

Romans in Egypt before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*: When, Where, and Why?

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Abstract

The Roman presence in Egypt is traced from before the Roman conquest by focusing on people with Roman names. The majority were to be found in Alexandria, and most were (the descendents of) Roman freedmen. A sizeable number owed their Roman names to service in the Roman army, but they are overrepresented in the evidence from the *chora*. By the time of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* there may have been 300,000 Romans in Egypt, two thirds of them in Alexandria.

Keywords

Romans, Egypt, *Constitutio Antoniniana*

I got interested in the Roman presence in Egypt while working on the documents from Augustan Alexandria in BGU IV and, like Alan Bowman earlier (Bowman 2001), I stumbled over a lot of Romans or people with Roman names there, only a couple of decades after the Roman conquest. I will focus on this group of texts, but I will explain first why we do not need a full-scale project to study Roman citizens in Egypt before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* to establish how many Roman citizens there were at any given time.¹ An educated guess will do.

We cannot always be as certain about Roman citizenship as about Roman (or Latin) names. As a rule, we can only be certain about the Roman citizenship of individual men, if they have *tria nomina* (or at least a *praenomen* and a *gentilicium* in the earliest period, including the age of Augustus) and a *tribus* designation, because some men with a *gentilicium* were demonstrably not (yet) Roman citizens and paid the poll tax, the most famous example being Lucius Pompeius Niger

¹ Such projects have been announced more than once, but nothing ever came of them. See, e.g., for announcements at papyrological congresses, Biežuńska-Małowist 1961, Oates 1966, and Samuel 1981. For a more recent announcement, see El-Kadi 1992. An early attempt at a comprehensive overview is Taubenschlag (1959 [1930]). See now also Bagnall 2019, who is the first to use “big data” to counter the pessimism of Sherwin-White 1973 about conducting large-scale projects about individual enfranchisement. For a handy update of Sherwin-White’s classic monograph see Marotta 2009.

(on whom see Waebens 2012 a).² That the *tribus* designation is not often included in papyri does not mean that the individual men with a *gentilicium* were not (yet) Roman citizens, and limiting ourselves to individual men with *tria nomina* and a *tribus* designation would reduce and distort the evidence for Roman citizens. And I am not even considering individual women who were Roman citizens here.

It is much better to look at all individuals with Roman names, names that are new to Egypt from the second half of the first century B.C. onwards. That way we will be able to include all Roman citizens as well as associated individuals, be they slaves of Roman citizens with Roman names, soldiers who are not yet Roman citizens and might sometimes fail to obtain an honorable discharge (which would annul their prospects of becoming Roman citizens according to the *Gnomon*, para. 56), and individuals who somehow descended from, or were otherwise produced by, Roman citizens, but failed to become Roman citizens (because one of their parents was not a Roman citizen, or because they were manumitted before they turned 30, etc.).³ Individuals with Roman names are an index of the Roman presence in Egypt, of the “Romanization” of Egypt, if you will, more so than a strict accounting of certain (and possible) Roman citizens in Egypt would ever be.

Myles Lavan, in a provocative article (Lavan 2016; see also Lavan 2019 a), has presented a model of the expansion of Roman citizenship in the provinces between the end of the reign of Augustus and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. In addition to natural growth and migration from Italy, he considers five ways in which provincials could become Roman citizens.

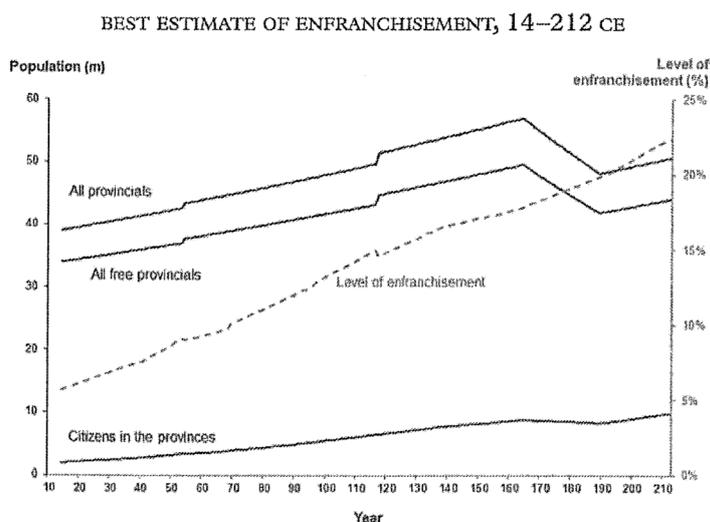
1. service in the Roman army (by joining a legion; after honorable discharge from *auxilia*, navy, cavalry)
2. after the successful performance of a magistracy in a Latin community
3. discretionary grants to individuals
4. block grants to communities
5. manumission

² From Claudius onwards the use of a *gentilicium* by someone who was not a Roman citizen was forbidden, but surely this only applied when an individual with a *gentilicium* tried to pass him- or herself off as a Roman citizen. Individuals with a *gentilicium* who paid the poll tax would not have been a problem, and we know that individual men in the Roman army who were not (yet) Roman citizens were (provisionally) given a *gentilicium* (in addition to Lucius Pompeius Niger, who served in a legion, see, e.g., Antonius Maximus, who served in the navy, in W.Chr. 480). See in general on this Saddington 2000.

³ Roman freedmen who were manumitted before they reached the age of 30 would have become Iunian Latins in accordance with the *Lex Iunia Norbana* of A.D. 19, but these would not have been common, and they were very rare according to Justinian’s *Institutes* I 5, 3. If early manumission occurred, the Iunian Latin freedmen would still have had Roman names, which makes them indistinguishable from full-blown Roman citizens for us, as Weaver 1990 famously argued. Their status would have been passed on to their descendents as well. I assume their number was negligible in Egypt.

Of these, we can eliminate 2. and 4. for Egypt. Grants to individuals (3.) were relatively unimportant there. Members of the elite, at first only in Alexandria, were eligible; others were eligible based on personal merit (say, a successful athlete or doctor), provided that they were at least Alexandrian citizens.⁴ We know that this was a serendipitous affair, with a friend of a friend (e.g., Pliny and Trajan) initiating perhaps merely a handful of cases each year. I think service in the army (1.) and manumission (5.) were about as important in Egypt early on. Both ways produced new Roman citizens in relatively small numbers. Later on, as the total number of Romans in Egypt grew and the number of soldiers dropped (from Hadrian onwards),⁵ manumission became a much more important source of new Roman citizens than service in the army.⁶ The numbers were at any rate small compared to provinces with more slaves with Roman owners and more recruits than Egypt. Egypt may have had the lowest number of slaves in any province, and it notoriously lagged behind other provinces in producing recruits and veterans.⁷

Lavan also gives an idea of the impact of these five ways to become a Roman citizen on the total number of Roman citizens in the provinces over time. The following graph in his article gives an idea of the orders of magnitude in what he considers his best estimate.



Source: Lavan 2016, 17

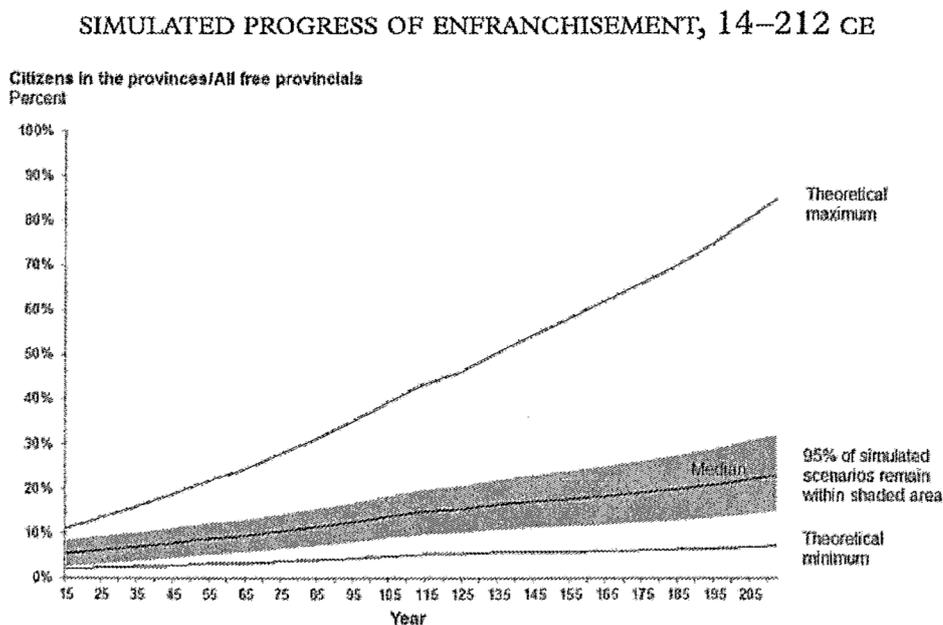
⁴ On the well-known connection between Alexandrian and Roman citizenship, see Dietze-Mager 2009.

⁵ From Augustus onwards there were two legions in Egypt, the *legio XXII Deioteriana* and the *legio III Cyrenaica*. From Trajan onwards these were replaced by one legion, the *legio II Traiana Fortis*. The number of auxiliaries seems to have been stable at first but declined later.

⁶ It is striking that manumission is not mentioned at all in Vittinghoff 1952, on Roman enfranchisement in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, and makes rare appearances in his collected studies (Vittinghoff 1994). On freedmen in the Late Republic see Treggiari 1969.

⁷ Lavan 2019 b estimates that, in the period A.D. 14-212, between 0.9 and 1.6 million men became Roman citizens through service in the Roman army. Only a fraction of these would have added to the number of Romans in Egypt. On the Roman army in Egypt see Alston 1995 and, for a quick overview, Mitthof 2000, and for their role in the spread of Roman citizenship, see Dietze-Mager 2000 and Waebens 2012 b.

It looks like a three-layered cake, with the top layer being slaves, the middle layer being free but not Roman citizens, and the bottom layer being Roman citizens. Over time the total population grows until the set-back of the Antonine Plague. As the total population grows, so does the number of slaves. But the number of Romans grows much faster, thanks to the five ways to become a Roman citizen. Initially, at the end of the reign of Augustus, the level of enfranchisement is perhaps 6% (the stippled line in Lavan's graph should have started lower than it does), and eventually it rises to about 22% on the eve of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Lavan's model allows his 41 variables to fluctuate, so the level of enfranchisement in the provinces in A.D. 14 was more likely within the range of 4-7% and by A.D. 212 between 15% and 33%, as in the following graph.



Source: Lavan 2016, 29

The main point Lavan is trying to make in his article is that not more than a third of provincials were Romans by A.D. 212 and that therefore the *Constitutio Antoniniana* made a big difference. If Egypt was the least “Romanized” of all provinces, then the *Constitutio Antoniniana* made the biggest difference there.

When did the number of Romans grow significantly in Egypt? Mainly in the wake of the Roman conquest itself. There were already some Romans in Egypt during the reigns of Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII, but after 30 B.C. there were two legions permanently in Egypt, and others, mainly Westerners, were attracted to the new province as well or sent there as agents, estate managers, or administrators such as tax collectors.⁸ Moreover, Octavian and his generals made or took over a lot

⁸ On the first two categories see Aubert 1994. Their activities were not limited to agriculture and trade: see, e.g., P.Oxy. IV 737, a Latin account of weavers from A.D. 31-38, for early Roman involvement in textile manufacture (compare

of slaves in 30 B.C., and after a couple of decades into the reign of Augustus they must have manumitted many of the survivors.

After these two spikes, in 30 B.C. and ca. 10 B.C., the growth of the number of Romans in Egypt was less spectacular, but over the course of two centuries the number of Romans must have tripled if not quadrupled thanks to the combined effect of natural growth and the three ways to become a Roman citizen in Egypt. The increase early on would have been most spectacular in Alexandria (one legion, lots of Westerners, with lots of slaves), less so in the *chora*, where there were fewer Westerners, with fewer slaves. Within the *chora* areas of relatively high concentration of Romans can be identified, especially the North-Eastern Fayyum. By contrast, in Oxyrhynchus in the first century, Thomas 2007 counted only 2% individuals with Roman names.⁹ Any members of the elite or others who became Roman citizens individually would have been Alexandrians exclusively, at least early on. The only other time the Romans made a lot of slaves in Egypt was during the Jewish Revolt under Trajan and Hadrian, but while this would have increased the number of manumissions somewhat a couple of decades later, it was followed by a reduction of the number of legions from two to one and eventually fewer *auxilia* as well.

I now want to take a closer look at Alexandria in the immediate aftermath of the Roman conquest. As it happens, we are relatively well informed about Alexandria in the age of Augustus thanks to about 125 documents published in BGU IV and elsewhere. These papyri are notoriously difficult to read, and we will have to rely on the extraordinary accomplishment of Wilhelm Schubart, who managed to read many extremely difficult texts.¹⁰

The documents were retrieved from mummy cartonnage found at Abusir el-Melek in the Herakleopolite nome, where they were mixed in with office papers from the Herakleopolite nome itself. Apparently, discarded office paper from Alexandria was taken to the Herakleopolite nome to be recycled there. The documents date between 22 and 4 B.C. and are mostly and sometimes heavily corrected drafts of settlements from the «dispute settlement center in (Cleopatra's) palace» or τὸ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ κριτήριον in Greek. Most settlements (often referred to in the literature as contracts or «gerichtsnotarielle Urkunden») concern loans, but there are also leases, marriage-related agreements, wetnursing texts, and work-related contracts. Mixed in with the settlements are a few letters, petitions, and perhaps some literary texts. Given that the texts include creditors and debtors, employers and employees, lessors and lessees, there is no reason to think that the individuals are not representative of

Quintus Ovinius, the Roman senator in charge of textile manufacture in Egypt under Cleopatra). On Roman tax collectors in Syene-Elephantine see Bonsangue 2001. On tax collectors and agents involved in the trade with India, see De Romanis 1996.

⁹ On Romans in Oxyrhynchus see also Biezuńska-Małowist 1975 and Whitehorne 1990 (soldiers).

¹⁰ See Schubart 1913, where he unfortunately focused on status differences among Alexandrians based on the different ways they are introduced in the documents (with or without *phyle* and *demos*, as *Alexandreis*, as slaves, or as nothing at all). On these mostly non-essential differences, see Delia 1991.

the Alexandrian population as a whole, as long as one is aware of the usual limitations (underrepresentation of women; the fact that the dataset is limited, even if the numbers can only get better as more of the remaining unpublished texts are published). As long as the comparison with other, similar datasets produces results that make sense, we can be confident that we are on the right track.

The reason why the papyri from Augustan Alexandria have not often been the focus of scholarly attention may well be the fact they are written in terrible hands. Since most are drafts, the scribes made no effort to write clearly. Two types of hands were available to them: one that is typical of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman period, when the legibility of Greek script was at its nadir; the other is found only in these documents and is often so *verschliffen* as to make the text illegible. The scribes would no doubt have turned these drafts into final products in a more legible hand, while incorporating the many corrections found between the lines and below the main body of the text in the drafts. What makes the almost illegible hands a bit more legible is the fact that for settlements standard formulas were used. The addressee is always the man in charge of the «dispute settlement center in (Cleopatra's) palace». The two parties are then introduced, with their filiation and civic status (Alexandrian citizen, slave, etc.). Then a series of agreements follow that make up the contract, sometimes in great detail. At the end a request is made to register the document. The date, year so-and-so of Caesar (Augustus), follows below the text.

There are quite a few Romans in these texts. Some are Westerners, some are legionaries, some are Alexandrians who have been made Roman citizens, and some are freedmen with their tall-tale *cognomina* (names of servile origin),¹¹ the largest single group, and, among freedmen, imperial freedman are the largest single group, just as imperial slaves¹² are the largest single group among slaves.¹³ The many Caii Iulii will have been freedmen of Augustus rather than (freedmen of) freedmen of Julius Caesar, although the latter cannot be excluded. There are also slaves associated with these groups of Romans, who would be in line for manumission later on, if they survived long enough.

To assess the Roman presence in Augustan Alexandria, I created a prosopography of about 650 individuals, which is large enough to make informed generalizations. I concentrated on their names, ignoring *praenomina* and including double names twice (only about 30 cases), thereby inflating the numbers somewhat. I then divided these names into various categories so as to compare my findings with Roger Bagnall's analysis of the people of the Roman Fayyum (Bagnall 1997), which

¹¹ On such names see Solin 1971. Freeborn Romans would not often have had *cognomina* this early. This became more common under emperors after Augustus. I assume descendants of freedmen avoided *cognomina* of servile origin, but there would not yet have been many of those in Augustan Alexandria. There are a few *cognomina* that could theoretically be used for freeborn Romans, such as Felix, but all individuals named Felix in the texts from Augustan Alexandria are slaves or freedmen.

¹² The names of imperial slaves are followed by *Καίσαρος*, which should not be taken as if these were imperial freedmen already, as Dietze 2009, 258 thought.

¹³ The literature about imperial freedmen and slaves is extensive. See especially Weaver 1972 and Boulvert 1970 and 1974.

is based on the *Tax Rolls from Karanis*, including money tax payers from Karanis itself and from nearby Ptolemais Hormou in the 170s A.D., and on the prosopography of the 6,475 *katoikoi* from the Arsinoite nome, covering the first two centuries. The first is an excellent choice, because the *Tax Rolls from Karanis* include payers of the poll tax, which is more representative of the adult male population in Karanis than, say, the roughly contemporary registers of orchard owners from Theadelphia and Philadelphiea.¹⁴ The edition of the *Tax Rolls from Karanis* also comes with an elaborate prosopographical index (in P.Mich. IV 2), and such a prosopography is also available for the *katoikoi* from the Arsinoite nome (Canducci 1991). The latter, admittedly, lumps hundreds of individuals together from two centuries of Roman rule, whereas the prosopography of tax payers from Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou and my prosopography for Augustan Alexandria each comprises hundreds of contemporaries, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and in what follows the data for the *katoikoi* from the Arsinoite nome do seem to make sense compared with the two admittedly better datasets from Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou and from Alexandria.

I adopted Bagnall's classification of names, although one might dispute one or other of his choices (he classified Herakleides as a dynastic name, but it is more likely theophoric or a common Greek name). Bagnall's first category includes theophoric names. He marked the more strictly Egyptian names with an asterisk. He does not do this when the name has a more involved Greek ending such as -ion or -arion, which also seems disputable. Bagnall's second category includes Macedonian and dynastic names or the names of early settlers. This includes some common Greek names, which is Bagnall's third category. His fourth category includes Roman and generally Latinate names. Bagnall's fifth and final category includes other (such as Semitic and Egyptian non-theophoric names) and uncertain names. Here are his percentages of individuals in the dataset for the Arsinoite *katoikoi* with names in one of his categories (slightly corrected in light of his own lists); I also include Bagnall's percentages for Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou.

	<i>Katoikoi</i>	<i>n</i>	Karanis	Ptolemais Hormou
Theophoric, Greek	49%	297	26%	26%
Theophoric, Egyptian	4.5%	27	40%	53%
Macedonian/dynastic	20%	122	13%	5%
Common Greek	16.5%	101	11%	8%
Roman/Latinate	5%	30	5%	3%
Other/uncertain	5%	31	5%	5%
Total	100%	608	100%	100%
Theophoric	53.5%	324	66%	79%

¹⁴ On the latter see Oates 1964, Oates 1966, and now Schubert 2007.

The Arsinoite *katoikoi* are more Greek than the village populations of Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou. They have fewer theophoric names, and when they have them, they are Greek, not Egyptian. The Greekness of the Arsinoite *katoikoi* also comes out in the higher percentages of Macedonian or dynastic and common Greek names. When it comes to Roman names, the Arsinoite *katoikoi* are not much different from what we find in Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou, both in the North-Eastern part of the Fayyum, where military recruitment and the settlement of veterans were high. From the numbers you can also tell that Karanis was less Egyptian than Ptolemais Hormou but not as Greek as the Arsinoite *katoikoi*. Here are my percentages of individuals in the prosopography for Augustan Alexandria, for which I adhered strictly to Bagnall’s categories of names. I have excluded patronymics for the time being.¹⁵

	Alexandrians	<i>n</i>	<i>Katoikoi</i>	Karanis	Ptolemais Hormou
Theophoric, Greek	28.5%	137	49%	26%	26%
Theophoric, Egyptian	2.5%	13	4.5%	40%	53%
Macedonian/dynastic	10.5%	51	20%	13%	5%
Common Greek	36%	172	16.5%	11%	8%
Roman/Latinate	16%	77	5%	5%	3%
Other/unknown	6%	29	5%	5%	5%
Total	99.5%	479	100%	100%	100%
Theophoric	31.5%	150	53.5%	66%	79%

The “Alexandrians” (people active in the documents from Augustan Alexandria, not their fathers) are even less Egyptian than the Arsinoite *katoikoi*. They have even fewer theophoric names, but they have far more common Greek names, but surprisingly, they have fewer Macedonian or dynastic names than the Arsinoite *katoikoi* in the following two centuries. Instead, the “Alexandrians” have far more Roman names, and this a decade or two into the reign of Augustus, while the others I am here comparing them with are from much later.

To take us back in time, to before the Roman conquest,¹⁶ I looked at the patronymics of Augustan “Alexandrians,” which I did not include in the table above.¹⁷

¹⁵ See the Appendix for a full listing. I included Spinther among the common Greek names, although Bowman 2001 treated it as a Roman name. It is a common Greek name in the third century B.C., and I assume the occurrences in Augustan Alexandria (and one more time in the first century B.C.) derive from this. One of the Alexandrian cases is explicitly identified as an Alexandrian (Bowman’s #55), the other is a visitor from Lycopolis (Bowman’s 61).

¹⁶ The evidence for the Roman presence in Ptolemaic Egypt is very uneven, but it has been reviewed by Capponi 2005, 13-24 (soldiers) and most recently and comprehensively by Legras 2014 and James 2020.

¹⁷ See the Appendix for a full listing.

	Patronymics	<i>n</i>	Alexandrians
Theophoric, Greek	37.5%	75	28.5%
Theophoric, Egyptian	3.5%	7	2.5%
Macedonian/dynastic	12.5%	25	10.5%
Common Greek	33%	66	36%
Roman/Latinate	3.5%	7	16%
Other/uncertain	10%	20	6%
Total	100%	200	99.5%
Theophoric	41%	82	31.5%

Among the patronymics of Augustan “Alexandrian” we find more theophoric and more Macedonian names, but far fewer Roman names. There were few people with Roman patronymics in Augustan Alexandria, because only Westerners would have recorded these, and most of the new Roman citizens were freedmen, who did not have fathers.

I can also divide the Augustan “Alexandrians” (again excluding patronymics) into an earlier and a later group. As it happens, well over half the texts date from either 14-13 or 5-4 B.C. The dates are often uncertain, and the following table can only be provisional.

	14-13 B.C.	<i>n</i>	5-4 B.C.	<i>n</i>	22-4 B.C.
Theophoric, Greek	30%	55	28.5%	28	28.5%
Theophoric, Egyptian	1.5%	3	2%	2	2.5%
Macedonian/dynastic	14.5%	26	4%	4	10.5%
Common Greek	37%	67	38%	37	36%
Roman/Latinate	11.5%	21	27.5%	27	16%
Other/uncertain	5.5%	10	0%	0	6%
Total	100%	182	100%	98	99.5%
Theophoric	31.5%	58	31%	30	31.5%

Between 14-13 and 5-4 B.C., there is a big shift away from Macedonian or dynastic names (from 14.5% to 4%) to Roman names, up from 11.5% to a whopping 28%. The latter includes some slaves with Roman names, but the free Romans including the freedmen make up 20% of all those attested in Alexandrian documents from 5-4 B.C. It is possible that by 14-13 B.C., the survivors of the many slaves the Romans made or acquired in 30 B.C. had not yet served long enough to warrant their manumission, but that by 5-4 B.C. many of the survivors had been manumitted.

The Roman presence in Augustan Alexandria was large enough to allow a comparison with what we find in the city of Rome itself.

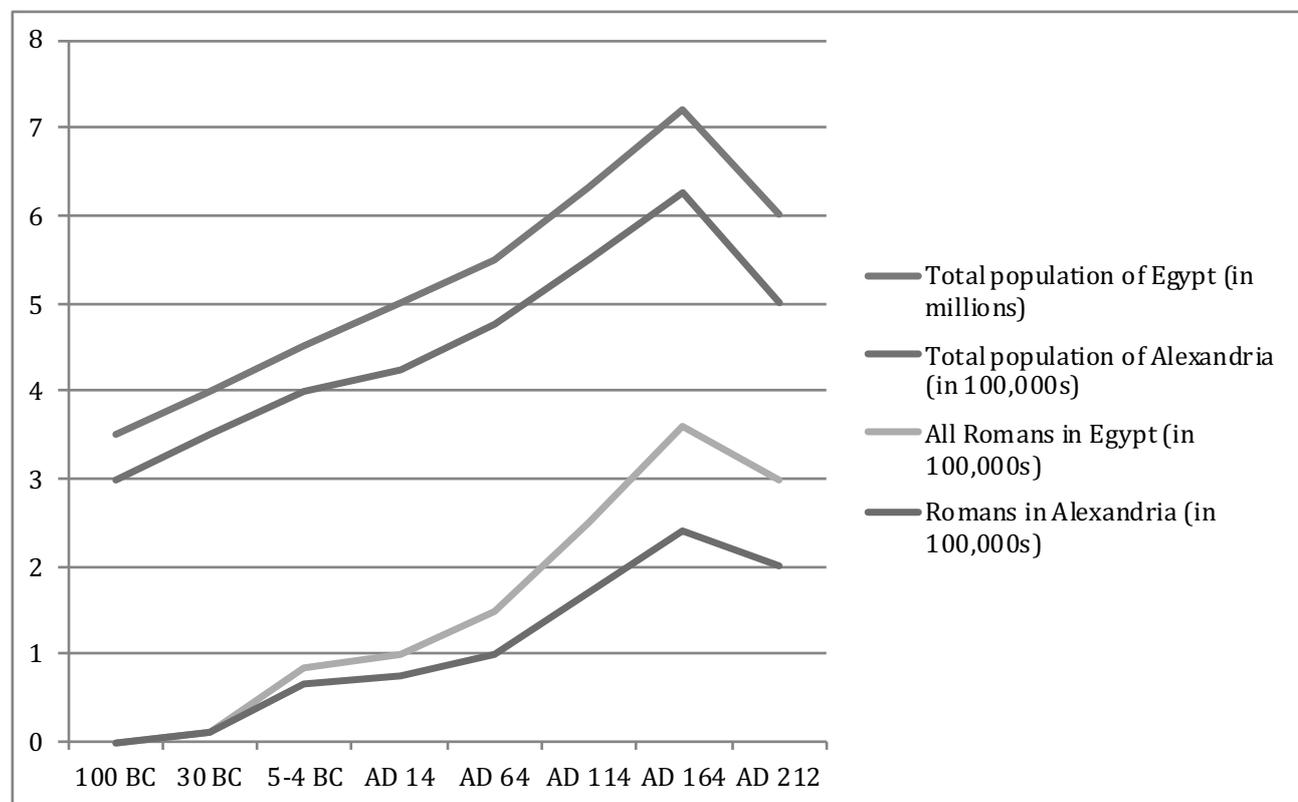
	All	With occupation (n = 1470)	
Slaves in Rome	(23%)	46%	(46%)
Freedmen in Rome	(36%)	29%	(32%)
Freeborn in Rome	(41%)	25%	(22%)
Total in Rome	(100%)	100%	(100%)

If we use Huttunen's percentages (in parentheses: Huttunen 1974; the others are from Joshel 1992) for all individuals in epitaphs from early imperial Rome, almost 60% were slaves and freedmen, as against barely 40% freeborn. Among all individuals with Roman names in Augustan Alexandria, there is a similar split between slaves and freedmen on the one hand (58%) and freeborn on the other (42%). Joshel has argued (Joshel 1992) that these numbers are not representative for the population of the city of Rome as a whole, because slaves and especially freedmen would have been more inclined to advertise themselves than freeborn inhabitants, but Wallace-Hadrill has recently argued (Wallace-Hadrill 2017) that we should take the numbers at face value: imperial Rome was a city where slaves and freedmen outnumbered the freeborn. That is not quite the case in Alexandria, because the freeborn Greeks (and Jews, etc.) outnumbered the Romans there until about A.D. 212, but as a socially distinct group, the Romans in Alexandria, one or two decades into the reign of Augustus, reveal a pattern we also find in the city of Rome itself, at least in the next two centuries, a pattern that was presumably already in place in Rome by the Late Republic. The evidence from Alexandria, which is earlier and much better datable than the early imperial epitaphs from Rome, allows us to characterize the initial effect of the Roman conquest on Alexandria as one of rapid "Romanization," in the sense that relatively many (and often new) Romans (people with Roman names, often with Roman citizenship, at least with Roman "connections" of some sort, usually as slaves), were put in place within a few decades.¹⁸

And now for the educated guess. If 20% of all free "Alexandrians" were Romans, by 5-4 B.C., they would number 65,000. 5,000 of these would be one legion. The other legion and the Romans in the *chora* would be less, presumably much less, even 25 years into the reign of Augustus, perhaps only 20,000 in all. That would give us a total of 85,000 Romans by 5-4 B.C. After that, with the exception of the Jewish Revolt, there is nothing very spectacular going on anymore, and Lavan's model kicks in. There is natural growth (perhaps only 0.25% a year), and then there is the army

¹⁸ To the best of my knowledge, MacMullen 2000 does not mention the evidence from Alexandria at all.

(maybe producing 300 new Romans a year early on, maybe just 200 after the size of the army was reduced), and then there is manumission (maybe producing 300 new Romans a year early on, but increasing over time as the total number of Romans grows). Then it is just a matter of calculating compounded growth figures.



Source: the author

I estimate that there were only 2% Romans in Egypt in A.D. 14 (100,000), mainly in Alexandria, much less than Lavan's overall provincial figure of 6%. In A.D. 212, after the set-back of the Antonine Plague, 5% of Egypt's population was Roman, now also in the *chora*, but still predominantly in Alexandria, where half the free population were Romans. 5% is much less than Lavan's overall provincial figure of 22%. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* did have the biggest impact in Egypt.¹⁹

¹⁹ In the bibliography that follows I have included one item not yet mentioned in the above. In van Minnen 1994 I argued that the apostle Paul's Roman citizenship derived from freedmen ancestors, enslaved by the Romans during Pompey's conquest of the East in 63 B.C. The proof for this comes from his membership in the synagogue of the *libertini* (descendants of Roman freedmen) according to Acts 6:9 (where some of these *libertini* are said to be from Cilicia, as Paul was) in combination with Acts 7:58-60. I did not realize in 1994 that the evidence from Augustan Alexandria shows just what the effect of a Roman conquest of an Eastern city was. In the decades immediately following 63 B.C., Tarsus must have been crawling with Roman freedmen, as Alexandria was in the age of Augustus.

Appendix: People of Augustan Alexandria

In this appendix I list the names of individuals in the prosopography of Alexandria in the age of Augustus I compiled from the documents published in BGU IV and elsewhere and from some unpublished documents. Patronymics are listed in parentheses, or the number of individual fathers is added in parentheses to the number of individuals with the same name but active in the documents themselves. I have refrained from indicating the date of the document(s) in which the individuals occur. This will be left to a comprehensive website for Augustan Alexandria (see, provisionally, [https://classics.uc.edu/users/vanminnen/Alexandria/Ancient_Alexandria.html], where English translations of all published documents from Augustan Alexandria can be found). I use the same categories of names as Bagnall 1997, but I have separated out Egyptian non-theophoric and Semitic names at the end. Some names in -ion are feminine (-ιον), others are masculine (-ίων), but I have not flagged them here as such.

Theophoric names

There are 150 individuals (+ 82), including 39 women. Of these, 13 (+ 7) are individuals with Egyptian theophoric names, including 6 women, and, following Bagnall 1997, I have marked these with an asterisk. Many names with more developed Greek endings are in fact also names derived from Egyptian gods, but, in accordance with Bagnall 1997, I have counted these as Greek theophoric names. I left out 1 incomplete name.

(Amenouthes 1*)

Ammonarion 2

Ammonios 11 (+ 4)

Ammonous 1

(Anoubion 1)

(Aphrodisios 1)

Apion 1 (+ 1)

A[pollo]doros 1

Apollonarion 2

Apollonia 3

Apollonios 14 (+ 7)

Apollophanes 2

(Areios 3)

Artemidoros 7 (+ 1)
Artemis 1
Asklepiades 4 (+ 1)
Athenion 1
(Athenophoros 1)
Bakchios 1
Diodoros 3 (+ 3)
Diodotos 1
Diogenes 1 (+ 1)
(Diomedes 1)
(Dion 1)
Dionysarion 2
Dionysia 4
Dionysios 9 (+ 14)
Dionysodoros 1
Dios 2
(Dioskourides 1)
Dorotheos 1
(Dositheos 1)
(Eudaimon 1)
Harpaesis 1* (+ 2)
Harpochration 1
Harpokration 1
Heliodoros 2 (+ 1)
Hephaistion 1
Hermaiskos 1
Hermaphilos 1
Hermias 14 (+ 6)
Hermione 5
Hermogenes 2 (+ 2)
(Hermonikos 1)
Heron 1 (+ 1)
Hestiaios 2
(Horion 1)
Horos 1

Isi- 1
Isidora 7
Isidoros 3 (+ 7)
Kastor 2
(Naaros 1*)
Nilos 2 (+ 1)
Nitoitis 1*
Petearenphois 1*
(Petehnouphis 1*)
Petephnouthis 1*
(Petesis 1*)
Philammon 1 (+ 1)
Pnepheros 1*
Psenanouphis 1*
Sarapion 8 (+ 4)
Semnouphis 1*
(Sositheos 1)
Soueros 1*
Tathreiphis 1*
Thaesis 1*
Thaubarion 1
Theodoros 1 (+ 4)
Theodote 2
(Theodotos 1)
Theogenes 1
Thermoutharion 1
Thermouthis 2*
Tithoes 1* (+ 1)

Macedonian or dynastic names

There are 51 individuals (+ 25), including 12 women.

Alexandra 1
Alexandros 4 (+ 1)

(Antiochos 1)
Antipatros 2
Arsinoe 3
Demetrios 5 (+ 1)
Herakleides 8 (+ 8)
Kleopatra 1
Laodike 1
Lysimachos 1
Nikanor 2
(Philotas 1)
Ptol- 1
Ptolema 1
Ptolemaios 10 (+ 12)
Tryphaina 5
Tryphon 6 (+ 1)

Common Greek names

There are 173 individuals (+ 66), including 42 women. 7 incomplete names are not listed here, and one of these could also be a theophoric name.

Achaios 1
Achilleus 1 (+ 4)
Agalmation 3
Agathinos 1
Agathokles 1 (+ 1)
Agathonike 1
Aisopos 1
Akamas 1
(Akestor 1)
Akrates 1
Amyntas 1
(Andronikos 1)
(Antaios 1)
Arabion 1

(Archoneos 1)
(Aristeas 1)
(Aristeias 1)
Aristion 1
(Ariston 1)
Aristokleia 1
Aristonikos 1 (+ 1)
(Boukolos 1)
(Chaireas 1)
Chairemon 4 (+ 2)
Chretos 1
Chrotarion 1
(Chrysermos 1)
Chrysogonos 1
Damas 1
Didyme 3
Didymos 2 (+ 3)
(Dorion 4)
Drakon 1
Eirenaios 4 (+ 2)
Eirene 2
Epainetos 1
Epaphrodeitos 1
Epina- 1
Eros 8
Erotarion 3
Erotion 2
Euangelos 1
Eudemos 1
Euenos 1
Eugeneia 1
Euphron 1
Eu-sion 1 (+ 1)
Eutychides 1
Helenos 4

Herodes 3
Hierax 4 (+ 1)
Hilaros 1
Himeros 1
Ialysos 1
Idaios 1
Ischyron 2
Kalathos 1
Kallityche 1
Kerdos 1
(Kerkion 1)
(Kleonymos 1)
Leon 1
Lyka 1
Lykaina 1
Lykarion 1
(Lykos 2)
(Lysias 1)
Mareas 1
Marion 1
Meleagros 1
Menandros 1
(Menelaos 1)
(Moschion 1)
Mousa 1
Narkissos 1
Nikarion 1
Nikephoros 1
(Nikias 1)
Nikodemos 1 (+ 1)
Nikomedes 1
Nikon 1
Nikostratos 1
Oinogenes 1
Opora 1

Paion 1
(Pammenes 1)
Pamphilos 1 (+ 1)
Pankrates 1 (+ 1)
Papias 1
Papiskos 1
Papos 2 (+ 1)
Paris 1
Paron 1
Parthos 1
Patrikos 1
(Patroklos 1)
Phaithros 1
Philargyros 2
Philemation 1
Philemon 2
Philetairos 1
Philios 2
Philokles 1
Philotera 4
Philoutarion 1
Philoxenos 2 (+ 1)
Platon 1
(Polemon 1)
Pollarous 1
(Prasinos 1)
Priamos 1
Protarche 1
Protarchos 7 (+ 3)
Pylaimenes 1
Selene 1
Semele 1
Seuthes 1
Sillis 1 (+ 1)
Simon 1

Sophron 1
Sosibios 1
Sosipatros 1
(Sosos 1)
(Sotas 1)
(Soterichos 1)
Spinther 2
Stephanos 1
Stephano- 1
Strobeilos 1
(Symmachos 1)
Syntrophos 1
Taurinos 1
Thallousa 1
Theon 1 (+ 2)
Thermion 2
Timokrates 1 (+ 1)
Tyche 2
Tyrann- 1
(Xenon 1)
Xystos 1
Zenon 1 (+ 1)
Zmyrna 1
Zoilos 1 (+ 1)
Zois 3
(Zopyrion 1)
Zosime 1
Zosimos 2

Roman/Latinate names

There are 77 individuals (+ 7), including 6 women. 5 incomplete names are not listed here.

Acutus 1
Aemilius 1 (+ 1)

Antonia 1
Antonius 1
Atillius 2
Atticus 1
Attius 1 (+ 1)
Auctus 1
Aufidius 1
Bassus 1
Caecilius 2
Calleius 1
Canuleius 1
Cassius 1
Cocceius 1
Cornelia 1
Cornelius 2 (+ 1)
Cottius 1
Felix 5
Festius 1
Gabinus 1
Ignatius 2
Iucundus 1
Iulia 1
Iulius 10
Luceius 1
Lupus 1
Maccius 1
Marius 1
Maximus 1
Montanus 1
Munatius 1
Octavius 1
Optatus 1
Pompeius 1 (+ 1)
Pomponius 1 (+ 1)
Popillius 1

Prima 1
Primus 3
Princeps 1
Priscus 1
Renata 1
Rufus 1
Sempronius 1 (+ 1)
Sponsus 1
Sulpicius 1
Tatia 1
Terentius 1
Tigellius 1
Turranius 1
Ursus 1
Vettius 1 (+ 1)
Vitulus 1

Egyptian non-theophoric names

There are 4 individuals (+ 7), including 3 women.

(A-ebes 1)
(Paeis 1)
(Pathres 1)
(Pekysis 1)
Piesies 1
(Psammetichos 1)
(Psammis 1)
Takansominocheos 1 (+ 1; the name includes a patronymic, but it is uncertain where to split it)
Taphasies 1
Taphesies 1

Semitic names

There are 6 individuals (+ 3), including 4 women.

Chelkias 1

(Isakis 1)
Marion 2
Martha 2
Sabbataios 1 (+ 1)
(Sambathion 1)

Other/uncertain names

There are 19 individuals (+ 10), including 6 women, but many names are incomplete and therefore uncertain, and I do not list the 21 individuals with such names here. The 8 individuals with complete names are:

Eroses 1
(Kandanou 1)
Kyrathous 1
Naros 1
(Padallou 1)
Paresios 1
Zamanos 1
(Zela-eidou 1)

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