CHAPTER ONE

i Archaeological Sources

Maria Kneafsey

Archaeology in the city of Rome, although complicated by the continuous occupation of the site, is blessed with a multiplicity of source material. Numerous buildings have remained above ground since antiquity, such as the Pantheon, Trajan's Column, temples and honorific arches, while extensive remains below street level have been excavated and left on display. Nearly 13 miles (19 kilometers) of city wall dating to the third century CE, and the arcades of several aqueducts are also still standing. The city appears in ancient texts, in thousands of references to streets, alleys, squares, fountains, groves, temples, shrines, gates, arches, public and private monuments and buildings, and other toponyms. Visual records of the city and its archaeology can be found in fragmentary ancient, medieval, and early modern paintings, in the maps, plans, drawings, and sketches made by architects and artists from the fourteenth century onwards, and in images captured by the early photographers of Rome.

Textual references to the city are collected together and commented upon in topographical dictionaries, from Henri Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* (1871–1907) and Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby's *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), to Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti's *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma* (1940–53), the new topographical dictionary published in 1992 by Lawrence Richardson Jnr and the larger, more comprehensive *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (*LTUR*) (1993–2000), edited by Margareta Steinby (see also *LTURS*). Key topographical texts include the fourth-century CE Regionary Catalogues (the *Notitia Dignitatum* and

A Companion to the City of Rome, First Edition.
Edited by Claire Holleran and Amanda Claridge.

Curiosum – see Flower, Chapter 1ii in this volume), the inscription on the Capitoline Base (*CIL* 6.975; *ILS* 6073), a dedication by the *vicomagistri* to Hadrian in 136 CE listing each *vicus* and its magistrates in five regions (I, X, XII, XIII, XIIII), and the numerous labels on the Severan Marble Plan (see Tucci, Chapter 1iii in this volume, and the list in Valentini and Zucchetti, vol. 1, 56–62).

Antiquarian maps, drawings, prints, engravings and *vedute* (views) of Rome survive from the early fifteenth century onwards, providing valuable information about the way the city looked in the early modern period, and in particular, unique records of ancient buildings or monuments that are no longer visible in Rome as the result of deliberate destruction or deterioration. Outstanding are those produced in the early sixteenth century by Antonio da Sangallo "the Younger" and Baldassare Peruzzi which document, for example, the lost roof and *spolia* colonnades of Old St Peter's basilica, originally built by the emperor Constantine in the fourth century CE and rebuilt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Krautheimer 1977, 234). Similarly, Andrea Palladio's work remains our foremost evidence for the ground plans of the Baths of Agrippa, Titus, and Trajan (Claridge 2010, 33). Giovanni da Sangallo's drawings (1496–1548), those of Pirro Ligorio (c.1513–1583), Etienne Du Pérac's *Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma* (1571), Giuseppe Vasi's *Delle Magnificenze de'Romani* (1747–1761), and Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* (1747–1778) variously document the monuments, buildings, and archaeological discoveries of Rome from the Renaissance to the *Settecento* (eighteenth century).

Historical maps of modern Rome are also primary topographical tools, providing an additional glimpse of an almost unrecognizable city, before much of the archaeological and construction work of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries took place. The earliest is Leonardo Bufalini's, an orthogonal woodcut print of 1551 at a scale of roughly 1:2800 and in 24 joined sheets, which was used by generations of later cartographers as the basis for their own plans, notably Antonio Tempesta's etched plan of 1593 (in 12 sheets), Giovanni Maggi's in 1625 (in 48 sheets), and Giovanni Battista Falda's in 1676 (12 sheets). Giambattista Nolli's impressively accurate survey, *La Pianta Grande di Roma*, was published in 1748 and often includes indications (in black) of ancient walling within the fabric of the modern city (see Borsi 1986; 1990; 1993; Leuschner 2012). Rodolfo Lanciani's detailed reconstruction of the ancient city, the *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893–1901), is an essential resource which maps ancient and medieval buildings overlaid on the modern city. The accompanying publication *Storia degli scavi di Roma* provides a chronological record of finds and excavations (*scavi*) in the city. Lanciani's maps were reprinted in 1990, while the

Storia degli scavi was updated and completed in seven volumes in 2002, taking the story from the Middle Ages to 1870. New digital, GIS-based maps of ancient Rome have been developed by Roma Tre University for the local, municipal archaeological service (Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali), and in Germany by the AIS project based at Munich (LMU: Häuber and Schütz, 2004). Images of the fragments of the Severan Marble Plan are being made available with commentary online via the Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project.

The first photographic records of the city began in the 1840s, and depict Rome before, during, and after the Risorgimento and the events of 1870, as the city became "Roma Capitale" and changed beyond recognition (see Tucci, Chapter 33 in this volume). Robert MacPherson, Gioacchino Altobelli, Peter Paul Mackey, and John Henry Parker (whose photographic archive is available online via the British School at Rome) documented the city before and after 1870, while Thomas Ashby's work (also available from the BSR) presents a view of the city into the early twentieth century. For a general overview see the collections of Piero Becchetti.

Many archaeological excavations and discoveries in Rome prior to the nineteenth century went either poorly documented, or entirely unrecorded. Specific information such as findspots, context, stratigraphy, and associated finds is often missing. Nevertheless, there are accounts of excavations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably the manuscript *Memorie* of the sculptor Flaminio Vacca, written in 1594, and the various editions of those of Pietro Santi Bartoli (1630–1700), both reprinted together with other similar works in 1799/1836 by Carlo Fea (Claridge 2004, 37). Antonio Nibby (1792–1839) recorded finds and excavations in Rome and its wider periphery with close attention to detail, followed by Pietro Rosa (1810–1891), and, most importantly, towards the end of the nineteenth century the influential work of Rodolfo Lanciani (1845–1929) was published. Some of Lanciani's work has been noted above, but in addition to his contribution to mapping and documenting Rome, he was an indefatigable communicator to the general public, writing in both Italian and English (see References). News of archaeological discoveries since the late nineteenth century has been published in local and national archaeological journals: the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*; *Atti* and *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*; *Atti* and *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*; *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica del Comune di Roma*; *Nuovo Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, and the publications of Rome university and the many foreign academies and institutes based in the city: *Archeologia Classica* (University of Rome La Sapienza); *Mélanges de l'École Française – Antiquité*; *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* *Römische Abteilung*; *Papers of the British School at Rome* (particularly "Notes from Rome"); and *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Fasti archeologici*, now online, hosts reports of current excavation work in the city (see References).

Guide to Further Reading

Modern approaches to the city's archaeological remains can be found in Carandini (2017), Claridge (2010), Coarelli (2007), and Coulston and Dodge (2000). For the study of historical maps of Rome, Frutaz (1962) remains an invaluable resource comprising three volumes of images and discussion, now supplemented by the work of Bevilacqua and Fagiolo (2012). Campbell (2004, vol. 1, 19–33) presents a useful introduction to architectural drawing from ancient buildings and monuments in Rome before 1600.

Digital Resources

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ii Written Sources

Richard Flower

The city of Rome provides the backdrop to the events described in many works of Roman literature: the emperors of Tacitus and Suetonius glorified and terrorized its streets (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 28.3–30.2; Tac. *Hist.* 3.70–72); Cicero appealed to the significance of the Capitoline temples and other great monuments that stood around him as he spoke (e.g. *Scaur.* 46–8); Livy provided historical information on the construction, destruction and reconstruction of notable buildings (e.g. 26.17.1–4, 27.11.16); Ovid wrote about amorous escapades among the many porticoes (e.g. *Ars am.* 2.2.1–8). For many classical authors, Rome was simply "the city" (*urbs*), unrivalled in the whole world. Yet, despite its significance, there are few sustained descriptions of the topography of the city in extant literature, with passing references to particular districts and monuments scattered throughout many different texts. The most accessible starting point for anyone wishing to locate information about a particular location is to consult a source book (e.g. Dudley 1967; Aicher 2004) or a topographical dictionary of the city (e.g. Platner 1929; Richardson 1992; *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (*LTUR*)). This brief introduction will, however, discuss a few of the more extended ancient accounts of the appearance and monuments of Rome, as well as the ways in which they might be used by historians.

Some texts explore the city not by enumerating its sights, but rather by characterizing the different types of people to be found in various locations. In *Curculio*, a comedy by Plautus dating from the early second century BC, the audience is told that perjurers are to be found in the Comitium, show-offs in the central part of the Forum and male prostitutes in the Vicus Tuscus

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(Plaut. *Curc.* 462–86). Similarly, at the very end of the first century BCE, Ovid provided a candid exploration of the best haunts for picking up different types of women, moving through various locations within the city before eventually venturing out to the suburban Temple of Diana and off to the resort of Baiae (Ov. *Ars am.* 41–262). Some other passages take the form of a *periegesis*, a literary walkabout, listing places visited by the narrator while travelling through Rome. In some cases this journey is undertaken as part of an errand, such as Catullus's search for his friend Camerius (Catull. 55) or Martial's description of Selius searching desperately for a free dinner (Mart. 2.14), and the effect of these quick-moving passages is to convey a sense of an individual dashing about the city. In other cases, the account progresses in a more stately and directed fashion, as is the case with a famous passage from Ovid's *Tristia*, written after he was exiled to the Black Sea in 8 CE. In this poem, Ovid's book arrives in Rome after a long journey and is then shown around some of the city's monuments, including the Forum of Caesar, the Temple of Vesta and the Palatine Hill (Ov. *Tr.* 3.1; Edwards 1996, 119–20). The tour itself evoked Virgil's description of the visit of Aeneas to the future site of Rome, in which the hero was shown around by Evander, while the audience were invited to contemplate how much the rustic landscape had changed by their own day (Verg. *Aen.* 8.1–369).

Although these literary explorations of the city might provide routes that could be followed by a real visitor to Rome, they certainly do not provide an exhaustive guide to the monuments that could be seen on the way. The selection of buildings described in any given text reflects its own concerns: Ovid's book does not take in many sights, but, appropriately enough, it does visit three separate libraries (at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, in the Portico of Octavia, and the Atrium of Liberty), none of which is willing to allow it in. Similarly, Ammianus Marcellinus's account of the visit to Rome in 357 CE by the emperor Constantius II describes many famous buildings, including the Colosseum, the Pantheon and the Forum of Trajan (Amm. Marc. 16.10.13–17). While this might be taken to provide a good account of the monuments that were most celebrated in the city in the late fourth century, it is notable that Ammianus's account only includes buildings from the second century CE or earlier, omitting more recent additions, such as the Arch and Basilica of Constantine, as well as the great Christian churches that were starting to appear by this point. The result is a rather antiquarian vision of the city, harking back to a supposedly better time and studiously avoiding taking notice of unwelcome intrusions into the classical landscape.

Numerous individual references to Rome's topography are also to be found in ancient "encyclopedic" texts, most notably the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder (e.g. *HN* 3.66–7 on the size of the city) and Varro's *De lingua*

Latina (e.g. *Ling.* 5.42 on the Capitoline Hill). In addition, the work *On the Aqueducts of Rome* by Sextus Julius Frontinus, who held the post of *curator aquarum* in 97 CE, provides a wealth of detail about the history, capacity and quality of the many aqueducts that supplied the city. One section of the work also describes the passage of each aqueduct into Rome and its many outlets in different urban districts, thereby supplying information about the number and distribution of military camps, public buildings, fountains and cisterns (Frontin. *Aq.* 2.78–86). Similar, but more detailed, enumerations of the city's buildings, both public and private, are to be found in two documents called the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia*, which are often referred to as the "Regionary Catalogues" or simply as the "Regionaries" (Latin text in Nordh 1949). These texts discuss each of Rome's fourteen districts in turn, in each case listing the important public buildings in that *regio*, before giving figures for the number of *vici* ("neighborhoods," with *Regio* XIV having many more than any other), shrines (*aediculae*, which are always equal in number to the *vici*), *vicomagistri* (neighborhood magistrates; always 48) and *curatores* (overseers), as well as *insulae*, *domus*, *horrea* (granaries), *balnea* (baths), *lacus* (cisterns), and *pistrinae* (bakeries). Each text also has appendices providing totals for each type of building, as well as extra information including the numbers of aqueducts, obelisks, brothels, and public lavatories. These superficially precise figures do, however, present many interpretive problems. Firstly, while the texts in their current state are widely regarded as dating from the fourth century, they cannot be assumed to present a snapshot of the city at a particular date, rather than an accumulation of material collected over time and only updated infrequently and incompletely. There are also debates concerning the relationship between the two documents and the purposes for which they were compiled, with the main suggestions being that they were either official documents kept by the Urban Prefect for distribution of the *annona* or tax collection, guides to Rome for tourists or primarily ideological works for glorifying the city (see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 294; Hermansen 1978; Arce 1999; Behrwald 2006). Moreover, the numbers in both the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia* do not add up, with discrepancies between the two documents and also within each text, since the regional figures often do not correlate with the totals in the appendix (see the table at Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 295). The very large total figure of more than 40,000 *insulae* also cannot be correct if this term is taken to refer to individual, free-standing blocks, so it seems likely that it actually denotes individual units of property, either physical or legal (see Coarelli 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 294–9). While the most widespread view is that the Regionaries can be used cautiously for evidence about fourth-century Rome, it is clear that, like all literary descriptions of the city, they certainly cannot be taken at face value.

Guide to Further Reading

Edwards 1996 is an excellent discussion of different treatments of the city of Rome in ancient literature. The best starting points for accessing literary information concerning particular parts of the city of Rome are the major topographical dictionaries (e.g. Platner 1929; Richardson 1992; *LTUR*) and source books (e.g. Dudley 1967; Aicher 2004) mentioned above. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 259–312 provides a good introduction to the evidence for the regions of the city, including discussing the Regionaries at 294–9.

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iii The Marble Plans

Pier Luigi Tucci

The marble fragments known today as the Severan Marble Plan (or "Forma Urbis Romae," which is also a modern name) belong to a monumental plan of the city of Rome engraved under the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla sometime between 203 and 211 CE – most probably in 203. It covered the west wall of a large rectangular hall in the south-east wing of Vespasian's Temple of Peace, as rebuilt after a fire in 192 CE, probably replacing a similar Flavian plan. The plan was incised on 151 slabs of greyish white marble (from Proconnesos in the sea of Marmara), which were fixed to the brickwork of the wall behind with mortar and iron hooks, and measured some 13 meters high and 18 meters wide. It included nearly all of Rome within the Severan *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city), oriented with south-east at the top (placing *regio I* top center) and with the Capitoline hill in the middle (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza, and Gatti 1960). It has been suggested (Coarelli 2005) that the Forma Urbis had the same south-east orientation as the augurs' platform (*auguraculum*) on the Capitoline Arx – the augurs' main sight-line, as well as the vertical axis of the Marble Plan, would have been directed towards the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount (mons Albanus, modern Monte Cavo).

The plan depicted every building of the Severan city, generally at a scale of 1:240, although some of the major monuments were rendered in more detail and at a slightly larger scale. All the engraved lines, inscriptions and graphic conventions (such as the V staircase symbols indicating that a structure was multistoried) were probably picked out in red. On a recently discovered fragment a street is also painted red (Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007,

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14–15). The plan shows a great range of building types, including *domus*, *insulae*, warehouses, temples, basilicas, theatres and amphitheatres, porticoes, baths, fountains, and aqueducts (See Figure 1.1). Most of the public monuments and many of the larger buildings, including the warehouses, are identified by name. Natural features are omitted, except for gardens within monumental complexes (see Lloyd 1982); the Tiber, for instance, is left blank (but it may have been painted), defined only by the buildings and docks built along its banks.

The Marble Plan testifies to an extraordinary amount of work and care – it was surely the result of a general survey of the city, possibly recorded first in sections on bronze tablets which were then combined together – but its purpose remains unclear. Some scholars (Coarelli 2001; Gros 2001; Meneghini 2009) believe that it was an administrative document, necessary to the office of the *Praefectus Urbi* (the Urban Prefect), even though its height will have rendered most of it unreadable (indeed, the identification of the hall of the Forma Urbis with a cadastral office is not supported by archaeological and literary evidence). Others have suggested that it was merely decorative (Castagnoli 1948). Another possibility is that, both in an original Flavian version and in the Severan phase, its function was essentially celebratory – exalting the scale and complexity of the city, capital of the empire (Tucci 2007).

During the Middle Ages most of the plan fell from the wall, and while many fragments were scavenged, together with those still fixed to the wall, many remained at the foot of the wall to be dug out in 1562 (Carettoni *et al.* 1960). These passed to the Farnese family palazzo on the Campus Martius. Between 1570 and 1580 drawings now in the Vatican Library (codex Vat. Lat. 3439 fols 13–23) were made of 91 fragments which have since been partially or completely lost. Hundreds of other fragments which had been reused in the construction of the Farnese's Secret Garden, between the Via Giulia and the Tiber, were found in the course of works on the river embankment in 1888 and 1899. New fragments have been brought to light on other occasions, for instance in the excavation of the Temple of Peace (Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007). An important fragment depicting the Circus Flaminius was found in 2000 in Palazzo Maffei Marescotti in via della Pigna. In 1741 the Farnese fragments were ceded to public ownership and displayed first along the staircase of the Museo Nuovo on the Capitoline Hill and later mounted on an exterior wall in a courtyard of the Capitoline Museums, where they were subject to weathering. In the 1930s they were moved under cover, to the Antiquarium on the Caelian Hill, and from there, in about 1960, transferred to the attic of the Palazzo Braschi. Since 2000 they have been stored in wooden crates in the Museo della Civiltà Romana at EUR, awaiting a final destination.

After an initial study by Giovan Pietro Bellori in 1673 (Muzzioli 2000), in 1874 Heinrich Jordan published the first scientific monograph, but this was

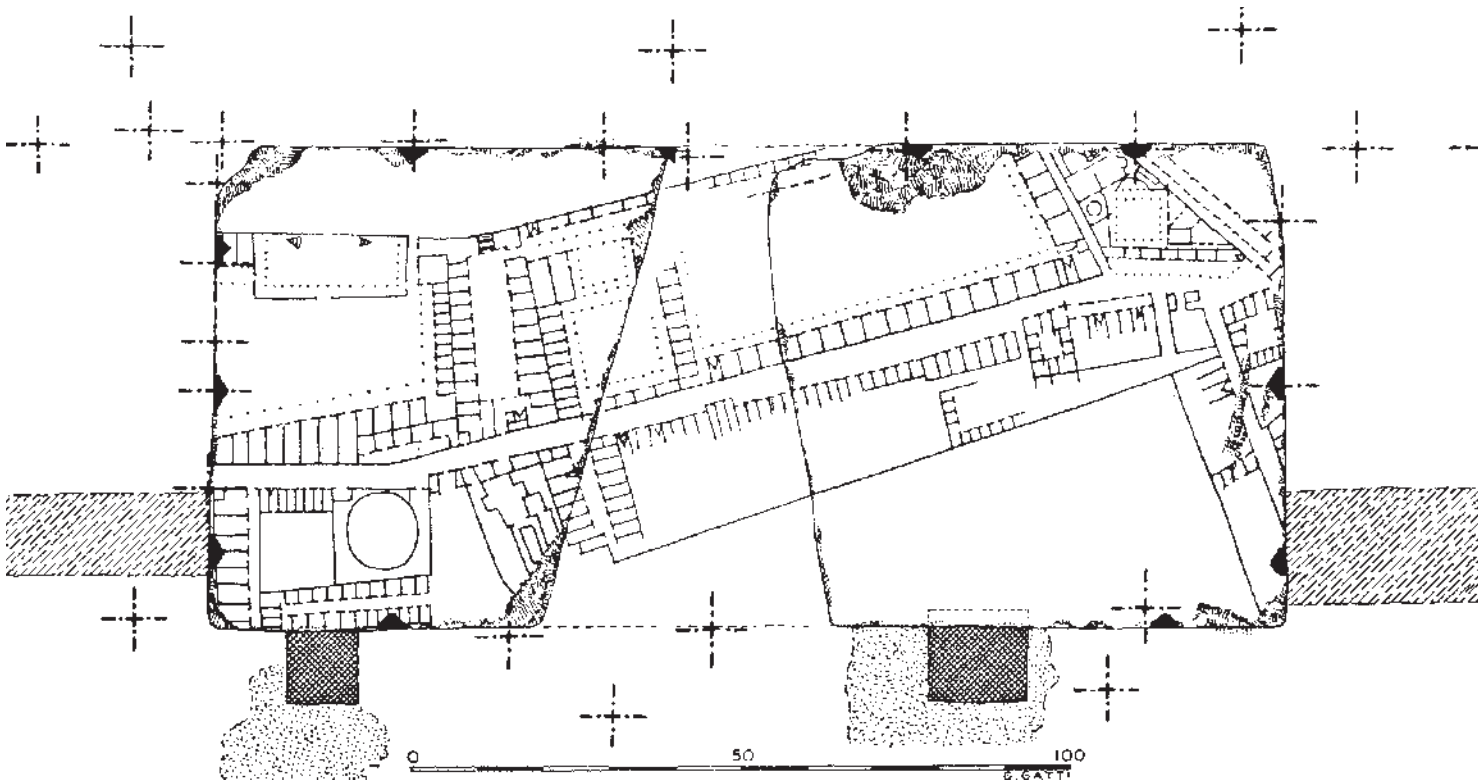

Figure 1.1 Fragment 28 of the Severan Marble Plan depicting the right bank of the Tiber in the Transtiberim region.

soon outdated by the rediscovery of the reused Farnese fragments and the discovery of other new pieces in further excavations. In 1948 Lucos Cozza undertook a detailed examination of the wall on which the slabs had been mounted (which still stands as part of the monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian) determining for the first time their actual arrangement. There were originally 150 or 151 slabs placed horizontally and vertically in eleven rows, whose height ranges from 37 to 208 centimeters. In the late 1950s Cozza also excavated the rest of the hall, and a complete photographic documentation of all the engraved fragments was published at ¼-scale (Carettoni *et al.* 1960). Emilio Rodríguez Almeida subsequently produced a comprehensive supplement (1981), with drawings of all the fragments, proposing many new joins and identifications. New identifications and reinterpretations of securely positioned fragments continue to be made (e.g. Tucci 2004; 2006; 2013–2014; Tucci and Cozza 2006) together with research on the character and significance of the document as a whole (Rodríguez Almeida 2002), the contribution that it can make to our understanding of Roman urbanism, mapmaking (Reynolds 1996) and ways of seeing (Trimble 2006; 2007; 2008) – although the latter approach (what the Forma Urbis signified to the viewer) has not been particularly fruitful so far. The preserved portions of the Forma Urbis approximate to some 10% of the original surface of *c.* 235 square meters. Of this roughly half (5% of the whole) can be securely identified, whereas the other half – consisting of hundreds of fragments – represents topography of unknown location. The surviving fragments vary in size, from small lumps to nearly complete reconstituted slabs. The thickness of the fragments ranges from 37 to 96 mm, some having rough backs and some smooth; these differences are very useful in efforts to reunite or associate separated fragments. Other clues which can aid in the reconstruction process are the traces of slab edges, holes for metal hooks, and the direction of the natural grain of the marble. Such criteria are then combined with consideration of plans or inscriptions of recognizable buildings, literary sources, and archaeological investigations. An approach to the digitization of the evidence was developed recently by Stanford University, although only a few minor fragments were newly identified and no critical analyses have been attempted (http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/ Accessed January 6, 2018).

Other plans incised on marble are known (Carettoni *et al.* 1960, 206–10; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 26–36), though most are small or isolated fragments and unlikely to have belonged to complete plans of the city. The plans now in Urbino and Perugia relate specifically to tombs, recording their layout and dimensions for posterity (a provenance from Rome is attested only for the former plan). Other partial marble plans – from the Colle Oppio/ Via della Polveriera, the Isola Sacra necropolis (badly damaged), the city of Amelia (just a drawing), and the one discovered in 1997 under the

Domitianic floor of the Forum of Nerva (thus dating to the years before 98 CE) – depict unidentified sectors of a city, presumably Rome. These plans are very likely older than the Severan one, and appear more detailed: the thickness of the walls is indicated by double lines, and often the names of the proprietors are given together with the length of the facades in Roman feet. The best example is provided by the plan from Via Anicia in Trastevere, found in 1983 and showing the plan of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius as well as some warehouses along the Tiber's bank, with the lengths in Roman feet of their façades and the owners' names (Tucci 2013). This plan depicts the same area visible on some fragments of the Forma Urbis, in particular a sort of platform built on the river bank which might be the shed which housed the "ship of Aeneas" described by Procopius (*Goth.* 4.22). Also a new fragment found in 1999 in the Temple of Peace, with the partial plan of the Forum of Augustus, shows the same topography visible on fragments 16a–d of the Severan Marble plan (the Temple of Mars Ultor and the south-east portico and exedra of the Forum of Augustus), thus permitting a direct comparison (Tucci 2007). The drawing of the right-hand portico as portrayed on the new plan, with a circle for the column, a square for the base and four lines for three steps, becomes highly simplified on the Severan plan, which shows a dot for the column and a single line for the staircase, without the square bases. A section of the south-east hemicycle is also visible on the Severan version: its wall is rendered with double lines and is recessed, but the niches that adorned it are not visible.

Guide to Further Reading

The best starting point for accessing detailed information concerning the Forma Urbis is still Carettoni *et al.* 1960. See Kleiner and Kleiner 1982 for comments on Rodríguez Almeida's updated edition of 1981. Reynolds 1996 is a very useful discussion (in English) of different aspects of the marble plans of Rome. The essays published in Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007 provide information on recent findings and suggestions for new avenues of research (but cf. Tucci 2007 for a review). See also Forma Urbis Severiana 2016.

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iv The Epigraphic Record

Boris Rankov

In Rome, the practice of inscribing on stone and other materials goes back to the regal period, when the Greek alphabet was first adapted for the writing of Latin. Several literary sources of the first century BCE claim that laws and treaties of this period, inscribed on bronze or even on wood, could still be seen preserved in or attached to various temples of the city, including that of Diana on the Aventine and the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.

Although a number of earlier Etruscan and Greek inscriptions are known from the vicinity of Rome (Moretti 1968–90), our earliest surviving inscription from the city itself is the Forum Cippus (*CIL* 1^2.1 = 6.36840), which may date from the late sixth century BCE. This tuff stone was found in the area of the Comitium in the Forum, immediately in front of the Senate House, and is sometimes mistakenly referred to as the *lapis niger* from the black paving which overlaid it. The inscription was cut to be read vertically up and down in alternate lines, and although it was certainly in Latin, its meaning remains obscure. After this time, pottery inscribed in Latin begins to be found in and around the Forum and the Palatine, and from the third century inscribed votive objects in pottery and bronze were deposited in the river in the vicinity of the Tiber Island where a sanctuary of the healing god Aesculapius had been founded in 298 BCE.

A sarcophagus found in the tomb of the Scipios near the Porta Capena and now on display in the Vatican Museums, marks the beginning of an epigraphic habit which continued throughout antiquity. A carved inscription on the front (*CIL* 1^2.6–7 = 6.1284) identified the occupant as L. Cornelius

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Scipio Barbatus, the consul of 298 BCE, listed the magistracies he had held and described his career. Such *elogia*, as they were known, gradually became more widespread and detailed, the most elaborate of all being the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, written in the first person and originally inscribed on two bronze pillars set up in front of his Mausoleum (Suet. *Aug.* 101.4).

Simpler epitaphs, recording little more than the name of the deceased and, from the later first century BCE, information such as age of death, together with formulaic expressions of grief, were inscribed on the tombs and grave *cippi* which lined the roads leading out of the city, and on the small slabs marking the niches for ash-urns in underground *columbaria* and the inhumations in Rome's catacombs. Even on these epitaphs, however, and especially on those for soldiers, the influence of the aristocratic *elogia* is evident.

Elogia also appeared on honorific statue bases from the late Republic onwards. As with other forms of inscription, these became much more common from the reign of Augustus, who decorated his new forum with statues and *elogia* of Roman military heroes. At about the same time, marble became the favored stone for these and most other inscriptions.

As the spoils of empire flooded into Rome in the second century BCE, her new-found wealth was used by an increasingly competitive senate to adorn the city with temples, basilicas and other public buildings. These were inscribed with the name and offices of the dedicator, such as a temple of Hercules Victor vowed and built by L. Mummius, the consul who had destroyed and looted Corinth in 146 BCE (*CIL* 1^2.626 = 6.331), or the bridge linking the Tiber island with the Campus Martius constructed by L. Fabricius as *curator* of roads in 62 BCE (*CIL* 1^2.751 = 6.1305). Several of the building inscriptions carved in Rome under the Principate are considered by stonecutters to be amongst the finest ever made, including the dedication by the Senate and People of Rome at the foot of Trajan's Column (*CIL* 6.960), whose lettering has inspired many modern typefaces. From the first century CE, many building inscriptions were composed of letters cast in bronze which were fixed into slots cut into the stone. Often the slots survive even though the original letters have long since been melted down, as with the dedications on the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum (*CIL* 6.945), or on the Pantheon (*CIL* 6.896) where the bronze letters currently visible are nineteenth-century replacements. Under the Principate, the habit of making religious dedications also spread to more humble members of society, who erected small shrines and altars of all sizes in temple precincts throughout the city. These altars were often decorated with sculptural reliefs depicting the deity on the front, and sacrificial vessels on the sides.

In contrast with building inscriptions and private dedications, public and official documents were usually inscribed on bronze tablets. These were often nailed to walls in and around temple buildings, especially on the Capitoline. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 8.5) tells us that some 3,000 such documents were destroyed on the hill by the fire of 69 CE. Because of the value of the bronze, relatively few such documents have survived, a notable exception being a tablet found in St John Lateran by Cola di Rienzo in 1344, and now in the Capitoline Museum, which bears part of the law granting imperial powers to Vespasian in 70 BCE (*CIL* 6.930).

More than 50,000 of the 400,000 Latin inscriptions surviving from antiquity have been found in Rome, together with several thousand more in Greek and other languages, and more come to light each year. Inscriptions were on view throughout the city: the emperor Constantine is said to have referred to Trajan as the "wall-creeper" (*herbam parietariam*) because his name could be seen everywhere (*Epit.de Caes.* 41.13). They were, indeed, so common that standardized abbreviations (such as *SPQR*) could be used and be readily understood. Today, the inscriptions provide us with detailed information about the names and careers of individuals of all ranks, from senators to bakers and from empresses to slaves; they can tell us when and why buildings were erected, which gods were worshipped, what statutes were enacted.

It is, however, all too easy to forget that the disembodied stones on display in the splendid epigraphic galleries of the Museo Nazionale Romano or the Capitoline or Vatican Museums were hardly ever free-standing. Inscriptions were meant to be seen and interpreted as one element of a funerary monument, or beneath a statue, or labelling a major building, or fixed to a wall with hundreds of other documents. While the extent of ancient literacy is a matter of dispute, even those who could not read them would have been able to interpret the words and the monuments on which they were inscribed together as professions of status, piety, or power. It is only by considering them in these original contexts that Roman inscriptions can be fully understood.

Guide to Further Reading

The Latin inscriptions of Rome are published in the sixth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (abbreviated as *CIL*), where more than 40,000 have appeared to date. Greek inscriptions of the city are published in the four volumes of *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (abbreviated as *IGUR*).

An excellent introduction to Latin epigraphy in general may be found in Keppie (1991). For those who wish to study inscriptions in greater depth, Gordon (1983) is a superb primer with detailed commentaries on selected examples (with photographs) drawn mainly from the city of Rome, while Cooley (2012) provides by far the most comprehensive and up-to-date handbook in English. For those who wish to see Rome's inscriptions for themselves, Lansford 2009 now provides a guidebook to the city's visible inscriptions from all periods. The essays in Bodel (2001) provide useful discussions of how inscriptions are to be exploited by ancient historians.

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v Coins

Andrew Burnett

The role of both monuments and coinage as part of the memory of the Roman state has been adduced as the reason for the appearance of architectural designs on coins from the late second century BCE (Meadows and Williams 2001). Coins do indeed seem an obvious source for supplementing our knowledge of lost buildings, but they are not straightforward to use. First, a number of modern forgeries have been made (e.g. some specimens depicting the Colosseum, or some of Domitian's building coins of 95–6 CE). But, even when we can be confident that a coin is genuine, there are a number of difficult questions of methodology before we understand what it may contribute to the building history of ancient Rome (Burnett 1999; Elkins 2015). We may think that coins are like a modern archaeologist's photos, but they are not.

A first problem is whether or not the coin is intended to depict a monument or a die engraver's visualization? A particular case concerns the question of how many monuments the four representations of Octavian on horseback are supposed to represent. Similarly, how many temples of Mars Ultor do the two very different depictions of Augustan coins illustrate (Simpson 1977) – and are they compatible with the surviving remains in the Forum? All one can really do, as suggested by Bergemann (1990), is to list out the evidence. A second problem is whether or not a building depicted on a coin ever existed (Prayon 1982). There are a number of examples of buildings shown on coins which never existed. A limiting case is the temple of the *Clementia Caesaris*, shown on coins of 44 BCE. In a similar way the new Flavian Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, destroyed in the fighting of 69 and rebuilt in 70–75, was already shown as complete on coins of 71.

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Figure 1.2 Sestertius of Nero, mint of Rome. London, British Museum, CM BMC 187. Photograph: A Burnett.

Figure 1.3 Sestertius of Nero, mint of Lugdunum. London, British Museum. CM BMC 329. Photograph: A Burnett.

Different representations of the same monument may appear. In the case of the (now lost) Arch of Nero on the Capitol, we have representations on coins minted both at Rome and Lugdunum (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). They vary widely in detail, both at the different mints and within each mint. Kleiner (1985) provided a convincing reconstruction of the sequence in which the various different dies were made; and argued that the first dies at Rome were "more carefully cut and more detailed than the later dies," and differed substantially from the slightly later dies used at Lugdunum. His study was based on a very careful study of the coins themselves and their "conventions." He suggested that the earliest dies from Rome were most likely to be most accurate. His conclusion seems plausible, but a certain amount of doubt about the arch's appearance cannot be dispelled.

But what do we mean by "conventions"? The phrase embodies ways in which structures were commonly depicted, though it would be a mistake to think this was according to any clear canon of conventions, since much variation is possible; perhaps "habits" might be a better term. Two habits that can regularly be observed are variations in the number of columns (any number may appear on a coin, however many a building actually had) and the way that the column facade is opened up to reveal the cult statue which would normally be concealed in the internal cella.

Faced with all these problems, one might be forgiven for just giving up and saying that the coin evidence is more or less worthless, and skepticism, particularly about the coin evidence for buildings outside Rome, is understandable. But sometimes depictions are accurate, as we can see in those rare cases where we have coins and a surviving structure, e.g. the Colosseum (Elkins 2006) or the Arch of Severus. A case could perhaps be made for adopting a more optimistic attitude towards representations on coins made at Rome as opposed to the provinces, but it is hard to see how we could ever avoid any lingering uncertainty. It is only when we can combine a detailed study of the coins with the results of excavation that we can really feel on solid ground.

Perhaps this all shows that we are really looking at the coins in the wrong way – why is it that they are not "accurate"? The very existence of these discrepancies is sufficient to show that the die engravers were not trying to reproduce the actual appearance of individual buildings, but to celebrate the idea of the building. Clearly, for this purpose, the depiction on the coin had to bear some relation to the actual building, but this need not have been a very close one. The coins illuminate what was thought to be important to the people who produced them, and information about such contemporary perceptions is actually at least as interesting as the real appearance of the buildings themselves.

We can take two examples. The first arises from the simple point that monuments and buildings appear almost exclusively on coins of the Romans, of all ancient cultures, whether in the Mediterranean or further east, and shows that they were a natural part of the cultural outlook of the Romans. The Roman empire depended almost entirely on the cities for its stability and coherence, and the celebration of buildings and urban space is consequently a common theme. In contrast, the earlier Greek preoccupation with the natural world explains why so much of Greek art, be it poetry, coin designs or jewelry, is dominated by animals or plants.

Yet, buildings were not dominant. The majority of coins do not depict buildings: even in the first century they account for only about 5%. These figures fluctuate, as construction fluctuated. There is a rough correlation between the number of equestrian statues on coins and the numbers we know from other sources were actually set up, and the same is true of buildings: the concentration of monumental coin designs at the end of the Republic and the reign of Augustus (Fuchs 1969), followed by a lull which picks up again in the late first century, falls away in the second century and rises again in the Severan period, thereby reflecting the actual level of building activity in Rome. By the third century, external threats were once again a dominant theme, and the economic wealth of the empire began to falter. Public building was reduced, and new concerns appeared. Depictions of buildings on coins decline, to be replaced by new concerns with security, for example, such as the "camp-gate" design of the fourth century. These seem unspecific, and are probably only generic representations of the defenses which the emperors had to provide to secure the empire.

Guide to Further Reading

Modern study begins with Donaldson (1859), and since then there have been many treatments of specific periods or buildings, such as Fuchs (1969) or Bergemann (1990). More comprehensive treatments have been given by Price and Trell (1977), which covers the whole of the Roman world, and Hill (1989), although the latter is rather disappointing. A review of the topic was published by Burnett (1999), but Kleiner (1985) remains the best methodological case study.

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