

NOTES FROM ROME 2012–13

by Robert Coates-Stephens

This gazette presents to the reader outside Rome news of recent archaeological activity (primarily in 2012, but also in the first part of 2013), gleaned from public lectures, conferences, exhibitions and newspaper reports.

Questa gazzetta ha lo scopo di presentare ad un lettore fuori Roma notizie della recente attività archeologica (principalmente per il 2012, ma anche per gli inizi del 2013), tratte da conferenze, convegni, mostre e relazioni su giornali.

A conference held at the Palazzo Altemps in March 2013 summarized archaeological work carried out in the Campus Martius since 2005, in a series of collaborative ventures between the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (SSBAR), the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Archaeology Department of La Sapienza University, Rome. In addition to fresh proposals for the integration of marble architectural fragments by members of the DAI (Marcus Wolf on the Montecitorio *ustrina* and the Cancelleria reliefs; Henner von Hesberg on a frieze from a well near the Chiesa Nuova), there was news of important new excavations carried out by the Soprintendenza Speciale. Building works inside the Istituto di Santa Maria in Aquiro, in piazza Capranica, enabled archaeologists to reinvestigate a colonnade formed of granite columns, already known to nineteenth-century topographers, the tallest of which still stands to a height of over 8 m (presentation by Francesca Dell’Era). Running east–west, the colonnade abuts the stump of an even larger column of *cipollino*, still visible in vicolo della Spada D’Orlando. This unorthodox, hybrid assemblage (assumed by Christian Huelsen to be post-antique) was here attributed to Hadrian’s complex dedicated to Matidia — although its precise interpretation and even the orientation of the temple itself remained unclear.¹ Excavations inside the northern entrance of the Palazzo Venezia, adjoining via del Plebiscito, revealed remains of a small bath complex and a fragmentary colonnade (estimated column height *c.* 5.80 m). The excavator, Fedora Filippi, illustrated in addition unpublished finds from works immediately west of here, in the sector of the palace bordering via degli Astalli, which had been carried out during World War II for the installation of

¹ Heinz-Jürgen Beste offered a variety of reconstructions. The most detailed summary remains that of Huelsen (‘Das Angebliche Templum Matidiae bei Piazza Capranica’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 14 (1899), 141–53), who corrected Rodolfo Lanciani’s statement that all of the colonnade’s columns were of *cipollino* (‘La basilica Matidies et Marcianes dei cataloghi’, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* 11 (1883), 5–16).

an air-raid shelter. The corner of a slightly larger colonnade with underlying cryptoporticus had been documented in the excavation journal of E. Paoloni, kept in the archive of the Palazzo Altemps. Filippi also summarized the finds from trenches sunk during building works in the area of the Saepta: a long section (over 50 m) of the western colonnade was encountered under the Palazzo della Minerva and in the piazza beyond, with a travertine stylobate and a series of brick re-entrant walls faced in marble. In vicolo della Minerva, in a zone corresponding to the central space of the Saepta, remains of a stepped base or podium ('pulpit' was the word used by the excavator) were encountered, running for 12 m in a north–south direction. In the northern Campus Martius, Barbara Porcari recounted the important discovery of a first-century BC tomb during building works in the Palazzo dell'Unione Militare at the corner of via Tomacelli and via del Corso. The square monument, of which only the corner survived, was built of tufa and travertine, and perhaps had the form of a cenotaph, like that of Hirtius. A denarius of c. 100 BC, found in the underlying levels, served as a *terminus post quem* for this rare survival from the Campus Martius's late Republican funerary landscape.

At the same conference, Filippi gave the first detailed public presentation of the region's most significant archaeological discovery, the complex now identified as the *stabula* of the Red Faction of the Circus. This is the excavation referred to in last year's 'Notes', situated between the via Giulia and the Tiber.² The block identified as the stables occupies an area of 1,160 square metres, and is formed of seven parallel bays or corridors (1.6 m wide) in which the rows of individual stable-units would have been installed; these presumably would have been formed of partition-walls composed of perishable materials. The complex was built in the Augustan period and featured rebuilding phases (including one dated by brick stamps to Hadrian's reign) down to the fifth century. The key find was a fragmentary inscription, perhaps of Severan date, bearing the letters *rusa*. This therefore must be the headquarters of the Red Faction, lying some 350 m from the site of the Green Faction (*Prasinum*) at the Palazzo della Cancelleria.³

The contribution of the La Sapienza team recalled a typically succinct and precise article published by the much-missed Lucos Cozza almost 30 years ago, calling for a concerted study and registry of archaeological remains lying unobserved in the cellars of central Rome's historic (and not so historic) buildings.⁴ Much of the research communicated here had been carried out with the help of postgraduate students from the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, who produced impressive new computer-generated reconstructions of the surviving substructures and (surprisingly substantial)

² 'Notes from Rome 2011–12', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 80 (2012), 328–9.

³ C. Frommel and M. Pentiricci (eds), *L'antica basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso* 1 (Rome, 2009), 205–32 (wherein a thorough selection of *comparanda* for such structures).

⁴ L. Cozza, 'I resti archeologici visibili nel sottosuolo. Necessità di conoscerli e registrarli', in A. M. Bietti Sestieri, G. Morganti, C. Pavolini, M. Piranomonte and F. Scoppola (eds), *Roma. Archeologia nel centro* 2 (Rome, 1985), 308–12.

standing remains of the Baths of Agrippa (Luisa Migliorati), the Theatre of Pompey (Gabriele Monastero, Valentina Iannone, Lauro Braccalenti) and the Temple of Hadrian (Alessandro Vella). Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani analysed the ‘Basilica of Neptune’. Finally, the discovery of unpublished documentation for demolition works carried out in 1871–5 in via del Piè di Marmo lent further weight to Guglielmo Gatti’s hypothesis that the extremely robust, two-storey brick-faced concrete arches encountered on that occasion belonged to the double tetrapylon ‘Giano accanto alla Minerva’, drawn by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and represented the western entrance to the Isaeum (Luigia Attilia and Alessandra Ten, SSBAR).⁵

A useful complement to the Palazzo Altemps conference came in a lecture given the following May at the British School at Rome by Riccardo Santangelo Valenzani, Monica Ceci, Valerio Canè, Alessandra D’Amico and Paola Romi concerning new discoveries in via delle Botteghe Oscure. The extension of the tram-line from largo Argentina to piazza Venezia called for fresh excavations in the area immediately north of the ancient Porticus and ‘Crypta’ of Balbus, which in antiquity was occupied by the Porticus Minucia.⁶ Given the urgency of the works, ancient levels were not investigated; but a careful re-examination of structures already sketched by Gatti when the road was widened in 1941 produced important results regarding the Middle Ages. The medieval phase of the church of Santa Lucia de Calcarario now could be dated on the basis of its stratigraphy and construction techniques to the eighth–ninth centuries. Since the church originally belonged to the xenodochium (pilgrim hostel) of the Anicii, which according to the *Liber Pontificalis* was rebuilt by Pope Stephen II, the more precise date of 752–7 was proposed. The church in this phase had a triconch apse. A row of similarly-dated chambers lying directly in front of the building was identified as belonging to the service quarters of the rebuilt charitable institution.⁷

Elsewhere in the monumental centre of Rome, the Colosseum continues to dominate the news.⁸ In January 2013 it was announced that painted graffiti had been discovered in a service corridor of the third level. Symbols (phalli and portrait silhouettes) and letters, perhaps dating to the late antique period, overlay a ground of red-painted plaster, the whole covered in more recent tourist graffiti from the nineteenth century.⁹ Graffiti of a different kind, probably relating to the Colosseum’s construction phases, were illustrated at a lecture given to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia by Cinzia

⁵ G. Gatti, *Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica* (Rome, 1989), 137–50.

⁶ The excavations were carried out by Archeologia Rilievi Restauro srl under the direction of the SSBAR.

⁷ The results will be published in a forthcoming edition of the online *Bollettino di Archeologia*.

⁸ For last year’s coverage, see ‘Notes 2011–12’ (above, n. 2), 328.

⁹ *Il Tempo* 14 January 2013. Most of the newspaper reports referred to here can be consulted at <http://patrimoniosos.it> in the ‘Rassegna Stampa’ section.

Conti and Silvia Orlandi in December 2012.¹⁰ Modern restoration of a ground-floor arch revealed that its travertine keystone bore red-painted letters of uncertain integration, perhaps relating either to the quarrying of the original blocks or dressing them in the monument. Comparable texts are known from elsewhere in the Colosseum — and, indeed, the aforementioned lecture by Filippi illustrated similar graffiti on the travertine arches of the *via Giulia stabula*, and referred briefly to large red-painted inscriptions on the podium of the Temple of Concord, discovered in an unpublished excavation carried out by the Soprintendenza Speciale, directed by Ida Sciortino.¹¹ The Colosseum's director, Rossella Rea, also spoke of the little-known remains of an additional branch of the brick porticus that frames the Colosseum towards the Oppian Hill. The 'new' branch was discovered during the installation of toilets in the 1960s. Rea proposed that such a porticus, perhaps rising to two storeys, may have surrounded the amphitheatre on three sides, leaving only the prospect towards the Velia entirely open.¹² On the Palatine, meanwhile, fresh from identifying the remains of the Temple of Luna, Andrea Carandini returned with claims that his team had discovered not only the Temple of Jupiter Stator but also the house of Julius Caesar (*Domus Publica*) in the same narrow trench sunk next to the supposed site of the Porta Mugonia.¹³

2012–13 has been an unusually rich year for news of archaeological projects and finds in the suburbs. The discovery of a catacomb on the ancient Via Tiburtina, during works for a new electricity line, was reported in May 2012. Just 50 cm beneath piazzale del Verano, a network composed of a large central gallery (over 6 m high) and eleven lateral tunnels was explored by the SSBAR, under the supervision of Paola Filippini. About 20% of the 193 loculi had been opened in antiquity, allowing the bones to be studied, most of which proved to belong to male children. Unopened graves were sealed by tiles, with dice, small bells, hair pins and shells set into the mortar; one loculus bore a Chi-Rho in its plaster covering. The network appeared to date to the fourth century, although its full extent could not be revealed — it was thus uncertain whether it belonged to the catacombs associated with San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, or those of Novatian to the north of the Via Tiburtina.¹⁴ About one mile further down the Via Tiburtina, between *via di Portonaccio* and *via di Casal Bruciato*, works on a new drainage system uncovered a 150 m stretch of the ancient paving flanked by tombs, with the possible remains of a *mansio*, the whole dating to the period from the first century BC to the second century AD.¹⁵

¹⁰ To be published in a forthcoming edition of *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*.

¹¹ A number of red-painted examples are recorded from the Colosseum in *CIL* VI 32262.

¹² *La Repubblica* 17 February 2013.

¹³ P. Carafa, A. Carandini and N. Arvanitis, 'Iuppiter Stator in Palatio ritrovato?', *Archeologia Viva* 32.158 (March/April 2013), 28–37 (no plans, sections or measurements were given).

¹⁴ *La Repubblica* 16 May 2012.

¹⁵ *Il Tempo* 31 October 2012 and 2 November 2012.

In January 2013 newspapers reported that excavations carried out in conjunction with a new housing project on the via dei Laghi near Ciampino had discovered the remains of the villa of Valerius Messalla Corvinus.¹⁶ The site ('Muro dei Francesi') had been known since the discovery in a vineyard in 1861 of an inscribed *fistula* of the proprietor (*CIL* XV 7849).¹⁷ The new finds were made in the summer of 2012 and regarded an exceptional cache of ancient sculpture: seven colossal (over 2 m) statues of the Niobids, discovered in the villa's ancient *piscina*, where they apparently had fallen in an earthquake in antiquity.

Archaeological work carried out by the SSBAR on the Via Flaminia since 2007 was illustrated by Maria Piranomonte in a lecture to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia in February 2013. This included the necropolis encountered during rebuilding works at the Stadio Flaminio, mentioned in our 'Notes' for 2008–9.¹⁸ Likened to that of the Isola Sacra, the cemetery remained in use from the first century BC to the fourth century AD. On the opposite (west) side of the main road, in the grounds of the Villa Flaminia, a cemetery enclosed by a large boundary wall was discovered, between whose tombs a mass burial of fifteen young men was found. Dating to the second century AD, the bodies showed signs of having been executed brutally. Beyond the Tiber, at the sixth mile of the Via Flaminia (Saxa Rubra), a villa was discovered, occupying at its greatest extent an area of *c.* 26 ha. Originating in the third century BC, there was a well-preserved Augustan phase (mosaic floors, repaired in the late second century AD), and a bath-house of the second century AD, with habitation continuing into late antiquity. Interestingly, due to the vast number of nails discovered, the excavators supposed that the upper walls were constructed in *opus craticum*.

The conservation of ancient funerary monuments — and especially the costs involved — was much discussed in the last year. The catalyst for controversy was the decision by the SSBAR to rebury the fragments of the great mausoleum of M. Nonnius Macrinus, a temple-type tomb of the Antonine period discovered on the Via Flaminia in 2008.¹⁹ Due to its popular sobriquet of 'Tomb of the Gladiator' (ever since the link was made between Macrinus and the protagonist of the Ridley Scott film), the publicity generated was considerable, and even led to much-trumpeted proposals that the actor Russell Crowe might be encouraged to fund the monument's reconstruction.²⁰ Private

¹⁶ *Roma Today* 8 January 2013; *La Repubblica* 8 January 2013; *Il Fatto Quotidiano* 1 March 2013. The excavations were carried out by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, under the direction of Alessandro Betori.

¹⁷ G.B. de Rossi, 'Di alcune iscrizioni cristiane trovate presso Marino', *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 2.3 (1872), 146–55.

¹⁸ R. Coates-Stephens, 'Notes from Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 77 (2009), 291–7.

¹⁹ D. Rossi (ed.), *Il mausoleo di Marco Nonio Macrino sulla Via Flaminia* (Milan, 2012). See also Coates-Stephens, 'Notes from Rome' (above, n. 18).

²⁰ *La Repubblica* 15 December 2012; *Il Fatto Quotidiano* 28 December 2012.

enterprise has proved successful in the ongoing restoration of the Pyramid of Cestius (financed by the Japanese industrialist Yuzo Yagi), and in June 2012 an agreement was reached whereby conservation works at the Catacombs of Saints Peter and Marcellinus would be financed by a foundation set up by the First Lady of Azerbaijan, Mehriban Aliyeva.²¹ Two restoration projects financed in the more traditional manner are those of the Mausoleum of Maxentius's son, Romulus, aptly completed in time for the anniversary of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in October 2012 following a four-year campaign by the Sovrintendenza di Roma Capitale, and the Mausoleum of Gallienus, also on the Via Appia (at the sixth mile), whose elaborate vaulting was reported to be in danger of collapse in early 2013.²²

Of the welcome category of monuments reopened to the public, a prominent feature of past 'Notes from Rome', this year also saw important sectors of the substructures of the Baths of Caracalla made freshly accessible. Open to all visitors is a large stretch of the great central service galleries, running north from the caldarium in front of the southwest façade of the thermal block. Here are displayed some beautifully restored marble architectural decorations, including the gigantic figured capitals from the frigidarium carrying representations of personifications and divinities (Hercules, Bacchus, Mars and Venus). Open by appointment is the restored Mithraeum, situated beneath the exedra of the northwest precinct. This is the largest such cult space in Rome (23 × 9.7 m), paved with a black and white mosaic, and featuring a fragmentary *petra genatrix* altar and a faded fresco of a Mithras in a side niche. The so-called 'fossa sanguinis' (or perhaps a trapdoor for 'spectacular apparitions') in the centre of the hall is also visible.²³ Another promise maintained (if only briefly) was the opening, for a temporary exhibition of contemporary art, of the 'Sala dei capitelli' on the Palatine. The Hadrianic cross-vaulted hall opens off the southeastern corner of the sunken garden stadium and preserves its elaborate painted stucco coffering. Architectural elements stored here include nine monumental Corinthian and composite capitals.²⁴

At the Capitoline Museums, the latest exhibition in the *Giorni di Roma* series, 'L'età dell'equilibrio' (4 October 2012–5 May 2013), illustrated changes in

²¹ Projects reported in *La Repubblica* 24 August 2012 and 14 March 2013 (Pyramid) and *Il Tempo* 24 June 2102 (catacombs).

²² *Il Messaggero* 6 August 2012 (Romulus): the intention is to use the funerary chamber to display ancient sculpture from the *Comune* collections. *Il Corriere della Sera* 29 March 2013 (Gallienus).

²³ A new, bilingual guidebook was issued: M. Piranomonte (ed.), *Le Terme di Caracalla / The Baths of Caracalla* (Milan, 2012). For an alternative interpretation of the 'fossa', see D. Cosi, 'Il mitreo nelle Terme di Caracalla', in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* (Leiden, 1979), 933–42.

²⁴ In a later phase the hall was repaved in basalt blocks for industrial or service use. Excavated in 1866, it remains substantially unpublished. See J. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome 1* (London/Edinburgh, 1892), 71 and 213; and (for an illustration) M.A. Tomei, *Scavi francesi sul Palatino* (Rome, 1999), 485.

sculpture over the course of the second century, using statues, reliefs and sarcophagi drawn principally from the Roman collections (Capitoline and Palazzo Massimo).²⁵ Less familiar material was released from storage: an unusual relief of a Dioscurus in red marble with integrations in *pavonazzetto*, and the sarcophagus, skeleton and grave-goods of Crepereia Tryphaena, whose discovery on the Tiber banks in 1889 was so vividly described by Lanciani:

Gazing at the skeleton through the veil of the clear water, we saw the skull covered, as it were, with long masses of brown hair, which were floating in the liquid crystal. The comments made by the simple and excited crowd by which we were surrounded were almost as interesting as the discovery itself. The news concerning the prodigious hair spread like wild-fire among the populace of the district; and so the exhumation of Crepereia Tryphaena was accomplished with unexpected solemnity, and its remembrance will last for many years in the popular traditions of the new quarter of the Prati di Castello. The mystery of the hair is easily explained. Together with the springwater, germs or seeds of an aquatic plant had entered the sarcophagus, settled on the convex surface of the skull, and developed into long glassy threads of a dark shade. The skull was inclined slightly towards the left shoulder and towards an exquisite little doll, carved of oak, which was lying on the shoulder blade.²⁶

Other items seldom seen in Rome included exhibits loaned from Turin (the Marengo hoard with its silver bust of Lucius Verus), Dresden (the funerary relief of a butcher's shop, found in Trastevere in 1886) and Paris (the Louvre's enormous 2.5 × 4 m relief of a sacrifice scene from the Forum of Trajan).

An interesting new display relating to an important medieval monument was on show at the Vatican. The marble and mosaic frieze of the Lateran Basilica's medieval portico, dating to the years around 1200, was dismantled during the destruction of the porch in 1732. Subsequently, the cosmatesque elements were reused in a pavement. In 2009 some 31 fragments, for the most part denuded of their mosaic figured decoration, were rediscovered in a store room beneath the Belvedere's Octagonal Court. A conference held at the Vatican Museums in June 2012 illustrated the painstaking reassembly of the fragments, expedited by the cross-referencing of Giovanni Ciampini's illustrations of 1693 and the surviving fragments' inscribed *tituli* identifying some of the key scenes. Two of these represented Vespasian's campaign in Judaea (*Naves Romani Ducis hae sunt Vespasiani*) and the baptism of Constantine (*Rex Baptizatur et Leprae Sorde Lavatur*).²⁷

There has been some reordering of the displays at the Museo delle Terme. The Palazzo Massimo has placed on show four recently-restored fresco lunettes from a

²⁵ Catalogue: E. La Rocca, C. Parisi Presicce and A. Lo Monaco (eds), *L'età dell'equilibrio* (Loreto, 2012). The contradictions inherent in the exhibition's title are discussed by Eugenio La Rocca at pp. 19–25 ('Società e arte nell'impero romano del II secolo d.C.').

²⁶ R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (London, 1892), 302.

²⁷ G. Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno Constructis* (Rome, 1693), 11–13 and tab. II. The pieces were catalogued by Nicoletta Bernacchio under the direction of Anna Maria De Strobel (Musei Vaticani).

late first-century BC tomb at Morlupo, depicting the myth of Hero and Leander and other fluvial scenes.²⁸ In the Epigraphic Department, rooms given over to didactic presentations for schools now house the famous epitaph of Lucius Cornelius, the architect of Lutatius Catulus (formerly in the cloister of San Giovanni Calibita on Tiber island),²⁹ a fragment of coloured floor mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla depicting an athlete,³⁰ a large polychrome floor mosaic from Santa Palomba on the via Ardeatina featuring the head of Medusa, and assorted sculpture (cinerary urns, two mutilated Flavian heads from the Forum Romanum). Aula XI has been reopened to the public, its late antique transformation into a cistern apparent from the *cocciopesto* lining of the floor and walls. It contains an enormous black and white floor mosaic of Hercules and Achelous discovered at Anzio in 1931.³¹ To the display in Aula X has been added the Mars and Venus group borrowed in recent years by Silvio Berlusconi to adorn the Palazzo Chigi, the temporary penis inserted by the ex-prime minister tastefully removed.³²

A question frequently asked by scholars and students on arriving in the city is where the fragments of the Severan marble plan may be viewed. Until this year, the answer was ‘nowhere’. Indeed, the last time substantial sections of the plan were on public display was in the 1930s, when the fragments mounted by Lanciani on the garden wall of the Palazzo dei Conservatori were removed to a new but short-lived home in the Antiquarium Comunale of the Caelian.³³ The post-war period was the era of the marble plan’s two fundamental publications, by the team of Gianfilippo Carettoni and by Emilio Rodríguez Almeida,³⁴ when the fragments were removed for study to the attic of the Palazzo Braschi. Thereafter, the pieces remained in boxes in the storerooms of the Museo della Civiltà Romana, to be opened only for Stanford University’s digital scanning project in 1999.³⁵ In June 2013, four large sectors of the plan were restored to public display at the same Museo della Civiltà Romana, representing the Palatine (Domus Flavia

²⁸ C. Gasparri and R. Paris (eds), *Palazzo Massimo. Le collezioni* (Milan, 2013), 378–80.

²⁹ *CIL* VI 40910.

³⁰ A. Insalaco, ‘I mosaici degli atleti dalle Terme di Caracalla’, *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989), 313 and fig. 20.

³¹ S. Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome, 1963), 56–7.

³² On the ‘reversible restoration’, see *Il Messaggero* 27 March 2013. The group was found at Ostia in 1918 (A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* 1.8 (Rome, 1985), 219–24).

³³ For the vicissitudes of the marble plan’s display, see L. Ferrea, ‘Documentare la *Forma Urbis marmorea*’, in R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani (eds), *Formae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 2006), 41–51. Lanciani himself described assembling 167 of the then total of 1,049 fragments for its inauguration in April 1903 in only 40 days, with the help of Huelsen (*Notes from Rome* (ed. A. Cubberley) (London, 1988), 381–2).

³⁴ G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza and G. Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica: Formae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1960); E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Forma Urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale 1980* (Rome, 1981).

³⁵ <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/> (last updated October 2008).

and Area Apollinis), the Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora, the Colosseum (including the Ludus Magnus and Dacicus, with part of the Baths of Trajan), and the central Campus Martius (from the Saepta and Isaeum to the Porticus of Philip and the Crypta Balbi).³⁶ The pieces are arranged in Hall XVII, at the four corners of Italo Gismondi's and Pierino Di Carlo's famous *plastico* of the city, representing the Rome of Constantine on the same 1:250 scale.

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³⁶ A similar arrangement was briefly displayed at 2009's *Divus Vespasianus* exhibition (F. Coarelli, *Divus Vespasianus* (Milan, 2009), 430–2, 438–9, 443, 450–1).