

Monumental Marble Plan of Rome *Forma Urbis Romae*

The *Forma Urbis Museum* was opened in the newly renovated archaeological park on the Caelian hill in Rome, dedicated to an extremely important monument – the monumental marble plan of Rome, *Forma Urbis Romae*. The plan was created between 203 and 211, during the reign of Septimius Severus. It was originally 13 m high and 18.10 m wide, with an area of about 235 m² and was composed of 151 marble slabs arranged in 11 rows, attached to the wall with plaster and metal pendants. It was located in the hall inside the Vespasian Temple of Peace (*Templum Pacis*), and was created during the restoration of the Temple damaged by fire in 192 (Fig. 1).¹ The wall on which it was attached has been preserved in its entirety, with visible grooves for



Fig. 1 Reconstruction of the aula inside the *Templum Pacis* with the *Forma Urbis* plan.
Slika 1. Rekonstrukcija aule unutar *Templuma Pacis* s kartom *Forma Urbis*.

¹ In the 4th century, the *Templum Pacis* became Forum Pacis and was included in the complex of monumental imperial squares – *Fori imperiali*. It differs from other forums, which mainly served as administrative and tribunals centres, in that it represented a religious and cultural centre, known for its library (*Bibliotheca Pacis*) and an outstanding collection of sculptures. In the cultural climate of that era, the *Templum* had a significant role in the life of the imperial city as a place of education, preservation and transfer of knowledge, which was visited by a large audience. Some researchers believe that the discovery of the plan indicates the possibility that the area was defined as the centre of the prefecture, despite the written sources, and that hypothesis remains open, as does the importance of the map for the interpretation of the entire urban and architectural context. There is also the assumption that Severus's plan replaced or only supplemented the earlier, already existing marble plan from the time of the Flavians (Rodríguez Almeida 2002, 10–11) and that the production of monumental marble plans can be traced even further back in Roman history (Dudley 1967, 131).

metal supports. It represents the outer part of the northern wall of the complex of Saints Cosmas and Damian at the Roman Forum (Fig. 2). The dating of the map is unquestionable since the inscription on plate 5A mentions the name of the then living Emperor Septimius Severus – *clivus Victoriae Severi et Antonini AugG/NN*, which certainly represents the *terminus ante quem* of the creation of the plan (Rodríguez Almeida, 2002, 68).² According to the

² The dating was also determined by exhaustive research of all the available elements: the wall on which the plan was attached, metal supports, paleographic features of the inscriptions on the plates, and drawings of some monuments such as the *Septizodium* – the decorative façade of the nymphaeum demolished in 1588. (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza, Gatti 1960, 213–216). The *Septizodium* was built according to the emperor's decision from 203 and represents the *terminus post quem* of the creation of the plan.

reconstruction, the plan showed the entire area of Rome *intra muros* in an area of approx. 4000 ha and was oriented SE-NW.³ The plan shows in great detail, in ground plan and at a scale of 1:240, the urban structure of ancient Rome: from important architectural monuments and urban spaces to small streets and residential districts. To date, about 1200 fragments have been preserved, i.e., about 15% of the entire plan. The goal of researchers since the 16th century, when the fragments were found, was to try to reconstruct the plan by joining the fragments into one large and difficult puzzle, given the poor condition of the individual pieces and the relatively poor preservation of the material. Numerous issues have been

³ Castagnoli interprets that the orientation of the map with south at the top is standard for the ancient Roman area, in accordance with the research conducted on written sources (Castagnoli 1976).

Monumentalna mramorna karta Rima

Forma Urbis Romae

U novouređenom arheološkom parku na Celiju u Rimu otvoren je Muzej *Forma Urbis*, posvećen jednom, iznimno značajnom spomeniku – monumentalnoj mramornoj karti Rima, *Forma Urbis Romae*. Karta je nastala između 203. i 211. godine, u vrijeme vladavine Septimija Severa. Izvorno je bila 13 m visoka i 18,10 m široka, površine oko 235 m² i bila je sastavljena od 151 mramorne ploče poredane u 11 redova, pričvršćene na zid žbukom i metalnim privjescima. Nalazila se u auli unutar Vespazijanova Hrama Mira (Templum Pacis), a nastala je za obnove Hrama oštećenog u požaru 192. godine (sl. 1).¹ Zid na kojem je bila pričvršćena je sačuvan u cijelosti, s vidljivim utorima za metalne nosače, i predstavlja vanjski dio sjevernoga zida kompleksa sv. Kuzme i Damjana na Rimskome forumu (sl. 2). Datacija je karte neupitna budući da

se u natpisu na ploči 5A spominje ime tada živućega cara Septimija Severa – *clivus Victoriae Severi et Antonini AugG/NN*, što svakako predstavlja terminus ante quem nastanka karte (Rodríguez-Almeida, 2002, 68).² Sukladno rekonstrukciji, karta je prikazivala cjelokupni prostor Rima *intra muros* u površini od cca 4000 ha te je bila orijentirana JI-SZ.³ Karta prikazuje vrlo detaljno, u tlocrtu i omjeru 1:240, urbanističku potku antičkoga Rima: od značajnih arhitektonskih spomenika i urbanih prostora do malih ulica i stambenih četvrti. Do danas je sačuvano oko 1200 ulomaka, odnosno oko 15 % cjelokupne karte. Cilj istraživača od 16. stoljeća, kada su ulomci pronađeni, bio je pokušati rekonstruirati kartu spajanjem ulomaka u jedan veliki i teško složivi puzzle s obzirom na loše stanje pojedinih komada te relativno slabu sačuvanost materijala. Suvremenim tehnologijama uspješno su riješena brojna pitanja, što je potaknulo Upravu za zaštitu spomenika u Rimu da predstavi ovaj izniman dio urbane baštine i rezultate istraživanja široj javnosti u muzeju otvorenome u siječnju 2024.

O povijesti karte znamo relativno malo. Zaslužan za realizaciju projekta bio je Fabius Cilo, *praefectus urbis*, čija

¹ *Templum Pacis* u 4. stoljeću postaje Forum Pacis i biva uvršten u niz monumentalnih carskih trgova – *Fori imperiali*. Od ostalih foruma, koji su uglavnom služili kao administrativna i sjedišta tribunala, razlikuje se po tome što je predstavljao religijsko i kulturno središte, poznato po biblioteci (*Bibliotheca Pacis*) te izvanrednoj kolekciji skulptura. U kulturnoj klimi toga doba, *Templum* je imao značajnu ulogu u životu carskog grada kao mjesto obrazovanja, čuvanja i prijenosa znanja, kojem je pohodila brojna publika. Pojedini istraživači su smatrali da pronalazak karte ukazuje na mogućnost definicije toga prostora kao središta prefekture, usprkos pisanim izvorima, te ta hipoteza ostaje otvorena, kao i važnost karte za interpretaciju cijelog urbanističko-arhitektonskog konteksta. Pojavljuje se i pretpostavka da je Severova karta zamijenila ili samo nadopunila raniju, već postojeću mramornu kartu iz vremena Flavijevaca (Rodríguez Almeida 2002, 10-11) te da se izrada monumentalnih mramornih karata može pratiti i dalje u rimsku povijest (Dudley 1967, 131).

² Datacija je utvrđena i iscrpnim istraživanjem svih dostupnih elemenata: zida na koji je karta bila pričvršćena, metalnih nosača, paleografskih odlika natpisa na pločama, te crteža nekih spomenika poput *Septizodijuma* – dekorativne fasade nimfeja srušene 1588. (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza, Gatti 1960, 213-216). *Septizodium* je sagrađen po carevoj odluci 203. te predstavlja *terminus post quem* nastanka karte.

³ Castagnoli tumači da je orijentacija karte s jugom na vrhu standardna za rimski antički prostor, sukladno istraživanjima provedenima na pisanim izvorima (Castagnoli 1976).



Slika 2. Sjeverni vanjski zid crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana na koji je izvorno bila pričvršćena mramorna karta Rima.

Fig. 2 The northern outer wall of the church of St. Cosmas and Damian to which the marble plan of Rome was originally attached.

se kuća pojavljuje na ploči 3A, kao jedan od rijetkih imenovanih privatnih prostora unutar guste mreže javnih i carskih spomenika arhitekture. Karta je zabilježena kao jedna od etapa za posjete cara Konstancija II. Rimu 357., nakon čega slijedi propadanje, vjerojatno uzrokovano potresom 408., a možda i pljačkom i uništavanjem Rima od Gota 410. i Vandala 455. (Palombi 2016, 208). Za pretpostaviti je da je karta bila prilično uništena do početka izgradnje crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana (526.-530., a nakon velikog požara početkom 6. stoljeća, kada dolazi do preuređenja toga dijela foruma), iako neki

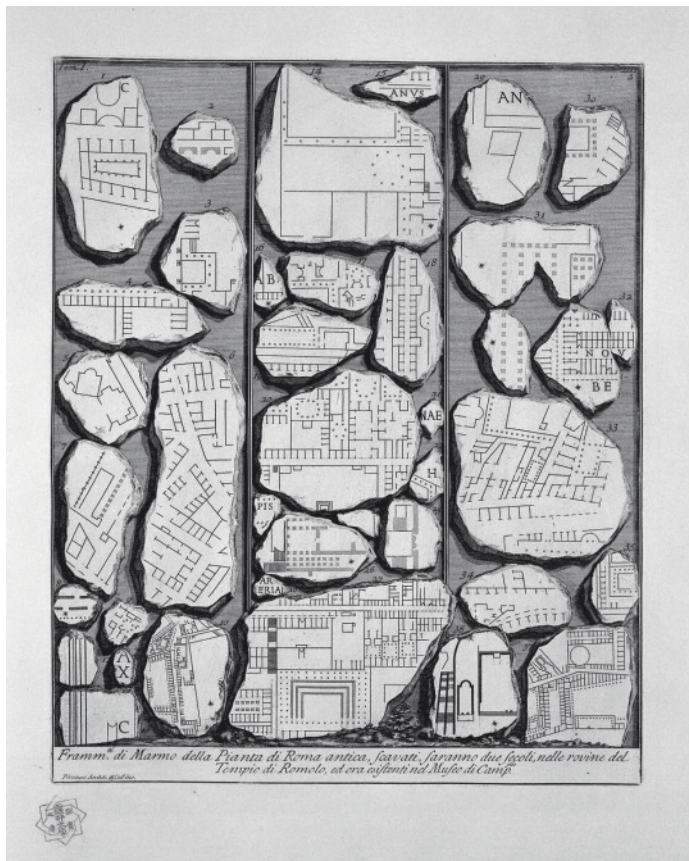


Fig. 3 Drawing of fragments from *Forma Urbis* from G. B. Piranesi, *Le antichità Romane*, 1756, T I/4.

Slika 3. Crtež ulomaka *Formae Urbis* iz G. B. Piranesi, *Le antichità Romane*, 1756., T I/4.

successfully resolved with modern technologies, which prompted the Directorate for the Protection of Monuments in Rome to present this exceptional piece of urban heritage and the results of research to the general public in a museum opened in January 2024.

We know relatively little about the history of the plan. Fabius Cilo, *prae-fectus urbis*, is credited with the realization of the project. His house appears on Plate 3A, as one of the few titled private spaces within a dense network of public and imperial architectural monuments. Its significance was recorded as one of the stages of the visit of Emperor Constantius II to Rome in 357, followed by deterioration, probably caused by an earthquake in 408, and perhaps by the sacking and destruction of Rome by the Goths in 410 and the Vandals in 455 (Palombi, 2016, 208). It can be assumed that the plan

was quite destroyed by the beginning of the construction of the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian (526-530, and after a great fire at the beginning of the 6th century, when that part of the forum was remodelled), although some sources support the fact that intense spoliation followed only in the 9th century (Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 53-59). During the early and late Middle Ages, numerous fragments were re-used or used for the production of lime, as was the custom at that time, while only a small part remained preserved, buried underground, until 1562, when marble fragments were found during works on the area surrounding the church of St. Cosmas and Damian. A smaller part was still attached to the wall (these are the marble slabs on the lower part of the wall, which formed a decorative 4-meter-high base), while numerous fragments were scattered

underground in the surrounding area.⁴ The fragments were transferred to the garden of the Farnese family palace on Campo de' Fiori, where they were available to researchers of the time with the aim of reconstructing a complete plan. From that time (between 1570 and 1580), 59 drawings of stone fragments (out of a total of 91) have been preserved, collected in the Latin Codex 3439 (or *Codex Orsinianus*) kept in the Vatican Library (Anderson, 1982, 70). These are valuable drawings, given the fact that 29 fragments have been lost today, and 30 have only been preserved in fragments. They represent exceptional evidence and a source of knowledge of the first corpus. Already at the beginning of the 17th century, it became clear that the reconstruction of the plan was a difficult undertaking, therefore interest in the project waned. In 1673, after resystematizing the collection, Giovanni Pietro Bellori published drawings of 163 fragments with the desire to stimulate interest in this valuable collection.⁵ The book did not achieve the desired goal, and the fragments remained forgotten. Finally, at the end of the 17th century numerous fragments were incorporated as building material in the new wall that the Farnese erected towards the Tiber, enclosing their "secret garden" (*giardino segreto*). On that occasion, numerous fragments were further damaged, and many were broken into smaller pieces in order to be used more easily in a new construction project. Thanks to antiquary Francesco Bianchini, the preserved fragments were transferred from the garden to one of the halls of the palace at the beginning of the 18th century, where their analysis was restarted. Furthermore, after the death of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese in 1626, the palace fell into the hands of the Spanish crown, which in 1741, after many

⁴ The circumstances of the find are known thanks to Flaminia Vacca's record from 1594 (*The Travels ...*, 1712, 203-204).

⁵ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex Lapidibus Farnesianis nunc primum in lucem edita*, Rome, 1673.



Slika 4. Skarta Rima s prikazanim mramornim ulomcima *Formae Urbis* iz L. Canina, *Pianta Topografica di Roma Antica*, 1850.

Fig. 4 Map of Rome showing marble fragments from the *Forma Urbis*, from L. Canina, *Pianta Topografica di Roma Antica*, 1850.

izvori govore u prilog činjenici da je intenzivna spolijacija uslijedila tek u 9. stoljeću (Santangeli Valenzani 2006, 53-59). Tijekom ranoga i zreloga srednjeg vijeka brojni su ulomci bili reutilizirani ili iskorišteni za proizvodnju vapna, kakav je bio običaj u to vrijeme, dok je tek manji dio ostao sačuvan, zatrpan pod zemljom, sve do 1562. kada su tijekom radova na uređenju okolnog prostora crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana pronađeni mramorni ulomci. Jedan manji dio još je bio pričvršćen na zid (radi se o mramornim pločama na donjem dijelu zida, koje su činile dekorativnu bazu visoku 4 metra), dok su brojni fragmenti bili raštrkani u okolnom prostoru pod zemljom.⁴ Ulomci su preneseni u vrt palače obitelji Farnese na Campo de' Fiori gdje su bili dostupni tadašnjim istraživačima s ciljem rekonstrukcije cjelovite karte. Iz tog vremena (između 1570. i 1580.) os-

talo je sačuvano 59 crteža kamenih ulomaka (od ukupno 91), sakupljenih u Latinskom kodeksu 3439 (ili *Codex Orsinianus*) koji se čuva u Vatikanskoj biblioteci (Anderson 1982, 70). Radi se o vrijednim crtežima, s obzirom na činjenicu da je 29 ulomaka danas izgubljeno, a 30 sačuvano tek fragmentarno, te oni predstavljaju izniman dokaz i izvor poznavanja prvoga korpusa. Već početkom 17. stoljeća postaje jasno da je rekonstrukcija karte teško ostvariv poduhvat, pa je interes za projekt oslabio. Godine 1673., Giovanni Pietro Bellori, nakon što je resistematizirao zbirku,⁵ objavljuje crteže 163 ulomka sa željom da se potakne interes za tu vrijednu zbirku. Knjiga nije postigla željeni cilj, ulomci su ostali zaboravljeni da bi krajem 17. stoljeća brojni fragmenti bili ugrađeni kao građevinski materijal u novi zid koji Farnese podižu prema Tiberu, ograđujući svoj „tajni

vrt“ (*giardino segreto*). Tom su prigodom brojni ulomci dodatno oštećeni, mnogi razbijeni u manje komade kako bi se lakše iskoristili u novom građevinskom poduhvatu. Zaslugom antikvara Francesca Bianchinia, sačuvani ulomci bijahu preneseni početkom 18. stoljeća iz vrta u jednu salu palače gdje je ponovo pokrenuta njihova analiza. Također, nakon smrti kardinala Odoarda Farnesea 1626. palača je pripala španjolskoj kruni, koja će 1741. nakon dugogodišnjih diplomatskih napora i zahtjeva pape Benedikta XIV., prepustiti Rimu kamene ulomke, koji se prebacuju u papinsku palaču na Kvirinalu, a 1742. u Muzej na Kapitoliju (Museo Capitolino) gdje su bili izloženi u drvenim okvirima. Preseljenjem u Muzej započelo je ozbiljno i sustavno istraživanje i brojne objave od kojih treba istaknuti knjige Giovannia Battiste Piranesia iz 1754. i 1762 (sl. 3).⁶ Luigi Canina je prvi

⁴ Okolnosti nalaza poznate su zahvaljujući zapisu Flaminia Vacce iz 1594. (*The Travels ...*, 1712, 203-204).

⁵ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex Lapidibus Farnesianis nunc primum in lucent edita*, Rim, 1673.

⁶ Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, Rim, 1754.; Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Campus Martius Antiquae Urbis*, Comitibus Thomati, Rim, 1762.

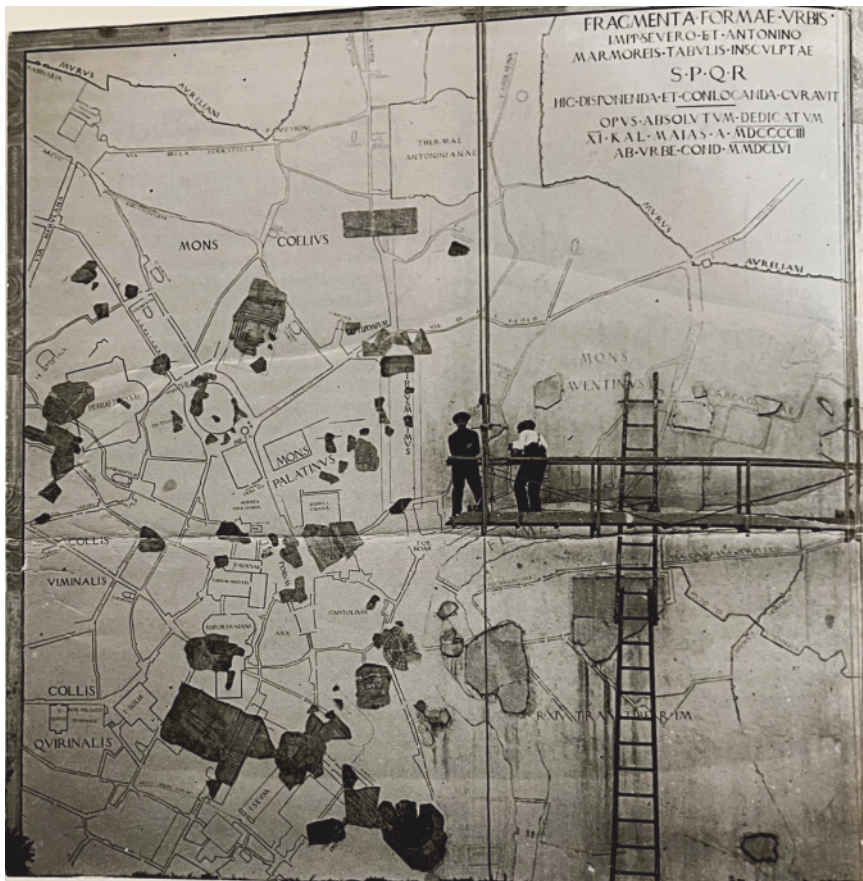


Fig. 5 Photograph of the reconstructed plan on the outer wall of the building of the Capitoline Museum, 1903.

Slika 5. Fotografija rekonstruirane karte na vanjskom zidu jedne od zgrada Kapitolijskoga muzeja, 1903.

years of diplomatic efforts and at the request of Pope Benedict XIV, consigned the stone fragments to Rome. These were transferred to the papal palace on the Quirinal, and in 1742 to the Capitoline Museum (Museo Capitolino) where they were exhibited in wooden frames. The move to the Museum signalled the beginning of serious and systematic research and numerous publications, including Giovanni Battista Piranesi's books from 1754 and 1762 (Fig. 3).⁶ Luigi Canina was the first researcher to use fragments as an ar-

chaeological tool to identify the monuments of ancient Rome. He published several topographical monographs, which for the first time focused on individual fragments and the ancient monuments depicted on them, and drew the first topographical map of ancient Rome that includes drawings of fragments from the marble floor plan (Fig. 4)⁷ Canina's work stimulated interest in the topographical value of the marble fragments, which Heinrich Jordan would supplement, publishing his long-term research in 1874.⁸ It provides a critical

account of the history of the fragments, their origin and production techniques, a description of individual fragments and a categorization of the monuments that appear on the plan along with 37 plates. The end of the 19th century signals a more serious approach to this structure and a series of scientific publications, based on long-term and exhaustive research, bringing drawings, comments and placement of individual fragments within the city structure. Each new publication is enriched with new findings. The most significant was the discovery of 637 fragments during the reconstruction of the garden wall of the Farnese Palace in 1888, published by Rodolfo Lanciani⁹, as well as 14 fragments found in the walls of the Palace in 1902. Along with the publications, there was a desire to attempt to reconstruct the plan in its full size, which was carried out by Rodolfo Lanciani in 1903, displaying fragments of the reconstructed plan on the outer wall of one of the buildings of the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 5), but as early as 1924, the originals were replaced by plaster casts and returned inside the Museum to protect themselves from the weather. The 20th century brought a new momentum in research, accompanied by new technologies and an awakened interest in a more detailed and interdisciplinary approach, including the unification of the entire collection in one place and photographic documentation of all the fragments. In 1955, the fragments were moved to the Braschi Palace, where research continued, and in 1960 the first synthetic photographic study of the preserved fragments was published – *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*¹⁰. That edition was supplemented in 1981 by Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida in the book *Forma Urbis Marmorea, aggiornamento*

⁶ Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, Rome, 1754; Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Campus Martius Antiquae Urbis*, Comitibus Thomati, Rome, 1762.

⁷ Luigi Canina, *Pianta Topografica di Roma Antica*, Rome, 1850.

⁸ Heinrich Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae Regionum XIV*, Weidmann, Berlin, 1874.

⁹ Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston and New York, 1897; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Ulricum Hoepli, Milano, 1901.

¹⁰ Gianfilippo Carettoni, Antonio Colini, Lucos Cozza, Guglielmo Gatti (ed.), *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*. *Forma urbis Romae*, Rome, 1960.

istraživač koji je upotrijebio fragmente kao arheološki alat za identifikaciju spomenika staroga Rima. Objavljuje nekoliko topografskih monografija, koje se po prvi put usredotočuju na pojedine fragmente i na njima prikazane antičke spomenike, te crta prvu topografsku kartu starog Rima koja uključuje crteže ulomaka s mramornog tlocrta (sl. 4).⁷ Caninin rad potaknuo je interes za topografsku vrijednost mramornih fragmenata koji će nadopuniti Heinrich Jordan i svoje dugogodišnje istraživanje objaviti 1874.⁸ U njemu donosi kritički prikaz povijesti ulomaka, njihovo podrijetlo i tehnike izrade, opis pojedinih ulomaka i kategorizaciju spomenika koji se na karti pojavljuju uz 37 tabli crteža. Kraj 19. stoljeća vrijeme je ozbiljnijeg pristupa toj građi i niza znanstvenih objava, temeljenih na dugogodišnjim i iscrpnim istraživanjima, koje donose crteže, komentare i ubikaciju pojedinog fragmenta unutar gradske strukture te je svaka nova objava obogaćena novim nalazima. Najznačajniji je bio pronalazak 637 ulomaka prilikom rekonstrukcije zida u vrtu Palače Farnese 1888., koje objavljuje Rodolfo Lanciani⁹, te 14 ulomaka pronađenih u zidovima palače 1902. Uz objave javila se želja za pokušajem rekonstrukcije karte u punoj veličini što je 1903. izveo Rodolfo Lanciani, izloživši ulomke unutar rekonstruirane karte na vanjskom zidu jedne od zgrada Kapitolijskoga muzeja (sl. 5), no već 1924. originali se zamjenjuju gipsanim odljevima i vraćaju u unutrašnjost Muzeja kako bi se zaštitili od atmosferilija. Dvadeseto je stoljeće donijelo novi zamah u istraživanju, praćeno novim tehnologijama i probuđenim interesom za pomniji i interdisciplinarni pristup, uključivši objedinjenje cjelovite zbirke

na jednome mjestu te fotografiranje svih ulomaka. Godine 1955. ulomci su preseljeni u palaču Braschi, gdje se nastavlja s istraživanjem kako bi 1960. bila objavljena prva sintezna topografska studija sačuvanih ulomaka *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*¹⁰. To će izdanje 1981. nadopuniti Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida u knjizi *Forma Urbis Marmorea, aggiornamento generale 1980*. Ulomci se, zatim, sele u Museo della Civiltà Romana 1998. Velik će preokret u istraživanju karte imati digitalizacija cijele zbirke koju je od 1999. do 2004. proveo tim istraživača sa Sveučilišta Stanford omogućivši otvoren internetski pristup iznimnim fotografijama, 3D modelima i ostalom relevantnom materijalu s iscrpnom bibliografijom.¹¹

Konačno, 2024. otvoren je muzej posvećen slavnoj mramornoj karti. Na podu velike centralne prostorije, bivše gimnastičke dvorane Doma mladih iz Mussolinijeva vremena, projiciran je crtež karte Giovannia Battiste Nollia iz 1748., uvećan do izvornih dimenzija mramorne karte, a na koji je postavljeno 200 ulomaka koji su topografski identificirani te je sve pokriveno staklom. Nollijev je crtež izabran jer predstavlja iznimni spomenik rimske kartografije 18. stoljeća: prvi moderni kartografski prikaz Rima temeljen na preciznim mjerenjima i koji je prostorno puno bliži izvornome stanju antičkoga Rima od današnjih karata. Posjetitelju je omogućeno „šetati se“ povijesnim Rimom i prepoznavati pojedine dijelove grada i građevine (sl. 6). Na zidovima ostalih prostorija izloženi su neidentificirani fragmenti kako bi se na izvornim kamenim komadima lakše promotrio urezani crtež, koji predstavlja shematski prikaz neke građevine ili urbanoga dijela putem uobičajenog znakovlja toga vremena (sl. 7). Tako su na karti prikazani trgovi, ulice, hramovi, insule, bazilike, terme,

akvadukti, amfiteatri, kazališta i druge građevine, pogdjekoje imenovane. Sve je prikazano shematskim crtežima obojanima svijetlo crvenim minijevim pigmentom i uredno raspoređeno po cijeloj površini karte. Izložbu nadopunjuju panoji, crteži i fotografije koje prate zanimljivu povijesnu priču ovoga spomenika. O potrebi izlaganja ulomaka i pokušaja rekonstrukcije karte u prostoru novoga Muzeja raspravljalo se od 2016. Otvorenje Muzeja dočekano je s velikim oduševljenjem i popraćeno je u svim medijima, budući da predstavlja novi početak u istraživanju povijesti i konteksta nastanka karte te njezine vrijednosti i značaja za poznavanje urbanističkoga razvoja staroga Rima. To se ponajprije odnosi na korištenje suvremenih tehnologija i metoda u istraživanju kamena (izotopske analize, katodoluminescencija, lasersko skeniranje), kojima je odbačeno dosadašnje mišljenje da se radi o himetskom mramoru te je potvrđeno da je karta izrađena u prokoneškom mramoru. Također, provodi se digitalizacija i izrada 3D modela svakog ulomka što bitno pomaže u spajanju i slaganju. Upravo je u tijeku novo skeniranje ulomaka koje provodi Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai beni culturali u suradnji s Ancient World Mapping Center sa Sveučilišta Sjeverna Karolina.

Do danas je sačuvano oko 1200 ulomaka, većina kojih je pronađena u 16. stoljeću, ali nekolicina i kasnije: recimo npr. četiri ulomka tijekom arheoloških radova prilikom izgradnje Linije C rimskoga metroa 2006., jedan 2014. prilikom radova na palači Maffei Marescotti te nekoliko kod drugih arheoloških istraživanja (Tucci 2007). Također, osamdeset i sedam je ulomaka izgubljeno u međuvremenu, ali su ostali sačuvani u crtežima iz različitih perioda, od kojih su najznačajniji rani crteži iz 16. i 17. stoljeća, sačuvani u *Codexu Ursinianusu*. Fragmenti su sačuvani u različitim dimenzijama – od sitnih komadića do većih komada na kojima se prepoznaju crteži i natpisi, te u različitom stanju očuvanosti, pokazujući oštećenja izazvana vatrom, atmosferilijama, padom i dugim boravkom pod zemljom. Svi poznati dijelovi čine oko 15 % cjelokupne karte

⁷ Luigi Canina, *Pianta Topografica di Roma Antica*, Rim, 1850.

⁸ Heinrich Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae Regionum XIV*, Weidmann, Berlin, 1874.

⁹ Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston and New York, 1897.; Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Ulricum Hoepli, Milano, 1901.

¹⁰ Gianfilippo Carettoni, Antonio Colini, Lucos Cozza, Guglielmo Gatti (ur.), *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma Urbis Romae*, Rim, 1960.

¹¹ Projekt je dostupan na <http://forma-urbis.stanford.edu>.



Fig. 6 Central exhibition hall of the Forma Urbis Museum, Rome.
Slika 6. Središnja izložbena dvorana Muzeja Forma Urbis, Rim.

generale 1980. The fragments were then moved to the Museo della Civiltà Romana in 1998. A major breakthrough in research of the plan was the digitization of the entire collection, which was carried out from 1999 to 2004 by a team of researchers from Stanford University, enabling open Internet access to exceptional photos, 3D models and other relevant material with an exhaustive bibliography.¹¹

Finally, in 2024, a museum dedicated to the famous marble plan was opened. A drawing of the plan by Giovanni Battista Nolli from 1748 is projected on the floor of the large central room, the former gymnasium of the

Youth Centre from Mussolini's time, enlarged to the original dimensions of the marble plan, on which 200 topographically identified fragments are placed, all covered with glass. Nolli's drawing was chosen because it represents an exceptional monument of 18th century Roman cartography: the first modern cartographic representation of Rome based on precise measurements and which is spatially much closer to the original state of ancient Rome than today's maps. The visitor is able to "walk" through historical Rome and recognize individual parts of the city and buildings (Fig. 6). Unidentified fragments are displayed on the walls of the other rooms to make it easier to see the engraved drawings on the original stone pieces, which depicts a schematic representation of a building or urban part using the usual signs of that time (Fig. 7). Thus, the plan shows

squares, streets, temples, apartment buildings, basilicas, baths, aqueducts, amphitheatres, theatres and other buildings, some of them named. Everything is shown with schematic drawings painted with bright red minium and neatly arranged over the entire surface of the plan. The exhibition is complemented by panels, drawings and photographs that follow the interesting historical story of this monument. The need to display the fragments and attempt to reconstruct the plan in the space of the new Museum has been discussed since 2016. The opening of the Museum was met with great enthusiasm and was covered in all the media, as it represents a new beginning in researching the history and context of the creation of the plan, as well as its value and significance for getting to know the urban development of ancient Rome. This primarily refers to the use of modern technologies and methods in stone research (isotopic analysis, cathodoluminescence, laser scanning), through which the previous opinion that this was Hymettos marble was rejected, confirming that the map was made in Proconnesian marble. Digitization and creation of a 3D model of each fragment is also carried out, which significantly helps in joining and matching them. A new scan of the fragments is underway by the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai beni culturali in collaboration with the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina.

About 1,200 fragments have been preserved to date, most of which were found in the 16th century, but a few even later: recently, for example, four fragments were found during the archaeological excavations during the construction of Line C of the Roman Metro in 2006, one in 2014 during the work on the Maffei Marescotti Palace, and several in other archaeological excavations (Tucci 2007). Also, eighty-seven fragments were lost in the meantime, but they remained preserved in drawings from different periods, the most significant of which are the early drawings from the 16th and 17th centuries, preserved in the *Codex Ursinianus*. The fragments have

¹¹ The project is available at <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu>.



Slika 7. Neidentificirani ulomci izloženi na zidu muzeja s pripadajućim legendama.
Fig. 7 Unidentified fragments displayed on the wall of the museum with the associated labels.

koja u mjerilu 1:240 prikazuje površinu od 13,55 km² grada Rima. Na karti je tlocrtno predstavljena sva arhitektura grada – od najznačajnijih spomenika i velikih arhitektonskih cjelina, do najmanjih stambenih jedinica.¹² Ipak, postoje razlike u prikazu pojedinih objekata, pa su tako određene građevine na karti istaknute, poput hramova: njihovi su zidovi prikazani dvostrukom linijom, vanjski stupovi kao kvadratići ili kvadratići s točkom (ne točke kao kod drugih građevina), te su im *celle* istaknute obrisnim linijama i jačom crvenom bojom (sl. 8). Moguće je pretpostaviti da je njihovo isticanje moglo poslužiti kao orijentir u prostoru karte, što ne začuđuje poznavajući njihovu važnost u rimskom društvu, ali i iznimnu raskoš njihove arhitekture i dekorativne opreme (Reyndols 1996, 80). Istaknuto mjesto zauzimaju i veliki javni kompleksi poput amfiteatar, kazališta i bazilika. Sačuvano je nekoliko ulomaka s prikazom Koloseja (sl.

9), na kojima se jasno uočavaju kružne linije skraćenog gledališta te deblje linije zidova i ophodnih hodnika. Također, na sačuvanim ulomcima Bazilike Ulpie može se prepoznati njezina raskošna središnja dvorana s dva reda stupova (sl. 10). Veliki portik s dvostrukom kolonadom uokvirivao je tržnicu na Eskvilinu, koju je sagradio car August 7. g. pr. Kr. i posvetio svojoj ženi Liviji. *Porticus Liviae* sačuvan je na crtežu *Forme Urbis* (sl. 11). Vrijednost karte je i u prikazu brojnih stambenih prostora i trgovačkih kvartova, u kojima su detaljno iscrtane različite prostorije, hodnici, stubišta i trijemovi (sl. 12). To su prostori koji su rijetko sačuvani u arheološkoj zoni i koji, ponajprije tijekom ranih arheoloških istraživanja, nisu bili u fokusu interesa, pa su mnogi zauvijek izgubljeni. Karta pruža cijeli niz zanimljivih podataka o načinu na koji su različite strukture bile smještene u urbanom prostoru te kakve su njihove opće karakteristike, no teško je govoriti o preciznijoj klasifikaciji ili prepoznavanju detaljnije namjene pojedinog prostora. Tako je na slici 13 vidljiv dio rimske stambene četvrti, u kojemu prepoznajemo *domus*, s istaknutim atrijem, fontanu, stubište, uličice i niz taberni, kao tipičnih, jednostavnih

pravokutnih prostora koji se prostiru uz ulicu. Sačuvano je i nekoliko fragmentata s prikazom skladišta (*horrea*), najbrojnijih u lučkoj zoni uz Tiber, poput *Horrea Lolliana* (sl. 14). Na slici je vidljivo unutarnje dvorište okruženo portikom, iz kojeg se ulazi u manja spremišta jednakih veličina poredanih uokolo, s tek jednim ili dva ulaza kako bi prostor bio zatvoren i siguran što predstavlja tipičan raspored jednog velikog rimskog skladišta (Carapellucci 2011.). Na karti se gotovo u svim dijelovima grada prepoznaju oznake i naslovi kupališta, od velikih javnih termi do manjih kupališta (*balnea*). Posebno je zanimljivo pratiti njihov raspored u gradskoj matrici gdje se primjećuje veći broj na ulazima u grad i uz veće prometnice, što upućuje na činjenicu da su putnici koji su dolazili u Rim tražili uslugu kupanja (Foulché 2011). Na ulomku koji prikazuje *balneum Caesaris* (sl. 15) vide se različiti prostori, od kojih je posebno zanimljiva ovalna struktura na lijevoj strani s dva apsidalna završetka, koja je vjerojatno predstavljala centralnu prostoriju s hipokaustom. Iako ga istraživači vežu uz carsku palaču, novija istraživanja upućuju da se radi o manjem kupalištu, vezanom vjerojatno uz *horti Caesaris* ili *nemus Caesarum*, s

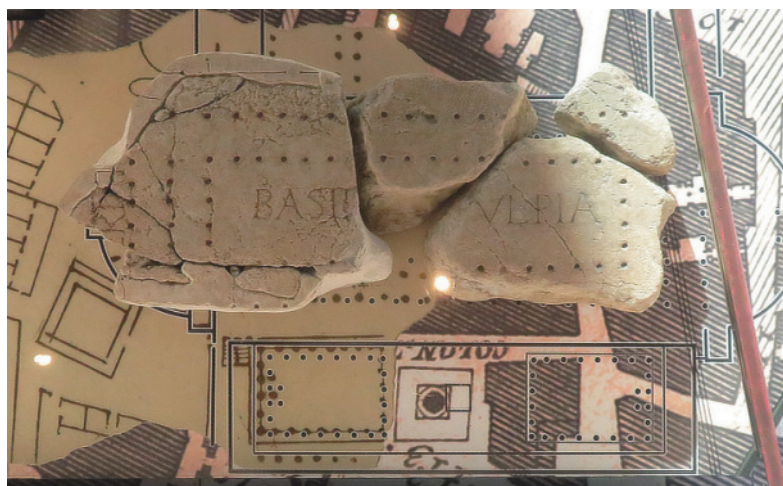
¹² Jedino je akvadukt Aqua Alsietina predstavljen u elevaciji, odnosno s naznačenim lukovima u presjeku (Rodríguez-Almeida 1981, 144–145).



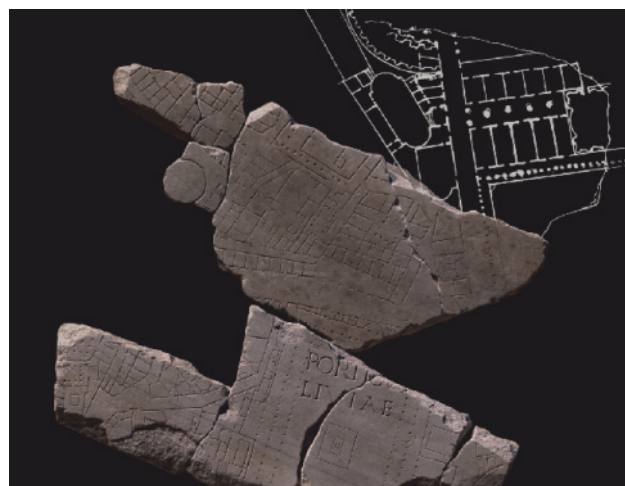
Fig. 8 Temples of Jupiter and Juno on the *Porticus Octaviae* (AG 31aa).
Slika 8. Hramovi Jupitera i Junone na *Porticus Octaviae* (AG 31aa).



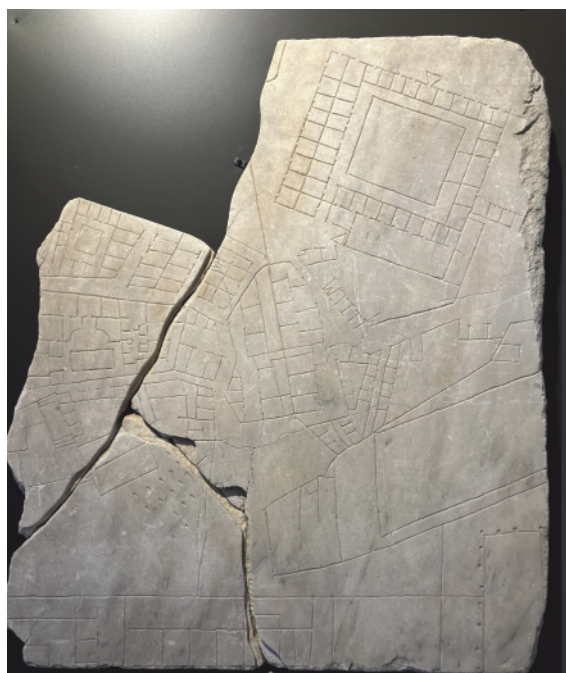
Fig. 9 Fragments from the *Forma Urbis* depicting the Colosseum.
Slika 9. Ulomci *Formae Urbis* s prikazom Koloseja.



Slika 10. Ulomak s prikazom Bazilike Ulpie.
Fig. 10 Fragment depicting the Basilica Ulpia.



Slika 11. Ulomci s prikazom Livijina portika.
Fig. 11 Fragments with a depiction of the Portico of Livia.



Slika 12. Ulomci s prikazom neidentificirane stambene četvrti.
Fig. 12 Fragments showing an unidentified residential district.



Slika 13. Ulomak s prikazom četvrti u kojoj se prepoznaje jedan domus, fontana i taberne.
Fig. 13 Fragment showing a district in which a domus, a fountain and tabernae are recognizable.



Fig. 14 Fragment showing a warehouse (*Horrea Lolliana*).
Slika 14. Ulomak s prikazom skladišta (*Horrea Lolliana*).

been preserved in different dimensions - from small pieces to larger ones on which drawings and inscriptions can be recognized, as well as in different states of preservation, showing damage caused by fire, weathering, falling and a long stay underground. All known parts make up about 15% of the entire plan, which on a scale of 1:240 shows the area of 13.55 km² of the city of Rome. The plan shows all the architecture of the city - from the most significant monuments and large architectural units to the smallest residential units.¹² However, there are

differences in the representation of individual buildings, so that certain buildings are highlighted on the plan, such as temples: their walls are shown with a double line, the outer pillars as squares or squares with a dot (not dots as with other buildings), and their *cellae* are highlighted with outline lines and a stronger red colour (Fig. 8). It can be assumed that their emphasis could have served as a landmark in the space of the plan, which is not surprising given their importance in Roman society, as well as the exceptional splendour of their architecture and decorative elements (Reyndols, 1996, 80). Large public complexes such as amphitheatres, theatres and basilicas occupy a prominent place. Several fragments depicting the Colosseum (Fig. 9) have been preserved, on which the circular lines of the shortened auditorium and the thicker lines of the

walls and corridors are clearly visible. Also, on the preserved fragments of *Basilica Ulpia*, its luxurious central hall with two rows of columns can be recognized (Fig. 10). A large portico with a double colonnade framed the market on the Esquiline, which was built by Emperor Augustus in 7 BC and dedicated to his wife Livia. The *Porticus Liviae* is preserved in the drawing of *Forma Urbis* (Fig. 11). The value of the plan also rests in the representation of numerous residential areas and commercial districts, in which different rooms, corridors, staircases and porches are drawn in detail (Fig. 12). These are spaces that are rarely preserved in the archaeological zone and which, especially during early archaeological research, were not the focus of interest, so many were lost forever. The plan provides a whole series of interesting data about the way in which different structures were located in the urban space and what their general characteristics are, but it is difficult to talk about a more precise classification or recognition of the purpose of a particular space in more detail. Thus, Figure 13 shows a part of a Roman residential quarter, in which we recognize the *domus*, with a prominent atrium, fountain, staircase, alleys and a series of *tabernae*, as typical, simple rectangular spaces that extend along the street. A few fragments depicting warehouses (*horrea*) are also preserved, most numerous in the port area along the Tiber, such as the *Horrea Lolliana* (Fig. 14). The image shows an inner courtyard surrounded by a portico, from which you can enter smaller warehouses of equal sizes arranged around it, with only one or two entrances to keep the space closed and safe, which represents the typical layout of a large Roman warehouse (Carapellucci 2011). On the plan, the markings and titles of bathing facilities are recognizable in almost all parts of the city, from large public baths to smaller bathing facilities (*balnea*). It is particularly interesting to follow their arrangement in the urban matrix, where a greater number is observed at the entrances to the city and along major roads, pointing to the fact that travellers coming to Rome were looking for a bathing service (Foulché,

¹² Only the Aqua Alsietina aqueduct is represented in elevation, that is, with arches indicated in cross-section (Rodríguez-Almeida, 1981, 144-145).

obzirom da ga nije moguće prostorno povezati s carskom rezidencijalnom arhitekturom (De Caprariis 2017, 311).

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje namjene ovakve karte. Izniman *melange* kamenih ulomaka koji u detalje prenose tlocrtnu situaciju antičkoga Rima, ali i gotovo nevjerojatan nedostatak pisanih izvora otežavaju razumjeti kartu kao dokument prepoznatljive korisnosti. Karta predstavlja jedan od primarnih izvora za poznavanje antičkoga Rima, uz pisane izvore i arheološke nalaze, ponekad nudeći jedinstvenu informaciju o nekoj građevini poput *Adonaeae*, Hrama Božanskog Klaudija, Pompejeva portika, *Saepta Juliae*, Balbusova kazališta, ili niza manje monumentalnih građevina kao što su rezidencijalne građevine, skladišta, uličice, kupališta i drugo. Rani su istraživači kartu vezali uz administrativne urede prefektуре, smatrajući je „službenim planom Rima“ (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza, Gatti 1960, 213–218). Time su je predstavili kao primjer rimske tradicije mjerenja i podjele prostora te prostornog mapiranja s obzirom na vlasništvo, odnosno legalni status pojedine čestice i uz to vezani porez (Dilke 1987, 227). Katastarske su se karte izrađivale diljem Carstva, u kopijama (brončane pločice, papirus, pergamena) te su bile pohranjene u različitim institucijama administrativnih službi. Malobrojni sačuvani kameni primjeri antičkih karata¹³ upućuju na određene

¹³ Primjer za to jest Katastar iz Orangea iz Vespazijanova vremena koji na kamenim pločama prikazuje nedodijeljene zemlje u koloniji Arausio koje su nelegalno zaposjeli Gali. Ovim je javnim dokumentom Vespazijan naredio izmjuru zemlje te dodjelu poreza za svaki prostor koji taj porez nije plaćao. Ova je karta iznimno vrijedna jer predstavlja jedan od rijetkih fragmentiranih ostataka takvih izmjera. Ovaj primjer, također upućuje na dvije različite tradicije izrade karata u Rimu: piktorijalne i karte izmjera u mjerilu, ali i na moguću različitost između urbanih i izvan urbanih karata o čemu je malo pisano (Harvey 1980, 70). Od ostataka drugih kamenih tlocrta treba spomenuti mramorne ploče iz Ostie (Isola Sacra), iz Via Labicane u Rimu i Via Ancie u Rimu te ploča iz Perugia i Urbina.



Slika 15. Ulomak s prikazom kupališta – *balneum Caesaris*.
Fig. 15 Fragment with a depiction of a bath – *balneum Caesaris*.

generalne karakteristike – poput mjerila 1:240, nekih simbola, izostanak prirodnih elemenata kao demarkacijskih linija već korištenje linija ili točaka i dr. – ali i specifičnosti Severske karte. Prema nekim istraživačima, *Forma Urbis* vizualizacija je katastarskih dokumenata iz arhiva Rimske prefektуре te je služila kao matrica rimskoga katastra za upravljanje prostorom, ponajprije u razdjeli javnih i privatnih prostora što je uključivalo i fiskalna pitanja. Takvo je stajalište danas uglavnom odbačeno s obzirom na to da je karta bila toliko visoko od očista da se malo toga moglo pročitati ili prepoznati. Također, nisu utvrđeni tragovi promjena ili ažuriranja; karta je bila fiksna, gotovo anakronistična već u vrijeme nastanka. Nadalje, imenovani su samo značajni i veliki arhitektonski kompleksi (koji su ionako bili poznati u urbanoj matrici), dok je cijeli niz drugih građevina ostao „anoniman“, bez ikakve detaljnije informacije. Utoliko, karta može biti

„dokument“ kojim se prikazuje javno gradsko dobro, koje se nije moglo mijenjati, prodavati/kupovati i u koje se nije moglo lako urbanistički intervenirati, posebice nakon velikih obnova kakva je bila u vrijeme Severa. Može se pretpostaviti da su postojale dvije *formae urbis*: jedna sastavljena od brojnih, konvencionalnih i funkcionalnih katastarskih karata na papirusu ili pergameni, i druga, monumentalna, pojednostavljena, simbolična mramorna karta koja je krasila veliku aulu Templuma. Drugi, pak, istraživači kartu vezuju uz geografske prikaze, kao tek jedan *descriptio totius urbis* koji omogućuje prikaz različitih dijelova grada, pomaže u orijentaciji bez nastojanja za detaljnim ili točnim opisom. Tako se mogu opravdati brojne pogreške, nedostaci ili pogrešne orijentacije na karti. Najčešće je riječ o abrevijacijama (skraćanju broja stuba, ili redova stupova ili slično) ili izostavljanju nekih važnih elemenata poput trijema ili vrata,

2011). On the fragment showing the *balneum Caesaris* (Fig. 15) different spaces can be seen, of which the oval structure on the left side with two apsidal ends is particularly interesting, and probably represented the central room with the hypocaust. Although researchers associate it with the imperial palace, recent research indicates that it is a smaller bathing area, probably connected to the *horti Caesaris* or *nemus Caesarum*, given that it is not possible to connect it spatially with the imperial residential architecture (De Caprariis 2017, 311).

The question of the purpose of such a plan remains open. An exceptional melange of stone fragments that convey in detail the ground plan situation of ancient Rome, as well as an almost incredible lack of written sources make it difficult to understand the plan as a document of recognizable utility. The plan represents one of the primary sources for knowing ancient Rome, along with written sources and archaeological findings, sometimes offering unique information about a building such as the *Adonaea*, Temple of Divine Claudius, Portico of Pompey, *Saepta Julia*, Theatre of Balbus, or a number of less monumental buildings such as residential buildings, warehouses, alleys, baths and more. Early researchers associated the plan with the administrative offices of the prefecture, considering it "the official plan of Rome" (Carettoni, Colini, Cozza, Gatti 1960, 213–218). Thus, they presented it as an example of the Roman tradition of measuring and dividing space and spatial mapping with regard to ownership, i.e., the legal status of an individual parcel and the related tax (Dilke 1987, 227). Cadastral maps were made throughout the Empire, in copies (bronze plates, papyrus, parchment) and were stored in various administrative service institutions. The few surviving stone examples of ancient plans¹³ point to certain general characteristics – such as the 1:240 scale, some symbols, the absence of natural elements as demarcation lines, but the use of lines or points, etc. – as well as the specifics of Severus's plan. According to some researchers, the *Forma Urbis* is a

visualization of cadastral documents from the archives of the Roman Prefecture and served as a matrix of the Roman cadastre for spatial management, primarily in the division of public and private spaces, which also included fiscal issues. Such a point of view is largely rejected today, given that the plan was so high up from the line of vision that little could be read or recognized. Also, no traces of changes or updates were found; the plan was fixed, almost anachronistic already at the time of creation. Furthermore, only significant and large architectural complexes (which were known in the urban matrix anyway) were named, while a whole series of other buildings remained "anonymous", without any detailed information. To that extent, the plan can be a "document" showing the public good of the city, which could not be changed, sold/purchased and which could not be easily intervened in urbanistically, especially after the great renovations that took place during Severus' time. It can be assumed that there were two *formae urbis*: one composed of numerous, conventional and functional cadastral maps on papyrus or parchment, and the other, a monumental, simplified, symbolic marble plan that adorned the large aula of the Templum. Other researchers, on the other hand, link the plan to geographical representations, as merely a *descriptio totius urbis*, enabling the representation of different parts of the city, helping in orientation without striving for a detailed or accurate description. Thus, numerous errors, shortcomings or wrong orientations on the plan can be

justified. Most often, these are abbreviations (shortening the number of steps, or rows of columns or the like) or the omission of some important elements such as a porch or door, distortion, i.e., incorrectly drawn form of a building, asymmetry, incorrect placement in space, sometimes intentional, for instance, in order to fill in some gaps. In this sense, the plan could serve as a symbolic expression of prestige and power, indicating dominion over the most important city of the Roman Empire, a grandiose statement about a powerful city with its luxurious buildings and splendid monuments, which are well managed by the city administration. Two monumental wall plans from the 1st century BC should definitely be mentioned here, known from written sources: Agrippa's map of the world (*Orbis pictus*) placed in the Porticus Vipsania, showing the conquered territories and peoples, and the map from Autun, the ancient Augustodunum, which served as a reminder and eulogy in honour of the great deeds of the Roman emperors (Desbois, 2022). Ultimately, it is also a monument to Septimius Severus, responsible for numerous reconstructions, constructions, repairs and changes in Rome, a kind of panegyric to the emperor's desire to leave a mark in the historical efforts to create an ideal and eternal city.

Marina Vicelja-Matijašić ■

¹³ An example of this is the Cadastre of Orange from the time of Vespasian, which shows on stone tablets the unassigned lands in the colony of Arausio that were illegally occupied by the Gauls. With this public document, Vespasian ordered the survey of the land and the allocation of taxes for every area that did not pay that tax. This map is extremely valuable because it represents one of the few fragmented remains of such surveys.

This example also points to two different traditions of map making in Rome: pictorial and survey scale maps, as well as to the possible difference between urban and non-urban maps, about which little has been written (Harvey 1980, 70). Among the remains of other stone floor plans, we should mention marble slabs from Ostia (*Isola Sacra*), from Via Labicana in Rome and Via Anicia in Rome, and slabs from Perugia and Urbino.

distorziji, odnosno pogrešno nacrtanoj formi neke građevine, asimetriji, pogrešnom postavljanju u prostor, ponekad i namjernom kako bi se npr. ispunile neke praznine. U tom je smislu karta mogla služiti kao simbolični izraz prestiža i moći, označujući dominij nad najznačajnijim gradom Rimskoga Carstva, grandiozna izjava o moćnome gradu s njegovim luksuznim građevinama i

sjajnim spomenicima, kojima dobro upravlja gradska vlast. Tu svakako treba spomenuti dvije monumentalne zidne karte iz 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., poznate iz pisanih izvora: Agripovu kartu svijeta (*Orbis pictus*) postavljenu u Portik Vipsania, na kojoj su bili prikazani osvojeni teritoriji i narodi, te kartu iz Autuna, antičkog Augustodunuma, koja je služila kao podsjetnik i eulogija

u čast velikim djelima rimskih careva (Desbois 2022). U konačnici, to je spomenik Septimiju Severu, zaslužnome za brojne rekonstrukcije, izgradnje, popravke i izmjene u Rimu, svojevrsan panegirik carevoj želji da ostavi traga u povijesnim nastojanjima stvaranja idealnog i vječnog grada.

Marina Vicelja-Matijašić ■

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