

**“Cataloguing the Empire”: The *Regionary Catalogues* and the Role and Purpose of Bureaucratic Inventories**

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*To all those who were involved with the making of this,*

*Thank-you,*

*I won’t forget this.*

**Abstract:**

“Cataloguing the Empire”: The *Regionary Catalogues* and the Role and Purpose of Bureaucratic Catalogues

The previous historiography of the *Regionaries* is extremely limited and provides few answers as to their origins or purpose. Whereas previous works have discarded documents like the *Regionaries* as unsuitable for administration, this thesis will provide a new potential production context for the *Regionaries* due to the Romans unique conception of administrative “usefulness”. Furthermore, with the methodology I have created, this thesis will challenge traditional historiographical notions of administrative “usefulness” as having been based on anachronistic modern values.

To do this I will be exploring what the *Regionary Catalogues* cantell us about government of the city of Rome in Late Antiquity. Whereas previous study has focused on the practical data the *Regionaries* can provide about the urban administration. I propose that we should instead focus on how the *Regionaries* represent Roman conceptions of the administration. My methodology has therefore involved synthesising a new approach from Clifford Ando and Jon Lendon, whose work focused on the methods the imperial government used to represent itself to its subjects. Ando explored the complex representations of imperial authority, whilst Lendon investigated the culture of the aristocrats who governed. This allows us to explore how an aristocratic culture that emphasises tradition and glory amongst its semi-professional administrators, could construct a complex, socio-political hierarchy that would ensure a reasonable form of administrative effectiveness.

To provide context for these explorations, I have examined a monumental document similar to the *Regionaries*. The Severan Marble Plan shares a number of similarities in content, including an author the Emperor Septimius Severus. When the factors behind the creation of the Marble Plan are considered and applied to the *Regionary Catalogues* we are able to provide a potential new origin for the *Regionaries*, the Emperor Aurelian and his urban reforms.

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Abbreviations

*Arvast Nordh*’s *Libellus de Regionibus Urbis Romae* LRUR

*Aurelius* *Victor’s* *Liber de Caesaribus* LC

*Cassius Dio’s Roman History RH*

*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*  CIL

*Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* HZAG

*Journal of Late Antiquity* JLA

*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* MGH

*Notitia Dignitatum* ND

*Papers of the British School at Rome* PBSR

*Regionary Catalogues* RC

*The Cambridge Ancient History* CAH

*The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* CCAR

*The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* CCAC

*The Journal of Roman Studies* JRS

*The Scriptores Historia Augusta* SHA

*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* LTUR

Introduction: “Lists, lists, lists”, The Rome of the *Regionary Catalogues*:

As a rhetorical device, compiling lists was (and still is) a forceful means of expressing the sheer weight of power and the complexity of a given individual or an organisation. From the tax lists of the Sumerians to the medieval catalogues of miracles, lists have lent themselves to both practical and literary uses. The Romans found list-making a laudable activity too and it soon became a popular literary device.

The lists of fourth-century Rome, known as the *Regionary Catalogues,* are our most comprehensive source for the physical and administrative topography of Late Antique Rome. Organised according to the Augustan system of 14 administrative regions, they serve as a form of “architectural census”, listing the palaces of the Emperors, the houses of famous Senators, and the great Imperial structures such as the *thermae* of Diocletian and Caracalla, the *Circus Maximus* and the Flavian Amphitheatre.[[1]](#footnote-1) They could be a simple panegyric (a document, usually a poem, produced to lavish praise upon the history and culture of the city) to Rome’s history and magnificence, if not for their intermingling of monumental glorification with administrative facts and data. Seemingly mundane items such as the number of houses, flats, bakeries and cisterns are combined with the circumference of any given region, alongside incidental information for the monuments such as the height of Trajan’s columns or the number of seats in the *Circus Maximus*. Because of this it is a document that has been valued by historians across the ages as both an important administrative source and/or as a panegyric to “traditional” Rome. This has made their purpose a subject of considerable debate amongst historians, exacerbated by the fact that they are transmitted to us in two versions called the *Notitia urbis Romae* (written in 354 at the latest) and the *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIIII* (date unknown), with, ‘a history varied and interesting enough to furnish the plot for a novel of adventure.’[[2]](#footnote-2) Both documents are considered incomplete due to the discrepancies present in both. Certain items appear in only one manuscript tradition, whilst certain statistical information appears highly fanciful (the *Circus Maximus* has a seating capacity of 480,000, the modern world’s largest sporting venue, the Indianapolis Speedway seats 257,325). Often it has been hard for modern historians to distinguish between the different possible uses of the lists. This confusion has led to the *Regionary Catalogues* being, alternately and exclusively, treated as either an administrative document produced by Rome’s urban administration or as a panegyric.

This confusion is, in part, due to the fact that there is only one text comparable to the *Regionaries.* This is the *Notitia* of Constantinople, more properly known as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.Similar to the *Regionary Catalogues*, the *Notitia* of Constantinople identifies more human and physical resources, buildings and institution of the city than any other single source and is transmitted alongside the *Regionary Catalogues* with other texts that are administrative and/or technical in nature. Information contained within the text and dedicatory preface, such as the number of *domus* and *vicomagistri*, suggests that the *Notitia* of Constantinople, just like the *Regionaries*, is drawn from or connected to the *officium* of the *praefectus urbis*.[[3]](#footnote-3) And, like *Regionaries*, rather than being critically examined in its own right, the *Notitia* of Constantinople has more often been referred to in passing for the information it provides or the topography it can illustrate.

However there are difficulties utilising the *Notitia* of Constantinople as a comparative context for the *Regionary Catalogues*. A particular point of textual difference is that the *Notitia* of Constantinople also depicts a firmly Christian city and contains multiple Churches and no pagan temples of shrines, in contrast to the *Regionaries’* abundance of shrines and pagan ritual sites but no Christian Churches. And whilst it would be going too far to say that the figures of the *Notitia* of Constantinople are completely reliable (the numbers of *domus* cause similar problems to the *Regionaries* number of *domus* and *insulae*), they are more consistent and verifiable than the apparently erratic and inconsistent numbers in the *Regionaries*.[[4]](#footnote-4) The combination of the dedicatory preface, which provides us of a firm dating to the reign of Theodosius II, and the topographical introduction to each region means it is possible to make a relatively accurate survey of the *Regio* of Constantinople.[[5]](#footnote-5) The length of the city given in the text is a remarkably accurate, based on an east-to-west measurement from the *Porta Aurea* in the south-west to the far-eastern end of the promontory, 14,075 Roman feet.[[6]](#footnote-6) We also know significantly more about the author of the *Notitia* of Constantinople in contrast to our complete absence of information of the *Regionaries* thanks to its dedicatory preface. The dossier of texts that the *Notitia* of Constantinople appears in (known as the Speyer Codex) contain a front piece illustration for a parallel text relating to the city of Rome but the text itself is lost, whilst the *Notitia* version of the *Regionary Catalogues* are also contained within the Codex.[[7]](#footnote-7) This would at least suggest that the creator/s of the codex considered the *Regionary Catalogues* an independent text, whilst the *Notitia* of Constantinople was meant to be paired with and matched to something more comparable.

In the absence of an appropriate comparative context, to address the confusion surrounding the *Regionaries* we must recognise that the issues facing any study of the *Regionary Catalogues* are intimately tied to the immense cultural and political changes that faced the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries. My thesis shall, through a new interpretation of the *Regionary Catalogues*, address the often anachronistic approach to the Roman manner of urban administration.

My hypothesis is that by attempting to strip away the document’s layers and accretions we can attempt to see how the chaos of the third century informed the *Regionaries’* initial creation. We will then be able to demonstrate how the Roman concept of administrative usefulness was one that was informed by and entwined with the culture of the aristocratic administrators who governed Rome.

In this introduction I will first provide a brief overview of the historiography of the administration of the later Roman Empire and how this has informed the study of the *Regionary Catalogues*. I will then demonstrate how I have used this information to create a new approach towards the *Regionaries*, and then outline how I intend to use this approach to structure the thesis.

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The historiography of the *Regionary Catalogues* has to some extent mirrored larger historiographical shifts in the area of late Roman history, moving away from administrative to social and cultural history, so it is worth examining these larger trends first before turning to the *Regionary Catalogues*. For a long time the traditional historiographical view of the administration of the Later Roman Empire, based upon the work of Edward Gibbon and Michael Rostovtzeff, was that of a highly bureaucratised administration.[[8]](#footnote-8) This was based in part on the large amount of legal evidence for the *annonae* (the public ration) created as a result of its extension by the new autocratic government of Diocletian’s Tetrarchy (AD 293-305).[[9]](#footnote-9) This “Dominate” was interpreted as a deliberate contrast, particularly at the local level, to the supposedly amateurish government of the earlier Roman Empire often known as the “Principate”, which was characterised by its lack of modern bureaucratic structures of professionalism.[[10]](#footnote-10) This was the school of thought that Sinnigen, Chastagnol and Jones, the historians who have laid the foundations of the administrative history of late antique Rome, were trained in. However, the work of all three was characterised by a much more nuanced approach than previous works to the changes that the administration faced in the third and fourth centuries. Their work has been characterised by a focus on the primary sources, particularly the law codes of which we have so many in this period. All three agreed upon the growing trend towards the centralisation and professionalisation of the Empire’s administration, but, when all three authors examined Rome, they found that its administration had far more in common with the government of Augustus Caesar (27 BC to AD 14) than the rest of the fourth-century administration.

William Sinnigen’s work focused on the staff of the administrative bureaus and how these functioned on a day-to-day basis. In his monograph on *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire*, Sinnigen first argued that, whilst the Urban Prefect of Rome had an extensive personal staff similar to other administrators, this had been based upon the “make-do and mend” attitude of the Roman administrators rather than the wider increase in the imperial bureaucracy.[[11]](#footnote-11) André Chastagnol’s work possessed a more traditional focus, concentrating on examining the senior political figures of the Empire and what their administrative role was. In his work *La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire,* which now forms the basis for modern historiography of Rome’s urban administration, he argued that the essential administrative structures remained unchanged from the post’s inception under Augustus until Constantine’s reforms (AD 326-337) that centralised power under the Urban Prefect.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Chastagnol’s work demonstrated that the Urban Prefecture evolved in a remarkably Roman fashion (which will be explored further in this thesis). This occurred through the acquisition of a multiple different jurisdictions as a result of the *auctoritas* of the office (which were then retroactively recognised), in contrast to acquiring the jurisdiction through formal appointment.[[13]](#footnote-13) Early Urban Prefects had a remarkably limited jurisdiction, restricted to law enforcement during the day, and therefore had to work closely with senior figures like the Prefect of the *Vigiles* and the Prefect of the *Annonae* in order to effectively govern. They had to also co-operate with the numerous *vicomagistri*, *quaestors*, *praetors*, *Curatores* who managed the various regions of Rome under the Augustan administrative arrangements.[[14]](#footnote-14) However the Urban Prefecture began to rapidly acquire prestige and soon became the most prestigious office of the Senatorial *cursus honorum*. Certain office holders were particularly spectacular in the enactment of their duties; Vespasian’s brother Flavius Sabinus was noted for preparing the way for Vespasian’s victory, whilst Pertinax and Pupienus Maximus both becoming Emperors not long after they were Urban Prefects. They therefore leant the office a certain glow, which consequently increased the office’s *auctoritas*.[[15]](#footnote-15) Over the second century, the Urban Prefect was therefore able to acquire a substantial increase in jurisdiction. By the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Urban Prefect acted as the chief judge in criminal cases with a jurisdiction of 100 miles around Rome. Septimius Severus outlined further increases to the Urban Prefect’s administrative and legal jurisdiction. The Urban Prefecture was now expected to oversee all criminal trials and investigations within 100 miles and to that end the Prefect could now ban individuals, trades and professions from the city in the interests of public order. For the first time he had also acquired the responsibility to oversee that meat was sold at a fair price.[[16]](#footnote-16) To ensure the Prefect was capable of performing his duties, a rare alteration to the administrative fabric occurred and he was granted a formal *Officium* compromised of soldiers from the Urban Cohorts.[[17]](#footnote-17) Perhaps the most significant change that occurred in the Urban Prefecture was his appointment as the Emperor’s personal representative in the fourth century. However this was simply recognition of the fact that by this point the Urban Prefect had more or less acquired control of all of Rome’s major administrative services.[[18]](#footnote-18) Whilst there were changes in the formal competencies of the Urban Prefect, this was not the result of specific administrative reforms, rather it came about because the impressive honours of the Urban Prefect combined with the formidable patronage networks of the senators who achieved the post the meant that the Urban Prefect was able to affect areas well beyond his official competency. It is for this reason that Chastagnol emphasised the importance of the Urban Prefect’s family ties and personal authority to the effectiveness of his administration.[[19]](#footnote-19)

A.H.M Jones has been, perhaps, the greatest and most comprehensive historian of the government of the Later Roman Empire. His magnum opus, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (1986)*,* is the definitive administrative history of late antique Rome’s administration. In contrast to Chastagnol, Jones attempted to characterise how the whole imperial administration functioned in practical terms and situated his analysis of the Urban Prefect within this greater framework. Like Chastagnol, he found that there was a great deal of continuity in the practices of the administration from the 1st century to the 4th, even though the desired goals and outcomes of the administration were substantially different.[[20]](#footnote-20) In particular, he refused to take a chronological approach to his work as he felt that many elements of the field remained largely the same, instead focusing on the few changes that did occur.[[21]](#footnote-21) In particular, Jones noted that even into the late fourth century the Urban Prefect’s authority over his staff remained ill-defined and often subject to numerous appeals to the emperor. Jones attempted to explain all of this as a result of Rome becoming an administrative anachronism in comparison to the rest of the Empire.[[22]](#footnote-22) For Jones, burdened by political traditions and a senatorial nobility obsessed with its past, Rome’s greatest administrative challenge was the sheer force of inertia that resulted from the City’s history.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Subsequent historiography has shifted the focus away from the forms of government and how they worked, and instead asked the questions of who it affected and how. As it had been shown by Chastagnol and Jones that the so called “Dominate” had a great deal of similarity with the previous style of administration, later works contained a much greater emphasis on the continuity of the administration rather than abrupt changes. David Potter’s work focused on how the Empire managed the multitude of crises between the second and third centuries. He argues that the astonishing continuity in face of the many upheavals of the third century demonstrated the strength of the Roman imperial system. The increasingly militarised state was a result of the emperors attempting to replace the “traditional” methods of ensuring the compliance of its citizens which had broken down in the third century.[[24]](#footnote-24) As part of this redefinition of imperial power, Peter Brown has suggested that the emperors promoted new ideologies to ensure loyalty to the central government.[[25]](#footnote-25) Clifford Ando’s and Jon Lendon’s work on imperial ideologies (to which I shall turn in a moment) built upon this. Their studies focused upon how the imperial administration managed to achieve compliance with its wishes across such a wide and varied empire.[[26]](#footnote-26) In contrast to the histories of Chastagnol and Jones, these new approaches towards the administration concentrated on a much wider variety of evidence, including using epigraphic and numismatic evidence to explore the visual aspects of the Roman administration as well as the traditional literary evidence. However, they have tended to divert the perspective from a history of the Roman administration and, instead, re-orientated it to focus on the culture and society of those elites who ran the empire.

Building upon this the recent historiography of late antique Rome, whilst accepting the work and conclusions of Chastagnol and Jones, has moved away from studying the administration of the city, to a study of the cultural and social changes that occurred in the later Empire.[[27]](#footnote-27) Elements of the administration such as the food and water supply of Rome or the transformation of the Senate continue to be studied, only now for the social implications of those administrative policies.[[28]](#footnote-28) Tellingly, a recent volume on late antique Rome, Lucy Grig’s and Gavin Kelly’s *Two Romes* (2012) does not have a chapter focused on the administration of the cities of Rome and Constantinople. Instead the discussions of administrative aspects are interwoven with the volume’s attention to urban life. The interest is now in what people thought and felt. Documents that had been treated by Chastagnol and Jones as records of government are now examined as cultural documents, insights into a literary tradition that valued official looking documents and catalogues.[[29]](#footnote-29) These historians felt that the numbers and information within our sources are often prone to exaggeration and poor transmission so that they can hardly be reliable sources for the administration. It has become more widespread to instead, examine them for what they can tell us about the society and what it considered culturally significant.[[30]](#footnote-30)

With this in mind, we can see how the *Regionary Catalogues’s* historiography changedfrom having an administrative focus to a greater interest in their cultural value*.* The limited historiography for the *Regionary Catalogues* can largely be grouped into three strands. The earliest strand focuses on the *Regionaries* as a source for the topography and administration of late antique Rome. The second is that the *Regionaries* served as a traveller’s guide, which has been based upon comparison to other similar documents of the time. The third treats the document as panegyric and most commonly features in arguments for a pagan revival in Rome during the late fourth-century.

In the earliest strand of historiography, we see the *Regionary Catalogues* primarily used as a source for the knowledge that they can provide about Rome’s urban administration. This was part of the traditional school of administrative historiography, which is best exemplified by the work of Chastagnol and Jones, that our surviving lists and catalogues are the result of an increasingly bureaucratic Empire that wished for a greater degree of control over its subjects. Henri Jordan’s *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* (2 vols. 1875) was the first demonstrable example of this, using the *Regionary Catalogues* as part of his topographical analysis of the city.[[31]](#footnote-31) Jordan first made the assumption that has come to characterise this strain of historiography, that the *Regionary Catalogues* had been produced by data obtained from the archives of the Urban Prefect, but does little to support this assumption beyond arguing that the administrative aspects such as the water and grain supplies would have been of interest to the Urban Prefect.[[32]](#footnote-32)

The next major analysis of the *Regionaries* and the first to examine the document itself is an attempt by E.T. Merrill to date the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* and in doing so shed some light on their provenance.[[33]](#footnote-33) Merrill feels that the debate surrounding the *Regionaries* had been hampered due to little academic work on their purpose or provenance. However, it is clear to him that both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* are descended from a common source that existed before the earliest possible date of the *Regionaries* (AD 313).[[34]](#footnote-34) As a side note, Merrill does reference the *Notitia Dignitatum* (a register of the Empire’s military and political offices) in the article, to point out that the *Regionary Catalogues* predated it by 30 years, and he is also the first to draw an explicit link between the catalogues.[[35]](#footnote-35)

The next to develop Jordan‘s thesis were Valentini and Zucchetti, who were the first to argue that the *Regionary Catalogues* served as an administrative index to life in Rome.[[36]](#footnote-36) Arvast Nordh developed Jordan’s thesis in a different direction by arguing that the catalogues were a result of administrative reforms of Constantine that had changed the administrative regions of Rome.[[37]](#footnote-37) It was with Nordh‘s and Valentini/Zucchetti’s conclusions, that Chastagnol sought to demonstrate that the *Regionaries* were the bureaucratic paperwork of the Urban Prefecture.

In the original texts of the *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, Chastagnol argued that we possess a documentation of the various tasks of the Urban Prefecture and that it is reliable as (according to Chastagnol) the Urban Prefecture remained unaltered until the AD 320/330s, after which the Urban Prefecture underwent substantial change following Constantine’s reforms. Building upon Jordan’s assumptions of the *Regionaries* provenance, Chastagnol has used the *Regionaries* as evidence to demonstrate the changes that took the Urban Prefecture from the third century to the form described in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[[38]](#footnote-38) Chastagnol’s work is central enough to Roman administrative history that historians, who have continued to adhere to the view that the later Roman Empire was more bureaucratised, have continued using the *Regionaries* as a source for administrative data about the Urban Prefecture and the City of Rome.[[39]](#footnote-39) Rather than focusing on them as administrative data, G. Storey has used the *Regionaries* data to conduct a more narrow demographic examination of the people of the city, by looking at what the catalogues can tell us about *insulae* (blocks of rented flats) and how they functioned in Roman urban life.[[40]](#footnote-40) Whilst Storey‘s conclusion is that the *Regionaries*‘ *insulae* refer to a legal rather than architectural term, the historian engages in what Hermansen has termed “linguistic gymnastics“ in order to make the evidence of the *Regionaries* work rather than critically examining what the document can actually tell us.[[41]](#footnote-41)

This importance placed on preserving the statistics for use, at the cost of what they actually mean or represent, has led to the development of a new focus amongst the *Regionaries*‘ historiography, which now focuses on the symbolic and literary potential of the document rather than its administrative data. This style of study was first advanced by Hermansen, arguing that the only other comparable piece of literature from the time, the *Notitia Constantinopolitanae,* does not serve a clear practical purpose as it omits important administrative information. On this basis Hermansen argues that therefore neither could the *Regionaries*. Hermansen suggests that they are a traveller‘s guide, arguing that three things reveal that the *Regionaries* were “tourist” guides: the casual and unsystematic addition of curious information about some of the listed items; the spare style, which is recognized in medieval lists which are known to have served as pilgrim guides; the close similarity to the *Notitia* of Constantinople, which admits to having been written for outsiders.[[42]](#footnote-42)

Hermansen’s approach has been brought about by a renewed interest in the manuscript tradition of the *Regionaries*, in particular the work of Arvast Nordh in collating the various manuscript copies of the *Regionaries* and using this to examine how and with what the *Regionaries* had been transmitted.[[43]](#footnote-43) Hermansen also suggests that there has been a worrying lack of debate over the statistics presented in the *Regionaries*, arguing that in order for many of the statistics to make sense, historians have preferred to change or seek new interpretations or definition of the statistics rather than accept them as they are in the Catalogues.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Javier Arce took this tendency further, being the first historian to examine the *Regionaries* purely from a literary perspective although his approach was similar to Hermansen’s.[[45]](#footnote-45) In Arce’s view the administrative figures may well have been drawn from official sources, but they were meant to enhance the majesty of the document and situate it in a tradition of antique panegyrics that lauded the past. Significantly and in contrast to the previous historiography on the topic, Arce argues that the *Regionaries* were never intended for public consumption. Instead, he argues they were meant to be shared around a like-minded group of pagan senators.[[46]](#footnote-46) This suggestion became part of the historiographical argument that senators of Rome were part of a pagan resistance against an increasingly Christian Empire and its new capital in Constantinople.[[47]](#footnote-47) However, this argument suffers from the same problem as the historians who had treated the *Regionaries* as a source for administrative data. Arce and others, despite believing the *Regionaries* to be a purely literary document, treat it as a source of data of pagan revival. Similarly, Ralf Behrwald suggested that the *Regionaries* may have served as an administrative document, but that by the 4th century the statistics no longer mattered to the government. Rather, as a result of the administrative reforms of the Tetrarchy and Constantinian dynasty, including the creation of Constantinople, the *Regionaries* were now meant to reflect the splendour of the old capital. By comparing it with the *Notitia Dignitatum* and *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, Behrwald argued that it served as a panegyric to Rome. As the *Notitia Dignitatum* symbolised the unity of the empire, the *Regionaries* and the *Notitia of Constantinople* were tosymbolised the power and affluence of the imperial capitals.[[48]](#footnote-48) This also provides us with an explanation for the inconcistencies in the *Regionaries*: as a panegyric, their accuracy would be a secondary concern to their praise of the greatness of Rome.

However, approaching the *Regionaries* as a purely theoretical, literary document possesses the same problems as approaching the *Regionary Catalogues* as a purely bureaucratic one. In favouring one view or another, we risk missing that Romans may have had a different view of what constitutes an official administrative document. In both approaches, we also run the real risk of falling into what Hermansen termed ‘Rome worship’, where critics place too much importance on Rome’s nature as the foremost city of the Empire in light of its importance to Roman psychology. More recently, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has attempted a defence of the *Regionary Catalogues* as an administrative document.[[49]](#footnote-49) In some respects Wallace-Hadrill re-tells the arguments of Chastagnol regarding the use of the document. His argument, however, sheds light on the cultural and social conditions that would create an administrative style that would use or produce a document such as the *Regionaries*. Firstly, he develops the conclusions of David Reynolds, who argued that both the *Regionaries* and the Severan Marble Plan, an early third-century map which depicted in astonishing detail (and size) the architectural features of Rome, were both drawn from the same city census records.[[50]](#footnote-50) Wallace-Hadrill advanced the novel belief that the *Regionaries* were meant to be used in conjunction with the Marble Plan and in order to advertise the knowledge and power of the emperors and their bureaucrats who managed the capital.[[51]](#footnote-51) Secondly, Wallace-Hadrill argues that the absence or presence of certain items in the *Regionaries* is not a result of them lacking vital statistics or glorifying themselves with useless information but follows from the fact that Roman categorisation is different from more modern methods. Wallace-Hadrill goes on to argue that this means that the concern of the *Regionaries* is not of architectural items but units of property, illustrating the legal jurisdiction of the Prefect.[[52]](#footnote-52) Whilst this is open to dispute, his salient point is that Romans had different standards of administrative usefulness and practicality to our own. To attempt to judge their administration by modern standards is an anachronism that has largely characterised the historiography of the document.

However it has become more accepted amongst historians, to believe that the *Regionary Catalogues* themselves only made use of such administrative details, but were not administrative documents themselves. Hermansen argued in his study of the *Regionaries* that,

‘There is general agreement among scholars that the list comes out of the office of the *praefectus* *urbis*. That statement, however, is so sweeping and self-evident that it tends to be no statement at all: unless one can point to some specific function or purpose of the list it is no better than saying that it comes out of Rome.’[[53]](#footnote-53)

This argument is continued by Javier Arce, who goes further to argue that the *Regionaries* could not possibly work as an administrative document since the information cannot have been kept up to date accurately.[[54]](#footnote-54) Valentini and Zucchetti in their edition of the *Regionary Catalogues* argue that the statistics in the *Regionary Catalogues* come from official documents possessed by the *praefectura urbana*, but were not administrative documents themselves.[[55]](#footnote-55) Hermansen is quite right however, to ask that any attempt to prove that the *Regionary Catalogues* came from the urban administration must first propose an administrative purpose of the document. With my methodology I intend to prove the administrative purpose of the *Regionary Catalogues* by showing that Roman imperial administration had a distinct style, one that has many similar characteristics with modern administrative practice, but also one that must be viewed through the unique cultural background of the administrators.

In order to do so, I intend to return to the more administrative history of Rome of Chastagnol and Jones. However, I will now be building upon the conclusions of more recent cultural history and applying these to the historiography of the administration of late antique Rome. By approaching the *Regionary Catalogues* as an administrative document, I will expand upon how Rome’s urban administration functioned practically despite its high turnover of non-professional executive figures and lack of developed bureaucratic structures. I will also present a new view of how Romans conceptualised the urban administration of Rome in Late Antiquity and what they considered administratively important and/or relevant. As the historiography of the topic has been based largely on Chastagnol’s conclusions that the urban administration did not see any substantial changes (and in the absence of someone convincingly challenging Chastagnol’s), this allows us to apply the conclusions devised by cultural historians such as Ando and Lendon, whose work concerns a slightly earlier period of Roman imperial history, to the administration of Rome in late antiquity.

Excluding Javier Arce’s examination of the *Regionaries* as a literary text and panegyric, all three strands of the *Regionary Catalogues*’s historiography fall prey to the same circular argument when they treat the *Regionary Catalogues* as a source for statistics. Those statistics that don’t work with the standard definition either have their meanings altered so that the statistics can continue to function as read or are side-lined as “anachronisms”. I intend to address this issue by combining elements from all three historiographical approaches with the latest methodological work from social and cultural history. I will argue that it is inappropriate to judge the *Regionary Catalogues’* potential based on any one set of “modern” criteria of what a document should be. In fact it is unreasonable to expect a pre-modern society to have a set of sufficiently detailed statistics and any methodological approach should appropriately account for this. Even in the efficient “Weberian Civil Service” of modern Europe, power is still limited by the expertise of its staff (which is far from guaranteed).[[56]](#footnote-56) Roman government, as advanced and widespread as it may have seemed, was still restricted by the technological limitations of the time, particularly with regards to communication, transportation and information.

Weber’s belief was that the bureaucratic co-ordination of government, its legal-rational bureaucracy, is the distinctive mark of modern governments, in contrast to the more personal and dispersed governments of the pre-modern period, the patrimonial bureaucracy of cultures like Rome.[[57]](#footnote-57) Weber specifically mentions the City of Rome and its grain supply as example of a pre-modern government ability to maintain profitability.[[58]](#footnote-58) In his article, ‘The Social Causes of the Decay of Ancient Civilisation’ (1950), Weber argues that as a “slave civilisation’, the Roman Empire was dependent upon the accumulation of human capital for economic and administrative specialisation rather than the technological progress that supports a modern administration.[[59]](#footnote-59) In contrast to Weber, Michel Foucault’s central concern was to discover the point at which reason and science that brought about the state’s dominance of knowledge became the dominant form of discourse. This appeared as a ‘result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’.[[60]](#footnote-60) For Foucault, there was a clear dichotomy between the classical and the modern, defined by the modern period’s ability to manage society to produce order and the classical period’s sole ability to impose order bluntly.[[61]](#footnote-61) Two approaches towards the Roman style of administration in cultural history have developed from these theories.

Clifford Ando, in his *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* argues that we can apply Foucault’s theories of ‘governmentality’ and power to the Roman government as a result of the administrative changes of the 3rd century that resulted in an apparent increase in bureaucracy and documentation. He likened the Late Roman government’s increase in control and intrusiveness to the increase of state-power in the sixteenth century.[[62]](#footnote-62) However Ando argued that the Roman State’s power rested upon its ability to generate consent rather than through brute military force. In a Foucauldian fashion, he argued that the Roman state was able to do this by inserting itself into the everyday through an “ideological state apparatus” of archives, libraries and catalogues of data (like the *Regionaries*), which ensured that it was the only form of rational authority present in its subjects’ minds.[[63]](#footnote-63)

In contrast, Jon Lendon’s ‘Empire of Honour’ functioned on the Weberian pre-modern level of dispersed, personal form of government which, due to technological and social limitations, had to depend on amateur administrators who maintained their authority and superiority through a common set of values (honour and prestige).[[64]](#footnote-64) An office or a city could bestow a certain amount of prestige upon a person, but this meant that they in turn had to demonstrate an appropriate reverence for their new task. Lendon’s approach towards administration will serve my examination particularly well, focusing as it does on the Urban Prefect. Whilst the Urban Prefect was a role that bore many responsibilities and little recompense, its main attraction was that it served as the capstone to a glorious senatorial career. Having little political authority over the rest of the hierarchy that he would have to work with, much of the Urban Prefect’s ability to conduct the duties of his office would be dependent on his relationships with other officials and senators and, therefore, on his own prestige. I will be developing a synthesis of Ando and Lendon’s approaches and the results of this will allow us to take into account the contrast of unprofessional nature of the bureaucratic Roman urban administration, which will be developed fully in Chapter Three.

The previous historiography of the *Regionaries* has sometimes acknowledged the accretion of the different layers of the document, but only Merrill has attempted a study in which the different layers are stripped away to an original document.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Merrill’s methodology for his study of the *Regionaries* was to focus rigorously on the various interpolations and alterations of the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* in order to provide a more accurate dating of the document. In Merrill’s own words, ‘The mind cannot be happy without dates.’[[66]](#footnote-66) Accepting that the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* clearly either derive from one another or are descended from a common original, Merrill first established (by way of examining the differences in particulars and order between the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*) that neither text can be an effective descendent of the other. The *Notitia* possess too many differences and no good reason why these would be omitted in the *Curiosum* if the *Notitia* was descended from it, whilst on points of the divergence the *Curiosum* is generally the more accurate which would indicate it is unlikely to be the successor document.[[67]](#footnote-67)

Merrill felt, that whilst the determining the exact period, and original form of the, common source’s creation was beyond the scope of his article, having established that both versions of the *Regionary Catalogues* are descended from a common source meant he could make an assumption as to the latest form of the original source.[[68]](#footnote-68) From there it would be possible to compare the variations of the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* and so establish the different points and contexts of the interpolation of new data. This would be based upon the fact that both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* enumerate four structures from Constantine’s reign: the *thermas Constantinianas,* *basilicam Constantinianam, arcum Constantini* (not the famous arch by the Colosseum), and the *porticum Constantini*. As the *basilica* could be dated to within a reasonable frame of 306-312, the common source final form must have begun to take form no earlier than AD and likely sometime later in order to allow for the mention of the *thermas* and *arcum* (both of which were only began in AD 312).[[69]](#footnote-69) However as the more famous Arch of Constantine was dedicated in AD 315 and is conspicuously absent from the *Regionaries*, the common source needed to have a *terminus post quem* of AD 312-314 (Merrill favoured AD 314 to and likely sometime later in order to allow for the mention of the *thermas* and *arcum* which only began construction in AD 312).[[70]](#footnote-70)

Merrill’s approach therefore established the principles for the layering of the *Regionaries*. By demonstrating their common ancestor, it became possible to recognise the different layers of the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* by examining the unique variations in each text.[[71]](#footnote-71) However Merrill did not attempt to determine how and when these variations occurred, as he felt there was insufficient contextual evidence from other sources to accurately determine when any of the glosses occurred.[[72]](#footnote-72)

I propose that it is possible that we can distinguish between different layers of the *Regionary Catalogues* and so demonstrate how our different conceptions of the *Regionaries* are a result of a document that evolved as later generations found new and different uses for its information. Using this approach, my hypothesis is that there is good evidence that the *Regionary Catalogues*, or at least their proto-form, had a production date earlier than the fourth century date traditionally put forward by historians. Despite the fact that the evidence base for the *Regionary Catalogues* is too thin to be really conclusive, I feel that it is a possibility worth exploring given what little we currently know about the *Catalogues*.

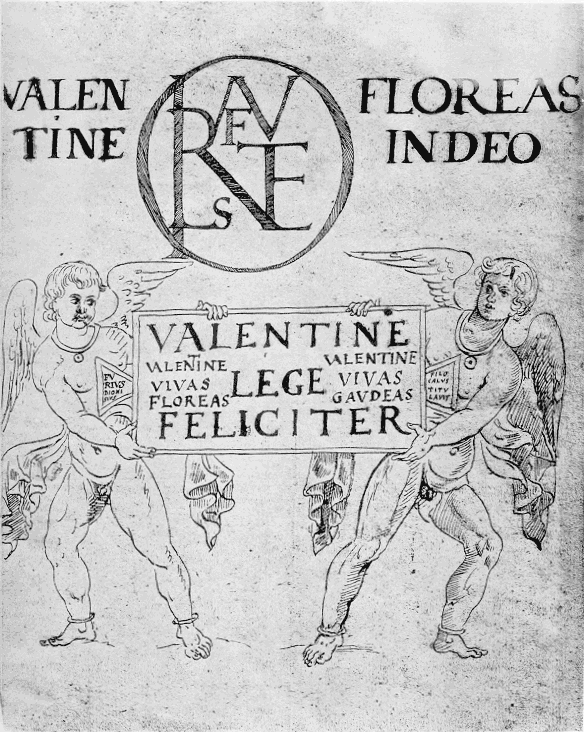
I will begin my study of the *Regionaries* by examining their manuscript tradition. This is an aspect of their historiography that has been sorely neglected outside Merrill’s attempt at dating the *Regionaries* and Nordh’s collation of the appearances of the *Regionary Catalogues*. I will also examine how and where the manuscripts where transmitted, as this will provide a demonstration of the multitude of uses that the *Regionaries* could be put to, through examining how they were considered by later audiences. This will serve to demonstrate how the document’s layers have evolved and assist us to determine when the *Regionaries* accrued its different layers. As part of this, I will address the issue that we possess two different manuscript versions of the *Regionary Catalogues*, the *Notitia de regionibus* and the *Curiosum urbis*. These two documents are remarkably similar but do have some notable differences. In comparing them, I intend to provide a greater basis for my hypothesis that the *Regionary Catalogues* had not only an earlier production date than initially assumed by historians, but also that its seemingly fragmented transmission was the result of its adaptability. This adaptability came from the cultural production context of its authors and is something I will explore further in Chapter Three. With this, I intend to address the seeming muddle of information and statistics by arguing that the final copy of the *Regionary Catalogues* is a series of layers that were created as the original text was put to different uses. Different users would have different concerns and this would mean that the prestige that the *Regionaries* offered would also change. The document’s inherent value means it was still usable in times subsequent to its original production, but as administrative priorities changed new information would be need to be added.

Next I shall use the *Forma Urbis Romae,* the Severan Marble Plan, to provide context and a comparison for the *Regionary Catalogues*. The Severan Marble Plan, displayed in the *Forum Pacis* (the Forum of Peace) on the wall of the *Templum Pacis* (Temple of Peace), is the most significant pictorial representation of the city of Rome, created by Septimius Severus circa 203-211.[[73]](#footnote-73) A massive four storeys high, it presented so much information in so much detail that it was impossible for an individual to see it in its full extent. Much like the *Regionaries*, certain types of information are omitted (e.g. measurements, the names of private buildings owners), and the manner of depiction varies. Perspective, orientation and the relative scale of buildings, combined with the use of red paint and outlines to highlight particular buildings, all contribute to a depiction of Rome that has been traditionally seen as administrative despite lacking “traditional” administrative data.[[74]](#footnote-74) Just as the *Regionary Catalogues* did in text, the Severan Marble Plan ordered, catalogued, and controlled urban space.[[75]](#footnote-75) The Severan Marble Plan is the only document that depicts a Rome similar to that of the *Regionary Catalogues*. Both were traditionally seen as documents associated with the administration, but in more recent historiography have been treated as “Rome Worship”. Both have statistics that have been dismissed as window-dressing, yet also appear too complex and coherent to be simple inventions.[[76]](#footnote-76) Furthermore, both have an obvious connection to the office of the Urban Prefect. The *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan appear to be derived from cadastral documents contained in the archives of the Urban Prefecture, as this would have been the only archive that contained documents covering the whole administrative territory of Rome.[[77]](#footnote-77) In order to establish a basis of comparison with the Marble Plan, I shall examine the topography that the *Regionary Catalogues* depict. This allows us establish what was included within the *Regionaries*, and why. There is also some debate over whether or not the *Regionaries* were authored alongside the Marble Plan.[[78]](#footnote-78) I will take a different view in this chapter, arguing that the *Regionary Catalogues* were written later than the reign of Septimius Severus, but that their similarities to the Marble Plan and its purpose suggest that they were commissioned by an emperor who shared certain characteristics with Septimius Severus: that is, an emperorwho also had seized the Empire after a prolonged period of civil war and was faced with securing its administration and assuaging an anxious populace. I will use the comparison between the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* to test the hypothesis that it was Aurelian who is the most likely candidate to have commissioned the *Regionaries* and that hence the *Regionary Catalogues* are therefore a late third-century text.

I will argue that my hypothesis of a new dating of the *Regionary Catalogues* makes more sense than previous dating attempts, when we consider the text in light of Aurelian’s reforms of the city of Rome’s administration. In particular, I shall argue that the *Regionary Catalogues* may have been produced as a result of the Emperor Aurelian’s construction of Rome’s new circuit of walls and the city’s accompanying urban reforms that occurred AD 271-275. The Aurelian Wall’s absence from the *Regionaries* is significant and it is more probable that the Wall did not exist at the time of production rather than it was simply left out, given its importance to the urban administration and the topography of the city. The Wall’s construction was contemporaneous with the City’s largest program of administrative reforms until the reign of Constantine, which is when we possess our earliest date of AD 313 for the *Regionaries*.[[79]](#footnote-79) Whilst the military defence of the city was the necessary pretext of the Wall, the administration of the City would have had to change in order to accommodate and accomplish the construction. It involved an administrative restructuring of urban life, which would have required a reform of the *annonae* and its infrastructure as well as a redefinition of the compulsory services provided to the state by the *collegia* of the City.[[80]](#footnote-80) The Urban Prefect would have needed to proceed carefully whilst conducting himself and his work according to the traditions of his office and the City. This guide would also have functioned as a record of those areas affected by the reforms, such as the *horrea* or those areas relevant to their undertaking, such as the temples that served the administration.[[81]](#footnote-81)

I shall conclude this thesis by discussing the representation of the Roman administration in cartography and topography, to see how the *Regionaries* more generally reflect the role and purposes of Roman administrative documents. Given the technological limitations of the time, the statistics of the *Regionaries* and other documents are unlikely to have been updated regularly and, consequently, are unlikely to have reflected actual technical data on the ground by the fourth century. Instead, they must reflect something else that the Romans found useful to their administration. More important than accurate data would be those items that addressed the social concerns that drove the Roman administration. They demonstrated the areas of importance and interest that both the administrators and the administered would have found significant. A Roman administrator demonstrating that his administration upheld traditional values such as honour and glory was an administrative purpose in its own rights. It demonstrated that he shared the same values as those other administrators whose co-operation he would need in order to conduct his duties effectively. He served to ornament the administration’s power and so increased it. In this context, administrative documents like the *Regionaries,* and the *Notitia Dignitatum* were better served by being written in a style that might be termed panegyrical. This view of the Roman administration works because ultimately, depictions of the administration worked for the same purpose as the laws and policies of the administration. In the third century, emperors struggled to reassert authority over a fragmented Empire. In order to do this effectively, they had to demonstrate that they shared the traditions and values of those they governed, even as they enforced their will. These documents visualised, and so reinforced, the political and social hierarchies that the Empire depended on for its smooth functioning.

My methodology for the examination of the *Regionary Catalogues*’s administrative potential will include the traditional approach of examining what the statistics can tell us about Roman urban administration, but will also demonstrate how the symbolism and cultural value of the document served an administrative purpose. By allowing for the administrative potential of cultural symbolism and tradition, I can effectively separate the *Regionaries* into layers, avoiding focusing on the document as a singular whole and instead, appreciating it for those administrative aspects that are relevant to the appropriate period of time. This will allow me to show how the *Regionaries* worked as a practical aid to the urban administration, but also to demonstrate how the *Regionaries’* value as a written catalogue possessed an administrative potential of its own, which eventually led to it being re-purposed for increasingly literary purposes. This examination of the *Regionary Catalogues* in layers means that I will be able to avoid the modern/ancient dichotomy that serves to render the administrative potential of the *Regionary Catalogues* unreliable in the eyes of much of the previous historiography. With this new approach, I will be able to reconcile the traditional historiography of Roman urban administration with more modern work on the symbolic/literary potential of administrative documents.[[82]](#footnote-82)

Chapter One: “To you perceptive Reader, My History” The Implications of the Different Receptions of the *Regionary Catalogues[[83]](#footnote-83)*

Elmer Merrill said in his study of the *Regionaries* that, ‘Some young student may do us a considerable service by a comparative study of all the extant manuscripts of both *Notitia* and *Curiosum* in light of the other documents more or less allied with them.’[[84]](#footnote-84)

Whilst it would be hubris to claim to be Merrill’s prophesised student, such a study will undoubtedly provide a useful aid into determining not only what the original purpose of the *Regionaries* had been and how the layers could have changed this, but also what purposes later groups believed what the *Regionaries* could be put to. The *Regionary Catalogues* are generally considered to be a singular text, yet they appear as two different versions. By the first point from which we possess surviving manuscripts of the *Regionaries*, in the 8th Century, they had been separated into two different forms now known as the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*, collected into very different codices scattered across the continent.

My examination of the *Regionaries’* different contexts of reception shall begin by examining the production contexts of the manuscripts in the eighth and ninth centuries and work backwards from these to the differing layers of the *Regionaries* in the 4th century. I say “contexts” as it is clear that the *Regionaries* went through a variety of additions and alterations before becoming the documents that we possess from our manuscript tradition. This examination will help shed some light on the different concepts behind the *Regionaries* by establishing the context of the layers that will be discussed further in later Chapters, as well as attempting to address the issue of how we have two different manuscript traditions for the same text. The range of different manuscript traditions that are responsible for the transmission and the diversity of the *Regionaries’* contents remind us that whatever message the *Regionaries’s* creators may have intended, the intentions of its successive users, compilers and adaptors are likely to have been distinct and variable.[[85]](#footnote-85) Therefore I will also examine the different manuscript copies of the *Regionaries* as well as the context of their transmission and reception. Crucially, all of the surviving copies of the *Regionary Catalogues* exist from copies of Carolingian manuscripts.[[86]](#footnote-86) As such it will be important to pay particular attention to the Carolingian production context as it was in this period that our earliest codices containing the *Regionaries* were produced. As a final note I would also like to draw attention to and explore the continued lack of Christian buildings in the manuscript tradition and the influences this may have had upon their transmission. By examining the seemingly erratic updating process in reverse, we can see how easy it was to repurpose the document and gain a greater insight into the document’s potential purposes by trying to trace it back to its original form.[[87]](#footnote-87)

There are three different approaches we can take to the study of the *Regionary Catalogues* manuscript tradition. The two traditional approaches have been to either examine them as a literary source (in which case what matters is the singular “text” rather than the different variety of sources) or to proceed with a codicological study and study each manuscript as an individual object. I will be integrating a third, genetic criticism, into my main approach, whilst also using codicological study for the demonstration of the *Regionary Catalogues’* importance in later contexts. Codicology’s focus on comparing the physical aspects of the object to demonstrate the evolution of the “codex”, then comparing and contrasting it with the textual contents of the item will be useful to show the use and importance of the *Regionaries* in the later period.[[88]](#footnote-88) The importance of codicological evidence for our understanding of the state of any manuscript at any particular stage in its development is obvious. These forms of evidence are of potential textual significance as it may alert us to possible changes of exemplar or of copyist, or other discontinuities in production, which may have direct textual consequences.[[89]](#footnote-89) Whilst the benefits of codicology are not to be underestimated they are difficult to apply to the *Regionary Catalogues* due to the varied and widespread evolution of both the text and manuscripts. We can apply a codicological study to each individual manuscript that the *Regionaries* survives in but this has limitations. The manuscripts are dated at the earliest to the Carolingian era and mostly to the copies of the *Regionaries* produced during the Carolingian Renaissance.[[90]](#footnote-90) For a wider study of the whole manuscript tradition and its implications, we need to look elsewhere for our approach.

Therefore I will also be utilising “Genetic Criticism” for this part of my study of the *Regionaries* and its tradition in addition to a more traditional codicological study of the text. I follow Falconer’s definition, which states that “genetic criticism” is, ‘any act of interpretation or commentary, any critical question or answer that is based directly on preparatory material or variant states of all or part of a given text, whether in manuscript or in print.’[[91]](#footnote-91) Whereas Codicology would have us privilege one manuscript copy over another, with Genetic Criticism, we can conduct a more useful study of the whole manuscript tradition including those aspects of the *Regionaries* before our extant manuscript copies. Traditional textual criticism has often privileged the idea of the text as a single object, despite the increasing evidence that our surviving text is actually a cluster of different textual traditions that have evolved over time. Since we possess two different textual traditions of the same document, the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*, how do we decide which is the “proper” (or more accurate version) without recourse to external information about the text? Convention and traditional historical training often require a historian to then place this in some sort of stemmatic hierarchy.[[92]](#footnote-92) Given the dispersed nature of the *Regionary Catalogues’* manuscript tradition (the two different copies and their dispersed survival), and the absence of definitive knowledge of what the *Regionaries* actually were, it is possible (but unfruitful) to conceive of the *Regionaries* as a singular textual entity that could be placed in such a hierarchy. Whilst my argument is that the *Regionaries* do descend from a common proto-source, it is hard to determine whether or not the actual manuscript copies descend from a singular source. The principle that where witnesses diverge one must be true is difficult to apply to the case of the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* since both have their own textual merits. A best reading cannot solely be determined by stemmatic analysis, requiring recourse to another evaluative method anyway.

Like the textual/stemmatic criticism from which it began, genetic criticism is relational (as a critic needs two or more states of the same text); hierarchical (certain states have more data than others); and teleological (how one state leads to the other helps to illuminate its purpose).[[93]](#footnote-93) When applied to manuscript studies, genetic criticism does not focus on attempting to establish a “best manuscript”, but rather instead evaluates every stage of the text equally. It is important to remember that this is not a simple collection of documents and texts that are valued equally, but rather a process of using every stage of a work to demonstrate the textual variation of the stages that led to a particular finished text.[[94]](#footnote-94) The notion that two textual states may simply co-exist is certainly appealing to any study of the *Regionary Catalogues*, and unlike in traditional stemmatic criticism we do not need a singular “hyper archetype” for it to work.[[95]](#footnote-95) Therefore with the two different manuscript traditions of the *Regionaries* we have our relational (two comparable but different texts); hierarchical (one text contains more items than the other); and teleological (how each layer of the *Regionaries* contributed to the other) which is what the study of layers will hope to explore.

Some critics have argued that Genetic Criticism is, ‘searching for a phenomenon that is in effect unobservable, unobjectifiable: the origin of a literary work. Its object of inquiry is essentially unstable, or rather its object of study is the very instability of the “pre-text”.’[[96]](#footnote-96) Laurent Jenny argues that, ‘it seeks, rather, to undo these same texts and to suspend their interpretations’, that it renders the critical relationship null and void by removing the judgement that privileges one “correct” form of the text above the others.[[97]](#footnote-97) This appears to be a particular theme amongst critics of genetic criticism that adherents of genetic criticism are attempting to develop an interpretation of the “pre-text” which is by definition always incomplete and therefore impossible.[[98]](#footnote-98) However this is an overly narrow view that subscribes to a far too traditional view of textual criticism, one that privileges the hermeneutic model of the “Sacred Book”, the idea that there is a singular, perfect example of the text which critics can interpret.[[99]](#footnote-99) If we were to subscribe to this view, any study of the manuscript tradition becomes pointless as we can never get beyond our Carolingian survivals to the Roman originals. Furthermore, the dual existence of the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* copies of the *Regionary Catalogues* makes it a struggle to decide which manuscript to privilege as the earliest or even the correct one. What Genetic criticism does not do is generate a “return to history”, by unearthing an original, perfect copy of the text. Instead it records a series of textual events so that, even when the critic gives shape and meaning to those events, the focus remains on how the text has grown rather than the wider critical-context of what the “pure” purpose of the text was.[[100]](#footnote-100) Lacking a definitive creator, date of creation or even form, the *Regionaries* and their manuscript tradition are well suited to genetic criticism for a study of themselves and their extant documents.

The Manuscripts of the *Regionary Catalogues*:

All of our surviving copies of the *Regionary Catalogues* were made during the 8th and 9th centuries. The Roman Empire in the West had died (although Charlemagne had tried to bring it back), and the end result of a process that had begun with Augustine draining ‘the Empire of its spiritual significance’ (in response to pagan criticisms of Christianity over the Visigothic sack of Rome in 410) had led to the city of Rome becoming less and less important.[[101]](#footnote-101) The emperors, who had survived in the east, had long since ceased to visit the city. The Empire continued to maintain a foothold in Italy but after its re-conquest in the 6th century it would be governed from Ravenna, not Rome. Rome’s own physical heritage had been increasingly stripped away by its own inhabitants. It was now a city without significant power or influence. It commanded no armies or territory. The only noteworthy political figure of the city, the Pope, was increasingly dependent on foreign warlords to avoid simply being murdered in the street.[[102]](#footnote-102)

It is therefore hardly surprising that the *Regionaries* did not survive in Rome proper. Gothic and Vandal invasions and looting had led to the destruction of many of the city’s great buildings and monuments, which would have included many of the city’s libraries.[[103]](#footnote-103) Ravenna, as the imperial capital from 402 onwards, and the centre of Byzantine rule in Italy, contained a great deal of texts that were concerned with the direct dealings of government.[[104]](#footnote-104) The monastery set up by the late Roman author Cassiodorus at Vivarium contained a great number of Latin manuscripts necessary for a well-rounded Christian education and although the library was later destroyed it ensured many of the city’s manuscripts survived elsewhere.[[105]](#footnote-105)

The oldest surviving copy of the *Curiosum* is contained in the *Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3321* membr. S. VIII ff 234 and is dated to the eighth century. It was collated with several glossaries and grammar guides, as well as the massively popular *Etymologies* of Isidore.[[106]](#footnote-106) It seems to be largely focused on verbal and grammar aids and its descendants remained in central Italy, with one later copy being traceable to the Abbey of Monte Cassino in the 11th century.[[107]](#footnote-107)

However the *Regionaries* appear in much greater numbers across northern Europe.[[108]](#footnote-108) The *Notitia* survived in the heartlands of the Carolingian Empire, as a result of the Carolingian Renaissance, at places such as Lyon, Aachen and Tours.[[109]](#footnote-109) The content of the 8th Century *Codex Spirensis*, our most reliable manuscript copy of the *Notitia*, places the *Notitia* of the *Regionaries* alongside their cousin, the *Notitia of Constantinople*; the famous *Notitia Dignitatum*; the *Notitia Galliarum*, a register of the cities and provinces of Late Antique Gaul; and the *Antonine Itinerary*, a map of the postal stations of the Empire.[[110]](#footnote-110) J.C Mann described the *Codex Spirensis*’s genesis as being a result of, ‘when Charlemagne was crowned emperor in AD 800… the associates and supporters of the Carolingian emperor[s] will no doubt have been interested in any information to be found on the way that the Romans had governed’.[[111]](#footnote-111) Having conquered northern and central Italy the Carolingians would have had access to what remained of the archives and libraries of Ravenna and Vivarium. Those documents that were found useful would have been transferred back to France and Germany for use by the Carolingian government, who would go onto see the documents copied further.[[112]](#footnote-112) The “*Notitia* group” of the Codex was packaged alongside texts such as *De Mensura Orbis Terrae* (based on a geographical survey ordered by Theodosius II) and the *De Gradibus Cognationum* (a legal text discussing the varying degrees of kinship).[[113]](#footnote-113) Scientific manuals and educational aids for grammar and rhetoric continued to be extremely popular. Giles Brown suggested that, ‘Where possible pagan culture could be given a Christian gloss; where not it might be tolerated because it was useful… Pagan authors, moreover, contained much practical knowledge that was worth having’.[[114]](#footnote-114) Lacking any Christian motifs or buildings and possessing the numbers of shrines of the City and listing several of the most significant temples of pagan Rome, it is hard to see how we cannot construe the *Regionaries* as possessing “pagan” characteristics.[[115]](#footnote-115) But it must be remembered that these were public buildings and a concern of the state (as we shall see in a later chapter). They were as many administrative centres as they were places of worship. It is not the fact that these texts were Roman that made them desirable but the knowledge that they contained.[[116]](#footnote-116) Roman laws contained inspiration for Carolingian legal codes, mathematical texts could be put to use in engineering, and histories were searched for inspiration or warnings.

When we examine the manuscript collections that contain the *Regionary Catalogues,* both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* are most commonly grouped with histories, grammar guides, and mathematical texts.[[117]](#footnote-117) However whereas the *Notitia* was collected with texts that are much more focused on the wider Empire such as the *Notitia Dignitatum* and *Itinerarium Antonini*, the *Curiosum* was collected with documents such as the *Capitolum Rome*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the *De Aquarum Ductibus Romam Rigantibus* alongside the grammar guides and histories. The *Curiosum’s* relative lack of popularity in its transmission in contrast to the *Notitia* could well be explained by its association with the church and central Italy. The Papacy’s increasingly unamicable relations with the Byzantine emperors would hardly incentivise them to reproduce a manuscript that glorified the city of the Empire rather than the city of the Church. This would make sense given its continued survival near to Rome.[[118]](#footnote-118) It would be an easy choice then, to suggest that the *Notitia* was selected instead for the Carolingian codices on the basis of some grand Carolingian project to burnish the Roman imperial credentials of Charlemagne’s burgeoning empire. Charlemagne’s extensive programme of religious and educational reforms is recognised to have been a result of him attempting to both buttress the cultural and historical credentials of the Carolingians and create a new unifying paradigm around which to help rally the new empire.[[119]](#footnote-119) In this situation the line between what is practically useful and what may seem to be ideologically window dressing can become blurred. Rome’s imperial heritage was still impressive and worthy of respect. Its descendant in the east, the Byzantine Empire, remained a significant power. But the Carolingian Empire could never hope to compete with the classical imperial heritage of the remains of the Eastern Empire. But unlike the Byzantines, the Carolingians did not solely rely on their constitutional heritage for their imperial identity.[[120]](#footnote-120) The Carolingian Empire was built upon its military power and relationship with the Catholic Church.[[121]](#footnote-121) Just like the *Foederati* that the Franks were descended from, the Carolingian Dynasty was reliant on the army. Charles Martel and Pippin (Charlemagne’s Grandfather and Father respectively) had gained power through their command of the Frankish army in service of the Merovingian Kings. The Pope’s awarding of a Papal Crown to Pippin was a tacit recognition of the fact that he who controlled the army was the true ruler.[[122]](#footnote-122) Both the Carolingians and the Catholic Church had a vested interest in creating a new non-classical Roman historiography in order to be able to assert their own claims to cultural supremacy.[[123]](#footnote-123) They would certainly be unlikely to place too much emphasis on the history and traditions of their great rival without finding a way to claim them as their own.

Roman learning certainly remained a popular source for Carolingians to ornament their own works with. Roman Art and Architecture adorned Royal Chapels and Palaces. Roman writers had their works reproduced at Lorsch, Corbie, Tours and Fleury throughout the period. Modern copies of the *Codex-Calendar* *of 354* are all traced to a Carolingian manuscript produced in the 9th century.[[124]](#footnote-124) In AD 354, three years before Constantius II presented the obelisk to the City, the wealthy aristocrat Valentinus received the lavishly illustrated calendar for the year from the famous illustrator Furius Dionysius Filocalus. Alongside the calendar, the Codex contained depictions of the Consuls of that year, the Emperors, astrological signs and pictorial personifications of the major cities of the Empire. The unillustrated items included lists of the Consuls, Prefects and Bishops of the City of Rome up to that date and the *Notitia* copy of the *Regionary Catalogues*.[[125]](#footnote-125) The *Codex-Calendar*’s unique insight into the urban patterns of social and religious activity during the critical period of the aristocracy’s transition from paganism to Christianity would maintain its popularity long after its fourth-century creation.[[126]](#footnote-126)

This reproduction of such varied manuscripts like the *Codex-Calendar*, has led some historians to suggest that Carolingian scholarship was less interested in pilfering particular genres and more interested in developing a more sophisticated understanding of the Latin language.[[127]](#footnote-127) This meant a study of literature, hence the predominance of grammar books, poetry and history in the manuscript collections containing the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*. Certain classical authors, such as Cicero, Virgil and Horace were necessary because of the influence they had had on the Church Fathers such as Augustine and Isidore, whose works were by far and away the most transmitted texts in the period.[[128]](#footnote-128) Eusebius, our main historian for Constantine’s reign, remained immensely popular throughout the Carolingian Empire and was part of the effort from ecclesiastics to enhance and exalt the Carolingian rulers.[[129]](#footnote-129) Eutropius’ *Breviarium*, a history of the Roman Empire, was combined by Paul the Deacon with added material from Orosius and Jerome to produce a new history with a greater focus on Christianity.[[130]](#footnote-130) Obviously Roman texts could be put to good use by the Carolingian empire. It allowed them to create a new cultural order that had its roots in the past but was firmly grounded in the Christian present. Patronage of learning and education was expected of a Christian King, but the emphasis was to be on Christian learning.[[131]](#footnote-131) Non-Christian texts that could contribute to one’s education and spiritual enlightenment could be justified as having a practical purpose; other texts might be copied for personal reasons (i.e. because they were impressive). The *Regionaries* would have been largely meaningless (and useless) to the militaristic and Christian Carolingians beyond their ability to impress people and their association with other documents.

How does the *Regionaries* manuscript transmission fit into this growing decline of interest in traditional Roman culture in favour of pragmatically useful texts? At first glance both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* contain useful data. They contain a certain amount of information connected with the governing of the City of Rome in the fourth century, but there is no evidence to suggest that anyone used them for any sort of administrative or didactic purpose. Whilst the figures they possess are interesting, any practical value that they may have had would be hopelessly outdated by the 8th and 9th centuries. The *Catalogues* lack any practical topographical or pictorial information about the city. Anyone not an inhabitant of Rome during the 4th century would struggle to interpret them into any form of effective guide. Even demonstrating Rome’s former size and significance would be more nostalgic for the time of Constantine, rather than a useful or an accurate depiction of the City’s traditional heritage. It might be a curiosity for the scholar or aristocrat who possessed that very modern fascination with the “Otherness” of pagan Rome, but given the preponderance of information that would only appeal to particular enthusiasts; it is hardly a document from which lessons can easily be drawn. So if the *Regionary Catalogues* were not inherently practical texts, or at least had ceased to be so by the Carolingian period, then they must have had some other desirable quality. The *Notitia*’s emphasis on various monuments associated with a number of great Roman emperors would make it a much more desirable document in contrast to the *Curiosum* which lacks a great deal of the imperial emphasis of the *Notitia*. And if we return to the example of the *Codex-Calendar* then we not only have a document that contains interesting facts but is a beautifully illustrated item in its own right, as much a piece of art as it is anything else. When Charlemagne’s library collection was sold off on his death, his son Louis purchased an elaborate ivory map of the *Notitia Dignitatum* alongside a copy of the *Codex-Calendar* and illustrated copies of Terence and the Constellation Catalogue of Aratus.[[132]](#footnote-132) In both cases the Carolingians were as concerned with the physical objects as with the actual intellectual content. It is easy to become over focused on the textual content of the manuscript tradition and lose sight of the physicality of the objects themselves.

In this context the textual content of the *Notitia Dignitatum* was reproduced due to the artistic value derived from the physical illustrations of the document. The effort and craft for creating a written manuscript meant even written text was often beautifully crafted.[[133]](#footnote-133) They continued to be collected into and transmitted through elaborately illustratedcodices that have an artistic merit as well as a literary one.[[134]](#footnote-134) The possession of books was an indication of social status and wealth amongst the Carolingian elites. In such a paradigm it is hardly unsurprising that a manuscript became as much an *objet d’art* as it was a literary text.

In contrast to the *Curiosum*, the *Notitia* manuscripts have survived in two groups. The first as we have already discussed, is represented by the *Codex Spirensis*. The second is the copy of the *Notitia* that survives as part of the *354* *Codex-Calendar*. The *Codex Vindobonensis 3416* (from the fifteenth century) contains our oldest copy of the *354 Codex-Calendar* that contained the *Regionary Catalogues*. It was a direct copy of the now lost 9th century *Codex Luxemburgensis*. It is used as our primary source for the *Codex-Calendar* as it was copied before the *Luxemburgensis* lost several pages. More importantly the *Luxemburgensis* was believed to a true copy of the fourth-century original.[[135]](#footnote-135) If the *Luxemburgensis* was indeed a true copy of the fourth-century codex-calendar, this would mean that, in contrast to the *Curiosum*, we possess a fourth-century copy of the *Notitia* through the *Codex-Calendar of 354*.

The first finished appearance of the *Notitia* MS is therefore easily dated by its presence in the *Codex-Calendar.* The *Notitia* has been described as odd one out as it is the only item concerned with topographical/geographical information in a *Codex* generally concerned with chronological information.[[136]](#footnote-136) But whilst the *Notitia* is certainly not a chronological list, it does fit thematically with the delivery of a “traditional” Roman worldview that is presented with the *Codex*. The aristocratic recipient of the *Codex-Calendar* was part of a shared culture that “cut across religious differences” in favour of revering traditional Roman culture, history and knowledge.[[137]](#footnote-137) The Christian documents that appear within it speak to the growing accommodation of the Roman elite to Christianity, with an age (and therefore authority) that allows them to be considered part of the city’s *mos maiorum* rather *res novae*.

Javier Arce has mentioned that the *Notitia* shares a great deal of similarity with the Consular Lists also included in the *Codex-Calendar*: ‘structural brevity, anonymous character, material that can quickly be supplemented over the years, ease of interpolations.’[[138]](#footnote-138) As has been mentioned in the introduction, the prime candidate for the original authorship of the *Regionary Catalogues* has remained the Urban Prefect. Even those historians who disagree with this assumption either accept that the statistics for the *Regionaries* will have come from the Office of the Urban Prefect, or that the *Regionaries* and the *Codex-Calendar* would have been produced within the Urban Prefect’s social circle.[[139]](#footnote-139) Certainly the *Notitia*’s emphasis on traditional buildings and aspects of urban life can be construed both as representation of an administration dominated by the senatorial elites and as a literary form of the vanity caused by the compensatory overvaluing of traditional precedent that assuaged the anxieties of the aristocracy of a formerly significant city.[[140]](#footnote-140) In view of the *Regionaries’* strong associations with urban government and even stronger associations with the Roman senatorial aristocracy it makes perfect sense to have been included.[[141]](#footnote-141)

A particular sticking point for some scholars is that it is only in the *Vindobonensis* copy of the *Codex-Calendar* that the *Notitia* appears and therefore there has been some debate about whether or not it was truly included with the original *Codex-Calendar*. Several historians have questioned the inclusion of the *Notitia* within the *Codex-Calendar* due its survival in only this one version of the *Codex*.[[142]](#footnote-142) Salzmann in particular argues that given the relatively strong survival of the *Notitia* elsewhere (found in some twenty-seven different codices), and its difference of subject, the *Regionaries* are not likely to have been included in the original document.[[143]](#footnote-143) However Theodor Mommsen posited the theory that the *Codex-Calendar* originally went through two editions. The first, an original of 334 consisted of sections XI (*Depositions of the Bishops of Rome 255-352*), XII (*Depositions of the Martyrs*), XIII (*Lists of the Bishops of Rome*), and XIV (the *Notitia*).[[144]](#footnote-144) This was later updated in early 354 for the final compilation, when those texts that were more relevant, such as the calendar, were updated and those like the *Notitia*, whose practical administrative uses had expired and now best served as ornaments, were not.[[145]](#footnote-145) It seems counterintuitive to argue that, even though it appears in our best source for the *Codex-Calendar*, just because the *Notitia* does not appear in other manuscripts copied from the *Luxembergensis* it is unlikely to have been included with the original *Codex-Calendar*. Salzmann herself, the main proponent of this view, argues that the *Codex-Calendar’s* layout refers the reader to the dominant institutions of the fourth-century city, the Urban Prefects, Consuls and Emperors.[[146]](#footnote-146) Furthermore Salzmann argues that, ‘the *Codex-Calendar of 354* is a unique document’, therefore her secondary argument against the *Regionaries* inclusion is a questionable on two accounts.[[147]](#footnote-147) Firstly the *Regionaries* have a clear association with the reign and policy of Constantine, as do the other parts of the *Codex-Calendar*, but more importantly they share a common theme of providing a substantial amount of raw data about Roman history. This went on to be a recurring theme in the manuscript transmission of the *Regionaries*, with the catalogues collected with a wide-variety of different documents which, despite a great variety in genre, share a common theme of depicting the life and culture of Rome. The *Codex-Calendar* was a product of attitudes within the Roman senatorial aristocracy in the fourth century. Whilst Christianity may not appear within the *Regionaries*, the *Codex-Calendar* demonstrates that traditional Roman pagan and secular knowledge was commensurate and compatible with Christian practices and history. The work reflects upon the careful balance that continued to be trodden between traditional Roman religious customs and the growing power and dominance of Christianity. But in Rome, or rather amongst its aristocratic class, a much greater emphasis was placed upon the traditions and customs of one’s social class over personal religious affiliation.[[148]](#footnote-148) The *Notitia*’sinclusion within the personalised *Codex-Calendar* suggests an author who thought his recipient at least believed that antiquity and history, if one is wise, were to be adored even if there was a new religious paradigm.[[149]](#footnote-149)

The *Codex-Calendar* was produced in a Rome which remained a significant city (if not the most important one) within a unified Empire. Its fourth century audience did not feel the need to decisively categorise documents as either “pagan” or “Christian” as modern audiences does. Administrative data, even if outdated, could be used to ornament documents by virtue of their association with the tradition and history of Rome. But by the time of the *Codex Spirensis* and *Codex Vindobonensis* in the 8th century the Rome of the Caesars, of Cicero and Virgil, mighty *basilicae* and *thermae* had been replaced by one of martyrs, convents and Churches. A new idea of Rome had been formed, one in which the classical past of the city of Rome had no place. The necessary accommodation between Roman aristocratic traditionalism and Christianity of the mid-fourth century that the *Codex-Calendar of 354* represented was no longer necessary. Paganism was a spent force; by the eighth century the elites of Rome had become the families that dominated the Papacy and the Curia.[[150]](#footnote-150) They now built and maintained churches instead of temples and baths. Christian Rome was a repository of eternal values and the triumph of Christianity. Classical pagan Rome was literally cannibalised to provide the buildings blocks of the new Christian Rome.[[151]](#footnote-151) By the end of the fourth century Christianity was now the dominant force in society and politics. The persecuted would soon become the persecutors.

The Different Production Contexts of the *Regionary Catalogues*:[[152]](#footnote-152)

The 4th Century context of the *Regionary Catalogues* is the easiest identifiable layer due to the increasingly Constantinian nature of its additions. In these layers we begin to see items of a more symbolic nature being added to the initial proto-document of the *Regionaries*. These new items are more concerned with glorifying the city and the Constantinian dynasty. It is the period within which the significant differences in content between the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia* appear. The specific details are available in Appendix One: The Differences between the Curiosum and the Notitia; but the *Curiosum* has only one unique building, the *Minervam Calcidicam* in the *Regio IX*, a temple erected by Domitian to Minervae.[[153]](#footnote-153) In contrast the *Notitia* has eighteen unique buildings.[[154]](#footnote-154) There are also 20 items in the *Notitia* and six items in the *Curiosum* that are named differently, but essentially describe the same item.[[155]](#footnote-155) These similar items are those where one of the items has appeared in both textual traditions, but in one there is an addition or subtle change (as in an extra item added to another or the same buildings with two names). There are also six other items that are duplicated in both documents but appear in a different fashion i.e. the *Curiosum* lists the *thermas Constantinianas* and *thermas Diocletianas*, whereas the Notitia lists them as the *thermas Diocletianas* *et Constantinianas*.[[156]](#footnote-156) These differences have not included the differences in the minor figures of *vici*, *aediculae*, *vicomagistri*, *curatores*, *insulae*, *domos*, *horrea*, *balinea*, *lacos*, *pistrina* and circumference listed at the end of each *Regio* and the totals of all such items in the Appendices.[[157]](#footnote-157) Whilst there are some small differences between the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* in these figures, these variations are minor and the importance of these statistics will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

What can be seen from the differences is that there seems to be no coherent theme for the differences between the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*. The most common theme in the differences is the addition of extra gods to various shrines and temples, with the *Notitia* also having the title of *divi* applied to the names of the emperors attached to a number of imperial monuments. This would nominally suggest that there was a stronger religious theme in the *Notitia* as opposed to the *Curiosum* (although the *Curiosum* does have some extra additions to temples such as the *templum Castorem et Minervae* and the *basilicam Neptuni Matidies Marciani*).[[158]](#footnote-158) However when we take into account the variety of seemingly random items such as streets, district names and public squares also added in the *Notitia* this becomes diluted. Tentatively it could be argued that the *Notitia* has a stronger “Imperial theme”, as the inclusion of the adjective *divi* to several imperial monuments suggests. The *Hadrianeum* (a temple to the deified Hadrian) and the Equestrian Statue of Constantine have an obvious imperial connection to two emperors who were famous for how they strengthened and developed the empire. The *Castra Praetoria* was the barracks of the (infamous) Imperial Guard, and the *aream Palatinam* served as an open space before the Palatine Palace from which the Emperor would receive the *salutatio Caesaris*, the formal ceremonial greeting of the citizens as clients to the Emperor as their patron.[[159]](#footnote-159) The *umbilicum Romae* was the symbolic centre of the city, and therefore by extension the Empire.[[160]](#footnote-160) This indicates a greater concern with those spaces and buildings concerned with the glorification of the emperor and the empire. This could also suggest that the *Curiosum* had these removed at some point by a Christian copyist. In particular there seems to be a further concern with the Flavian and Antonine emperors, as can be seen by the fact that in the *Notitia* we have the *privata Traini*, the *arcum divi Veri Partici et divi Traiani et Drusi* and the *Hadrianeum* and the *templum divi* *Antonini* representing the Antonine emperors, and the *malum punicum*, *balineum Torquati* *Vespasiani*, *templum Saturni et Vespasiani et Titi* for the Flavian dynasty. The *balineum Torquati*, which has no apparent imperial function, possesses the gloss of an imperial connection with its pairing with the *balineum Vespasiani* in the *Regionaries*.[[161]](#footnote-161) These items would make the *Notitia* more appealing to, and therefore more likely to be transmitted by, the Carolingians due to its ability to demonstrate the importance and glory of Empire and emperors. In comparison the *Curiosum* lacks such a focus on some of Rome’s most successful imperial dynasties.

The *Curiosum* has the latest identifiable layer of the *Regionaries* due to its inclusion of the Obelisk listed in the Appendices, which had been gifted to the city by Constantius II during his triumphal visit to the city in AD 357.[[162]](#footnote-162) This can also be taken to be the last layer of the *Regionary Catalogues* as there are no additions to the documents beyond this date. By common historiographical consensus the “first form” of the *Notitia* can be determined to have its *terminus post quem*, despite its appearance in the *354 Codex-Calendar*.[[163]](#footnote-163) This dating has been primarily based upon by the presence of the Equestrian Statue of Constantine, which we know from its inscriptions was dedicated in AD 334.[[164]](#footnote-164) Merrill argues that prior to this period (334-357) the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia* are much closer in terms of textual similarities. He bases this on the fact that out of the thirty-eight different items that the *Notitia* has and that the *Curiosum* does not, the vast majority also are added at a later date than AD 334, added alongside the “excitement” of adding the golden equestrian statue.[[165]](#footnote-165) The next layer would be AD 337-354, with the Arch of Constantine in the *Notitia* being listed as *Arcum divi Constantini,* *divus* being an adjective applied after the emperor’s death and consequent deification. This gives a date of at the earliest AD 337 and the death of Constantine and at the latest of AD 35, the date of the *Notitia*’s first appearance in the *Codex-Calendar of 354*.

Elmer Merrill argues that a proto-document that both the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* descended from had to have appeared around AD 314, citing, the *Basilica Constantiniana*, the appearance of the *Thermae Constantinianae,* the Arch of Constantine (listed in the *Regio XI* and therefore not the Arch by the Colosseum but a second one), and the Portico of Constantine. The *Thermae* and the Arch were probably completed in 315, and the Portico, Merrill argues, was completed with the *Thermae*.[[166]](#footnote-166) As neither the Arch by the Colosseum (dedicated in 315/316) nor the Temple of Romulus that was dedicated to Constantine appear in the *Regionaries* this means that the document must have been begun in 314 so as to include all the finished buildings of Constantine’s reign.[[167]](#footnote-167) However we must be wary of an argument from silence. This argument fails to take into account the continued appearance in the *Notitia* of the *Castra Praetoria*, which were definitively destroyed in 312 and the *Basilica Nova* of Maxentius in the *Curiosum*, which indicate that there was a proto-document first took form before the reign of Constantine. The *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* as we understand them are Constantinian layers added to an existing document.

Despite the difficulties in dating the *Regionaries*, the earliest recordable layer is datable easily enough to pre-AD 312 by the presence of the Praetorian Barracks in the *Notitia* copy of the *Regionary Catalogues*.[[168]](#footnote-168) This “layer” is the last appearance of the proto-*Regionaries* which will be discussed in Chapter 2. The Praetorians had been a significant part of life in Imperial Rome ever since their inception by Augustus and the construction of their *Castra Praetoria* within the city under Tiberius.[[169]](#footnote-169) However the Praetorians had proven themselves a problem after Augustus’s reign, rapidly developing a taste for palace intrigue with the Prefect Sejanus, later graduating to murdering and proclaiming emperors. In AD 284, Diocletian reduced the status of the Praetorians and instead created two new corps of soldiers to protect the emperors. However in AD 306 Maxentius, the son of Diocletian’s colleague Maximian, was proclaimed emperor with the Praetorians’ support and they were rewarded with a reinstatement of their old privileges.[[170]](#footnote-170) In 312 when Constantine fought Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, the Praetorians formed the core of Maxentius’ army alongside the *Equites Singulares Augusti*, the emperor’s personal horse-guards. After the battle, Constantine, acting with a Roman emperor’s customary mercy and restraint, disbanded both units and razed their barracks. Only those elements of the *Castra Praetoria* that were incorporated into the Aurelian Walls survived and are in fact still visible today.[[171]](#footnote-171) Their presence in the *Notitia* could be attributed to simply being a mistake, however listed in the appendices for both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* are ten cohorts of Praetorian Guards (roughly 15000 men). Archaeological studies of the remains of the *Castra* have suggested that the Barracks possessed a similar capacity.[[172]](#footnote-172) Therefore the earliest attributable layer of the *Regionaries* has to be prior to AD 312, since it seems exceptionally unlikely that, given their extremely thorough removal from Rome (graves were dug up and moved and the soldiers themselves distributed to the corners of the Empire), anyone would wish to risk Constantine’s ire with a reminder of a time and person he wished to be rid of.[[173]](#footnote-173)

Furthermore there is also the presence of the Basilica of Constantine, which Aurelius Victor states was built by Maxentius but rededicated under Constantine by a “grateful” Senate, which would again indicate a date near to AD 312.[[174]](#footnote-174) However here we encounter the first major dispute between the two traditions, as in the *Notitia* tradition it is called the *Basilica Constantiniana* in both *Regio IV* and in the First Appendix.[[175]](#footnote-175) In contrast, in the *Curiosum* it appears as the *Basilica Nova* under *Regio IV*, and as the *Basilica Constantiania* in the First Appendix.[[176]](#footnote-176) This means that the *Notitia* can no longer be definitively said to be the earliest Constantinian layer, but it does reinforce the case that the *Regionaries* likely existed in some form prior to AD 312/314. Merrill has argued that this is indicative of both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* originating from a single source document and at this stage I see no reason to dispute this.[[177]](#footnote-177)

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On the surface, the widespread appearance of the *Regionary Catalogues* in a variety of different codices would suggest that they held some form of appeal if not an actual practical use. The problem was that their administrative and practical uses were deeply contextual to the period of their creation. By using genetic criticism and codicology, we have been able to examine the manuscript tradition in much greater contextual detail. Whilst the *Regionaries* existed in the period which possessed both a need for its administrative data and the necessary culture to understand the nuances of the *Regionaries’* symbolic content, we see a much greater attempt at updating the document due to its ability to be utilised in different manners. However as the *Regionaries* progressed further away from their point of origin, we see little textual updating and instead the document takes on a role as an exemplar of Roman knowledge and government, but the details have ceased to be necessary. As we can see by examining the varied multitude of the *Regionaries* manuscript survival and their inclusion with a variety of different documents, we are unable to see anything beyond this ability to impress. This ability would be sorely limited by the Carolingian era, when it would be more impressive due to the date of its production being contemporaneous with the Constantinian emperors rather than the actual value of its contents. The *Regionaries* required a different cultural *milieu* for them to work as actual administrative documents. What the manuscript tradition of the *Regionary Catalogues* demonstrates is the surprising flexibility of the document. Whilst it may have no inherent value, the flexibility intrinsic to the mind-set of its senatorial creators made the *Regionaries* a document that could be repeatedly used without regular updates. When they finally reached a period within which classical Rome was no longer the dominant cultural force, the *Regionary Catalogues* could still lend an impressive gloss to other works and codices by virtue of its age and associations, even if it was in-and-of-itself unimpressive and lacking in practical data by the standards of the Carolingian era.

Chapter Two: “A City of Bricks, Marble, and Ink”: The *Forma Urbis Romae* and the *Regionary Catalogues[[178]](#footnote-178)*

*‘Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.[[179]](#footnote-179)*’

[“Since the city was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, he [Augustus] so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble.”]

As any research project progresses, historians will increasingly find themselves having to explain their projects to the uninformed and the uninitiated. Whilst many could take or leave the discussions of sources, urban government and planning involved in any discussion of the *Regionaries*, ears always perk up when one mentions thefact that the *Regionaries* are our major source for details about Roman monuments. There appears to be a general consensus that our greatest inheritance from Rome are the monuments glorifying the city and Empire and the practical buildings such as *fora* and *basilicae* that met the peoples’ needs, but there is often little to distinguish the two. The Baths of Diocletian and Caracalla were massive entertainment complexes, whose sheer size and expense served as a monument to the power of the emperor. Aurelian’s Temple of Sol was both a military barracks and grand monument to the emperor’s divine patron. In fact the citizens of Rome would have been unimpressed, and even displeased with any Emperor who failed to appear suitably spectacular both in deed and appearance.[[180]](#footnote-180)

Spectacular monuments like those depicted in the Severan Marble Plan and the *Regionary Catalogues* ensured the populace was aware of the emperor and his activities and more importantly that he shared their history and experience. The *Regionaries* therefore, like the Marble Plan before them, must have been abstracted from the *Officium* of the Urban Prefecture for the purpose of simultaneously celebrating and schematising Rome. In this chapter I will show that these documents made use of accurate, detailed information that had most-likely been compiled for official purposes and rendered it into a more accessible form, whilst simultaneously impressing the reader/viewer with its grandeur and history.[[181]](#footnote-181) The Marble Plan was “created” in the course of the restoration of a room in the *Templum Pacis* which had been both, a celebration of Roman triumphalism and cultural appropriation since its creation by Vespasian with objects taken from the temple in Jerusalem and several famous Greek works of art, and a repository for the Urban Prefect’s cadastral records.[[182]](#footnote-182) The collation of this information was symbolic of the City’s many monuments being restored after the fire of AD 192 and was part of a redefinition of the Emperor Septimius Severus’ military image into one that emphasised “Peace and Concord”. Just like the *Regionaries*, it was, in crude terms, an immense display of, “Gaze upon my works ye mighty and despair.”

Visual imagery either in a pictographic or textual form, in the Foucauldian manner, allowed emperors to inform Rome of their goals and intentions whilst also acclimatising the inhabitants to the physical and social changes that were to take place.[[183]](#footnote-183) Paul Zanker has examined the complex interrelationship of the establishment of the imperial monarchy and the transformation of society, arguing that it involved the creation of a whole new method of visual communication.[[184]](#footnote-184) His argument was that Roman “Visual Imagery” should be understood as an attempt to encapsulate the totality of works of art, buildings and literature as a reflection of a society’s inner life.[[185]](#footnote-185) The superabundance of imagery meant that it became a real form of experience for the public, even a replacement for reality, particularly in light of the widespread illiteracy of the populace.[[186]](#footnote-186) By further integrating Zanker’s exploration of the role images played in Augustus’s reform with Paul Veyne’s exploration of the emperor’s role as an imperial benefactor, we see how monuments played a role in the Roman administration beyond the mere spectacular and into the subtle.

Veyne’s approach began when he developed Weber’s theories of power to explain the role the emperor played as a *Euergetes* or “public benefactor”.[[187]](#footnote-187) In order to encapsulate the wide variety of evidence and approaches that were needed in order to analyse what the emperors were intending with the “Bread and Circuses”, Veyne developed Weber’s theory into a, “History without [theoretical] distinctions.”[[188]](#footnote-188) Both Veyne and Zanker agree that the Roman state’s imagery permeated the public and private spheres; in fact even that distinction was a false one.[[189]](#footnote-189) This is particularly useful for us as we examine a material object like the Marble Plan and a textual one like the *Regionaries*, as we need to able to integrate the physical imagery of the documents with the socio-cultural elements that their creation and construction entailed.

If the *Regionary Catalogues* are our major source for the urban topography of antique Rome and its monuments, then the *Formae Urbis* *Romae*, also known as the Severan Marble Plan, was the most significant pictorial representation of the City. It was also a substantial monument in its own right. Although there have been previous suggestions that the *Regionaries* were connected to the Severan Marble Plan I will not be looking for a common source of evidence for the two. Instead I will be attempting to see if the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan followed the same principles of imperial representation.[[190]](#footnote-190) Whilst it is beyond the boundaries of this study to prove a direct relationship between the Marble Plan and the *Regionary Catalogues*, by examining some of the methodologies applied to the study of the Marble Plan we can gain a greater insight into the use and purpose of the information within the *Regionary Catalogues*. In particular I will examine both items’ relatively detailed depiction of seemingly minor information such as the lists of *balinea*, *horrea* and *insulae*.

I hope to critique how the *Regionaries*, like the Marble Plan, are often instinctively (and perhaps uncritically) used for the locations of things. This will be done first by an examination of the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan as individual items before being expanded upon through a comparison between the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan. The *Regionary Catalogues*, again like the Marble Plan, are not straightforward records of the location of things. Their relationship to the actual physical landscape of the city is not a straightforward cartographical translation of the City, but one based on the interpretation of cultural and topographical symbolism. By comparing the material to the textual we can gain new insight into the meaning and purpose of the *Regionary Catalogues* through exploring the process of translating a city of “Bricks and Marble” into one of ink and parchment. This will mean examining the differences and similarities of the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan in terms not only of content but also of audience, form and material. The Marble Plan is a fragmented document in contrast to the complete *Regionaries*, and therefore the two now make different impressions.

Having established the differences and similarities in content and creation between the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan; I will attempt to further test my hypothesis that the Emperor Aurelian was the most likely commissioner of the *Regionaries* through: the unique content of the *Regionaries*, the construction of the Aurelian Wall, and Aurelian’s similarities in terms of needs and context to Septimius Severus. I will further develop this by returning to the differences between the Marble Plan and the *Regionary Catalogues* in order to demonstrate how the *Regionaries* were intended as more low-key internal document for the Urban Prefect, focusing on the position’s key competencies in contrast to the more public and bombastic purposes of the Marble Plan. An important aspect of this is the circumstances of the Marble Plan’s creation. Our story for the Marble Plan’s creation begins with the fire of AD 192 which ravaged the city’s monumental heart, destroying the *Templum Pacis*, the *Aedes Vesta* and part of the Palatine.[[191]](#footnote-191) Most likely the Marble Plan was then derived from survey documents that were part of the restoration process and which were contained within the room where the Plan was.[[192]](#footnote-192)

Why we can’t use the Regionary Catalogues to locate “things”?

It was an essential duty of the emperor, and by extension the Urban Prefect, to maintain the physical fabric of the city of Rome. The physical fabric of the city is what made its claim to world domination so plausible. Such a magnificent city could only exist in a vast and powerful Empire. At the same time the greatness of the city served to render the extent of Rome’s vast empire comprehensible. Therefore for the emperors and their representatives it was eminently justifiable (and indeed an imperative) to spend such vast resources on the capital.[[193]](#footnote-193) But what was the physical reality of the city they spent such money on? When it comes to determining what the physical city was, historians have both consciously and unconsciously relied on the framework provided by the *Regionary Catalogues*.[[194]](#footnote-194)

The *Regionaries*, just like the Marble Plan, present a great deal of difficult-to-acquire information in a form that seems to both hint at and yet also defies conventional practical use. Initially scholars believed that both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* functioned as either a cadastral map to record property boundaries or a straightforward cartographical list.[[195]](#footnote-195) More modern historiography often dismisses both as “Rome worship”.[[196]](#footnote-196) However just as we have shown with the *Regionaries*, the Marble Plan is far too complex to have been a mere invention.[[197]](#footnote-197) David Reynolds attempts to demonstrate this by focusing on the *insulae* and *balnea* over the monumental structures outlined in the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan. *Balnea* and *Insulae* were a basic aspect of Rome’s identity and social structure and fostered extensive social relations.[[198]](#footnote-198) Reynolds has argued that,

‘A crucial step in making the Regionary statistical data useful is their conversion into density figures. First, the density figures show that the numbers recorded in the Regionaries are not, as has often been claimed, exaggerated figures that may be derived from excavated sections of Pompeii – where higher, the figures for Rome are not unreasonably higher, and in some cases they are lower.’[[199]](#footnote-199)

Therefore using the available figures of *Insulae* and *Balinea* then, the “macrostructure” of Rome can be explored. The relative levels of development in different parts of the city can be examined with these buildings. This “macrostructural” study using the data of the *Regionaries* complements the microstructural data of individual buildings and neighbourhoods provided by the Marble Plan, allows us to make a more comprehensive urban analysis of ancient Rome.[[200]](#footnote-200) Reynolds further argues that the implications of this density means that the monumental centres of Rome were thickly hemmed in by *insulae*.[[201]](#footnote-201) Whilst Reynolds’ insights into the purpose and creation of the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan are both sound, his emphasis on the *Insulae* and *Balinea*, whilst interesting, places too much importance on buildings that would have been considered secondary to the creators and viewers of the documents. Both documents put the greater city into fuller material context, which is to be expected considering both documents are believed to be derived from the same sources from the Urban Prefect’s office.[[202]](#footnote-202)

But then neither is the *Regionary Catalogues* a “true representation” of the city of Rome, as they are based upon a selection of buildings that highlights, ignores, or omits aspects of the urban landscape. Therefore we must ask what the *Regionaries* actually depicted. This will help prepare the ground by establishing what is unique to the *Regionaries* and what no longer existed by the third century. These selections must be based upon a certain agenda, which I will then explore in further detail. It is also difficult to use the *Regionaries* to determine the topography and locations of Rome when we can find several items that not only have no archaeological record but also fail to appear in any other source other than the *Regionaries* themselves. This is particularly apparent when we discuss the unique items of the *Regionary Catalogues*.

These 26 items, are, in no particular order, the: *Aediculam caprariam, Apollo Caelispex, Arcus Traiani, Arcus Divi Veri, Area Appolinis et Splenis et Calles, Aream Candidi, Aream Carruces, Aream Pannarium, atrium Caci, Auguratorium, Aureum Bucinum, Castra Lecticariorum, Campum Lanatarium, Decem tabernas, Equus Tiridatis Regis Armeniorum, Forum Pistorum, Herculem cubantem, Horti Getae, Isidem Athenodoriam, Iovis arboratoris, Lupanarios, Privata Hadriani, Privata Traiani, Samiarium,* as well as themythical “Gorgon’s Head” (*Caput Gorgonis*) and “Cave of the Cyclops” (*atrium Cyclopis*).[[203]](#footnote-203) Since these items are unique to the *Regionaries* the safety assumption is that they disappeared by the early-fourth century, when we possess our earliest layer for the *Regionaries (*or that any other evidence for them is no longer known to us). We must take into account the amount of destruction and natural decay that such buildings suffered as a result of the lack of care and attention (and sometimes actively malicious or mercenary attention) over such a period.[[204]](#footnote-204) This strengthens the case for the proto-*Regionary Catalogues* being created in the third century or earlier in order to still contain these buildings, as it is unlikely that they would be simple additions for the sake of them. Roman visual culture worked on a series of mutual symbols and if so many items are absent, then it is unlikely that what is included would be included solely for completeness’ sake when so much else appears to be left out.

Of particular note are the *arcus Traiani, arcus Divi Veri, Privata Hadriani, Privata Traiani*, *Horti Getae*. All are buildings with a direct connection to the “Good” Antonine emperors of the 2nd century. Furthermore, Platner and Ashby also suspect that, based upon the inscription CIL VI. 976, the *Auguratorium* present within the *Regionaries* is related to the *Auguratorium* restored by Hadrian.[[205]](#footnote-205) The *Regionaries* also include the *Hadrianeum* (the temple of the Divine Hadrian) and the *Templum Antonini,* and the *Templum Faustinae* (Temple of Antoninus Pius and the temple of his wife Faustina).[[206]](#footnote-206) In addition we know that the Columns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius are placed only 30m from the *Via Flaminia* and follow its orientation, as do other Antonine monuments such as the Forum of Trajan in the Campus Martius that are north of the *Via Recta*.[[207]](#footnote-207) Some of these Antonine items are unique to the *Regionaries*, whilst there are also more commonly known items such as the Column of Trajan, the *Basilica* *Ulpia* and Hadrian’s reconstruction of the Pantheon included within the *Regionaries*.[[208]](#footnote-208) What is significant is that so many of these items are intimately connected to the Antonine emperors, the last stable dynasty before the crisis of the third century and a time the Empire would soon look upon as a golden age.[[209]](#footnote-209) Their inclusion suggests that the *Regionaries* creator/s was attempting to, by recreating the monumental topography of the Antonines, draw upon the potent associations with that period.

We must be wary of using this to automatically date any proto-*Regionaries* to the Antonine emperors, as we have already established the *Regionaries* are not a direct copy of the city at a particular time. But we do know that Septimius Severus sought an association with the Antonine emperors, and that we also have the appearance of a number of Antonine monuments in the Marble Plan. Buildings belonging to less successful/popular emperors such as the Arches of Claudius and Titus or the Theatre of Domitian are not included. Even the Mausoleum of Augustus is only mentioned obliquely in the *Regionaries’* Appendices and the Arch of Augustus does not appear at all. In fact the only temple directly dedicated to a deified emperor present in the *Regionaries* is the *templum divi Antonini*. Other temples have different soubriquets such as the *Hadrianeum*. This suggests that an important criterion for inclusion within the *Regionaries* was a building/monument’s direct and obvious connection to the Emperors of Rome’s zenith. It is clear that the *Regionaries’* creator either sought a link to the Antonine emperors or was keen to ensure that the City’s links to them were preserved. This in turn assists us in providing a better sense of the *Regionaries’* initial production context and likely commissioner as we shall see later.

These unique items are certainly the exception to the rule within the *Regionaries* and much of the *Regionaries* can be independently verified through inscriptions and literary sources.[[210]](#footnote-210) However this has its own pitfalls for attempting to recreate the physical context of the *Regionaries* in its proto-form. Without using the massive structures such as the imperial *Thermae*, the *Fora, Basilicae* and *Templa* which have left extensive remains, we have needed to rely on chance archaeological findings to independently verify the *Regionaries*. An example of this can be seen in the case of the *Crypta Balbi*. Listed in Platner and Ashby (1929) as being present only in the *Notitia*, an excavation later discovered the whole theatre in 1981.[[211]](#footnote-211) Where reliable archaeological evidence is absent, we must turn to the more traditional method of using literary sources to help verify and locate the buildings of the *Regionaries*. For our earliest monuments, generally those built prior to the crises of the third century, we are able to turn to the rich literary sources of the early imperial period such as Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Frontinus to confirm at least the historical existence of parts of the *Regionaries*. For the late-third century and much of the early fourth century we must rely upon the *Historia Augusta* and Aurelius Victor’s *De Caesaribus*. Both texts are detailed accounts of imperial lives in the period, however both are relatively unreliable due to their distance from the subject in the case of Aurelius (who wrote in the second half of the 4th century) and suspected fraud in the case of the anonymous *Historia Augusta* (which is also generally believed to be from the second half of the 4th century).[[212]](#footnote-212) Later in the fourth century we are able to use Ammianus Marcellinus’ account of the AD 357 imperial *adventus* and Constantius’ consequent bestowal of the Obelisk, to generate our *terminus* *ante quem* of AD 357 for the *Curiosum* tradition of the *Regionaries*, as well as to see what buildings still remained.[[213]](#footnote-213)

Most importantly of all, the *Regionaries* cannot accurately depict Rome in the fourth century as they lack perhaps the most significant topographical change that the city had faced since its founding. The Aurelian Wall completely re-wrote Rome’s topographical boundaries and created a brand new *pomerium*, that sacred boundary which divided the City from the Empire.[[214]](#footnote-214) Whilst the vast majority of items are located within the Wall’s circuit, several items including a number of the *Naumachiae* (Naval Arenas), the *Phrygianum* (a temple of Magna Mater) and the *Gaianum* (an old racetrack of the Emperor Caligula and popular with Charioteers) were left outside.[[215]](#footnote-215) The *Regionary Catalogues* also ignore the Servian Walls and even though the City had long since outgrown them they were still an important monument to Rome’s past. The role the Aurelian Wall played in the creation of the *Regionary Catalogues* shall be dealt with in a greater detail later, but here it should suffice to say that its absence is a serious blow to any attempt to use the *Regionaries* to locate things. Nothing quite determines what is in and outside a city like a wall. Building the Aurelian Wall meant its designers consciously determined what buildings would be within Rome. Those left over were automatically to be considered outside the city, whether they wanted them to be or not.[[216]](#footnote-216)

The Date and Purpose of the Marble Plan:

On his deathbed Septimius Severus gave his sons his personal motto as advice for the future, ‘Be harmonious with each other, enrich the soldiers, and scorn all others’.[[217]](#footnote-217) Some advice that would have been more in keeping with Severus’ style of ruling would have been, “go big or go home.” The Severan dynasty was characterised by bigger government (Cassius Dio complained Severus burdened the State with vast amounts of expenditure), a much bigger army (he raised eight new legions and created a new Praetorian Guard 50,000 strong) and even bigger buildings in Rome (the Baths of Caracalla were not exceeded in their size and magnificence until the Baths of Diocletian).[[218]](#footnote-218) Even their records of buildings had to be magnificent (in stark contrast to the *Regionaries*). Just as Augustus restored Rome after the devastating civil wars of the Republic, Severus was faced with rebuilding Rome after a severe fire during the reign of Commodus in AD 192 and subsequent years of neglect. Records would need to be kept, in order to demonstrate what had been accomplished, both for the demonstration of imperial power and munificence, and for future administrative use. Furthermore a statement would need to be made, a demonstration of unity after a period of civil strife and a declaration of Severus’ noble intentions to reassure Rome that this “African Emperor” held only the city’s best interests at heart. Implicit in all of this would be the omnipresence of imperial power to deter any potential usurpers.

The Marble Plan echoes Severan architectural and sculptural decoration, both in its brash execution and lack of finesse. Based on the surviving fragments that we possess, the Severan Marble Plan depicted the ground plans of nearly every monument, temple, *balinea*, and even *insulae* at a scale of 1:240.[[219]](#footnote-219) It consisted of 150 marble slabs covering a total of 234m2 (18m wide by 13m high based on a composite of the 1186 surviving fragments) and covered an entire wall of the *Templum Pacis*.[[220]](#footnote-220) It is less a map of the city’s monuments and more a monument in its own right. Similar to the *Regionary Catalogues*, there are no references to the Severan Marble Plan in any ancient sources, which means it can only be dated from the evidence found upon it.[[221]](#footnote-221) Cassius Dio wrote of a great fire that caused extensive damage in Rome in AD 192, which had damaged the *Templum Pacis* and had been left largely unrepaired by Commodus.[[222]](#footnote-222) The appearance of the *Septizodium* within the Marble Plan, a monument built by Severus in AD 203, gives us a *terminus post quem* of AD 203.[[223]](#footnote-223) A fragment of the Marble Plan which possesses an inscription naming Severus’s son Caracalla as co-emperor, which occurred in AD 198, thus gives us a *terminus ante quem* of AD 211 (when Severus died).[[224]](#footnote-224) The absence of Geta, Septimius Severus’ other son, who was created Augustus in AD 209, would indicate that the Marble Plan was created before this, but this cannot be said for sure.[[225]](#footnote-225) I would argue that AD 203 is the most likely date as the house of the Urban Prefect of 203, Fabius Cilo, appears on one of our fragments of the Marble Plan.[[226]](#footnote-226)

Historians have based their claims about the Severus’ programme of urban reforms in Rome heavily on the Marble Plan, particularly with regards to the renovation and reconstruction of buildings.[[227]](#footnote-227) Generally these have concluded that the Severan programme of reform was intended to associate the Severans with their predecessors, the Antonines and Flavians. Alison Cooley went further and argued that based on the available architectural and literary sources, Severus’s reforms were an attempt to connect himself to Augustus in a tradition that had begun with Vespasian’s usurpation.[[228]](#footnote-228) Pierre Luigi Tucci argues that blocks of Lapis Albanus which made up the lower part of the wall supporting the Marble Plan, and had been installed during Domitian’s works on the *Templum Pacis*, indicate that something had hung there previously. As Severus’ restoration of the *Templum Pacis* was an accurate remake, including its original decoration and inscriptions, it is therefore likely that the Severan Plan was a substitute for one displayed there by Vespasian.[[229]](#footnote-229)

Such attention to the visual environment of Rome was a sign of continuity and went some way to legitimise any emperor who had seized power by force. New monuments such as the Marble Plan and the *Septizodium*, a decorative façade that depicted the Severans as Solar and Lunar Deities, allowed Septimius Severus to establish a new imperial identity, whilst the reconstruction and restoration of important structures demonstrated the Severan regime’s dedication to Rome’s greatness and its concern for the city’s history.[[230]](#footnote-230) Restorations formed an important part of the Roman visual lexicon, and were a method by which a figure could associate themselves with the virtues and successes of the original builders. Emperors were not Hellenistic monarchs who could blatantly display their power and authority; they were magistrates of Rome and had to maintain an image of modesty and pious respect for tradition. [[231]](#footnote-231) Imperial builders therefore had to find ways to make grandiose statements whilst avoiding seeming overtly extravagant. By restoring and ornamenting the *Templum Pacis* and a number of other significant buildings such as the Temple of Vespasian and the Forum of Augustus, Severus was implicitly and deliberately associating himself with dynasties that had both seized power and used it to bring peace and stability after a prolonged period of civil strife.[[232]](#footnote-232) The Marble Plan, as a map, was not a unique construction. Augustus’s loyal follower Agrippa and later the Emperor Vespasian had each produced a large-scale map of Rome and displayed it prominently as a record of their achievements.[[233]](#footnote-233) Just as the Columns and Arches narrated the emperor’s military accomplishment, the maps of Rome narrated and attested that the renewal that Rome had enjoyed under a past emperor was to be repeated under the current emperor.[[234]](#footnote-234) Augustus and Vespasian had redefined the Empire with their administrations, increasing imperial authority at the expense of more traditional authorities and magistracies. They had, however continued to demonstrate their concern for Rome’s *mos maiorum*, a concern reflected in the symbols they displayed on their coins and the historical associations they created with their architecture.[[235]](#footnote-235) Unlike Augustus or Vespasian, Severus had marched on Rome with an army. He had to ensure that Rome and the Senate were reassured of his attention to continue with the status quo, that he would love the Plebs and respect the Senate.[[236]](#footnote-236) To do so he entered Rome in civilian dress, restored buildings and made donations of money and grain.[[237]](#footnote-237) The Marble Plans collation of this information was symbolic of the City’s many monuments being restored from the fire of 192 and a redefinition of Severus’ military image into one that emphasised Peace and Concord.[[238]](#footnote-238)

A Comparison between the Regionary Catalogues and the Marble Plan

The Severan dynasty oversaw the last great spurt of imperial building projects before the Tetrarchy and capped it with the Severan Marble Plan. Probably drawn from the surveying and accounting documents of the Urban Prefecture, just as the *Regionaries* probably were, the Marble Plan possesses a particular relationship to the third century; by studying this we can hopefully draw some lessons about the *Regionaries’* possible relationship to the third century as well. Whilst the documents are physically different, they share textual and thematic similarities in both their content and the stories of their creation.

Both the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan were heavily associated with the *Templum Pacis* and the Urban Prefecture. The Marble Plan accompanied Septimius Severus’ reconstruction work in Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century. This provides a context for the possibility that the proto-*Regionaries* were created either alongside or as a result of Aurelian’s urban reforms. The house of the Marble Plan’s Urban Prefect, Lucius Fabius Cilo, appears in both the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan.[[239]](#footnote-239) This inclusion of Fabius Cilo’s house, a singular item of relevance only to the Marble Plan’s creation, in both the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan suggests that the *Regionaries* draw upon the same source of information that the Marble Plan did.

Much like the MarblePlan, the *Regionaries* have an obviously important connection to the office and person of the Urban Prefect. Whilst traditional historiography presents Septimius Severus as particularly hostile towards the Senate, he still needed to keep them onside as administrators for Rome.[[240]](#footnote-240) This meant cultivating an air of unity, which would mean he would have to demonstrate he showed the same values and reverence for the monumental fabric of Rome that the Senate did. This concern is borne out by the fact that we see under the Severans the first major expansion of the role and powers of the Urban Prefect.[[241]](#footnote-241)

The similarities in the origins of the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* are further supported by the fact that at their most basic level, the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* share a number of similarities of content. On a much larger scale the Marble Plan also gives us a cartographical representation of some of the minor *balinea*, *insulae* and *domus* that are listed at the end of each *Regio* in the *Regionaries*.[[242]](#footnote-242) There are also 54 items that appear in both the *Regionaries* and our surviving fragments of the Marble Plan, which can be seen in Appendix Two.[[243]](#footnote-243) There are the *Porta Capena*, *Templum Pacis, Forum Romanum, Circus Flaminius*, which act as titles of several Regions in the *Regionaries*. On a more mundane side there are the many porticoes of the city: *porticus Liviae, porticus Absidata, porticus Minucia, porticus Argonautarum, porticus Octaviae et Philippi*, and the *horrea Galbana*, as well as the Market of Livia and two of the most important imperial *fora:* the *forum Traiani* and the *forum Augusti*. The *Basilicae Pauli* and *Iulia* and the *Graecostadium* appear in both as well. There is also the *balneum/thermae Surae*, the *thermae Agrippae*, *thermae Titi,* and the *thermae Traiani*. The Marble Plan’s imperial palace (*domus palatina*) appears in the *Regionaries* as the *domus Augustiana et Tiberiana*. There are also three open areas listed: the *area Radicaria*, *area Apollinis*, and the *mutatorium Caesaris*. The Fountain of Orpheus, *Septizodium* and the Arch of Germanicus look a little lonely as the only major water feature/imperial monuments that appear in both, but it is likely that there would be more in the rest of the Marble Plan.

The most common items in both are the multitude of temples and shrines. The temples included are the *templum Divi Claudi*, *templum Divi Vespasiani*, *Templum Matidiae* (which appears in the *Regionaries* as the *Basilica Matidiae*), a temple to Hadrian’s deified mother-in-law and the Temple of *Fors Fortuna*. The Temple of Isis and Serapis rebuilt after its destruction in AD 80 by Domitian and renovated by Hadrian and Severus, also makes an appearance in both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries*.[[244]](#footnote-244) The shrines in both are the *aedes Castoris*, *Saturni, Iovis Statoris*. The *Minervam Chalcidicam* that appears in the Marble Plan appears only in the *Curiosum* as *Minervam Calcidicam*. The *Divorum* of the *Regionaries*, which included the *aedes* of Titus and Vespasian and was constructed by Domitian, appears as the *Porticus Divorum* on five fragments of the Marble Plan, whilst another 14 fragments represent the rest of the area of the *porticus*.[[245]](#footnote-245) Similar to many of the unique items in the *Regionaries*, these shared temples and shrines seem to be intimately connected to the imperial family, in particular to the popular Flavian and Antonine dynasties either by construction or renovation. After the temples and shrines, the most listed items that appear in both lists are concerned with the entertainment of the city.

There are the actual places of the entertainments: *Circus Maximus*, the Flavian Amphitheatre, *theatrum et crypta Balbi*, *Theatrum Marcelli*, but more significant is the inclusion in both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* of the same supporting structures.[[246]](#footnote-246) These include: the gladiatorial schools *Ludum Matutinum et Dacicum*, their supporting armouries in the *Armamentarium*, the *Castra Misenatium* (the barracks of the men who drew the awnings at the games) and even the famous *Naumachia,* although in the Marble Plan the Naumachia are named as the *Naumachia Augusti* and the *Naumachia Transtiberina*, whereas in the *Regionaries* they are only listed as *Naumachia V*.[[247]](#footnote-247) In the Marble Plan there is the road of the theatre suppliers, which is listed in the *Regionaries* as the *summum choragum*.

But the *Regionaries* are not an exact copy of the Marble Plan; after all out of 1186 (of which many are blank or contain non-monumental buildings such as *insulae* and *mensae oleriae*) surviving fragments, only 54 share direct similarities with the *Catalogues*. The Marble Plan also lists several important imperial monuments that the *Regionaries* omit; including the Arches of Titus and Severus and the Mausoleum of Hadrian, as well as the location of the imperial Box in the *Circus Maximus*. It also illustrates the location of the Gardens of Celonia Fabia, the wife of the Urban Prefect Fabius Cilo (whose house is in both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries*) and two voting halls, the *Saepta Iulia* which had been restored by Domitian and Hadrian, and the *Diribitorium* built by Agrippa and restored by Titus.[[248]](#footnote-248) It also includes the *Basilica Ulpia,* the centrepiece of the Forum of Trajan. Several other monuments lacking any significant imperial connection are also included. This includes the funerary monument of Servius Sulpicius Galba, one of our oldest republican tombs; the *aedis iunonis reginae* vowed by the Consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; and the *aedes Bellonae* and the *aedes* *Apollinis* which were two of the oldest temples in Rome.[[249]](#footnote-249) Several of Pompey’s notable structures are also included: the *porticus Pompeianae*, the *curia Pompeiana*, *aedes Venus Victricis*, and the *Hecatostylum*.[[250]](#footnote-250) Whilst the *porticus* was one of the most popular throughout antiquity, and the *aedes* and *Hecatostylum* were both part of the Theatre of Pompey, the *curia Pompeiana* had been walled up by Augustus due it being the location of Julius Caesar’s murder.[[251]](#footnote-251)

The oldest of them all is the *Roma Quadrata*. Initially believed to be a mysterious area whose purpose was unclear even to historians writing in the Late Republic, but was suspected to be part of the original outline of the *pomerium*, Rome’s sacred boundary.[[252]](#footnote-252) It has now been shown to have been a shrine within which those ritual implements necessary for an auspicious city founding were deposited, including (possibly) the plough used in the rituals of the *Pomerium*.[[253]](#footnote-253) This suggests a desired connection to the city’s Republican past in contrast to the much more imperially focused *Regionaries*. As the sacred boundary that marked Rome apart from the world, it also carried a number of legal and social concerns. Foreign “rites” were banned within it and it was forbidden to bury dead within the *pomerium*. Most importantly it was the demarcating line within which it was forbidden to wear armour and carry weapons and (nominally) the point at which military authorities were forbidden from entering the City except in the case of a triumph.[[254]](#footnote-254) The *pomerium* was demarcated by the *cippi,* milestones which we should have expected to see in the *Regionaries* or their *Appendices* at some point since they would possess significant cultural and historical importance.[[255]](#footnote-255) The Urban Prefect’s jurisdiction was defined by it (100 miles from the *pomerium*). It does appear quite odd that Rome’s most significant religious boundary, a major cultural, political and legal institution, would be neglected from the *Regionaries*. Traditionally historians have argued that the *pomerium* had been extended to the Aurelian Walls, the massive circuit of walls constructed by the Emperor Aurelian between 271 and 275 that enclosed the city.[[256]](#footnote-256) However this is based largely on a passage from the *Historia Augusta* that declares Aurelian extended the *pomerium* several times, which has in turn been transposed onto the construction of the Aurelian Wall. However the veracity and accuracy of the *Historia Augusta* is subject to considerable dispute by historians so it is inappropriate to rely on it too heavily, particularly in the absence of the Aurelian Wall itself from the *Regionaries*.[[257]](#footnote-257)

The question still remains as to why the Aurelian Wall might not have been included in the *Regionary Catalogues*. A discussion of the *pomerium* and its evolution is outside the scope of this thesis. The simplest suggestion is that it is simply not relevant to the functioning of the *Regionary Catalogues*. Any alteration of the *Pomerium* was the responsibility and prerogative of the emperor, and a subject far beyond the jurisdiction of the Urban Prefect.

If the Marble Plan did play any role in the creation of the *Regionaries*, then by implication this would also suggest that by the time of the *Regionaries’* creation, their author felt that the monuments of the city’s distant Republican past were of no relevance or use.

There is also a significant material difference between the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries*. Marble’s softness made it an excellent stone for sculpture and carving, but its expense and difficulties of transport made it a luxury. Even when only used as a façade over the brickwork of the *Templum Pacis*, the plan would have required approximately 44 metric tonnes of marble to complete.[[258]](#footnote-258) The logistics of transporting marble from the *emporium* to the construction site alone would have made an impressive public spectacle. But the Marble Plan lacks any system of delineating individual properties, and was much too remote and large to have served as another expression of urban grandeur without some form of complimentary knowledge to help make sense of it.[[259]](#footnote-259) Even when included in the lavishly illustrated *354 Codex-Calendar*, the *Regionaries* look substantially less impressive. They lack the massive monumental grandeur of the Marble Plan. But the *Regionaries*, just like the Marble Plan, are only truly impressive with context and prior knowledge; they require the expert eye and education of a true citizen of Rome.It is because of this that despite their material and content possessing significant differences, the final forms of the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* are remarkably similar. The forms of both meant that they would impress by the sheer power of their massed content, but in order to have a proper interpretation both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* required a certain level of understanding and education that would entail a more select audience. Certainly it would be a particular audience who would be able to gain any administrative use from either document. Just as we ask the question of the *Regionaries* as to how they made administrative sense beyond the simple recording of information, we should ask the same of the Marble Plan.

Who commissioned the *Regionary Catalogues*?

Emperors who seized power, rather than inheriting it, had to secure their success by developing the techniques of survival and self-promotion through association with the great emperors of Rome’s past.[[260]](#footnote-260) The similarities between the *Regionary Catalogues* and the Marble Plan would suggest that an emperor with a similar rise to power as Septimius Severus commissioned the *Regionaries*. However it would be a different Emperor, one with the different priorities and needs which would explain the significant differences in form and content between the two documents. He would be a figure who had seized the imperial Purple by force and then gained control of the Empire (after a prolonged period of civil war). More importantly both emperors had to restore a Rome that, on account of their upbringing and employment, they had little connection or affection for, but one that they had to accord a certain level of importance by virtue of its history.[[261]](#footnote-261)

Now this could possibly be applicable to Aurelian, Diocletian or Constantine. Arvast Nordh concluded that the Marble Plan had formed the basis for the *Curiosum* during the reign of Diocletian.[[262]](#footnote-262) Most approaches to the *Regionary Catalogues* have dated the earliest parts of the *Regionaries* to AD 312/313 on the basis of the presence of the Praetorian Guard Camp and the Equestrian Statue of Constantine.[[263]](#footnote-263) However the lack of the Aurelian Wall in the *Regionaries* and the catalogues also possessing the first recorded appearance of the Temple of the Sun and its attached Urban Cohort barracks which were a result of Aurelian’s urban reforms, suggests an earlier date. Furthermore Septimius Severus and Aurelian had both increased the powers and duties of the Urban Prefect, whilst Diocletian and Constantine both weakened the office.[[264]](#footnote-264) In particular Diocletian reduced the number of troops in the city below the numbers recorded in the *Regionaries* and Constantine removed them altogether, whereas Septimius Severus and Aurelian had both stationed troops within the city.[[265]](#footnote-265) Aurelian was another emperor who required his “Roman” affairs settled so he could focus on the wider issues of the Empire (in particular the Palmyrene Queen Zenobia) and would also need to entrust the enactment of his reforms to reliable senators. The *Chronicle of the City of Rome* from the *354 Codex-Calendar* in fact states that several portions of the city which had been burnt and destroyed during the third century were repaired and then rebuilt by Aurelian as part of his extensive building program.[[266]](#footnote-266) Given that both the *Regionaries* and the Marble Plan possess a connection to the office of the Urban Prefect and that Aurelian pioneered many of the urban reforms Diocletian is credited with, Aurelian seems the more likely candidate under whom the *proto-Regionaries* were authored.

By cross-referencing the *Regionaries* with the Severan Marble Plan, we have had our greatest chance at accurately relating the *Regionaries* to the material context of the city. In doing so, we will also reinforce my hypothesis for a production context of the *proto-Regionaries* at the outset of Aurelian’s reign by demonstrating its similarities with the Severan Marble Plan and Septimius Severus’ own large-scale building and construction projects. I would argue that the initial layer of the *Regionary Catalogues* actually corresponds to the city of Rome’s administration at the time of the construction of the Aurelian Wall and the accompanying urban reforms (270-275) during the period of office of Aurelian’s most trusted Roman administrators, the Urban Prefect Flavius Antiochanus and his immediate successors. This can be seen as several buildings which first appear in the *Regionary Catalogues* and its statistics only makes sense in the context of Aurelian’s administrative reforms. As we have previously discussed, the Aurelian Wall is completely absent from the *Regionaries* which would suggest that the document was written before or during the construction of the Walls. Due to Aurelian’s prolonged absences during these events, he would have had to have entrusted someone else with enacting his reforms. Prosopographical studies show that Aurelian had a circle of trusted local senatorial office-holders who served as the city’s imperial administrators and are therefore the likely commissioners of a document in this style.

The seeming muddle of the administrative information and the apparent absence of one of Rome’s most significant traditional boundaries and construction projects (the *Pomerium* and Aurelian Wall respectively) suggest, I believe, a production context for the proto-Regionaries belonging to the period of Aurelian’s urban reforms AD 271-275. The Aurelian Wall’s absence from the *Regionaries* is significant and I think it is more likely that the Wall did not exist at the time of production rather than that it was simply left out given its importance to Rome and its administration.

Aurelian’s Engagement with the City of Rome:

Whilst we have too little information to definitively prove Aurelian’s involvement with the *Regionaries*, we can make so cautionary conclusions about how the manner and causes of Aurelian’s engagement with the City of Rome seemed to have served as the main driver behind the *Regionary Catalogues* creation and the manner of their creation. In order to test this hypothesis, we must explore first explore the nature and causes of the administrative reforms. After some background on Aurelian’s engagement with the city of Rome, I will turn to a detailed analysis of the *Regionaries* through a series of case studies that focus on the areas of the food supply and law and order. These two areas are the core duties of the Urban Prefecture and as such if the *Regionaries* are a production of the Urban Prefect, then we will see a certain level of concern with these areas.

Almost immediately after the start of his reign, Aurelian was forced to repel an invasion of Juthungi and Vandals, but was not able to do so before the barbarians had penetrated into northern Italy.[[267]](#footnote-267) In contrast Septimius Severus had marched on Rome after defeating rival claimants to the emperor. Nonetheless, both emperors had the problem of reassuring a frightened populace in light of a substantial and threating military presence. In order to reassure the population of Rome (and warn them about the extent of his power) Aurelian ordered the construction of a massive 19km circuit of walls to surround the city.[[268]](#footnote-268) A redefinition of the city of Rome would have had to accompany this, not just in terms of its topography but also in terms of how the city was managed. Tactical efficacy may have been the necessary pretext for the wall, although this is subject to debate, but its construction required the topographical and administrative restructuring of the urban landscape.[[269]](#footnote-269) The Wall’s construction was therefore contemporaneous with the City’s largest programme of administrative reforms until the reign of Constantine.[[270]](#footnote-270)

As a result of this, Aurelian, like Severus, made substantial changes to the *annonae*, the subsidised food supply of Rome. Most notably was his introduction of a free pork ration and subsidised wine. His administrative reforms also included a reform of the free bread ration from the distribution of grain to a ration of baked bread. His Temple of Sol served as one of the many *gradus* scattered across the city, stepped buildings from which people could collect (and observed the collection) of their portion of the *annona*.[[271]](#footnote-271) He also enacted a reform of the olive oil ration which was distributed from the *mensae oleriae* (state olive oil shops), which are listed in the appendices of the *Regionary Catalogues*.[[272]](#footnote-272)

It cannot be over-stressed how important the food supply was to the city of Rome and how much of a concern it was to the emperors and their Urban Prefects. At the mere prospect of a grain shortage in AD 360, an angry mob marched to the Urban Prefect’s Tertullus’s house and he only narrowly avoided death by presenting his two baby sons to the mercy of the people.[[273]](#footnote-273) However the statistics and buildings concerned with food supply in the *Regionary Catalogues* do not make sense outside of the third-century context of Aurelian’s reforms. These reforms, whilst not novel, greatly added to the administrative burden and jurisdiction of the Urban Prefect. Whilst he nominally had the assistance of the Prefect of the *Annona* to aid him, it was not until the reign of Constantine that the Prefect of the *Annona* received any extensive jurisdiction over the food supply, and his duties were largely concerned with procuring and transporting the *annonae* to Rome.[[274]](#footnote-274) It is therefore not surprising that we see within the *Regionary Catalogues* a wide-ranging concern with the provision of food for the City*.* Amongst the City of Rome’s many achievements and successes, a singular one has to be that for several hundred years the urban government was able to provide bread, wine and olive oil for a city of several hundred thousand people on a fairly consistent basis. Even throughout the various invasions, usurpations and civil wars of the third century, the subsidised grain ration that was first introduced by Gaius Gracchus in 123 BC, remained as much a tradition of the city as the games and monuments.[[275]](#footnote-275)

In addition to the grain dole, there were two other significant parts of the public rations in Rome. These were the subsidised (and under Aurelian free) pork distributions, which we know from Ulpian (a Praetorian Prefect during the late Severan dynasty) was a definite responsibility of the Urban Prefect, and also a subsidised wine distribution.[[276]](#footnote-276) The Urban Prefect’s involvement in the food supply can be seen by the inclusion of the *forum suarium* (the pig-market), and Aurelian’s Temple of Sol, constructed in AD 273 upon Aurelian’s return from the East, which have their first recorded appearance in the *Regionary Catalogues* in the *Regio VII Via Lata*.[[277]](#footnote-277) The *Regionary Catalogues* locate for the first time the *forum suarium* in the area of the Campus Martius, and whilst its existence can be attested from the beginning of the third century, Aurelian’s plans to reintroduce the free pork ration in the 270s must have increased its importance (and consequently the importance of the location) substantially.[[278]](#footnote-278) The wine market, the *septem caesares*, is believed to have been located in Campus Martius, but there is no mention of it in the third or fourth centuries or the *Regionaries*.[[279]](#footnote-279) Given Aurelian’s reforms to the wine ration it seems reasonable to assume that his Temple of Sol was made the new centre of the *arca vinaria* (the state treasury for the wine ration).[[280]](#footnote-280) The *mensae oleriae,* the shops that distributed the oil ration, introduced by Septimius Severus, are listed in appendices to the *Regionaries* as numbering 2300.[[281]](#footnote-281) The inclusion of the centres for the pork, wine and oil distribution, aspects that were a direct responsibility of the Urban Prefect, in a single area demonstrates again a concern for the overarching administrative structures that are required for the distribution of the food dole, particularly in light of Aurelian’s intended reforms to the food rations.[[282]](#footnote-282) Since Aurelian’s reforms of the food supply had made the Urban Prefect responsible for a great deal more of the food distribution, the contents of the proto-*Regionaries* are more attributable to Aurelian’s reign.

The particular concern of the Urban Prefect with regards to the *annonae* was the storage and distribution of Rome’s food supplies, rather than their procurement, and this is what we can see at this layer of the *Regionary Catalogues*. If we examine the *Regionaries* there are five grain warehouses (*horrea*)of note within the main document: the *Horrea* *Chartaria* in *Regio IV*, the *Horrea* *Germaniciana* and *Agrippa* in *Regio VIII: Forum Romanum*, the *Horrea* of *Galba* and the *Anicii* on the *Regio XIII: Aventinus*. Conventionally, *horreum* is translated specifically as a granary or grain barn; however this is not necessarily applicable to the five listed above. Of them only the *horrea* of Galba can be confidently said to have stored grain, according to inscriptions that state it stored the *annona publica*, but other inscriptions indicate that it was used to store a multitude of other items as well. In particular the following; *Sulpicii: Galbae horrea dicit. hodieque autem Galbae horrea vino et oleo et similibus aliis referta sunt*, would suggest that actually these larger *horrea* were instead used to store much of the public ration including the subsidised oil and wine rations.[[283]](#footnote-283) In Richardson’s *Topographical Dictionary* the *Horrea Chartaria* appears as a, ‘well-known storehouse for paper’ amongst other things.[[284]](#footnote-284) They were also, like many of the other buildings in the *Regionaries*, buildings of noble heritage. The *Horrea Galba* had been a possession of the honoured *Sulpicii Galbae*, a family who listed a number of Consuls and even an emperor amongst their ranks.[[285]](#footnote-285) Even if the *Horrea* were dedicated for the grain the Urban Prefect would have known what was stored there. And in any case a list of potential warehouses would always be useful, particularly if they had a proud and distinguished heritage that would add further honour to the Urban Prefect’s duty.

Prior to Aurelian the *annonae* was comprised of actual grain and after his reforms the citizens of Rome received baked bread.[[286]](#footnote-286) With the Urban Prefect possessing the responsibility for the grain from the point of delivery, he would also need to ensure it was baked for the new bread ration. When we consider that the *Regionaries* note the *Janiculum*, an area noted for its mills in the *Regio* *XIII: Transtiberim*, and that each region of the *Regionary Catalogues* possesses figures for *pistrina*,the *Regionary Catalogues* provide us with those places that could be used to produce the bread ration.[[287]](#footnote-287) This makes it an issue of the populace’s *munera* (civil obligations) to the state, an area of the Urban Prefect’s responsibility. As we know that the *annona’s* distribution remained under the direct care of the Urban Prefect until 331, the *Regionaries* make sense as a document belonging to the civic administration of the Urban Prefect.[[288]](#footnote-288) The inclusion of the *horrea* and *pistrina* in the statistics at the end of each region and the appendices suggests a much more wide-ranging concern with the food supply for the whole city, rather than the specific details of the distribution that would be the concern of the Prefect of the *Annonae*. Only the Urban Prefect would find administrative use from a record of those buildings involved in the preparation and distribution of the *annonae* without more specific detail. This demonstration of the obligations owed to the Urban Prefect reinforces the administrative hierarchy of the city and establishes the importance of the Urban Prefecture in the wider hierarchies of the Empire.

The concern of the person who created the *Regionary Catalogues* was not for supplying the city; these issues were settled far outside Rome and beyond the jurisdiction of the Urban Prefect (although not necessarily his personal influence). From the evidence above, what appears to be the concern of the Urban Prefect was the maintenance of the structures involved with the storage and distribution of the various foodstuffs that the city was entitled to, of which grain was only one. This means yet another connection with the *munera* that provided for the city. The mandatory labour required of the *collegia* (city guilds) from the beginning of the reign of Constantine saw its beginning in the reforms of Aurelian to provide labour for the construction the Aurelian Wall.[[289]](#footnote-289) In the absence of the army to provide engineers, the bakers’, butchers’ and oil-sellers’ *collegia* provided labour to Aurelian as part of their *munera* and this meant a redrawing of the social and political hierarchy.[[290]](#footnote-290) With the addition of civil duties came an increase in one’s civil honour and this would entail a change in the social composition of the city and so the ability of administrators to exert their authority upon people. As the figure directly responsible for both the administration of Aurelian’s new rations as well as the construction of his Wall, it would be the Urban Prefect’s duty to enforce the compliance of those buildings and businesses that either owed or could be compelled to give service to the government. Whilst the specifics could be left to his staff, the Urban Prefect had to be able to deal with, and be seen to be dealing with, the *annonae*. It was an issue of prestige, not only because the *annonae* was one of Rome’s oldest traditions and most lucrative privileges, but because if he failed to provide for the city, the city would rebuke him in the harshest of terms. As the pinnacle of the social hierarchy, there was a consequent need to adhere to the greater expectations of the Urban Prefect’s social role. If such a senior figure did not fulfil his obligations, it would be difficult to enforce his orders.[[291]](#footnote-291) A food riot was a dangerous thing and such events brought down more than one Urban Prefect. They could haunt a senator even after his term of office had finished. The former Urban Prefect Lucius Aurelius Symmachus’ house was burnt down (circa. 368 onwards) as a result of a rumour that, as Urban Prefect, he had refused to alleviate a shortage by refusing to sell his personal wine reserves at the expected price.[[292]](#footnote-292) The Bishop Ambrose of Milan would later wryly remark to the emperor Theodosius on the subject, ‘Do you remember, O Emperor, how many homes of prefects at Rome have been burned, and no one exacted punishment’.[[293]](#footnote-293)

Another argument for Aurelian’s commissioning of the *Regionaries* can be found in its links to the Urban Prefecture’s original duty of keeping the peace in Rome in the absence of the emperor. As the Senate’s role in the military had declined in the second and third centuries, emperors were far from keen to leave military commands under potential rivals. In light of the fact that the early part of Aurelian’s reign had seen a serious revolt of the mint workers at Rome, encouraged (Aurelian believed) by the Senate, the peace and order of the city will have been a particular concern of his Urban Prefects.[[294]](#footnote-294) The Urban Prefect had access to limited military power, but also the responsibility and dangers of that power.

There are several important military buildings which would indicate the capacity to maintain a much larger garrison to enforce peace and order. The most important would be the *castra praetoria* and ten cohorts of Praetorian Guards but there other important military buildings which would suggest Rome hosted a substantial military-police force. The *castra peregrina* served as the barracks for those soldiers on special assignment in Rome. At first they seemed to have been attached to the army commissariat, although Mann argues that they actually came to serve as spies and secret police and, when called, for assassins![[295]](#footnote-295) They were organised along military lines and were commanded by the *princeps peregrinorum* who was assisted by several centurions. All of our direct knowledge for these soldiers comes from inscriptions although their presence has been inferred by several ancient authors.[[296]](#footnote-296) The absence of any more information beyond their barracks would suggest that their duties, whatever they may have been, kept them absent from Rome. If the *castra peregrina* was a regularly stationed camp in the capital, there would be a greater presence of inscriptions of the sort we see in other legionary encampments or the *castra praetoria*.[[297]](#footnote-297) But it would certainly be wrong to assume that this barracks serves as window-dressing simply because we cannot attribute a clear purpose to it. Even if its purpose is not clear to us, the inclusion of a military force that served elsewhere in the Empire demonstrates the Urban Prefect’s continued involvement with affairs outside of Rome. If they served as part of the army’s logistical corps or as “spies and assassins” then the Urban Prefect would need to liaise with them in order to provide them with what they need. The presence in the *Regionaries* of their camp at the very least indicates a military detachment was stationed regularly in the capital, an unsurprising result given the mint worker’s rebellion and Aurelian’s ongoing reunification of the Empire. It would be a powerful, if unsubtle, statement of the emperor’s trust in the Urban Prefect and the power he wielded to enforce the Law in the emperor’s name.

Beyond these units, any other military units under the Urban Prefect’s control would have had to have been allocated to Rome by the emperor and would not necessarily serve under his command. This, I would conclude, is the reason why we do not have any numbers for the Praetorians beyond a general estimation. The Urban Prefect would not be in control of them and so their display would not burnish the prestige of his office or add to his ability to carry out his duties (quite the opposite in fact). The *quorum excubitoria XIII* (13 cohorts of “Guardsmen”) would imply that actually the vast majority of the cohorts listed in the *Regionaries* would only appear in the personal presence of the emperor, which suggests that the Urban Prefect need only have an estimate of how many soldiers the city could reasonably support. The *Breviarium*, the *Regionary Catalogues*’ second appendix,lists Rome as possessing two barracks of the *Equites Singulares Augusti*, the emperor’s personal horse guards. This further indicates that the *Regionaries* date from after Septimius Severus but prior to Constantine. Severus created a second barracks for the *Singulares* which Constantine later demolished and gifted to the Christian Church.[[298]](#footnote-298) However unlike the *Praetorians*, the *Singulares* were not regularly posted in Rome and their barracks were no object to the Aurelian Wall’s construction so it is no surprise we do not see a greater depiction in the main body of the *Regionaries*.[[299]](#footnote-299)

During the construction of the Wall, the Praetorian Guard, *Equites Singulares* and several of the Urban Cohorts served with Aurelian in Palmyra, but it seems entirely understandable that the City’s administration would want to keep track of around 10,000 armed men. The logistical and legal responsibilities of keeping soldiers garrisoned were a matter of major concern, particularly given the Praetorian and Urban Cohorts’ propensity for internecine violence.[[300]](#footnote-300)

“A Monumental Issue”: Imperial Power, Culture, and Administrative Practice:

The influence monuments like the *Marble Plan* and the Aurelian Walls had over the administrators and the administered in the third century can be best explored by looking at the logic behind the construction of Aurelian’s Wall. Aurelian’s Wall was as much a project to demonstrate that Rome remained important and worthy of protection, that its emperors still valued it despite having largely ignored it over the third century, as it was an impressive defensive fortification. To oversee the construction of his Wall, Aurelian began by appointing a series of Urban Prefects who each possessed the strong connections to the Roman Senate that would be necessary for completing such extensive construction. During the period of the Wall’s construction, Aurelian remained largely absent from Rome as had become the norm in the past century. Responsibility for the construction and restructuring of the City’s administration would have consequently fallen to the imperial representative, the Urban Prefect who was the only figure who possessed the authority to oversee such work in the emperor’s absence. These prolonged absences campaigning would have meant that the Prefect would have been unable to seek advice or clarification and would have been required to make many of the decisions over the reforms and restructuring. The Urban Prefect would therefore need to guide himself according to the traditions of his office and the City.

Prosopographical research shows us that in implementing these reforms Aurelian could rely on a number of trusted and highly respected Urban Prefects, drawn from the senatorial aristocracy.[[301]](#footnote-301) These are the prime candidates for having commissioned the *Regionaries*, beginning with Flavius Antiochanus. Like all Urban Prefects, Flavius Antiochanus had an impeccable lineage and family connections. His father had served as Praetorian Prefect for the Emperor Elagabalus and, through his wife; Antiochanus possessed a connection to the Antonine dynasty of the second century. He had served in all the requisite posts along the *cursus honorum* (the senatorial career path), and was the Urban Prefect by the time Aurelian took the purple.[[302]](#footnote-302) Under the Republic and the early Empire, the *cursus honorum* had gone hand-in-hand with the administrative structure of the Empire, with the power and dignity of the office reflecting upon the *dignitas* (honour) of the holder and provided experience of the administration, if not training. But at no point was any specific qualification required for these posts beyond the “gentlemanliness” of the man’s birth and character.

Surprisingly, given his paranoia about the Senate, Aurelian appears to have favoured and trusted the senatorial Antiochanus, for he continued to hold the Urban Prefecture until 271 and was rewarded with the honour of serving an ordinary consulship with Aurelian himself.[[303]](#footnote-303) Such a figure would be invested in the emperor’s new regime and close enough to the emperor to represent imperial interests in his absence, along with possessing sufficient prestige to command the respect and obedience of his contemporaries and successors. It seems likely therefore that Flavius Antiochanus would be entrusted with overseeing the initial phase of planning and construction and therefore would have good cause to produce the *Regionaries*. He was certainly well enough connected to his successors to have motive to bequeath a document as useful as the *Regionaries* to them. To fail to provide your allies with support would be dishonourable and potentially fatal to one’s ability to government as we will discuss in a later chapter. Antiochanus’s wife was the sister of the *princeps senatus* (the preeminent senator of the day) Pomponius Bassus who also succeeded Antiochanus as Urban Prefect in AD 271.[[304]](#footnote-304) Along with Aurelian, Antiochanus’s co-consul for 270 was Virius Orfitus, descended from the noble republican family of the Cornelii Scipiones, and who served in AD 273 as the successor to Antiochanus’s second term as Urban Prefect. Virius Orfitus’ successor in AD 275, Postumius Suagrus, was a relative of Postumius Varus, a notable orator of the day, and was also a priest in Aurelian’s new College of Sol Invictus.[[305]](#footnote-305) Here then we have a group of figures possessing the status and connections to fit into Lendon’s “government by honour” model to which I will return in the next chapter. Such an intimate network of related figures could provide both advice and consistent oversight that an extended project such as the Aurelian Wall would require.

During the planning stages, the walls were often diverted in order to ensure as much of the city’s monumental heritage either avoided damage or was included within the circuit, despite creating significant areas of tactical weakness.[[306]](#footnote-306) In order to further appease the city, as much of the construction as possible was routed through the imperial land and estates, often cutting straight through imperial buildings and saving noted cultural buildings.[[307]](#footnote-307) Two substantial imperial Palaces, the *Domus Lateranorum* and the Sessorian Palace, and innumerable smaller imperial villas, had to have elements destroyed to make way for the Wall.[[308]](#footnote-308) This served as topographical demonstration that the emperor and his officials possessed the same traditional values and valued the greatest city in the Empire was worth a great deal of expense and effort, even if the Wall did not serve its implicit military purpose well. Those urban administrators who failed to develop these relations ended poorly, either being dismissed in disgrace or murdered by their subjects. It was the ultimate conversion of the “soft” cultural power represented by the monuments into “hard” political authority of one’s personal prestige.[[309]](#footnote-309)

Moreover, the magnificent, the awe-inspiring and the elaborate forms of the message and the medium helped drive the administration’s point home. Fear and force were only as good as the method by which they were communicated. The wall was an unsubtle reminder of imperial power and authority. Aurelian had already faced one serious revolt in Rome which he had had to crush (the revolt of the mint workers), and both Aurelius Victor and the *Historia Augusta* accused him of being particularly cruel to the Senate.[[310]](#footnote-310) Furthermore Queen Zenobia’s conquest of Egypt and the consequent denial of grain meant the city was getting restless.[[311]](#footnote-311) Construction would provide a distraction for the city in his absence. It also meant that even though Aurelian and the army were to be in the East, his influence could be shown to be able to reach the city and affect it significantly.[[312]](#footnote-312)

In creating the *Regionary Catalogues* Aurelian, through his Urban Prefects’, was creating an *aide-de-memoire* as a reminder of those areas most affected by the reforms and those regions and properties, such as temples and monuments that could be topographically affected by the construction of the wall. If the *Regionary Catalogues* were produced at first to assist with the initial range of reforms under Flavius Antiochanus would be transmitted amongst his successors as a guide to continuing with them. New buildings could be added and statistics altered if the new Urban Prefect felt it appropriate. If there was a new emperor, then new monuments could be fitted into the traditional monumental framework.

This is why the *Regionary Catalogues*, like the Marble Plan, are not a straightforward record of the location of things, or a depiction of any given administrative position’s duties, and it is wrong to place too much emphasis on their ability to reconstruct the physical reality of Rome. Both were created in an administrative context of an Empire that had been divided by civil war. Such visual imagery helped to promote the legitimacy and acceptance of not only the imperial regimes, but those urban reforms that would secure the emperor and empire. Augustus’ reforms had created a standardised language of visual imagery, uniformity, culture and prosperity that Septimius Severus and Aurelian could tap into.[[313]](#footnote-313) Augustus, the “First Man” in Rome, certainly had the means and motive to make true his boast, ‘that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble.’[[314]](#footnote-314) But as the *Regionary Catalogues* show, he had clearly set a high standard for the emperors that followed. Emperors continued to pile monument upon monument in the city. Duncan-Jones estimated that during the Antonine Period, with a conservatively estimated budget of 1,462 million sesterces per annum, emperors spent more on buildings in Rome (around 2.75%) than NATO members are required to spend on defence.[[315]](#footnote-315) The culmination of this constant game of architectural one-upmanship was the vast bathing complexes of Diocletian and Caracalla (which, at 120,000 metres2, were larger than some provincial cities) that sat surrounded by vast infrastructure and habitation that was generated naturally by a city of Rome’s size. It is almost a trope to say that by the fourth century the city of Rome was groaning under the weight of its monumental heritage.[[316]](#footnote-316) As he increasingly seized the role as the “supreme” patron, the emperor had to ensure he displayed his *publica magnificentia* appropriately in a fashion that the people understood.[[317]](#footnote-317)

Neither Septimius Severus nor Aurelian could afford to spend resources on projects that would have no appreciable effect on securing their power. Demonstrations of unity and imperial control would be as much a part of the administrative reforms as changes to the privileges that Rome enjoyed and increases in its security. Aurelian needed to both demonstrate his administration’s concern for the history of the city and also possess a list of what imperial buildings would need administrative attention after the neglect of the third century crisis. Therefore the *Regionaries* proto-form was likely to have been created around the time of extensive modifications to the topography and administration of the city with the construction of the Aurelian Walls. It therefore stands to reason that the homes and monuments of the Antonine emperors would be amongst those given priority for protection, repair and restoration. The inclusion of these Antonine buildings would have been a demonstration of the author’s desire for a connection to the golden age of the Antonines and an indication of the emperor’s intention to preserve and/or recreate the physical and historical topography of the city at that time. This leaves us with Aurelian as the most likely suspect for the initial creator of the *Regionaries*, as the emperor who had conducted the widest ranging set of urban reforms and construction after the crisis of the third century. We can see that Aurelian has a number of similarities to Septimius Severus; another emperor who sought a connection with more famous emperors to secure his authority and who also needed to demonstrate his concern and appreciation for the city by restoring its urban fabric. However as Aurelian lacked the traditional aristocratic education of Septimius Severus, he would have much less concern for the holdovers of a city’s past that would not directly affect his administration. This is why we see a concern in the *Regionaries* for elements of the senatorial aristocracy and its history, but not the wider Republican history and culture of the city.

Aurelian may never have created an elaborate relief sculpture to outline and showcase his achievements but the *Regionaries* provided context for his planned construction of the Wall and his urban reforms. Part and parcel of his urban reforms, just like Septimius Severus, would have been to restore the monumental urban fabric of the city. The Marble Plan, and its successor, the *Regionaries*, were not only attempts to capture the brilliant physical fabric of the city in text and marble, they were also statements of what needed to be restored for the monumental fabric of the city to feel whole again. Both were part of an organisation of the administrative and public space of the city, but whilst the Marble Plan was a monumental demonstration of Severan power and control, the evidence for the *Regionaries* is inconclusive. However the evidence is pointing towards the conclusion that the *Regionaries* were created to aid in the administrative reforms required as a result of the construction of Aurelian’s Wall. Drawing on the same information that underpinned the Marble Plan and being authored by the same office meant that the *Regionaries* could be used to demonstrate the same connection to the greatness of Rome’s “Golden Age”. The main difference between the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* is that they were intended for different audiences. The *Regionaries* were intended for a much more selective audience than the Marble Plan, as they were initially intended for the Urban Prefect and his circle of friends and associates who would serve as the city administrators. This guide would also function as a record of those areas affected by the reforms, such as the *horrea,* or relevant to their undertaking, like the temples that served the administration.[[318]](#footnote-318) Certain obvious administrative data would be left out as it was not relevant to the reforms conducted by the Prefect or came under the jurisdiction of a subordinate such as the Prefect of the *Annonae*, the Curator of the Water Supply or the Prefect of the *Vigiles*. Other details that were not related to the reforms would be included because they were important traditions of the office of the Urban Prefect and to leave them out would be to dishonour the office. The Urban Prefect was the Head of the Senate, the guardian of the *mos maiorum*. It was an important part of his *auctoritas* that he bore responsibility for so many buildings that needed to be preserved. These spectacular acts of the administration were *momentary factual events*, limited by space and time. Political power is a *long term structural concept*, based upon political, social and religious ideologies and institutions.[[319]](#footnote-319) For the Romans this meant that the Emperor and his officials needed government to look important; if it did not look important then the administration would not be able to transform its deeds into *auctoritas*. Those monuments and buildings that were so important to the glory and lustre of the imperial governments would be monuments and buildings that would also be valued by the groups that the government would need in order to function.[[320]](#footnote-320) The third century saw emperors desperately questing for forms of legitimacy, to ensure that they were accepted as part of the traditional system and hierarchies of rule. These documents were all about power and control, ensuring it was manifested appropriately to the public at a time of deep crisis and instability.

Chapter Three: “Is Government not an art?” Roman Cartographical and Topographical Representations of the Administration:[[321]](#footnote-321)

“tu refere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos”[[322]](#footnote-322)

'O’ Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway – these shall be thine arts – to crown Peace with Law, to spare the Humble and to tame in war the Proud!)

When considering the *Regionary Catalogues* it is important to consider not only what the Roman government could do, but also what its greater strategic goals were.The aims of Roman government were small, essentially limited to the gathering of taxes and the maintenance of public order. At its largest extent in the fourth century the imperial government possessed roughly 30,000 functionaries, equivalent to 1 functionary to every 2000 subjects. In contrast the United States Federal government employs 3 million, equivalent to 1 to every 80 inhabitants with another 4.5 million employed in the State governments.[[323]](#footnote-323) With such a disproportion of government to the governed and with the lack of modern technologies, there could be no “science of government” as we would understand it. Claims towards scientific objectivity were more often than not a rhetorical device to conceal the speaker’s intention behind a veneer of scientific impartiality, its application to real life was determined as much by the personal taste and biases of the writer/author as any hard rules.[[324]](#footnote-324)

What government possessed was force (of strength and personality) and fear. Fear is an exceptionally economical way of ruling: a great deal of fear can be created with very little force, but its effects are limited to those who can perceive the actions that precipitate it. Force was also potent; traitors and rebels were rarely held in place by the “Tribunician sacrosanctity” or ideals of imperial authority, but by the displays of glowering Germanic bodyguards and massed ranks of legionaries.[[325]](#footnote-325) But even fear and force were limited by their ability to be communicated to the masses.

In Foucauldian terms this meant the ability of the government to condition the masses to accept its message.[[326]](#footnote-326) Whilst these practices theorised by Foucault are dependent upon developments in the early modern period, in particular statistics and social sciences, the “technologies of memory and knowledge production” that underpin these practices were already present in the classical and late antique periods.[[327]](#footnote-327) In order for us to examine this, I would like to utilise what Clifford Ando called an, ‘infrastructural elaboration of the state.’ This is a method by which we can assess the practices and pragmatic actions of the Roman government through its material depiction of its own hierarchies.[[328]](#footnote-328) From the text of the *Regionary Catalogues* to the glorious architecture of Trajan’s Column and the Severan Marble Plan, Roman administrative power and the bureaucratic laws and standards that underpinned it had to be expressed in a manner that allowed its subjects to visualise it, understand it, and participate in it. In this sense government became an artistic endeavour in itself. The more glorious and spectacular it could be, the more effective it would be. All of this directly fed into the Urban Prefect’s primary duty, which was to ensure law and order within the city. Failure to do so in the absence of the emperor would be fatal to any political career. Finally, as the imperial representative to the Senate, the Urban Prefect had a responsibility to maintain not only the cultural heritage and monuments of the city but also the buildings that were required for the religious aspects of the administration.

For a start, however, we must address the methodological issues surrounding cartographical and topographical representations of the Roman administration. How are we able to reconcile the importance of glory, history, and tradition to the construction of the socio-political hierarchy and administrative effectiveness? Here I will be looking to the methodologies of Lendon and Ando, by which we examine government’s methods, mechanisms and aims.[[329]](#footnote-329) This not only compensates for the difficulties of our sources, but it makes the cartographical and topographical representations of the administration even more useful. My aim is to reveal what the expectations were of government and deduce a pattern from that to determine its functions. Because of this, textual representations of government allow us a number of avenues to explore the patterns of popular expectations of government.[[330]](#footnote-330) I will begin by discussing the “apparent” distinction I alluded to in the Introduction, between Ando’s and Lendon’s views and how they actually complement each other by discussing two sides of the same coin. Lendon is about those who govern, whereas Ando’s approach focuses on the governed. The practical realities of the administration changed greatly in the third century, but these broader principles remained the same. This will allow us to examine how these principles were utilised to effect these administrative changes. I will then utilise my combination of Lendon’s and Ando’s methodological approaches to Roman government and administration in greater detail. In their interactions with the government, people behaved in a certain fashion which also governed their social interaction with each other to a certain degree. This paradigm of behaviour was prompted and reinforced by exposure to administrative documents like the *Regionary Catalogues*.

In order to explore this new methodology for analysing the *Regionaries* we need to see how the administration is depicted in other administrative documents. When examining these documents it will be important to consider the audience of these documents, as this will have significant influence on the purposes of the document. For this it will be particularly useful to look at the *Notitia Dignitatum*, as the main (textual and pictorial) register of offices the *Laterculus Veronensis* for another textual depiction of the Empire. I will be using my synthesis of Ando and Lendon in order to explore the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronensis’* depictions of the administration. Administrative documents such as the *Laterculus Veronensis’* depiction of the empire’s provinces, the *Regionaries’* depiction of Rome and the registry of offices in the *Notitia Dignitatum* provided information that could be both used by the administration and depict the reach and strength of the administration to the public. They demonstrate the combination of charismatic, legal and traditional power that Roman rulers used to transform victory into lasting power. These documents demonstrated the interlocking issues of hierarchies, authority and precedence related to the need of the government to enforce some form of order of importance. This ideology which underpins the Roman administration is materialised through the construction of those monuments and documents, which then become symbolic of the shared cultural beliefs and political values of the government and its people, whilst simultaneously warning the public of the reach and extent of its power.[[331]](#footnote-331)

From this I will attempt to see if we can apply the conclusions learned from these documents to the *Regionary Catalogues*. Building upon this I shall address how administrative buildings are rarely described as such and more often placed in cultural/monumentally significant buildings. Examining which buildings possess an administrative use and their cultural implications should show us the differing values of what is administratively useful and its relations to the boundaries of power and authority, the public and private, and divine and political support.

“A History without distinctions” Ando, Lendon and the Theory of Late Antique Roman Government:

An example of the potential applications of this new cultural approach to the Roman administration can be seen in the study of another popular Roman administrative text, Sextus Frontinus’ *On Aqueducts*.[[332]](#footnote-332)

Frontinus, a senator of the 1st century AD who served a number of emperors, wrote a number of books that are held as the standard for Roman technical manuals. Hermansen has even argued that whilst the sparse information of the *Regionaries* is not much use, Frontinus’ handbooks contain sufficient detail to be useful to an administrator of Rome.[[333]](#footnote-333) Yet, two of his works directly concerned with administrative matters, *On Aqueducts* and *The Art of Measuring* serve little better than the *Regionaries* as administrative documents, even accounting for their author’s own rhetorical admission of modesty, ‘Observing, therefore, the practice which I have followed in many offices, I have gathered in this sketch… such facts, hitherto scattered, as I have been able to get together.’[[334]](#footnote-334) Frontinus is neither an expert in land-surveyance or water-management, but he does recognise that knowledge inherently contributes to one’s power and prestige. This becomes obvious when Frontinus describes his role as *Curator Aquarum* (Curator of the Water Supply):

For I believe that there is no surer foundation for any business than this, and that it would be otherwise impossible to determine what ought to be done, what ought to be avoided; likewise that there is nothing so disgraceful for a decent man as to conduct an office delegated to him, according to the instructions of assistants. Yet precisely this is inevitable whenever a person inexperienced in the matter in hand has to have recourse to the practical knowledge of subordinates. For though the latter play a necessary role in the way of rendering assistance, yet they are, as it were, but the hands and tools of the directing head.[[335]](#footnote-335)

Such a passage illuminates succinctly the Roman attitude towards professionalism in the administration. It was “disgraceful” for an aristocrat to proceed in his duties according to the instructions of experts. What was acceptable was to utilise the advice of assistants. Leadership should not be entrusted to “mere” experts, but to those who have been inculcated with the moral, ethical and intellectual values that would allow the “head” to direct the “hands” most effectively.

In contrast to the perceived wisdom, that the Roman Empire became increasingly bureaucratic and generated evermore paperwork, we have very poor rates of survival for administrative acts. We know almost nothing about imperial record-keeping and administrative best-practice. Limited evidence from Egyptian papyri and the Vindolanda tablets give us a small glimpse of some of this, but what ‘administrative’ documents we do have clearly been updated infrequently and often carelessly.[[336]](#footnote-336) This has often led to the charge that these documents could never have possessed an administrative use, since if they were useful then surely they would have been updated more carefully. This has been a particular accusation against the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Regionary Catalogues,* that neither can be representative of the administration or else they would have been updated regularly and clearly.[[337]](#footnote-337) But bureaucracies are generally inefficient, suffering from an understandable though irritating unwillingness to deal with inefficiencies.[[338]](#footnote-338) After all, most bureaucratic tasks are created in such a way as to be able to be performed by the lowest common denominator, freeing the more talented and efficient staff for greater roles. These documents would not have been created for a single, particular use as the time and effort this would entail would simply not be worth the effort. It would have been both time-consuming and incredibly tedious for an official of enough importance to have access to the necessary information and the authority to effect any sufficient change to go through documents such as the *Notitia Dignitatum* or the *Laterculus Veronensis* and check the veracity of their entries. Nicholas Reed put it best when he stated, ‘It may not be too paradoxical to suggest that the errors within it are themselves evidence of its [said administrative document’s] official nature.’[[339]](#footnote-339)

Clifford Ando argued that Foucault demonstrated, ‘[that] the operation of government is assessed with regard to its power to condition the self-understanding and self-fashioning of persons, in their personalities and in their social and economic relations.’[[340]](#footnote-340) From this Ando took the view that Roman government had become so naturalised that all who interacted with it, did so within its paradigm.[[341]](#footnote-341) Ando’s approach therefore necessitates that the Roman state be a monolithic entity of clearly defined and impersonal offices, hierarchies, and protocols, an organism that shared more in common with modern states of the twentieth century than its successors in the tenth. Ando has focused on the mechanisms and processes by which the empire transformed a collection of provinces, ‘into a *patria*, a focus for the patriotic loyalties of its subjects’.[[342]](#footnote-342) Roman power was expressed through a series of legal standards and functions that those under the Empire’s control could recognise as Roman and engage with. In contrast, Lendon believes that the Roman form of government was a distinctive and essentially pre-modern and personal one. He argued that ‘the representatives of the Roman government, at several levels, were perceived as moral agents, and not as professional puppets jerked about by their official duties, pursuing policies emanating from their job descriptions’.[[343]](#footnote-343) Lendon had developed the ideas of Fergus Millar, who depicted an emperor who reacted to desires of his subjects in the form of imperial largesse, and Richard Saller, who argued for an administration determined more by social concerns than rational administrative considerations.[[344]](#footnote-344) Lendon developed this by exploring how the Empire “mechanically” got people to do what it wanted.

Lendon’s approach is, hence, more useful to this study, as Ando’s approach overestimates the reach and ability of the Empire in the third century, particularly in light of the numerous crises that impeded the regular work of the imperial government. By applying Foucault’s theories to a pre-modern context, Ando is falling prey to the same anachronisms as many of the historians who judge the *Regionaries* by modern administrative standards.[[345]](#footnote-345) In contrast, Lendon’s view of a personal approach to government recognises the technological and cultural limitations of the period.[[346]](#footnote-346) Whereas Ando feels that Rome depended upon a rational-legal system for its administration, Lendon’s approach acknowledges the importance of prestige, culture and tradition to the Roman administration. It is important to remember that the Urban Prefect and his staff were not simply bureaucratic functionaries, but also the civic magistrates of the City of Rome. Theirs were posts of cultural and often religious significance, with a pedigree that went back to the days of the Republic. This makes Lendon’s approach more applicable to a study of the Urban Prefect’s administration, as it was a post that was dependent upon the prestige of the office-holder, and the administrative use of panegyrical documents. Ando’s approach does have some merit as it recognises that, whilst the political, economic and social conditions of the empire may change, the culture and traditions of the Empire did not and therefore we can reasonably rely on evidence from another period.[[347]](#footnote-347) Lendon’s approach continues to be more nuanced, as he takes into account the changes that the empire faced and contrasts them with the fact that the city of Rome and its culture experienced much less change than the rest of the Empire.[[348]](#footnote-348)

In contrast to Ando, Lendon recognises that a list such as the *Regionary Catalogues* was as much a literary device as it was a technical document. This literary character meant that lists were exceptionally versatile and easily adapted for other purposes. In Lendon’s Rome it was easy for these lists to be repurposed into “pure” panegyrics, as their technical information and statistics became prestigious through the knowledge they displayed and by virtue of their history of use. Such lists could be as useful a demonstration of prestige as one’s personal wealth and status. It is perhaps even more so as such lists relied upon a common set of standards and knowledge that were universal, whereas a person’s wealth and status could vary wildly across the empire.[[349]](#footnote-349) In the case of Frontinus, he [Frontinus] intended his works to be an administrative guide to those amateur administrators who would benefit from a summary reminder of the duties. Truly technical documents would be unbecoming for the aristocrats who served as senior imperial administrators. Any such knowledge would have had to have been couched in a manner that Frontinus’ audience would understand. The importance of Frontinus’ administrative knowledge is displayed in a manner that demonstrates the prestige and importance of the post of the *Curator Aquarum*.[[350]](#footnote-350) Other potential administrators would be able to trust Frontinus’ work and apply its knowledge to their own duties because they know it would contribute to their prestige and influence.

There is an apparent difference in view, in that Lendon approaches the empire using Weber’s pre-modern/modern approach whilst Ando pursues a Foucauldian one. However, Ando recognises in his own work the influence Fergus Millar’s perspectives had on his own conceptions of government. Harry Sidebottom even goes so far as to describe *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* as having an intellectual pedigree, ‘in bloodstock terms Fergus Millar out of Pierre Bourdieu’.[[351]](#footnote-351) Ando opens that work by describing Roman provincial domination as dependent on many people sharing a common yet complex set of beliefs that allowed a particular Roman notion of social order, Lendon describes these as mutual reverence for honour and tradition.[[352]](#footnote-352) Both Lendon and Ando recognise that, 'the charismatic power of the imperial office guaranteed the orderly functioning of the Roman bureaucracy' while at the same time 'the continued functioning of that bureaucracy strengthened people's faith in the imperial office’.[[353]](#footnote-353) From this perspective there is actually little true difference between Ando and Lendon’s approaches. Both agree that the Empire had a mutual social-political culture based upon the administrative importance of tradition and culture to the Roman administration. Lendon focused on those who governed, whereas Ando’s approach was how the governed were influenced by government.

This combined paradigm of Roman administrative practice can be best encapsulated in two phrases that encapsulated the Roman attitude towards how administrators should behave in public life. This is the dichotomy of avoiding *Novae res*, or “new things”, and instead ensuring that every individual conducted themselves according to the *Mos Maiorum,* “The traditions of our ancestors”.[[354]](#footnote-354) According to the 92 BC Edict of the Censors recorded by Suetonius, ‘All that is new is done contrary to the usage and the customs of our ancestors, seems not to be right.’[[355]](#footnote-355) Augustus made sure to couch his rise to supreme power in traditional Republican terms, and the sheer length of his reign meant that many of his “adaptions” became readily accepted as part of the *Mos Maiorum*.[[356]](#footnote-356) Both Ando and Lendon have hit the nail on the head when they address the issue of how the empire was able to extend its reach in such a pre-modern state. Ando argues that the empire survived because it was viewed by its citizens as being a rational-legal entity that therefore was universally beneficial.[[357]](#footnote-357) The administration’s role, for Ando, was to shape the people’s expectations about its nature by inserting itself into everyday aspects of its citizen’s life. It achieved this by ensuring that its business was conducted through de-personalised institutions such as the law courts, birth and death registries, tax collections and the census. Ando claims that these were de-personalised because they were expected to operate in the same way regardless of who managed them and where they managed them.[[358]](#footnote-358) The second great aspect of the government’s work involved the physical maintenance of the material forms of governments. This all proceeded to function because the mutual reverence for traditional, legalistic government meant that the Romans were able to achieve a wide consensus over broad geographical and cultural areas. Lendon came to a similar conclusion, but through a very different approach. Lendon argues that the authority of the law and bureaucratic power was an effective method of control, but that a perennial ignorance of legal technicalities means that it would be ignored not only by its subjects but also by many of the officials.[[359]](#footnote-359) There had to be a mutually understood method that could be readily applied to the whole Empire, one that was attractive to both the ruler and the ruled. The authority of any given administrator rested upon his honour and glory. His personal authority determined the prestige of his government post as much as the post itself burnished his.

Ultimately Ando and Lendon have arrived at same conclusion from different perspectives. It is clear from their conclusions that central to the Roman administration was its cultural traditions. Both argued that the Roman reverence for tradition, precedent and custom in Roman government meant that we could use a variety of evidence from across the history of the Empire to explore the Roman administration.[[360]](#footnote-360) Therefore the Romans had a multitude of administrative uses for cartographical and topographical depictions of their glorious history. Everyone behaves around government in a certain fashion. This pattern of behaviour was prompted (and reinforced) by these administrative documents. Tradition, as these documents represented and manipulated it, conditioned people to expect certain things of the administration and to behave in a certain matter with regards to it. This paradigm meant that in order to be able to govern effectively, one had to demonstrate participation in the socio-political hierarchy and ensure that one’s authority was grounded in traditional values that valued history and continuity. This demonstrated that an administrator’s authority respected the traditions of the ancestors and should be considered legitimate. Therefore it was right that it was obeyed.[[361]](#footnote-361)

“An Elegant and Complicated Simplicity”: The *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronensis*:

Whereas we may need complementary sources in order to determine what these hierarchies were, the Romans would need no such corroboration. Such a declaration of hierarchy would (in theory) solve jurisdictional crises quite easily. Cartographic and topographical texts seem likely to be ideologically driven documents designed to stress unity and order, and indeed many of them could/would serve this purpose. But by depicting the hierarchies and authorities of the empire, imperial government shaped people’s view of what the nature of the administration was and in turn their expectations about what it could do for them.[[362]](#footnote-362) We have previously mentioned the *Notitia Dignitatum,* the great inventory of the later Roman empire’s civil and military offices. Believed to have been created in the late fourth/early fifth-century, it depicts the empire, in literary and pectoral form, at the height of its power in a manner similar to the organisation of the Rome of the *Regionary Catalogues*. The *Laterculus Veronensis* is a list of the one-hundred provinces organised according Diocletian’s 12 new regional groupings known as dioceses. Whilst it might not be an entirely accurate, like the *Notitita Dignitatum* or the *Regionaries*, it clearly demonstrates the empire’s military and administrative organisation and priorities.[[363]](#footnote-363) The *Laterculus Veronensis* served as a demonstration of the Empire’s new unity after a period of civil strife and administrative reform at the third century, by using the traditional provincial organisation to depict Diocletian’s new empire.[[364]](#footnote-364) Textually, it is extremely similar to both the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Regionary Catalogues* in its hierarchical composition of the provinces*.* Sources such as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Regionary Catalogues* and the *Laterculus Veronensis* are ideal for our analysis as they demonstrate how the literate public conceived the administration’s relationship to the “people” and to its own internal workings. They also depicted the empire in its traditional entirety,demonstrating unity and power at a time when the empire was already fracturing into its disparate elements.[[365]](#footnote-365)

These cartographical depictions of the empire helped to depict the hierarchies upon which the empire depended for its operation. Within the *Notitia Dignitatum* we see the great offices of the empire placed in a clear hierarchy and accompanied by pictorial depictions of their areas of competence.[[366]](#footnote-366) This possesses a dual function of not only depicting any given office’s area of authority but also placing it within the context of other offices. The prestige and glory of an office did not function within a vacuum; it increased in relation to how important its superiors and inferiors were. Here the context of the *cursus honorum* becomes important. As the emperors attempted to address the crises of empire in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries with their administrative reforms, it was essential to ensure that these offices would be appealing to those subjects who would have to undertake them. As it would be difficult to make these offices appealing solely through increases in their authority or financial incentives (though there certainly were financial incentives) which would defeat the whole point of the reforms, then, ‘Best, if possible, to drag up from the past some glittering old title’.[[367]](#footnote-367) Whilst the titles in the *Notitia Dignitatum* may have been relatively new, they were linked to the older, nobler titles of the *cursus honorum*. The offices of the *Comes sacrarum largitionum* (Count of the Sacred Largesse) and the *Primicerius notariorum* (The Chief of the Office of the Notaries) were described as possessing rank greater than or equal to the proconsuls. The post of *Quaestor* ranked just above the *Comes sacrarum*, due to its association with the traditional senatorial post on the *cursus honorum*.[[368]](#footnote-368) To further demonstrate their importance to the empire’s administration, the Urban Prefects of Rome and Constantinople are ranked below the Praetorian Prefects, and several members of their staff were given consular rank.[[369]](#footnote-369) When we reach those positions not in the imperial Court, the most senior are the old senatorial governorships of Asia, Achaia and Africa. This meant that the most senior political positions were also the oldest and stressed the continuation of the social systems of rank and precedence that had determined the aristocracy and political authority in the past.

This harmony is reinforced as the hierarchies of the greater offices were replicated in the hierarchies that determined the importance of the smaller offices. The staff and jurisdictions of each post are further sub-divided and arranged according to importance. This is best exemplified by the staff of the Urban Prefect, which is topped by the Prefects of the *Annonae* and the *Vigiles*, positions which were of near-social equality to the Urban Prefect thanks to their near-contemporaneous creation with the Urban Prefecture under Augustus.[[370]](#footnote-370) At the bottom was the *Tribunus rerum nitentium* (literally the Tribune of Shiny Things), a post of plebeian origins and one traditionally occupied by those seeking to gain admission to the Senate, but still a position to be honoured due to its ancient origins.[[371]](#footnote-371) Below all of these posts was the personal staff of the Urban Prefect, again placed in a hierarchy starting with the *Princeps Officiorum* (the Chief of Staff) and the *Cornicularius* (Chief of Clerks), posts that had ancestry as military posts, and finishing with generic scribes and notaries.[[372]](#footnote-372)

Whereas the *Notitia Dignitatum* depicted the provinces of the Empire in the context of the empire’s administrative posts, the *Laterculus Veronensis* (or the Verona List) focuses solely on the provinces of the empire. In particular it outlines the new provincial organisation of the empire after Diocletian’s creation of the *Dioceses*. The *Vicarii* appointed to rule these new super-provinces reported directly to the Praetorian Prefect and were appointed directly from the Equestrian class in contrast to the more traditional senatorial appointments. No one diocese has precedence over the others. Rome is notable by its absence from the list. It was exempted from this administrative hierarchy, as the Urban Prefect reported directly to the emperor rather than the Praetorian Prefects.[[373]](#footnote-373) It may have ceased to be the practical capital of the empire, but to “province” Rome would be an intolerable insult to the empire’s social order.

There is also a geographical distinction between East and West. Whereas the Eastern Dioceses have their provinces arranged geographically, the Western Dioceses have their provinces listed in the traditional hierarchy of consular provinces outranking provinces governed by a *Praesides* and the Proconsular provinces outranking all.[[374]](#footnote-374) The Diocese of Africa is broken down into *Africa Proconsularis/Zeugitana*, the last remaining senatorial province governed by a Proconsul and the most senior appointment, followed by *Africa Byzacena* and *Tripolitania* which were both then governed by men of *Consularis* rank.[[375]](#footnote-375) In other Dioceses, the order of the provinces seems somewhat more arbitrary, but we can see a further order. The Dioceses of Pannonia, Viennensis and Africa all start with a province possessing a name the same as the Diocese.[[376]](#footnote-376) Marginal and outlying provinces such as Maurentania Tingitana, Mauretania Sitifensis, Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, Alpes Maritimae and Raetia, are last in the lists for their respective Dioceses. This indicates a form of social/geographical hierarchy. Those provinces that are closest to the Diocesan capital are more important than those further away. Furthermore those provinces that are not contiguous with each other such as Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, or Britannia Prima and Britannia Secunda are still listed together.[[377]](#footnote-377) This all indicates a concern to maintain the traditionally geographical ordering of the Empire. Even as provinces such as Gallia Narbonensis, Africa Proconsularis and Tarrconensis are sub-divided into new provincial borders, being textually positioned next to each other ensures that the traditional provincial organisation is maintained to some degree.[[378]](#footnote-378) Even after such a substantial administrative reorganisation, the *Laterculus Veronensis* still couches itself in a traditional framework to demonstrate that the emperors are continuing a traditional administration even as they conduct a fundamental reform of the provincial system.

As we can see from the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronenesis,* Roman social and political order arose from a powerfully developed sense of boundaries and their importance.[[379]](#footnote-379) These boundaries could be political, geographical or even ethnic, but, whatever the boundary, so long as it was defined within traditional terms and context it could be adhered to. In contrast to the poor survival of information of administrative acts stands the relatively vast survival of information about administrators in epigraphy, statues and literature.[[380]](#footnote-380) The redrawing and reorganisation of the provinces and hierarchy of offices have been couched in the language and imagery of the *cursus honorum*, the traditional hierarchy of republican administrative offices, in which provincial governorships played an important role. Whilst many of these offices had disappeared by the third century (such as most of the senatorial governorships) or lost much of their administrative functions (such as the Censorship and *Aediles*), the *cursus honorum* still provided a conceptual framework within which to conceive of a hierarchy of offices. This framework carries over into the depictions of the imperial hierarchies that appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronensis*.

Those most invested in these hierarchies are the same figures who would have direct access to these documents, and would therefore be those responsible for both administering the empire and representing the central government and hierarchies to the provincials. Demonstrating the appropriate level of knowledge was essential to the correct participation in the hierarchies of society. Power, honour and wealth were all part of the demonstration of your knowledge of “proper” culture and behaviour, depending on your social status. In our Ando/Lendon model of the Roman administration, local administrators displayed their knowledge and respect for these hierarchies and traditions by altering their local institutions to imitate the greater institutions and customs of the Roman senatorial aristocracy and its *cursus honorum*, and using similar methods and hierarchies of honouring and governing to their social betters.[[381]](#footnote-381) Documents such as the *Notitia Dignitatum* would always have an exceptionally limited audience by modern standards, but there were the mechanisms; in the forms of laws, edicts, and monuments, that would impress these things upon the governed. What was important was to condition the behaviour and practices of those who would govern into a manner that the governed would recognise and accept.

This is why cartographical and topographical documents would possess such importance to the Roman administration. The imperial governments of the second and third century continued to depend upon their aristocratic elites to provide administrators. Symbolism and abbreviations were perfectly valid methods of depicting work of the administration in documents, as a truly aristocratic administrator would never need specific administrative training (or admit to needing it) as they would recognise what the hierarchies of administrative significance were without additional explanation.[[382]](#footnote-382) These documents would continue to be used, as the equestrian and military officials who lacked the traditional aristocratic prejudice against specialist expertise and increasingly replaced the senatorial aristocrats would never admit to not understanding the language and culture of the social position they aspired to.[[383]](#footnote-383) Once created they would need little updating; all that would be required is that the reader/administrator be versed in the common cultural language that he would have needed anyway in order to succeed in his job. This shared community within which history, tradition and glory were valued also goes some way to explaining these documents’ “interesting” tradition of updates. The erratic updates, anachronism, contradictions and survival amongst other documents that have no administrative value can be explained by their being kept by amateur historians who occasionally attempted to update them.[[384]](#footnote-384) We have already seen such an occurrence with the *Regionary Catalogues’* inclusion in the *Codex-Calendar of 354*.[[385]](#footnote-385)

“Who has got the biggest Obelisk?” Prestige, Perceptions and the *Regionary Catalogues*:

As we have seen, the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronensis* reflect the hierarchies around which the Romans built their society and administration. One’s position in the hierarchy affected one’s honour and in turn conditioned one to behave in a certain way, to value certain things and disregard others. We can see then that the *Regionaries*, from the Ando/Lendon perspective, like the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *Laterculus Veronensis,* were not a document intended for widespread consumption or use. It was intended for a particularly section of the social-political hierarchy, specifically those aristocrats whose traditional duty was to see to the upkeep of the Eternal City. The *Regionaries* served as a document that would impress and condition those aristocrats to behave, and maintain the city, in a manner befitting its history and so in turn demonstrate their aristocratic credentials with their depiction of the complexity and grandeur of their task.

As has been discussed previously, the duties that the Roman administrators possessed were often only obliquely related to the buildings and premises that they used. The buildings generated a form of honour and glory that possessed three essential elements and therefore contributed to the administrator’s ability to pursue his duties.[[386]](#footnote-386) The very “lay of the land” affected those monuments and evoked a system of cultural hierarchies that the Roman recognised and emulated.[[387]](#footnote-387) Firstly, attaching oneself to these buildings meant that the more important and significant the building, and the closer its association to glorious figures of the past, meant greater reflected glory for the administrators. Containing them all within a singular document demonstrated honourable service with a noble pedigree. Buildings such as the *Curia Iulia* and the *Templum Concordia* were particularly impressive due to their connections with Augustus’ programme of urban renewal.[[388]](#footnote-388) Buildings such as Hadrian’s renovation of the Pantheon and the great imperial *fora* were a conscious aping of a desired antiquarian style associated the city’s heroic Augustan past.[[389]](#footnote-389) Secondly, there was the overall schema of the building without reference to the particular details.[[390]](#footnote-390) The *Regionaries* contained no particular details about buildings (except for the seat numbers of Venues and sizes of Columns), but the name of the buildings which would have been seen to be enough. Similarly the Marble Plan only gives outlines for the buildings it depicts. Thirdly, monumental architecture’s formal appearance was considered significant because of the building’s capacity not just to suggest architectural beauty, or provide an administrative function, but to convey wider social or political meanings. The *Templum Pacis* displayed Vespasian’s impressive spoils, as well as serving as an office/archive of the Urban Prefect, before becoming home to the awe-inspiring Severan Marble Plan which conveyed the monumental vastness of the city and the implicit potency of an office that oversaw it.[[391]](#footnote-391) The Marble Plan and the *Septizodium* contained extensive cartographical and topographical images and served as political billboards for the Severan regime, establishing their own imperial identity and associating the new dynasty with the social stability of those emperors that had come before it.[[392]](#footnote-392) The *Regionaries* *Catalogues* were not intended for such widespread consumption. Instead they were providing a billboard for the duties of the Urban Prefect, what he should be concerned with as imperial power re-asserted itself.

Buildings like the *Templum Pacis* or the *Septizodium* demonstrated the cultural values that the empire required of its administrators in order to function.[[393]](#footnote-393) However, conversely, this meant that the empire had to ensure that it appeared to share those same values. Emperors and their officials had to appear as the chosen magistrates of the Republic, rather than as a tyrant and his personal servants. There are no imperial palaces depicted with the *Regionaries*, instead there is the *domum Augustinianam et Tiberianam* and the *domum Philippi*.[[394]](#footnote-394) These appear to be no different to the senatorial *domum Brutti Praesentis*¸ the *domum Cilonis* or the *domum Cornificiae*.[[395]](#footnote-395) Equestrian Statues like the *equum Constantini* and Victory Arches such as the *arcūs divi Veri Parthici et Traiani et Drusi et Novum* were glorifying monuments of the emperors but they were part of a Republican tradition of victory monuments.[[396]](#footnote-396) Like the Imperial bathing complexes, amphitheatres and circus, they were immeasurably more elaborate in detail and scale than their republican forebears but they could not be said to be strictly “Res Novae”. The only truly imperial monuments depicted in the *Regionaries* are temples dedicated to emperors. Temples dedicated to the deified emperors, such as the *Hadrianeum*, the *templum divi Antonini* andthe *templorum Claudium et Traini et Faustinae et Vespasiani et Titi*, are honours reserved for the imperial family.[[397]](#footnote-397) And even these honours are an acceptable part of Roman tradition begun by Augustus. As they began to accrue more and more trappings of the absolute monarchs they became towards the end of the third century, it became even more important for emperors to continue to demonstrate an adherence to the old traditions.[[398]](#footnote-398) Tellingly the only other monument that could be considered truly “Res Novae” in Rome would be the Aurelian Wall. The literary sources for the Wall’s construction are significantly sparse despite the colossal nature of the work, which suggests a certain degree of willful ignorance to deal with the trauma that the*caput mundi* now needed defences.[[399]](#footnote-399)

And for a city with an administration so laden with history and tradition, the construction of Aurelian’s Wall and the accompanying administrative changes meant redefining the city to a substantial extent. The Wall could become the point at which many of the “old” traditions of Rome could pretend that they still continued to hold sway, in contrast to the rest of the Empire which was governed by the new traditions of imperial government.[[400]](#footnote-400) Newer reforms that may have been unpopular but necessary such as the construction of the Aurelian Wall or tax reforms would still have to be made palatable. Emperors such as Aurelian had to maintain the pretence of being the same as the senators when in fact they were already above them. As the emperors began increasingly to resemble Pharaohs over Magistrates, it was important to reassure the empire’s cultural capital of its importance and value. After all as the emperors spent increasing time across the empire, they had to delegate control of Rome and other major administrative tasks as they could no longer directly bend their supreme *auctoritas* and personal glory towards managing the capital.[[401]](#footnote-401)

These increasing imperial absences meant a commensurate increase in the burden of the Urban Prefect’s duties, often accompanied by restricting the Prefect’s powers and abilities. To cope with this the Prefects needed to ornament their prestige in order to be able to command the respect and help of those peers and clients they needed in order to effectively administer the city. The Temple of Tellus held the actual administrative offices of the city, but the *Templum Pacis* and the Marble Plan were monuments to the Urban Prefecture’s efficiency and power.[[402]](#footnote-402) The records that had supported its creation would be housed with it in order to further ornament its prestige.[[403]](#footnote-403) The Urban Prefecture served as the capstone of the senatorial career hierarchy because of the personal prestige that came from, and was required for, overseeing a city of so many significant monuments. Even Constantinople, despite outstripping Rome in terms of its access to the imperial Court, could never hope to match Rome in terms of its monuments and history.[[404]](#footnote-404) Constantinople’s acquisition of an Urban Prefect was an attempt to demonstrate that the city was truly *Nova Roma*. In the hierarchy of the *Notitia Dignitatum* it ranked second only to the Praetorian Prefects, and whilst it may not have much formal political authority outside of Rome, the honour and glory that would be gained from the demonstration of the care and attention an Urban Prefect would appropriately pay to such ancient and prestigious buildings. Many of these buildings are even listed twice within the *Regionaries*. It is not just enough to list each of the *Fora,* *Bascilicae, Thermae* individually in their locations; it has to be stressed again by collectively listing them in their groups.[[405]](#footnote-405) These monumental cartographical and topographical representations would have been essential to establishing and improving one’s place within the socio-political hierarchy of Roman government, as it would be the easiest method of depicting the importance of one’s post. Individual details about the post would not be needed as only a figure who could instinctively understand them would ever be able to reach the Urban Prefecture. Urban Prefects could then use this prestige to compel or encourage the local elites of the city who were essential to the orderly management of the community.

Such efforts and demonstrations ensured that the administration could create and maintain the monuments that would both provide a public good and prestige, and ensure that the local elites would be willing to contribute to it in exchange for a share of the glory. Imperial restorations, maintenance and constructions in Rome asserted the imperial desire to restore and preserve the *res publica* whilst encouraging others to pursue their own glories as well through further restorations.[[406]](#footnote-406) Augmenting a city's privileges or available amenities encouraged behaviour useful to the imperial administration. When the Emperor Commodus bestowed voting rights on a Lycian city in a rescript and praised the city for its zealous arrest of bandits, he implicitly incentivised the city (and others like it) to hunt for further bandits.[[407]](#footnote-407) These restorations could then be demonstrated in maps or topographical catalogues and therefore accrue even more honour and glory to the administrator and their city. Most importantly it flattered the local elites, assured them of their continued importance at a time when they felt sorely neglected and encouraged them to co-operate with imperial officials.

In fact it would become even more important in Late Antiquity to encourage local notables, from the powerful senatorial aristocrats to minor merchants, both in Rome and abroad to cooperate with imperial officials. With an increase in what Lendon has termed, ‘over-honourable subjects’, it was possible to have subjects whose political authority was not necessarily congruent with their social status.[[408]](#footnote-408) Imperial Court officials with too much political power and not enough social status would find it difficult to compel powerful aristocratic figures. Such subjects, who possessed an abundance of *auctoritas* and their own network of clients and supporters but little attachment to the government hierarchy, might consider their own attempt to seize the imperial purple. By couching these hierarchies in terms of traditional monuments, values and forms, the Tetrarchy made their case far stronger to those people who would need to accept it. Enforcing the law and will of the government, within any modern sense of the word, was largely impossible due to the limited resources available. Essential to it was ability to induce others to follow its wishes with tradition and prestige.

Whilst the *Regionaries* contain ample examples of Rome’s monumental architecture, the temples and basilica from which the city was run and were essential to the Urban Prefect’s prestige, one the largest and most consistent statistics present with the *Regionaries* are the number of *vici* and *vicomagistri*. The *vici* were a neighbourhood sub-division of each region, the smallest administrative unit of the city. Each *vicus*, as a result of the Augustan reforms, possessed four *vicomagistri*, local magistrates/priests whose duty was to oversee worship of the *lares compitales* (cross-road deities) and the organise *ludi compitales*, a festival that celebrated the *lares compitales*.[[409]](#footnote-409) They also later received responsibility for the conducting of the worship of the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius* *Augusti* (technically a private cult).[[410]](#footnote-410) The Urban Prefect, as a senator and an imperial official, had a responsibility to ensure the performance of the correct rites so as to ensure the prosperity and success of the Empire. The numbers of *vicomagistri* decreased from four per *vici* under the Augustan reforms (1060 overall) to forty-eight for each entire region present in the *Regionary Catalogues* (672 overall).[[411]](#footnote-411) This should not be taken as any indication of a loss of esteem or importance. Fewer posts meant competition for them would be fiercer by nature and in any case, Aurelian placed an increasing importance on the divine and his own personal relationship with it. Therefore we can expect these imperial cults, as well as those gods the emperors personally associated with, to have increased consequently in importance.[[412]](#footnote-412) Furthermore the *vicomagistri* also had more practical administrative functions. They cleaned the streets, helped to organise fire-fighting and supervised public works.[[413]](#footnote-413) With the *gradus*, from which the ration had to be distributed, scattered about the city, the *vici* provided a convenient point from which it could all be distributed.[[414]](#footnote-414) This would further justify their inclusion within the *Regionaries*, as they would provide an administrative framework by which the Urban Prefect and the appropriate subordinates could determine how the *annonae* should be distributed.

In contrast to the famous temples and shrines that are named within the body of the document, these statistics seem quaint and distinctly administrative. But theinclusion of the *vicomagistri* in the *Regionaries* should not be seen as another organisational tool for the Urban Prefect even as it outlines part of his religious responsibilities. Any Urban Prefect would be wise to ensure he had the extensive network of supporters necessary for governing such a city. By Augustan tradition the *vicomagistri* had been chosen exclusively from the ranks of freedmen. These would form the class of upwardly mobile and publicly-minded individuals who would be clients of their former masters and keen to earn honour and prestige.[[415]](#footnote-415) Whilst they were nominally elected to the post, the implicit patronage and assent of the Urban Prefect would be a pre-requisite for any individual attempting to gain any magistracy (however minor) in the city. Such behaviour in a more modern context would be seen as corruption and nepotism, but it was entirely traditional that Roman administrative figures reward supporters in this way. It was central to the Urban Prefect’s performance of his duties.

This performance would be dependent upon the Urban Prefect’s ability to command respect and prestige.[[416]](#footnote-416) The imperial monuments depicted in the documents such as the *Regionaries* were only indirectly related to the means and strategies by which the emperors ruled, as those strategies had to change as the empire’s resources became ever more strained and the *mos maiorum* also changed. Political reality and necessity seemingly bore little relation to the methods by which the empire was actually ruled. Messages only illustrated the *potential* of imperial administrative power, not its reality. Reiterate the message forcefully enough and the ideal itself would become real. Readers would see the monuments as reflecting the magnificence of the emperor and his empire as well as their own inherent value.[[417]](#footnote-417) The administration needed to look important as its main function. In the honour and prestige motivated world of the aristocrats of Antiquity, if somebody or something did not look important it would be treated as such.[[418]](#footnote-418) ‘It was necessary that the imperial architecture [and its depictions] lead, as the imperator presumably led, that it allow him to be seen and thought of in dwellings both unique and pertinent.’[[419]](#footnote-419) Emperors were able to reign over the Empire because of their vast personal fortune, which they would distribute as the great senatorial patrons of old did. By drawing upon his own personal resources, the emperor gained the right to be the sole patron in Rome.[[420]](#footnote-420) But the euergetism of the Roman emperor was not simply an expression of his superiority. It was a desire to be loved and so be obeyed.[[421]](#footnote-421) What ruler, other than the emperor, possessed a capital with temples nearly a thousand years old? What other city could claim so many complex buildings such as the mighty *thermae*, or the *Circus Maximus* that fits 480,000 people and requires the most important member of the most august body to control it?

Rome’s monuments and maps were signs of power. They characterise political entities, cultural values and statesmen in a very literal sense: making them “present” in public spaces. Their omnipresence throughout the Empire was inevitable and unceasing. Within Rome, even at the time of Augustus, the average production of imperial statues could be between 500 and 1000 a year and failure to pay the appropriate respects to them could be construed as treasonous.[[422]](#footnote-422) The *Regionaries* list in the *Breviarium*: 2 *Colossi* and 22 *equi magni*, which may seem small in comparison, but this would refer only the most important and significant figures to be awarded statues.[[423]](#footnote-423) There was no escape and no space from which to view such monuments from a neutral, disinterested point of view. In order to participate in the prevailing culture one is forced both to accept and celebrate the monument and the powers it represents, or to oppose and destroy it.[[424]](#footnote-424)

The administration and maintenance of such monuments and buildings was the traditional, even sacred, duty of the Urban Prefect and the senatorial elite that he would hail from. The administration of the city was a religious act and in turn religion was part of the action of good governance. In the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, Valerius Maximus states that the “Roman Religion” was,

‘that fixed and formal annual ceremonies be regulated by the knowledge of the priests; that sanction for the good governance of affairs be marshalled by the observations of augurs; that Apollo’s prophecies be revealed by the books of the seers; and that the expiation of portents be accomplished in accordance with the Etruscan discipline.’[[425]](#footnote-425)

Religion (publicly at least) was as much a matter of law, administration and tradition as it was belief. Ulpian summarised “Public Law” as, ‘that which has reference to the administration of the Roman government… Public law has reference to sacred ceremonies, and to the duties of priests and magistrates.’[[426]](#footnote-426) I will examine this duality of religion and government, and its intermingling with tradition and history, as part of the demonstration of the *Regionary Catalogues* administrative use.

The duality of religion and government, administration and tradition can be seen through the inclusion of a large number of religious buildings within the *Regionary Catalogues*. Many of these buildings served dual-practical purposes, both as centres of devotion and religious practice but also as major administrative buildings. The Temple of Saturn in the *Regio VIII: Forum Romanum* served as the treasury of the Republic and whilst this would have declined in importance with the steady disappearance of Imperial government from the city, there is no reason to not assume it continued to serve as a treasury for the urban administration. Alongside the Temple of Saturn in the same region was the Templum Castorum which has was known as the site of the Imperial *fisc*, the emperor’s personal treasury, as well as continuing to serve as a meeting place for the Senate.[[427]](#footnote-427) The temple of Diana on the Aventine was home to the *Foedium Cassianum,* governing the supremacy of the Romans over the other states of Italy, along with a number of other ancient legal documents.[[428]](#footnote-428) More importantly, there was the *templum Solis et castra*, which from AD 274 served both as a distribution point for the *annonae* and as a barracks.[[429]](#footnote-429) Those temples in the *Regionaries* that do not have an obvious administrative purpose are primarily the temples of the Imperial Cult: *templum Claudii*, *templum Faustina, templum divi Traiani, templum divi Antonini*.[[430]](#footnote-430) The others include the temples associated with *genii* of Rome and its oldest Gods. These may not have been administrative centres, but ensuring the performance of their correct rites was believed to be essential to the Empire’s continued prosperity and was an essential function of the Urban Prefect as the imperial representative. It is wrong therefore to discount them within the *Regionaries* as simply monumental objects; they also served as the administrative and political centres of the city. Moreover these buildings were monuments in no small part due to their historical value, a value that they had originally achieved due to their administrative value and importance.[[431]](#footnote-431) Even as buildings may have lost their original administrative functions, their heritage would mean that their administration and maintenance would become an administrative function in their own right. They formed part of the “civic” memory of the city and could continue to be useful in ways limited only by the individual’s priorities and personal views.[[432]](#footnote-432) In particular, the *templum Telluris* is said to haveserved as the administrative headquarters for the Urban Prefecture.[[433]](#footnote-433) The *templum Pacis* contained the Severan Marble Plan, another topographical representation of Rome. So many buildings that had such an ancient pedigree were a source of great responsibility for the Urban Prefect, but it was this responsibility for the topographical heritage that made the position of Urban Prefect so coveted by the senatorial class. It was the source of the Urban Prefect’s prestige and in turn was responsible for the prestige and authority necessary to compel others.

Again we see the *Regionaries*’ duality of both practical administrative data complementing and being complemented by items and statistics that were complemented by and in turn complemented the prestige of historical buildings and traditional rites.[[434]](#footnote-434) In this sense it is not surprising the *Regionaries* were compiled. The Urban Prefect was expected to represent the imperial office, and this representation meant ensuring the co-operation of those significant locals. The Urban Prefect as a senator had a duty and responsibility, by virtue of his aristocratic upbringing, to ensure these Roman traditions were upheld. The Urban Prefect had to be able to manage the city effectively within a short term and (as a proper aristocrat) lacked the professional skills and workforce of a more professional administrator. It was essential that he be able to demonstrate the legitimacy, and therefore authority, of his position through the correct observance on maintenance of the city’s traditions, rights and privileges.

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After the crisis of the third century, legitimacy became a difficult quality to achieve and emperors had to seek new methods of asserting their authority and order in order to avoid the mistakes of the past. Equally they could also not afford to alienate the support of those figures upon whom they would need to rely. As the third century came to a close and the more bureaucratic and militaristic government of Diocletian’s Tetrarchy developed, it suited the Empire’s administration to depict itself as possessing a unified and coherent hierarchy even as emperors constantly changed. This meant that it could continue to radiate the appearance of strength and power, even if it did not possess it.

Cartographical and topographical depictions of the administration ensured that all attention (and fear) was directed towards the top of the hierarchies. Even if not blatantly depicted in documents, the subtle reminder in the cartographical and topographical documents like the *Regionary Catalogues* and the *Notitia Dignitatum* is that there was an emperor at the pinnacle of the hierarchy: One who had the strength and resources to rule.

Conclusion: “Musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol”:

When reading the *Regionary Catalogues* one is reminded of Gibbon’s inspiration for the *Decline and Fall of the Empire* and how he sat, ‘musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol… [and] the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind.’[[435]](#footnote-435) Few documents give us such a snapshot of the Eternal City before the slow decline into its relative obscurity of the fifth and sixth centuries, giving us the Rome of the Caesars rather than the Rome of the Catholic Church. They have provided much of the basis for our understanding of the topography of ancient Rome. Until the 19th Century they were generally held to delineate the boundaries of the 14 Augustan Regions. Their eclectic collection of seemingly administrative information such as the number of cisterns, olive oil shops and state brothels, together with the grand imperial monuments and *fora,* has meant that the limited research into the *Regionaries* has drawn few conclusions about its nature. This gap in the research has meant that the *Regionaries* have had to be treated as either an administrative document or a senatorial panegyric. What my research questions have attempted to do is synthesise a new approach that recognises the complexity of the Roman administration whilst also acknowledging its limitations.

The easiest question to answer was what the Regionary Catalogues can tell us about Roman Government. The key to answering this lay not in trying to make sense of what practical data the *Regionaries* could tell us about the urban administration; the previous historiography of the *Regionaries* has made it clear that that is a fool’s errand. Rather than engaging in “linguistic gymnastics” and trying to force the *Regionaries’* data to make sense to our modern perspectives of administrative usefulness, we need to understand the rather obvious truth that the Roman administration functioned along very different lines. Gibbon had already recognised that studying particular organs and aspects of government can illuminate the Empire’s governmental and social practices, as well as the dominant ideology. Therefore, in order to explore the *Regionaries’* possible administrative use, we should instead focus on how the Romans conceived of their administration.

In order to do this, I have synthesised a new approach from the work of Clifford Ando and Jon Lendon. Both historians have posited that the Roman imperial government had a unique method of ensuring compliance with its wishes. Ando’s work argued that the administration’s reach and ability was extensive, as evidenced by our large surviving corpus of law codes and inscriptions throughout the Empire that were concerned with the government. As such, the central government was able to compel obedience to its wishes because it had so deeply inserted itself into its citizens’ lives that it conditioned their mental geography. The bureaucratic laws and standards were therefore something that every Roman subject could operate and engage with. Lendon pursued a similar line of inquiry but instead focused on the mental geography that the Empire used to compel obedience. Whereas Ando had argued that the Empire possessed a complex administrative bureaucracy to enforce its will, Lendon argued that the Empire fostered a mutual aristocratic culture that consisted of a mutual respect for honour and the traditional, “proper” way of doing things. Because of these shared values, the imperial administration had a system that could compel administrators to act properly and in accordance with the imperial will out of a desire for honour and a fear of censure by their social equals. I combined elements from both these methodologies to create a new vision of the Roman administration. It is obvious that Roman government must be, by virtue of the restrictions of technologies, amateurish and limited. Therefore, we must look to how a culture that mutually values tradition, history and glory was used to construct a socio-political hierarchy that would ensure a reasonable form of administrative effectiveness. My new approach means that, in order to have the authority necessary to govern, an administrator needed to demonstrate a respect for the traditional values so as to be considered legitimate. This, in turn, allowed the construction of an elaborate and complex administrative hierarchy in which an administrator knew his duty and roles, because not to know one’s duties would be disrespectful to the traditions central to governance. Administrative data, where it related to a traditional and historical duty, was to be revered and utilised. With this view, we no longer have to manipulate the dictionary in order to make the *Regionaries’* statistics work or discard them for being unrepresentative. Instead, it becomes a document which demonstrates the appropriate reverence for tradition that a senior imperial administrator like the Urban Prefect would need for his role. A Rome that is not necessarily representative of the reality has been constructed from its history in order to provide its administrator with the tools necessary to govern. In the Roman government it was less important to have what we would term as administratively useful and up-to-date document. Instead, it was far more important to have an authority grounded in history and culture, rather than fact.

Having established what the *Regionaries* tell us about how the Roman government conceived of itself and what was useful, it becomes easier to establish how the *Regionaries* managed to evolve. Any culture which valued history and tradition as much as the Romans did would continue to value such a document even if the *Regionaries* had ceased to be used in their original administrative capacity. Our first recorded appearance of the *Regionary Catalogues* is in the *Codex-Calendar* *of 354*, a sumptuous manuscript illustrated by the most famous calligrapher of the day, Furius Dionysius Filocalus. The *Regionaries* were packaged with lists of Consuls, Urban Prefects, Popes and Emperors and, whilst some have argued that the *Regionaries* were not originally included with the *Codex-Calendar*, they certainly fit thematically within the other documents in their mutual reverence for Rome’s past. The inherent flexibility of the Roman depictions of government in the *Regionaries* and their spectacular power meant that, as more and more time passed from the document’s creation, their power could easily be repurposed to meet other goals. As Roman culture was re-discovered under the Carolingian Renaissance, even though the pagan characteristics of the *Regionaries* were no longer a desirable aspect, the sheer weight of the monumental power that the *Regionaries* depicted made them a desirable commodity. Their association with Rome’s imperial power meant that they could lend lustre to others’ imperial pretensions and their continued transmission with the *Codex-Calendar* and other extravagant manuscripts such as the *Codex Spirensis* meant that the *Regionaries* maintained a spectacular power far beyond the culture that created them. The *Regionaries* were a forceful method of expressing the power and glory of the government. The Romans found this a laudable activity, and so it became a popular device by which to associate something with the glory of ancient Rome. This confusion of the administrative and the spectacular is what has led to the duality of the *Regionaries* being treated as both an administrative document of the Urban Prefecture and as a panegyric to the glory of Rome and its awesome history.

The question of where the *Regionary Catalogues* came from and who their author was has been a much more difficult one to answer. The *Regionaries* first appear in the *Codex-Calendar*, a gift from one “esteemed” Roman to another. It is hardly surprising that it should appear here; Urban Prefects were also the masters of senatorial households and families and would have a vested interest in a document that glorified their post and their predecessors. Furthermore the appearance of two different manuscript traditions, the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*, suggests that the *Regionaries* had been updated sporadically. Elmer Merrill has argued that the *Regionaries* had to possess a proto-document from which both the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* sprang, and my own attempt at recreating the various layers of the *Regionaries* has led me to much the same conclusions.[[436]](#footnote-436) Merrill believes the *proto-Regionaries* first appeared around AD 314, citing the appearance of the *Basilica Constantiniana*, the Arch of Constantine and the *Thermae Constantinianae*.[[437]](#footnote-437) But this does not take into account that, in the *Curiosum* tradition, the *Basilica Constantiniana* appears as the *Basilica Nova,* which had initially been built by Maxentius, and that in the *Notitia* there is listed the *Castra Praetoria,* which had been destroyed by Constantine. Their inclusion indicates that the *Regionaries* existed in some form before AD 312 and Constantine’s victory. It seems uncharacteristic of a Roman emperor to create a document that would include buildings associated with his rival and bizarre to include any that he had himself demolished. Assuming imperial involvement in the revisions, when the Constantinian layers were added later on, Constantine would be sufficiently secure in his power that he need not delete outright his rival’s buildings and could instead afford to repurpose them. This, I would argue, is an indication that the *Regionaries* existed in some form or other before Constantine and that he merely re-purposed them. Since the Constantinian dates of the *Regionaries* have been easily established with Constantine’s construction work in Rome and therefore providing a certain context for the *Catalogues*, we must then ask what other contexts might be applicable.

To provide this context for my analysis, I examined a monumental document similar to the *Regionaries* in order to provide an investigative framework. The Severan Marble Plan, despite being physically different to the *Regionaries*, shares a number of similarities in content. We also have a definitive author for the Marble Plan, the Emperor Septimius Severus. By examining the context and reasoning behind Septimius Severus’s creation of the Marble Plan, we saw that as an emperor who seized power by military force, Severus needed to establish his credibility with the senate and people of Rome. This meant demonstrating the appropriate reverence for the traditions and history of the city, as well as more mundane reforms to the city’s administration. When this is considered and applied to the *Regionary Catalogues* it becomes apparent that this document may also have been commissioned by an emperor who seized power by force, was focused on re-unifying the Empire and engaged in extensive reforms to the Urban Prefecture in order to accommodate his monumental architecture. My analysis has shown that it was Aurelian who best fits this framework. Accompanying his construction of the city’s new circuit of wall, and in part to provide for it, Aurelian engaged in extensive reforms to the urban government of Rome, increasing the Urban Prefect’s administrative burden. The Urban Prefecture was the only repository of records detailed enough for the details of the *Regionaries,* such as lists of *balinea*, *lacus* and *insulae*, details which would be necessary for the extensive architectural planning that the Wall’s construction required. When we also consider the Roman form of administration, it stands to reason that the Urban Prefect would benefit from a document that depicted those areas which may be affected either by the Wall’s construction or by Aurelian’s reforms.

At this stage I believe that Aurelian remains the most likely initial author in light of our limited evidence, but if we tested the hypothesis of an earlier production context we would be able to better confirm or deny this. However an area which I would have liked to cover in more depth is the relationship between the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries*, particularly the hypothesis that the *Regionaries* served as a textual accompaniment to the Marble Plan. In this, I would have hoped to explore Septimius Severus’s motives behind the creation of the Marble Plan and its intended uses and how the *Regionaries* may have inspired or complemented these. Furthermore, I would have expected to investigate the idea upon which the Severan Marble Plan drew or whether it was a reconstruction of a Flavian Marble Plan.[[438]](#footnote-438) Indeed, this would lead to exploring the possibility of an even earlier genesis for the *Regionaries* or the possibilities that both the Marble Plan and the *Regionaries* are the continuation of a particular genre of administrative documents. Another significant area of potential research that I had to leave unexplored is the relationship of Constantine’s administrative reforms to the *Regionaries*. Whilst the *Regionaries* are unlikely to have been created under Constantine, it is clear from the history of the document’s layers that Constantine’s administration saw significant updates to the *Regionaries*. It would also be interesting to explore the comparison between Septimius Severus and Constantine in greater detail to both provide further context for the *Regionaries* uses in the time of Constantine and explore the challenges facing usurper emperors. An extension of this would be to explore the role the *Regionaries* played as a plan/model for Constantine’s *Nova Roma*, Constantinople. The *Regionaries* depict the greatest monuments of Rome’s history and those administrative aspects that were some of its most important traditions, and it is these things that Constantine would be looking to recreate in his new capital.

**Appendix One: The Differences between the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia[[439]](#footnote-439)***

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Here are the differences in content between the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia. A*lso included are the figures from the end of each area and the totals of all the Regions in the Appendices. Unique Items appear in only one or the other, Similar items are those where one of the items appears in both MS but in one there is an addition or subtle change (as in an extra item added to another or the same buildings with two names). Included in the "Similar" group are those items that are duplicated in both documents but appear in a different fashion I.E the *Curiosum* lists the *thermas Constantinianas* and *thermas Diocletianas*, whereas the *Notitia* lists them as the t*hermas Diocletianas et Constantinianas*. | | | | |
|  | **Curiosum** | **Notitia** | **Unique Item ( X = Curiosum/X (N)= Notitia)** | **Similar but with different names or additions** |
|  | **REGIO I** | **REGIO I** |  |  |
|  | *balneum Torquati* | *balineum Torquati* ***et Vespasiani*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *aream Apollinis et Splenis* | *aream Apollinis et Splenis* ***et Calles*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *balneum Abascantis et Mamertini* | *balineum****Bolani et*** *Mamertini and balineum Abascanti****et Antiochiani*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *aedem Martis* | |  | | --- | | *aedem Martis****et Minervae et Tempestatis*** | |  | X (N) |
|  | *arcum divi Veri et Traiani et Drusi* | |  | | --- | | *arcum divi Veri****Partici****et****divi****Traiani et Drusi* | |  | X (N) |
| *Lacos* | 81 | 87 |  |  |
| *Continet Pedes* | 12,211 | 12,219 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO II** | **REGIO II** |  |  |
|  | *Claudium* | *templum Claudii* |  | X (N) |
|  | *ludum matutinum****et Dacicum*** | *ludum matutinum* ***et Gallicum*** |  | X (N) |
|  | **REGIO III** | **REGIO III** |  |  |
|  | ***ludum magnum*** | *ludum matutinum****et Dacicum*** |  | X (N) |
| *Domos* | 60 | 160 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO IV** | **REGIO IV** |  |  |
|  |  | *aream Vulcani* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *horrea chartaria* | X (N) |  |
|  | *templum Romae* | *templum Romae****et Veneris*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *aedem Iobis* | *aedem Iovis****statoris*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *basilicam novam et Pauli* | *basilicam Constantinianam, basilicam Pauli* |  | **X** |
| *Balinea* | 65 | 75 |  |  |
| *Lacos* | 71 | 78 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO V** | **REGIO V** |  |  |
|  | *nymfeum Alexandri* | *nympheum* ***divi*** *Alexandri* |  | X (N) |
|  | **REGIO VI** | **REGIO VI** |  |  |
|  | *Floram* | ***templum*** *Florae* |  | X (N) |
|  | *thermas Constantinianas, thermas Diocletianas* | *thermas Diocletianas et Constantinianas* |  | X |
|  |  | *malum punicum* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *castra praetoria* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *aream Candidi* | X (N) |  |
|  | **REGIO VII** | **REGIO VII** |  |  |
|  |  | *templum duo nova Spei et Fortunae* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *hortos Largianos* | X (N) |  |
|  | **REGIO VIII** | **REGIO VIII** |  |  |
|  |  | *aureum et equum Constantini* | X (N) |  |
|  | *templum Concordiae et Saturni et Vespasiani et Titi* | *templum Concordiae, templum Saturni et Vespasiani et Titi* |  | X |
|  |  | *umbilicum Romae* | X (N) |  |
|  | *vicum iugarium* | *vicum iugarium* ***et unguentarium*** |  | X (N) |
|  | *templum Castorem* ***et Minervae*** | *templum Castorem* |  | X © |
|  | *horrea Agrippiana* | *horrea* ***Germaniciana*** *et Agrippiana* |  | X (N) |
| *Balinea* | 86 | 85 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO IX** | **REGIO IX** |  |  |
|  |  | *aedes* | X (N) |  |
|  | *Minucias veterem et frumentarium* | *Minucias* ***duas*** *veterem et frumentarium* |  | X (N) |
|  | *basilicam* ***Neptuni*** *Matidies Marciani* | *basilicam Matidies et Marciani* |  | X © |
|  | *templum Antonini* | *templum* ***divi*** *Antonini* |  | X (N) |
|  |  | *Hadrianeum* | X (N) |  |
|  | *Minervam Calcidicam* |  | X |  |
|  | **REGIO X** | **REGIO X** |  |  |
|  |  | *aream Palatinam* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *Domus Dion* | X (N) |  |
|  | *aedem Iobis* | *aedem Iovis* ***victoris*** |  | X (N) |
| *Insulae* | 2742 | 2642 |  |  |
| *Lacos* | 90 | 89 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO XI** | **REGIO XI** |  |  |
|  | *templum Solis et Lunae et templum Mercurii* | *templum Solis et Lunae, templum Mercurii* |  | X |
|  | *aedem Matris deum et Iobis* | *aedem Matris deum et Iovis* ***arboratoris*** |  | X (N) |
|  |  | *aedem Ditis patris* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *Fortunium* | X (N) |  |
|  | *Arcum Constantini* | *Arcum* ***divi*** *Constantini* |  | X (N) |
| *Domos* | 88 | 89 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO XII** | **REGIO XII** |  |  |
| *Lacos* | 80 | 81 |  |  |
|  | **REGIO XIII** | **REGIO XIII** |  |  |
| *Aediculae* | 18 | 17 |  |  |
| *Balinea* | 44 | 60 |  |  |
|  |  | privata Traiani | X (N) |  |
|  | **REGIO XIV** | **REGIO XIV** |  |  |
|  | *naumachias V et Vaticanum* | *naumachias V, Vaticanum* |  | X |
|  | *balineum Ampelidis et Dianes* | *balineum Ampelidis* ***Prisci*** *et Dianae* |  | X (N) |
|  | *Herculem* ***sub terram medium*** *cubantem* ***sub quem plurimum auri positus est.*** | *Herculem cubantem* |  | X © |
|  | **APPENDIX ONE** | **APPENDIX ONE** |  |  |
|  | *OBELISK: in circo maximo duo, minor habet pedes LXXXVII s. maior habet pedes CXXII s.* | *OBELISK: in circo maximo unus altus pedes LXXXVIII s.* |  | X © |
|  |  | *(FORUM) suarium* | X (N) |  |
|  |  | *(THERMAE) Decianae* | X (N) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | **APPENDIX TWO: BREVIARIUM** | **APPENDIX TWO: BREVIARIUM** |  |  |
| *eburni* | 74 | 78 |  |  |
| *vici* | 423 | 424 |  |  |
| *aedes* | 423 | 424 |  |  |
| *curatores* | 29 | 28 |  |  |
| *lupanariae* | 46 | 45 |  |  |
|  | *lacos* ***quod est putea*** | *lacos* |  | X © |
|  | *latrinae publicae* ***quod est sicessos*** | *latrinae publicae* |  | X © |
|  |  |  | 18 (N) to 1 © | 20 to 5 © |

**Appendix Two: A Comparison between the *Marble Plan* and the *Regionary Catalogues*:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Marble Plan** | **Regionaries: Notitia** | **Regionaries: Curiosum** |
| *mutatorium Caesaris* | X | X |
| *Area Radicaria* | X | X |
| *Porta Capena* | REGION TITLE | REGION TITLE |
| *Via Appia* |  |  |
| *Navale Inferius* |  |  |
| *mutatorium Caesaris* | X | X |
| *vicus Summi Choragi* | *summum choragum* | *summum choragum* |
| House of L. Fabius Cilo (*domus Cilonis*) | X | X |
| Neronian branch of the Aqua Claudia (*arcus Neroniani*) |  |  |
| Seat of the *Augustales Claudiales* |  |  |
| Temple to the Deified Claudius (*templum Divi Claudi*) | *templum Claudii* | *templum Claudii* |
| *Clivus Victoriae* |  |  |
| *Clivus Scauri* |  |  |
| Barracks of the Misenum sailors (*castra Misenatium*) | X | X |
| Armories (*Armamentaria*) | *armamentarium* |  |
| The Great Gladiatorial Training School (*ludus Magnus*) | *ludum matutinum et Dacicum* | *ludum matutinum et Dacicum* |
| Circus Maximus (*circus Maximus*) | X | X |
| Arch of Titus (*arcus Titi*) |  |  |
| Septizodium (*Septizodium*) | *Septizodium divi Severi* | *Septizodium divi Severi* |
| Imperial Box in the Circus Maximus |  |  |
| Section of the Claudian Aqueduct between the Caelian and the Palatine Hill |  |  |
| Gardens of Maecenas (*horti Maecenatis*) |  |  |
| Baths of Trajan (*thermae Traiani*) | *thermas Titianas et Traianas* | *thermas Titianas et Traianas* |
| the Porticus of Livia (*porticus Liviae*) | |  | | --- | | *porticum Liviae* | | *porticum Libies* |
| Possible headquarters (*schola*) of a professional organization (*collegium*) off the Vicus Sabuci (*vicus* *Sabuci*) in the Subura neighbourhood (*Subura*) |  |  |
| The Area Candidi? |  |  |
| Fountain of Orpheus (*lacus Orphei*) | *lacum Orphei* | *lacum Orfei* |
| Flavian Amphitheatre, Colosseum (*Amphitheatrum*) | X | X |
| Temple of Peace (*templum Pacis* | TITLE OF REGIO IV | TITLE OF REGIO IV |
| The Apsidal Portico (*porticus Absidata* | *porticum absidatam* | *porticum absidatum* |
| Forum Transitorium/of Nerva (*forum Transitorium*/*Nervae*) | As *forum transitorium* and *Forum Nerva* | As *forum transitorium* and *Forum Nerva* |
| Temple of Minerva |  |  |
| Forum of Augustus (*forum Augustum*/*Augusti*) | X | X |
| he Temple to Mars Ultor (*aedes*/*templum Martis Ultoris*) |  |  |
| Basilica Paul(l)i (*basilica Paul*[*l*]*i*) | *basilicam Pauli* | [*basilicam novam et Pauli*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/I/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/Forum_Romanum/_Texts/Huelsen*/2/41.html) |
| *horrea Vespasiani*? |  |  |
| Fountain of Iuturna (*lacus Iuturnae*), |  |  |
| Temple of Castor (*aedes Castoris*) | *templum Castorum* | *templum Castorum et Minervae* |
| Roman Forum (*forum Romanum*) | Part of title of REGIO VIII | |  | | --- | | Part of title of REGIO VIII | |
| the Basilica Julia (*basilica Iulia*), | *basilicam iuliam* | *basilicam Iuliam* |
| Temple of Saturn (*Aedis Saturni*), | [*templum Saturni*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/I/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/Forum_Romanum/_Texts/Huelsen*/2/6.html) | [*templum Saturni*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/I/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/Forum_Romanum/_Texts/Huelsen*/2/6.html) |
| Graecostadium (*Graecostadium*) | [*Graecostadium*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/_Texts/PLATOP*/Graecostadium.html) |  |
| the New Temple to the Deified Augustus (*templum novum Divi Augusti*) |  |  |
| Concordia (*aedes Concordiae*) | [*templum Concordiae*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/I/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/Forum_Romanum/_Texts/Huelsen*/2/13.html) | *templum Concordiae* |
| the Deified Vespasian (*templum Divi Vespasiani*) | *templum Vespasiani et Titi* | *templum Vespasiani et Titi* |
| *Palatium*, *domus Palatina*/*Palatinae* | *domum Augustianam et Tiberianam* | *domum Augustianam et Tiberianam* |
| the *Roma Quadrata* |  |  |
| *area Apollinis* | *aream Apollinis et Splenis* | *aream Apollinis et Splenis et Calles* |
| Baths of L. Licinius Sura (*balneum*/*thermae Surae*) | *thermas Surae* | *thermas Syres* |
| Temple of Aventine Diana (*aedes Dianae Aventina*) | |  | | --- | | *templum Dianae* | | *templum Dianae* |
| Temple of Minerva (*aedes Minervae*) (AVENTINE) | *templum Minervae* | *templum Minervae* |
| Porticus Aemilia (*porticus Aemilia*) |  |  |
| A section of the Estate and Warehouses of Galba (*praedia et horrea Galbana*) | *horrea Galbes* | *horrea Galbes* |
| Funerary monument of Ser. Sulpicius Galba |  |  |
| The Lollian Warehouses (*horrea Lolliana*) |  |  |
| Temple of *Fors Fortuna* | *Fortis Fortuna* | *Fortis Fortuna* |
| Naumachia Augusti | *naumachias V* in REGIO XIV | *naumachias V* in REGIO XIV |
| Naumachia Transtiberina | *naumachias V* in REGIO XIV | *naumachias V* in REGIO XIV |
| Basilica Ulpia (*basilica Ulpia*) |  |  |
| Forum of Trajan (*forum Traiani*) | X | X |
| Theater and Cryptoporticus of Balbus (*theatrum et crypta Balbi*) | *cryptam Balbi*  *theatra III inprimis Balbi* | *cryptam Balbi*  *theatra III inprimis Balbi* |
| Porticus of Octavia and Philippus (*porticus Octaviae et Philippi*) | *porticum Philippi* | [*porticum Philippi*](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Lazio/Roma/Rome/_Texts/PLATOP*/porticus.html#Philippi) |
| Temple of Iuno Regina (*aedis Iunonis Reginae*) |  |  |
| Temple to Hercules of the Muses (*aedis Hercules Musarum*) |  |  |
| the One Hundred Steps (centum gradus)? |  |  |
| Temple of Bellona (*aedes Bellonae*) |  |  |
| Theater of Marcellus (*theatrum Marcelli*) | *Marcelli capit loca XX. D* | *Marcelli capit loca XX. D* |
| Temple of Apollo (*aedes Apollinis*) |  |  |
| Two temples in the Vegetable Market (*forum Holitorium*) |  |  |
| Temple of Ianus (*aedes Iani*) |  |  |
| the Temple of Iuno Sospita (*aedes Iunonis Sospitae*) |  |  |
| Circus Flaminius (*circus Flaminius*) | TITLE OF REGIO IX | TITLE OF REGIO IX |
| the Temple of Iuppiter Stator (*aedis Iovis Statoris*) | *aedem Iovis statoris* | *aedem Iobis* |
| the Arch of Germanicus (*arcus Germanici*) | *Victoriam Germanianam (?)* | *Victoriam Germanianam (?)* |
| Porticus Divorum | *Divorum* | *Divorum* |
| Saepta Iulia (*Saepta Iulia*) |  |  |
| Porticus Minucia (*porticus Minucia*) | *Minuciam veterem et frumentariam* | *Minuciam veterem et frumentariam* |
| Diribitorium (*Diribitorium*) |  |  |
| Portico of the Argonauts (*porticus Argonautarum*) | *X* | *X* |
| *Minerva Chalcidica* | *X* | *X* |
| *Serapeum* | *Iseum et Serapeum* | *Iseum et Serapeum* |
| *Templum Matidiae* | *basilicam Matidies et Marcianes* | |  | | --- | | *Basilicam Neptuni Matidies* | |
| Porticus of Pompey (*porticus Pompeianae*) |  |  |
| Hecatostylum (*Hecatostylum*) |  |  |
| the Curia of Pompey (*curia Pompeiana*) |  |  |
| Baths of Agrippa (*thermae Agrippae*) | X | X |
| Temple of Venus Victrix (*aedes Veneris Victricis*) |  |  |
| Mausoleum of Hadrian (*mausoleum Hadriani*) |  |  |
| *Horrea Graminaria* |  |  |
| Baths of Caesar (*balneum Caesaris*) |  |  |
| Lighting warehouse (*horrea Candelaria*) |  |  |
| The Gardens of Celonia (Ceionia) Fabia (*horti Celoniae [Ceioniae] Fabiae*) |  |  |
| Gardens of Pallas (*horti Pallantiani*) or of Pompey (*horti Pompeiani*)? |  |  |
| Temple of Faustina (*aedes Faustinae*) on the Palatine Hill (*Palatium*) |  |  |
| Baths of Titus (*thermae Titi*)? | X | X |
| Baths of Trajan (*thermae Traiani*) | X | X |
| The Market of Livia (*macellum Liviae*) or the Great Market (*macellum Magnum*)? | *Livia Regio V and Macellum Magnum Regio II* | *Livia Regio V and Macellum Magnum Regio II* |
| Temple of Janus, Roman Forum? |  |  |
| Temple to Jupiter Fulgur (*aedificium Iovi Fulguri*)? |  |  |
| Temple of Mars (*aedis Martis in circo*)? |  |  |
| Area of the) Four Baths (*balnea quattuor*) |  |  |
| Section of large *porticus* flanked by shops (*tabernae*) and arcades (*porticus Vipsania?)* |  |  |
| the Temple of Fides (*aedes Fidei*)? and the One Hundred Steps (*centum gradus*)? |  |  |
| Arch of Septimius Severus (*arcus Severianus*) |  |  |
| Pons Aemilius (*pons Aemilius*)? |  |  |

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