giovanni Batista de Rossi had already assumed that the mausoleum of unknown patronage and the deserted church were two separate structures. He explained the absence of the church with the age of the structure. He thought that it must have been constructed much earlier than 950 CE, since the historic documentation had listed it as already deserted. Therefore he assumed that no trace of the church was to be found.[66]

Still the transformation of the mausoleum into a church was reiterated by G. M. De Rossi, Quilici and Coarelli, who had mentioned that the transformation must have taken place before the tenth century,[67] and Zocchi, who dated the conversion into a church between the fifth and eighth century.[68] G. M. De Rossi connected the transformation with the high population density in the area during the early middle ages. They all agree that the church was – as indicated in the *annali camaldolesi* – deserted. Even though Gai contested the idea of the conversion, it prevails to this day. She pointed out the controversial interpretation of the historic documents. She dismissed the possible interpretation of the rotunda's conversion into a church, based on the historic and archaeological evidence available to her. She agreed with the identification of the Berretta del Prete as the monument mentioned in the *annali camaldolesi.* Her research had uncovered topographical indicators that allowed her to establish that in the tenth century the Palombaro estate occupied only the left side of the Appian Way. The Berretta del Prete appeared to be the only building suitable for the identifica-

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62   Canina 1853a, p.185
63   Desjardin 1854, Sect.III
64   Ibid., p.1
65   Gai 1986, p.369
66   De Rossi 1837, p.99
67   Coarelli 2007, p.399
68   Zocchi 2009, p.188

tion as the monument with a round layout. She also agreed that the church must have existed within the boundaries of the estate, but saw a need for further investigations to uncover the possible remains or evidence of a transformation.[69]

The currently available research on the rotunda does not point towards the idea that it was converted into a church, making the idea present by G.B. de Rossi sound very likely, but still unproven. Gai will provide evidence for medieval alterations around the rotunda. She saw no indicators for the transformation into a church during the excavation campaigns, but the interior was not explored in detail. It is shown in the visual history that there are signs of adaptation on the interior walls. This explains why the narrative of the church does not end.

Johnson assumed that the Berretta del Prete had not simply been a mausoleum. In 2013 he suggested that the mausoleum had a Christian origin as a private tomb. That also served as an *oratorio* and eventually was used as a church.[70]

Johnson's suggestion seems to explain the idea of the mausoleum as a church. But, the use as a rural shelter, mentioned by Canina, and the watchtower (the second main narrative), could explain the changes on the interior. As Gai already called for in 1986, further exploration on the interior of the Berretta del Prete are needed.[71]

The watchtower – de Rossi's observations of the Torraccio del Palombaro

The interpretation of the later repurposing of the rotunda as a church reoccurs in the documentation of the Berretta del Prete to this day. The question of the patron for the mausoleum has also not been resolved, while the connection to Gallienus has been clarified. Giovanni Maria De Rossi mentioned the transformation into a church as he revisited the monument in several publications. His work is our primary source for the second type of transformation the rotunda appears to have undergone, the use as a guard– or watchtower. The name *'Torraccio del Palombaro'* had already been mentioned by earlier authors and Canina had connected it to the Berretta del Prete. De Rossi made the building's supposed use as a tower the core of his discussion on the mausoleum.

De Rossi was a professor of ancient topography in Salerno, and to this day he remains one of the major contributors to the documentation of the antique Roman Campagna. The Berretta del Prete was only one of the numerous monuments he documented in his lifetime. He included descriptions of the rotunda in his best-known publications. His descriptions of the changes in and around the mausoleum are supported by several depictions. Gai referred the interested reader to De Rossi for an account on the state of the rotunda before the archaeological interventions and following restorations affected the appearance of the mausoleum.[72]

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69   Gai 1986, p.369
70   Johnson 2013, p.83
71   Gai 1986, p.385
72   Gai 1986, p.385

De Rossi's first article, published in 1968, introduced the rotunda as '*Torraccio del Palombaro'*. In "*I monumenti dell'Appia da Porta S. Sebastiano alle Frattocchie*" he offered a generous list of the historic structures that line the Appian Way, each represented by pictures and a brief description. Even though the mausoleum is listed and discussed as the seventy-fifth entry in the collection, it is, together with the neighbouring aedicula tomb, depicted at the very beginning of the article. An aerial photograph of the Appian Way's eighth mile shows the south-eastern side of the rotunda.[73] The picture captures the damaged area under the relieving arch of the south-eastern apsidal niche, two smaller openings – putlog holes, and the conical roof that covered the dome. The area around the monument appears to be levelled and covered in vegetation, with a structure or hedge separating the mausoleum form the neighbouring fields.

A second picture offers a closer look at the monument, showing the damaged exterior surface of the rotunda, the walled up antique entrance with four smaller openings and a central window. Throughout the drum we can see several putlog holes and an irregular wall extending the opus vittatum of the second step-ring upwards. The short description given by de Rossi includes a second name: *'Berretta del Prete'*. Offering very compact information about the building, he presented the aspect of reusing the rotunda. First as a church with a dedication to *'S .Maria Madre di Dio'* dated to the tenth century CE and later for the construction of a guard tower.[74] According to de Rossi a remaining base of the tower was visible in the images.[75] The mentioned base he refers to must be the extension of the second step-ring as it is the only addition to the monument, visible in the photographs.

1969. [&1981]
De Rossi's "Torri e castelli medievali della Campagna Romana"

The repurposing of the mausoleum as a guard- or watchtower became the central aspect in de Rossi's later documentation. He included the building in a collection of medieval towers and fortifications of the Roman Campagna, published in 1969. Here he started to primarily use the name *'Berretta del Prete'*. He explained the origin of the name with the presence of a spindle tree growing on the roof.[76] According to de Rossi the Berretta del Prete served as one of two guard towers for the section of the Appian Way. These two towers were located opposite of each other, one tower on the right and one on the left side of the road. The tower on the right side of the road had already been destroyed at the time of him surveying the Roman Campagna. The tower on the left side of the road was erected atop the rotunda. He described the mausoleum as the base of an observation point, that was not preserved in its entirety.

Following the initial introduction of the mausoleum in 1968, this account from 1969 included historic sources to explain the transformation of the mausoleum and in addition supported the descriptions of both towers with visual evidence.[77] De Rossi mentioned two instances of repurposing the Berretta del Prete, first into a church, and then into a watchtower.

The interpretation of Berretta del Prete as a church was based on *annali camaldolesi*, where he reads about a church dedicated to *S. Maria Genetrice* that has a round crypt. He further states that the mausoleum was used to build a tenth-century church dedicated to *Santa Maria Madre di Dio*. And, according to him, this was explained by the

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73   De Rossi 1968, p.307
74   Ibid., p.328
75   Ibid., img.80
76   De Rossi 1969, p.30
77   Ibid., p.192 fig.39, 40

relatively high population of the area during the early middle ages, due to the presence of a rest station at the Appian Way.[78] In the *Itinerarium Burdigalese* we find the record of a *mutatio ad nonum* at the ninth mile – a rest stop used to change horses after nine miles of travel.[79] This explained to him the demand for a building of worship.

De Rossi dated the second transformation or extension into the watchtower to the twelfth century. He argued that it took place during the expansion of the lords of Albano to the regions near Rome, with the aim to fortify the most strategic positions in the area.[80] The Berretta del Prete appeared to be appropriate for such an endeavour. While he discovered no remaining indicators of the conversion into a church, de Rossi saw the base of the watchtower in the additional rows of peperino blocks on the dome.[81] These blocks mentioned by de Rossi can be seen in the historic photographs of the DAI archive, Ashby, Mackey, and van Deman. The idea of the conversion is possibly best illustrated in the reconstruction by Thibault. The rows of stone were placed in line with the edge of the second step-ring, extending it upwards, in all images and illustrations these apparent remains of the tower are topped by a tiled conical roof.[82]

The companion tower on the right side of the Appian Way had also been erected in the middle ages. A photograph included in the collection shows the tower made of tuff blocks and bricks, but de Rossi's survey of the area produced no new material on this companion tower as it, as noted, had already been destroyed.[83]

The two towers were also featured in a later work by de Rossi. He included the mausoleum in a second publication on medieval towers in the Roman Campagna in 1981, but the text remained the same and the second publication offered no new findings.[84]

In the two accounts from 1969 and 1981 de Rossi places the monument next to watchtowers, like the *Casal Rotondo* and the *Torre Selce*. Structures of imposing height that still offer a clear outline on how the alterations for a guard tower have looked. The Berretta del Prete gives little indication on how the transformation into a tower, extending from the second step-ring, would have been executed. In addition, our current observations are obscured by the changing appearance of the campagna along the Appian Way over the past century. The monument now appears to be engulfed in the trees lining the road, opposing the concept of a good vantagepoint. This is a misconception that can be resolved by turning to the visual history of the monument. Paintings of the Appian Way and the Roman Campagna by Thibault and Ivanov, and later photographs show the territory that is mostly vacant. Without larger vegetation the rotunda would have allowed for the observation of the area in all directions. Pagliardi showed that the tree heritage of the Appian Way had to be restored. This changes our perception of the area.

De Rossi's choice of words for the transformation of the purpose of a guard tower appears subtle in some of his descriptions. In some parts his accounts translate to an addition of a lookout to the rotunda, not a transformation into a guard tower. And while the commonly used name *torraccio* already is a pejorative of *tórre*, de Rossi also uses the diminutive *torretta – 'small tower'*.[85]

In all available historic depictions, the stone base on the dome de Rossi described as part of the extension of the rotunda into the watchtower, does not push the ratio of drum height to diameter above 1:1, the ratio of the current state of the mausoleum.

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78   Ibid., p.31
79   Ventre 2004, p.80
80   De Rossi 1969, p.31
81   Ibid.
82   SEE → Appendix: images by van Deman; Mackey
83   De Rossi 1969, p.192 fig.40
84   De Rossi 1981, p.46f
85   'tórre' in Vocabolario – Treccani, accessed 22/01/2020

Considering the visual historic resources that document the changing environment around the rotunda and the rotunda itself, the imposing height of the mausoleum's antique core, the wording chosen to describe the transformation, and the indicators of the extension into a watchtower presented by de Rossi, it is possible that the extent of the adaptions necessary to convert the mausoleum into a lookout might have been minimal.

De Rossi's accounts offer an important aspect on the reutilisation of the antique structure during the middle ages.

The name *torraccio* remains in use, but the transformation of the mausoleum into a lookout, guard- or watchtower was not further explored. Scholars who explored the *'torri di roma'*[86] at the same as de Rossi, do not pay the same attention to our tomb as he did. While photographs of the Berretta appear as examples of the watchtower typology, a deepened discussion on the transformation can only be found in de Rossi's work.

The visual history will show us some further aspects of this interpretation. Artists at the turn of the nineteenth century rendered the drum as a freestanding structure, overlooking the surrounding lands. And others that documented the Appian Way present evidence to support the case for a minimal intervention to change the narrative of the rotunda.

1979

De Rossi's "Bovillae"

In de Rossi's last publication regarding the Berretta del Prete, the aspect of the watchtower became secondary as he turned to the documentation of the antique monuments of the Roman Campagna. He paved the way for the discussion on the initial construction phase of the mausoleum, as he reported his observations on the antique core and the interpretation of the original use as a mausoleum.

Supported by selected visual material of the rotunda, the mausoleum is a part of de Rossi's collection presented in the series *'forma italiae'*. In the last of the three volumes addressing the region south-east of Rome, following an analysis of the regions of *Tellenae* and *Apiolae,* de Rossi concludes his observations on the antique Roman Campagna by turning his attention onto the region around *Bovillae*.[87] Bovillae was an ancient town, located in the area of today's Frattocchie, that served as a station on the via Appia Antica. Located eleven miles south east of Rome, Bovillae was a colony of Alba Longa. It had been one of the thirty cities of the Latin league and after the destruction of Alba Longa became the seat of the cult of Vesta and of the *gens Iulia*.[88] It has since been destroyed, but ruins of settlements, a circus, and a small theatre were already described by Ashby.[89]

The observations and description of the via Appia Antica often capture the stretch between Rome and Bovillae as one section of their studies.[90] In de Rossi's topographic record he did not follow one specific road, but rather observed an entire map section of the Roman Campagna that hosts the Berretta del Prete on the western edge and Bovillae on the southern edge. This way he captured parts of the via Appia, via Castrimeniense and via Latina.

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86   Amadei 1969, p.159ff
87   De Rossi 1979, p.9
88   'Bovillae' in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed.11, Vol.4, Slice 3
89   Ibid.
90   E.g.   Canina 1853
            Spera; Mineo 2004

The area above and around Bovillae was affected by extensive construction activity during the transformation from an agricultural to a residential area. This led to the disappearance of archaeological evidence. Furthermore, the reduced agricultural activity (ploughing) led to a decrease in the number of artefacts brought to light.[91] De Rossi's observations captured the area at this turning point. His survey of the region was completed in 1976 and published in 1979. The publication included images and the first scaled plan of the Berretta del Prete.[92]

His focus on the testimonies of antiquity and the documentation of the entire area around the rotunda offered a new perspective on the mausoleum. While most of the works on the Berretta del Prete discuss the mausoleum as an independent structure, he presented the monument in its original historical context. De Rossi's earlier work had introduced the second guard tower on the right side of the Appian Way a part of the surrounding structures of the rotunda's medieval use.[93] The knowledge of an antique villa in proximity to the mausoleum is one of the additions de Rossi provided in 'Bovillae'.[94] A relation that was not further analysed by de Rossi, but led to the inclusion of the mausoleum in the work Griesbach, who, in 2007, explored the connections between roman villas and tombs in suburban Rome.[95]

In 'Bovillae' we find observations of elements of the mausoleum not previously presented by de Rossi. He mentions the later alterations and historic repurposing of the drum as a church and watchtower. The alterations are referred to as the explanation for the name of the monument. Instead of the previously mentioned tree, it is the remains of the smaller structure on the dome, the medieval extension of the second step-ring, that evokes the name *'Berretta da Prete'*.[96] The mausoleum itself is described as a domed rotunda, located about thirty metres from the curb, with an oculus at the crown of the dome. Executed with a wall facing of two rows of flint cubes divided by rows of tiles and brick. Based on this construction technique de Rossi dated the mausoleum to the fourth century CE.[97] The identification of the materials applied in the opus vittatum differs from the later analysis provided by Gai, where the primary stone for the wall facing of the rotunda is identified as leucite rock.[98]

De Rossi described the exterior of the drum to feature small niches of semicircular shape at a height of one metre from the ground. Above these decorative niches he detected evidence of a concrete overhang, and two metres above this overhang he recorded the two step-rings. Surrounding the drum, he discovered a shallow wall. The interior is described as altered in medieval times and referencing the *annali camal-dolesi* he connected the interior alterations to the transformation into a church.

The existing structure of the interior as recorded by him is described as featuring four apses topped with brick arches, three semicircular, and one rectangular in shape. These are the three apsidal niches and the rectangular niche he correctly identified as the original entrance. Between the apsidal niches, he noted the smaller rectangular niches at a height of two metres from the floor, topped with brick lintels.[99] This concluded his description of the monument's preserved antique elements.

91   De Rossi 1979, p.9
92   Ibid.
93   De Rossi 1969, p.30
94   De Rossi 1979, p.234
95   Griesbach 2007, p.63
96   De Rossi 1979, p.234
97   Ibid.
98   Gai 1986, p.372
99   De Rossi 1979, p.234

The observed structures allowed de Rossi to formulate a reconstruction of the rotunda's original antique design. The shallow wall surrounding the monument was interpreted as a ring of foundations. In combination with the remains of a concrete overhang[100] de Rossi concluded that the antique layout had been a circular mausoleum with a peripteral extension surrounding the central rotunda.

His account on the antique elements is supported with valuable additions to the visual documentation. The publication includes a scaled plan and a set of images: the historic work by Labruzzi, and photographs of the exterior, interior, and the interior of the dome.[101] These photographs show an inaccuracy in the measurements presented in his text. The small exterior niches are captured in two images and we know these niches to be approximately seven *pedes* high, 2.10 metres. The ground level in the images is much lower than described in the text – one metre from the bottom of the niches. On the inside we find a similar difference in the position of the rectangular niches in relation to the interior floor level, which he describes to be two metres below the rectangular niches. Today, we find the floor to be approximately 2.50 metres below these niches. The images of the interior show a higher floor level, compared to more recent observations. In contrast to the exterior inaccuracy this change can be explained by the restoration and excavation campaigns of the 1980s.[102] The images supporting de Rossi's descriptions can also be found in the collection of the DAI, where they are dated to 1959.[103] The scaled plan shows an inaccuracy in the alignment of the exterior and interior niches; this will be corrected by Gai. The plan presented by de Rossi, including this inaccuracy, will be republished by Spera and Mineo in 2004.[104] In de Rossi's plan the niches are directly aligned with each other. The rectangular interior niches and the semicircular exterior niches are depicted in alignment with the four cardinal directions. This alignment is not accurate, as the exterior niches slightly divert from these positions.

The Berretta del Prete is one of 438 monuments presented in *'Bovillae'*. While the prominent monuments that line the Appian Way are commonly included in the literature that mentions our mausoleum, the structures in less prominent position remain unmentioned. In 1969 de Rossi had already described the area around the mausoleum as part of an area of settlements close to the *mutatio ad nonum*.[105] In *'Bovillae'* he further explained the surroundings of the mausoleum, going beyond the usual observations of the Appian Way.

De Rossi mentioned the discovery of a basalt road, a nymphaeum, and a villa on the left side of the Appian Way. The remains of a villa were discovered during agricultural and renovation works on the property behind the Berretta del Prete in 1927. It is positioned two hundred metres from the road; and its discovery brought to light walls parallel to each other, a well, mosaics, and decorations. The villa complex was dated to the republican age, possibly the beginning of the first century BCE. The plans included in the publication show that its full extent has not been determined.[106] The mosaics, of

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100   Ibid.
        "aggetto in calcestruzzo" T → concrete overhang
101   Ibid., 233ff
102   Gai 1983, Giornale, p.31
103   The image index of 'Bovillae' does not mention a specific institution or author for these images. Instead it is noted that all images if not otherwise mentioned were taken by the author – de Rossi – himself. This would mean he recorded the images at the age of seventeen. Rasch includes a photograph of the same signature series in 1991 and since we know that Marzolff and Grossmann surveyed the Rotunda in 1959 the images are assumed to have been taken during the survey, either by Marzolff or Grossmann.
104   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.175
105   De Rossi 1969, p.31
106   De Rossi 1979, p.237

republican type, with reddish *opus signinum*[107] and white marble stones are included in the visual collection of *'Bovillae'*. Additional decorations that were uncovered also included columns for a large threshold and a statue of Athena Parthenos of Phidias that was dated to the second to third century CE.[108] De Rossi explained that the uncovered decorative and structural elements show an extended period of habitation during antiquity. This is further supported by the discovery of terracotta pipe burials inside the villa complex. These burial pipes and a second cluster of burials discovered west of the villa's perimeter wall, closer to the Appian Way , are the only human remains in the area we know of. There was no such evidence found in the Berretta del Prete, or the area in front of the mausoleum.[109]

The area next to the villa had a basalt road stretching between the via Appia Antica and the Appia Nuova, a possible *diverticulum*[110] that probably continued to reach the via Castrimeniense.[111] The nymphaeum was located on the south-eastern side of this secondary road. This discovery was due to the construction work on a building between the Appian Way and the Appia Nuova. The findings in the nymphaeum also included mosaics, peperino columns with ionic capitals, and a channel made of peperino blocks for the water supply. Several more sporadic findings of the excavations in the area around the villa and the nymphaeum were listed by de Rossi. We are reminded of the unknown patronage of the Berretta del Prete, as these artefacts do not include any definitive evidence about the ownership of the villa, although de Rossi mentions a connection to the *gens Flavia*.[112]

De Rossi created a rich collection on the region. His documentation shows more sepulchres and villas along the route of the Appian Way leading from Rome to the south. The antique context for the Berretta del Prete appears to have been richer in structures, including more tombs, burial sites, and residential structures. In his work de Rossi managed to create an arc, spanning from the medieval appearance and reuse of the mausoleum to its antique origins. He provided us with a first reconstruction since Canina. Based on the nature of the damages to the drum he proposed a peripteral extension to the drum. His work is referenced by Gai and others, and serves as a basis for their further exploration, and as part of their analysis of the antique context of the monument.

The 1980s restorations and excavations – antiquity uncovered

In 1980 the Berretta del Prete underwent a series of structural repairs and restorations. These interventions were the starting point for active explorations and extensive excavations. Excavations that expanded our understanding of the mausoleum's appearance, structure, and historic repurposing, from its initial construction to this

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107   D → *opus signinum*: Opus signinum also known as cocciopesto in Italian. It is a "…a mixture of clay fragments, … mixed with mortar and crushed, as a coating for cisterns, terraces, wall plinths, thermal environments, and as flooring. Its purpose was to protect against humidity." 'cocciopesto' in Vocabolario – Treccani, - accessed 12/05/2020
108   De Rossi 1979, p.237
109   Griesbach 2007, p.63
110   D → *diverticulum*: A diverticulum is a secondary road.
111   De Rossi 1979, p.239
112   Ibid.

day beyond any prior account. Nicoletta Pagliardi, local inspector of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma* and Sveva Gai who led the second excavation campaign and discussed the medieval findings as part of her degree thesis in medieval topography, are the two main authors to report on these findings. The results of their work provide novel findings not previously documented in the earlier literary and visual documentation.

All findings were produced in the first half of the 1980s during two excavation campaigns. Pagliardi and Gai, who oversaw the excavations in 1984, mainly expand our knowledge on the exterior of the mausoleum, and just marginally discuss the interior. While the main report is based on the second excavation campaign in 1984, Gai also refers to a first campaign from 1981.[113] The author of the preliminary report was Marisa de'Spagnolis.[114] Her involvement was also mentioned in the program of the *"Convegno Roma: archeologia e progetto"*[115], but the findings of this first excavation campaign were never published as a report.

In the later references by Gai we find that inadequate methodology, a non-stratigraphic execution of the excavation, and the inadequate documentation were the reasons for the results of the first campaign to remain solely informal.[116] The only definitive documentation of this intervention are the markings on the excavation plan, highlighting the 1981 interventions in the 1984 excavation plans, and an analysis of the ceramics found by Gai.

Pagliardi and Gai both focused on different aspects of the mausoleum and the surrounding area, the antique elements, and its medieval reuse. Pagliardi's reports were informed by the first campaign and the ongoing excavations as she discussed the findings prior to the finalisation of the second intervention. Her reports also introduced the early development of the *Appia Antica Park* and the early restoration efforts along the Appian Way. She also dated the excavations to a different time, placing them between 1982 and 1984 – possibly an oversight.

1983

Conference notes and Pagliardi's "Le parc de l'Appia Antica"

The results of the first intervention were presented during a conference on *'archaeology and planning in Rome'* in March 1983, organized by the *Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali e dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma*. We can find a collection of documents regarding the conference in the *'Archivio Antonio Cederna'* (AAC).[117] Included in the archive are notes on the proceedings at the Appian Way and the program for the conference. The author of the notes is not mentioned on the document, but Nicoletta Pagliardi was announced in the program as a speaker that will present the progress report on the preservation of the Appian Way.[118] The connection to Pagliardi is also pointed out in the AAC. Her authorship of the notes is very likely[119], and additionally supported by a published summary of the presentation in *"Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie"*. This French publication from the autumn of 1983 summarizes the conference in a similar structure and in almost identical wording as the notes, and is authored by Pagliardi.[120]

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113   Gai 1986, p.365
114   d'Spagnolis, 'Marisa de' Spagnolis - Publications', - accessed 02/02/2020
115   1186.5_003, p 9
116   Gai 1986, p.365
117   'Mostra 'Archeologia e progetto' in Archivio Antonio Cederna, - accessed 20/03/2020
118   1186.5_003, p.3
119   Ibid.
120   Pagliardi 1983, p.21ff

The notes found in the AAC are more detailed than the summarized article and, while referencing projection slides that are not included in the document, are the focus of the following exploration. The published article serves as a reference to these notes.

In the article Pagliardi introduced the efforts taken to preserve the cultural heritage of the via Appia Antica at the time when the *Appia Antica Park* was established. At the time of the conference, the first miles of the ancient road, from the city of Rome into the modern suburbs, were undergoing a process of preservation. They were transformed into the park we know today. The proposed measures were organized in four categories. The emergency restorations of monuments, and the improvement of the abandoned stretches of the road that had lost their monumental value were prioritised. The second order was the general maintenance. Limited excavations in connection with the restorations, and the formulation of plans for preventive excavations in areas of future urban development followed. The fourth and final category was the initiation of a systematic collection of data concerning the area.[121] Next to the preservation of the road itself, a series of planned but not yet initiated works at the *Quintilii Aqueduc*t, the so-called *Sepulchre of Annia Regilla*, the *Sepulchre of Sant'Urbano* and the *Tomb of Caecilia Metella* were mentioned during the presentation. The Berretta del Prete and a small sepulchre next to the so-called *Temple of Hercules* were the first monuments that had already undergone restorations in 1980.[122]

Pagliardi presented the Berretta del Prete as a monument of great interest, as the restorations had led to discoveries in the area around the rotunda. During the restorations the rotunda was returned to a state resembling the antique original plan.[123] This was achieved by reopening the original entrance facing the street. We know from de Rossi's descriptions, his plan and the photographs, that the antique entrance of the monument had been closed. Access to the mausoleum was only possible through a less prominent entrance in the north-western apsidal niche.

This is also apparent in several historic depictions that show the arch facing the street closed by a wall paired with an opening in the apsidal niche. These adaptations are best documented in the archived photographs at the DAI[124] and are visible to several degrees in the collected historic depictions.

During the restorations, the rotunda's exterior walls were consolidated, and the internal walls were cleaned. The repairs of the rotunda's walls affected all three apsidal niches. In a comparison between the historic and recent images from 2017-19 we see that all irregular openings in the walls were closed. In addition to the entrance the oculus in the centre of the dome was restored, i.e. opened. Although not stated by Pagliardi, it can be safely assumed that, in order to open the oculus, a very prominent conical roof structure – also seen in the historic depictions – must have been removed.[125]

Pagliardi then turned to the preliminary results of the, at the time, still ongoing excavations and offered new insights on the monument that were not recorded in the previous surveys by de Rossi, or Marzolff and Grossmann.

In the 1980s, excavations in the area around the mausoleum were initiated with the aim to explore the foundations of the rotunda. These explorations had not been finalized at the time of the presentation but had already brought to light the annular corridor that surrounds the rotunda and the rectangular extension towards the road.

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121   1186.5_003, 1.
122   The year of the restoration is marked on the rotunda's repaired surface. This was documented during the 2017 TU Wien survey.
123   Pagliardi 1983, p.22
124   SEE → Appendix: DAI
125   SEE → Appendix: Labruzzi; Remond; Mackey

Pagliardi defined the annular corridor as a barrel vault and interpreted the rectangular extension as a support structure of a staircase to access the upper part of the sepulchre. In addition, Pagliardi described a third antique access structure, a connection between the mausoleum and the road: a *"...long corridor, which opens into a central room with double apses..."*[126]. Next to this access corridor, further rooms were identified but had not been properly explored at the time of the presentation.

Pagliardi dated the structures connected to the core of the sepulchre between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century CE. She reported that, during the middle ages, the antique structures, except for the rotunda, were broken down – shaved – and then covered in a beaten floor, made of the broken-down materials. This was done to create a constant level throughout the site.[127]

In the area in front of the mausoleum, between the rotunda and the road, the excavation team identified two additional rooms with different drainage than the mausoleum. Pagliardi reported that these two rooms were built from reused material, including two marble columns reused at the corners of the rooms. The discovery of the columns led to the assumption that the Berretta del Prete either had a pronaos or an external peristyle surrounding the rotunda.[128] The idea of an external peristyle echoes in the descriptions of de Rossi, who had concluded the existence of a peristyle from the concrete overhang he observed above the rotunda's exterior niches.[129]

Next to the two columns, the excavations had also brought to light more intricate decorations, that were not further addressed during the conference. Pagliardi only mentioned that these architectonic elements were discovered, laid out in an orderly fashion below the medieval floor, in front of the antique entrance to the mausoleum. These were spolia that were dated to two periods predating the construction of the mausoleum. Most of them originated in the Trajan era and some elements were assumed to date back to the Augustan era. The elements were probably recovered from other monuments and then reused, as it was common practice in the fourth century CE.[130] This short note on the decoration concluded her description of the mausoleum. Pagliardi expanded the accounts about the decorations in her later publications. In 1985 she added better descriptions, and in an article from 1990 she included images of the decorations in situ.

Apart from the report on the preliminary excavation results, Pagliardi also offered two more valuable insights:

- A list of monuments the Berretta del Prete shares a typological familiarity with. The layout of the access to the central rotunda shares similarities with the Mausoleum Constantina, the Mausoleum of Romulus at the Villa of Maxentius, and the Sepulchre of Sant'Urbano.

- A reference to the reuse of the monument: she too included the repurposing of the rotunda after its initial construction, as a church dedicated to S.Maria Genitrice.[131]

An abundance of ceramic material inside the walls of the later extensions to the rotunda were uncovered during the excavations. Further investigations with a focus on the medieval phase of use that produced these ceramic materials were being prepared.

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126   1186.5_003, p.5
127   1186.5_008, p.5
128   Ibid., p.6
129   De Rossi 1979, p.234
130   1186.5_008, p.7
131   The conference notes do not include sources. Pagliardi was in the unique position to investigate the reuse of the building, mentioned in the earlier chapter, through the archaeological interventions in and around the mausoleum but, to this day there is no archaeological evidence to confirm this claim.

This period is the focal point of Gai's report on the second excavation campaign from 1984. Pagliardi's presentation concluded with further reports on the Appian Way and the description of interventions performed to recover the ancient structures and the tree heritage, which had been completed *"... except for the last kilometre before the communal border."*[132]

Pagliardi's "Sepolcro c.d. Berretta del Prete"

The excavation results were published in the *'Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma'* in 1985. Pagliardi introduced the mausoleum under the name *'Berretta del Prete',* and connected the name to the tomb's characteristic circular shape and domed roof. The article is supported by illustrations: an axonometry, and an excavation plan, showing all internal and external niches. Her written description of the rotunda was therefore reduced to the main features: the rotunda's shape, the three apsidal interior niches – which were intended for the placement of the sarcophagi – and the use of *opus vittatum*. The execution in *opus vittatum* was named as the defining criteria to date the monument between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century CE.[133]

The function of the mausoleum for the representative placement of sarcophagi had not been addressed before. This was the first time the apsidal niches were mentioned in this context, although there were no sarcophagi found in the Berretta del Prete.[134] The focus on the intended antique use lead Pagliardi to point out the unknown patronage of the tomb. Based on refences to Nibby and Tomassetti, she explained the recurring historic misidentification of the monument as the Mausoleum of Gallienus. She stated that the consensus had been that the circular brick mausoleum at the ninth milestone is the emperor's tomb.[135] Pagliardi saw three reasons for the misidentification. The first one is the close proximity of the circular monuments to each other. The second: the location within the same estate – the Palombaro grounds. And finally – historic descriptions of a circular monument as the tomb of the emperor. These indicators had led to different interpretations of the historic sources, but the patronage of the Berretta del Prete remained unknown.[136]

The excavations had brought to light several structures in front of the mausoleum that Pagliardi accredited, in part to the initial construction phase, and in part to a medieval occupation of the area. These different phases of use came as no surprise to her as the historic sources on the Palombaro grounds mentioned a church and – in an updated translation – a monument close to the church.[137] The *annali camaldolesi* were now interpreted differently, and a clear separation between the rotunda and the church was made, dismissing the idea of the transformation.[138]

Pagliardi focused on the late antiquity structures that had already been identified at the time of the article. She described the ambulatory, and the access corridor and its two apses that connected the mausoleum to the road. Each of the access corridor's apses had an additional rectangular room attached to it. The definition as two distinct rectangular rooms was new in her description. The rooms were still not fully explored and

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132   1186.5_008, p.7
133   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
134   Ibid.
135   Ibid. (referring to: de Rossi, Quilici, Coarelli;)
136   Ibid.
137   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
138   Ibid.

not described further.[139] At a higher level, structures constructed from reused antique materials and of different orientation than the antique corridor had been uncovered. These structures were made of a rough masonry technique that used little mortar.[140]

Most of the discoveries were made in the area between the road and the mausoleum. The area behind the rotunda did not show any activity after the original antique use. The uncovered antique elements in the area behind the rotunda were described as the collapsed vault of an ambulatory. These elements were Pagliardi's proof for the barrel vault reconstruction that had covered the ambulatory, an element already presented in the conference in 1983.[141]

The pieces of the collapsed vault were discovered during the second excavation campaign in 1984. The focus during this second campaign had been directed at the annular corridor and two areas occupied during a medieval period of reuse. The medieval occupation had taken place in front of the mausoleum. A closer examination of this area had shown several rooms made of reused materials taken from the sepulchre. Pagliardi reported that the exploration in these medieval environments had included the discovery of original roof tiles, a large open basement area, several fireplaces, ceramic material, and large quantities of animal bones. These findings suggested to her that at least the last phase of medieval occupation had been mainly agricultural.[142] The mentioned roof tiles were not dated by Pagliardi, they will later be addressed by Gai, who connected the roof tiles to the medieval occupation.[143]

At the time of the publication the investigations were still ongoing. The plan for further studies included excavations inside the mausoleum to determine various phases of use on the interior, and an investigation of the rotunda's extensions to their deepest levels. The goal was to be able to better interpret the ancient and subsequent medieval use of the monument.

Again, Pagliardi closed her article with a note on the discovered antique decorations, adding a little more detail about them. The elements had been uncovered in front of the mausoleum, inside an enclosure made of larger blocks. The decorations included marble blocks, richly decorated with plant motives, for the use as frames, jambs, and architraves. These were the elements she had dated to the Trajan age earlier.[144]

The marble elements would likely have served as the decoration of the portal and as mentioned before were taken from older abandoned monuments to be reused for the construction of the Berretta del Prete.

1990

Pagliardi's "Il sepolcro detto Berretta del prete"

Tranquilli's "technical execution"

Building up on her previous articles, Pagliardi revisited the monument in 1990, presenting the monument and the discovered decorations in *"Archeologia a Roma: la materia e la tecnica nell'arte antica"*.[145] Supported by the same axonometry as in 1985, with the inclusion of additional photographs taken during the excavation campaigns. The images showed the decorative elements, and the apses in the corridor between the

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139   Ibid.
140   Ibid.
141   1186.5_008, p.5
142   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
143   Gai 1986, p.380
144   Pagliardi 1985, p.101
145   Pagliardi 1990, p.79 - 81

rotunda and the road. She structured the article in the same way as her earlier work. Starting with a short description of the rotunda and the connection between the shape of the building and its name. Her description of the interior had changed. The interior was described to feature four, instead of three semicircular niches, of which one was utilised as the entrance. The others were used for the placement of the sarcophagi.[146] The *opus vittatum* surface in the entrance was executed with a retraceable rectangular layout. Based on this we can say that Pagliardi's description of four semicircular niches introduced an inaccuracy. The shape of the entrance is also visible in the axonometry, as the axonometric section is placed on an axis between the main apsidal niche and the entrance. Neither the on-site observations, nor the illustration confirm the description presented by her.[147]

The continued excavations explored previously described structures located mostly in the area in front of the monument. Based on Gai's analysis Pagliardi was able to assign the structures to an original antique construction phase, and a phase of medieval reuse. The excavations in these areas had been deepened but not further expanded.[148]

Pagliardi now defined the antique structure as: the rotunda, the annular corridor, the access corridor between the road and the rotunda, the apses extending in the middle of the corridor, and the two rectangular rooms connected to the access corridor. These rectangular rooms had already been described in 1985, and remained to be explored in detail.[149]

Pagliardi mentioned that in the medieval phase of use the series of structures made of a crude masonry technique were erected. These structures were concentrated in the area in front of the mausoleum and, as mentioned before, included several rooms constructed of reused material taken from the mausoleum, including some decorative marble elements. Two of the rooms explored at a greater depth showed the collapse of a tiled roof. An adjacent levelled area was possibly used as a new access to the rotunda during this phase. Pagliardi associated a possible agricultural use with at least the last phase of the medieval occupation.[150]

The most important part of the 1990 article is the presentation of the antique decorations. Scattered pieces of decoration were found on several levels during the excavations, and the structures built during the period of reuse also feature reutilised pieces of the decoration. During the explorations, richly decorated material was discovered in front of the mausoleum, outside the annular corridor, next to its exterior wall. The decorated marble elements for the use as architraves, frames and doorposts were placed inside an enclosure made of larger blocks in an orderly manner.[151] Pagliardi reminds us that most of the elements had been dated to the Trajan age, but some originated in the Augustan age. They are decorated in leaf and rose scrolls and include some reliefs of tree branches. One very intricately decorated element showed a laurel tree and an ibis picking a snake off a branch.[152] Pagliardi also included the photographs of decoration. Three photographs showed the placement of the elements in situ, and one showed a close-up of the laurel tree plate. The white marble plate of h112 × w61 × d26 centimetres shows signs of adjustments on the sides. Two additional pictures show the different markings of a stonemason.[153] According to Sacerio Tranquilli they represent two different phases of progress in the relief.[154] The depicted scene is framed by a

146   Ibid., p.79
147   Ibid., fig.41
148   Ibid., p.81
149   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
150   Pagliardi 1990, p.81
151   Ibid., p.80 fig.42 – 44
152   Ibid., p.81 [41]
153   Ibid. p.81 rig. 45, 46
154   Tranquilli 1990, p.81

square blank area on the right, and the trunk of the laurel tree on the left. The majority of the very high and sculptural relief shows the crown of the laurel tree with branches full of leaves. One third of the plate depicts the ibis connected to the branches by the snake. Pagliardi assumed that the element was reclaimed for the rotunda as it appears to have been intended for the left jamb of a portal.[155] She mentioned that this was only one of several plant motives discovered, and many were adorned with birds between the leaves. The motive, as Pagliardi points out, was widespread in the first century CE for the use of decoration on the sides of altars.[156] The high relief created a strong contrast in the motive and made it appear very lively. This element is believed to have originated at a later point in the second century CE.[157]

There is also a more detailed section about the marble plate that features the ibis in the same publication. Saverio Tranquilli explained the use of different tools in the creation of the richly decorative element in his account on the technical execution of the relief. He described two phases of work on the plate. The first one related to the tree and the second one related to the ibis. The presented details show two different structures. The leaves show contour grooves made during a preliminary sketch that would have later been refined by using thin tools. The second phase is visible in the work relating to the carving of the ibis. Here Tranquilli mentioned the use of drills, nails and chisels of straight and curved shape, to mark the contrast between the plain background and the body of the bird.[158]

This note concluded the entry on the antique elements of the mausoleum. The decorative elements would have served as frame for the portal. Their placement outside the annular corridor in an orderly manner suggests that these elements were possibly never applied to the rotunda, or – as Gai indicated in her account – were removed in an organized way only to be left behind.

Pagliardi drew from the excavations to inform us about all late antiquity structures. She proofed the existence of a barrel vault ambulatory and the extension towards the access corridor. Her accounts include reports on the mausoleum's elaborate access structures between the rotunda and the road that included a staircase leading up towards the entrance of the drum. She provided us with the knowledge on the decorative elements, their placement and the information that they were spolia. Further pieces of the decoration were included in newer structures that were also uncovered in front of the rotunda, these structures were the central element in the excavation report provided by Gai.

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155   Pagliardi 1990, p.81.
156   Ibid.
157   Ibid.
158   Tranquilli 1990, p.81

The mausoleum in the Middle Ages

1986

Gai's archaeological report

Pagliardi had offered several very focused accounts, continuously expanding our knowledge on the monument. She gave a good overview on the antique core, and the extensions of the mausoleum. She had introduced the surrounding structures discovered on different levels during the excavation campaigns. The need to further explore these structures was addressed during the second excavation campaign in 1984. The results from both excavations contributed to Pagliardi's accounts, the discoveries of the second one resulted in a more extensive publication by Sveva Gai.

Gai had led the second excavation campaign in 1984 and wrote her degree thesis in *"Medieval Archaeology and Topography"* at the University of Rome *"La Sapienza"* on the Berretta del Prete.[159] Her analysis of the mediaeval structures and the antique core of the monument was published in 1986 in *'Archeologia Medivale XIII'*.

Gai offers us the most detailed account on the mausoleum to date. Her work includes a structured analysis of the different construction phases from the initial construction of the antique rotunda to the later medieval interventions and extensions. She provided a detailed analysis of the ceramic findings, and offers the best insight on the medieval use of the area available. To support her documentation, she included numerous depictions of the ceramic material, photographs of the excavations, and plans of the rotunda and the surrounding extensions structured by the progression of the construction phases. Gai's work is significant for the detailed analysis of the archaeological findings and the introduction to the history of the mausoleum in form of an overview on the ownership of the Palombaro grounds. The analysis of the site in combination with the research into the changes in ownership, offers insights neither de Rossi nor Pagliardi presented. Her analysis of the ownership is only surpassed by *'La tenuta del Palombaro'* by Corbascio. In his work from 2017, he focused solely on the property that often lends its name to the mausoleum.[160]

In her introduction Gai tracked down the written sources that document the site of the mausoleum to the seventh century CE. The earliest mention of the property as part of the monastery of *S. Erasmo* was in a Greek inscription – *the epigraph of S. Erasmo*. The Palombaro fund was transferred to the monastery by pope *Adeodatus II*, who was elected in 672 and died in 676.[161] This transfer is mentioned as a donation, but Gai pointed out that Kirchhof suggested a recovery of the property. Kirchhof had connected the foundation of the monastery to the recovery of the land from the ancient possessions of the *gens valeri*.[162] This connection is a rare and unproven attempt to retrace the ownership of the property and the possible initial patronage of the mausoleum to an antique family lineage. This patronage has also been reiterated in the collection of Spera and Mineo, emphasizing the importance of the epigraph of S.Erasmo. Neither Gai nor Spera and Mineo further explored the accuracy of the assumed antique ownership.[163]

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159   Gai 1986, p.365
160   Corbascio 2017, p.21
161   'Adeodatus II | Pope' in Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed 17/06/2020
162   Gai 1986, p.366 (footnote 2)
163   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.176

The next historic document to mention the property dates to 950, stating the transfer of the property from the Basilica of *San Lorenzo* to the monastery of *S. Gregorio al Celio*[164]. Following the text Gai included the controversial reading and the identification of the church dedicated to *S. Maria* as the mausoleum. To Gai, like Pagliardi in her later articles, the interpretation of the mausoleum as the church cannot be made based on the literary sources.[165] In addition, the archaeological evidence produced during the excavations, in her opinion, did not support such an association. The interpretation of the mausoleum as the mentioned sepulchre with a round crypt is definite to her. Contrary to other scholars who had questioned the identification based on the presence of the Mausoleum of Gallienus within the boundaries of the Palombaro estate,[166] Gai thought the layout of the mausoleum with its annular corridor and dome made it the only building worthy of the term *monumentum*.[167]

Between the tenth and fourteenth century there were no written sources for the property's ownership and at the end of the fourteenth century the Palombaro grounds were split into the *Palombaro Blanco* and the *Palombaro Rosso* divided by the Appian Way. Gai noted that the two estates were named after the prominent monuments within their boundaries. *Blanco* after the Berretta del Prete and *Rosso* after the Mausoleum of Gallienus, for the stone and brick used in the masonry.[168] With the introduction of the *Catasto di Alessandro*, the documentation of the ownership moved towards historic maps. Gai determined a continuous ownership of the grounds by the monastery *S. Gregorio al Celio,* until 1828 when it was transferred to the *Capitolo Liberiano di S. Maria Maggiore* by Pope Leone XII.[169]

In her overview of the patronage, leading all the way to antiquity, Gai marked a period between the tenth and fourteenth century, where written sources did not document the occupation of the site. This phase became the primary focus in her later analysis as the archaeological evidence attests for activity around the mausoleum during the middle ages.

The results of the excavation are structured by historic periods and building activity of the mausoleum, and on the site. This includes the area around the central rotunda. Gai determined six phases of activity beginning with the late roman age. She provided the most accurate architectural description of the monument out of all literary sources.[170]

PHASE I:
The initial late antiquity structure is described as a Mausoleum of roughly cylindrical shape with a domed roof. A central tomb with a diameter of 12.5 metres surrounded by a concentric ambulatory. The masonry was made of *opus vittatum* in mostly two rows of leucitite blocks alternating with bricks, sometimes also three or one row of stone, not always laid continuously. She described the three large discharge arches and the entrance arch made of *bipedales* bricks, as visible in the surface of the *opus vittatum* and explained the purpose of the discharge arches as structural elements correlating

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164   Gai 1986, p.369
165   Ibid, p.369. (referring to Tomassetti and Canina)
166   Ibid. (referring to Nibby and Tomassetti)
167   Ibid.
168   Ibid., p.371
169   Ibid., p.372
170   Ibid.

to the apsidal niches on the inside.[171] The floor level of the entrance to the mausoleum was defined as different to the original entrance level, which Gai assumed above one row of continuous bipedales bricks visible on the interior of the rotunda.[172]

On the interior, semicircular niches – the apsidal niches – were described to be constructed above brick faced wells that were built into the foundations of the monument. These wells, or shafts, extend about four metres down. This was shown during the 1981 excavation in the south-eastern apsidal niche.[173] During the second excavation campaign the same brick facing was also confirmed for the other two apsidal niches, although they were not explored to the same depth.[174]

At the end of the first construction phase of the mausoleum, it was surrounded by a concentric ambulatory, paved in a smooth and uniform grey mortar.[175]

The corridor of the ambulatory was never fully explored, but Gai detected a slight slope towards north-east, with the lowest point on the axis of the main apsidal niche and the mausoleum's entrance. Access to this corridor was possible through a small, ninety-centimetre-wide entrance, on the front of the monument. This entrance featured a threshold and doorposts of peperino blocks. The ambulatory is described to be originally covered by a barrel vault; a reconstruction based on the remaining pieces of collapse, uncovered during the excavations. Gai calculated a maximum interior height of 195 centimetres for the ambulatory.[176] De Rossi had interpreted the exterior wall of the ambulatory as the foundations instead of an ambulatory itself. Gai added more detail to this interpretation by describing the ambulatory to have featured two levels. This was also based on the traces of the intrados of a second vault, detected above the external niches.[177] The existence of such an architectonic feature, to her, was additionally supported by the numerous fragments of marble columns found on the site.[178]

The central drum of the domed rotunda and the two-level ambulatory were the main elements of the first late roman construction phase. These central structures were, according to Gai, accompanied by an additional structure in front of the mausoleum – two walls, parallel to the road. They had been uncovered during the first excavation campaign in 1981. While their presence was simply confirmed during the first campaign, Gai's analysis placed them in the first construction phase based on a comparison of the construction techniques. They were executed in *opus vittatum* in a mutual stratigraphic relationship with the rotunda. These two walls were placed in one line, orthogonally and symmetrically to the axis of the entrance and the main apsidal niche, three metres apart from each other. This distance matches the width of the entrance to the rotunda.[179]

PHASE II:
The two walls were part of a more complex access structure that extended the layout of the mausoleum towards the road. This structure was built during a second late roman construction phase that Gai described as a topographically connected structure on

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171   Ibid.
172   This was also concluded during the analysis of the rotunda in 2017. The continuous leveling row of bipedales is visible on the inside of the rotunda, it is visible starting at the entrance and in the area towards the main apsidal niche, at the level of the transition between the rectangular wells and the semicircular apsidal niches. Since the interior walls have been restored on the south-eastern side of the tomb the layer of bipedales can't be seen in this area but they are visible on the southern side of the entrance.
173   Gai 1986, p.373
174   Gai 1984a, p.3
175   Gai 1986, p.372
176   Ibid.
177   De Rossi 1979, p.234
178   Gai 1986, p.373
179   Ibid.

the axis between the rotunda and the road.[180] Pagliardi had mentioned this access structure in her accounts of the mausoleum but the differentiation into two separate construction phases was not part of the previous descriptions.[181] Gai listed the structures of the second and final roman construction phase as a corridor leading from the road towards the rotunda and a rectangular extension of the ambulatory in front of the mausoleum. The rectangular extension connected the straight wall, build in the second phase and the exterior of the annular corridor from the first phase, enclosing a small space under a *cappuccina* roof. Open on the sides the extension was accessible but disguised the entrance to the annular corridor by blocking it from view.[182] Based on the characteristics of the masonry technique Gai placed this extension in the same phase as the main walls of the corridor leading towards the monument. The corridor structured the access to the monument, its two main walls were parallel to the central axis of the monument and accentuated with two exedras – apses that extended the corridor in the middle of the approach. Two additional walls, orthogonally to the access corridor and parallel to the road and the two walls dated to the first phase, extend away from this main corridor. These additional walls formed two rectangular rooms, one on each side of the corridor.

Gai described the structures of the second phase to be almost exclusively made of pieces of reused construction material, blocks of various sizes laid in mostly even courses, with some rows of brick. The walls of the second construction phase feature visible mortar between the blocks that had been smoothened,[183] and the floor level of the extending structures lead Gai to the assumption that the structures were all in use at the same time as the other connecting structures: the annular corridor and the walls parallel to the road, constructed in phase I.[184]

The antique structures were the same as described by Pagliardi, with the additional information on the two separate construction phases: the central first phase represented by the rotunda in opus vittatum, the ambulatory and two walls in front of the mausoleum, and the second phase represented by the additional access structures between the mausoleum and the road. Gai described a possible abrupt change of violent nature to the antique structures that affected the exterior of the tomb. During the excavations inside the annular corridor, large blocks of a collapsed barrel vault were discovered. The area below this collapsed vault elements was a layer of exclusively late roman ceramic materials, unaffected by medieval use. Gai therefore concluded the collapse of the vault had likely taken place at the end of the antique occupation. The dimensions of the collapsed elements suggested to her a violent nature of the change in the rotunda's appearance.[185]

The antique activity was followed by four phases of medieval occupation of which the first might be the most important to understand the continuing alterations that affected the original appearance of the tomb.

PHASE III:
Gai connected the first post-roman phase, phase III, to a systematic spoliation of the tomb.[186] The period in the early middle ages was defined as a phase of reuse and occupation of the preserved original structures. The antique monument was used without active construction interventions that would have altered the structure of the tomb.

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180   Ibid.
181   Pagliardi 1990, p.79f
182   Gai 1986, p.374
183   Ibid.
184   Ibid.
185   Ibid.
186   Ibid.

A homogeneous filling excavated from the shaft in the south-eastern apsidal niche attested for the continuous activity inside the mausoleum.[187] The excavation on the interior of the rotunda was primarily carried out during the first campaign in 1981, and Gai emphasized that although the stratigraphic documentation was missing the uncovered findings pointed towards a *"... continuity of life inside the monument."*[188]

The missing application of correct methods during the first excavation affected the argument for the activity in this period. The systematic stripping of the monument is based on the discovery of a layer of marble chips and the decorative elements, laid out in front of the monument, that were also described in detailed by Pagliardi.[189] The activity dated to the early middle ages was based on a relative chronology and the characteristics of the elements placed below a levelling layer made of cobblestone. This cobblestone layer was connected to the later stages of construction on the site and was only observed accurately in a section of the area spared from the first excavation campaign in front of the mausoleum. To Gai, the decorative marble elements might have been placed there in preparation for a lime kiln. In addition, the layer of marble flakes indicated that a large amount of marble elements had been stored there. Since these decorative marble elements appeared to be placed in an orderly manner, she excluded the possibility of a collapse of the decoration and suggested an intentional removal of the architectural fragments.[190]

It appears that, to Gai, the mausoleum was at least partially decorated. The possibility that the elements might not have been mounted and were later covered is not mentioned in the report. The restorations make an inspection of the surface difficult, but the initial analysis of the interior during the 2017 survey did not produce any evidence of mounted marble plates.[191]

PHASE IV:

The fourth phase, called an intermediate phase, was dated to the central centuries of the middle ages, before the tenth century.[192] This phase was defined by the first post-Roman building interventions, that, according to Gai, followed the abandonment of the mausoleum. The original function of the tomb was abandoned, and the construction of two new structures in front of the monument are documented to have taken place in this period. Inside the annular corridor, built directly on the antique floor, a wall has been discovered. Gai stated that the construction of the wall had required a partial removal of the collapsed barrel vault. The second structure was erected at the edge of the excavated area it formed a straight wall north-west of the access corridor.[193] Based on the stratigraphic relations to the other structures, Gai defined this straight wall as the first post-Roman construction in the area between the rotunda and the road. Defining elements that would help date this wall were missing, but the stratigraphic exploration served as the basis for Gai's chronological placement of the wall. The true context and the original function of this wall are open to speculation, since it is located at the edge of the excavated area a clear context could not be determined. Gai assumed it had belonged to a housing complex that extended beyond the examined area.[194]

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187   Ibid.
188   Ibid.
189   Pagliardi 1990, p.81
190   An intentional removal of the marble elements, including the columns of a possible second level of the ambulatory, could explain the abrupt violent collapse of the lower annular barrel vault.
191   The 2017 collectively gathered survey material remains inconclusive. An analysis of the interior and exterior wall facing needs to be performed in close range, in order to confirm the assumption that the mausoleum was decorated.
192   Gai 1986, p.375 fig. 6
193   Ibid., p.376
194   Ibid.

PHASE V:

The existence of such a complex would make the medieval rooms, that define the fifth phase of development in front of the monument, additions to older structures outside the excavated area.[195] The remains of buildings of this fifth phase were discovered in the area between the road and the rotunda. Pagliardi mentioned their existence, but Gai described them as the walls that defined three *'ambienti'* – rooms or environments, that were constructed, seemingly without making the rotunda a central element of the layout. This period between the tenth and the beginning of the thirteenth century was explained by Gai as a phase when the site in front of the rotunda became a part of a farmhouse. The excavated rooms were part of a housing complex that was abandoned at one point, without a known cause. Two of the rooms of the fifth construction phase were connected to the wall on the edge of the site accredited to phase four.[196]

Gai explained the medieval layout had been a sign of the changing nature of the area, a transition from burial to agricultural zone.[197] The layout did not portray the tomb as a main housing element, nor a central structure. Instead, the three rooms were arranged around a paved courtyard.[198] This courtyard was located in front of the mausoleum's entrance and included the area that covered the antique decorations.[199]

According to Gai, the first earlier abandoned room extended from the rotunda to the south and was defined by two curved walls. Both walls crossed the annular corridor of the mausoleum and the wall to the east had a rectangular opening, connecting the area to a garbage dump inside the ambulatory. This garbage dump was outside the south-eastern apsidal niche, an area already highlighted in de Rossi's plan.[200] Gai speculated that this area – *ambiente γ* – had had three separate construction interventions taking place, but all within the fifth phase, and not sufficiently supported by stratigraphic evidence to determine an exact chronology. She pointed out that a further deepening of the archaeological investigations would resolve the question of the relations within this area, an undertaking that had never been performed or had not been published. Within the first room, she detected two separate levels: one made of the collapsed wall of the ambulatory, and a second layer that covered the collapse, and was made of rammed earth and mortar. These two layers were uncovered under a collapsed roof.[201]

The area north-west of the antique access corridor, featured two additional rooms. Gai described them as more articulated, and the plan material shows more conservative, rectangular structures that were differently oriented than the antique corridor. In order for these rooms to be build, Gai assumed the complete removal of the antique walls had taken place, followed by a levelling of the area for the construction of the farmhouse. Gai documented a paved courtyard in 1984 in the areas untouched by the first excavation campaign. She determined that this area was occupied longer than the structure with the curved walls on the south-east of the rotunda.[202]

The first room on the north-eastern side of the mausoleum – *ambiente β* – appeared to have been a relatively accurate mirror image of the walls uncovered in the south-east of the monument, with a curved wall extending away from the ambulatory connecting to the straight wall accredited to the fourth phase. To Gai, the curved walls on either side of the entrance to the mausoleum suggested the construction of a new access struc-ture to the rotunda. Following the antique original access route, the new access would

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195   Ibid., p.378
196   Ibid.
197   Ibid., p.401
198   Ibid., p.378
199   Ibid., p.377 fig.8
200   De Rossi 1979, p.236 fig. 377
201   Gai 1986, p.380
202   Ibid.

have crossed the rectangular antique extension of the ambulatory.[203] The curved room created in the process would have extended, like its mirror opposite, into the ambulatory. The area was on the edge of the explored grid and had already been excavated during the 1981 campaign, a clear connection between the medieval structure, the ambulatory, and the rectangular late antique extension, could not be determined. Gai assumed that the rectangular extension had already been covered by soil at the time of the construction of the curved wall.[204]

The second room – *ambiente α* – had been built next to the preserved roman structures and incorporated one of the antique exedras. Gai pointed out that the analysis presented had not offered a definite result as to what the use and reuse of the antique elements had been. She called for a continuation of the investigations to better clarify the different alterations to the structures.[205] The walls of this room extended from the phase IV wall, defined as the first post roman structure, and created an almost rectangular room. This room was altered in the sixth phase, and has not been fully excavated.[206] The excavation strategically limited the area of focus, following a predetermined grid and not the discovered rooms. A similar strategic limitation affected the exploration of the other *ambienti* of the medieval developments.

The connecting space between the medieval structures, presumably a courtyard, provided an important datapoint to Gai, as the first phase of the floor made of cobblestone levelled the entire area, and thereby enabled her to link all the excavated rooms of the farmhouse chronologically and spatially.[207]

PHASE VI:
The final phase of medieval interventions affected the area of the more defined rooms associated with phase V, in the west of the antique access corridor. Structures of more refined building technique, with a facing of peperino, and the addition of two reused columns as corners, were erected on a higher foundation level. These new structures affected the rooms constructed in the phase V. Gai described their shapes as irregular, consisting of walls parallel to the walls of the earlier rooms, and forming two new rooms. Traces of two steps were reported. They connected one of the two rooms to the courtyard.[208]

The development of the farmhouse appears to have not affected the area beyond the curved wall leading to the mausoleums drum. In the area beyond this curved structure Gai reported a collapsed roof on the western side of the monument.[209]

It is important to point out that Gai described a clear stratigraphic sequence that placed the roof tiles atop a layer of humified earth of ancient formation, and an infill in an opening in the curved wall. This represented the abandonment of the tomb and proved the existence of a period of post-Roman activity before the roof was erected and before its later collapse.[210] This allows us to place the discovered roof tiles in the post-Roman era, and resolves the uncertainty in the accounts by Pagliardi. She did not assign the mentioned 'original' roof tiles to a historic period, therefore leaving it open

203   Ibid., p.381.
204   Ibid.
205   Ibid.
206   Ibid.
207   Ibid.
208   Ibid.
209   Ibid.
210   Ibid.

to speculation if the mentioned tiles belonged to the antique structure.[211] For the room initially covered by the roof west of the monument, Gai assumed an occasional use as a storage, and considered the roof to be at least once rebuild.[212]

The sixth phase of construction has also led to the creation of a new paved floor inside the courtyard, made of large irregularly placed blocks of peperino. Gai saw this process as one of the last interventions, followed by an apparent reconfiguration of the courtyard as an interior space.[213]

Gai assumed that the interior of the rotunda was in continuous use – possibly as a warehouse, or as a temporary shelter – based on the discovery of modern glazed ceramics. Canina had mentioned in 1853 that the interior niches were still in use as rural shelters.[214] The medieval complex in front of the monument did not show signs of uses after the beginning of the fourteenth century. Gai could not determine the exact extent of the structures, as they reach beyond the excavated area, neither was it possible to determine the height of the medieval construction. She concluded that the material uncovered did not appear to be sufficient to reconstruct the rooms of the farmhouse and explained the lack of material by the periodic levelling activity during modern agricultural activity. The ploughing in the entire area around the monument had a destructive effect on the remains of the structure.[215]

Compared to the rotunda, the farmhouse was only in use during a short period. This can be attested by the ceramic findings and is supported by the historic depictions in which structures next to the rotunda are mostly absent. The archaeological findings made it possible for Gai to document activity during the central middle ages, but for more reliable data on the use during the modern age, she called for further investigations inside the monument, where parts of the monument were and still are unaffected by the excavation activity of the 1980s.[216]

Sveva Gai also provided an extensive analysis of the ceramics discovered in and around the mausoleum. The dating of the fragments offered insights on the reuse of the rotunda. Materials uncovered on the inside of the mausoleum, in the rectangular shaft of the south-eastern apsidal niche, indicated activity inside the tomb prior to the construction of the medieval housing complex.[217] The phase of activity during the ninth century, predating the more active phase on the site, is proven by the discovery of fragments of *'Vetrina Pesante'* (forum ware).[218] David Whitehouse had largely attributed the ceramic technique to three phases: a period between 750 and 850, a phase in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and an even earlier use – around year 600.[219] Gai's analysis of the elements found them to have a closer resemblance to the earlier, more ancient types of the technique. She dated them to the ninth century, and thereby proved the activity inside the monument happened in this period.[220] Other ceramic findings allowed her to document the use of the site until the fourteenth century – the point where she saw the end of the farmhouse's occupation.[221]

Gai concluded her work with the statement that the rotunda had been reused for agricultural purposes, possibly as stables or storage. She saw the nucleus of the mausoleum in continuous use throughout the centuries, with a phase of more intense activity

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211   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
212   Gai 1986, p.381
213   Ibid., p.385
214   Canina 1853a, p.183
215   Gai 1986, p.385
216   Ibid.
217   Ibid., p.388
218   Ibid.
219   Whitehouse 1981, p.583ff
220   Gai 1986, p.388
221   Ibid., p.381

between the tenth and thirteenth century.[222] The dimensions, poor build quality of the walls, and lack of proper foundations indicated to her that the medieval interventions were low rising structures that would not have reached higher than one floor, with the exception of the structures of the sixth construction phase, that appeared intricate enough to support a first floor.[223] The reuse of antique roman elements, the architectural marble elements that were, according to her, abundant on the site, was consistent throughout the later structures.[224]

The importance of her analysis lies in the definition of the different construction phases and the focus on the medieval extensions. Gai introduced the reuse of the rotunda, as well as the use of the site withing a farmstead that emerged during the transformation of the area into an agricultural zone. The interpretation of a part of the structure as stables, storage spaces and housing units was a logical reaction to this change, as the agricultural use of the area required the creation of residential units even if they just served as temporary shelter. This need was met in form of the medieval structures and the rotunda.[225]

The domed rotunda – the 1959 building survey and the published results:

Gai provided a timeline for the occupation, and with it, a timeline for the construction activity in and around the mausoleum. She presented the three phases that affected the appearance of the antique structures: two separate antique construction phases and the following third phase of apparent alterations to the mausoleum's appearance.

The antique construction techniques and their application were not addressed in detail. They are aspects of the work of Jürgen Rasch, who discussed parts of the mausoleum's original construction methods in two articles, published in 1985 and 1991. The aim of these articles was to understand the initial antique construction and design methods applied in domed rotundas.

The Berretta del Prete was one of numerous domed rotundas that were recorded as part of an extensive research project initiated by Arnold Tschira, Michael Stettler and Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann in the region of Rome and Lazio.[226] In 1959 the initiators of the research project had tasked Peter Grossmann and Peter Marzolff with the survey of the mausoleum. The extent of their records remains unknown as the documentation is unpublished, and unavailable.

The collected results of the surveys served as the basis for Jürgen Rasch's discussion on the development of antique Roman dome constructions. In his work we find the Berretta del Prete under the toponym of *Torraccio del Palombaro*. Rasch's work fundamentally shapes our understanding of the roman construction methods.

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222   Ibid., p.401
223   Ibid., p.402
224   Ibid., p.401
225   Ibid., p.402
226   Rasch 2017, p.36

1985

Rasch's "Die Kuppel in der römischen Architektur"

Rasch's first reference to the *Torraccio del Palombaro* occurred in an article on the development of dome constructions in roman architecture. Rasch accredited the mastering of large-scale vaulted ceilings, their construction, and the success of vaulting techniques to the roman ingenuity of refining earlier inventions. He called the mastering of dome construction the central architectonic innovation of roman architecture.[227] To him, the development was explained by the gradual improvement of construction techniques: from arches to barrel vaults, from barrel to cross vaults, and further towards cloister vaults, ultimately leading to the development of domes spanning centralized rooms.[228]

He gave two primary examples of domed structures. The first is a monumental building that features the first fully formed dome – the *Temple of Mercury in Baiae*, dated to the end of the first century BCE. The second is the *Pantheon* – the pinnacle of the development in construction in Rome, at the middle of the second century CE.

He saw the Pantheon as a prototype for the development of independent-building typology. Removed from their previous applications in large complexes, domes became fully independent architectural and structural units in the third century CE.[229]

Within this development, Rasch detected and defined a separation into two typologies of the freestanding domed buildings that originated in the middle of the second century CE: the *"Obergardenrundbau"* and the *"Podiumsrundbau"*. Both typologies had distinct features. The first was identifiable by a row of windows in the upper half of the drum for the illumination of the interior. In most examples, the number of windows matched the number of interior niches. The buildings of the second type, resembling the Pantheon, are elevated on a podium, feature stairs leading to a porticus, and utilise an oculus at the centre of the dome for illumination. The podium type was utilised in sepulchral temples of late antiquity, best represented by the *Mausoleum of Maxentius*, built at the beginning of the fourth century CE.

The two typologies, that coexisted in history, were succeeded by a refined typology we can observe in the *Mausoleum of Constantina*. The main elements are a centralized plan featuring an interior colonnade on which a tambour and a dome rested. To Rasch, this third typology represented the end of the classical roman development as the centralized plan transitioned into being the guiding principle of Byzantine architecture.[230]

In this context Rasch introduced the *Torraccio del Palombaro – the Berretta del Prete –* as a part of an historic overview. Paired with the already mentioned mausolea and monuments, the Berretta del Prete is one of ten independently freestanding rotundas included in his collection. The mausoleum serves as one example in the comparison of domes, and their building technique. Rasch explains that the roman advancements in the development of dome constructions were possible because of the use of *opus caementicium*, and the discovery of the hydraulic properties of *pozzolan*, that, in his words, *"...not just enabled the development of the roman dome, but provoked it."*[231] The volcanic deposit is common in the Roman Campagna and the area of Latium[232], and

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227   Rasch 1985, p.118
228   Ibid.
229   Ibid., p.119.
230   Ibid.
231   Ibid., p.122.
232   For a map on the occurrence of materials in the area of Rome and Latium SEE → Lancaster 2005, p.14f MAP 3 & 4
       MAP 3 shows a leucitic lava deposit stretching from Rome towards the Albano Hills. This deposit is below the Appian
       Way, this explains the application of the material in the monuments along the road.

also found its application in the construction of the dome of the Berretta del Prete.[233] To Rasch, the use of *opus caementicium* and the application of layered *caementa* indicated the understanding of the dome as a homogenous unit.[234]

The 1991 article features an expanded analysis of the Berretta del Prete's dome, including a section labelled with the different materials used as *caementa*, depicting the dome construction made of layered *caementa* of different composites.[235]

In 1985 Rasch focused on the definition of two principal typologies and the defining architectonic elements that stood at the core of the two designs. He deduced the ideal ratios that defined the two designs. One is the ratio between the height of the drum, up to the base of the dome, and the radius of the dome[236], and the second is the ratio of the wall thickness to the radius of the dome.

His analysis included several measurements and rations of the Berretta del Prete. Based on the survey by Grossmann and Marzolff, he recorded the monument's measurements: an interior radial diameter of 8.10 metres, an average wall thickness of 2.30 metres, a ratio of 1:3.5 of diameter to wall thickness, an average thickness of the dome of about 0.90 meters, and a ratio of 1:9 between the diameter and the thickens of the dome. In comparison to the other buildings, the Berretta del Prete had the thickest drum and dome walls in relation to its interior diameter, a ratio that decreased with the increase of the dome's diameter.[237]

In the rotunda's section, Rasch reconstructed the main elements that would have dominated the exterior appearance of the dome, step-rings that added a surcharge on the outer haunch of the dome,[238] and the central element that defined the interior – the oculus at the apex of the dome. The oculus served as indicator of the *"Podiumsrundbau"* typology. Rasch expanded his analysis to include the ratios of the dome's diameter and the diameter of the oculi. He pointed out that the opening in the dome was usually constructed of *bipedales* with an average ratio of 1:5.2.[239] The Berretta del Prete was listed with an oculus diameter of ~1.50 metres, and a ratio of 1:5.4, making the diameter of the oculus smaller than the average.[240]

The distribution of forces was accomplished through the application of formwork during the construction process. Rasch explained how the forces are transferred into the walls through the integration of brick ribs – *nervatura* – into the domes structure. These ribs directed the forces towards the drum. *Nervatura* are also documented in the dome of the Berretta del Prete. Rasch pointed out that these ribs are, in the case of our mausoleum, just 1.50 metres long and connect to the brick ring of the oculus. In case of such short nervatura, he speculated that the construction might have laid without the use of stable formwork, but instead would have been laid with the support of scaffolding.

Rasch pointed out one more important differentiator between the two typologies: the approaches in the illumination of the interior would have influenced the interior decoration. A singular source of light like an oculus would require the three-dimen-

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233 Rasch 1991, p.350
234 Rasch 1985, p.123
235 Rasch 1991, p.349 Abb.32
236 According to Rasch the ideal ratio of drum to the radius of the dome for the two typologies is:
     Podiumsrundbau: 1:1
     Obergardenrundbau: 1:1½
237 Rasch 1985, p.128 Tabelle 1
238 Lancaster 2005, p.248
239 Rasch 1985, p.135f
240 Ibid. Tabelle 2

sional structure of columns, pilasters, mouldings and coffering to leave an impact with contrasting shadows. The '*Obergardenrundbau*' with its multiple sources of light would have allowed for the use of colourful decorations.[241]

In explaining the history of the construction methods of the roman dome, and the advancements in the development over several centuries, Rasch offered valuable input for the understanding of the techniques applied for the Berretta del Prete, without mentioning the mausoleum extensively. He referred to the oculus as an indicator of the *Podiumsrundbau*, and suggested a three-dimensional interior decoration dictated by the typology. His discussion on formwork directly mentioned the dome of the rotunda and explained the construction method for the mausoleum's dome. He deduced that the use of local materials had enabled the invention of the domed rotunda and explained the main structural elements – step-rings – that defined the shape of the dome's exterior.

Rasch's 'Zur Konstruktion spätantiker Kuppeln vom 3. bis 6. Jahrhundert'

In 1991, Rasch published another article on one of the *"pinnacles of roman vaulting architecture"*[242] – the dome. At the time, the construction and planning process of domes was a field of great interest in archaeological research, and, while the analysis of different aspects had been fruitful, a comprehensive analysis and a resulting typological classification had yet to be performed.[243] Rasch had access to the collected data of the previously mentioned research project: *"Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latinum".* Results regarding the planning and construction process, construction technology, decoration and typology were produced as a part of the project that had the goal to document late antiquity roman buildings with a centralized plan layout. However, the construction of the dome – the dominant feature, and an element of high importance in the analysed group of buildings – was not studied to an extend that would lead to a definite understanding of the construction principles applied.

Rasch turned to the use of photogrammetric analysis of the dome constructions as a method to expand his scope on the antique building technique. Four domes had been analysed with the new method, the *Mausoleum at Tor de' Schiavi*, the *Mausoleum of Constantina*, the *Temple of Minerva Medica* and the *Tempio della Tosse*. Rasch used the photogrammetric analysis to reconstruct the entire formwork of the *Mausoleum at Tor de' Schiavi*, observe the formwork imprints and to document the placement of its nervature at the *Tempio della Tosse*. The observations of the *Temple of Minerva Medica* led to a reconstruction of the heavily damaged dome. In the case of the *Mausoleum of Constantina*, the numerous observations included valuable information about the nervature and use of *caementa* in the dome's construction. These four monuments have, by now, all received monographies as part of the research project, but the collected survey material included a much wider range of domed monuments.

Rasch used these resources to postulate the principles that had been applied in the construction, and how the building process had been conducted. He retraced the application of nervature in ten domes, and pointed out that in only three cases the nervature have been visibly preserved – one of these instances being the Berretta del Prete. He also included the Berretta del Prete in a group of eight characteristic buildings with

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241   Ibid., 138f
242   Rasch 1991, p.311
243   Ibid., p.313

domes. Based on these building, he created a list of defining elements in the late-antiquity dome constructions: the hemispheric shape of the dome, the use of formwork, the structural element of nervature in the *caementicium* dome, and the later progression of the typology and departure from the proportions of the dichotomy proposed by himself in the article from 1985. The development of the domed rotundas meant the increase of ratio between dome radius and drum height, which further meant an increase of the height of the central room. Rasch observed all but the last element in the Berretta del Prete.[244]

He introduced the Berretta del Prete as the smallest building in the collection and, just as in the 1985 article, included schematics of the monument. The dome of the mausoleum was shown in three scaled sections: one based on the measurements taken during the building survey,[245] one reconstruction,[246] and one illustrating the distribution of differently weighted material in the dome,[247] followed by an additional projection showing the placement of the nervature and bipedales of the oculus.[248] Rasch used the surveyed measurements of bends in the curvature of the dome to reconstruct the placement of the formwork. He concluded that two sizes (measured in pedes) of boards were used: one 4½ pedes long, followed by five 2½-pedes-long boards. These were placed in meridians in order to create the shape of the dome. While the first row of 4½ *pedes* could not be confirmed with certainty, Rasch emphasized that the formwork boards appeared to be unusually long, and concluded that the dome's shape must have been a simplification.[249]

In comparison to other domes, the length of the first board in proportion to the diameter of the dome stood out They were proportionally the longest boards included in the documentation, with a ratio of 1:6.[250] Rasch explained that the dome had been constructed in the same way as the advancements of dome construction in in the third to fourth century CE dictated. Following the principles of using nervature and a decrease in weight for the caementa towards the crown of the dome. These principles were applied without being necessary for the dome's span.[251]

In the dome's construction the first step-ring was levelled with a brick layer, which marked the point where the *caementa* of the dome transitioned from regularly layered *caementa* made of basalt, to the one made of irregular, larger basalt stones mixed with *peperino* stone. The top of the second step-ring marked the second composite transition towards mainly peperino stone in combination with small amounts of basalt stone. This analysis was based on the observations of Marzolff and Grossmann and shown in two sections by Rasch.[252] The dome was closed by nervature, and placed in the axes of the eight interior niches. The *caementa* at the crown of the dome is irregularly placed, adjusted to the radial placement of the nervature, instead of being layered horizontally as is the case in other domes presented by Rasch.[253] Rasch saw the application of the nervature as a formal addition to the construction. This did not contribute to the structural properties of the dome, and he concluded that the nervatures had been applied despite them being unnecessary for the size of the dome.[254] He saw the Berretta del Prete as insignificant, and pointed out that the entire construction had

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244 A comparison of the Berretta del Prete's proportions with the two typologies showed that the rotunda does not match either of the two ratios Rasch introduced. The rotunda's height exceeds both ratios. (Rauber 2018, p.12 Abb.13)
245 Rasch 1991, p.349 Abb.32
246 Ibid. Abb.33
247 Ibid., p.378 Abb.50
248 Ibid., p.377. Abb.49b
249 Ibid., p.363 (footnote 150) – Rasch also notes that the placement of the lower board needs to be reconfirmed in situ.
250 Ibid.
251 Ibid., p.350
252 Ibid. (footnote 89)
253 Ibid., p.378 Abb.50
254 Ibid., p.350

been carelessly executed, but he valued the building as one of the earliest preserved rotundas that contributed to his understanding of the progression of late antiquity dome constructions.[255]

The interpretation of the 1959 survey gave us a very detailed explanation on how the construction process was applied at the Berretta del Prete's dome. Since the dome was Rasch's focus, we cannot draw many conclusions about the drum or how the remaining structures appeared from his account. The reconstruction of a cornice – an added exterior decoration – is the only piece of additional information he offers. His idea stood in contrast to the reconstructions by the Italian authors. They had all concluded, based on the remains of a concrete overhang in the location of Rasch's reconstructed cornice, that the drum had been surrounded by a two-level peripteral ambulatory. Rasch's reconstruction also depicted the dome without the roof, although he hinted at a covering of *opus signinum*, to protect the dome from the weather.[256]

Rasch gave us a detailed explanation on how the dome was constructed. With the reference to *opus signum,* he offered an additional detail on the possible original appearance of the dome. Still, he described the dome as the result of a set of rules that dictated the construction process even if their application would not have been necessary for the scale of the building. The application of nervatura and the different weight for the materials for the *opus caementicium* in the dome are two of these rules. Rasch focused on the *caementa* composition in the dome's *opus caementicium* and thereby provided an essential component in understanding the construction of a primary part of the mausoleum.

The techniques applied for the construction of the drum and the extensions from the second antique building phase are not addressed in these two articles and need to be drawn from other sources. The definition of *opus vittatum* was also provided by Rasch,[257] while for the remaining antique building methods Lancaster and others provide the necessary definitions, as can be seen in the glossary.

Antiquity extended

The reports on the Berretta del Prete in the primary sources conclude with the focus on the construction of the dome, but the mausoleum remained a part of the work of some scholars. They drew from the historic documents and the three main surveys to include it in their discussions. The following five accounts offer additional aspects as they focused either directly on the mausoleum's typology, or onto its setting within the larger area, a possible connection to the adjacent villa, and cult practices that could have taken place in, and around the mausoleum.

The accounts were very brief, and some adapted a controversial image of the rotunda's antique appearance, but still direct our attention at possible fields of research.

255   Ibid.
256   Rasch 1985, p.133
257   Rasch 1984, p.41

2004

Spera and Mineo's collection

Spera and Mineo included the Berretta del Prete, as one of many antique structures between Rome to Bovillae, in their guide on the Appian Way. Observing it in the larger scope of the road, they drew from the main sources by de Rossi, Pagliardi and Gai to describe the rotunda in the context of all previously mentioned activities on the site: mausoleum, church, watchtower, and farmstead. Addressing the disappearance of antique structures that were affected by use of modern machinery, they direct our attention to a round monument on the right side of the Appian Way that had been destroyed, before describing the aedicula tomb and the Berretta del Prete on the left side of the road.[258]

Spera and Mineo were the first to write about the connection of the rotunda's architectural features to a possible cultural practice, as they described the mausoleum's annular corridor as a place of the rite of *circumambulation*[259] – an act also introduced by Johnson in the context of the *Mausoleum of Augustus*,[260] and by Conlin et al. in the context of the *Mausoleum of Maxentius*.[261] Spera and Mineo mentioned the possibility of the ritual without going into detail.

Addressing the architecture of the antique rotunda, they placed the monument itself in the late antiquity typology of the *Mausoleum of Constantina*, describing the Berretta del Prete as a round mausoleum with an articulated entrance and a possible two-story ambulatory, of which, according to them, only the lower level remained preserved. The general description of the mausoleum resembled the accounts of Gai and Pagliardi, but their descriptions of the antique structures and the historic alterations are questionable as they introduced structural changes and building activity that assumed a drastically different original layout for the drum.

Based on the assumption that the access to the funeral chamber would have taken place through a *dròmos*[262] – that, in the case of the Berretta del Prete, had never been uncovered[263] – they made another assumption: a connection between the ambulatory and the crypt through four large arches.[264] The discharge arches of the drum appear opened and served as connecting passages between the ambulatory and the drum's interior. These open arches had been, according to them, converted in medieval times to serve as apses and the *'current'* entrance.[265] This idea was later repeated by Zocchi.[266] Spera and Mineo's interpretation of their sources also obscured the position of the antique entrance at their time, as they had described the articulated antique entrance to not correspond to *'...the current one...'*.[267] This information was apparently drawn from de Rossi's plan that they had republished.[268]

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258   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.174
       The destruction of the area around the Berretta del Prete, intensified by mechanical plowing. This is also mentioned by Pagliardi and Gai, who notes that the agricultural work led to the spreading of the broken-down materials. This made a full reconstruction of the medieval structures impossible. (Gai 1986, p.385)
259   D → *circumambulation:* → *circumambulate:* to circle on foot especially ritualistically. ('Definition of CIRCUMAMBULATE' in Merriam-Webster Dictionary, - accessed 06/07/2020)
260   Johnson 2009, p.19
261   Conlin; et al. 2007, p.349
262   D → *dròmos* A *dròmos* is "a passage, route or corridor in an ancient building" (Davies; Jokiniemi 2008, p.126)
263   The connection to the of the access corridor that was discovered in the 1980s and served a similar function was not made by them.
264   Gai mentioned a similar design in her initial research but dismissed it in her later work.
265   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.175
266   Zocchi 2009, p.188
267   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.175
268   De Rossi 1979, p.236 fig.377

Their description of the antique rotunda's layout evoked images of a tetrapylon. The later closing and reopening of the apsidal niches is contradictory to the in-situ study of the mausoleum's interior that showed a connected surface between the drum and the apsidal niches. Gai accredited the entire drum, including these areas, to the first roman construction phase. Therefore, the possibility of the apsidal niches being a later addition can be dismissed. Their interpretation of the original antique entrance also appears inaccurate and solely based on the reprinted plan by de Rossi. We know the original antique entrance that the articulated access structure leads towards was reopened during the 1980s restoration and, therefore, would have been the current one in 2004.[269]

They ended their account on the antique elements with a reference to *the epigraph of S. Erasmo* as they pointed out the possible attribution of the tomb to the *gens valeri.* We have also seen this connection mentioned in Gai's work.[270]

Following the description of these drastic alterations and controversial building activity the repurposing of the drum was connected to the farmstead of the tenth to thirteenth century of which the residential and agricultural structures were described to *"...no longer emerge from the ground."*[271]

Predating the farmstead, before 950, they connected an additional post-antique alteration of the drum's walls to the conversion of the rotunda into a church dedicated to S.Maria Dei Genitricis. This intervention was described to have included internal alterations of the rotunda, the [re]opening of the apsidal niches and the closing of the oculus. Spera and Mineo were aware of the newer readings of the *annali camaldolesi* that indicated two different structures for the church and the mausoleum. They still presented this very complex modification into a church followed by the notion of the adaptation into a watchtower in the twelfth century.[272]

The value of Spera and Mineo's account lies within the eclectic collection of every possible alteration of the rotunda ever reported. They do not rule out any narrative, leave it up to the reader to choose which one to follow. They were the first to indicate that the architecture of the mausoleum followed a design for a cult practice and the indication on the internal alterations Spera and Mineo mentioned as being part of the transformation into a church, are one aspect not addressed prior to their account. Gai had mentioned the continuous use of the rotunda's interior, but several wall elements on the interior of the mausoleum remained neglected in the primary sources. These elements might have originated in the mentioned alteration.

2009

Johnson on the mausoleum's interior

With a focus on the antique use as a mausoleum, Mark J. Johnson included the Berretta del Prete in his dissertation[273] and in a later publication on the roman Imperial mausolea.[274] Johnson had visited the mausoleum in 1985 and referenced Gai and Pagliardi in his works. In several later articles Johnson refers to the tomb as a possible Christian

269   Pagliardi 1983, p.22
270   Gai 1986, p.366 (footnote 2)
271   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.176
272   Ibid.
273   Johnson 1986, p.163
274   Johnson 2009, p.178

mausoleum and private *oratory*.[275] The *annali camaldolesi* and the therein reported abandoned church are the reason for Johnson to include the possibility of a Christian origin of the Berretta del Prete in his later accounts.[276]

In 2009 he published his work on the typological development of the domed rotunda. In this publication, he turned to the Berretta del Prete as an example for the placement of the sarcophagi, in a chapter on the mausolea of Christian emperors.[277]

Johnson pointed out the placement of sarcophagi in niches, with the examples of the *Mausoleum of Helena* and *Constantina*, where the sarcophagi most likely stood in the niches opposite to the entries.[278] Such a placement was to him explained by the lack of a crypt, that would usually have served as the location of the sarcophagus. In the absence of a crypt the function of the upper *cellae* was expanded to also include the sarcophagi.[279] This idea supports Pagliardi who also referred to the niches as the possible location for the sarcophagi.

Johnson presented the Berretta del Prete as an example for the shape of the niches, or rather the lack of importance of their shape. Johnson stated that: *"... excavations in the fourth-century tomb ... have uncovered stone sarcophagi squeezed into the smaller spaces of its semicircular niches."*[280] This statement was accompanied by an image of the main apsidal niche. The image shows the semicircular part of the niche and the rectangular well made of *opus testaceum*.[281]

His account stands in contrast to the excavation reports, as there is no mention of discovered sarcophagi in the reports or the 1984 excavation diary. Gai's references to the 1981 excavation, that had explored one of the niches to the depth of four metres, reported a homogenous filling in the niche and pieces of ceramics but no evidence of a stone sarcophagus.[282]

In fact, Johnson referred in his description to the *opus testaceum* wells. The presence of the wells resembled a further development of the roman burial process – the placement of sarcophagi below the floor of the internal niches. Johnson recorded this practice in the burials that had taken place in the *Mausoleum of Honorius*. He suggested that the wells in the Berretta del Prete could have been in use in the same way.[283]

2007

Griesbach on the suburban context

Contrary to Johnson, Griesbach pointed out the missing evidence for funerals inside and around the rotunda. Griesbach included the Berretta del Prete in his work on the connection between mausolea and villas in suburban Rome and primarily looked at the rotunda's location and setting. He addressed the mausoleum and the adjacent villa in his study. A direct connection between the rotunda and the antique residential complex had not been proven nor presented, but mausolea and villas were points of attraction for ground burials, therefore the pairing of the two matched the criteria to be investigated. The ground burials were a common funeral praxis, and Griesbach

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275   Johnson 2013, p.83
276   Johnson, 2015, p.428
277   Ibid.
278   Johnson 2009, p.177
279   Ibid., p.175
280   Ibid., p.178
281   The pictures of the Berretta del Prete included in Johnson's works were taken by himself and include an image of the mausoleum's exterior.
282   Gai 1986, p.374
283   This has been confirmed by Prof. Johnson upon request for clarification.

connected it to a possible Christian background.[284] Initially presented by de Rossi, Griesbach pointed out the discovered graves inside and around the villa.[285] For one inhumation a *cappuccina* tomb was used, and for the others – terracotta pipes, that suggested child burials.[286]

Based on the mausoleum's exterior architectural elements, the mausoleum itself is mentioned in connection with a cult practice. The position of the rotunda, removed from the road, and the corridor with its two niches were architectural manifestations of worship practices. Similar extensions of a central sepulchral building are mentioned as adaptations to several temple tombs in his documentation.[287]

Although Griesbach presented the mausoleum in connection with the villa, there was no evidence to support that connection. He mentioned that a possible end of occupation of the villa could have been the second to third century.[288] The construction of the Berretta del Prete on the other hand was dated to the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The possible connection between the two buildings required further investigations. But, Griesbach also mentioned the connection to the *gens valeri*, that he based on the account by Kirchhoff, that Gai[289], and Spera and Mineo also referenced.[290] The recovery of the land from the ancient family could be a connection to the villa and the mausoleum, a connection not further investigated.

The mausoleum was seen as a product of the continued development of the temple tomb typology. Griesbach mentioned the alterations to the rotunda's exterior – an adaption he pointed out to occur in several temple tombs. He referred to the Pantheon as the prominent inspiration for the third century variations of the temple tomb typology, but did not list the Berretta del Prete as a temple tomb, instead he created a separate category that listed rotundas.[291]

2013

Borg on the typology

According to Borg's *'Crisis and Ambition'*, the typology of Berretta del Prete was inspired by Pantheon.[292] In her work we find the mausoleum presented as an advanced temple tomb. A typology that, according to Borg, gained popularity among the social and financial elite during the second and third century. It was developed as isolated, free-standing mausolea near consular roads or the entrances to their villas. The same corelation as presented by Griesbach. More complex layouts were a development that originated in an initial rectangular layout.[293]

Referencing all main sources from de Rossi to Gai, Borg described the mausoleum with a marble-clad exterior, a peristyle, and the extensions of the second antique construction phase. She dated the monument to the late third century, and pointed out that the *opus vittatum* did not serve as a very accurate indicator as brick stamps had not been discovered. She mentioned that the typological variation did not occur until after the fourth century, therefore she dated it to the late third century.[294]

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284   Griesbach 2007, p.63
285   Ibid., p.64
286   Ibid., p.202
287   Ibid., p.61.
288   Ibid., p.202
289   Gai 1986, p.366 (footnote 2)
290   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.176
291   Griesbach 2007, p.62
292   Borg 2013, p.56
293   Ibid., p.57
294   Ibid., p.56

2017

Corbascio on the ownership

One of the latest accounts to include the mausoleum is Corbascio's work on the *'Tenuta del Palombaro'* – the Palombaro estate. The description of the rotunda itself does not add new information. The historic overview included the sources and historic accounts on Gallienus as patron, clarified the mistaken identification, and reported on medieval alterations on the interior that were accredited to a religious use. Like Spera and Mineo, Corbascio was following the narrative of the conversion into a church.[295]

The work offers two main elements not presented before, and places the mausoleum in the larger context of the surrounding suburbium:

- a detailed documentation of the Palombaro estate's ownership, that offers more insight on the occupation of the area after the fourteenth century;[296]
- an overview on the excavation activities that took place on the estate, planned as a historic overview on the archaeological findings within the Palombaro grounds.

Corbascio reported of three villas close to the current crossing to the Ciampino Airport. None of them were located at the main road, but inside *horti*[297] that were connected to secondary roads. While his catalogue does not include any findings from the Berretta del Prete itself, the collection presents the findings from the villa behind the mausoleum de Rossi described.[298] The other two villas are the villa of the emperor Gallienus, and an additional villa on the opposite side of the Appian Way. This third villa was located opposite of the imperial area of Gallienus's villa and mausoleum. The collection shows that the area produced rich findings. Some pieces, that could not be traced back to a specific location, originated in a funerary context – a fragment of a sarcophagus, and the head of a marble statue of a child.[299]

Corbascio clarified the misidentified locations of several archaeological findings that could otherwise have been believed to have been discovered around the Berretta del Prete. A significant amount of these discoveries was produced by Gavin Hamilton in 1771-72 during two seasons of excavations. These excavations were reported to have taken place at the eighth mile of the via Appia. Canina added the information that this referred to the modern eighth mile that equalled the ninth antique one. Corbascio concluded that the discoveries had taken place next to the Mausoleum of Gallienus, not the Berretta del Prete.[300]

In 1926 a second report placed findings close to the Berretta del Prete. Roberto Paribeni reported of statues found next to the *'Tenuta Palombaro, Berretta del Prete'.* It later turned out that the actual location of the discovered statues was closer to the imperial grounds down the road, and not next to the monument at all.[301]

In and around the mausoleum there were no findings reported prior to or after the 1980s excavations. If we compare the mausoleum to the collected reports on the rich findings in the area, we see how minimal the discoveries in and around the Berretta del Prete have been.

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295   Corbascio 2017, p.40f
296   For the detailed report on owners and tenants SEE → Corbascio 2017, p.23ff
297   D → horti: A horti is a"Garden or a park for a Roman dwelling" (Davies; Jokiniemi 2008, p.192)
298   Corbascio 2017, p.38
299   Ibid., p.42
300   Ibid., p.44
301   Ibid., p.96

Part 1 Review

The literary history established a timeline of the mausoleum's usage that goes back to its initial construction phase. But, the authors of the literary sources did not capture the building in its entirety. Their individual research focus did not cover all the historic aspects, and followed four different usage narratives.

These narratives can be placed in a timeline that starts with the antique mausoleum and its construction at the turn of the fourth century CE. The antique phase of activity was followed by three major transformations, all connected to a different narrative presented in the literature.

Firstly, the transformation into a church dated to the fifth century by Zocchi. This transformation was explained by Johnson as a progression of the possible use of the mausoleum as a private Christian oratory. This transformation has not been proven, and the sources state different dates for the time of this alteration, as de Rossi dated it to a later point in the tenth century.

Secondly, Gai presented the integration of the mausoleum's structures into a medieval farmstead – a narrative that has been uncovered during the excavations, and was dated to the ninth century. According to Gai, this phase lasted until the end of the thirteenth century, and overlapped with the final transformation.

Thirdly, the drum was transformed into a guard- or watchtower – a transformation de Rossi dated to the twelfth century. The use as a lookout had no definite end, but, according to de Rossi, only the remains of the tower were visible at the time of his observations in the 1970s.

This final narrative was followed by a return to the narrative of the agricultural context, when Canina described the interior as a rural shelter, that was inhabited in 1853.

We saw that many authors described the mausoleum withing the context of its use. They described elements of the mausoleum as a whole, but applied specific focus onto the structural parts of the role the mausoleum inhabited. In their descriptions, the authors inadvertently documented the historic alterations of the central drum and the area around it. Through these descriptions, the literary history paints an extensive timeline of the changes on the site, and of the Berretta del Prete itself.

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This timeline starts at the initial construction of the rotunda. In this first construction phase, the central drum, the dome, the peripteral twostory ambulatory, and a wall parallel to the road that stood between the rotunda and the Appian Way were erected.

This initial construction phase was followed by a second Roman construction phase. In this phase the accentuated access corridor, featuring two exedras, the rectangular extension in front of the mausoleums entrance, and two rectangular rooms that were attached orthogonally to the corridor, were added to the existing structures.

The final antique appearance of the mausoleum is unknown. Rasch hinted at a highly architectural marbleclad decoration for the interior of the *"Podiumsrundbau",* as the oculus served as a single source of light. Borg and others described the mausoleum as marbleclad, based on Gai's reports of intricate marble decoration, and countless marble chips that were uncovered in front of the mausoleum.

The two Roman construction phases were followed by drastic alterations of the mausoleum's appearance. Gai assumed that the construction phases were followed by a deliberate spoliation of the mausoleum. She suggested that during this process the mausoleum was stripped of its decorative elements in a preparation for a lime kiln. The amount of applied decoration is unknown, and the deliberate spoliation, therefore, uncertain.

It is, however, certain that the peripteral ambulatory, as well as the annular vault of the ambulatory's lower level, collapsed. The collapse of the ambulatory altered the antique structure drastically, and caused an accumulation of debris around the central drum.

The antique construction was followed by a partial destruction and the abandonment of the tomb. The area around the Berretta del Prete changed as an increased need for residential buildings in the area brought the next set of alterations to the mausoleum's site: the reutilisation of the drum as part of a farmstead, and as rural shelter. Initially this took place without the need for structural changes as the rotunda's preserved antique structures were used as shelter. This was followed by new building activity.

The new building activity altered the access corridor. The walls of the corridor were broken down in order to level the entire area. Material found on the site was then used to construct several walls, one at the edge of the site and one inside the annular corridor.

The construction of the first two walls was the start for more extensive building activity in the area in front of the mausoleum, at the beginning of the ninth century. The houses of the farmstead were erected in the area between rotunda and the road. This phase altered the access to the mausoleum, but not the mausoleum itself. The new structures that emerged around the drum were built out of materials found in the area. Therefore, the medieval walls consist of the debris of the mausoleum's collapsed structures.

This phase of new construction was followed by alterations to the rotunda that are connected to the watchtower narrative.

According to de Rossi the structural changes that converted the rotunda into a watchtower took place in the twelfth century. A vertical extension was built on the dome. It extended the second step ring upwards. Campbell called this extension a crenelated parapet.[302] This transformation overlaps with Gai's timeframe for the agricultural use of the area. The watchtower would have existed in parallel to the farmstead's structures. There is no certainty in this assumption, but the drum had been in use as a secondary building of the farmstead. A repurposing of the drum as a watchtower at the same time as the activity in the farmstead seems possible.

The medieval phase had the most intense construction activity after the antique phases. The area in front of the mausoleum was occupied until the end of the thirteenth century. Following its abandonment, all the residential structures collapsed.

The same happened to the structures of the watchtower. The moment of the destruction has not been recorded. De Rossi mentioned that only few rows of stone construction remained on the drum.

The final alteration of the drum, although probably minimal, was a step back towards the agricultural and residential use. The rotunda was used as a rural shelter at the time of Canina, and was later referred to as a storage or warehouse.

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302   Campbell 2004, p.376

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Several alterations to the mausoleum's structure were only visible in the visual material that was included in the literary works. The images, sections and plans illustrated these changes that remained undiscussed in the context of the different narratives. At an unknown time, the shallow conical roof was added to the dome, and it closed the oculus. The antique entrance was also closed, and a new access was created in the northwestern apsidal niche. None of these alterations were mentioned until the final structural change brought back the mausoleum to a state closer to its original appearance.

The final structural alterations mentioned in the literature were the restoration efforts. During the restorations, next to structural repairs, the roof was removed, the antique entrance and oculus opened, and the opening in the northwestern apsidal niche closed.

Visual documentation

The literary history followed the four distinct narratives of the Berretta del Prete's use. The visual documentation supports some of these narratives, and adds two: the mausoleum as a landmark, and as a ruin.

The earliest visual resources on the Berretta del Prete are two accounts in the middle of the sixteenth century. Sallustio Peruzzi and an anonymous Portuguese draughtsperson captured the rotunda in quasi-perspective sections and plans that offer internal views, and – in the case of Peruzzi – an external elevation.[303] These sketches predate the first illustration of the monument on maps by almost a century. Representing the buildings of the Roman Campagna in small icons, the depictions on maps captured the main identifying elements and the general shape of the rotunda without presenting the building in detail. The depictions started as simple icons and transitioned to small layouts that revealed information about the surrounding structures and the interior of the rotunda. In 1637 the Berretta del Prete as a landmark was captured by Domenico Parasacchi – a role the mausoleum will take in the works that documented the Appian Way. One of them is the *Catasto Alessandrino*, where the rotunda represented the *Palombaro* grounds.

More than a century after Parasacchi map, Giovanni Battista Piranesi created the first artistic rendition of the mausoleum – an etching. In 1764, Piranesi included the building in his series *"Views of Rome"* capturing the rotunda together with the neighbouring ruins and aedicula tomb. In the following years the building caught the eye of travellers on their journeys along the Appian Way to the south. These include architects like Thibault and Cordray, who attempted reconstructions of the building; artists, who created quick sketches of the unknown ruin, like Turner; and others, like Labruzzi, Rossini and Remond, who created etchings and paintings of the of two neighbouring tombs. While the reconstructions often single out the rotunda, the pairing of the two tombs is a common composition in many works.

With the introduction of photography, the collection of visual evidence became more accurate. The first photographs by Mackey documented the state of the rotunda in 1890, ninety years before the recent restorations. The continuing photographic evidence serves as the best source on the damages and changes of the rotunda, and the developments around the mausoleum over the past 130 years. These changes are also visible in the published plans, sections and axonometries. The first plan after the sixteenth century dates to 1979, but more accurate documentation can be found in the reports of the 1980s excavations, and the interpretations of the unpublished 1959 surveys. These plans became more detailed with every revision, and reached their most complete edition in the results of 2017 building survey. Representing even the smallest of features, these plans and sections represent the mausoleum in its restored state.

As mentioned, there are two new narratives that the visual history adds to the collection. The first is the roll of the mausoleum as a landmark, and the second – the now ruined mausoleum as an artistic motive.

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303   Zocchi 2009, p.189

The visual history is structured into five chapters:

- The first chapter features historic maps that depict the mausoleum as a land-mark. The iconography on the maps developed from exterior renditions towards plan-like illustrations.

- The second chapter is a collection of the visual material produced during surveys – plans and sections.

- The third chapter presents the mausoleum as a ruin. It is a collection of the artistic depictions that captured the structural changes in paintings, etchings and sketches.

- The fourth chapter gathered the photographic evidence produced in the past 130 years. These photographs show the mausoleum, and its state before and after the restorations.

- The fifth and final chapter consist of a small number of reconstructions that were drawn by architects and draughtspeople, and support two of the narratives presented in the literary history: the guard tower and the antique mausoleum.

I would like to mention one interesting facet of publicly available online maps: the images of the area offer a surprising revelation – the exposed extensions of the second construction phase are visible in most satellite captures. This provides a quick access to the visual information that allows us to understand the extent of the initial antique structures.

the landmark – early depictions of the rotunda on maps

The first topographic map of Rome and Lazio was, according to Zocchi, created by Eufrosino della Volpaia in 1537.[304] The *Berretta del Prete* and the connected *Palombaro* grounds are not mentioned on it, but the via Appia antica is a part of this map.[305] Later works of Domenico Parasacchi, Giovanni Battista Cingolani, and the depictions in the *Catasto Alessandrino* feature the mausoleum, represented in a form of towers, ruins and sacred places.[306] For two centuries, these maps were the only documents that recorded various visual aspects of the Berretta del Prete – from the exterior appearance to simplified plans – as well as the area that surround the rotunda.

304   Ibid., p.4
305   Gai 1984b, p.19 (referring to Ashby's work on the Eufrosio della Volpaia)
306   Zocchi 2009, p.5

1637

Parasacchi's map

The first map in this collection was created by Domenico Parasacchi, who, in 1637, included the Berretta del Prete in his map of the via Appia between Rome and Bovillae.[307] Starting inside the Aurelian City walls, the map shows several landmarks lining the roadside of the via Appia and the via Appia Pignatelli, that branches of the main road before *San Sebastiano fuori le mura*. These landmarks are represented with small, labelled depictions.

The stretch of the via Appia after the bifurcation starts with the already mentioned *San Sebastiano*, and then shows all the major structures that line the route to Bovillae on the left hand side of the road: the *Circus of Maxentius* and the adjacent Mausoleum; the *Tomb of Caecilia Metella*, included in the *Capo di Bove*; the *Villa of the Quintilii*, marked with a question mark, but shown as one of the largest structures on the map; the *Casal Rotondo*; the *Torre Selce*, with the connecting antique aqueduct colonnades that lead to the Appia Pignatelli; the large exedra monument at the Appian Way, and its neighboring aedicula tomb; and a second aedicula tomb, and a domed rotunda.

Labelled as *'tempieto rondo'*, we find the Berretta del Prete placed at a distance from the road, featuring an intact dome. The mausoleum is depicted with the entrance facing the road, two exterior niches, a cornice at the transition from the drum to the dome, a dome sectioned into different levels by three lines, a visible oculus at the top of the dome, and several lines surround the building at the base of the drum – a possible reference to annular corridor or steps. The antique core of the building appears intact. The illustration was created after the medieval occupation, the spoliation Gai assumed to have altered the appearance of the mausoleum during the third phase of construction period on the site, and after the period that saw the transformation of the access area into the farmstead. The missing peristyle and access structures in the map support Gai's definition of the construction phases. But the visual information stands in contrast to the descriptions by de Rossi, who dated the mausoleum's alteration into a watchtower to the twelfth century.[308] We saw that Parasacchi captured the mausoleum in the same way as his sixteenth century predecessors. The reproductions of the map lack details, not allowing for the lines at the base of the drum to be clearly interpreted, but two steps also appear in the work of the anonymous Portuguese. Zocchi mentioned that Parasacchi's map was inspired by the work of the sixteenth century draughts-people, and pointed out that the entrance to the mausoleum must have been partially walled up at the time the map was created; this is not evident in the icon.[309] Instead, the entrance appears open, the drum itself appears slightly elongated compared to its current ratio of height and diameter (which is almost 1:1), and the exterior niches are depicted at a higher position, making the entrance appear smaller.

The inclusion of the Berretta del Prete shows how significant the freestanding rotunda was. The depiction of the rotunda featuring a dome and an oculus is a very rare way of capturing the monument, as even the later reconstructions in the following centuries feature a tiled roof that covers the entire dome and closes the central oculus.

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307   Ibid.
308   De Rossi 1981, p.47
309   Ibid., p.189

1660

Catasto Alessandrino 433A/5

In the seventeenth century, the estates of the *agro romano* were documented in the archives of the Roman state. In this collection, known as the *Catasto Alessandrino*[310], we can find the Appian Way as part of the route connecting the Porta San Sebastiano to the Tyrrhenian seaside in Nettuno. The map *#433A/5* shows the first section of the Appian Way up to *hosteria delle frattocchie*, where the route turns onto the road to Nettuno.

The *casali* – properties/centres of habitation[311] one passes on the route – are marked with their boundaries. This includes small, partially labelled illustrations of the main housing complexes and landmarks. Starting at the *Porta San Sebastiano,* several icons are identifiable as significant buildings along the road. We can see the *Mausoleum of Maxentius* and the neighbouring circus, the *Tomb of Caecilia Metella*, and the mausoleum with the name *Casal Rotondo,* all labelled with a name.

The properties adjacent to the Appian Way are all stated by name and ownership, and next to the three landmarks we already identified, we can also find the *'Palombaro d'S.Gregorio'* estate. Within its boundaries, one structure is depicted to symbolise the property, a seemingly circular building with a slightly overhanging roof and an entrance facing the city. Located on the left side of the Appian Way, this appears to be the first depiction of the Berretta del Prete featuring alterations of the antique layout. The building is also listed in the collection of *casali* as the *'Casale di Palombaro'.*

The depiction on the map shows a circular layout of the drum, an entrance facing the city, and one of the exterior niches, or a window, facing the road. In comparison to the other structures captured on the map, the elements of the simplified depiction become more apparent. Other buildings with rectangular plans show clear edges, roofs, windows and doors, and walled property limits are recognisable in even the smallest depicted landmarks. The assumed icon of the Berretta del Prete does not show any sharp edges and therefore the circular shape becomes more recognisable. The roof structure of the rotunda also shows a difference to the neighbouring buildings, where gabled roofs are clearly visible, and, in the case of the mausoleum, an overhang can be seen. There is, hovever, no gable visible indicating the conical roof that covered the dome. The overall appearance of the Berretta del Prete has been captured in the icon, and the identification seems clear. Measuring the distances between the landmarks and our rotunda allows us to further solidify this assumption.[312]

In the *cadastre*, the rotunda is captured in an altered state for the first time, and while the scale did not allow for extensive details, the lack of surrounding elements offers insight on the state of the site. The map does not offer information on the surrounding structures we learned of in Gai's reports.[313] It depicts the rotunda, excluding the antique extensions and auxiliary buildings of the farmstead where activity was reported by Gai up to the fourteenth century.[314] The destruction of the auxiliary buildings took

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310 Passigli 2012, p.361
311 The Latin term "casalis" or "casale" describes not one or more buildings, but in the Roman countryside a whole property. In the same region, this meaning is retained in the Italian "casale" until the middle of the seventeenth century. With the introduction of the word '*tenuta*' for the estate the term '*casale*' was used for the inhabited centre of the property. (Gai 1984b, p.6) The map was created at the time when this linguistic change occurred. The map shows the property boundaries and the iconography depicts structures that can be understood as the centres of habitation.
312 Between the *Casale Rotondo* and the icon marking the Palombaro grounds (the assumed Berretta del Prete) a semicircular sepulchre is marked as a landmark on the left side of the road. This monument is the exedra monument at the eighth mile of the via Appia, it can serve as a reference point when measuring the distances between the labelled landmarks. The distance between the *Casale Rotondo* and exedra monument is ~150 units the distance from the exedra to the monument depicted in the Palombaro estate is ~120 units. In modern maps the measured distance between the *Casale Rotondo* and the exedra is 1.97 km so the distance between exedra and the Berretta del Prete would have to be 1.57 km. The measured distance is 1.52 km – a 50m difference.
313 Gai 1986, p.366
314 Ibid., p.401

place before the information of the Catasto Alessandrino was gathered. Contrary to Parasacchi's map, in the *cadastre* the entrance faces the city – an alteration also seen in the photographic documentation. Tthis alteration was evidently not recent. The opening towards the road, with a clear distance to the ground, could indicate a window. Later photographic evidence shows an opening, partially closed by stacked stones, within the walled up original entrance, but, in the icon, the identification remains unclear.[315] The level of detailing in the Catasto Alessandrino is surprising, as later depictions and icons on maps by Cingolani and Pratilli do not show the same level of detail, and raise more questions than they answer.

1692

Cingolani's map

In 1692, Giovanni Battista Cingolani combined the gathered knowledge of the Catasto Alessandrino into a detailed topographic map of the *Agro Romano*.[316] Next to the information of the cadastre, he also includes his personal observations.[317] The work on the map was already started by his father *Francesco Eschinardi*, but the finalized work is accredited to *Cingolani*.[318]

This map also includes the Palombaro estate but depicts the structures on the estate very differently to the Catasto Alessandrino. Within the boundaries of the estate, Cingolani included five structures, none of them resembling the Berretta del Prete. It still appears, though, that he included the Berretta in his map, as the following indicators will show. Four of the structures are located on the left side, and one on the right side of the road (it can, therefore, be excluded). While the first structure appears to be a circular watchtower, its proximity to the boundaries of the estate, and design would exclude the building from being identified as the Berretta del Prete. The remaining three structures are etched with uneven lines, possibly indicating a ruinous state, and little detail on the structure of the roofs or the layout is given, while window openings are still indicated. The lack of a scale makes the identification of the mausoleum by measurement more difficult. The tomb is located a little under 11 km from the city gate, and Albano is located 21 km from the city gate. These two factors indicate the tomb as the second structure on the left side of the road. Comparing the map with the previous work from 1660, the second structure also coincides with the position of the mausoleum in the Catasto Alessandrino. The boundaries of the property also overlap with the *cadastre*, and furthermore, the *Casale di Fiorano* seems to be depicted on the opposite side of the Way.

This small icon indicated a ruinous state of the monument, as it did not depict it as a clear round shape of the rotunda, but rather with extensions. Three openings facing the road are shown. None of them reach to the ground, meaning that they are possibly windows, or the smaller niches on the outside of the rotunda.

Cingolani included personal observations into his design. He indicated the dilapidated state of the monument, and its surrounding structures. This could be a more accurate depiction of the state of the monument in the mid-seventeenth century.

The remaining two structures on the left side of the road out of the city are unidentified, while the structure on the right side can be assumed to be the Mausoleum of Gallienus. The icon of a structure the farthest from the city shows an arched entrance

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315   SEE → Appendix: Mackey, van Deman, Ashby, DAI;
316   Cingolani's map in the <u>bsr digital collections</u> - accessed 11/05/2021
317   Susanna Passigli, 2012, 361.
318   Cart.II in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019

facing the road, and two openings, possibly windows, and a strange extension on top. The arched entrance resembles the entrance to the mausoleum, but, in the *cadastre* the original entrance was shown to be walled up at the time. Also, icon's location was too close to the boundaries of the property.

1745
Pratilli's map

On the map included in Francesco Maria Pratilli's *'Della via Appia riconosciuta e descritta da Roma a Brindisi'*, we find the misidentified patronage for the mausoleum that we also encountered in the works by Nibby, in 1848, and Tomassetti in 1919 (later corrected in the 1975 edition). The map shows the stretch of the Appian Way between Rome and Terracina with selected landmarks depicted on the left side of the road. A square is labelled as *'Sepulc : Gallieni'* – the Mausoleum of the emperor Gallienus.[319] Since the emperors mausoleum was identified at the ninth milestone on the right side of the Appian Way, this small symbol must represent the Berretta del Prete. The square surrounded by a rectangle does not provide any information about the structure itself, and it does not resemble the rotunda in any way, making this depiction solely interesting as a visual testament of the misidentification.

1846-52
Rosa's map

In the middle of the nineteenth century, a transition in the depictions occurred – they became more detailed in capturing the build structures, and started to resemble descriptive plans, offering additional insight on the interior the monuments. With the increased interest to reopen the road for use, maps with a focus on the Appian Way emerged.[320] The most detailed map can be accredited to Pietro Rosa. He was employed by Luigi Canina, and – with a degree in architecture, and training as a painter – tasked with the documentation of the Appian Way. His work and explorations of the Roman Campagna range far beyond the monuments of the Appian Way. He created the foundation for a *grande Carta archaeologica di Lazio* – great Archaeological map of Lazio – and was later appointed as the director of excavations on the Palatine.[321]

His *grande carta* does not cover the entire area of Lazio. It is limited to the region between the Tyrrhenian coast, from the Tiber delta to Tor San Lorenzo, and the Tiburtine and Prenestine mountains. The detailed documentation of the archaeological typography includes relief, as well as ditches, woods, trees, and the modern topography. The map included many monuments and structures that have disappeared by now, and therefore received praise for its documenting quality. Rosa's maps also served as the source for the map of the papal census.[322] We can find a part of it in de Rossi's *Bovillae*[323], and, most importantly for our cause, it includes a collection of the monuments lining the Appian Way.

Rosa's work was also published in '*monumenti inediti pubblicati dall'insituto di corrispondenza archeologica. vol.V'*, where we can find the Berretta del Prete as object VI on the ninth mile of the road on the *Tavola quinta della via Appia*. His diligent documentation offers a plan of the mausoleum.[324] The rotunda is drawn in form of a simplistic plan

319   Pratilli's map in <u>Arachne Uni Köln</u> - accessed 06/12/2019
320   Boon 2017, p.101
321   Dyson 2006, p.42
322   Gatti 1970, p.143
323   De Rossi 1979, p.12f
324   Rosa's map in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019

with a circle surrounding the central structure – a possible reference to the annular corridor that surrounds the mausoleum. The interior of the rotunda shows four larger recesses, similar to the apsidal niches and the entrance. There are no openings, and the point of access to the interior is not defined. A dot in the centre of the rotunda can be seen as an indicator for the oculus, although it can be assumed the roof that closed the opening was already in place at the time. Depictions by Piranesi and Labruzzi showed a tiled roof structure covering the dome.

Rosa's account included the surrounding structures. His documentation of the monuments along the Appian Way recorded numerous structures, some of them in close proximity to the Berretta del Prete. His map shows a border between the fields and an area around the rotunda that extends into the agricultural land. The same can be seen in the depiction of the neighboring aedicula tomb. A structure on the right side of the road (across the rotunda), and several walls line the road. This includes a ~60 metres long wall that separates the rotunda from the road. This structure has two perpendicular extensions towards the field. In the southeast of the mausoleum, additional walls are indicated, but they do not show a definite structure as they are not continuous.

Rosa offered the first insight into the rotunda, and the many structures along the Appian Way that surrounded the tomb, that are not preserved today. His comprehensive work served as source for further maps commissioned by Canina.[325]

1853

An unknown author's map for Canina

Canina's *La prima parte della via Appia dalla porta Capena a Boville* includes, next to the etchings of the monuments and proposed reconstructions of the antique structures, a map of the Appian Way.[326] Authored by an anonymous artist, but based on the work of Rosa, this map also includes the rotunda and its surrounding structures. Listed as object VI, the same as in Rosa's work, the mausoleum is not shown as a plan, but in a bird's-eye view, with a dot that possibly marks the oculus, or the gable of the roof. The circular nature of the tomb is clearly visible, and on the south-eastern side of the rotunda parts of the annular corridor are included in the design. A rectangular line separates the site of the mausoleum from the surrounding field. Several smaller structures are indicated along the roadside, and a series of lines appear to indicate structures between the rotunda and the road, including rectangles indicating buildings.

The map excludes the interior details, recorded earlier in Rosa's work. The annular vault is partially visible. The wall separating the mausoleum from the road was removed, or had been excluded. Compared to Rosa's source, the neighboring structures were drawn in a more complete form, creating defined instead of interrupted structures, but a differentiation between walls, substructures and possible fences is missing. While the additional structures are more detailed, the topographic information was reduced, excluding the differentiation of the ground level between the fields and the road. Rosa is listed as source, and a note in the *Archivo Capitolino (ACa)* describes this map as a *'... reduction of a part of the relief [...] produced by Rosa...'.*[327] It is unclear if further observations, or the abstraction of the shapes led to the closed design of the neighboring structures. The addition of further structures between the road and the mausoleum, and within the boundaries of the site, indicate additional observations. The map is available in different prints (e.g. the online collection of the ACa, and the print in Canina's

325   'Stragr. 712, tav. I.' in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019
326   'Stragr. 712, tav. II.' in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019
327   Ibid.

'La prima parte della via Appia dalla Porta Capena a Boville – Monumenti'[328]) with varying levels of detail. In the publication, the neighboring structures are depicted to exist in a state between the one defined by Rosa, and the one defined by the anonymous author of the ACa.

1853
Fornari's map

An excerpt of Rosa's *'great map of the Roman Campagna'* was also published by Fornari.[329] The structures along the Appian Way are here further simplified. The labels around the Berretta del Prete are reduced to the names of properties, milestones, villas, and the so-called *Temple of Hercules*. A villa opposite of the Berretta stands, it appears, at a greater distance than in the earlier iterations of the map. This becomes apparent in direct comparison with Rosa's original work. The map still includes numerous structures lining the Appian Way, but the scale makes a clear identification difficult. The Berretta del Prete itself is depicted as a circle. The site is also surrounded by the rectangular border and like the map in Canina's publication. At the roadside, smaller structures are placed within the limits of the rotunda's site.

A relation to the villa on the right side of the road, or any villa, might be a question that can be raised through the study of this map, but, as Griesbach stated, a possible connection remains unclear. The villa on the left side referred to by de Rossi and Griesbach was never documented in a historic map.[330]

1854
Desjardin's church

The work of Ernest Desjardin is the final historic map depicting the Berretta del Prete included in this collection, and like the maps presented by Pratilli, it offers a visual document for one of the mausoleum's narratives presented in the literary history.[331] In his doctoral thesis on the topography of the Roman Campagna, Desjardin also addresses the monuments along the Appian Way, and shows a very selective map of the road, only highlighting the larger structures. In the third section of the road, between the sixth and ninth milestone, we can identify the Berretta del Prete. Desjardin refers to the mausoleum as *'Chiesa di Sa. Maria Genitrice'*.[332] He based his identification on the work of Nibby from 1837.[333]

The illustration of the rotunda provided in Desjardin's map is reduced to the interior plan, the three apsidal niches and the entrance, without showing an actual access point, as well as a rectangular boarder around the structure. The neighboring ruins that line the road in earlier maps are not included. Only a topographical indicator of a different height between the road and the fields is indicated by small lines. This very limited illustration offers an interior plan, but does not stay true to scale, as the rotunda appears closer to the road than in other depictions. Placed at the distance less than what the radius is, the tomb would be located at under 13 metres from the road, much closer than the known 38.5m.[334]

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328   Canina 1853, TAV.XLIV
329   Fornari's map in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019
330   De Rossi 1979, p.236
331   Desjardin's map in the <u>Archivio Storico Capitolino</u> - accessed 15/11/2019
332   Desjardins 1854, p.118
333   Nibby 1837a, p.535
334   TU Wien Survey 2017, (based on Camtepe; Koubani; Weber)

Surveying the monument – plans and sections through the ages

The icons on the maps slowly transitioned from small sketches of the monument to simplified plans that offered insight into the monument's interior, and appear to have required more research, exploration and investigating than a simple exterior observation. In a discussion on the perspective drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, Hewitt reminds us that *"...perspective-sections were common among drawings of existing Roman buildings in the mid-1400s."*[335] And in the field, architectural studies of Roman antiquity, we find two surveys of the Berretta del Prete that predate all the icons on historic maps. These detailed sketches emerged in the middle of the sixteenth century, at a time when the tradition of studying the Roman remains turned away from romantic reconstructions to technical and archaeological approach.[336] In their study of central plan buildings, two artists recorded the mausoleum in sections and plans, including the measurements. Zocchi pointed out that the results of these surveys did not directly translate into the iconography of the maps, but did inspire it.[337]

Before the detailed documents of the mausoleum (plans, sections and axonometries) reoccurred in the second half of the twentieth century, after a four-hundred-year hiatus, we only had simple illustrations on maps, and artistic depictions. The first to publish a detailed plan in the recent history was de Rossi, in 1979. He provided the first plan since Peruzzi and the anonymous Portuguese, and his work shares more similarities with the mid-sixteenth century plans than the works that followed. Scaled plans documented the process of uncovering the historic repurposing of the rotunda and the area around it.

The more recent documentation was first produced during a 1959 survey. The survey itself remains unpublished and unavailable, but we know that the gathered data informed Rasch, who published several sections in the 1980s and '90s. The publications by Rasch coincide with the excavations initiated by the *Soprintendenza*. The results of the excavations, published by Pagliardi and Gai in the 1980s, feature the first accurate plan that presented the different construction phases, and captured the excavation activity. The publications that include the plans published during the '90s "exist in parallel", but they do not reference or mention each other. Every account will offer a different element to add to our understanding of the mausoleum.

335   Hewitt 2020, p.23
336   Ackerman 1954, p.4
337   Zocchi 2009, p.189

Studying the Roman remains – the surveys of the sixteenth century

Predating all the maps and all the historic depictions we know of are two illustrations recording the rotunda in the form of architectural drawings. One work by an anonymous Portuguese draughtsperson, and one by Giovanni Sallustio Peruzzi.[338] Zocchi listed the two works that both include a plan and an interior view of the mausoleum in his collection. The work of the anonymous Portuguese presented the proportions of the rotunda more accurately, but Peruzzi presented a higher level of detail, and an additional external view of the rotunda.[339] We find both works published in the *'Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture'* by Ian Campbell.[340]

Both artists included measurements in *palmi*[341] that captured the interior diameter of the drum, the oculus, and the interior and exterior niches. The sixteenth century measurements are surprisingly accurate, generally slightly below the values of the 2017 survey by the TUW. The interior diameter during the 2017 survey measured 7.9 metres at the base of the drum, and 8.5 metres at a hight of 1 metre. In comparison, Peruzzi recorded the interior diameter of 36p (8.04m), and the anonymous Portuguese of 37p (8.3m). We see that both artists, as Campbell said, *"...err in centering the external niches on those inside and neither shows knowledge of the barrel-vaulted annular corridor..."*.[342] Both artists included additional decorative elements in their sections that are not present in the current appearance of the mausoleum, and oppose the currently accepted reconstruction of the two-level ambulatory. Ackermann pointed out that the benefit of the drawings over the use of photography is the ability to imagine and add missing parts in the design.[343] The two sketches fall into this category – while documenting the monument they imagined additional elements, which also makes them early reconstructions.

B1534-67

Observations by Peruzzi

The Uffizi Galleries hold a collection of seventy-six sketches attributed to Giovanni Sallustio Peruzzi, son of the architect and painter Baldassarre Peruzzi, who became an architect himself. Sallustio produced numerous architectural studies, including sketches of ancient monuments. Some of them had a centralised layout, and several were domed rotundas around Rome. The exact date of the production is not indicated on the sketches, but Peruzzi, born in Rome in 1511–12, frequently travelled between Siena and Rome, and continuously resided in Rome from 1534–35 to 1567. He probably studied under his father from an early age.[344] The domed rotundas gathered in the collection of the Uffizi Galleries include the *Mausoleum of Theodoric* [661 A], the *Mausoleum of Constantina* [662 A], a plan and section of the *Mausoleum of Helena*

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338   Ibid.
339   Ibid.
340   Campbell 2004, p.376f
341   O'Brien 1991, p.161
        In Rome the unit of *palmi* was divided into 12 *once*. One *oncia* was slightly variable with an average of about 18.617mm. The Roman *palmi* was therefore 22.34cm.
        1 *piede* = 1⅓ *palmi* = 16 *once*.
        1 *palmo* = 12 *once*.
        1 *oncia* = 5 *minuti* = 10 *decimi*.
342   Campbell 2004, p.376
343   Ackerman 2002, p.53.
344   Perruzzi in the Dizionario Biografico – Treccani, - accessed 03/05/2020

[663v A],[345] and three unnamed temples at the Appian Way [664v A] and [665 A]. The last monument mentioned appears to be the *Mausoleum of Maxentius*, depicted in form of a plan and reconstruction, with an exterior and interior projection of the rotunda, very similar to the design of the mausoleum at *Tor de' Schiavi*. The plan of the two unknown temples – 664v A is the work capturing the *Berretta del Prete*, and what appears to be a reconstruction of the *Mausoleum of Gallienus*.[346]

Peruzzi's survey of the Berretta del Prete resulted in a plan that cuts the rotunda on the mirror axis between the entrance and the central apsidal niche, and presents it as a half circle. Additional information, annotations, measurements, and details regarding the decoration of the rotunda separate this illustration from the later visual documentation, that simply captures the exterior appearance of the mausoleum.[347] The plan includes one complete semicircular apsidal niche (presumably the north-western niche), two rectangular interior niches of different width, and two exterior semicircular niches, aligned with the rectangular niches on the inside. At the centre of the plan, we find the oculus, and, surrounding the drum, an additional line captures an undefined perimeter that appears to be an external level encircling the mausoleum.

The projection shows the interior and exterior of the rotunda in form of a section trough the entrance. It features the doubled *sesquipedalis* relieving arch on the inside of the entrance. This double arch is depicted above an apsidal niche, instead of the entrance. The exterior is defined by a cornice at the top of the drum, and three step-rings, also seen in modern surveys, that gradually reduce the rotunda's diameter. Above the step-rings, the curvature of the dome emerges and ends in the oculus. Around the oculus there is an indication of a brick ring.

The base of the drum extends below the exterior level, and below the interior floor level of the apsidal niches.

The cornice at the transition of the drum to the step-rings is captured in an additional, more detailed sketch, showing the bed moulding, corona, and cymatium. This resembles the exterior appearance, indicated by the anonymous Portuguese and later by Rasch[348], and is the only detailed illustration of a decorated cornice in an elevation, yet the existence of a cornice contradicts a two-level ambulatory found in the descriptions of Pagliardi, Gai and others. Therefore, it is considered an imagined missing element. Cammy Brothers, analysing the work of renaissance draughtspeople, mentioned the fascination with ornamental details and the exploration of plans with complex geometry. These explorations were combined with a practice of copying the work of their predecessors, and the addition of more detailed elements.[349] In her comparisons of architectural sketches, she addresses Sallustio Peruzzi's work in connection with the works in the so-called Montreal Codex. While this connection is not fully understood, the drawings by Peruzzi appear to be an example of the practices of copying architectural studies.[350] He apparently reproduced all preserved works of an unknown draughtsperson, whose work is on display in the collection of the *Canadian Centre for Architecture*.[351] The comparison between Peruzzi's work and the work of the anonymous draughtsperson does not include an illustration of the Berretta del Prete, but Brothers

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345   Rasch 1998, tav.1
346   Perruzzi's work in the <u>Uffizi Gallery</u> - accessed 06/05/2020
347   The measurements appear to be in palmi, and in comparison to the 2017 survey show different dimensions for the interior diameter. The reproduction does not allow for a clear reading of all the measurements in the plan.
348   Rasch 1991, p.349 Abb.33
349   Brothers 2010, p.97
350   Ibid., p.101f
351   anonymous draughtsperson in the <u>Canadian Centre for Architecture</u> - accessed 06/05/2020

mentions plans that resemble the *Pantheon* and the *Mausoleum of Constantina*.[352] Peruzzi copied these sketches, including the additional annotations and measurements. To save time and space, he showed only one half of the symmetrical plans.

This approach can also be seen in his record of the Berretta del Prete. The additional details might be part of his study to find suitable decoration that would adorn a building of a similar typology as the Berretta del Prete.

Two centuries later, the depictions by Piranesi and Labruzzi do not share a resemblance to Peruzzi's sketch. All recent reconstruction attempts adopt a layout with an ambulatory, dismissing the idea of an exterior cornice.

The anonymous Portuguese

The second draughtsperson to capture the rotunda in the sixteenth century was an anonymous Portuguese. The plan and section in this work captured the proportions of the apsidal niches in more accuracy, but, like Peruzzi, additional elements of decoration were included in the sketch. In the plan we find two steps surrounding the drum. The exterior and interior niches are aligned similar to Peruzzi's plan, but the proportions are more accurate. The drum's wall, the depth of the niches, and the apsidal niches are depicted more accurately. In the apsidal niches, dashed lines indicate the rectangular wells at their base. This detail predates the written reports by over four hundred years.

While the plan appears very accurate, the section shows some errors. In the projection, the apsidal niches cut into the wall, and the thickness of the dome is exaggerated. Two reductions in diameter resemble the step-rings on the outside, but they are placed too low, and thereby miss to describe the dome construction accurately. In addition, each step-ring features a cornice, as does the base of the dome. The decoration in the section also includes an internal impost cornice. These are probable reconstruction attempts. The details we saw in Peruzzi's work, like the relieving arches or the detailed lintels above the interior niches, are not included in the anonymous Portuguese's work.

The two sixteen-century works, as well as the map of Parasacchi, likely include reconstructions of the monument's original appearance, based on the evidence available at the time. Their study of the antique architecture led to a very similar result. The attempts to find suitable decorative elements resulted in the application of several cornices in the work of the anonymous Portuguese, and a detailed depiction of one cornice in the work of Peruzzi. Both sections feature step-rings, and the rounded exterior of the dome. Worth noting is a thought: if there was a roof atop the dome (dated by de Rossi to the twelfth century), it would have hindered their observations.

At this point, the visual history supports a different timeline for the mausoleum's structural changes. In the timeline of the visual history the addition of the roof happens at a later point, according to the works of the seventeen-century artists.

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352   Brothers 2010, p.99

1979

Modern documentation by de Rossi

It took over four centuries before the first modern scaled plan was published by Giovanni Maria de Rossi in *Bovillae*.[353] The plan documents the rotunda before the mausoleum underwent the restorations in the 1980s, and before the subsequent excavations. It is also referred to by Gai for that reason. De Rossi captures the drum at a level that captured the apsidal niches, the external semi-circular niches, and internal rectangular niches. Like the sixteenth-century draughtspeople, he aligned the external and internal niches with each other. Unlike his predecessors, he captured the drastic interventions in the structure of the walls that altered the antique layout of the drum. The renaissance artists drew the walls of the drum as a continuous structure with the original antique entrance facing the road. De Rossi records the circular layout of the drum interrupted by four walled-up openings. One wall closes the antique entrance, and three alter the vertices of the apsidal niches, including the later entrance that was created in the north-western apsidal niche. This resulted in a distorted circular layout with sections of paralleledged walls. His plan inspired Spera and Mineo's description of four arched entrances as connections between the central room and the ambulatory[354], but he himself did not describe the mausoleum in the same way. Images included in *Bovillae* do not show alterations of such extent, and further oppose such a description.[355]

The images can also be found in the collection of the DAI, and a closer inspection makes de Rossi's approach to the plan apparent. The images of the apsidal niches show the alterations at the base of the drum that he recorded in the plan. Sections of the walls were reconstructed in rough masonry work, made of uneven rows of stone and brick. The apsidal niches were damaged, in some places almost reaching the relieving arches and, in all apsidal niches, leaving irregular openings above the repairs. The north-western apsidal niche was transformed into an entrance, and the antique entrance had been closed with a wall.

De Rossi captured these walls of uneven stone by placing the plan level below the remaining elements of the apsidal niches. He documents the different masonry, the *opus vittatum* of the antique drum, and the parallel-sided repairs with two different hatches. The original layout of the apsidal niches, and therefore the drum, is visualised in form of dashed lines, also indicating the overhang of the upper section of the niches. The same line is used to complete the exterior circular shape of the drum. De Rossi was aware of the antique layout, although at first glance the plan might indicate otherwise. His work features small inaccuracies: the positioning of the smaller niches that are later corrected by Pagliardi, who showed that they are positioned at different angles[356]; and the positioning of the north arrow, that is off by ten degrees, and as a result of which the whole rotunda appears slightly rotated compared to other plans in this collection.

The annular corridor is not included in the plan, although de Rossi speculated about the feature, based on the overhang he described in his works. The exterior of the drum features an irregular hatch outside the south-eastern apsidal niche, an area now known to have hosted waste deposits.[357]

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353   De Rossi 1979, p.236
354   Spera; Mineo 2004, p.174
355   SEE → The collected images in the DAI archive, published on 10/02/2020
356   Pagliardi 1985, p.100
357   Gai 1986, p.378

This plan is the first that documented the alterations that also appear in most of the historic depictions. It lacks information in some areas: the interior should feature different levels, and the area of the antique entrance should appear slightly raised, as shown in accompanying images in the same publication.[358] De Rossi's plan offered a focused view on the core of the sepulchre building, and, while he did mention an annular ring of foundations for a presumed peristyle in his descriptions, he left these extensions unaddressed in the plan. Images from 1959 and his earlier work in *"Torri e castelli medievali della Campagna Romana"*, and an article in *Capitolium*, show that the area around the mausoleum had a higher ground level than today, supporting his interpretation of the outer wall of the annular corridor as a foundation for a surrounding external structure of the monument.

1985 (&1990)

Excavation plans

The 1980s excavations, and the connected survey of the rotunda corrected the inaccuracies in the alignment of the internal and external niches that we saw in the previous works, and expanded the documentation of the sepulchral monument beyond the central drum.

First publications regarding the excavations were provided by Nicoletta Pagliardi, and while the first two sources accredited to her are solely text based, her accounts on the excavations from 1985 and 1990 also include visual documentation to support the descriptions. In her 1985 article in *"Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma"* a plan of the rotunda, the annular corridor, the extensions in the area between the road and the sepulchre, and an axonometry section trough the rotunda present the mausoleum in detail. The presented plan is an excavation plan that displays all the internal and external niches and divides the excavated area into a regular grid. The rotunda is documented in its restored state, with the entrance facing the road and all apsidal niches closed in their semicircular shape. It is the first plan to accurately document the placement of the external niches. Contrary to the earlier plans, the external niches are shown to be located on axes between the smaller interior and the larger apsidal niches, instead of being aligned with the rectangular interior niches.

The interior of the rotunda is shown to have a smaller diameter base, that appears as a wall separating the rectangular, lower part of the apsidal niches from the central room. This base wall is shown with various degrees of damage, and becomes integrated into the floor in the north-western niche, where the lower part of the apsidal niche is only indicated. This is the area known to host the entrance during the medieval phase of reuse.[359] The smaller rectangular niches are shown in their varying states of preservation, with the niches on the southern and eastern axis in apparently better condition than the remaining two on the opposite side of the mausoleum. The difference in sizes between the rectangular niches is also visible. The niches next to the main apsidal niche (the one facing the original antique entrance) are slightly smaller than the two niches next to the entrance.[360]

358 The images published in *'Bovillae'* are also part of the DAI collection. SEE → The collected images in the DAI archive, published on 10/02/2020.
359 De Rossi 1979, p.236
360 The niches in the western and southern axis are the two smaller internal niches and the niches on the eastern and northern axis are the larger ones.
      This might indicate the importance of the different niches during the different phases of usage. The main apsidal niche is also slightly larger, and aligned with the antique entrance, the smaller rectangular niches are adapted to this antique alignment between the entrance and apsidal niche.

In the area of the antique entrance, the base of the wall is shown to have an additional niche or gap on the central axis. This rectangular recess is only depicted in this plan. In the photographic documentation of the DAI form 1959, this area appears to be covered by the interior floor and stones, and, in the later publications by Gai, this area of the base is drawn as a continuous line dismissing this detail.[361] In our observations during the 2017 survey this area was covered by a modern concrete ramp that allowed access to the interior of the mausoleum, but hid the detail in question.

The plan revealed previously undocumented elements on the exterior of the mausoleum.[362] At the base of the apsidal niches, we find foundations – in form of thicker walls – that separate the rectangular shafts from the annular corridor. The walls of the apsidal niches are shown to be very thin at their vertices. The wider foundation base was documented in the annular corridor outside the south-eastern and north-eastern apsidal niche. These bases protrude into the annular corridor, and were not visible.

The annular corridor is not documented as a whole. The excavations only explored an area from the west axis counter-clockwise towards the main apsidal niche. Bridging the corridor, on the main axis of the rotunda, an access to the mausoleum reaches the drum at the same level as the entrance itself. On the right side of the entrance, a wall cuts through the corridor, extending with a slight curvature away from the mausoleum in a southern direction. The corridor is interrupted a second time in the area before the southeastern apsidal niche – the area where de Rossi documented debris, and included the texture outside the rotunda in his plan. Continuing towards the main apsidal niche, the corridor is filled with large irregular elements. These pieces are, according to Gai, the collapse of the lower level's vaulted ceiling.[363]

The area between the road and the drum was drawn in the highest detail. The walls were depicted including the stones used in the wall facing. Here, we encounter the pieces of architectonic decoration, mentioned during the conference. The decoration is depicted in front of the rectangular extension that Pagliardi interpreted as the base of a staircase.[364] It is too small to make out details, but Pagliardi's description from 1990 is accompanied by images of the uncovered decorations. The area towards the road further hosts several walls. This area was interpreted as an access corridor to the mausoleum, that had been broken down and covered with a levelled floor.[365] The visible remains of this antique corridor are two walls parallel to the central axis, and interrupted by two semicircular apses facing each other, and positioned halfway between the rotunda and the road. The southern apsis is shown as part of the wall that forms the corridor.

The area west of the main axis features several walls from later construction phases that cut through the antique layout reaching inside the access corridor. One of the later walls features one of the columns, reused as a corner of the later residential building. The interpretation of the different construction phases is provided by Gai, who provides detailed plans for each individual construction phase.[366]

361   Gai 1986, p.368ff
362   The plan indicates several sections and projections that were placed, cutting through the rotunda and the annular corridor, the longest stretching from the main apsidal niche toward the road. The sections are not included in Gai's publication.
363   Ibid., p.372
364   1186.5_008, p.5ff
365   Ibid., p.5.
366   Gai 1986, p.370, 375 & 377

Gai's detailed analysis

In the continuation of the plan published by Pagliardi, Gai provides four separate plans that each highlight different aspects of the excavation and construction activity on the site. Next to one general plan – a simplified version of the detailed plan provided by Pagliardi – three plans visualise the different construction phases determined in her analysis of the uncovered walls.

The first plan presents the rotunda and all uncovered walls at a level below the access bridging the annular corridor in front of the drum. It highlights the interventions of the 1981 and 1984 excavations, the borders of the excavated area, the trenches from the 1981 campaign, and markers for the stratigraphic sections of the ground. The annular corridor is shown without the collapse of the barrel vault and without the stacked stones we now find in front of the entrance. In the area between the drum and the road, the walls are connected to each other, and the findings on deeper levels are not shown. The only floor element depicted are the stones in the medieval courtyard. This plan offers an overview of the different *ambienti*, as Gai described, and highlights the areas that underwent investigation, this includes markers for the different areas inside and around the mausoleum.

The following three plans separate the different structures by construction phase, covering two of them. The first one highlights the antique structures; an additional hatch helps with the differentiation between the first and second phase of the antique construction. The drum, the wall of the annular corridor, and two walls parallel to the road but at a distance from the drum, are marked as phase I. The annular corridor is labelled as *ambiente δ*. The depiction of the walls in this phase also feature the stone and brick that was a part of the wall facing. On the interior of the drum, we find triangular shapes indicating the *opus testaceum* in the rectangular shafts of the apsidal niches. The remaining wall facing of the drum's base wall is depicted with smaller shapes, indicating the stones used for the construction. The same detail can also be seen in the walls of the annular corridor, on the inside as well as on the outside. The foundations of the apsidal niches were treated the same, and the area of the main apsidal niche features a significantly wider base than the south-eastern niche.

The structures of the second phase include the rectangular extension towards the road – *ambiente ε,* interpreted as the base of a staircase – and the two niches in the access corridor, that spans between the road and the mausoleum. Also included are two walls parallel to the central axis, and two walls that extend from the corners of the niches away from the corridor. These structures are highlighted by a separate hatch, and drawn as connected walls. The surface of the walls is treated in the same way as the drums base, highlighting the stone surface of the construction.

The second phase plan, highlights the, according to Gai, striped marble elements that were uncovered in front of the mausoleum. Here we can see how the elements were arranged in front of the entrance. The remaining elements in this plan are the first medieval interventions, two walls west of the access corridor (that are assumed to be part of a structure that extends beyond the excavated area), and one small wall that divides the annular corridor on the south-south-eastern axis. [axis 4] This plan captures Gai's argument that the mausoleum was stripped of its decoration before newer construction activities occurred.

The final plan shows the focus on the medieval farmstead that occupied the area west of the access corridor, and the curved medieval extension to the south-east of the drum, defined as *ambiente ɣ*. Again, two hatches define the two phases, phase V between the tenth and thirteenth century, and phase VI between the thirteenth and fifteenth century. Both phases are depicted with the same surface indicators. The stones range from small to large irregularly shaped pieces, including one column at the corner of the latest alteration. Phase V is just partially explored. A rectangular room – *ambiente α*, built during phase V – extends form the first medieval wall dated to phase IV into the antique access corridor. Within this room two floor treatments are indicated, one form each phase.

The second, later phase shows an antique column at the corner of extension to *ambiente α.* The extension can be seen as several walls that further appropriate the space of the antique corridor, and are set up around the older rectangular farmstead. During this second phase, the courtyard was plastered in stone, which is shown be the hatching of the area. The alterations in this period affected the access to the monument, but not the drum itself.

Gai is the first and only source for the differentiation of the historic construction activity. Her plans offer an accurate depiction of the rotunda, and area between the road and the drum. Her focus on the medieval farmstead affected the extent of explorations that addressed the sepulchral function of the antique structures – neither the interior of the drum nor, the annular corridor was explored in its entirety. The access to the mausoleum, and the broken-down structures (accredited to the second antique construction phase), and their influence on the later medieval alterations can be seen in all plans. The details in the focused parts of the plans offer insight into the surface treatment of the walls – elements outside the focus are presented with a simplified layout.

1986

Observations by Johnson

Having visited the mausoleum and drawn from the reports by Gai and Pagliardi, Johnson did not miss to include a plan of the rotunda in his doctoral thesis. His work highlights the central rotunda, annular corridor, and rectangular extension towards the road, not including the larger area of the access corridor, and the later medieval additions. The plan is an accurate depiction of the mausoleum, with the exclusion of the specific structural elements. He excluded the foundations of the apsidal niches, and offered a partial reconstruction by adding a continuous wall for the annular corridor. He is one of three authors that provided an accurate plan of the monument, although he did not include it in his later publication that addressing the imperial mausolea of late antiquity. He uses the plan for articles that explore buildings of similar size.

Sections:

Plans are the primary way to illustrate the Berretta del Prete, while Pagliardi also included an axonometry in her articles. Most authors rely on the horizontal section through the drum to document the tomb. The sixteenth-century draughtspeople were an exception to this, and in this group only one author chose to rely on sections to explain the structure of the mausoleum, at the same time excluding the plans.

Rasch's first section and the dome in detail

The *'Torraccio del Palombaro'* is a part of Rasch's collection of independent domed structures of the fourth century CE. He included the Berretta del Prete in an article about the development, design, and construction of domes in roman architecture. In his overview of freestanding domed rotundas, he placed the mausoleum next to the *Mausoleum of Constantina*, the *Tempio della Tosse*, the *Mausoleum of Diocletian*, and the *Mausoleum at Tor de'Schiavi*. Here we find an idealised section of the Berretta del Prete.[367] It is based on material gathered by Peter Grossmann and Peter Marzolff, who conducted a survey of the rotunda in 1959.[368] The images in the archive of the DAI and the Images published by de Rossi, as already mentioned, show that, at the time of the survey, the antique access structures to the mausoleum were still covered. This can also be seen in the way the drum is depicted. The section shows the central cylindrical structure, without the inclusion of the now known extensions to the rotunda. Placed at the widest point of the carrying walls – the foundation – it shows the three increments of the step-rings, the semicircular dome, and the oculus, and excludes the apsidal niches and the annular corridor. A central axis, and the centre of the dome are indicated.

The shape of the dome's extrados and the shape of the step-rings are reconstructions, considering that the images of the monument show that the tiled roof disguised the exterior of the dome. This section is an idealisation of the rotunda, the smallest dome in Rasch's collection, and shows no details. Only the apparent narrowing of the drum's diameter on the outside of the dome (step-rings), and a small console on the inside of the dome's base are shown. Rasch's work from 1991 features a more detailed section at a larger scale giving, more insight on the state of the building at the time of the survey, and its analytical reconstruction.

In 1991 Rasch revisited the dome and included two sections of the *'Torraccio del Palombaro'* in an in-depth article on late antiquity dome constructions. The section cuts through the entrance and the main apsidal niche, but only shows the dome and its base, starting at about six meters from the zero point, or ground level, which is not defined in the illustration. The two illustrations show a section and a reconstruction of the dome, both in a scale of 1:100.

In the first section, the exterior of the dome is cone-shaped, and the oculus is closed. The damage to the rotunda's surface and the step-rings is clearly documented, and the reconstructed measurements of the step-rings are depicted as dashed lines.[369] The measurements of the dome are indicated: the interior span is 8.09 metres; the oculus diameter is 1.52 metres; a maximum width of the rotunda's wall is ~2.65 metres in the

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367   Rasch 1985, p.121
368   Ibid.
369   Rasch 1991, p.349 Abb.32

apsidal niche, and ~2.30 metres above the entrance. The centre of the dome and the mirror axis are also included. The centre lies 12 centimetres under the springing line, and mirror axis shows that the oculus and gable of the roof are off-centre. The base of the dome is slightly wider than the interior diameter of the rotunda. The difference measures 10 centimetres above the main apsidal niche, and 12 above the entrance. The significant element in this section are the measurements for the constructive formwork. It was made out of one row of ca. 1.34-metre-long boards, followed by five rows of boards whose length falls between 0.73 and 0.77 metres. These measurement translate to 4½ and 2fe½ pedes. The *nervature* only appear in the top section of the dome, and are also included in this illustration, marked as two lines next to the oculus. Annotations in the illustration show the gradual reduction of the *caementa*'s weight.[370] Separating the dome into three sections indicated by dividing brick rows, Rasch shows the transition from heavier basalt to lighter peperino stone.[371]

In the second illustration – a reconstruction of the dome – we find the shape of the dome formulated in a clear semicircular line, and clearly visible step-rings. Rasch included the measured levels of the reconstructed step-rings, and reconstructed a cornice above the entrance. The base of the dome is at the same height as the top of the cornice (+7.08 metres), followed by two step-rings (at +8.39 and 9.57 metres), and the base of the oculus (at +11.10 metres) – all presumably measured from the ground level. Rasch also included levelling brick layers in the reconstruction drawing, one to level the drum, and one to level the first step-ring of the dome, and bipedales at the position of the nervature. His reconstruction shows a drastically thinner shape of the antique structure, compared to the documented state of the dome in 1959. His reconstruction is based on the surveyed material that also led to the recreation of the formwork placement.[372]

Rasch refered to Quillici's *"La via Appia da Roma a Bovillae"* from 1977, and assumed the building to be preserved in its entirety. The extensions on the exterior of the rotunda were not visible at the time of the survey. Quilici updated his observations in 1989 to include the results of the excavation efforts and the lower ambulatory in his description of the monument.[373] Rasch was apparently not aware of these new findings, and included a reconstructed cornice at the exterior of the drum.

The survey by the TU Wien

The most accurate documentation of the mausoleum to date are the results of the building survey from 2017. This survey informed the building description at the beginning of this thesis, that aimed to present the Berretta del Prete in the way we can see it today. The analysis of the visual material gathered during the survey has been deliberately excluded from this thesis, with the exception of one plan, and one section in the appendix, and the small illustration in timeline of the visual history. The mausoleum and its surrounding structures were documented in 3D scans, on site observations, photographs and sketches. The plans and sections are based on the point clouds produced during the 3D scans, and show the building with complete precision.

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370   Ibid., p.350 (footnote 89)

371   The annotations regarding the used caementa materials in the first section, in combination with the reconstructed appearance of the dome, seem to indicate three different steps of construction.

372   Ibid., p.349 Abb.33

373   Quilici 1989, p.55ff

This level of detail enables the reader of the plan to determine the damaged and restored areas, even in the sections and plans. Uneven surfaces are depicted in their current state. In the plan of the rotunda, we can see the smaller diameter of the interior's lower section, the damage in the lower area of the drum's wall, and all the niches – apsidal and rectangular. Up until now, these plans have not been published, and remain to be analysed in detail.

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The published analytical illustrations in form of plans, sections and axonometries all go back to the surveys of the second half of the twentieth century. While most of the authors relied on plan layouts, we also find sections to explain the techniques applied in the dome. Rasch stands out in his approach. While most authors simply documented the drum, he analysed and reconstructed the dome. He offered illustrations to accompany his argument for a construction method that developed empirically, and that was applied even in the smaller domed structures – like the Berretta del Prete.

Pagliardi and Gai corrected the earlier documentation with the first accurate plans of the drum and, based on the work of de Rossi, continued to provide elements to indicate a reconstruction of the domed rotunda tomb in late antiquity. Their concept of a two-level ambulatory has become the commonly acknowledged reconstruction of the tomb, although their historic predecessors captured the mausoleum in different ways.

The visual documentation of the sixteenth century draughtspeople offered the earliest still preserved accounts of the mausoleum. It stands in contrast to the descriptions provided by de Rossi, who dated the transformation of the mausoleum into a watch- or guard tower before the renaissance artists illustrated the drum as they imagined it would appear in the antique times. The renaissance draughtspeople inspired the early depictions on maps that continuously documented the mausoleum, and supplemented the main narratives of the written documentation. We saw that the detailing in the map's illustrations shifted as artists started to document the rotunda. With the introduction of artistic renditions, the maps transitioned to the simplified plan documentation of the mausoleum. These simple plan layouts precede the scaled plans we use today, and can be seen in one line of continuous development.

NOW. –

Today, we have the visual access to the mausoleum in its suburban context thanks to digital maps and three-dimensional representations in online maps. Images captured by providers like Google allow for a first exploration of the mausoleum without the need for physical presence. The extensions of the mausoleum, the access corridor and the medieval alterations are partially visible in these modern sources. Although the detailing varies, the easy access to three-dimensional imagery highlights that the central drum was part of a larger structure.

documenting the decay, the ruin as a motive

The century-long hiatus between the surveys of the mausoleum does not mean the monument was overlocked. The way of capturing the antique structures shifted to different approaches, artists provide exterior renditions, not analysing the monument but rather romanticizing the ruin. Reconstructions remain a part of this artistic documentation, as the illustrations were also provided in the studies of architects and archaeologists.

While we found the origins of the visual history in the renaissance surveys and the iconography of maps, the sections and plans that followed did not provide information on the mausoleum's surroundings. Paintings and photographs best capture these aspects, while etchings and sketches provide a focus on separate details of the ruin and warehouse the mausoleum has become.

Deriving from the fist surveys, the artistic renditions captured the exterior of the mausoleum, for the first time in the second half of the eighteenth century. Different approaches to the monument are found, but the bareness of the *campagna* that offered the setting for the mausoleum and the watchtower narrative, is a unifying element in all works. The rotunda appears as a freestanding monument, further explaining the landmark character it was given in the maps. The later transition from the ruin to a warehouse is found in the photographic evidence.

1764

Piranesi's "Views of Rome"

The first artist to create a detailed etching of the mausoleum's exterior was Giovanni Battista Piranesi. He captured three tombs in *"The Tombs of Licinianus and the Cornelii"*. The middle tomb is in a dilapidated state. He connected the other two, the aedicula tomb and the rotunda, to their patrons. Piranesi assigned the patronage of Berretta del Prete to the *gens Cornelia*, without indicating what or who the source of this information is. Piranesi chose a composition and a vantage point of the two monuments that was repeated through the visual history. The two tombs became known through this print created by Piranesi. Thompson wrote that Piranesi always saw himself as an architect, but he is regarded as one of the greatest printmakers of the eighteenth century.[374] The intricate print of the three tombs was only one in the series *"Views of Rome"*. A series produced as souvenirs for the visitors of the city of Rome.[375]

In the print, the Berretta del Prete is depicted behind the remains of a third structure, a ruin between the aedicula tomb and the rotunda, that partially covers the drum and disguises the large areas of the mausoleums base. Piranesi captured the rotunda featuring the antique wall facing in *opus vittatum*, and the later addition of the conical roof. In the etching, the rotunda is overgrown by vegetation, including shrubs at the roof, that remind us of the spindle tree that grew on the mausoleum.

Piranesi depicted the mausoleum in an exaggerated rendition.

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374   Thompson on Piranesi in the <u>Metropolitan Museum of Art</u> - accessed 13/08/2020,
375   Ibid.

The general appearance of the mausoleum – the building technique, the relieving arches, the exterior niches featuring brick lintels, the decrease of the building's exterior diameter in form of step-rings, and the later extension that supported the roof – is documented in the illustration. Even the position of the western external niche is accurately depicted closer to the north-western relieving arch than to the entrance's arch.

But, Piranesi exaggerated some aspects of the building, starting with the dimensions of the drum. For scale, two people are placed in front of the drum. They reach the second row of bricks in the *opus vittatum* surface, and thus make the mausoleum appear much larger than it is. The entrance that was added later in the north-western apsidal niche appears as a small door topped with a brick lintel, while the photographs depict it just as a unpretentious large opening.

The surface of the drum is depicted as a unified wall facing of *opus vittatum*, free from severe damage. Piranesi shows three rows of brick followed by an unclear number of rows of stone. The etching shows some parts of the drum with a cross hatch, reminiscent of *opus reticulatum*. The drum actually features one row of brick followed by two or three rows of stone. There is one area at the north-eastern side of the drum that features three consecutive rows of brick. Piranesi appears to have taken this one element as an inspiration for the entire surface.

In the area facing the road, putlog holes are shown below every row of bricks. The documentation of the DAI allows for a comparison of Piranesi's observations with the photographic documentation. Here, we can find putlog holes covering large areas of the drum's surface, a detail lost in the 1980s restorations, but their number is much lower than Piranesi makes us believe.

The surface of the drum, as depicted on the etching, exceeds what can naturally be seen. The number of relieving arches was increased, as he shows three whole arches, all placed within the *opus vittatum* surface. None of them resembles the antique entrance that would have been closed by a different type of masonry. All three arches appear intact. The north-western one, above the new entrance, features a small window below the apex of the arch. This opening is not documented in later depictions. The only rectangular, window-like opening we know of was placed in the walled-up antique entrance.

The final element of exaggeration are the step-rings. Piranesi captures the reduction in diameter, but places four increments that feature parts of an intact *opus vittatum* surface before transitioning into the roof extension. The extension itself sits above a row of very articulate rectangular openings. These might be the only element of a watchtower that Piranesi captured.

This is the first illustration that documented the modern roof de Rossi accredited to the watchtower transformation. De Rossi was not able to determine the extent of the transformation, as only limited rows of stone were preserved as an addition to one of the dome's step-rings.

Piranesi presented all key elements that defined the mausoleum, and through his exaggeration he drew our attention to certain elements that are not present today. He directs our attention to the roof, the numerous putlog holes, and openings under the roof. We will see these details in the photographic documentation, as they are not preserved past the 1980s restorations.

Labruzzi's watercolours

Carlo Labruzzi was asked to accompany the British historian Sir Richard Colt Hoare on his travel along the Appian Way.[376] As a result, a collection of a hundred large watercolours that document the monuments they encountered was created.[377] In this collection, we also find the Berretta del Prete, the neighbouring aedicula tomb, and the ruins between the two. Rendered from the same angle as Piranesi did, the Berretta del Prete is shown in the background of *'Ruin near la Berretta del Prete'*[378] and *'Ruins on the right side of the Via Appia'.*[379] Both works have the same composition showing the rotunda form almost the same position. Labruzzi captured the changes that altered the original layout of the mausoleum. Comparing the illustrations to the images in the DAI collection, we see that the they are also more accurate.

FIG.3: LABRUZZI, CARLO "RUINS ON THE RIGHT OF THE VIA APPIA" 1798 (BOON 2017, P.165)
SEE ➔P.I

The antique entrance is closed by a wall. A square opening – a window with crossed bars – faces the Appian Way. Four smaller openings resembling putlog holes are also visible in this new wall. The north western apsidal niche features a rectangular gate. The wall facing within the relieving arch, and inside the exterior niche features a similar texture to the wall that closed the antique entrance. In comparison to Piranesi, we do not find a lintel above the new gate, just a smooth surface featuring two rectangular small holes, again – resembling putlog holes. These openings can also be seen in later images, but unlike the openings in the drum's walls – that we find as an element all over the wall facing – these openings are not connected to the initial antique construction phase, as they only occur within the later alterations. The exterior niche is positioned closer to the new entrance than the antique one, an accurate observation we also saw in Piranesi's work. The textures in the illustration share similarities with *opus vittatum*. Areas in the illustrations have closer lines resembling brick, alternating with larger rectangles, resembling single-stone rows. Nonetheless, the surface remains largely abstracted. The drum is topped by a small extension to the step ring, followed by a conical tilled roof. The extension to the step ring features a line repeating rectangular openings, like the ones we can see in Piranesi's work.

The work of Labruzzi, unlike other artists', show the suburban setting of the monument. Even in the illustrations, it becomes clear how far the view from the rotunda reaches. The background features mountain ranges, and the surrounding vegetation consists of shrubs growing close to the monuments, or on them. His illustrations of larger stretches of the Appian Way further emphasize the unobstructed view between the monuments. In the *"View of the Ustrino on the Via Appia looking towards Albano"*[380], we can see how the narrative of the watchtower would have been possible without large alterations to the height of the drum. The monuments lining the Appian Way – all free standing and some altered with postantiquity extensions, like the *Torre Selce* – offer high vantage points.

FIG.4: LABRUZZI, CARLO "RUINS ON THE RIGHT © THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://WWW.BRITISHMUSEUM.ORG/COLLECTION/BJECT/P_1955-1210-10-64 ACCESSED 03/03/2021
SEE ➔P.III

Today, in this area, the Appiea Way is lined with trees that obstruct the view. These trees were planted during the restoration of the tree heritage, as a part of establishing the *Via Appia Antica Park*.[381]

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376   Ashby 1903, p.375
377   Illustrated London News in the <u>British Newspaper Archive</u> - accessed 30/04/2021
378   Ibid.
379   Labruzzi's work in the <u>Vatican Library</u> - accessed 01/05/2021
380   Labruzzi's work in the <u>British Museum</u> - accessed 25/04/2021
381   1186.5_008, p.7

1845

Ivanov's landscapes

Aleksander Andreyevich Ivanov is one of two artists that rendered the mausoleum in a painting, and the only one to include it in a large-scale landscape. The painting shows an interesting aspect: a direct line of sight between the Torre Selce and Berretta del Prete. Ivanov gave us an overview on the Roman Campagna, and with that explained the watchtower narrative in one image. In "Via Appia at Sunset", Ivanov positioned himself beyond the Mausoleum of Gallienus and looked towards Rome. From this position he managed to connect the Mausoleum of Gallienus with the Berretta del Prete and the Torre Selce. The area around the mausoleum and the other monuments appears vacant. The Quintili aqueduct, the city of Rome, and even Dome of St. Peter serve as the background to the monuments.

In this painting – like in the Labruzzi's work, that captured the of the Appian Way – it becomes apparent how exposed the rotunda was. Before the suburban expansions of the city and the construction of the nearby airport, a vantage point on top of the mausoleum would have given a view that reaches far along the Appian Way.

FIG.5: ALEXANDER ANDREYEVICH IVANOV, VIA APPIA AT SUNSET, 1845, THE STATE TRETYAKOC GALLERY, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// ARTSANDCULTURE. GOOGLE.COM/ASSET/ AAENJNP6EAHFRQ ACCESSED 16/11/2019
SEE →P.III

1819

Turner's sketchbook

Joseph Mallord William Turner adds a very different and rare perspective on the monument to the collection. While he the artist is known for his romantic paintings, his sketches also include studies of antique monuments in the Roman Campagna. *'Five Sketches of Ruins near the Via Appia, Rome'* – a part of Turner's *'Vatican Fragment Sketchbook'* – portrays the north-eastern side of the mausoleum. The page shows the rotunda next to the aedicula tomb.[382] Turner must have travelled along the via Appia Nuova in order to capture the tombs from this angle. Although the sketch is an abstraction, we can clearly recognize the extension to the drum's step-rings and the conical roof. The drum has a larger diameter than the vertical extension, and dark hatches indicate three openings, all of them topped by a dotted detail. These dotted lines are the relieving arches of two exterior niches, and the large relieving arch of the main apsidal niche that spans between the exterior niches. The middle opening is of irregular shape. Comparing to the images in the collection of the DAI, we see that the wall of the drum was heavily damaged and had a large opening below the reliving arch.[383] In the DAI image, the opening is partially closed with stacked stones. Turner's sketch indicates that the stones were added after 1819, and that would make them a modern alteration.

The second element Turner captured is the elevation of the rotunda in comparison to the surround fields. We saw this difference in ground level in the early maps, and in Turner's sketch we find the indication of the fields with the mausoleum elevated above them.[384]

FIG.6: JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER, FIVE SKETCHES OF RUINS NEAR THE VIA APPIA, 1819, TATE (D15156), DIGITAL IMAGE © TATE RELEASED UNDER CREATIVE COMMONS CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 UNPORTED)
SEE →P.II

The Berretta del Prete was only captured in this abstract sketch, but other monuments of the Roman Campagna and the City of Rome received more attention from Turner. As an example and reference on how comprehensively Turner's watercolours docu-

FIG.7: JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER, A RUINED BUILDING BETWEEN ROME AND ALBANO, C.1794-8, TATE (D36431), DIGITAL IMAGE © TATE RELEASED UNDER CREATIVE COMMONS CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 UNPORTED)

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382   Moorby 2012, Turner's work in the Tate Gallery - accessed 01/05/2021
383   Bestand-D-DAI-ROM-59.1235.JPG | in iDAI Arachne - accessed 06/12/2019
384   SEE → Rosa's map.

mented the ruins of roman antiquity, including some mausolea of the Appian Way, we can turn to the Mausoleum of Gallienus that has been captured as *"A Ruined Building between Rome and Albano"*.[385]

B1821-26

Remond's studies

Remond presents a colourful view of the rotunda and the aedicula tomb. Remond was sent to Rome by his mentor, and upon arrival to the city discovered nature and outdoor painting. During his five-year stay in Rome, he pained small studies, often in a wider brush and thick colour application.[386] In "*Tombeaux antiques sur la via Appia antica, entre Rome et Albano"* this new style of his can be observed in his rendition of the two tombs. Remond used sand and red tones for the monument, and crated a strong shadow indicating he visited this stretch of the Appian Way in the afternoon. The abstraction caused by the utilised tools reduced the image to the main aspects of the mausoleum.

Remond's position must have been between the two monuments, as the aedicula is shown from the southern side while the rotunda is shown form the north-western side. He did not assume the same position as his predecessors and successors, and did not include the ruin between the two buildings.

The drum is shown featuring several arches that structure the surface of the drum: the street-facing antique entrance's arch, the arch of one exterior niche, and the relieving arch on the north-western side. The relieving arch features a darker area indicating the altered entrance. The surface of the drum is textured with horizontal lines, indicating the wall facing. A continuous lighter line above the larger arches stands out. This line is in the position of two preserved rows of rock on top of levelling layers of *bipedales* bricks. Above this layer, the extension to the step rings is rendered in a softer texture in the same colour as the drum, followed by a smoother uniform lighter section with straight edges. In this smoother wall, the vertical extension of the drum, we again find holes indicated by darker spots. The building is topped by the conical roof, rendered in darker shades of red and brown. The area above the bipedales referred to the damaged zone in the transition to the dome.

Remond, like Labruzzi and Ivanov, directs our view into the distance by adding a background of a mountain range, and thereby highlights the possible use of the drum as a vantage point. As the indicators on the surface of the drum are reduced in the abstraction, and detailed alterations cannot be drawn from the image, Remond adds an impression of the state of the mausoleum at his time. Contrary to Labruzzi, and in line with the depiction by Piranesi, he added rough brush stokes atop the roof and on the edges of the rotunda that represent the vegetation that grew on the monument, and apparently also created a backdrop for the rotunda.

B1836-39

Rossini's etching

With Rossini, we return to the familiar perspective. Rossini was an architect, but was better known as draughtsman and engraver. He subject were the monuments of Roman antiquity, and he documented numerous ruins and monuments in his lifetime. He strove to draw the monuments in ways different to his fellow engravers, and chose

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385   Turner's work in the <u>Watercolour World</u> - accessed 23/09/2019
386   <u>Galerie de Lardemelle</u> - accessed 28/10/2019

strong contrasts to add volume to his motives, while maintaining the fine lines necessary for an architectural drawing.[387] In the etching of the Berretta del Prete we find the drum captured in the same composition and position that Piranesi chose. Like Piranesi, Rossini named patrons of each tomb. For the Berretta del Prete – the *famigla cornelia,* and for the aedicula – *Liciniano*, a connection also made by Piranesi. Again, it is not indicated how the patronage was assigned, and is in contrast to the historic records that did not offer any information about a patron.[388]

More importantly, Rossini adds a a small alteration of the rotunda to the historic timeline – an element we will also see changed in the following works. The gate that closed the modern entrance is absent. Instead, a rectangular opening grants unhindered access to the drum. This is the only alteration we can draw form Rossini's work, as he rendered the monument in a similar fashion as Labruzzi. Rossini's work shows a strong emphasis on the preserved row of stones in the transition to the dome, just like Remond, and includes the same vertical extension and conical roof that we have seen before.

1853

Canina's documentation

The second work out of three that seem almost identical at the first glance, can be found in Canina's *"La prima parte della Via Appia dalla Porta Capena a Boville".*[389] The etching captures monument in detail, clear of vegetation, showing the damaged zone in the transition from the drum to the step-rings and the conical roof. An addition to other illustrations is a wall in front of the mausoleum, separating the drum from the road – a detail that had been removed in the accompanying map and does not occur in other illustrations.[390]

The drum looks less elaborate than Rossini's rendition, and includes artistic interpretations that altered the appearance of the exterior niches, the relieving arches, and the entrance. The antique entrance is almost undetectable in the image. The rectangular holes within the closing wall still stand out, but the window was not included. The relieving arch of the entrance, the north-western relieving arch, and the arch atop the exterior niche all seem to emerge out of accentuated corners made of brick. The exterior niche is depicted larger than it is.

While these inaccuracies occur, the work also repeats some elements that stood out in the other works. The first is the rectangular holes in the wall that closed the original entrance. Further, there are the rectangular holes in the vertical extension of the drum, the tiles that covered the roof, and the modern rectangular entrance – drawn in a much darker shade, without gate or bars.

Canina was aware of the antique use as a mausoleum. He also assumed the inclusion of the Berretta del Prete in the Palombaro farmstead, and the presence of a church in the region.[391] Canina knew of Rossini's etching, which explains the resemblance in the composition. Like Rossini's work, the work in Canina's publication was meant as a record of the mausoleum's appearance. Paired with a map and a suggested reconstruction, it was an addition to Canina's written accounts on the mausoleum. It was less detailed, since the reconstruction already added generous extensions to the central core.

387   Robinson 1914, p.205
388   SEE → Corbascio
389   Canina 1953 – Vol.2, TAV.XLIV
390   The removal of the wall stood out in comparison to Rosa's detailed map.
391   Canina 1953 – Vol.1, p.183

1863

Marchi's design

The same reduction in detailing can be seen in an etching by Marchi. Assuming the same position as the two last artists, Marchi captured the drum in its plainest form yet. He too commissioned a pair of etchings, in which he compared the current to reconstructed state of the mausoleum.

The drum is depicted in the striped dilapidated state we are accustomed to, the edges of the building are slightly irregular, and the damage between the drum and the dome's exterior is visible. The dome is topped by the vertical extension and a tiled roof, both look very precisely executed. Within the wall of the extension, we find the regular rectangular holes that also stood out in other works. The historic wall facing is depicted in a simple texture, resembling *opus testaceum* because of evenly spaced lines. The antique entrance is not visible, as the surface of the wall is drawn in a uniform way, erasing the arch, window, and other openings that otherwise would face the road. The same reduction can be seen for the external niche; the arch remained as a small relieving arch, but the niche itself is erased by a continuation of the drum's wall facing.

The modern entrance is shown as a rectangular opening, without a gate. Added depth emphasizes the lack of a barrier, and draws the eye inside the drum, without revealing any interior details. The relieving arch above the modern entrance is shown as a brick half-circle.

The historic timeline that was created by the visual artists, indicates that the antique entrance was slowly covered by a plain wall facing. The damage to the drum appears to have been repaired as if the wall facing had been restored and the alterations had been perfected. This timeline was partially corrected with the appearance of the first photographs.

The artist drew our attention to smaller alterations. The repeated elements were included in the historic timeline, as they can also be drawn from earlier depictions, and are reconfirmed in the photographic documentation.

The photographic evidence of the drum's alterations

The photographic evidence continued to record the adaptations to the mausoleum's appearance. The higher detail and accuracy corrected some of the later interpretations in the etchings, and at the same time helped explain how the artists reached their final design.

1890

The first photographs by Mackey

Peter Paul Mackey is the first to capture the Berretta del Prete in photographs. He was a member of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome. During his time in Rome, from 1881 to his death in 1935, he gathered almost 2000 prints and negatives, accompanied by a handwritten catalogue.[392] Three of these images depict the rotunda – two on its own, and one in combination with the aedicula tomb.

These images show the extent of the damage to the drum's surface. Contrary to the etchings by Marchi and Canina, the wall facing of the drum did not feature a unified smooth appearance. Instead, it had large areas that show a rough surface at the base and above the relieving arches. Between the antique entrance (that is shown closed by a smoothsurface wall), and the north-western relieving arch, the surface of *opus vittatum* appears best preserved. This is shown in the image that pairs the two monuments next to each other – the perspective that most artist captured. Here, the surface looks more even than on the south side of the drum, but the wall still features numerous putlog holes that stand out in a regular pattern. These holes are also visible in the other two images, that captured the rotunda from different angels.

The wall that closed the antique entrance features a small opening – the window we saw in earlier images – now closed by stacked stones. The wall itself features several bright white stones, as it was presumably built out of material found on site. The white stones were likely marble elements. The modern entrance to the drum lies below the northwestern relieving arch, and features a rough edge. The thickness of the wall is visible as the entrance is closed by a gate placed on the inside.

Some elements emphasised in the earlier renditions can also be observed in the photograph. A smooth line separates the damaged area of the drum from the damaged area in the dome's exterior, the remainder of the first step ring's wall facing. The second step ring is topped by the vertical extension and the conical roof. The reoccurring rectangular holes from the etchings are almost unnoticeable in the extension. A stronger contrast image by van Deman showed their presence. The conical roof is covered in roof tiles, and partially overgrown.

This perspective shows the left edge of the drum, where an element described by de Rossi – the concrete overhang – can be seen. This element led De Rossi to believe that the mausoleum featured a twolevel ambulatory.

The other two images by Mackey show the damage to the drum's surface and capture the surrounding fields as a reminder of how exposed the drum was.

FIG.11: MACKEY,
PETER PAUL,
"APPIA", 1890,
PPM[PHP]-16-1852,
© BRITISH SCHOOL
AT ROME DIGITAL
COLLECTIONS
SEE →P.V

The first image was taken facing the antique entrance. Here the window, now closed by stacked stones, can be seen clearly. The shape of the opening seems slightly arched, which reminds of Thibault's reconstruction. The south side of the drum features a rougher surface and a very rough edge. Above the southern external niche, right below the levelling layer of bipedales, an opening is shown. This image reveals that the wall facing of the second step ring was still partially preserved. Lines of brick and stone can be seen in alternating rows before the start of the extension made of irregular stone. In this preserved wall facing of the second step ring dark spots can again be seen – resembling the openings emphasised in the etchings. Since they only occur in the areas of the original antique wall, we can assume that these were also putlog holes.

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392   BSR on Mackey - accessed 02/05/2021

The second image faces the southern external niche. The arch of the entrance and the south-eastern relieving arch are visible in this photograph. Here, we see lager areas of damaged surface, including the hole above the external niche. The right edge of the drum shows a smooth wall facing but the area below the relieving arch shows signs of extensive repair. Two zones of repair can be distinguished: an area resembling a drystone construction, that is atop an area that seems to have been repaired with a smoother surface but irregular masonry, with an apparent application of mortar. This second zone does not show the regular alternating lines we would expect from the antique wall facing, and is therefore assumed to be a repair.

The image also shows a drystone wall running along the drum orthogonally to the road.

Mackey's documentation showed the severe damage of the mausoleum's surface and hinted at several alterations of the drum's structure. The repairs below the relieving arches prompt the idea, presented by Spera and Mineo, that the monument had four entrances to the ambulatory. While we will see that all three apsidal niches had been damaged and received repairs, or served as access to the monument, the idea of an initially open drum can be dismissed based on the continuous lines of *opus vittatum* below the relieving arch.

Mackey also documented the damage to the base of the drum that was fixed in the 1980s. He was the first to accurately preserve the indicators for the collapse of the annular corridor that surrounded the drum, that will be featured in the visual history of the early twentieth century.

1903

Photographs by Ester Boise van Deman

FIG.12: VAN DEMAN, ESTER BOISE, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB OF Q. VERANIUS AND TOMB SO CALLED BERRETTA DI PRETE OR PALOMBARO", 1903, © AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME, PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

SEE →P.V

Ester Boise van Deman was one of the first female archaeologists to receive international recognition.[393] During her first threeyear stay in Rome, she captured the mausoleum form the almost same position as Mackey did. The rotunda is presented in almost identical condition, the structure had remained the same and there are no new alterations visible, except for a minimal change in the vegetation atop the roof.

The reproduction of the image has a higher quality than the earlier images, and the shadows in the image add more depth to the features of the drum. This allowed us to recognize the openings in the second step-ring, at the transition to the vertical extension. The putlog holes are also strongly contrasted. Here too we can see the overhang, slightly less prominent but still present at the edge of the drum.

1904

Photographs by Ashby

FIG.13: (DETAIL) ASHBY, THOMAS, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB CALLED "BERRETTA DI PRETE"",1904, TA[PHP]-VIII.094, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

SET OF 2
SEE →P.VI

Thomas Ashby, a fellow of van Deman, not only described the work of Labruzzi but also seemed to have followed in his tracks to take images of the individual monuments.[394] In 1904 Ashby adds two new images to the collection, both from slightly different angles but neither show any structural changes we were previously unaware of.

393   Cohen; et al 2004, p.68
394   Ashby 1903, p.375ff

Ashby instead shows us the Appian Way, fading into the distance, and in one photograph captures the privileged position the rotunda had. A line of sight can be drawn to the Mausoleum of Gallienus and beyond.

Photographs in the DAI archives

The by far most important addition to the visual history are the images in the archive of the DAI. The collection of 21 photographs and 25 microfiches documents the mausoleum prior to the 1980s restorations. Dated to 1959, the images were likely taken during the survey performed by Peter Grossmann and Peter Marzloff. The images are the first to present the interior of the mausoleum, and they also cover almost the entire exterior of the drum.

The mausoleum was in the damaged state that we had already seen. The only alteration is the two walls that were added at the modern entrance to create a narrower access. The images captured the surface of the entire drum, where we can find numerous putlog holes repeated in a regular pattern within the entire wall facing. Like in the photographs by van Deman and Mackey, we see the pattern of the openings on the front, the damaged area above the southern exterior niche, the altered antique entrance, its window still closed by stacked stones, and the roof. The angle of the images allows us to clearly see the levelling layer of bipedales above the southern exterior niche, and the opening in that area clearly.

The damage to the south-eastern apsidal niche progressed, the repaired area we saw in Mackey's image was partially removed, leaving an opening below the relieving arch. A large crack formed next to the historic repair, and a second crack reached from the new opening to the arch.

On the back of the drum, the structure suffered from a similar intervention. Turner hinted at an opening in the main apsidal niche, and the image confirms this indication. The wall facing of *opus vittatum* was preserved, and the regular pattern of putlog holes can be seen. But, the area below the relieving arch, corresponding to the main apsidal niche, shows similar signs of historic repair, again in form of irregular stones set in mortar followed by a zone of stacked stones resembling a drystone structure, and followed by a gaping hole. From the opening upwards, we can see a crack that reaches up to the second step ring.

All these openings allowed light to enter the drum. The oculus was still covered by the roof, as we can see in an image of the dome's interior. In this, and other images we can also see a second opening in the dome, located between the axis of the entrance and the southern interior niche. This arched opening also appears closed by the roof. Below this opening in the dome, we can see the opening created by the damage above the southern exterior niche. Light floods in though it, and, at its base, stacked stones shaped the opening into a horizontal slit.

The interior walls, too, show signs of damage. The bottom area features a rough surface, and in the transitions to the apsidal niches the *caementa* was exposed in an alteration of the niche's shape. While some of the lower areas show signs of plaster covered in graffiti, the majority of the internal wall featured the antique *opus vittatum* wall facing, and similarly to the exterior, had a regular pattern of putlog holes. Corresponding to the repaired areas we can see in the exterior images, all apsidal niches and the entrance

featured irregular masonry, made of material that was apparently found on site. The interior view of the entrance shows that the stones were stacked in the rectangular window opening.

The images also captured the interior niches, all topped by brick lintels, and with preserved *opus vittatum* surface.

A series of images show the rectangular wells of the south-eastern and the main apsidal niche. The edges along the *opus testaceum* were partially dug up, only to expose the wall facing.

The collection of the DAI gave us the first comprehensive and accurate documentation of the mausoleum, and provided us with the images of the last historic alterations prior to the restorations.[395]

1980S

Images of the Excavations

The 1980s excavations included photographic documentation. Few images are available in the public domain, but two were chosen to represent the mausoleum to the visitors of the Via Appia Antica Park. The author(s) of the two images that introduce the excavations to the visitors at the Appian Way are unknown. The images document the access corridor and the interior of the drum.[396]

FIG.15: "ESTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE.IT/ RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/3737/ CIRCLE/600X600/ ESTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20DEL%20 PRETE.JPG.PNG ACCESSED 26/11/2019
SEE →P.X

The image of the access corridor not only shows the structures, but also the stratigraphic methods applied in the process. At the centre of the image are the walls of the medieval farmhouse, located in the antique access corridor. The structures of the farmstead are surrounded by the original antique structures. We can see the wall parallel to the road, accredited to the first Roman construction phase. The two exedras that extended the access corridor are both clearly visible, and the southern wall of the corridor itself is shown partially excavated.

The image also reveals parts of the decoration. Three pieces of the marble columns are shown, one of which is being utilised as the corner of the medieval structure. Next to the wall from the first Roman construction phase we can see parts of the marble elements that were intended for the decoration of the portal.

FIG.16: "INTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE.IT/ RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/3737/ CIRCLE/600X600/ INTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20DEL%20 PRETE.JPG.PNG ACCESSED 26/11/2019
SEE →P.X

The second image shows the interior of the mausoleum, including the dome, the arched entrance, the internal niches, and the preserved wall facing in *opus vittatum*. The image shows a dilapidated state, similar to the ones in the collection of the DAI, and does not add new information about possible alterations, but rather documents the state before the restorations drastically altered the depicted area. This second image allows visitors of the mausoleum to experience the interior view, as the mausoleum is protected by a fence and access is not possible.

Next to these two documents, several images of the excavation and the findings can be found in the publications of Gai and Pagliardi. The marble decorations can be found in the publications by Pagliardi, who presented them in detail in 1990.[397] Gai included an image of the access corridor and the restored drum, the access to the annular corridor, a partially excavated marble decoration, and several *ambienti*.

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395 The images of the Berretta del Prete are available in the collection of the DAI. SEE → <u>The collected images in the DAI archive</u>, published on 10/02/2020

396 Both images are presented in two variation, a circular preview, and a rectangular slider image with a ratio of ~1:2. Each variation reveals different details as parts if the source images have been cropped in the editing process.

397 A random image of the marble element depicting the ibis under a laurel tree, captured at an exhibition can also be found in the appendix.

The excavations were also visited by scholars: Johnson had taken the photograph of the apsidal niche, and included it in his work.

A brief account on the Berretta del Prete by Quilici is also accompanied by a photograph of the monument. The angle in the image shows the extensions between the road and the rotunda in an uncovered state.[398]

And in the AAC, we find an image taken by Cederna, the first colour image to present the restored rotunda. His image shows the south side of the mausoleum, at the time when the entrance had already been restored and equipped with a barred gate. The damaged area of the drum's base, and the large opening above the southern external niche had been filled during the repairs. The roof had been removed, and the excavated extensions – the wall stretching from the drum to the south, and the rectangular extension in front of the entrance – had been exposed. For the first time, we can see the wall of the annular corridor and its original wall facing made of leucitite rocks. The rectangular extension features the same stone, laid in regular rows, while phase V extension was made of irregular stones.

NOW –

Today we see the mausoleum in its restored state, but only from a distance. The remains of the access corridor are overgrown, but the structure can still be seen. The extensions in front of the entrance have been covered up, and today access to the drum is given though a concrete structure that bridges the annular corridor. None of the historic images documented the moment when this access was created. Only Pagliardi's excavation plan indicates that it is a remainder of the accumulated material that has not been removed.

The restored mausoleum disguises many of the elements we discovered in the archives of the DAI, as the surface of the drum was restored, and the numerous putlog holes were closed. The damaged areas that indicated the two-level ambulatory were filled with different material, and the dome itself was covered in the same local stones.

Reconstructing the ruin

The representations of the visual documentation of the Berretta del Prete did not always attempt to capture the mausoleum in its actual state. Architects and artist alike were tempted to add to, and alter the appearance of the ruin to create their version of the structure. These reconstructions are closely connected to the narratives we saw in the literature.

The reconstruction as the tower was created at a time when others like Piranesi had a different motif – the ruin. Thibault and Cordray both restored decrepit drum and in doing so illustrated the remaining core of the mausoleum.

The second narrative we see in the reconstructions was already present in the works of the sixteenth century draughtspeople. The anonymous Portuguese's addition of several cornices to Berretta's appearance opposes the historic timeline presented in

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398   Quilici 1989, p.57 fig.20

the written accounts, and, even more so, the current reconstruction of the mausoleum's drum as surrounded by a twolevel ambulatory. This latest reconstruction has not yet been illustrated, but artists attempted reconstructions that led to different results. The interpretations show an understanding of the original antique elements of the mausoleum, even though they drew different conclusions than modern authors. Illustrations for Canina and by Marchi indicate that not all discoveries regarding the exterior extensions were unknown until the 1980s excavation campaigns.

1786-90
Thibault's Reconstruction

SEE →P.II

Following the first etching by Piranesi, Jean Thomas Thibault is the first to produce a reconstruction of a round building *'at the via aApia'*. His work captures the mausoleum in accurate proportions, and seems to support de Rossi's narrative of the watchtower, as he attempted to create an architectural ideal based on the existing structures. Thibault, an architect, studied Roman architecture. Today, we can find a series of his illustrations in the archives of the Louvre. Unlike other artists, he did not address many buildings along the Appian Way, but one of the few he did study was the Berretta del Prete.

He, facing the arch of the antique entrance, captured the mausoleum as a freestanding rotunda. The ruin was depicted as an idealised version of the building, without straying too far from the shape of the drum. The surface of the drum is drawn excluding any indicators of the antique construction techniques. Instead, it appears uniform with rows of stone or brick coloured in light grey. The original antique entrance and two of the external niches are shown, framed by relieving arches. The entrance is walled up and features a barred window, that itself also has an arched brick lintel. A strong shadow gives the drum and the features depth, and reveals that the closing wall of the entrance is set back from the surface of the drum. At the edges of the drum the relieving arches of the south-eastern and north-western apsidal niche are indicated. Thibault blends information from the inside with the outside appearance, as he illustrates the arch above the entrance to feature two rows of bricks, instead of a singular row of bipedales we observe today. This detail is reminiscent of work by Peruzzi, who combined the interior and exterior view in his section of the drum and thereby depicted the double rowed arch.

The vertical extension of the drum is illustrated as just one step-ring followed by a smaller diameter drum and a conical roof. These extensions are depicted with smooth surfaces and some textures to indicate the surface of the masonry. Excluding the shallow conical roof that covered the dome, the proportion of hight to diameter is 1:1 – this is the same ratio as today. Thibault does not indicate a specific use through the shape, the entire structure appears very protected and closed.

1805
Coudray's Collection

Coudray followed Thibault in drawing the drum as a simplified round building. His rendition is a projection aligned with the road.[399] In comparison to Thibault, the projection does not feature additions, but rather a reduction in detailing. Like Thibault, he drew the entrance closed with a wall, featuring an arched window. The hight to diameter proportions are a slightly off, but the main elements are captured in accurate

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399   Bothe 2013, p.284f

proportions. The entrance's relieving arch is also drawn with two rows of brick, and two of the external niches are shown next to the entrance. The step-rings of the dome are reduced to one, and the smallerdiameter drum extends the dome toward a shallow angular roof.

Coudray excluded all surrounding structures, and focused on the drum itself. The mausoleum is part of a study sheet featuring twelve reconstructions of antique mausolea.

1853 / 1863

Canina & Marchi's Mausoleum

Reconstructions in later publications attempted to recreate the building in the image of antique mausolea. Here again, we see very similar renditions by Canina and Marchi. The most prominent reconstruction was published by Canina, who once again assumes the same composition introduced by Piranesi: a combination with the aedicula tomb. The reconstruction is a companion work to the documentation of the monuments that lined the Appian Way.

The reconstruction published in Canina's *"La prima parte della Via Appia dalla Porta Capena a Boville"* depicts the mausoleum as mixture between the two typology Rasch had introduced.[400] The primary appearance is taken from the *'Obergardenbau'*, with one alteration taken from the podium temple typology. The typology dictates the features of the reconstruction: the drum is elongated and features a closed ambulatory, the upper part of the drum fulfils the purpose of illuminating the interior. Dictated by the typology, we see a row of arched windows in the upper part of the drum, part of an extension of the step-ring. The extension itself is topped by a conical roof that closely resembles the roof we see in the historic photographs. The element drawn from the podium temple typology is the access to the drum. Stairs lead up to a *porticus*, elevated on a podium, featuring four columns and a gabled roof facing the road. The reconstruction thereby takes elements from the Pantheon and mixes them with the Mausoleum of Constantina. The illustration shows a high level of detail including Corinthian capitals, a rich cornice below the conical roof, and an arched entrance.

Marchi's work shows the same typological elements in the same composition. The work only differs in the applied details. The entrance has a levelled lintel and is not arched. The decoration of the porticus is more elaborate at the gable, so is the top of the rotunda's conical, tiled roof. Even the road features a more precise curb, and the neighbouring monuments are reconstructed in a slightly different way, placing four tombs between the aedicula and the rotunda. Both works place the mausoleum too close to the road.

The two works imagine the rotunda to be a temple mausoleum in the ranks of the *Mausoleum of Maxentius*, or the *Mausoleum at Tor de' Schiavi*.

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400   Rasch 1985, p.119

Part 2 Review

Dating back to the sixteenth century, the scope of the visual history is different to the literary history. The literary history included works based on archaeological excavations, building surveys and observations made by the authors. The authors discussed the Berretta del Prete through four different narratives, that date back to the original construction phase of the mausoleum, and its antique use.

The visual history of the Berretta del Prete was, in part, produced to support the arguments of the authors of the literary history. This is apparent in the gathered sections and plan material. They were produced to illustrate the different construction phases that were uncovered during the excavations, to describe the current state of the mausoleum, and to illustrate the construction and its techniques. The supporting material can, therefore, be considered as part of the timeline of structural changes in the literary history.

The remaining illustrations (etchings, paintings, sketches and photographs) that documented the Berretta del Prete tell a different timeline.

The first visual contribution to the collection dates back to middle of the sixteenth century. The plans and sections by Perruzzi and the anonymous Portuguese show the mausoleum as a centralplan building with an antique appearance. These illustrations inspired the first map in 1637, that also included the Berretta del Prete in a state that resembles an antique structure.

From this illustration we can determine that the first alteration to the mausoleum occurred in the time between 1637 and 1660, when the rotunda was depicted in the *catasto alessandrino*. There, the rotunda is shown with a conical roof and an entrance facing the city. The closing of the antique entrance, the addition of a new entrance in the north-western apsidal niche, and the new conical roof are the first structural changes that were documented in the visual history.

These first alteration remained visible in all the works that documented the Berretta del Prete up to the 1980s restorations.

The etchings produced in the time before the restorations show minor alterations to the rotunda. The perspective chosen by the artists omitted the structural damage that has been documented in the photographic evidence. Almost all artist depicted the closed antique entrance, the new entrance on the north-western side of the rotunda, and the conical roof. Their works show different variations of these alterations that indicate miniscule changes.

Labruzzi's etchings and watercolours show that at one point prior to 1798 a window was added to the closed antique entrance. This possibly took place during the initial construction, as the map from 1660 also indicated a window that faced the road. The entrance in the north-western apsidal niche was equipped with a rectangular door.

These changes are also visible in the first photographs that show the mausoleum in the same composition. In 1898 and in 1903, Mackey and van Boise captured these alterations in their photographs. In both images, the rectangular entrance in the apsidal niche appeared damaged at the top. It had an arch-like appearance. The window in the walledup antique entrance is partially closed with stones.

Mackey also captured the southern side of the Berretta del Prete. He is the first to document the damage above the southern external niche – an opening below the first step ring. Mackey's photographs also show different stages of repair in the southeastern apsidal niche. A structural change that must have taken place prior to 1898 is shown.

The sketch by Turner showed the north-eastern side to feature a damaged area below the relieving arch of the main apsidal niche. Therefore, it can be assumed that the damage in all apsidal niches had taken place prior to 1819.

The full extent of the damage that affected the mausoleum's structure can be seen in the photographic collection of the DAI. All three apsidal niches and the walled up antique entrance had openings below the relieving arch. The damage above the southern external niche that was first documented in Mackey's photograph is shown from the inside of the drum. The damage was an additional opening in the drums wall. The images in the DAI also show an additional opening in the dome, and numerous putlog holes that can be seen on the entire wall surface of the drum's interior and exterior.

The final structural alteration documented in the visual history, like in the literary history, are the restorations and partial reconstructions of the drum that were performed in the 1980s.

In 1980 the damaged areas of the drum's wall were repaired; the exterior wall was drastically altered in this restoration. The base of the drum was covered in a new wall facing of irregular appearance. The damaged areas in the apsidal niches were repaired, and the putlog holes on the exterior of the drum were closed. The antique entrance was reopened and the roof removed. In this process the oculus was also reopened. The same material that was used for the repairs of the walls was applied to the exterior of the dome and the step rings.

The final addition to the mausoleum was a modern gate, and a glass cover above the oculus, to protect the interior form rain.

The interior of the mausoleum was restored in a similar manner, with the inclusion of a new floor, a modern ramp and a reconstructed area at the base of the drum's interior. These changes were never shown in the visual documentation of the mausoleum, but have been observed in situ.

Conclusion

Both the literary and the visual history represent separate timelines for the structural changes of the Berretta del Prete. At the time the first visual documentation emerged in the sixteenth century, the literary history had already recorded Berretta del Prete. Next to the illustrations, paintings and etchings also always include the artists' interpretation of the mausoleum. As they emphasised certain aspects of the Berretta del Prete, the artists drew our attention to selected details. Piranesi produced an exaggerated illustration of the rotunda that still captured the defining elements of the building, and directed our attention to the vertical extension of the drum and the roof. The artists that followed presented the rotunda with more accuracy and in more subtle illustrations. Labruzzi, Rossini, and Marchi all depicted the mausoleum with the roof, the modern entrance and the alteration to the original entrance.

The structural changes to the rotunda depicted in these artistic renditions were confirmed by the photographic evidence, and illustrated in the plans that were included in the literary history.

The accuracy of the photographic documentation stands in contrast to abstract artistic interpretations by Remond and Turner. They captured the essence of the mausoleum in artistic techniques that omitted most details.

Artists also provided views of imagined reconstructions, that illustrated the antique mausoleum in its complete form, and the restored tower of the middle ages.

Although the Berretta del Prete occurs in numerous illustrations, etchings and photographs, the visual history has not documented the monument in its entirety. The most complete document was created in form of the 3D scans during the building survey performed in 2017. Each entry in the visual history captured the rotunda from a specific viewpoint, highlighted building under a specific aspects, and thereby excluded others.

Considering this, we see that the mausoleum was documented in snapshots that each capture an aspect of the 1700 year long history of the monument. Some of these snapshots document the mausoleum in more detail, others only offer one single piece of information.

In the collected historic visual material, two works stand at the opposite ends of the spectrum. On one end, we have the 1959 building survey that captured the mausoleum in numerous images taken of the exterior and the interior of the mausoleum. This survey is the largest collection of material prior to the restorations. Rasch analysed it, and translated the data into sections and illustrations of the dome.

On the other end of the spectrum we have the *catasto allesandrino* from 1660 that features the rotunda as a reduced illustration. It holds the information that the conical roof was added, and the antique entrance had already been closed at the time of the observations.

These two works stand at opposite ends in terms of quantity, but both are important for the documentation of the mausoleum. In between these two works, we find the collected visual material, of which each item adds one more aspect to our knowledge about the mausoleum.

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The same idea applies to the literary history: each entry in the collection is another valuable piece of information about the mausoleum.

In the literary history, the one end of the spectrum is represented by Gai who offered us a rich analytical work. The reports on the 1980s excavations explained the initial construction phase, and the medieval occupation of the area around, and in the mausoleum. Gai's work covers a large stretch in the timeline of the mausoleum, but her focus on the medieval structures led her to omit certain aspect of the mausoleum, that have not been answered to this day.

On the other end of the spectrum we find one singe line, written by Johnson, that mentions a possible use of the mausoleum as a private oratory; that would have explained an eventual adaptation into a church.

Both accounts, the one by Gai and the one by Johnson, could not be more different in their quantitative nature, but they both are valuable qualitative additions to the collection.

Both accounts offer insights into the mausoleum's history: a history of reuse, reutilization and adaptation of the materials that the mausoleum was made of, and the mausoleum itself. The authors of the collected materials presented the Berretta del Prete as a part of different usage narratives. The church, the watchtower, the integration into a farm, and the original antique use as a tomb were the lenses that focused the observations of scholars. The scholars selected the aspects they would address within these narratives, and thereby provided slices of a historic timeline, like the artist in the visual history did.

The timeline of the literary history covers the beginnings of the mausoleum and stretches to the present day.

The ideas discussed in the literary history are supported by the material in the visual history. Some ideas that have been presented were clarified with the aid of visual material. De Rossi's work on the transformation into a watchtower has been supported by Mackey's photographs, and the works of Labruzzi and Ivanov.

But the literary sources did not capture the building in its entirety, either. The main surveys the authors drew from did not explore all areas of the building and their individual research focus did not cover all the historic aspects. In addition, the secondary sources drew our attention to unexplored areas of research that connect the mausoleum to cult practices, and address the suburban setting of the mausoleum.

Certain areas of the mausoleum have not been documented to a large extent, and therefore certain questions about the mausoleum remain unanswered. There is a lack of material that presents the interior of the mausoleum, and the visual history largely omitted the areas, since were not visible from the road. The same omissions occur in the literary history, where the interior has only been discussed marginally because of the lack of material.

The timeline of the mausoleum unveils areas of research that require further exploration.

The appearance of the mausoleum at the end of the initial antique construction phase has been discussed, but not resolved. The transformation into a church has only recently been recontextualised, and requires further investigations in order to understand the alterations that might have taken place. The transformation into a watchtower, and the use of the rotunda during the integration into a farm structure have never been addressed in connection to the mausoleum's interior. And, the modern use of the mausoleum has only been mentioned in anecdotal accounts instead of being recorded as a part of the historic documentation.

The Berretta del Prete has been preserved through the continuous adaptation and alteration of the rotunda. The mausoleum has remained largely intact, and still has not been discussed in detail. The antique aspects of the mausoleum, the interior decorations, the patronage, the final appearance, and its suburban context are all valid and exciting areas of possible future research.

List of Abbreviations

b	BETWEEN	**•**	PUBLISHED
AAC	ARCHIVIO ANTONIO CEDERNA	**×**	UNPUBLISHED
ACA	ARCHIVO CAPITOLINO	**D →**	DEFINITION
DAI	DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT	**L**	LITERARY HISTORY
fl	FLORUIT	**M**	MAIN SOURCE
TU WIEN	TECHNISCHE UNIVERSIÄT WIEN	**R →**	REFERENCE / REFERING TO
		T →	TRANSLATION
		V	VISUAL HISTORY

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Table of figures

Note: All photographs and drawings are by the author unless specified otherwise.

Images and Illustrations

Timelines and Tables

TABLE 1 – REPORTED INFORMATION
1/2

• PUBLISHED
× UNPUBLISHED
M MAIN SOURCE
V VISUAL HISTORY

AUTHOR: ANNALI CAMALDOLESI, PERUZZI, ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE, PARASACCI, CATASTO ALESSANDRINO, CINGOLANI, PRATILLI, PIRANESI, THIBAULT, LABRUZZI, COUDRAY, TURNER, REMOND, ROSSINI, NIBBY, IVANOV, ROSA, CANINA, FORNARI, DESJARDIN, MARCHI, DE ROSSI, BOSC, TOMASSETTI, MACKEY, VAN DEMAN, ASHBY, LEONI; STADERINI, TOMASSETTI, DAI, DE ROSSI, DE ROSSI, DE ROSSI, DE ROSSI, PAGLIARDI, PAGLIARDI, GAI, CEDERNA, PAGLIARDI, RASCH

DATE: 945, 1534, 1568, 1637, 1660, 1692, 1745, 1764, 1786, 1798, 1805, 1819, 1821, 1836, 1837, 1845, 1846, 1853, 1853, 1854, 1863, 1873, 1877, 1885, 1890, 1903, 1904, 1907, 1910, 1959, 1968, 1969, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1985, 1985

METHOD	OBSERVATION
	EXPLORATION
NAME	BERRETTA DEL PRETE
	TORRACCIO DEL PALOMBARO
	SEPOLCRO DI GALLIENO
	SANTA MARIA DI ...
	SEPOLCRO
	CHURCH
USE	WATCHTOWER
	FARMSTEAD
CONSTRUCTION PERIOD	LATE ANTIQUITY
	MIDDLE AGES
	MODERN ALTERATIONS
FOCUS	INTERIOR
	EXTERIOR
	DOME
	ROTUNDA
	ROTUNDA EXTENSIONS
	EXTENSIONS TOWARDS VAA
	REUSED MATERIAL
	DECORATION
DETAIL	SARCOPHAGI (PLACEMENT)
	RECONSTRUCTION

FIG.19: "TABLE 1: REPORTED INFORMATION"

		JOHNSON	GAI	TRANQUILLI	PAGLIARDI	RASCH	CAMPBELL	SATORIO; VENTRE	SPERA; MINEO	SCHWEIZER	COARELLI	GRIESBACH	JOHNSON	ZOCCHI	BORG	JOHNSON	JOHNSON	CORBASCIO	TU WIEN	MACMILLAN
AUTHOR / **DATE**		1985	1986	1990	1990	1991	2004	2004	2004	2005	2007	2007	2009	2009	2013	2013	2015	2017	2017	2019
METHOD	OBSERVATION																		M	
	EXPLORATION		M																	
NAME	BERRETTA DEL PRETE																			
	TORRACCIO DEL PALOMBARO																			
	SEPOLCRO DI GALLIENO																			
	SANTA MARIA DI ...																			
	SEPOLCRO				M												M			
	CHURCH																M			
USE	WATCHTOWER																			
	FARMSTEAD	M																		
CONSTRUCTION PERIOD	LATE ANTIQUITY				M															
	MIDDLE AGES		M																	
	MODERN ALTERATIONS																			
FOCUS	INTERIOR																			
	EXTERIOR																			
DETAIL	DOME					M														
	ROTUNDA																			
	ROTUNDA EXTENSIONS																			
	EXTENSIONS TOWARDS VAA	M																		
	REUSED MATERIAL	M																		
	DECORATION		M	M																
	SARCOPHAGI (PLACEMENT)											M				M				
	RECONSTRUCTION				M															

TABLE 2 — PRESENTED TYPOLOGIES

• PUBLISHED
× UNPUBLISHED

DOMED ROTUNDA	DOMED ROTUNDA + AMBULATORY	DOMED ROTUNDA + CONICAL ROOF	TEMPLE TOMB = DOMED ROTUNDA + CONICAL ROOF + PRONAOS
VISUAL HISTORY			
16TH CENTURY ARTISTS:		16TH CENTURY ARTISTS:	RECONSTRUCTIONS:
V ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE		V CANINA	V CANINA
V PARASACCHI		V CATASTO ALLESANDRINO	V MARCHI
V PERUZZI		V LABRUZZI	
V RASCH		V MARCHI	
		V PIRANESI	
		V REMOND	
		V ROSSINI	
		RECONSTRUCTION:	
		V COUDRAY	
		V THILBAUT	
LITERARAY HISTORY			
• RASCH	• BORG	• CAMPBELL	• BORG
	• COARELLI	• DE ROSSI	• CANINA
	• DE ROSSI	• SATORIO; VENTRE	
	• GAI		
	• GRIESBACH		
	• JOHNSON		
	• PAGLIARDI		
	• SATORIO; VENTRE		

FIG.20: "TABLE 2: PRESENTED TYPOLOGIES"

TABLE 3 — NAMING VARIATIONS

• PUBLISHED
× UNPUBLISHED
≠ R→ A DIFFERENT MONUMENT
V VISUAL HISTORY

BASED ON	NAME	DATE	SOURCE
SHAPE	**BERRETTA DEL PRETE**	1984	× GAI
		1985	• PAGLIARDI
		1986	• GAI
		1986	• JOHNSON
		1990	• PAGLIARDI
		2004	• SPERA & MINEO
		2007	• GRIESBACH
		2009	• JOHNSON
		2017	• CORBASCIO
	VARIATIONS:		
	BERRETTA DA PRETE	1907	• LEONI; STADERINI
		1979	• DE ROSSI
	BERRETTA DI PRETE	1805	V COUDRAY
		1903	V VAN DEMAN
		1904	V ASHBY
		1968	• DE ROSSI
		1969	• DE ROSSI
USE **TOWER** GUARD—, WATCHTOWER	**TORRACCIO DEL PALOMBARO**	~~1837b~~	• ~~NIBBY~~ R→ MAUSOLEUM OF GALLIENUS
		1968	• DE ROSSI
		1985	• RASCH
		1990	• RASCH
		~~2004~~	• ~~SPERA; MINEO~~ R→ TORRE APPIA, SCELETTE
	VARIATIONS:		
	TORRACCIO	1853	• CANINA
		1863	• PELLEGRINI
		1875	• GSELL-FELS
		1880	• BOSC
		2017	• CORBASCIO
	TOR COLOMBARO	1984	× GAI R→ HÜLSEN ON HAMILTON EXCAVATIONS
		2017	• CORBASCIO
CHURCH DEDICATION	**SANTA MARIA DEI GENITRICIS**	1837a	• NIBBY
		1854	V DESJARDINS
		1863	• PELLEGRINI
	VARIATIONS:		
	SANTA MARIA GENITRICE	2009	• ZOCCHI
		2017	• CORBASCIO
	SANTA MARIA MADRE DI DIO	1968	• DE ROSSI
		1969	• DE ROSSI
		1981	• PAGLIARDI
	SANTA MARIA RINTONDA	1907	• LEONI; STADERINI
		1968	• DE ROSSI
		1969	• DE ROSSI
		1885	• FERRI
TOMB PATRONAGE	**SEPOLCRO DELLA FAMIGLIA CORNELIA**	1764	V PIRANESI
		1836	V ROSSINI
	SEPOLCRO DI GALLIENUS	1745	V PRATILLI
		1837	• NIBBY/TOMO.II
	GENS VALERIA	1986	• GAI R→ KIRCHHOF

TIMELINE 1 — TIMELINE OF THE VISUAL HISTORY

SET A CONSISTS OF DEPIC-
TIONS OF THE MAUSOLEUM OR
TORRACCIO. THESE ETCHINGS,
PAINTINGS, SKETCHES AND
PHOTOGRAPHS INCLUDE REALIS-
TIC RECORDS, IDEALISATIONS
AND RECONSTRUCTIONS.

SET B
CONSISTS OF SECTIONS AND
LAYOUTS PRESENTED IN THE
LITERATURE, AND A COLLEC-
TION OF SIMPLYFIED ICONS OF
THE ROTUNDA ON MAPS.

SET A

SET B

b1534-67	PERUZZI	PLAN & SECTION
1500-50	ANONYMOUS	SECTION
1637	PARASACCHI	MAP
1660	CATASTO ALESSANDRINO	MAP
1692	CINGOLANI	MAP
1745	PRATILLI	MAP

ETCHING	PIRANESI	1764
ETCHING	THIBAULT	B1786-90
WATERCOLOUR	LABRUZZI	1798
SKETCH	COUDRAY	1805
SKETCH	TURNER	1819
PAINTING	REMOND	B1821-26
ETCHING	ROSSINI	B1836-39
PAINTING	IVANOV	1845

B1846-52	ROSA	MAP

ETCHING	ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA	1853
ETCHING	ANONYMOUS RECONSTRUCTION FOR CANINA	

	ANONYMOUS	MAP
	FORNARI	MAP
1854	DESJARDINS	MAP

ETCHING	MARCHI	1863
ETCHING	MARCHI RECONSTRUCTION	
PHOTOGRAPH	MACKEY	1890
PHOTOGRAPH	VAN DEMAN	1903
PHOTOGRAPH	ASHBY	?1904
PHOTOGRAPH	ANONYMOUS [DAI ARCHIVE]	1959

1979	DE ROSSI	PLAN

PHOTOGRAPH	ANTONIO CEDERNA	1985

	RASCH	SECTION
	PAGLIARDI	EXCAVATION PLAN
1986	GAI	EXCAVATION PLAN
	JOHNSON	PLAN

PHOTOGRAPH	MARIA NICOLETTA PAGLIARDI	1990

1991	RASCH	SECTION

PHOTOGRAPH	TU WIEN - SURVEY	2017

	TU WIEN	PLAN & SECTION

PHOTOGRAPH	RAUBER	2019

2020		ONLINE MAPS

SET C
CONSISTS OF SOURCES THAT
PRESENT THE MAIN SURVEYS/
PRIMARY SOURCES

SET D
CONSISTS OF HISTORIC
SOURCES THAT MENTION THE
MAUSOLEUM AND SECONDARY
SOURCES

SET C

SET D

		945	ANNALI CAMALDOLESI	• LA
		1837	NIBBY	• IT
		1853	CANINA	• IT
		1854	DESJARDIN	• FR
		1873	DE ROSSI	• IT
		1877	BOSC	• FR
		1885	TOMASSETTI	• IT
		1907	LEONI; STADERINI	• IT
		1910	TOMASSETTI	• IT

IT •	DE ROSSI	1968
IT •	DE ROSSI	1969
IT •	DE ROSSI	1979
IT •	DE ROSSI	1981
IT ×	PAGLIARDI	1983
FR •	PAGLIARDI	
IT ×	GAI	1984
IT ×	GAI	
IT •	PAGLIARDI	1985
DE •	RASCH	

JOHNSON   • EN

IT •	GAI	1986
IT •	PAGLIARDI	1990
IT •	TRANQUILLI	
DE •	RASCH	1991

2004	CAMPBELL	• EN
	SARTORIO; VENTRE	• EN
	SPERA; MINEO	• IT
2005	SCHWEIZER	• DE
2007	COARELLI	• EN
	GRIESBACH	• DE
2009	JOHNSON	• EN
	ZOCCHI	• IT
2013	BORG	• EN
	JOHNSON	• EN
2015	JOHNSON	• EN
2017	CORBASCIO	• IT

DE • TU WIEN

2019   MACMILLAN

DOCUMENTED ELEMENTS —
ICONS SET A

GREY 30: COMMENTS

N

SET A

ETCHING	PIRANESI 1764		PHOTOGRAPH PPM_0163	MACKEY 1890
WATERCOLOUR	LABRUZZI 1798		PHOTOGRAPH PPM_0164	MACKEY 1890
SKETCH	TURNER 1819		PHOTOGRAPH PPM_1852	MACKEY 1890
PAINTING	REMOND 1821		PHOTOGRAPH	VAN DEMAN 1903
ETCHING	ROSSINI 1836		PHOTOGRAPH 1/2	ASHBY 1904
PAINTING	IVANOV 1845		PHOTOGRAPH 2/2	ASHBY 1904
ETCHING	FOR CANINA 1853		PHOTOGRAPH 59.906	DAI 1959
ETCHING	MARCHI 1863		PHOTOGRAPH 59.907	DAI 1959
			PHOTOGRAPH 59.908	DAI 1959
ONLY THE EXTERIOR WAS DOCUMENTED.	ILLUSTRATED AREAS:		PHOTOGRAPH 59.909	DAI 1959

FIG.24: "COMBINATION
OF ALL DOCUMENTED
AREAS"

PHOTOGRAPH 59.910	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.920	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.911	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.921	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.912	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.1235	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.913	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.1236	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.914	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.1237	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.915	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.1238	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.916	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH 59.1239	DAI 1959		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.917	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH	CEDERNA 1985		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.918	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH	PAGLIARDI 1990		
PHOTOGRAPH 59.919	DAI 1959			PHOTOGRAPH	TU WIEN 2017		

**DOCUMENTED ELEMENTS —
ICONS SET B**

GREY 30: COMMENTS

PHOTOGRAPH	RAUBER 2019		MAP	CINGOLANI 1692	
	ILLUSTRATED AREAS: FIG.25: "COMBINATION OF ALL DOCUMENTED AREAS IN PHOTOGRAPHS"		MAP	PRATILLI 1745	
RECONSTRUCTION	THIBAULT 1786		MAP	ROSA B1846-52	
RECONSTRUCTION	COUDRAY 1805		MAP	ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA 1853	
RECONSTRUCTION	ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA 1853		MAP	FORNARI 1853	
RECONSTRUCTION	MARCHI 1863		MAP	DESJARDIN 1854	
	ILLUSTRATED AREAS: FIG.26: "COMBINATION OF ALL DOCUMENTED AREAS IN RECONSTRUCTIONS"		MAP	OPEN STREET MAP 2020	
SET B			MAP	GOOGLE 2020	
MAP	PARASACCHI 1637			ILLUSTRATED AREAS: FIG.27: "COMBINATION OF ALL DOCUMENTED AREAS IN MAPS"	
MAP	CATASTO ALESSANDRINO 1660		PLAN	PERUZZI B1534-67	

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PLAN   **ANONYMOUS**
PORTUGUESE
B1534-67

PLAN   **DE ROSSI**
1979

PLAN   **RASCH**
1985

PLAN   **PAGLIARDI**
1985

PLAN   **GAI**
1986

PLAN   **JOHNSON**
1986

PLAN   **RASCH**
1991

PLAN   **TU WIEN**
2017

ILLUSTRATED
AREAS:
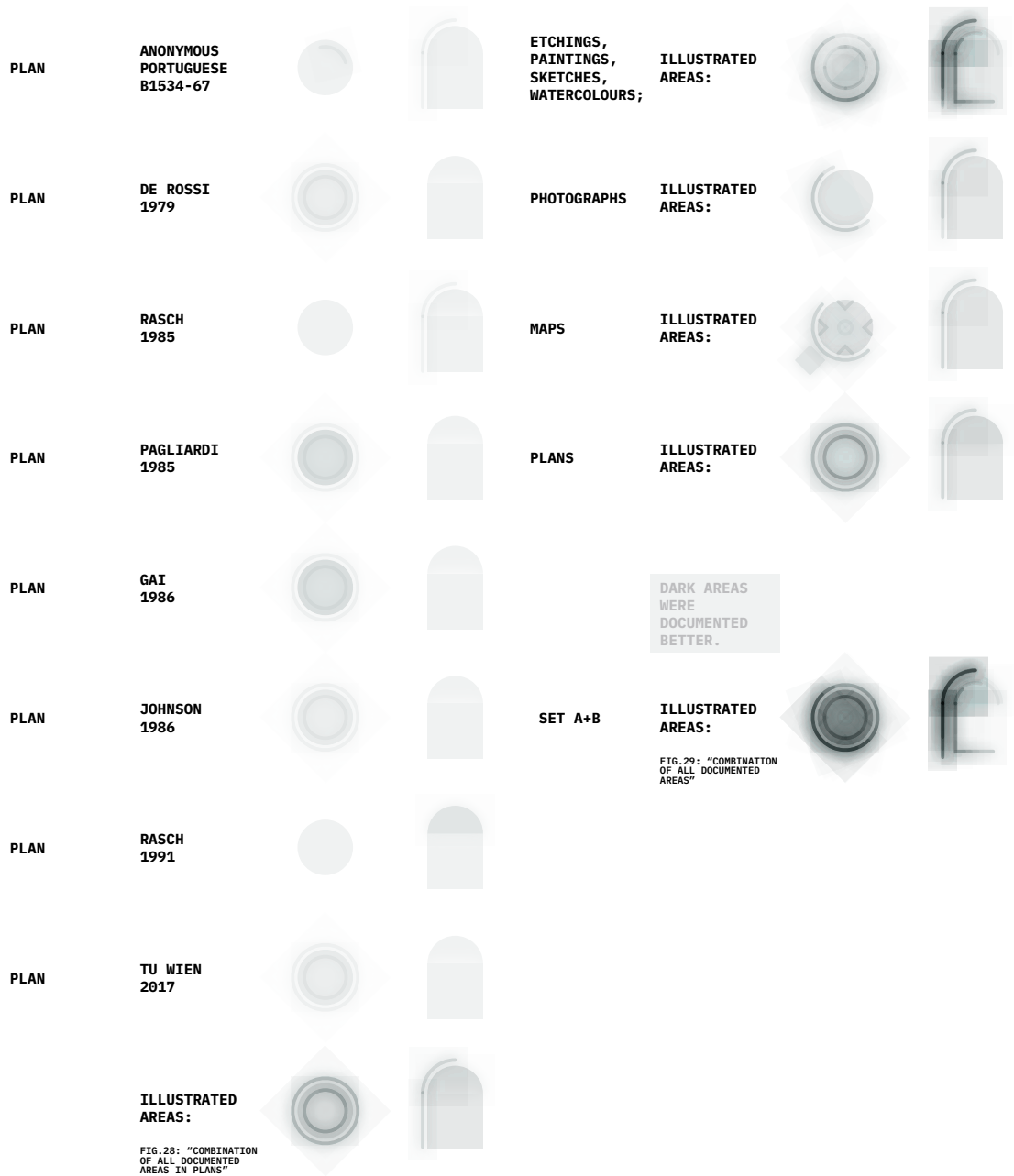
FIG.28: "COMBINATION
OF ALL DOCUMENTED
AREAS IN PLANS"

ETCHINGS,
PAINTINGS,   **ILLUSTRATED**
SKETCHES,   **AREAS:**
WATERCOLOURS;

PHOTOGRAPHS   **ILLUSTRATED**
AREAS:

MAPS   **ILLUSTRATED**
AREAS:

PLANS   **ILLUSTRATED**
AREAS:

DARK AREAS
WERE
DOCUMENTED
BETTER.

SET A+B   **ILLUSTRATED**
AREAS:

FIG.29: "COMBINATION
OF ALL DOCUMENTED
AREAS"

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M MAIN SOURCE

TIMELINE 3 — DOCUMENTED IN THE
LITERARY HISTORY: OWNERSHIP
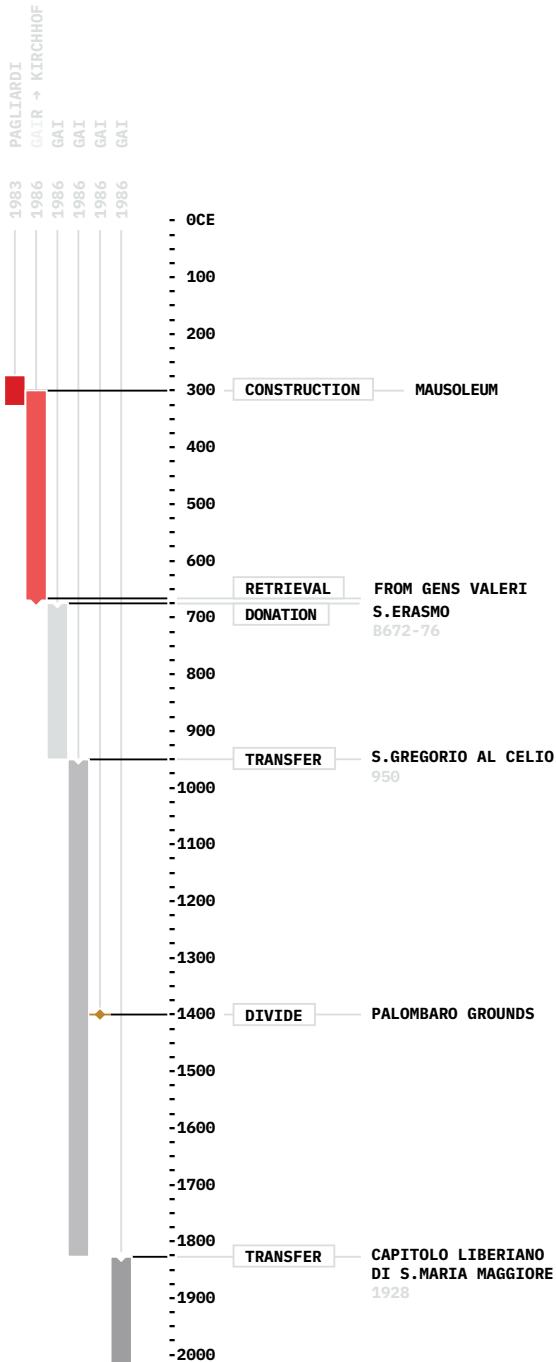
TIMELINE 4 — DOCUMENTED IN THE
LITERARY HISTORY: MOMENT OF
CONSTRUCTION
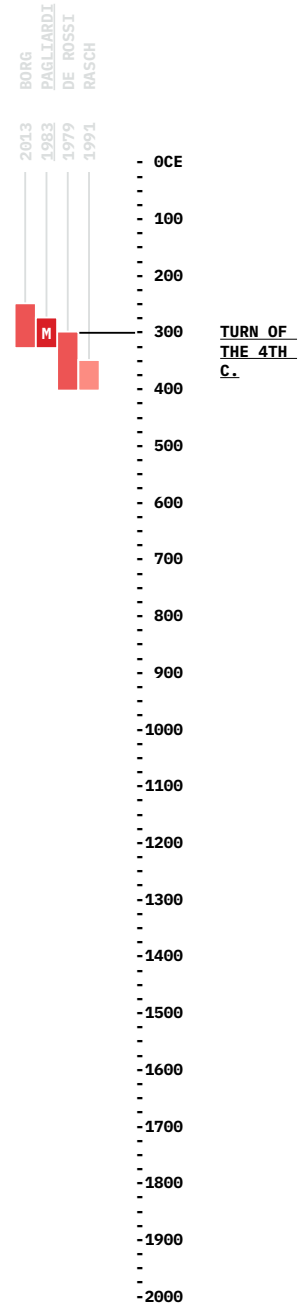
TIMELINE 3:

PAGLIARDI 1983
GAIR → KIRCHHOF 1986
GAI 1986
GAI 1986
GAI 1986
GAI 1986

- 0CE
-
- 100
-
- 200
-
- 300   CONSTRUCTION   MAUSOLEUM
-
- 400
-
- 500
-
- 600
-
-        RETRIEVAL   FROM GENS VALERI
- 700   DONATION   S.ERASMO
-                     B672-76
- 800
-
- 900
-
-        TRANSFER   S.GREGORIO AL CELIO
-1000   950
-
-1100
-
-1200
-
-1300
-
-1400   DIVIDE   PALOMBARO GROUNDS
-
-1500
-
-1600
-
-1700
-
-1800   TRANSFER   CAPITOLO LIBERIANO
-                    DI S.MARIA MAGGIORE
-1900   1928
-
-2000

TIMELINE 4:

BORG 2013
PAGLIARDI 1983
DE ROSSI 1979
RASCH 1991

- 0CE
-
- 100
-
- 200
-
- 300 M   TURN OF
-           THE 4TH
- 400   C.
-
- 500
-
- 600
-
- 700
-
- 800
-
- 900
-
-1000
-
-1100
-
-1200
-
-1300
-
-1400
-
-1500
-
-1600
-
-1700
-
-1800
-
-1900
-
-2000

**TIMELINE 5 – DOCUMENTED IN THE LITERARY HISTORY:
STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATOINS**

PAGLIARDI
GAI
ZOCCHI
GAI
DE ROSSI
DE ROSSI
CANINA

1983
1986
2009
1986
1968
1969
1853

- 0CE
-
-
- 100
-
-
- 200
-
-
- 300 — CONSTRUCTION — MAUSOLEUM
- COLLAPSE OF
- THE BARREL
- 400 VAULT — CHURCH
- 5TH -
- 7TH C.
- 500
-
-
- 600
-
-
- 700
-
-
- 800 — INTEGRATION — FARMSTEAD
-
- 900 — CONVERSION — CHURCH
- 10TH C.
-
-1000
-
-
-1100 — CONVERSION — GUARDTOWER
- 12TH C.
-
-1200
-
-
-1300
-
-
-1400
-
-
-1500
-
-
-1600
-
-
-1700
-
-
-1800
-
- USE — RURAL SHELTER
-1900
-
-
-2000
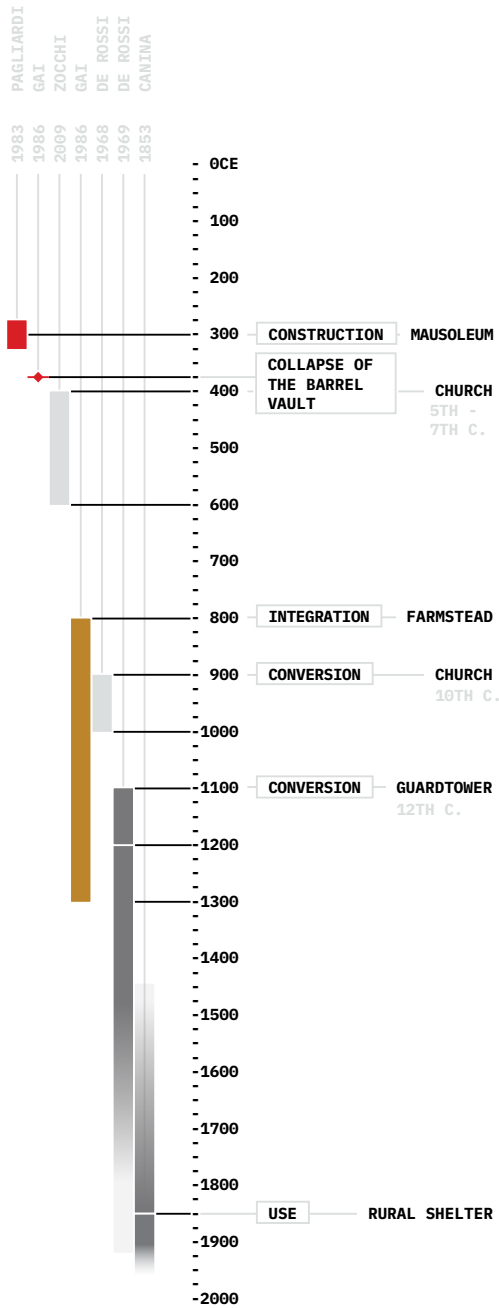
**TIMELINE 6 – DOCUMENTED IN THE VISUAL HISTORY:
DAMAGES OF THE DRUM'S WALL**
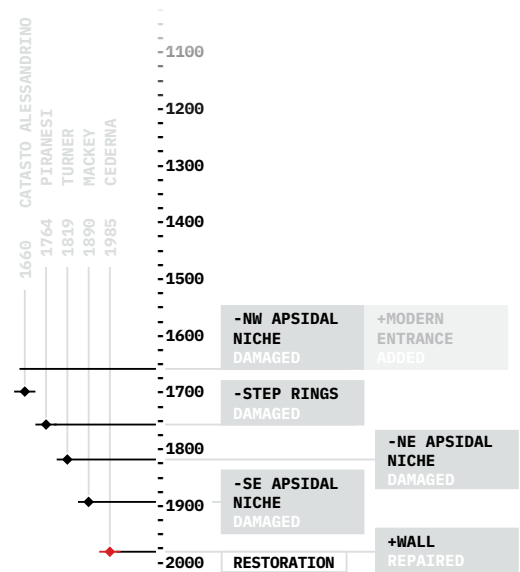
CATASTO ALESSANDRINO
PIRANESI
TURNER
MACKEY
CEDERNA

1660
1764
1819
1890
1985

-
-
-
-1100
-
-
-1200
-
-
-1300
-
-
-1400
-
-
-1500
-
-
-1600 -NW APSIDAL   +MODERN
      NICHE   ENTRANCE
      DAMAGED   ADDED
-
-1700 -STEP RINGS
      DAMAGED
-
-1800   -NE APSIDAL
                   NICHE
-     -SE APSIDAL DAMAGED
-1900 NICHE
      DAMAGED
-                  +WALL
-2000 RESTORATION REPAIRED

FIG.32: "TIMELINE 5"   FIG.33: "TIMELINE 6"

TIMELINE 7 – DOCUMENTED IN THE VISUAL HISTORY:
STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF THE ANTIQUE ENTRANCE

CATASTO ALESSANDRINO
THILBAULT
MACKEY
CEDERNA

1660
1786
1890
1985

-1100
-1200
-1300
-1400
-1500
-1600   -ANTIQUE
             ENTRANCE
             CLOSED
-1700   +WINDOW
             ADDED
-1800   -WINDOW
             CLOSED
-1900
-2000   RESTORATION   +ENTRANCE
                        REOPENED
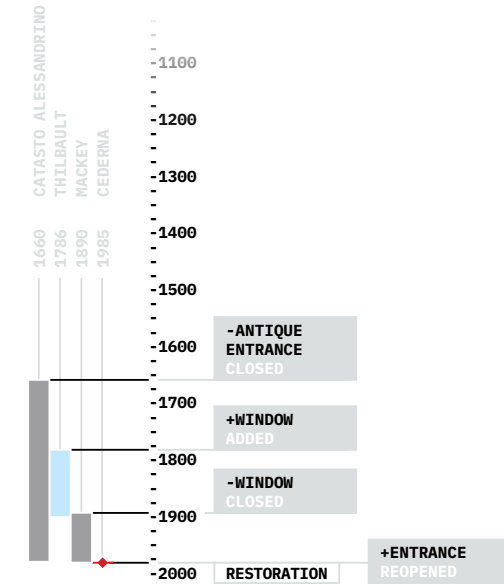
FIG.34: "TIMELINE 7"

TIMELINE 8 – DOCUMENTED IN THE VISUAL HISTORY:
STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF THE MODERN ENTRANCE

CATASTO ALESSANDRINO
PIRANESI
VAN DEMAN
DAI
CEDERNA

1660
1764
1903
1959
1985

-1100
-1200
-1300
-1400
-1500
-1600   +MODERN
             ENTRANCE
             ADDED
-1700   +WOODEN GATE
             ADDED
-1800   +BARRED GATE
             ADDED   +NEW WALLS
-1900   IN ENTRANCE
                          ADDED
-2000   RESTORATION   -ENTRANCE
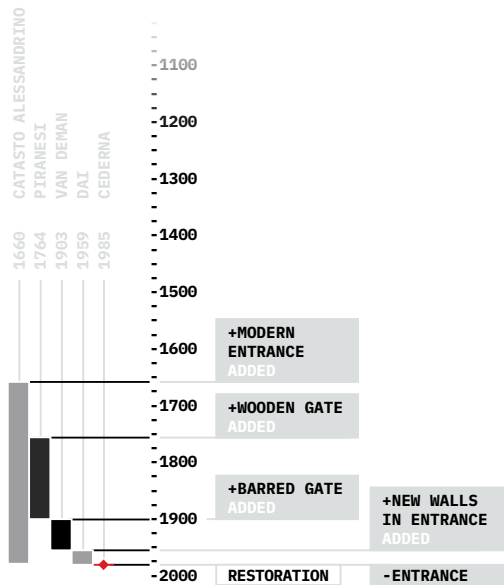
FIG.35: "TIMELINE 8"

TIMELINE 9 – DOCUMENTED IN THE VISUAL
HISTORY: STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF THE DOME'S
EXTERIOR

PERRUZZI
DAI
CEDERNA

1534
1959
1985

-1100
-1200
-1300
-1400
-1500
-1600   DOME
             INTACT
-1700   +CONICAL
             ROOF
             ADDED
-1800
-1900   -ROOF
             REMOVED
-2000   RESTORATION
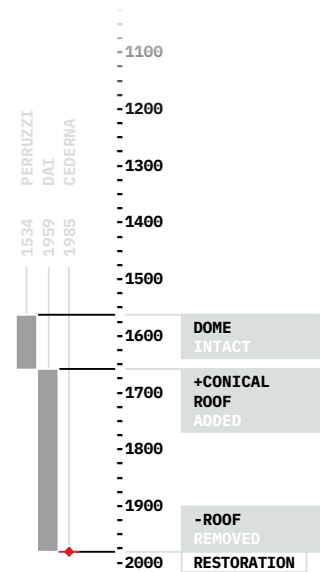
FIG.36: "TIMELINE 9"

**TIMELINE 10 – TIMELINE OF
SKETCHES, ETCHINGS,
PAINTINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS**

GREY 15: DATE OF
PUBLICATION + ARTIST/AUTHOR

IMAGES
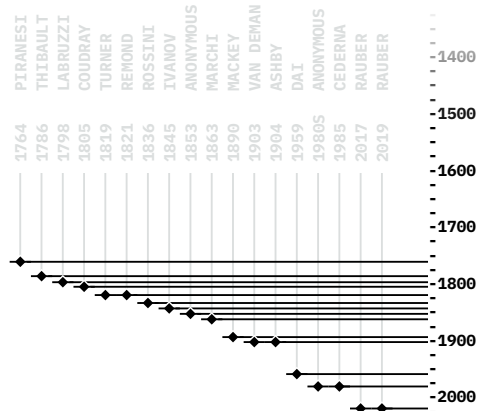
FIG.37: TIMELINE 10 - TIMELINE OF ETCHES,
ETCHINGS, PAINTINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

FIG.38: PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA,
"THE TOMBS OF LICINIANUS AND THE
CORNELII" (1800). PIRANESI'S "VIEWS OF
ROME". 110. HTTPS://DIGITAL.KENYON.EDU/
PIRANESI/110
1764

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI

FIG.39: THIBAULT, JEAN THOMAS "EDIFICE
ROND DANS LA CAMPAGNE ROMAINE" 1786, ©
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, DÉPARTEMENT DES ARTS
GRAPHIQUES IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTP://
ARTS-GRAPHIQUES.LOUVRE.FR/DETAIL/
OEUVRES/77/30249-EDIFICE-ROND-DANS-LA-
CAMPAGNE-ROMAINE-MAX ACCESSED 08/01/2020
1786-90

JEAN THOMAS THIBAULT

FIG.40: LABRUZZI, CARLO "RUINS ON THE
RIGHT OF THE VIA APPIA", 1798, (BOON
2017, P.165)
1798

CARLO LABRUZZI
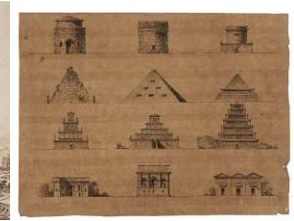
FIG.41: COUDRAY, CLEMENS WENZESLAUS
"BERETTA DI PRETE", 1805, (BOTHE 2013,
P.284)
1805

CLEMENS WENZESLAUS COUDRAY
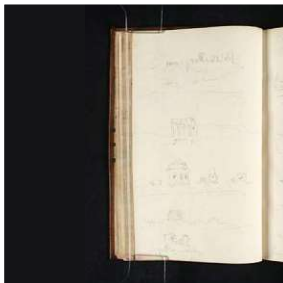
FIG.42: JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER,
"FIVE SKETCHES OF RUINS NEAR THE VIA
APPIA", 1819, TATE (D15156), DIGITAL
IMAGE © TATE RELEASED UNDER CREATIVE
COMMONS CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 UNPORTED)
1819

**JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM
TURNER**
SEE →P.II

FIG.43: JEAN-CHARLES JOSEPH REMOND,
"TOMBEAUX ANTIQUES SUR LA VIA APPIA
ANTICA, ENTRE ROME ET ALBANO", B1821-
26, GALERIE DE LARDEMELL, IMAGE
DOWNLOADED FROM HTTP://LARDEMELLE.
COM/PORTFOLIO_PAGE/TOMBEAUX-ANTIQUES-
SUR-LA-VIA-APPIA-ANTICA-ENTRE-ROME-
ET-ALBANOHUILE-SUR-PAPIER-MAROUFLE-
SUR-TOILE17-X-27-CM/?LANG=EN# ACCESSED
28/10/2019
B1821-26

JEAN-CHARLES JOSEPH REMOND
SEE →P.II
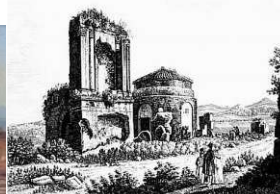
FIG.44: LUIGI ROSSINI, "SEPOLCRO DI
PISONE LICINIANO, DELLA FAMIGLIA
CORNELIA A TORRE DI MEZZA VIA PRIMA
POSTA", 1839, IMAGE DOWNLOADED
FROM HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.
ORG/WIKI/CATEGORY:VIAGGIO
PITTORESCO_DA_ROMA_A_NAPOLI#/MEDIA/
FILE:22_-_SEPOLCRO_DI_PISONE
LUCINIANO_ED_ALTRO_DELLA_FAMIGLIA_
CORNELIA_A_TORRE_DI_MEZZA_VIA_PRIMA_
POSTA.JPG ACCESSED 12/01/2020
B1836-39

LUIGI ROSSINI
SEE →P.II

FIG.45: ALEXANDER ANDREYEVICH IVANOV,
"VIA APPIA AT SUNSET", 1845, THE STATE
TRETYAKOC GALLERY, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM
HTTPS://ARTSANDCULTURE.GOOGLE.COM/ASSET/
AAENJNP6EAHFRQ ACCESSED 16/11/2019
1845

**ALEXANDER ANDREYEVICH
IVANOV**
SEE →P.III
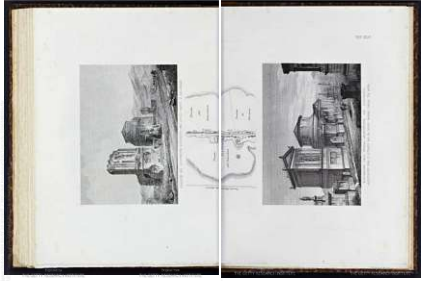
FIG.46: ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA, LUIGI, "RELIQUIE DEI MONUMENTI ESISTENTI NEL LUOGO DETTO IL PALOMBARO" 1853 (CANINA 1953B, TAV.XLIV)

1853

ANONYMOUS

FIG.47: ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA, LUIGI, "ESPOSIZIONE DELL'INTERA ARCHITETTURA DEI MONUMENTI ESISTENTI TRA L'OTTAVO ED IL NOVO MIGLIO DELLA VIA APPIA" 1853, (CANINA 1953B, TAV.XLIV)

1853

ANONYMOUS
RECONSTUCTION
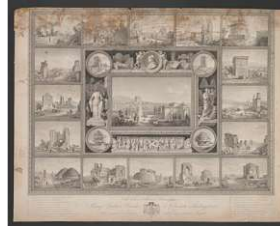
VINCENZO MARCHI, 21 ANSICHTEN ANTIKER MONUMENTE AN DER VIA APPIA, „PHOTO: KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN FLORENZ – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT, [KEULTJES, DAGMAR]" KHI, NR. FLDO0010097Z_P, NUMMER DES KHI FLORENZ: 94379SCAN (COLOR), AUFN. KEULTJES, DAGMAR, ZUGANG: 2007.08.28

1863

VINCENZO MARCHI
SEE →P.IV
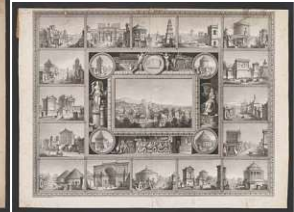
VINCENZO MARCHI, 21 REKONSTRUIERTE ANSICHTEN ANTIKER MONUMENTE AN DER VIA APPIA, „PHOTO: KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN FLORENZ – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT, [KEULTJES, DAGMAR]" KHI, NR. FLDO0010098Z_P, NUMMER DES KHI FLORENZ: 94380SCAN (COLOR), AUFN. KEULTJES, DAGMAR, ZUGANG: 2007.08.30

1863

VINCENZO MARCHI
RECONSTRUCTION
SEE →P.IV

SET A

FIG.48: MACKEY, PETER PAUL, "VIA APPIA, TOMBS",1890, PPM-0164, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS

1890

PETER PAUL MACKEY
SET OF 3
SEE →P.V &VI

FIG.49: VAN DEMAN, ESTER BOISE, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB OF Q. VERANIUS AND TOMB SO CALLED BERRETTA DI PRETE OR PALOMBARO", 1903, © AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME, PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

1903

ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN
SEE →P.V

FIG.50: ASHBY, THOMAS, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB CALLED "BERRETTA DI PRETE"",1904, TA[PHP]-VIII.094, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

1904[?]

THOMAS ASHBY
SET OF 2
SEE →P.VI

FIG.51: H. KOPPERMANN, "ROM, VIA APPIA, RUNDBAU - SOG. BERRETTA DEL PRETE, VON AUSSEN, GANZ" IMAGE TAKEN DRUING THE 1959 SURVEY, BESTAND-D-DAI-ROM-59.907.JPG © GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (DAI)

1959

DAI ARCHIVE
HARTWIG KOPPERMANN
SET OF 46 [PETER GROSSMANN &/OR PETER MARZLOFF ?]
LINK→ TO THE COLLECTION
SEE →P.VII

FIG.52: IMAGE TAKEN DRUING THE EXCAVATIONS – "ESTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://MULTIMEDIA.COOPCULTURE.IT/RETECULTURE/ANAGRAFICHE/3737/940X428/ESTERNO%20BERRETTA%20DEL%20PRETE%2EJPG ACCESSED 26/11/2019

1980S

ANONYMOUS
SET OF 2
SEE →P.X

FIG.53: CEDERNA, ANTONIO "BERRETTA DEL PRETE" NUMERO FOTO: /00348/00348_001_001_039 © ARCHIVIO ANTONIO CEDERNA DOWNLOADED FROM: HTTP://WWW.ARCHIVIOCEDERNA.IT/CEDERNA-WEB/SCHEDA/ARCHIVIO/IT-SSBA-RM-AS00132-00348/FOTOGRAFIE-APPIA-ANTICA.HTML ACCESSED 28/11/2017

1985

ANTONIO CEDERNA
SEE →P.XI

FIG.54: "BERRETTA 2017"
2017
SEE →P.XI

FIG.55: "BERRETTA 2019"
2019

GREY 15: DATE OF
PUBLICATION + ARTIST/AUTHOR

FIG.60: TIMELINE 11 — TIMELINE OF
HISTORIC AND ONLINE MAPS
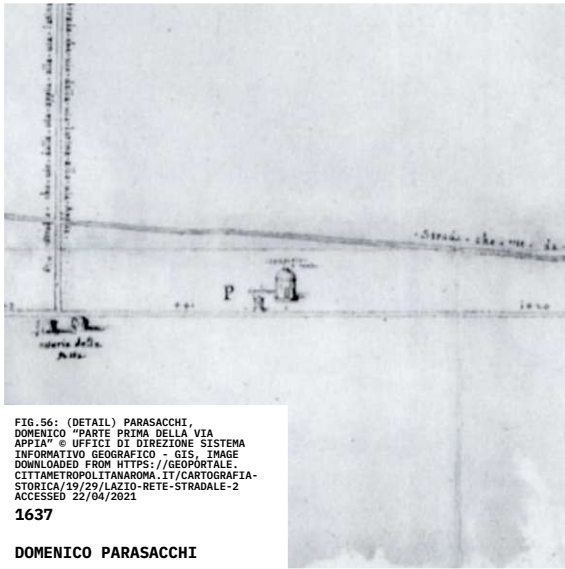
FIG.56: (DETAIL) PARASACCHI,
DOMENICO "PARTE PRIMA DELLA VIA
APPIA" © UFFICI DI DIREZIONE SISTEMA
INFORMATIVO GEOGRAFICO - GIS, IMAGE
DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://GEOPORTALE.
CITTAMETROPOLITANAROMA.IT/CARTOGRAFIA-
STORICA/19/29/LAZIO-RETE-STRADALE-2
ACCESSED 22/04/2021

1637

DOMENICO PARASACCHI
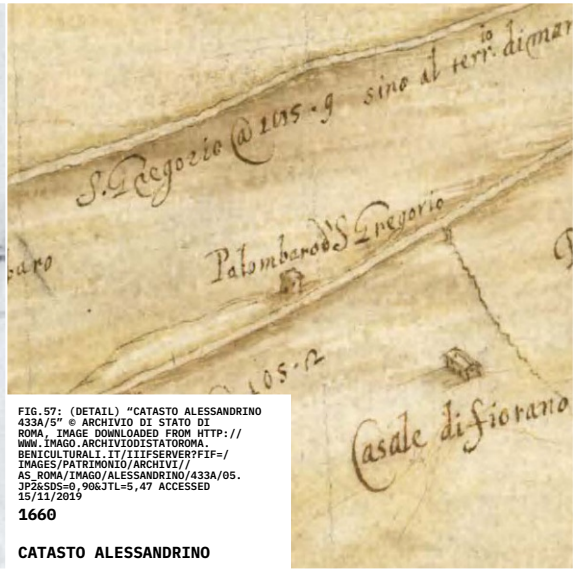
FIG.57: (DETAIL) "CATASTO ALESSANDRINO
433A/5" © ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI
ROMA, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTP://
WWW.IMAGO.ARCHIVIODISTATOROMA.
BENICULTURALI.IT/IIIFSERVER?FIF=/
IMAGES/PATRIMONIO/ARCHIVI//
AS_ROMA/IMAGO/ALESSANDRINO/433A/05.
JP2&SDS=0,90&JTL=5,47 ACCESSED
15/11/2019

1660

CATASTO ALESSANDRINO
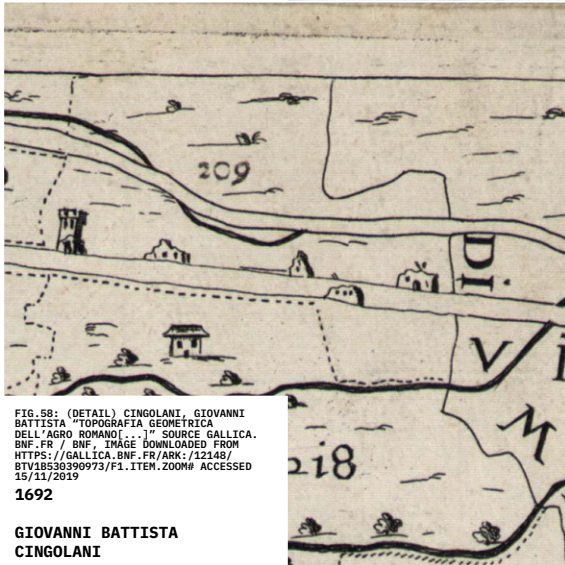
FIG.58: (DETAIL) CINGOLANI, GIOVANNI
BATTISTA "TOPOGRAFIA GEOMETRICA
DELL'AGRO ROMANO[...]" SOURCE GALLICA.
BNF.FR / BNF, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM
HTTPS://GALLICA.BNF.FR/ARK:/12148/
BTV1B530390973/F1.ITEM.ZOOM# ACCESSED
15/11/2019

1692

**GIOVANNI BATTISTA
CINGOLANI**
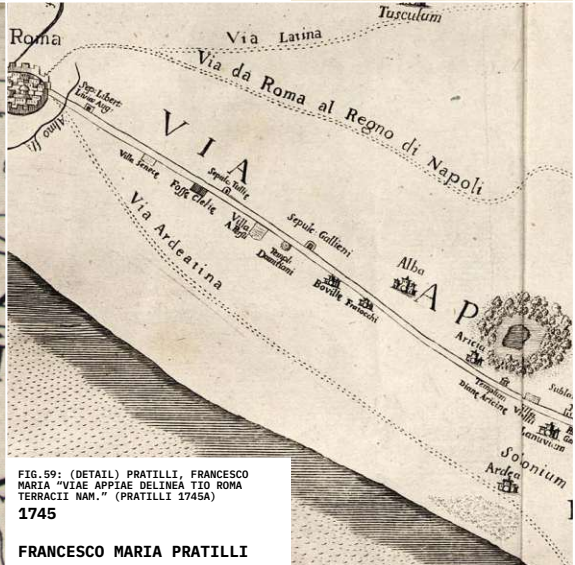
FIG.59: (DETAIL) PRATILLI, FRANCESCO
MARIA "VIAE APPIAE DELINEA TIO ROMA
TERRACII NAM." (PRATILLI 1745A)

1745

FRANCESCO MARIA PRATILLI
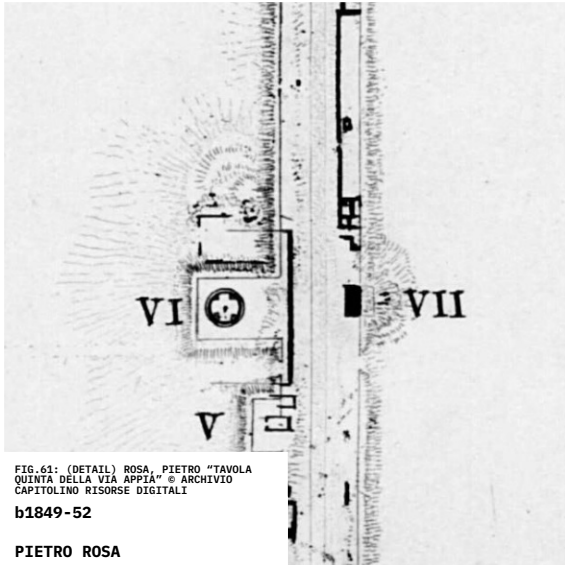
FIG.61: (DETAIL) ROSA, PIETRO "TAVOLA QUINTA DELLA VIA APPIA" © ARCHIVIO CAPITOLINO RISORSE DIGITALI

b1849-52

PIETRO ROSA
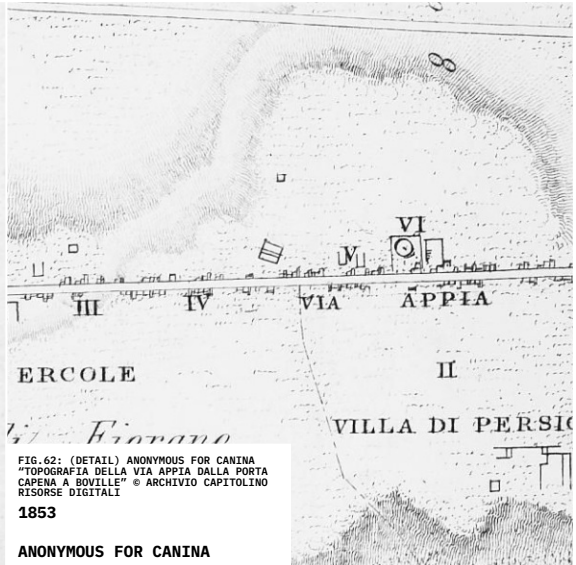
FIG.62: (DETAIL) ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA "TOPOGRAFIA DELLA VIA APPIA DALLA PORTA CAPENA A BOVILLE" © ARCHIVIO CAPITOLINO RISORSE DIGITALI

1853

ANONYMOUS FOR CANINA
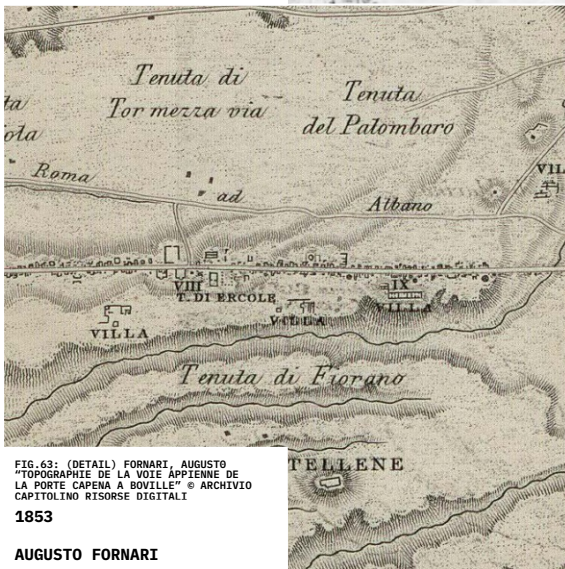
FIG.63: (DETAIL) FORNARI, AUGUSTO "TOPOGRAPHIE DE LA VOIE APPIENNE DE LA PORTE CAPENA A BOVILLE" © ARCHIVIO CAPITOLINO RISORSE DIGITALI

1853

AUGUSTO FORNARI
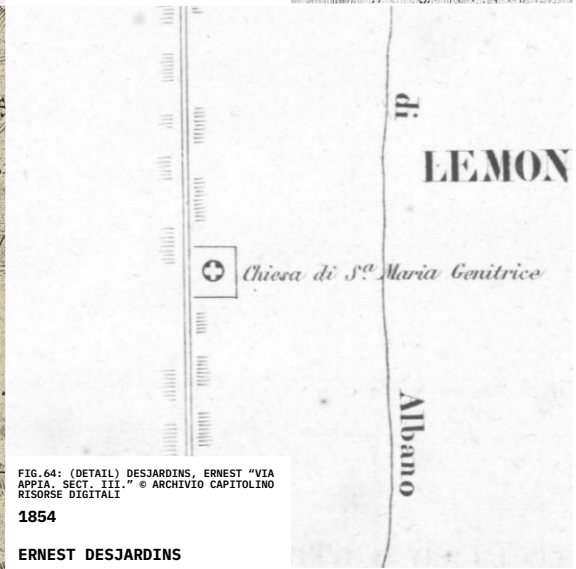
FIG.64: (DETAIL) DESJARDINS, ERNEST "VIA APPIA. SECT. III." © ARCHIVIO CAPITOLINO RISORSE DIGITALI

1854

ERNEST DESJARDINS
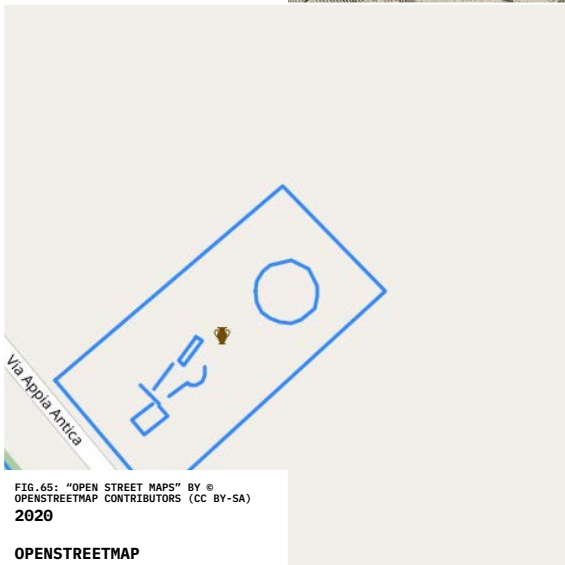
FIG.65: "OPEN STREET MAPS" BY © OPENSTREETMAP CONTRIBUTORS (CC BY-SA)

2020

OPENSTREETMAP
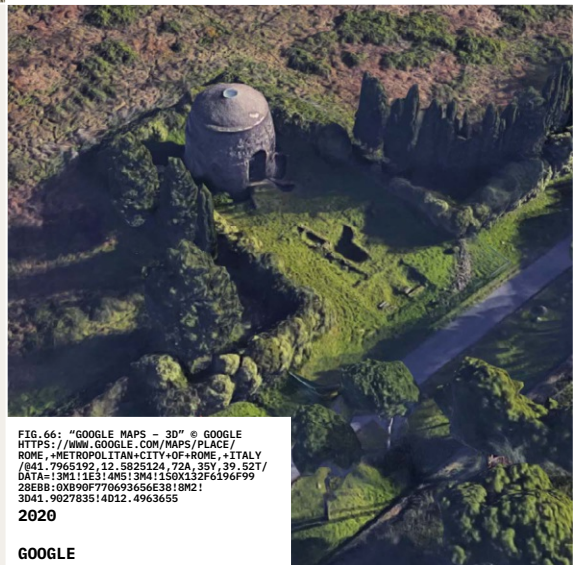
FIG.66: "GOOGLE MAPS – 3D" © GOOGLE HTTPS://WWW.GOOGLE.COM/MAPS/PLACE/ROME,+METROPOLITAN+CITY+OF+ROME,+ITALY/@41.7965192,12.5825124,72A,35Y,39.52T/DATA=!3M1!1E3!4M5!3M4!1S0X132F6196F9928EBB:0XB90F770693656E38!8M2!3D41.9027835!4D12.4963655

2020

GOOGLE

SET B

**TIMELINE 12 – TIMELINE OF
HISTORIC PLANS AND SECTIONS**

ALL PLANS AND SECTIONS WERE
SCALED TO 1:500, WITH THE
EXCEPTION OF THE PLAN AND
SECTION BASED ON THE 2017
SURVEY.
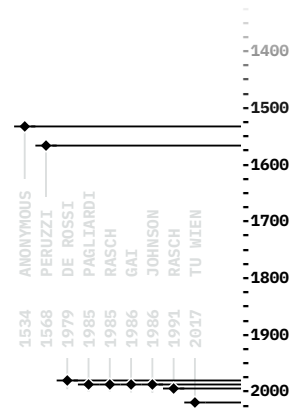
PLANS

FIG.71: TIMELINE 12 – TIMELINE OF
HISTORIC PLANS AND SECTIONS
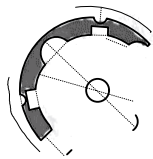
FIG.67: "REDRAWN PLAN 1" – M 1:500
BASED ON: PERUZZI, SALLUSTIO GIOVANNI
"B.U.F. 664V - …PIANTA DI DUE UN
TEMPLI TONDI IN VIA APPIA" IN HTTPS://
EUPLOOS.UFFIZI.IT/INVENTARIO-EUPLOOS.
PHP?AUT=PERUZZI+SALLUSTIO+GIOVANNI
ACCESSED 20/05/2020

b1534-67

GIOVANNI SALLUSTIO PERUZZI

0   10   N
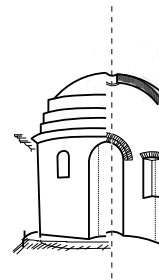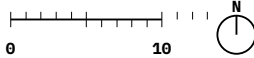
FIG.68: "REDRAWN PROJECTION EXTERIOR
AND INTERIOR" – M 1:500 BASED ON:
PERUZZI, SALLUSTIO GIOVANNI "B.U.F.
664V - …PIANTA DI DUE UN TEMPLI
TONDI IN VIA APPIA" IN HTTPS://
EUPLOOS.UFFIZI.IT/INVENTARIO-EUPLOOS.
PHP?AUT=PERUZZI+SALLUSTIO+GIOVANNI
ACCESSED 20/05/2020

b1534-67

GIOVANNI SALLUSTIO PERUZZI

0   10
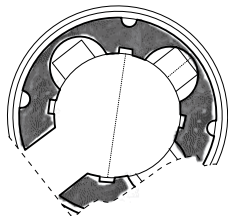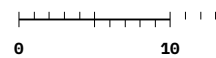
FIG.69: "REDRAWN PLAN 2" – M 1:500
BASED ON: "WINDSOR, RL 10374 VERSO,
ARCHITECTURA CIVILE, FOL.21 VERSO" BY
ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE (CAMPBELL 2004,
P.376)

fl1568-70

ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE

0   10   N
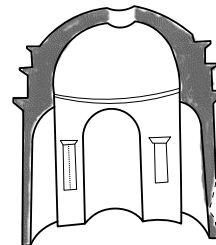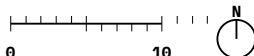
FIG.70: "REDRAWN SECTION 1" – M 1:500
BASED ON: "WINDSOR, RL 10374 VERSO,
ARCHITECTURA CIVILE, FOL.21 VERSO" BY
ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE (CAMPBELL 2004,
P.376)

fl.1568-70

ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE

0   10
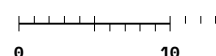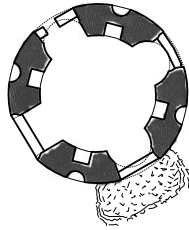
FIG.72: "REDRAWN PLAN 3" – M 1:500 BASED
ON: DE ROSSI "VIA APPIA: PIANTA DEL
SEPOLCRO 'BERRETTA DEL PRETE'" (DE ROSSI
1979, P.236)
1979

GIOVANNI MARIA DE ROSSI   0   10   N
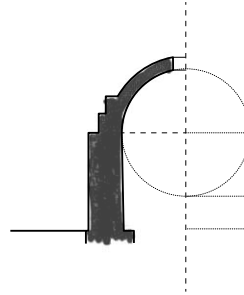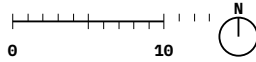
FIG.73: "REDRAWN SECTION 3" – M 1:500
BASED ON: RASCH "SELBSTSTÄNDIGE
KUPPELBAUTEN DES 4.JHS. UND DAS
PANTHEON" (RASCH 1985, P.121)
1985

JÜRGEN JOHANNES RASCH   0   10
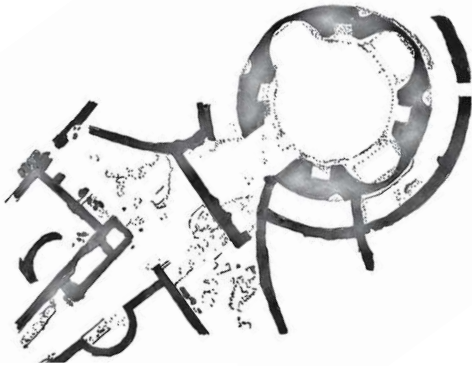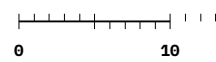
FIG.74: "REDRAWN PLAN 4 - EXCAVATIONS"
– M 1:500 BASED ON: PAGLIARDI "SEPOLCRO
DETTO 'BERRETTA DEL PRETTE' PIANTA" BY
PAGLIARDI (PAGLIARDI 1985, P.100)
1985

MARIA NICOLETTA PAGLIARDI   0   10   N
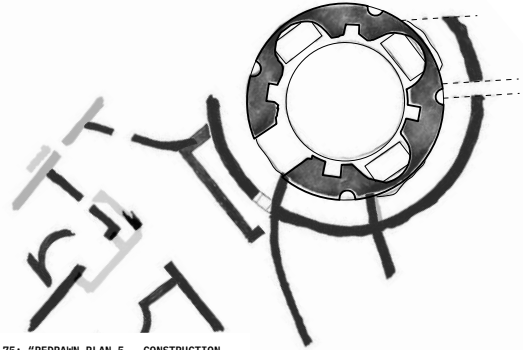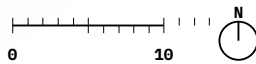
FIG.75: "REDRAWN PLAN 5 - CONSTRUCTION
PHASES" – M 1:500 BASED ON: GAI
"PLANIMETRIA GENERALE DELL'AREA DI
SCAVO, CON INDICAZIONE DEGLI INTERVENTI
ARCHEOLOGICI" (GAI 1986, FIG.4,6,8;)
1986

ANTONELLA SVEVA GAI   0   10   N
SET OF 4
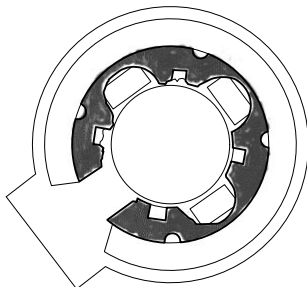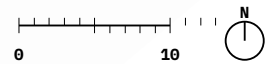
FIG.76: "REDRAWN PLAN 6" – M 1:500 BASED
ON: JOHNSON "ROME, SO-CALLED 'BERRETTA
DEL PRETE', PLAN AFTER PAGLIARDI" BY
JOHNSON (JOHNSON 1986, FIG.148)
1986

MARK JOSEPH JOHNSON   0   10   N
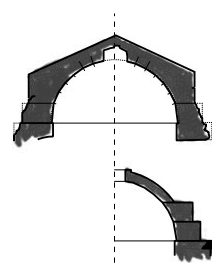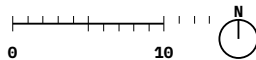
FIG.77: "REDRAWN SECTION 4" – M 1:500
BASED ON: RASCH "'TORRACCIO DEL
PALOMBARO' VERTIKALSCHNITT DRUCH DIE
KUPPEL NACH AUFMASSSKIZZEN (P.GROSSMANN
UND P.MARZLOFF 1959)" AND "'TORRACCIO
DEL PALOMBARO' VERTIKALSCHNITT DURCH DIE
KUPPEL, REKONSTRUKTION" (RASCH 1991,
ABB.32,33;)
1991

JÜRGEN JOHANNES RASCH   0   10
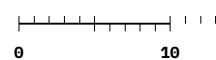
**THIS PLAN INCLUDES THE AXIS AND FIELD
LABELS INTRODUCED DURING THE 2017 SURVEY.**
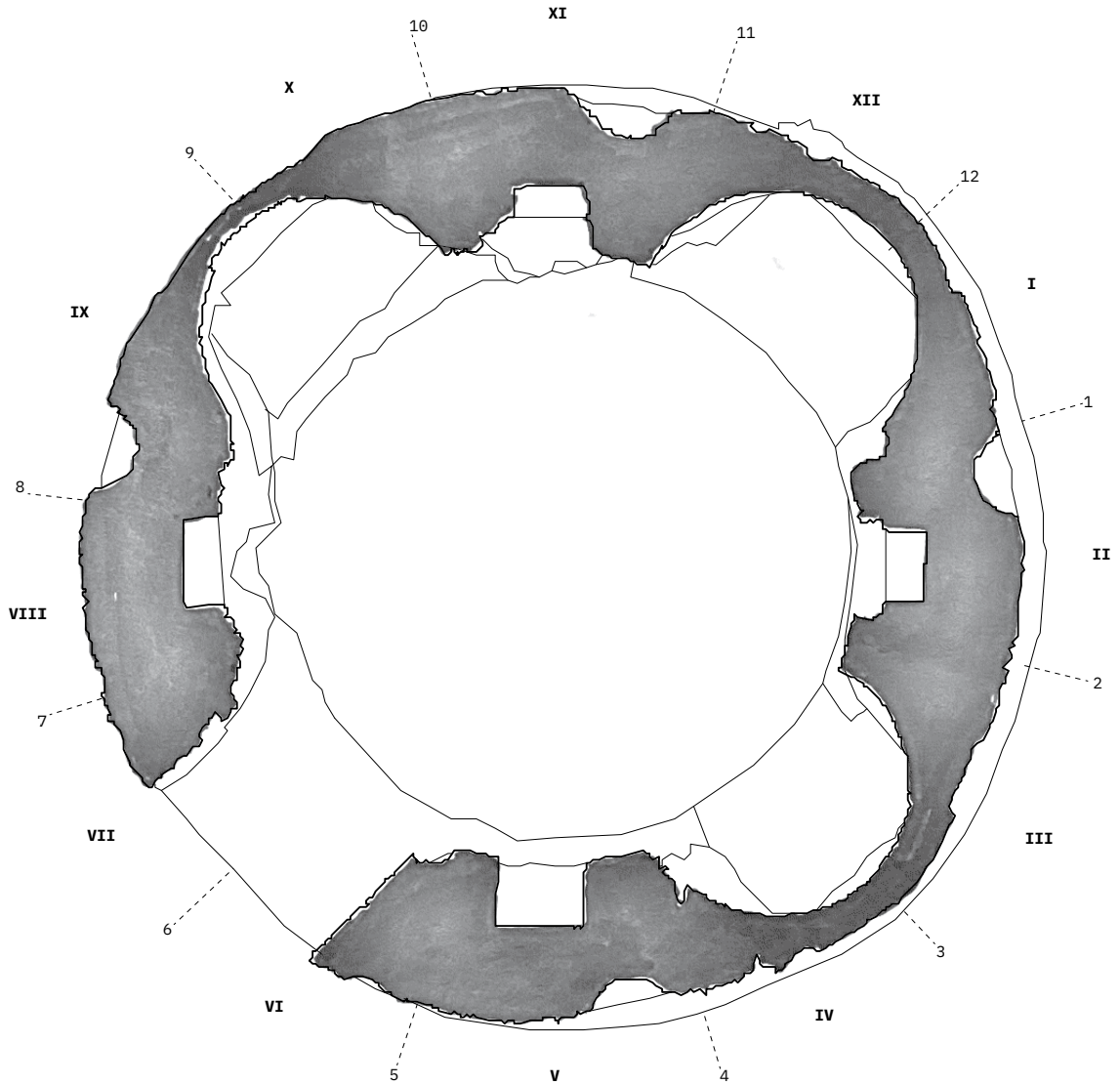
FIG.78: "PLAN OF THE BERRETTA DEL
PRETE 2017" BASED ON: "GRUNDRISS" BY
M.DIZDAREVIC, A.DOMEJ AND E.MANG — M
1:100
2017

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PLANS

120

SET B
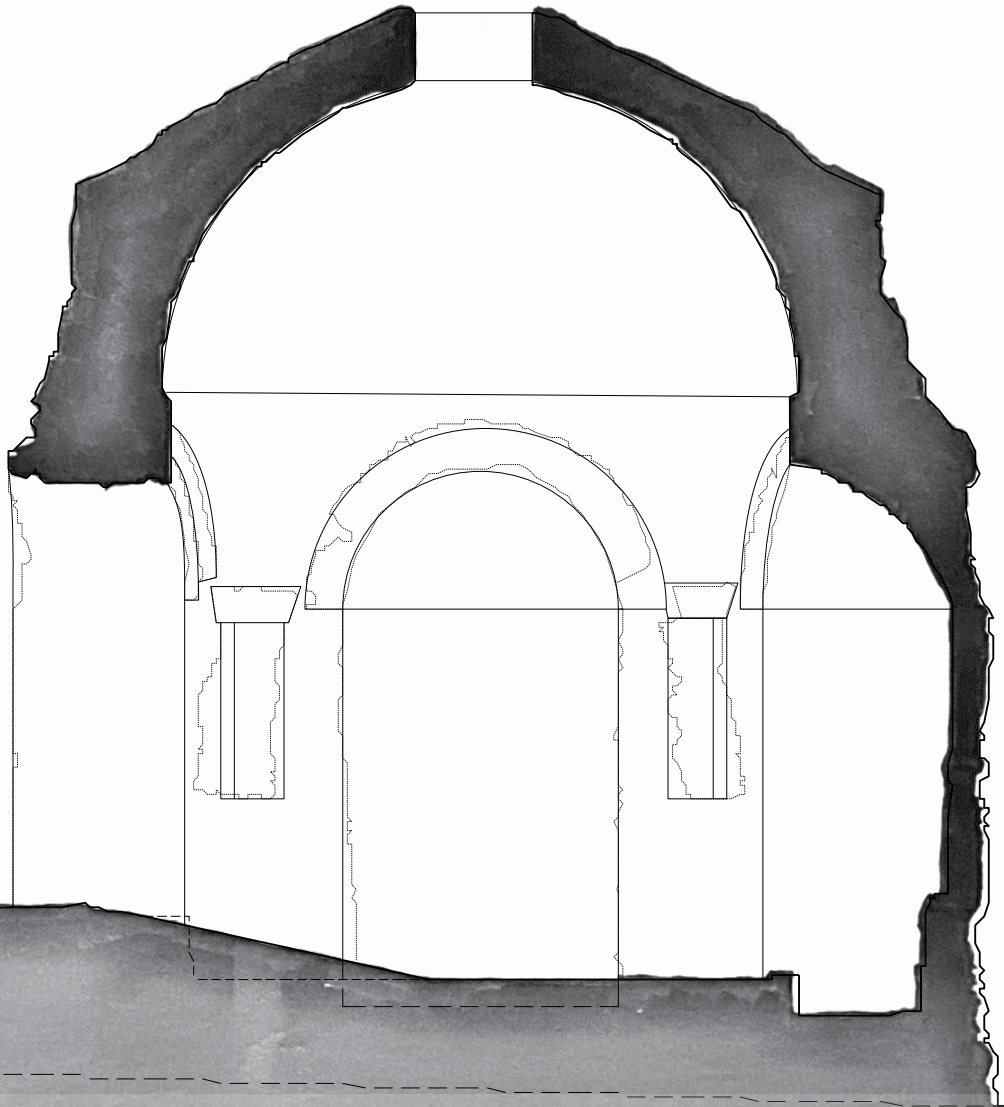
FIG.79: "SECTION OF THE BERRETTA DEL
PRETE 2017 - DAMAGES NW APSIDAL NICHE"
— M 1:100 BASED ON: "SCHNITT 1-7" BY
M.DIRNBERGER, F.FEIGL AND L.MOOSBRUGGER
2017

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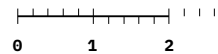
0   1   2

Appendix

FIG.80: PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA, "THE TOMBS OF LICINIANUS AND THE CORNELII" (1800). PIRANESI'S "VIEWS OF ROME". 110. HTTPS://DIGITAL.KENYON.EDU/PIRANESI/110

FIG.81: LABRUZZI, CARLO "RUINS ON THE RIGHT OF THE VIA APPIA" 1798 (BOON 2017, P.165)

FIG.82: LABRUZZI, CARLO, "RUIN NEAR LA BERRETTA DEL PRETE" IN ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS - SATURDAY 04 JUNE 1960 P.22 IMAGE © ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS GROUP

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FIG.88: ALEXANDER ANDREYEVICH IVANOV, VIA APPIA AT SUNSET, 1845, THE STATE TRETYAKOC GALLERY. IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// ARTSANDCULTURE. GOOGLE.COM/ASSET/ AAENJNP6EAHFRQ ACCESSED 16/11/2019

FIG.87: LABRUZZI, CARLO "RUINS ON THE RIGHT © THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://WWW. BRITISHMUSEUM. ORG/COLLECTION/ BJECT/P_1955- 1210-10- 64 ACCESSED 03/03/2021
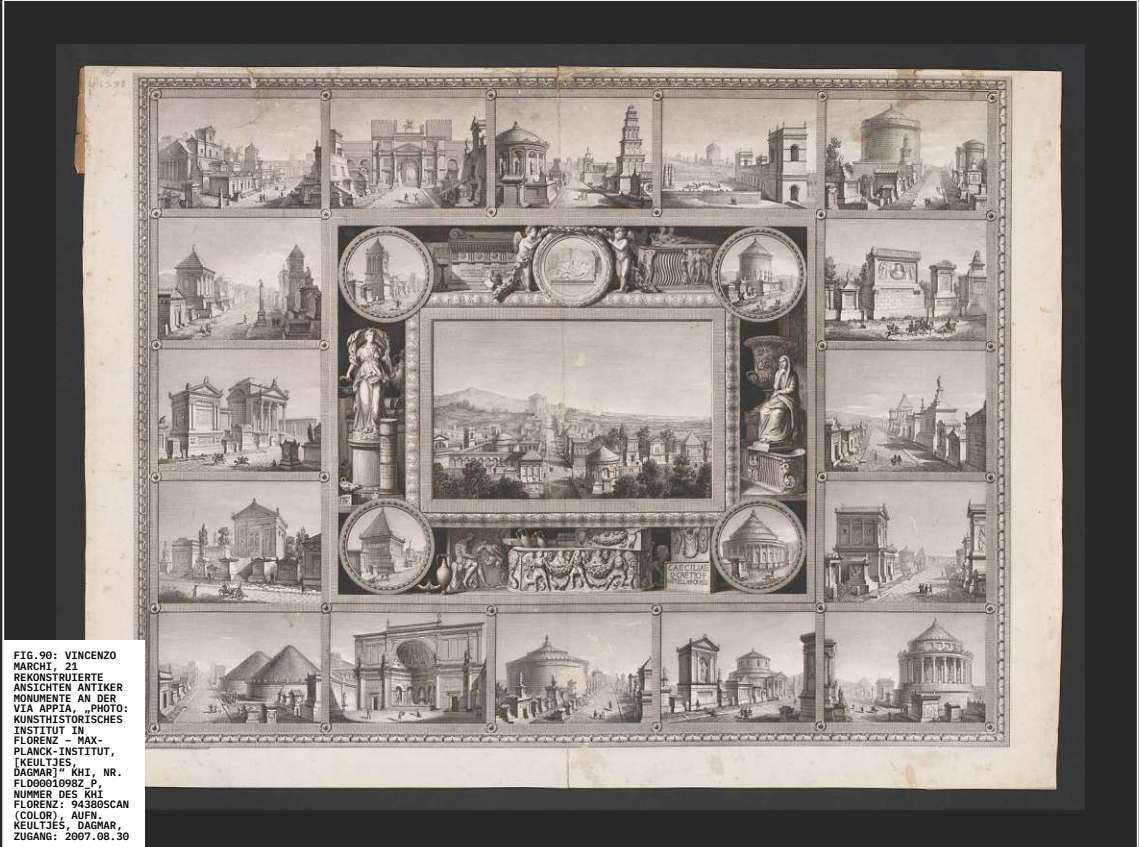
FIG.91: MACKEY,
PETER PAUL,
"APPIA",1890,
PPM[PHP]-16-1852,
© BRITISH SCHOOL
AT ROME DIGITAL
COLLECTIONS

FIG.92: VAN
DEMAN, ESTER
BOISE, "APPIAN WAY
(ITALY), TOMB OF
Q. VERANIUS AND
TOMB SO CALLED
BERRETTA DI PRETE
OR PALOMBARO",
1903, © AMERICAN
ACADEMY IN ROME,
PHOTOGRAPHIC
ARCHIVE

FIG.93: MACKEY,
PETER PAUL,
"VIA APPIA,
TOMBS",1890,
PPM-0164, ©
BRITISH SCHOOL
AT ROME DIGITAL
COLLECTIONS

FIG.94: MACKEY, PETER PAUL, "VIA APPIA, TOMBS",1890, PPM-0163, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS

FIG.95: ASHBY, THOMAS, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB OF Q. VERANIUS AND TOMB CALLED "BERRETTA DI PRETE"",1904, TA[PHP]-VIII.097, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)
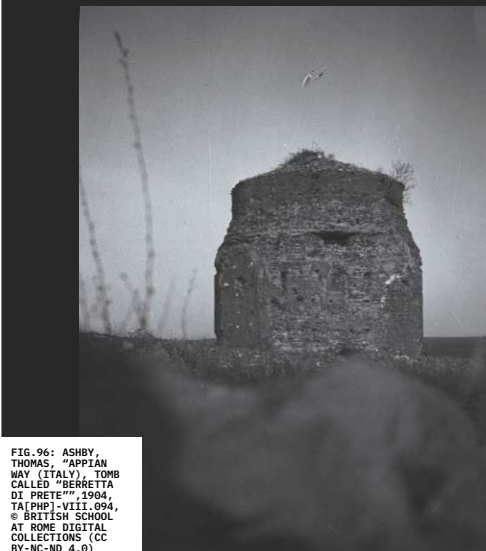

FIG.96: ASHBY, THOMAS, "APPIAN WAY (ITALY), TOMB CALLED "BERRETTA DI PRETE"",1904, TA[PHP]-VIII.094, © BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME DIGITAL COLLECTIONS (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

FIG.97: H. KOPPERMANN, "ROM, VIA APPIA, RUNDBAU - SOG. BERRETTA DEL PRETE, VON AUSSEN, GANZ" IMAGE TAKEN DRUING THE 1959 SURVEY, BESTAND-D-DAI-ROM-59.907. JPG © GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (DAI)

FIG.98: H. KOPPERMANN, "ROM, VIA APPIA, RUNDBAU - SOG. BERRETTA DEL PRETE, GESAMT" IMAGE TAKEN DRUING THE 1959 SURVEY, BESTAND-D-DAI-ROM-59.1235. JPG © GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (DAI)

FIG.99: H.
KOPPERMANN, "ROM,
VIA APPIA, RUNDBAU
- SOG. BERRETTA
DEL PRETE,
INNENANSICHT"
IMAGE TAKEN
DRUING THE 1959
SURVEY, BESTAND-
D-DAI-ROM-59.916.
JPG © GERMAN
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INSTITUTE (DAI)

DAI 59.916

FIG.100: "INTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE. IT/RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/ 3737/940X428/ INTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20DEL%20 PRETE%2EJPG ACCESSED 26/11/2019

FIG.101: "ESTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE.IT/ RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/3737/ CIRCLE/600X600/ ESTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20 DEL%20PRETE.JPG. PNG ACCESSED 26/11/2019

FIG.102: "INTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE.IT/ RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/3737/ CIRCLE/600X600/ INTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20 DEL%20PRETE.JPG. PNG ACCESSED 26/11/2019

FIG.103: "ESTERNO BERRETTA DEL PRETE" © COOPCULTURE.IT IMAGE DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS:// MULTIMEDIA. COOPCULTURE.IT/ RETECULTURE/ ANAGRAFICHE/ 3737/940X428/ ESTERNO%20 BERRETTA%20DEL%20 PRETE%2EJPG ACCESSED 26/11/2019

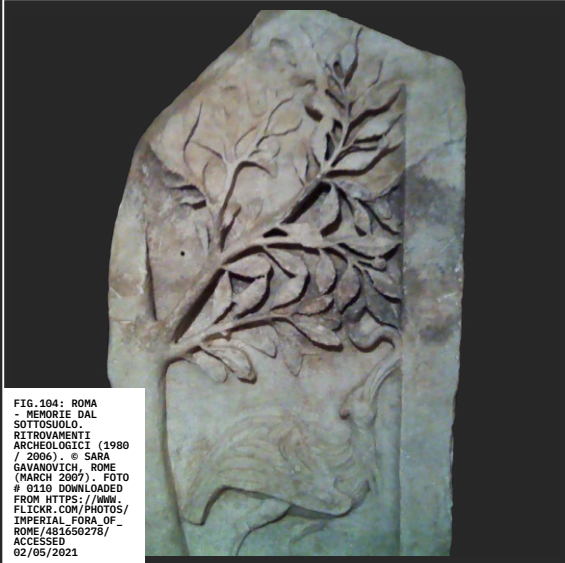FIG.104: ROMA - MEMORIE DAL SOTTOSUOLO. RITROVAMENTI ARCHEOLOGICI (1980 / 2006). © SARA GAVANOVICH, ROME (MARCH 2007). FOTO # 0110 DOWNLOADED FROM HTTPS://WWW. FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/ IMPERIAL_FORA_OF_ ROME/481650278/ ACCESSED 02/05/2021
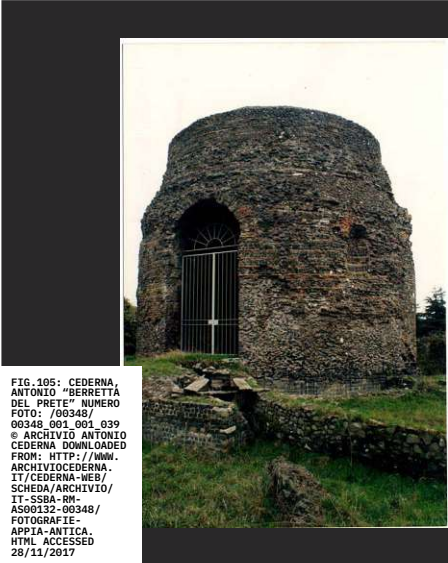

FIG.105: CEDERNA, ANTONIO "BERRETTA DEL PRETE" NUMERO FOTO: /00348/ 00348_001_001_039 © ARCHIVIO ANTONIO CEDERNA DOWNLOADED FROM: HTTP://WWW. ARCHIVIOCEDERNA. IT/CEDERNA-WEB/ SCHEDA/ARCHIVIO/ IT-SSBA-RM- A500132-00348/ FOTOGRAFIE- APPIA-ANTICA. HTML ACCESSED 28/11/2017
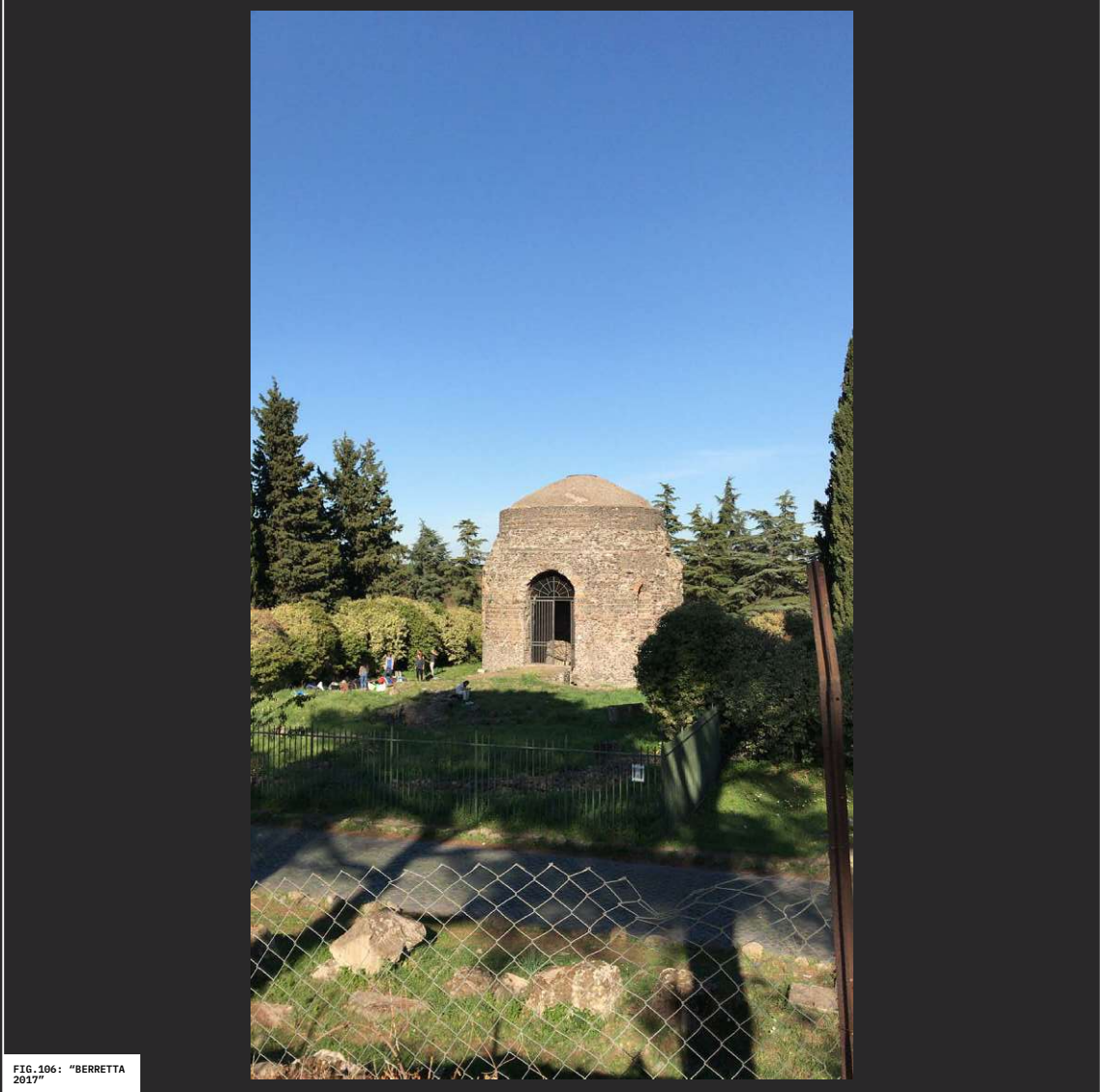

FIG.106: "BERRETTA 2017"