The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt

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The use of the name Flavius in late antiquity has attracted the attention of scholars as early as the 8th century when, in his History of the Lombards, Paul the Deacon, son of Warnefrid, wrote regarding an event of A.D. 584 that the Lombards, "propter dignitatem," called their newly elected king Authari, "Flavius." He further observed that all succeeding Lombard kings continued auspiciously (feliciter) the use of the name. In making these comments Paul set a precedent which was to be followed up in modern times: viz., the name Flavius first attracted the interest of scholars reconstructing the history of "the barbarian West," concerned with its use by Ostrogotic,

Abbreviated titles:

Bickermann, Edikt: Elias Bickermann, Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40 (Diss. Berlin 1926)
Hardy, Large Estates: E. R. Hardy, The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law ed. by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University No. 354, New York 1931)
Lallemand: Jacqueline Lallemand, L'administration civile de l'Egypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382) (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres 57: 2, Brussels 1964)
Maspero, Org. milit.: Organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences historiques et philologiques, No. 201, Paris 1912)
Rouillard: Germaine Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine (2nd ed., Paris 1928)

1) See below, Part I, with n. 24.
Visigothic, and Lombard kings. 2) Among these, Mommsen, in his Ostgotische Studien (1889-90), noting how common the gentilicium became in the 4th century, particularly among barbarians, argued on analogy of earlier practice that extension of the name Flavius to barbarians (and to others) at this time had attended grants of Roman citizenship made by Constantine and his successors. 3)

Subsequently, the evidence of Egypt's papyrus documents called for an accounting. On the one hand, it was noted that papyri post-dating the Constitutio Antoniniana afforded many instances of persons with the gentilicium Aurelius: these had clearly received the Roman citizenship as a result of the edict. 4) On the other hand, in papyri of the 4th-7th centuries, a substantial number of persons with the gentilicium Flavius were to be found. In view of the earlier interest and conclusion regarding use of the name Flavius in late antiquity, it was perhaps only natural to suppose that the Flavii of later Roman Egypt were, like the barbarians of the West, new citizens, not enfranchised as a result of the C.A., but rather by grants from Constantine and his successors. 5)

Bickermann, in his inaugural dissertation, Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40 (Berlin 1926) 34-37, was the first to attempt to assess the contribution of the papyri to the question of the later Roman Flavii. Although he established that the Flavii of later Roman Egypt were prominent men - landlords, government officials, military personnel, - not at all persons of society's lower echelons (who were invariably Aurelii), he still believed that a substantial portion of Egypt's Flavii was composed of novi cives of barbarian stock who had settled in Egypt upon retirement from imperial service, and incorrectly regarded the Valerii and Flavii who served as curatores civitatis of Oxyrhynchus in the 4th century as having been appointed to service there from without.

Indeed, just the opposite was the case. To begin with, as Bickermann himself noted, curatores at this time were not as before appointed by the central government from without,

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2) A. Mocsy, "Der Name Flavius als Rangbezeichnung in der Spätantike," Akte des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik (Vienna 1964) 257, mentions Muratori, that indefatigable collector of sources on Italian history (1672-1750), and, among more modern historians, Mommsen, De Rossi, Ludwig Schmidt, and Wilhelm Ennslin in this connection.

3) Gesammelte Schriften VI (Berlin 1910) 362-484. See esp. 476f.

4) Wilcken, Grundz. 55ff.

but rather nominated by local councils from their own memberships, though subject to confirmation by imperial epistula. 6) And although prefects of Egypt in the 4th century, most of whom had the name Flavius, were not indigenous, 7) the officials attached to the staffs of Egypt's provincial governors in the later Roman period, many of whom are known from the papyri with the name Flavius, 8) were of local origin, if not from the capital cities of their respective provinces, then usually from another of the province's πόλεις. 9) And finally, soldiers in Egypt at this time (these were also Flavii), both limitanei and those belonging to "the static units of comitatenses," were levied locally and spent their service in or near their own home towns. 10) In sum, a large majority of the Flavii of Egypt's papyrus documents were unquestionably native to the country. 11)

This was quickly noted by A. Segrè, reviewing (among other works) Bickermann's dissertation. He also argued that Egypt's Flavii were in origin Aurelii whose names had been changed upon entering the imperial service, and suggested that it would be useful to have "uno spoglio dei Flavii" in order to determine what officials consistently carried the name. 12) The call has not been followed up: in a recent article Segrè registers an appeal similar to the one he had issued earlier. 13) The present study, though not technically a "spoglio," does include a substantial number of references to Flavii collected from papyri of the 4th-7th centuries. Furthermore, evidence accumulated since 1926 now makes it possible to discuss the name Valerius in its proper context, as foreshadowing in its uses the later employment of the name Flavius. 14) Toward the end

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7) See Lallemand 64ff and Jones, LRE 389, summarizing the evidence of the Kephalaia to the Festal Letters of Athanasius.
8) See below, Parts II, 2(b) and III, 2(b).
9) H. Braunert, Die Binnenwanderung (Bonner Historische Forschungen 26, Bonn 1964) 304f.
10) Jones, LRE 668f. For limitanei in particular, see the Syene papyri (P. Monac., P. Lond., V 1722-39); cf., for the Negev region of southern Palestine, the soldiers' archive from Nessana (P. Ness. 14-30). See below, Parts II, 2(e) and III, 2(d).
11) Clearly excepted are the many consuls who appear in the dating clauses of papyri contracts with the name Flavius.
13) "La Costituzione Antoniniana e il diritto dei <<novi cives>>," Iura 17 (1966) 7-9, commenting on the problems facing such an enterprise.
of this work, the relations between the Flavii and Aurelii of later Roman Egypt will be discussed, with particular stress upon areas in which they meet on common ground: 1) pursuant to one of Bickermann's observations, in contracts between Flavii and Aurelii, wherein the former almost always appear the more important and prosperous parties; 2) in the municipal curiae, whose memberships include both Flavii and Aurelii; and 3) in individual families, where Flavii and Aurelii are sometimes found mixed.

Apart from the discussions by Bickermann and Segré, there is no relevant bibliography based upon the papyri. It is, however, commonly recognized that the Flavii were socially superior to the Aurelii, and the task of studying the relative positions of Flavii and Aurelii in the society of later Roman Egypt is now greatly facilitated by lists of curiales and certain officials which have been compiled by scholars in more recent years. The significance of the name Flavius has been discussed by A. Mócsy; the reader may be directed in particular to a paper delivered at the 4th International Congress for Greek and Latin Epigraphy. My own collection of the evidence, however, suggests that the name was more widespread than Mócsy believed, especially among civilian officials and provincial staff officers, and I am not convinced that the name was hereditable, particularly where the lower ranks of the "Flaviate" are concerned.

The present work is a condensed version (revised and supplemented) of a dissertation, The Nomina Flavius and Aurelius: A Question of Status in Byzantine Egypt, submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1968. Parts I-III, which are printed below, represent Chapters I-II of the dissertation, and the first portion of dissertation Chapter III. Part IV, to appear in a later fascicle of ZPE, will encompass the remainder of Chapter III of the dissertation, with some added thoughts on the relevance of the names Flavius and Aurelius to questions of social gradation and mobility, and some speculation on the "mechanics" by which the name Flavius was accorded to individuals. Research for this study was begun in an ancient history seminar conducted by Professor John F. Oates at Yale University in the Fall 1967.

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16) Full citation, above, n. 2.
17) Mócsy, p. 260. For provincial staff officers, see below, Parts II, 2(b) and III, 2(b). The matter of hereditability will be discussed in Part IV.
Semester, 1966. Investigation and writing were continued and completed under the direction of the late Professor C. Bradford Welles. I am grateful to both, and also to the readers of the dissertation, (in addition to Professor Welles) Professors Naphtali Lewis and Ramsay MacMullen. More recently, Professor Peter Garnsey has offered much valuable criticism and advice.

I. Introductory

On 18 September 324 at the naval battle of Chrysopolis, the forces of Flavius Valerius Constantinus defeated those of Valerius Licinianus Licinius, whereupon the former, who had been in sole possession of the western half of the Roman Empire since the autumn of 312, now took possession of the eastern half as well. Shortly thereafter, there occur in the papyrus documents of Egypt many instances of men in the imperial civil and military service whose names include the gentilicium Flavius. The significance of the name Flavius is based upon the fact that it was the principal gentilicium of the Emperor Constantine. It was (as to be expected) transmitted to his successors in his own House; but even after his Dynasty had come to an end with Julian's death in 361, the name Flavius continued to be used by emperors who had no claim to kinship with the House of Constantine. The evidence for this is abundant down into the

18) For the names, see PLRE s. v., Constantinus 4 (pp. 223f) and Licinius 3 (p. 509). The events have often been discussed. It is sufficient here to refer to Jones, LRE 77ff, and Baynes, CAH XII 678ff.

19) Details below, Part II, 2.

20) "Principal," in that Flavius was the family name of Constantine's father, Constantius I. In addition to this, Constantius took the gentilicium Valerius upon his adoption by Maximian (cf. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften VI, Berlin 1910, 476 n. 2), who previously, upon his nomination as Caesar, had gotten it from Diocletian: H. M. D. Parker, A History of the Roman World from A. D. 138 to 337 (Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World 7, repr. London 1969) 225, E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire I (tr. J.-R. Palanque, Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam 1959) 66. It is significant that Constantine chose to transmit the former, rather than the latter.
7th and early 8th centuries (the Heraclian Dynasty), but there is also evidence that the name was still being used at a time much later than this. For those who ruled in the period immediately following Julian's death, the gentilicum no doubt served as a means of establishing a connection by kinship (however fictive) with the family of Constantine; but, with the passage of time, we may suggest that what had originally been a gentilicum (i.e., a name denoting membership in a particular "gens") became, more accurately speaking, an element of the imperial titulature. Indeed, this aspect of the name appears to have been in the minds of the Lombards when in 584, "ob dignitatem," they called Authari, their newly elected king, "Flavius." No doubt also, however, the name helped to legitimize Authari's rule in the eyes of his non-Germanic subjects, and this reason probably lay behind the use of the name by other Germanic kings as well, e.g., Reccared in 6th century Visigothic Spain.


22) Cf. the example of Leo VI the Wise (reigned 886-912); Dölger, locc. cit.

23) Cf. the earlier attempts of Septimius Severus to connect his dynasty with that of the Antonines by (inter alia) changing the name of his son Caracalla: Parker (above, n. 20) 66, with 323 n. 54.


25) Reccared with the name Flavius: A. Hübner, Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae No. 155 = E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres No. 1814. Other Germanic kings, e.g. Theodoric and Odoacer, had the name legitimately, as a result of their military service to the Empire; cf. M?csy (above, n. 2) 262f, and vide sqq.
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Use of the name Flavius was not restricted to these late, and consciously imitative, examples. Many German Flavi of earlier times are known from other sources, and in particular from the consular fasti: e.g., Flavi Nevitta, Arinthaeus, Merobaudes, Richomer, Bauto, Stilicho, and Fravitta in the latter half of the 4th and early 5th centuries; 26 Flavi Aetius, Sigisvultus, Ardabur Aspar, Areobindus, Ricimer, Dagalaifus, and Theodoric later in the 5th century; Flavius Areobindus Dagalaifus Areobindus and Flavius Eutharic in the early 6th century. 27 These Germans - including Franks (Richomer, Bauto, Merobaudes), Vandals (Stilicho), Suevians (Ricimer), and Ostrogoths (Theodoric, Eutharic) - served in the corridors of Roman power, often as magistri militum (so Richomer, Bauto, Merobaudes, etc.), and were decorated with the consulship as a reward for their earlier, or current, service. German Flavi of humbler station, however, are known (for example) from the inscribed sarcophagi of the late 4th-5th century cemetery uncovered in the latter part of the 1800's at Concordia in Italy. 28

On the whole, it is clear that extension of the imperial name Flavius to Germans in late antiquity was both widespread and significant; 29 but it is not so crucial for a consideration of Egypt, where evidence for the presence of Germans is limited, 30 and

27) Degrassi, sub annis 432, 437, 446, 454, 434, 434, 459, 461, 484, 506, 519.
28) CIL V 8721-81, inscriptions with introduction, Dessau, ILS 2796-2803. I cite as examples Flavius Alatancus (=Alathanc), domesticus, and Flavius Fandigil (=Fandigild), protector de numero armigerorum: CIL V 8738, 8747. For the names, see F. Wrede, Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 68, Strassburg 1891) 128 n.1, 156f.
29) So Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften VI 476f.
30) It is collected and discussed by H. Kortenbeutel, "Germanen in Ägypten," Mitt. des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo 8 (1938) 177-84. He overestimates the evidentiary value of the Germanic- and barbaric-named military units mentioned in the Notitia Dignitatum and in the papyri, for which see Maspero, Org. milit. 48ff.
evidence for use of the name Flavius among Germans there, even more restricted. 31) Nevertheless, the German Flavii provide both a useful comparison and an important contrast with the Flavii known from Egypt’s papyri: comparison, in that persons of both groups who had the name Flavius were normally in some kind of government service (in the case of the Germans, this was more often than not military); contrast, in that most of the German Flavii were not descended from persons who were within the territorial confines of the Empire at or before the time when Caracalla issued the Constitutio Antoniniana, but rather were "novi cives" who in the 4th and 5th centuries were brought into the Empire, enrolled in the army, and given the name Flavius all at once. On the other hand, virtually all the Flavii known from the papyri were assuredly already citizens who, upon entering government service, were entitled to replace their own gentilicia (in most cases this was Aurelius) with the name Flavius.

This is a phenomenon analogous to, yet different from, that of earlier centuries, when adoption of an imperial gentilicum by a person or group of persons usually attended a grant of Roman citizenship, virilicium or more extensive, by that emperor. 32) (This adoption of an imperial gentilicum by peregrini-made-citizens is in turn merely an instance of the practice by which freed slaves upon manumission took the gentilicia of their former masters and peoples conquered and brought into the Empire in the late 2nd-1st centuries B.C. took the gentilicia of their conquerors-turned-patrons.) 33)

31) Or non-existent. A Merobaudes was dux Aegypti in 384 (Cod. Theol. XI 30.43), and though he was probably a Flavius (on duces, cf. 11, 2(d) below), there is no explicit testimony to this effect. The dux is evidently not identical with the famous Fl. Merobaudes (so Ensslin, RE 15 Col. 1039, s.v. Merobaudes 2). A Fl. Agemundus αὐτήπου αὐτοῦ νομισμάτων Κωνσταντιανών, occurs in BGU I 316 = Mittels, Chrest. 271 = FIRA III 135 (Fayyum, A.D. 359), a contract for the sale of a Gallic slaveboy, drawn up at Ascalon in Syria. But Agemundus need never have set foot in Egypt since, despite Kortenbeutel (preceding note, p. 180), it is clearly the other party to the contract who brought his copy into Egypt from Syria (see text, lines 5-7, furthermore ζυραβιά, line 10, must refer to Ascalon, not Arsinoe). Cf. Wenger (above, n. 5) 15. For the name ending -mundus (= Gothic -mund): Wrede (above, n. 28) 62f.

32) On the question of nomenclature and the extension of the Roman citizenship, see the summary discussion and bibliography given by E. Pölay, "Der status civitatis, der Ursprung und die Berufe der in den siebenbürgischen Wachstafeln vorkommender Personen," JJP 16-17 (1971) 71f (n.1). The standard work on Roman citizenship remains A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship (Oxford 1939). Cf. Kornemann, RE s.1 (1903) 304ff, s.v. civitas.

33) For a detailed and critical assessment of this statement, see E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae (264-70 B.C.) (Oxford 1958) 252ff.
Thus, (Gaii) Julii could presumably trace their reception of Roman citizenship, directly or by inheritance, to Julius Caesar, to Augustus, or to Gaius; (Tiberii) Claudii, to Tiberius, to Claudius, or to Nero, etc., though this is not always the case;\(^{34}\) and some instances are known where it may be doubted whether persons with Roman gentilicia, or even tria nomina, were in fact Roman citizens, \(^ {35}\) though in cases where evidence to the contrary is lacking, we usually assume that they were.

The process of gradually extending the franchise by limited grants reached its logical culmination in 212, or shortly thereafter, \(^ {37}\) when the Emperor Caracalla issued the Constitutio Antoniniana, extending Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the Empire. \(^ {38}\) In some instances in the papyri the change brought about by the C.A. in peregrine names and legal status is made very explicit, as in the case of "Aurelius Zosimus, before the divine gift called Zosimus son of Leonides" (\(\text{Αὐρέλιος Ἰονίς Ἱονίδης} \text{πρὸ ἀνὴρ θεᾶς (1. θείας) ἐπεφέρεται κολοσσον θεοῦ Λεονίδου} \)), \(^ {39}\) and that of "Aurelius Aelurion, cosmetes in office, councillor of the city of Athribis, before obtaining the Roman citizenship, Aelurion son of Zoilus, of the Neocosmian tribe and Althaean deme"

\(^{34}\) E.g., the Alexandrian, 28 years old in A.D. 70, who upon enrollment in the Legio XXII and attendant receipt of Roman citizenship had his name changed from Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus to Gaius Julius Saturnilus (Saturninus); P. Oxy. XXII 2349.

\(^{35}\) So the instances of C. Julius Diodorus and his brother, C. Julius Ptolemaeus, whose names are recorded in P. Mich. IV 223 (171-72) as having paid various installments for poll-tax (\(\lambda ιωνοθέαται\)), from which tax Roman citizens, of course, enjoyed complete exemption.

\(^{36}\) Cf. O. Montevecchi, "Quaedam de civibus romanis in Aegypto ante Constitutionem Antoninianam," Rend Ist. Lomb., Classe di Lettere, 84 (1951) 279-88, esp. 282 at top.

\(^{37}\) The traditional date, 212, was first questioned by F. Millar ("The Date of the Constitutio Antoniniana," JEA 48 [1962] 124-31), then by W. Seston ("Marius Maximus et la date de la <<Constitutio Antoniniana>>, Mélanges J. Carcopino [Paris 1966] 877-88), the former arguing for a date in the latter half of 214, the latter, for a date in the summer or autumn of 213. Cf., however, reaffirming the traditional date, P. Herrmann, "Überlegungen zur Datierung der Constitutio Antoniniana," Chiron 2 (1972) 519-30.


\(^{39}\) BGU II 655 = Daris, Documenti per il problema dell'esercito romano in Egitto 60 (Arsinoite Nome, 16 August 215), lines 5ff.
(Aurelius Aureliiwn ἑναρχος ἱσομήτης βουλευτής τῆς 'Αθηναίων πόλεως, πρὶν δὲ τυχὼν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας (1. πολιτείας) Αλλουρίων Ζωίλου Νεσαλβεύτης δ καὶ 'Αλθευτῆς). 40) But in most cases the effects of the C.A. can only be inferred from the number of Aurelii who turn up in the papyri and inscriptions from ca. 214-15 on. 41)

40) P. Oxy. XII 1458. 2-7 (216/7). In another instance probably ("zweifellos" according to Wilcken, Archiv 7, p. 100, but for some doubts see following note) connected with the C.A., Sarapion alias Heraclides, son of Sarapion, upon receiving Roman citizenship, had his name changed to Marcus Aurelius Sarapion alias Heraclides: SP XX 19.1-2 and 5ff, with BL III p. 236 (Heracleopolitan Nome, 211/17). Cf. also, though less well preserved, PSI V 464.2-4 and BGU 1071.3ff. For a grant prior to the C.A., under Septimius Severus, see P. Lond. II 348 (pp. 214f) = Mitteis, Chrest. 197, lines 6f (Ptolemais Euergetis, ca. 203), using Mitteis' text, but replacing Ῥωμαίων with Ῥωμαίων on basis of the other examples cited in this note. Also earlier than the C.A., but poorly preserved: P. Lond. III 1179 (p. 145), line 39.

41) Several problems cloud the issue: 1) the time required for the C.A. to take practical effect in any given locality (an aspect fully exploited by Millar, above, n. 37); 2) the problem of Aurelii who were citizens prior to the C.A.'s promulgation, e.g. Aurelius Apion of Philadelphia (references are collected by J. F. Oates in a prosopographical appendix to his article, "Philadelphia in the Fayyum during the Roman Period," Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia [Milan 1966] 451-74; P. Teb. 605-607 desc. are now available with full editions in ZPE 6 [1970] 89-91); cf. also the case of a certain Aurelius Posidonius in P. Mich. XI 606 of A.D. 224, known from O. Mich. 94 with the more complete name, Lucius Septimius Aurelius Posidonius (i.e., his reception of civitas can be traced to Severus; see intro. to text just cited); 3) the problem of the Marci Aurelii: how can it be determined whether Marcus Aurelius NN was a beneficiary of the C.A. or of some earlier grant from Marcus, Commodus, or Caracalla himself prior to the C.A., esp. if Millar or Seston (above, n. 37) is right on the date? In some instances Marci Aurelii appear to have benefited from the C.A. (SP, PSI, BGU texts cited in preceding note), but most beneficiaries of the C.A. used (had the right to use?) the gentilicium, but not the praenomen. Or should this be ascribed to the fact that use of praenomina was becoming increasingly rare at this time? (Cf. H. Thylander, Etude sur l'épigraphie latine [Lund 1952] 77-81). On the other hand, Marci Aurelii are rather common in 3rd century papyri, and most seem to have been of higher status than the ordinary Aurelli. They were often Alexandrians (cf. the Marci Aurelii in P. Oxy. VIII 1114 = FIRA 2 III 63, P. Oxy. XII 1463; on the contrary, the example of Aur. Aelurion given above, though this need not have been his full name: cf. Part 2 of present note and text above, with n. 40), Antinoites (SB I 1010, BGU IV 1074), persons of the gymnasial class of Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. VIII 1114, XVIII 2186, PSI V 457), Arsinoite metropolitan (BGU IV 1071), and persons of even greater prestige: e.g., the athlete M. Aurelius Silvanus, with his many honors and multiple citizenships (BGU IV 1074). See further on the question of the Marci Aurelii, A. Segré, lura 17 (1966) 6f.
On this basis, the effects of the C.A. in Egypt appear to have been enormous: despite an accelerated extension of Roman citizenship to individuals in Egypt, especially noticeable in the second half of the 2nd century, 42) the vast majority of Egypt's residents were still peregrini at the time when the C.A. was promulgated. This is what one would expect a priori, but it has also been given inductive support by studies made for certain villages in the ḫwāra (Philadelphia 43) and Karanis 44) in the Fayūm) and for the city of Oxyrhynchus. 45) Consequently, in the 3rd century, after the C.A., in legal and formal situations (since we do not normally expect use of gentilicia in private letters, accounts, etc., though this does sometimes happen), the great majority of persons in Egypt made use of the gentilicum Aurelius. The rest continued to use the gentilicum which they had, or had inherited, from time prior to the C.A., though in the latter group we find some instances in which individuals used two gentilicia, prefixing Aurelius to the gentilicum which they had from birthright. 46)


43) Oates (art. cit. above, n. 41), esp. 454; cf. by the same author, "The Romanization of the Greek East: The Evidence of Egypt," BASP 2 (1965) 57-64, esp. 59 and 61. His analysis of P. Yale Inv. 296, a list of private landholdings (Δωματία γῆ) in the vicinity of Philadelphia, 216/7, yields a rather high percentage (20%) of persons who would have been Roman citizens regardless of the C.A. But, as Oates himself stresses, the persons named in the list, since they are owners of private land, must come from the higher echelons of village society; so that the percentage of people of the entire village who would have been citizens without the C.A. would have been lower than 20%.


45) Keenan, Nomina 1-77, based upon texts from Oxyrhynchus dated between 212-284. Instances of the gentilicum Aurelius (almost 500 counted, representing an estimated 400 different persons), compared with the number of persons (almost 50, including Marci Aurelii) whose names suggest they had, or had inherited, their citizenship from time prior to the C.A., yields a figure of approximately 11% who would have been Roman citizens regardless of the C.A. But the figures are in need of revision, the matter of the Marci Aurelii needs further investigation (see above, n. 41), and study of texts earlier than 212 needs to be undertaken in order to complete the picture. I see this as material for separate investigation, both in the interests of space and in the interests of the unity of the present discussion.

46) A few examples will suffice: Aur. Antonius Alexander, P. Oxy. VIII 1135 (270's, for the date: BL IV p. 60), Aur. Arruntius Heraclianus, P. Oxy. XXXI 2567 (253), Aurelia Julia Harpocratiaena, P. Oxy. IX 1199 (3rd cent.). The best known instances of double gentilicia after the C.A. are provided by P. Dura 100, with discussion ⇒ J. F. Gilliam, "Dura Rosters and the Constitutio Antoniniana," Historia 14 (1965) 74-92.
II. Fourth Century Developments

The system of names just described undergoes a number of changes during the course of the 4th century:

1. In the first quarter of the century, though noticeable toward the end of the preceding century, there is a marked increase in the number of instances of the gentilicium Valerius, evident among persons in various levels of government, and in the army: 47)

   a) among provincial governors and officials attached to their staffs: Valerius Pompeianus, prefect of Egypt, 287-90, Valerius Victorinus, prefect in 308, Valerius Ziper, praeses of Herculan Egypt, 316-20, Valerius Victorinianus, praeses of the Thebaid, 323-26, 48) Valerius NN, officialis on the staff of the praeses of Herculan Egypt in 319, and Valerius Cyrilus, beneficiarius on the staff of the praeses of the Thebaid in 306. 49)

   b) among imperial financial officials: Valerius Melas, procurator rei privatae Thebaidos, Valerius Asterius, procurator privatae Aegypti, Valerius Sarapodorus, procurator of the Heptanomia, 50) Valerius Evethius, καθολικός (rationalis), and Valerius Epiphanius, magister privatae Aegyptae et Libyae. 51)

   c) among civic magistrates, specifically among λαογραφοί (curatores civitatis). An Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion is known to have been curator of Oxyrhynchus in 305-306 (P. Oxy. VI 895, VIII 1104). The man who succeeded him in office, Valerius Heran alias Sarapion, is known to have been active in 308-309 (P. Lond. Inv. 2226, P. Oxy. XXXIII 2666-67), at which time Seuthes was in retirement, and in some difficulty

47) In 1926 both Bickermann (Edikt 35) and Segrè (Riv. di filol., n. ser. 4, 474 n. 3) noted how scarce the gentilicium Valerius was in papyri of the later Roman, or Byzantine, period. This observation, for the earlier part of that period, can now be revised in view of the evidence which has accumulated since 1926 (vide sqq.), as also can Segrè's view that the Valerii of the Dominate were not Aurelii whose names had been changed to Valerius, but "vecchi Valerii," i. e., members of families which had had the gentilicium Valerius from earlier times.


49) Val. NN: P. Lond. Inv. 2222, described in Lallemand 264; Cyrilus: P. Thead 8.

50) For refs., Lallemand 261. A new text on Sarapodorus, localizing his activities in the Heptanomia: P. Oxy. XXXIII 2668.

51) Evethius and Epiphanius: Lallemand 258 and 260.
(Oxy. texts just cited). Hereafter, down to 324/5, four other curatores civitatis are known - all with the gentilicium Valerius: Valerius Plution (Heracleopolis), Valerius Sotas (Arsinoe), Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius and Valerius Dioscorides alias Julianus (both of Oxyrhynchus). 52)

Of these, we are best informed concerning Dioscorides alias Julianus, curator of Oxyrhynchus in 322-23 (P. Oxy. VI 900 = Wilcken, Chrest. 437, P. Oxy. I 42 = Wilcken, Chrest. 154, P. Oxy. XXXVI 2767; cf. also P. Oxy. XII 1509, without date). In 1956 R. Böhm argued that Dioscorides was identical with a Julianus alias Dioscorides, ex-hypomnematomatographos, ex-prytanis, gymnasiarch, councillor (βουλευτής) of Oxyrhynchus, and πρωτοστάτης of the southern toparchy, whose name could be read in a Warsaw papyrus of A.D. 296. 53) Accordingly, in the lacuna at the beginning of line 3, Böhm restored Julianus-Dioscorides' gentilicium as Valerius. He did not, however, notice the occurrence of an exegetes Julianus alias Dioscorides in P. Oxy. XII 1413, a report of a meeting of the Oxyrhynchus Βουλή during the reign of Aurelian (270/5). Now it seems rather unlikely (not absolutely impossible, however) that an exegetes, active under Aurelian, should be ready and able to undertake the duties of curator civitatis in 322-23. But furthermore, in a papyrus more recently published, P. Oxy. XXXI 2585 (Oct./Nov., 315), a Dioscorides alias Julianus, ex-gymnasiarch(?), 54) ex-prytanis, and councillor of Oxyrhynchus occurs, here with the gentilicium Aurelius clearly read. It may be that in these various documents we are concerned with two distinct, though related (father and son?) individuals, a Julianus alias Dioscorides, active in the later decades of the 3rd, and a Dioscorides alias Julianus, active in the early 4th century. Whatever the case may be (and certitude is beyond reach at this time), because of P. Oxy. 2585 there can now no be justication for restoring the gentilicium Valerius in the Warsaw papyrus.

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52) See the list compiled by B. R. Rees, "The curator civitatis in Egypt," JJP 7-8 (1953-54) 104f, supplemented and corrected in some details by Lallemand 113 n. 4. P. Lond. Inv. 2226 is described by Lallemand 265. P. Oxy. XXXIII 2666-67, mentioned here, and XXXVI 2767, cited below, are more recent additions. So also is P. Oxy. XXXI 2570, establishing the existence of Flavius Julianus as curator of Oxyrhynchus in 329. See now also Flavia Gabriela, λαχούσα τὴν λογιστείαν, κτλ., in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 (553). For the date of BGU III 928 (311 rather than 307), see P. Oxy. XXXIII 2668 intro. n. 1, J. D. Thomas, ZPE 6 (1970) 182 n. 26. For another change: below, n. 73.


54) For the questionable reading, see N. Lewis, BASP 7 (1970) 109f.
On the positive side, I would conjecture that Aurelius Dioscorides-Julianus of P. Oxy. 2585 is in fact identical with the curator of 322-23, and, in view of the other curatores who had the gentilicium Valerius at this time, that Dioscorides was given the name Valerius upon confirmation of his candidacy as curator of Oxyrhynchus.

d) in the military: possession of the name Valerius by soldiers and veterans of the late 3rd/early 4th century was previously discernible from scattered instances in the Egyptian papyri, and in inscriptions from elsewhere in the Empire. 55) Largescale extension to soldiers on active duty is now attested by P. Mich. X 592-93, though a number of soldiers and veterans known from the papyri of this time continued to have the name Aurelius. 56)

In conclusion, the examples just cited, evidencing a marked increase in the number of instances of the gentilicium Valerius in the late 3rd/early 4th century, are clearly associative with the fact that Valerius was the gentilicium held in common by all emperors from Diocletian to Constantine. 57) This conclusion may be verified by comparing the uses to which the name Valerius was put during this time with the uses to which the name Flavius would be put in the period from ca. 325 on. For the uses of the former quite clearly prefigure those of the latter.

2. The extensive use of the gentilicium Valerius, which has just been described, comes to an end in Egypt by 324/5. 58) The uses to which it was put in the period just ended were from this time down to, and even beyond, the Arab conquest, served instead by the name Flavius. It is impossible to divorce this change from the fact that Flavius

55) Soldier: Val. Petemuthis, P. Oxy. XIV 1705 (298); veteran: Val. Romanus, PSI VII 771 (322). For examples from inscriptions outside Egypt, see A. Mocsy, Beitrag zu G. Alföldy, Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien (Budapest 1965) 217f, with notes on 225; The Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1904-1905 and 1909 (Leyden 1907-) No. 1107; cf. Dessau, ILS 2779, 2781, 2791-94.


57) For the names of Constantine and Licinius, see above Part I init., with nn. 18 and 20. For Licinius and the rest there is a convenient table in P. Mich. X p. 55 n. 10.

58) There is some slight overlapping. For instance, the tenure of Val. Victorinianus as praeses Thebaidos extended into 326 (cf. above, II, 1 (a), with n. 48) and Val. Rometalca was duke of Egypt, the Thebaid and the two Libyas under Constantine, perhaps only very shortly after the eastern victory (ILS 701; for the date, possibly 324/5, see PLRE p. 770, s.v. Rometalca).
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was the family name of the Emperor Constantine and tempting to connect it with Constantine's military victory over Licinius in 324 and consequent assumption of control over the Eastern Roman Empire.\(^{59}\) In 4th century Egypt, areas in which employment of the name Flavius are most striking are as follows:\(^{60}\)

a) among prefects of Egypt and praeses of the other provinces organized by Diocletian during his reign, and by other emperors during the course of the 4th century.\(^{61}\) Beginning with Fl. Gregorius, praeses of the Thebaid in 329, Fl. Quintillianus, praeses in 331-32, and Fl. Hyginus, prefect of Egypt in 331-32, almost all the prefects and praeses whose names are known in full had the gentilicum Flavius.\(^{62}\) Sometimes, however, Flavius and another gentilicum are used in combination: e.g., Flavius Antonius Theodorus, prefect of Egypt in 337-38, Fl. Aelius Gessius, praeses of the Thebaid in 378, and possibly as early as 376, Fl. Ulpius Erythrius, praeses of the Thebaid in 384-85.\(^{63}\) In cases where such double gentilia occur, it is possible to suggest that these men had the gentilicia Antonius, Aelius, Ulpius, etc., from birth, and only acquired the name Flavius as a result of their subsequent service to the imperial government.\(^{64}\) Other prefects and praeses, however, are known only with the gentilicum Flavius. In view of the fact that by the beginning of the 5th century all gentilia other than Aurelius and Flavius had virtually gone out of use in Egypt (cf. Section 3 following), it would appear that, for some persons at least, use

\(^{59}\) Again see Part I init. The chronology of the change from Valerius to Flavius is best illustrated by (b) and (c), which follow shortly hereafter.

\(^{60}\) I omit here a consideration of the many consuls (who usually held other high posts, e.g., Fl. Philippus, praetorian prefect, and Fl. Salia, magister equitum, by whose consulships SP XX 98 is dated to 348) who appear in the dating clauses of documentary papyri inasmuch as these are not germane to our immediate concern with internal Egyptian society. For these, one may conveniently refer to Degrassi (above, n. 21) 79ff and 179ff, passim, Preisigke, WB III Abschnitt 3, 74-79, passim. For some analysis, see Mócsy (above, n. 2) 258. For the Germanic consuls with the name Flavius: above, Part I, with nn. 26-27.

\(^{61}\) For the administrative divisions of Egypt at this time, see (briefly) Rouillard 2f, (in greater detail), Lallemand 41-57.

\(^{62}\) For Gregorius and Quintillianus: Hagedorn (above, n. 48) 210. For Hyginus and the rest: Lallemand's prosopographical appendix, 241-57, passim.

\(^{63}\) Lallemand 243, 253.

\(^{64}\) Cf. Mócsy (above, n. 55) 218, discussing the case of a certain Fl. Julius Zaconus.
of double gentilicia was part of a transitional phase in the matter of nomenclature: ultimately the family name would be dropped, and only Flavius, retained.

b) Among officials attached to the staffs (officia, τάξεως) of provincial governors and other high civil officials. These were men of military rank, usually referred to in the Law Codes as cohortales or cohortalini. The earliest instance I note is that of Fl. Sarapion, ἐκατόνταρχος τάξεως (i.e., princeps officii; cf. P. Oxy. XII 1424.1 n., XIV 1637.10 n.) to the διασμοτάτου καθολικοῦ in P. Oxy. X 1261 of 13 January 325. Thereafter all such staff officials whose names are known in full were Flavii. Most commonly met with in the papyri are officiales and beneficiarii attached to the officia of the prefect of Egypt and of the praeses of the Thebaid. Best known is Fl. Isidorus, first officialis, then beneficiarius, finally ex-beneficiarius, finally the staff of the praeses of the Thebaid in Leipzig papyri ranging in date from 368 to 389. Other instances include an exceptor and a centurion on the staff of the praeses of the Thebaid, an ex-centurion of the officium of the privatum patrimonii, and an ex-officialis of the

65) Earlier in the Roman period it sometimes happened that a soldier of long or meritorious service, or with special capabilities, was detached from active military duty and assigned to the staff of some civil official. For this and subsequent developments leading to the "militarization" of the imperial civil bureaucracy, see A. H. M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-clerical Grades)," JRS 39 (1949) 38-55, reprinted in Jones, Studies in Roman Government and Law (Oxford 1968) 151-75, with notes on 201ff; R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire (Harvard Historical Monographs 52, Cambridge (Mass.) repr. 1967) 49-76.

66) Officiales: Fl. Cronius, officium of prefect of Egypt, PSI IX 1077 (354), 1078 (356); Fl. Theodorus, officium of praeses of Thebaid, P. Lips. 47-53 (372); cf. also Fl. Silvanus, ex-officialis, officium unknown, P. Lips. 86 (373). Beneficiarii: Fl. Valerianus, officium of prefect of Egypt, P. Oxy. XXXI 2571 (338); Fl. Heraclion, officium of praeses of Thebaid (or most likely so), P. Lips. 33 (368). Add Fl. Pel(?)orus, ex-beneficiarius of the prefect of Egypt, PSI V 469 (334), since in line 3 of that text we may safely replace the editor's (Αὐρηλίου) with (Φλάβιου) owing to the other examples cited in this note and in notes immediately following.

67) For details see introdd. to P. Lips. 17 and 45. An early date for P. lips. 23 is preferable since Isidorus is still an officialis there.

68) Exceptor: Fl. Antirius, P. Berl. Zill. 4 (ca. 349); centurion: Fl. Arius, P. Lips. 64 (ca. 368), Ithes 50 (for the name), 56f (for the officium).

69) Fl. Didymus, P. Flor. III 320 (373), resolving the monogram Ἱ as ἐκατοντάρχιος (cf. P. Cairo Isid. 91.4), rather than ἐκατονταρχικῆς, proposed only to be rejected by the editor in a note ad loc., but nonetheless accepted in WB III Abschnitt 10 s.v. ἐκατονταρχικὸς.
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officium of some unspecified procurator,\textsuperscript{70} an optio familiae, probably attached to the officium of the prefect of Egypt,\textsuperscript{71} and an official of unknown capacity on the staff of the praeses of Augustamnica.\textsuperscript{72}

c) curatores civitatis: beginning with Fl. Asclepiades, curator of Hemopolis, \textit{SB} VI 9558 (11 Dec. 325), and Fl. Leucadius, curator of Oxyrhynchus, \textit{P. Oxy.} I 52 (325, by consuls), all curatores whose names are known in full had the gentilicium Flavius.\textsuperscript{73} Other local magistrates are not so fully evidenced for the 4th century (e.g., surprisingly few defensores civitatis are known by name), while still others for whom we have sufficient evidence (e.g., riparii and praepositi pagi) did not consistently carry the name, or did not, as far as our present information goes, carry it at all (thus, exactores civitatis).\textsuperscript{74} These will be discussed below in Part IV, but for defensores, see also below, III, 2(c).

d) duces: cf. Fl. Felicissimus, known to have held command between 345 and 347 (\textit{P. Abinn.} 3, with note to line 4 and references there given), Fl. Artemius, \textit{P. Oxy. VIII} 1103 = Wilcken, \textit{Chrest.} 465 (360), Fl. Eleutherius, \textit{P. L. Bat.} XIII 10 (4th cent.).

e) Soldiers and veterans: evidence for use of the name Flavius among soldiers and veterans in Egypt begins early in the second quarter of the 4th century.\textsuperscript{75} The earliest instances known to me are Flavii Sabinus and Aunes, both soldiers assigned to the camp at Narmouthis in the southern portion of the Fay\textsuperscript{m}, and attested in \textit{P. Thead}.

\textsuperscript{70} Fl. Hermopolis, \textit{P. Lips.} 17 (377) and 23 (374/390), with note on 17.29. An early date for \textit{P. Lips.} 23 is preferable; see above, n. 67.

\textsuperscript{71} Fl. Domninus, \textit{P. Oxy. XIV} 1712 (ca. 394).

\textsuperscript{72} Fl. Julianus(?), \textit{PSI} V 467 (360).

\textsuperscript{73} See above, 1(c), with n. 52 and, in particular, Rees' list there cited. "Aurelius" Silvanus in Rees' list, known from P. Antin. I 36 as curator of Antinoopolis in 326 or 354 (the date depending on whether the numbered consulship of the consul posterior is to be read as alpha or gamma, with the latter evidently preferable on paleographic grounds: Rees 102 n. 135, cf. Plate II at back of P. Antin. I), is only an apparent exception, based upon the editor's restoring Αὐρηλίῳ at the beginning of line 4. In view of the consistency with which the name Flavius was applied to curatores at this time, it seems safe to conclude that Αὐρηλίῳ should be replaced with Φλαυῖῳ in the lacuna.

\textsuperscript{74} Exactores: see the list of J. D. Thomas, "The Office of Exactor in Egypt," CE 34 (1959) 139f.

\textsuperscript{75} Cf. on this sub-section Bickermann, \textit{Edikt} 36f, Segrê, \textit{lura} 17 (1966) 7-9.
Thereafter, evidence for soldiers and veterans with the name Flavius is abundant, with these ranging in rank from a simple recruit to officers like Fl. Abinnaeus, praepositus of the camp at Dionysias, though there remain a few peculiar instances in which persons of military rank continued to have the name Aurelius.

f) Some miscellaneous examples: from the papyri, Fl. Gennadius, iuridicus Alexandreae, P. Abinn. 63 (350), and Fl. Macarius, procurator of the imperial estates, P. Abinn. 3 (345/7); from the literature, Fl. Palladius, curiousus of Egypt, and Fl. Antoninus, agens in rebus, in A.D. 335.

76) The editor's date of 307 is founded on an unnecessary emendation of the name of the consul posterior from Μακ?μου to Μακ?μανου (see app. crit. on line 12 and commentary note ad loc.). The correct date was noted by Vitelli (PSI VI 716 intro.), but not reported in BL, with the result that P. Thead. 4 continues to be assigned the editor's date, 307 (cf., e.g., P. Cairo Isid. 83.8-9 n., P. Abinn. intro. p. 13 n. 2, PLREP 800 s.v. Salvitius). In restating Vitelli's correction here, it might also be noted in passing that the price of 130 talents paid for the mare sold in this contract, exorbitant by standards of the beginning of the 4th century (cf. Segrè, Circolazione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico ed in particolare in Egitto [Rome 1922] 131, questioning the reading of the price), becomes more credible once the text is assigned its correct date, 328.

77) Recruit: Fl. Popnuthis, Wilcken, Chrest. 466 (4th cent.). "Lips. 48ff," cited by Bickermann, Edikt 36, as indirect evidence (and after him, by Segre, above, n. 12, 475f n. 2), in no way support the contention that recruits were Aurelii, soldiers, Flavii. Abinnaeus: for his career and other titles, see P. Abinn. intro. pp. 6-12. Two ex-praepositi, apparently retired military officers rather than, e.g., retired praepositi pagi, are Fl. Crescentius, PSI I 90 (Oxyrhynchus, 364), and Fl. Crespinus, SB IV 7445 (Oxyrhynchus, 382). Flavii soldiers and veterans: 1) soldiers: Fl. Elias, P. Abinn. 60 (346), Fl. Casius, P. Cairo Preis. 39 (347), Fl. Doratiatus (the reading of the name is questionable), SP XX 98 (348), Fl. Terentius and Simplicius, PSI IX 1077 (354), FLI. Vitalianus and Agemundus, BGU I 316 (cf. above, n. 31) (359), Fl. Sarapion, SB VIII 9776 (360), Fl. Venafrius, SB VI 9063 (372), Fl. Paul, P. Gen. 70 (381?); Fl. Souchidas, BGU III 899 (4th cent.); 2) veterans: Fl. Priscus, P. Abinn. 45 (343), Fl. Aunes, P. Abinn. 47 (346), Fl. Venafrius, P. Abinn. 60 (346), Fl. Ammonius, P. Amh. II 140 (350), Fl. Tiambus, SB V 8013 (363).

78) Cf. Aur. Capito, primipiliaris (if the reading is right), P. Thead. 4 (328), peculiar in that two soldiers mentioned in the same document are Flavii (cf. preceding comments, with n. 76); Aur. Plas, veteran, P. Abinn. 59 (345); Aur. John, fruiterer (μαμαπτης) and ex-primipiliarius, P. Oxy. VIII 1133 (396); Aur. Asclepiades, soldier of the Most Noble Moors, stationed in Hemopolis, P. Rees Hem. 37 (late 4th cent.). The later case of Aurelius John in the Syene papyri is discussed below, Part III, 2 (d).

3. A final development. 80) During the course of the 4th century, and especially noticeable in the latter half, gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius become increasingly scarce in Egypt. A number of Julii, Claudii, and Septimii occur in 4th century papyri, and there are scattered instances of persons (often of high rank in the imperial bureaucracy) with other gentilicia. Among provincial governors, as indicated above, there are some instances of double gentilicia. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the 5th century, use of gentilicia other than Aurelius and Flavius, with very few exceptions, 81) becomes extinct. As noted before, Flavius was not a gentilicium in the traditional sense. For Byzantine emperors and Germanic kings it served in part as a royal title. For Germanic soldiers in service of the Empire, it indicated both Roman citizenship and military status. For still others, already Roman citizens and now serving in the imperial military or civil service, the name served as a kind of status designation, setting these soldiers and functionaries apart from the masses of the population who continued to retain the name Aurelius, usage of which may be traced back, in the great majority of instances, to the time of the Constitutio Antoniniana.

III. Aurelii and Flavi in the 5th-7th Centuries (to the Arab Conquest)

1. Aurelii. As previously indicated, the name Aurelius in the 3rd century signified for most inhabitants of Egypt that their acquisition of Roman citizenship could be traced to Caracalla's Constitutio Antoniniana. Use of the name Aurelius did not abate in ensuing centuries, but rather continued to flourish down to, and even beyond, the Arab conquest. With respect to the Aurelii attested in papyri of the 5th-7th centuries, special interest is created by the practice of the time whereby in legal and formal situations persons were identified not only by their names, parentage and places of origin, but also, in cases where they had no official or military titles (and even sometimes when they did), by the trades or occupations they pursued. The evidence thus supplied is extremely

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80) I herewith summarize without details my discussion in Nomina 80-83 and 89f. I omit a brief digression, ibid. 123-29, on another nomenclatural development of this time: the beginning of an extended use of Judæo-Christian personal names, reflecting the changing religious persuasion of the population.

81) Cf. Claudius Heraclides, SB III 7033 (481), Claudius Apollon, P. Lond. V 1687 (523), P. Cairo Masp. I 67091 (528), P. Flor. III 283 (538), Valerius Menas, SB VI 9146 (6th/7th cent.).
useful to social and economic historians. For our immediate purpose, it serves to illustrate that, in contrast with the Flavii, who were in the main military and civil servants of the government, the Aurelii of later Roman Egypt were civilians in the strict sense—craftsmen, merchants, laborers, farmers.

Smiths, for instance, including ordinary smiths and craftsmen more specifically identified as ironsmiths, goldsmiths or lead workers, are known to have been Aurelii. Similarly, potters were Aurelii, as also were persons connected both with the preparation and distribution of food: pig cooks, sausage makers, millers, pastry cooks, and bakers of several types; fruit dealers, greengrocers, fishmongers,

82) For a recent and complete listing of the types of craftsmen attested in the papyri of later Roman Egypt, see I. F. Rikhman, Egipt na rubezhe dvuhkh epokh. Rasmesnenniki i remesenniki trud v IV—serdine VII v. (Egypt on the Confinies of Two Epochs: The Craftsmen and the Craftsmen's Work in the 4th to the Middle of the 7th cent.) (Moscow 1965) 25-34. Cf. A. C. Johnson — L. C. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies (Princeton Studies in Papyrology 6, Princeton 1949) Ch. III, passim, G. Rouillard, La vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin (Paris 1953) 27, 51ff, with notes on 71, 76f. I am here concerned only with craftsmen and workers who occur in the papyri with the gentilicium Aurelius, though from the examples cited in the following paragraphs it is clear that all such persons, even in instances where they occur without gentilicium, were technically Aurelii.


as well as sellers of vetch and cumin, 86) honey makers and olive dressers. 87) Vine-dressers and wine dealers known from the papyri were also Aurelii.

Men involved in construction work - brickmakers and their guild presidents, masons, carpenters, stonemasons - were Aurelii, 89 as were those concerned with the maintenance, operation and upkeep of the canals and dikes, including those men who worked on the dredging of Trajan's Canal (ἡ ὁμοιόμορφη τῆς Τραϊανῆς δίαρμογας) in the first quarter of the 5th century, whenever their names are known. 90


Textile workers of many types are known to have been Aurelii: cushion makers, linen workers, fullers, dyers of several kinds, dye merchants, flax makers, experts in making 91) Tarsian fabrics, tapestry makers and embroiderers. Moreover, the raising of livestock, whether for clothing, food, or for transportation purposes, was done by Aurelii. Among those most frequently mentioned in the papyri are shepherds (ποιμένες), particularly common in papyri from the village Aphrodito where they were organized into a κοινόν and also served as field guards (ἀγροφύλακες) for the farmers in the area. 92) We also know of a bird raiser, and several stablemen and donkey drivers who were Aurelii.93)

on Trajan’s Canal: cf. Aur. Theodosius, ἔπιστάτης τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως τῆς αὐτῆς Τραγανῆς διώρυχος (sic), PSI I 87 (423), cf. PSI VI 689 (ca. 423/4), Aur. Victor, ἑργάτης τῆς Τραγανῆς διώρυχος, PSI 87, and other Aurelii whose names or jobs are mentioned in the much damaged PSI 689. For earlier work on Trajan’s Canal, see P. Cairo Isid. 81 (297), P. Oxy. XII 1426 (332).


Men concerned with river transportation - helmsmen, rowers, boatmen and boat builders, even when concerned with the command or rowing of public boats - were Aurelii, 94) except in cases in papyri from Syene where boatmen ( ναύται) are known to have doubled as soldiers. In these instances, the men concerned were Flavii in virtue of their military rank. 95)

Finally, although much of the land at this time was controlled by wealthy and powerful individuals who had the name Flavius (on whom see Part IV below), the basic tasks of farming were carried out by men with the name Aurelius, either as ordinary farmers (simple γεωργοί) or as adscript tenants (coloni adscripticii in the Law Codes, γεωργοί οικονόμοι in the papyri), persons of the latter category being best known from papers of the Apion household of Oxyrhynchus. 96)


94) Cf. P. Grenf. II 80-82, esp. 81-81(a) (beginning of the 5th cent.), with corrections in BL I pp. 192f, wherein are mentioned Aurs. Victor and Colluthus, κεφαλαίων τοῦ ἡγεμονίας πολιομώμου (80.4-7, 81.4-7, 82.2-3), Aur. Apion, κυβερνήταις πολιομώμου ἐξυπηρετοῦντος τῇ ταξιν ἡγεμονίας Θεόβαδος (81(a).1-3; Apion is evidently identical with the ἡρουμερνητής of 80.8, 81.8, 82.4), and Aur. Senoutes, an individual burdened with the hereditary liturgy of serving himself as a rower (Ἴρπητος) of the governor's galley, or of paying a substitute's wages instead (the liturgy called ναυτηλία τοῦ πολιομώμου: 80.16; for Senoutes: 80.9-11, 81.9-11, 81(a).4-5, 82.6). Cf. also the πολιομώτης Aur. Mathias, P. Lond. V 1712 (569), with note to line 6. It would seem then that civilian employees of the government were not accorded the name Flavius; cf. Aur. Amasion mentioned above, n. 86. Boatbuilders (ναυπηγοί): Aurs. Anoup and Victor, P. Oxy. XVI 1893 (535). Boatmen (ναύται): Aur. Menas, BGU I 295 (599), many instances in the Syene papyri (P. Monac., P. Lond. V 1722-39), passim. Cf. also following note.

95) So Aur. Patemuthis son of Menas, boatman from Syene (cf. P. Monac. 7 and 9, P. Lond. 1727 and 1729), was after his enrollment identified as "Flavius Patemuthis son of Menas, soldier of the numerus of Elephantine, boatman from Syene" (e.g., P. Lond. 1736-37, P. Monac. 10; cf. P. Lond. 1732 where his numerus is given (incorrectly?) as that of Philae). And cf. Patemuthis's brother-in-law, Fl. John son of Jacob, στρατώτης δραμάδου Σάμηνος, δραμαμένος ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτῆς, ναύτης τοῦ ἐπιτήδευμα, P. Lond. 1730.5-6 (585), Maspero, Org. milit. 56f.

We know of a number of miscellaneous kinds of workmen who were Aurelii: a shoemaker, a teacher, a bath attendant and a water supplier of the public bath of Oxyrhynchus, a cellarmen, a porter of the Church (or Monastery) of St. Theodorus, some retail merchants and scribes, a dung carrier. 97) These instances, then, together with the examples cited in the preceding paragraphs, all serve to illustrate the manifold trades and jobs filled by Aurelii in working to produce the necessities, and also the luxuries, of life in later Roman Egypt.

2. Flavi.  a) As in the 4th century, the most important civil and military officials in Egypt in the 5th and following centuries were Flavi, though the vocabulary of officialdom had changed somewhat, old titles sometimes took on new significance, individual men of power more commonly acquired series of titles, honorary as well as functional, 98) while others are known to have had extensive careers in government, 


98) As, e.g., that of dux, inasmuch as duces, after Justinian's reorganization of Egypt, exercised civil as well as military authority in their respective provinces. Cf. Jones, LRE 281.

both on local, provincial, and imperial levels, sometimes holding more than one office at a time. 100) Be that as it may, in the period now under concern, dukes, 101) men with the military title στρατηγὸς, 102) prefects of Egypt and praeses of the other provinces (ἐπαρχεῖα) of Egypt, 103) pagarchs, 104) prefects of the annona of Alexandria, 105) as well as persons with the honorary titles of consular (ἀνδρὶ σπάτου), patrician, or count, 106) were all – where their names are known in full – Flavii.

100) Cf. the careers of the various members of the Apion family, accounting for many offices (prefect of Egypt, Count of Sacred Largesses, acting Master of Offices, pagarch, consul ordinarius (in 539), duke of the Thebaid, defensor civitatis, tribunus), as discussed by Hardy, Large Estates 25-38.

101) Fl. Marianus (above, n. 99); Fl. Apion II, dux Thebaidos in 549-50 (P. Oxy. I 130, P. Lond. V 1708, with note to line 79, Hardy, Large Estates 33); Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Chnoubammon Horion Hephaestus, quaestor, duke and Augustal of the Thebaid, P. Cairo Masp. I 67031 (after 554), as corrected by G. Malz by reference to P. Flor. III 293.1 (reported in BL IV p. 12). See further Maspero (above, n. 99) 107ff.

102) Cf. Fl. Marianus (above, n. 99); Fl. Strategius I (P. Oxy. XVI 1983-84); Fl. John, P. Oxy. XIX 2239 (598); Fl. Theodoricus, stratelates and pagarch of Arsinoe, P. Ross.-Georg. III 50 (613 or 628), with references given in note to line 3; Fl. Menas, stratelates and pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis, SP XX 240 (7th cent.); Fl. Sabinus Antiochus Damonicus (see below, note 108); Fl. Cyrillus, stratelates of the House of Strategius, SP VIII 1072 (5th/6th cent.).


104) Pagarchs: Fl. Theodoricus and Menas (see above, n. 102); Fl. Apion II, pagarch of Arsinoe, BGU I 305 (556), former pagarch (of Oxyrhynchus, according to Hardy, Large Estates 34) in P. Oxy. XVI 1829 (577/9); Fl. Alexander, Antaeopolis (?), PSI IV 283 (550); Fl. John, Antaeopolis, SB VI 9144 (589), P. Flor. III 298 (6th cent.); Fl. Julianus and Menas, Antaeopolis, P. Lond. V 1661 (551); Fl. John, Hemopolis, P. Lond. V 1753 (6th/7th cent.); Fl. Julianus, Oxyrhynchus, PSI I 52 (6th cent.) 2.

105) Fl. Soterichus, P. Ryl. IV 652 (late 4th/5th cent.).

106) Consulares: Fl. Marianus (above, n. 99); Fl. Apion I, P. Oxy. XVI 1892 (497), cf. P. Oxy. XVI 1829.24 n.; Fl. Strategius I, P. Oxy. XXXVI 2779 (553). Patricians: again Fl. Marianus and certain Apiones (for the latter, see Hardy, Large Estates 25-38, passim); Fl. Gabriella, P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 (553). Counts: 1) with military functions: Fl. Phoibammon, topoteretes, BGU II 670 (Byz.), Fl. Constantinus Erythrius, SB IV 7425, a building inscription from Assuan (Byz.), and possibly Fl. NN, SB I 4679 (Byz.). 2) Counts who were also stewards of large estates: Fl. Menas, procurator, P. Cairo Masp. I 67104 (530), Fl. Philoxenus, dioecetes, P. Erl. 9 (590), Fl. Phoibammon, dioecetes,
In addition, it sometimes happened during this time that certain prominent Egyptians were appointed to positions at the imperial court as, e.g., Counts of the Domestic, of the Sacred Consistory, or of the Sacred Largesses, while others are known to have served as agents of the Master of Offices. These were all Flavii, as was Eulogius the palatinus (i.e., "local representative of the Count of the Sacred Largesses"), known from a number of late 5th/early 6th century Oxyrhynchus papyri.

b) Again in accordance with the pattern established in the 4th century (see above, II, 2(b)), provincial staff officials (cohortales) of the later period continued, uniformly and without exception, to be Flavii. We are best informed about members of the praesidial officium of Arcadia, as a result of papyri from Oxyrhynchus, and about the ducal officium of the Thebaid, owing to the many papyrus documents from the village Aphrodito. The vocabulary of the types of provincial officials known from papyri of the 5th–7th centuries is more extensive than that of earlier times, with evidence for assorted officials in both clerical (e.g., chancelarii, scrinarii, notarii, exceptores) and sub-clerical (e.g., cursores, singulares, praecones) categories, though an SB VI 9561 (590), Fl. Tzittas, an Armenian, to judge by his name, μετζότερος, BGU II 368 (615). 3) others: Fl. Domitianus Asclepiades, flavialis and χρηματων, BGU IV 1027 (Byz.), Fl. Eustathius, ἀργυροπόρτης, i.e. argentarius, PSI 176 (574/8), Fl. Nilus, BGU I 303 (586), Fl. Theodorus, P. Lond. V 1701 (6th cent.), Fl. Sergius, P. Lond. III 871, p. 269 (603), Fl. Basilius, defensor of Arsinoe, BGU II 401 (618), Fl. Demetrius, politpomenos of Hermopolis, SP XX 218 (7th cent.). Cf. also Fl. Epigonus, from Cappadocia, P. Cairo Mas. I 67032 (551), WB III Abschnitt 8 s.v. κόμης.


108) Counts of the Sacred Consistory: Fl. Ammonius, large estate owner at Aphrodito, P. Ross.—Georg. Ill 37 (545), with references given in note to line 3, to which add PSI VIII 933 (538); Fl. Serenus, γεωχάν in Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. I 140 (550). Also: Fl. Ammonius, P. Ryl. IV 652 (late 4th/5th cent.), Fl. Sabinus Anicius Damicus, also κόμης στρατιώτων τοῦ Ῥωμαίου λαμπροῦ, P. Ross.—Georg. V 30, with intro. to that text, p. 90, for further details on Damicus's career. Cf. also, from Cappadocia, Fl. Palladius, P. Cairo Mas. I 67032 (551).

109) Count of Sacred Largesses: Fl. Strategius I, serving between 533 and 538 (Hardy, Large Estates 30).

110) Agens in rebus: Fl. Sarapodorus, from Hermopolis, μαχατριανὸς τῶν θεῶν δῆμων Ἀφρικανίων, SP XX 121 (438), cf. SP XX 122. Bickermann (Edikt 36 at top) incorrectly implies that Sarapodorus was not native to Egypt. Cf. also [Fl.] Olybrius, witness to a contract of loan (P. Cairo Mas. II 67126) drawn at Constantinople in 541.

111) Eulogius the palatinus: Hardy, Large Estates 39f.
c) We find further that all defensores civitatis (ἐκδίκων) in 5th-7th century Egypt were, in all instances where their names are fully known, Flavii. It was common practice during this period for defensores to be chosen from the ranks of scholastici, advocates so called as a result of their activity as juriconsults of rather high educational attainment. That this was the practice is confirmed by a number of cases in the papyri in which defensores are styled σχολαστικοὶ καὶ ἐκδίκων; and where defensores are not explicitly called scholastici, their "Ehrenprädikate" (ἐλλογιμέτατος, λογιμέτατος, and σφιχτότατος are characteristic of scholastici sometimes suggest that they were. On the other hand, most scholastici were probably not defensores. We know for example of a number of σχολαστικοὶ φόρου Θεβαίδος, "scholastici of the forum (= tribunal) of the Thebaid," of one σχολαστικὸς φόρου of the province of Arcadia, are there are other indications besides which suggest that scholastici were as a rule assigned to duty in the courts of provincial governors. With respect to scholastici, there is in a papyrus of 398 (P. Lips. 56) a σχολαστικὸς καὶ γραμματικὸς who was an Aurelius (Aur. Theodorus). Thereafter, all scholastici whose names are known in full were Flavii.

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118) For confirmation see the list compiled by B. R. Rees, "The defensor civitatis in Egypt," JJP 6 (1952) 102f. Add Fl. Hemaiton, ex-defensor of Hermopolis, P. Rees Herm. 69 (412), Fl. Dorotheus, of Hermopolis, BGU IV 1094 (525), Fl. Basilios, of Arsinoe, BGU IV 401 (618). In PSI VII 790.1 Flavius is in all probability the correct restoration, and the alternative Aurelius may be dismissed. For some discussion of 4th century defensores, see Part IV below.

119) Rouillard 156, Jones, LRE 500, Axel Claus, Ο ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ (Diss. Köl 1965) 103-10.

120) R. Taubenschlag, Opera Minora (Warsaw 1959) II 165. For the requirements: Jones, LRE 512f.

121) E. g., P. Oxy. VI 902 = Mitteis, Chrest. 72, P. Oxy. XVI 1882, 1885, BGU IV 1094. These and additional references in Rees (above, n. 118) 90 n. 104.


123) Claus (above, n. 119) 108.

124) For scholastici fori Thebaidos, see references given by Claus (above, n. 119) 30f, discussion, 77ff. For the scholasticus fori provinciae Arcadiae, see my note on PSI VIII 963 in BASP 9(1972)16-18


126) See Claus's list (above, n. 119) 20-42, passim.
d) By far the greatest number of Flavii are to be found among the soldiers of later Roman Egypt whom Bickermann (Edikt 36) for some reason considered "Pseudo-Flavii." 

The papyrological evidence for the 5th century is rather meager, but the few soldiers who are known from the papyri with full names were all Flavii. With the 6th century, the evidence increases in abundance, and in scattered, though fairly numerous references to soldiers assigned to units (ἀριθμοί, numeri) of comitatenses stationed in various Egyptian πόλεις – particularly Arsinoe (where there were numeri of Leones Clibanarii, Transtigritani, and Daci), Hemopolis (numerus of Mauri Scutarii),

127 The dearth of 5th century papyri has often been subject for comment. See, most fully, R. Remond, "L'Égypte au 5ème siècle de notre ère: les sources papyrologiques et leurs problèmes, "Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Milan 1966) 135-48, with table.


129 Arsinoe: Leones Clibanarii (cf. also preceding note): Fl. Prosdocius, P. Warren 3 (ca. 530). Fl. Menodorus alias Ape OI, centenarius, SP XX 139 (531). Fl. Callinicus son of John, centenarius, SB I 4753 (6th cent.). The last-mentioned is probably identical with the Fl. Callinicus of SP XX 131 (508), a soldier of some capacity belonging to the Leones Clibanarii (restoring λέονας or λεοντολιμβαναρίων at the beginning of line 4 of text). The editor (end of line 3) printed Callinicus's patronymic as Ιουλί[ ], despite the fact that the man who is evidently Callinicus's ὁμογενής brother (his name is lost), a soldier of the numerus of Transtigritani, is said to be Μινᾶς Κάσσων (line 2). Read then Μινᾶς Κάσσων instead of Ιουλί[ ] at the end of line 3. Transtigritani (cf. preceding note): Fl. John, flavialis, BGU II 369 (531). Fl. Elias, soldier, SP XX 139 (531). Daci: Fl. Menas and Apollon, also in SP XX 139.

but also Antinoopolis, Antaeopolis, and elsewhere 131) - we can see that soldiers regularly had the name Flavius. The most important single source of evidence for soldiers' names in later Roman Egypt is the late 6th/early 7th century archive of Flavius Patemuthis, a soldier of the numerus of Elephantine (P. Monac., P. Lond. V 1722-39). Three units are named in these papers: a numerus (sometimes called a legion: e.g., in P. Monac. 8) of Syene, and numeri of Philae and Elephantine. Many ranks (mostly non-commissioned) and types of soldiers are recorded: in addition to simple soldiers (στρατιώται), there are ex-vicarii, ex-actuarii, ordinarii, centurions, augustales, cabalarii, draconarii, recruits (τέρωνες), etc., and even a drummer (τμπανάριος). In all, out of the (approximately) one hundred full names of soldiers supplied by Patemuthis's papers, in only one instance did a soldier have the name Aurelius: Aurelius John, son of Jacob and Tapia, a soldier of the numerus of Syene in P. Monac. 7 of 23 June 583. Segré thought the application of the name Aurelius to John in P. Monac. 7 to be of some significance. Following Wenger, he believed that the name Flavius was not accorded to a man simply upon his entering the military service, but rather that the granting of the name was formalized "con un atto particolare"; following Bickermann, he thought that recruits were Aurelii, soldiers, Flavii. 132) But indeed, John himself appears the next year in P. Lond. 1728 of 8 March 584 (though possibly 585) with the name Flavius, despite the fact that he is merely a στρατιώτης τείρων, while in P. Monac. 2 (= Wilcken, Chrest. 470) of 578 the priores of the numerus of Elephantine acknowledge to one Flavius Patemuthis son of Dios, νεόστρατος τείρων, that they have received his probatoria from the dux Thebaidos who has instructed them to enter Patemuthis's name in the matrix of their unit as of the coming January 1. From


this last document we may conclude that a man entering military service at this time would have his name changed from Aurelius to Flavius probably after he had upon examination been declared fit for service, but certainly before his name was ordered to be recorded in the register of the unit to which he was assigned. Consequently, in the case of John, I am in agreement with Bell that the "name Aurelius assigned to him in the Munich document is presumably a scribe's blunder." In sum: The preceding discussion presents the main areas in which the name Flavius is to be found with consistency in 5th-7th century Egypt: among 1) all higher civil/military officials, 2) provincial staff officers, 3) defensores civitatis and scholastici (with, of course, some overlapping), and 4) soldiers in general. The catalogue is not exhaustive or neat, mainly because, as mentioned, individuals (particularly in Group 1) frequently acquired a number of offices and titles at one time. Nonetheless, we might draw a general conclusion from the foregoing: namely, that anyone who held an imperial dignitas, honor, or administratio, or who had been approved for service in an imperial militia (whether cohortalis, armata, or the law), or who held certain civic magistracies, was entitled to the name Flavius.

On the other hand, there are cases which defy explanation on this basis, e.g., a painter (ζωγράφος) with the name Flavius, and a philosopher (φιλόδοξος), but more important and more numerous, the Flaviae of later Roman Egypt, and the not inconsiderable number of curiales who were Flavii without (apparently) having served as curatores or defensores civitatis. These, among other topics, will be discussed in Part IV.

(to be continued)

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133) For recruiting procedures at this time, see Maspero, Org. milit. 52ff, Jones, LRE 668ff. More discussion of the "mechanics" by which the name Flavius was dispensed: below, Part IV.

134) "The Syene Papyri in the British Museum," Klio 13 (1913) 166.

135) For the distinction between a dignitas, etc., and a militia, see Jones, LRE 377ff.

136) SP XX 122.25ff. The example of the "Purpurfärbet" with the name Flavius cited by Bickermann (Edikt 35) is somewhat dubious. See comments on P. Oxy. 1980, above, n. 91.