Municipal Freedmen and Intergenerational Social Mobility in Roman Italy

Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy

Editorial Board

John Bodel (*Brown University*) Adele Scafuro (*Brown University*)

VOLUME 21

The titles published in this series are listed at $\it brill.com/bsgre$

Municipal Freedmen and Intergenerational Social Mobility in Roman Italy

Ву

Jeffrey A. Easton



LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Family of L. Saepinius Oriens from Saepinum (CIL IX 2472 = EDR 133164). Photo by S. Di Mauro. With permission. The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023040215 Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface. ISSN 1876-2557 ISBN 978-90-04-68634-2 (hardback) ISBN 978-90-04-68635-9 (e-book) DOI 10.1163/9789004686359 Copyright 2024 by Jeffrey A. Easton. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress. Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgements VII	
List of Figures and Tables	VIII
Abbreviations IX	

Introduction: Trimalchio's Shadow: Former Slaves and Social Mobility in the Roman World 1

- Social Mobility in the Roman Empire 5
- 2 The Case-Study of Roman Municipal Freedmen and Freedwomen and Their Families 13

ı Leaving a Mark: Municipal Freedmen and Roman Epigraphy 22

- 1 Cataloguing the Evidence 23
 - 1.1 Municipal gentilicia and Status 23
 - 1.1.1 Chronological Considerations 32
 - 1.1.2 Morphology and Etymology 36
 - 1.1.3 Electoral Tribes 42
 - 1.2 Municipal Freedmen with Private gentilicia 47
 - 1.3 The Publicii 48
- 2 Former Municipal Slaves and Their Families 59
- 3 Final Methodological Thoughts 64

2 From Everyone's Slave to Patronless Freedman 68

- The Size of the Municipal familia publica 71
- 2 Manumission and the familia publica 82
 - 2.1 Demography in the familia publica: Sex Ratio 85
 - 2.2 Demography in the familia publica: Family Groups 87
 - 2.3 Practical Concerns of Manumission 94
 - 2.4 The Practice of Manumission in the familia publica 100
- 3 Conclusions 102

3 Starting from Scratch 104

- 1 Staying Close to Home: Settlement Patterns 107
- 2 Marriage Patterns and Social Connections 112
- 3 Municipal Freedmen and the Associative Order 116
 - 3.1 Trying to Get Ahead in the Augustales 117
 - 3.2 Professional and Voluntary Associations and the Urban Labor Market 129
 - 3.3 A familia publica Civic Association 139
- 4 Conclusions 152

VI CONTENTS

4 Little Fish in a Big Labor Market 154

- Shallow Roots: Settlement Patterns 155
 - 1.1 Freeborn Children and Former Personal Slaves 156
 - 1.2 Descendants 157
- 2 Social and Economic Mobility of the Descendants 164
 - 2.1 The Imperial Elite 164
 - 2.1.1 Senatorial Order 164
 - 2.1.2 The Case of M. Arrecinus Clemens 167
 - 2.1.3 The Campanii of Capua 17
 - 2.1.4 Equestrian Order 173
 - 2.1.5 M. Publicius Sextius Calpurnianus of Brixia 176
 - 2.1.6 The Lucii Publicii of Picenum 179
 - 2.2 The Municipal Elite 181
 - 2.2.1 Decurions and Their Family Lines 186
 - 2.2.2 Status in the Town Council 187
 - 2.2.3 Setting for Advancement to the Decurionate 189
 - 2.3 Social Mobility and the Roman Army 197
 - 2.3.1 Citizen Legions 198
 - 2.3.2 Auxiliary Cohorts 202
 - 2.3.3 Praetorian Guard and Urban Cohorts 203
 - 2.3.4 Vigiles in Rome 206
 - 2.4 Urban Associations, Occupations, and the Wider Economy 207
- 3 Conclusions 212

5 Conclusions: Names on a Tombstone 214

Appendix 1: Demographic Estimates of Select Cities in Italy 22:

Appendix 2: Catalogue of Municipal Freedmen and

Freedwomen (L) 222

Appendix 3: Catalogue of Descendants of Municipal Freedmen and

Freedwomen (D) 251

Bibliography 331

Index of Sources 356

General Index 364

Acknowledgements

This book began as a PhD dissertation many years ago in Toronto and has been brought into its final form in central Texas. I must express my gratitude to many people whose support and guidance along the way has been invaluable.

I owe my gratitude to two professors who contributed to my early education in Classics and Ancient History, Anthony Corbeill and Ronald Ferris. The Department of Classics at the University of Toronto was very supportive of my research during my graduate studies. I am particularly appreciative of the Norwood Traveling Fellowship, which allowed me to work in the library of the British School at Rome at a crucial period early in my research. I also benefitted from the kindness and support of many friends and colleagues in the Department, not least Andreas Bendlin, Seth Bernard, Ben Akrigg, Boris Chrubasik, Alex Cushing, Susan Dunning, John Fabiano, David Wallace-Hare, and Drew Davis. I would also like to extend special thanks to Jonathan Edmondson and Rebecca Benefiel.

I am indebted most of all to Christer Bruun, my dissertation advisor, who guided the original project from the seeds of an idea in a graduate seminar to submission as a dissertation and has continued to lend his vast expertise and insight throughout the process of producing the book. I also want to thank him for providing a model of hard work and professionalism as a scholar and a teacher.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my friends and colleagues in the small but vibrant Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures at Southwestern University. My thanks to Erika Berroth, Francis Mathieu, Carl Robertson, and Aaron Prevots for their kindness and encouragement.

I must also thank the Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy editorial team at Brill, especially Giulia Moriconi and Mirjam Elbers for their patience and guidance, and John Bodel for his stimulating comments on earlier drafts. My thanks also to the anonymous referee whose comments and suggestions greatly improved the manuscript.

Vorrei anche ringraziare i miei suoceri, Anna e Stefano, e la mia famiglia italiana per avermi introdotto alla cultura italiana, e in particolare a quella romana.

It is impossible for me to express my gratitude to my wife Cristiana (and Hugo and Luca!). She is a selfless and constant source of support.

I also want to thank my parents, Steve and Mamie. They first inspired my love of history and have encouraged me to pursue my passion ever since. I dedicate this book to them.

Figures and Tables

Figures

1.1	Presence of individuals carrying the <i>gentilicium</i> Campanii 34
1.2	Sites in Roman Italy producing secure and probable municipal ex-slaves 57
1.3	Sites in Roman Italy producing descendants of secure and probable municipal
	ex-slaves 58
1.4	Alföldy's Roman social structure 66
2.1	ILOP 7, Ostia, late republic 70
3.1	AE 1911, 156, Formiae, second century CE 110
3.2	Marriage patterns of municipal freedmen and freedwomen 113
3.3	Proportion of Augustales within individual families 124
3.4	Local family contributions to the Augustales 126
3.5	AE 1980, 673, Celeia, late first or early second century CE 150
4.1	Settlement of the Urvinii of Urvinum Mataurense 161
4.2	Settlement of the Campanii of Capua 162
4.3	Local family contributions to the council of decurions 196
4.4	Overall advancement of the municipal freedmen's descendants 213
	Tables
1.1	Toponymic <i>gentilicia</i> from towns in Roman Italy 25
1.2	Descendants listing a voting tribe 45
1.3	Municipal <i>gentilicia</i> in the <i>familia publica</i> 53
2.1	Decrees of the council of decurions in select towns 75
2.2	Status of children born from endogamous <i>familia publica</i> unions 88
3.1	Settlement patterns of municipal freedmen and freedwomen 108
3.2	Participation in the Augustales 121
3.3	Municipal freedmen in occupations 133
4.1	Settlement patterns of freeborn children and private ex-slaves 157
4.2	Descendants of former municipal slaves 158
4.3	Settlement patterns of the descendants 159
4.4	Senators bearing a characteristic municipal gentilicium 166
4.5	Equestrians bearing a characteristic municipal <i>gentilicium</i> 175
4.6	Municipal freedmen's descendants in the decurionate 183
4.7	Descendants in the Roman legions 199
4.8	Descendants in the Praetorian Cohorts 204

Descendants in the Urban Cohorts 205

4.9

Abbreviations

AE L'Année Epigraphique

AIPMA Atti del X congresso internazionale dell'AIPMA. Napoli 2010

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. 1970-

BCAR Bullettino Comunale Archeologico di Roma

BCTH Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques. 1883– Bloch H. Bloch, The Roman brick-stamps not published in Volume XV 1 of

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. 1947

Boll.Mon.Mus. Bollettino dei Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie

BSCF Bollettino storico della cittá di Foligno

Casinum 1 H. Solin, 'Nuove iscrizioni di Cassino,' in Le epigrafi della Valle di

Comino. Atti dell'undicesimo convegno epigrafico cominese, San

Donato Val di Comino. Arezzo 2015: 109-22

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin 1863–

EDCS Epigraphic Database Clauss-Slaby

EE Ephemeris Epigraphica

Emarsi C. Letta and S. d'Amato, Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi.

Milano 1975

Epigraphica Epigraphica: Rivista italiana di epigrafia

Espectaculos A. Ceballos Hornero, Los espectáculos en la Hispania romana: La

documentación epigráfica. 2 vols. Merida 2004

Haidra Z. Ben Abdallah, Mourir à Ammaedara: Épitaphes latines païennes

inédites d'Ammaedara (Haïdra) et de sa region. Ortacesus 2013

HEp Hispania Epigraphica

Historika: Storia Greca e Romana

ICUR Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series, eds. A. Silvagni

and A. Ferrua, et al. Rome 1922-

IIAdria B. Forlati Tamaro, 'Iscrizioni inedite di Adria,' Epigraphica 18, 1956:

50-76

Inscr.Aqu. Inscriptiones Aquileiae, ed. J. Brusin. 3 vols. Udine 1991–93

Inscr.It. Inscriptiones Italiae. Rome 1931–

ILAfr Inscriptions latines d'Afrique, eds. R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and

L. Chatelain. Paris 1923

ILAlg Inscriptions latines d'Algérie, eds. S. Gsell and H. Pflaum.

Paris 1922-2003

ILJug Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia, eds. A. Šašel and J. Šašel.

3 vols. Ljubljana 1963-86

ILN Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise. Paris 1985-

X ABBREVIATIONS

ILOP A. Marinucci, Disiecta membra: Iscrizioni latine da Ostia e Porto,

1981-2009. Roma 2012

ILS Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau. Berlin 1892–1916

JRA Journal of Roman Archaeology

Kantor https://georgykantorblog.wordpress.com

Kayser F. Kayser, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires)

d'Alexandrie impériale. Cairo 1994

LeS Lazio e Sabina 8: Atti del Convegno Ottavo Incontro di Studi sul Lazio

e la Sabina. Rome 2012

NSA Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità

Pais E. Pais, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica.

Rome 1884

PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome

PIR² Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi 1, 11, 111, eds. E. Groag,

A. Stein, et al. Berlin 1933-

Prometheus: Rivista di studi classici RAL Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei

RE Pauly-Wissowa Realyencyclopädie der classischen

Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart 1893-1980

RIU Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns. Budapest 1972-

Suppl.It. Supplementa Italica. Rome 1981–

TPSulp Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum, ed. G. Camodeca. Rome 1999

Tribu M. Silvestrini, Le tribù romane. Bari 2010 ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik