




4-21-2022

## Migrants, Citizens and Subjects: How People Moved and Became Citizens in the Roman World

David Rocha  
*Ursinus College*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history\\_pres](https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history_pres)

 Part of the [European History Commons](#), [Military History Commons](#), and the [Social History Commons](#)  
[Click here to let us know how access to this document benefits you.](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Rocha, David, "Migrants, Citizens and Subjects: How People Moved and Became Citizens in the Roman World" (2022). *History Presentations*. 14.  
[https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history\\_pres/14](https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history_pres/14)

This Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Presentations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. For more information, please contact [aprock@ursinus.edu](mailto:aprock@ursinus.edu).

Migrants, Citizens and Subjects: How People Moved and  
Became Citizens in the Roman World

David Rocha

Dr. Johanna Mellis

Hist-450

Due: 04/11/2021

## Introduction

One of the most impactful empires in world history was the Roman Empire. At its height, it had control over parts of North Africa, what is called the Middle East today, and much of modern-day Europe. However, living in such a large empire did not inherently mean that you were necessarily a part of it. Instead, it meant that, unless you were physically born in Rome, you were simply a Roman subject. Becoming a Roman citizen was truly a great gift, as it came with multiple benefits; however, the process of becoming a citizen was easy and difficult at the same time, depending on attributes like ability or disability, gender and sex, and age. It also was strongly influenced by the movement of different groups happening around different parts of the empire.

For this research, I am looking at the years 60 BCE, during the last few decades of the Roman Republic, to 212 CE, when the Roman Empire was in power and the *Constitutio Antoniniana* proclaimed. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* was a royal decree that made citizenship universal within the empire for all freedmen, which meant that slaves were excluded.<sup>1</sup> When it comes to Roman history, there was also a very important need to understand the general differences between the Roman Republic and Roman Empire. In terms of timeline, the Roman Republic came first. The Roman Republic was led to two major groups: the Senate, made up of wealthy citizens of Rome, and the consuls, two men who were elected as supreme leaders of the land, with each one counter-balancing the other to prevent the rise of a monarch.<sup>2</sup> This began to

---

<sup>1</sup> Olivier Hekster and Nicholas Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 123. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>2</sup> Robert F Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D* (Luton, England: Andrews UK, 2012), Ch. VI. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

change changed in 60 BCE, when Julius Caesar, Gneius Pompeius Magnus (referred to hereafter as Pompey), and Marcus Licinius Crassus (referred to hereafter as Crassus) became political allies, which led to the First Triumvirate, with those three members being among the most influential and popular men in Rome owing to their military successes and generosity towards the people.<sup>3</sup> This Triumvirate was able to get Caesar the position of consul in 59 CE; a year later, he was able to take control of the province of Gaul (what is modern-day France).<sup>4</sup> It was during his time there that the Helvetians attempted their great migration; this led to a battle, the veterans of which were sent off to another battle, and thus Julius Caesar's famous Gallic War had begun.<sup>5</sup> During this time period, however, Crassus fell in battle against the Parthians, which destroyed the Triumvirate alliance.<sup>6</sup> This led to an inevitable civil war, with Julius Caesar fighting against Pompey, who had the backing of the Senate.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, Caesar was declared Dictator for Life. However, this was not taken well by members the Senate, who proceeded to assassinate Caesar. In the aftermath, Caesar's nephew Octavius was declared to be Caesar's heir; in turn, Octavius formed a second Triumvirate with himself, his father's former subordinate Mark Antony, and a man named Lepidus as its three members.<sup>8</sup> However, Lepidus eventually tried to gain more power than had been agreed upon, which resulted in Octavius removing Lepidus as a political force.<sup>9</sup> This also led to a split of the Roman controlled world between the East, led by Mark

---

<sup>3</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXVI-XXVIII.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>4</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXIX.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>5</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXX.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>6</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXI.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>7</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXII.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>8</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXV.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>9</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXV.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

Antony, and the West, led by Octavius.<sup>10</sup> Sometime after this split, Mark Antony divorced his wife, who was Octavius' sister, which split the two men apart until there was another civil war.<sup>11</sup> After Octavius won this civil war, he was declared to be the Imperator (essentially Emperor) of Rome and was given the title Augustus by the Senate, and was given a great deal of power but was able to show his position as not being an actual monarch.<sup>12</sup> This was to be the end of the Roman Republic, and marked true beginnings of the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire would stay in this political form until the reign of Diocletian.<sup>13</sup> However, there were still many aspects of Rome that did not change between Republic and Empire, one of which was citizenship. Until 212 CE, Roman citizenship was one of the greatest honors a Roman could be given, because of the status and privilege that it gave; however, what citizenship looked like depended on physical attributes such as gender, disability and age and was somewhat influenced by the movements of different groups such as the Roman legions and various tribes.

A few centuries after the transition from Republic to Empire, the *Constitutio Antoniniana* was passed, in the year 212 CE. This was a major law at the time, as it decreed that most free people were legally citizens of Rome, even if they had not fulfilled the criteria to become citizens.<sup>14</sup> This measure was not seen as being good by some; the ancient historian Cassius Dio saw it as no more than an attempt to increase tax revenue to pay for the army.<sup>15</sup> However, the

---

<sup>10</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXV.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>11</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXV.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>12</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXXVI.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>13</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XLI.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>14</sup> Olivier Hekster and Nicholas Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*, 47.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>15</sup> <sup>15</sup> Olivier Hekster and Nicholas Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*, 48.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

emperor who passed the law, Caracalla, claimed that the law was a way for him to show thanks to the gods for their protection against his brother Geta, who was co-emperor with Caracalla until his death.<sup>16</sup>

This research paper aims to combine three separate fields, the field of migration history, the study of citizenship, and the field of military history, and combine them using Ancient Rome as a contextual background. Previous research has focused on one aspect each; research that is compiled is oftentimes combined with research in the same field, i.e., research on citizenship as it applies to a certain province being combined with research on the same topic but pertaining to children instead.<sup>17</sup> I aim to combine these fields into one “super field”, for lack of a better term, as a foundation to analyze how the combination of movement, citizenship, and warfare affected Ancient Romans over time until the passing of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, when citizenship was made universal for freed people.<sup>18</sup> Because of the scope of this paper, there are some subjects that I do not have the space to discuss adequately. For example, there is no real discussion about male slaves and gladiators, and their paths to citizenship. This came about because I was unable to find sources discussing them as they fit in my time period. In the Roman world, the ideas of migration, military, and citizenship, and economics were not isolated from one another. Rather, they were all intertwined, with each one mingling with the other in various ways. Despite this, there is a noticeable lack of combinations of the fields of military and migration history, as well as no real combination of those two fields with research on citizenship.

---

<sup>16</sup> <sup>16</sup> Olivier Hekster and Nicholas Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*, 47-48.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>17</sup> Lucia Cecchet and Anna Busetto, *Citizens in the Graeco-Roman World: Aspects of Citizenship From the Archaic Period to AD 212* (Mnemosyne Supplements. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017), VI

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1613561&site=ehost-live>

<sup>18</sup> Hekster and Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*, 123.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

I did find some research that combined the ideas of military and migration history into one; however, there was no strong mention of how those two histories combined together with citizenship.<sup>19</sup>

## The Migrations of Rome

Some of the most important groups to move around the Roman Republic and Empire were the Roman legions, which functioned as different armies of Rome. However, they were not the only group to move around; rather, there were also various groups that moved around for various reasons. In some cases, the movement of one group influenced the movement of another group, such as the movement of the Helvetii during the last few decades of the Roman Republic. The Helvetii were a tribe in Gaul, part of which was a Roman province run by Julius Caesar.<sup>20</sup> The migration was not spontaneous, but very planned, with Gallic tribal leaders meeting as early as 2-3 years in advance of the actual migration. These meetings were also known to the Romans as well, with Cicero writing on the subject in the year 60 BCE.<sup>21</sup> When Caesar learned that this mass migration of people was actually going to happen, and the movement would go through his province, he sent out a call to create a legion as quickly as possible; meanwhile, he engaged in diplomacy with the Helvetii as a distraction while his new troops were training and while a wall was being built as a blockade for the Helvetii.<sup>22</sup> Because of this, the Helvetii were forced to

---

<sup>19</sup> Ernst Tacoma and Ligt, *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*. (Studies in Global Migration History; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 162

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1160162&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>20</sup> C. Julius Caesar, "Commentaries on the Gallic War," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, trans. by Ronald Mellor, compiled by Ronald Mellor (3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge), 82. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=112>.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew P. Fitzpatrick and Colin Haselgrove, *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, (Haverton, P.A.: Oxbow Books, 2019), 75. <https://search.ebscohost.com/spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 83

change direction, which resulted in the Battle of Bibracte. From the numbers given by Caesar, there were around 368,000 people who were migrating.<sup>23</sup> However, a post-battle and post-war census of the migrants put the number of survivors at about 110,000 people; a loss of almost 260,000 people.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, many of the places Caesar mentions have not yet been discovered. For example, he discussed building a wall to prevent the Helvetii migrants from entering Gaul.<sup>25</sup> There has yet to be any sign of this wall, even after centuries of searching for signs of it.<sup>26</sup> It is also very important to consider the fact that this information came from Julius Caesar himself. He would have been strongly biased to make himself look good. The migration of the Helvetii was important for Roman history, as it was able to fuel Julius Caesar's rise to power as dictator of Rome.<sup>27</sup> However, the Helvetii were not the only group to migrate around the Roman Republic.

Arguably the most important migratory group to consider in both the Roman Republic and Roman Empire are the various Roman legions, as well as the many auxiliary units under Roman control. When Augustus became Emperor in 27 BCE, there were 60 total legions. Of these, he consolidated some and got rid of other legions, so that there were only 28 total legions at the start of the Roman Imperial era.<sup>28</sup> These legions recruited new soldiers in many different places; for example, one legion would recruit men from Spain, while another would recruit from

---

<sup>23</sup> Fitzpatrick and Haselgrove, *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, 79. <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>24</sup> Fitzpatrick and Haselgrove, *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, 79. <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>25</sup> C. Julius Caesar, "Commentaries on the Gallic War," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, trans. by Ronald Mellor, compiled by Ronald Mellor, 84. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=112>.

<sup>26</sup> Fitzpatrick and Haselgrove, *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, 82. <https://search-ebSCOhost-com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>27</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXVI. <https://search.ebSCOhost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2012), 19



Syria; meanwhile, the auxiliary units were made up of recruits from specific areas of the empire,<sup>29</sup> As an example of the movement that legions endured, let us examine some of the wars that the 10<sup>th</sup> Fretensis Legion, one of the most famous legions and Julius Caesar's personal favorite.<sup>30</sup> The legion was originally raised by Caesar himself in part of Spain. When Augustus came to power, he stationed them in Macedonia, a few decades later they were in Judea, now modern-day Israel. From then on they stayed in the East, but moved around for different battles, such as against rebelling Jews, a campaign in Armenia, a battle against the Parthians, and eventually took Judea as its home base.<sup>31</sup> While this is only one example, it shows how much the legions of Rome moved around. They were also trained to move considerable distances, with the standard being about 18-20 miles a day before creating a camp, with some instances even seeing movement of 30+ miles in a day.<sup>32</sup> Eventually, these military migrations began to slow down over the centuries, with many units settling down in different provinces.<sup>33</sup> However, these early imperial military migrations helped to both keep the peace and conquer new lands, such as the subjugation of modern-day Britain, as written about by Tacitus.<sup>34</sup>

However, the legions were not the only faction to move, nor were men the only people migrating. For example, women were allowed to travel with their husbands when their husbands were promoted to higher political positions, although there was a proposed measure to keep the women from these specific movements as a way to prevent a conversion "...of a Roman army on

---

<sup>29</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 21

<sup>30</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 152

<sup>31</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 159-160

<sup>32</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 69

<sup>33</sup> Ernst Tacoma and de Ligt, *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*. (Studies in Global Migration History; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 162

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1160162&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>34</sup> Cornelius Tacitus, "The Life of Agricola," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, compiled by Ronald Mellor, trans. by Ronald Mellor (3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 292-294. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=320>.

the march into the likeness of a barbarian procession.”<sup>35</sup> This was described as being a discord between two ideas, *concordia* vs. *mos maiorum*.<sup>36</sup> *Concordia* was the idea that, if a man was going to be away from his home for a long time, such as when he was going to war or to accept a political position, then his wife should go with her husband as a loyal companion. However, the idea of *mos maiorum* was a classic gender division, where men go off to perform their required political and/or military duty while their wife stays at home in order to maintain the house and family.<sup>37</sup> The idea of *concordia* had been put into practice more and more often during the early imperial era, with even the Emperor Augustus traveling with his wife.<sup>38</sup>

The migrations that Rome went through had varying levels of impact on the Republic and Empire. Some migrations were extremely impactful, such as the Helvetii tribe, whose attempted migration was able to indirectly led to Rome’s entire governmental system changing.<sup>39</sup> Others migrations, such as the movement of the legions, were not quite as impactful. However, they were still important migrations for Rome, as it was those migrations that enabled Rome to maintain control when subjects in far off provinces began to rebel, such as with the Second Jewish Revolt, where the general leading the Roman army came to Judea (modern-day Israel) from Britain, along with some auxiliary units from Britain.<sup>40</sup> However, migration was not simply

---

<sup>35</sup> Elio Lo Cascio, Laurens Ernst Tacoma and Miriam J. Groen-Vallinga, *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17-19, 2015)*. (Impact of Empire. Leiden: Brill, 2016), 174.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1428732&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 175

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 175

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 174-175

<sup>39</sup> Pennell, *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.*, Ch. XXVI-XXXI.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>40</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 69

important for certain groups; it was also influenced by citizenship, as I will discuss in the next section.

### **Citizenship in Ancient Rome**

Becoming a citizen of Rome was one of the most important events in many Roman lives. However, the process to becoming a citizen was simultaneously easy and difficult, both having a reliance on others as well as requiring some degree of courage. There were a few common pathways for a person to become a citizen of Rome; the biggest differences came from gender and being free or enslaved. According to Cassius Dio, these citizenship pathways had been put into the law because of a revolt by slaves and exiles. The aftermath of that revolt was that citizenship was made easier to obtain; hence why the pathways sound simple enough on paper.<sup>41</sup> While it was possible for a person to be born as a citizen, this will be focusing on people not made citizens in this way.<sup>42</sup>

The easiest way for a healthy, fully able male get Roman citizenship would be to join the military in one of the many auxiliary unit allied with the Romans.<sup>43</sup> The legions themselves were composed of citizens; slaves were not allowed to join in, under penalty of death.<sup>44</sup> Auxiliary units were composed of men who were from a similar area, with many units having military units that legionnaires did not focus on, such as archers and cavalry.<sup>45</sup> One example of an auxiliary was a man named Novanticus. Novanticus was from what is modern-day England who joined into a newly created auxiliary unit in 98 CE. This particular unit was a part of Trajan's

---

<sup>41</sup> Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Dio's Roman History*, 197. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007475535>.

<sup>42</sup> Acts 22:28, New International Version

<sup>43</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 50

<sup>44</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 20

<sup>45</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 50-51

Dacian campaign; because of how well the unit had performed, Novanticus and all of his fellow auxiliaries from the war were given early discharges and were granted citizenship after 12 years of serving.<sup>46</sup> However, this was an unusual example; whereas Novanticus was given citizenship after 12 years, the average auxiliary had to serve for 25 years in order to be given citizenship.<sup>47</sup> Another way for men to gain citizenship that is mentioned by the ancient historian Asconius was “...standing for magistracies”; in other words, actually participating as a magistrate and the legal process.<sup>48</sup> However, this particular instance that Asconius mentions came from the founding of a colony, which may have been different from conquering a nation or tribe.<sup>49</sup>

For women, the pathway to getting citizenship was much more dependent on the major male guardian in their life, whether that was their father or, in the case of slaves who were women, their owner. For women who had been born free, there were two ways to gain independence: either their father had to die, or their father had to emancipate them.<sup>50</sup> For slave women, the process took on a different form. Because of the prevailing ideas that men were superior to women intellectually and physically, female slaves were given many different jobs that men were not given; for example, women were given work such as cooking, cleaning, caring for small animals, and more important female slaves could even be tasked manage the household.<sup>51</sup> However, this work was seen as unimportant by the Romans, being either

---

<sup>46</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 53-54

<sup>47</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 52-53

<sup>48</sup> Asconius, *Asconius: Commentaries on Speeches of Cicero* (Clarendon Ancient History Series. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2006), 7 <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1203048&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>49</sup> Asconius, *Asconius: Commentaries on Speeches of Cicero*, 6-7.  
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1203048&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>50</sup> Jane F Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (London: Routledge, 1993), 86.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>51</sup> Matthew J. Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 45-46 <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

overlooked completely or by not considering it important and/ or referring to the work as being unskilled.<sup>52</sup> This, in turn, meant that women were seen as being lazy unworking slaves.<sup>53</sup> Because of this, the female slave's most important contribution was as a way to keep reproducing slaves as a sort of internal slave supply, which also strongly influenced their price on the slave market.<sup>54</sup> The idea of a slave as an economic tool was important for slaves trying to become citizens, as it meant that a slave had to become close with their owner or had to be able to buy their own freedom in order to continue on the path to citizenship.<sup>55</sup> One way for women to develop that close connection was to be involved in a sexual relationship with their owner. In fact, there were women were freed and married to their previous owner from sexual relationships.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, women who opted to instead buy their own freedom could find outside work which gave them the necessary funds. However, this work included professions like prostitution and acting. Both of these professions, while giving a chance for women to earn money and prestige, were not as socially acceptable as other forms of work, and so risked their chance to become full citizens.<sup>57</sup> The actual process of manumission, or the freeing of a slave, could be done in a few different ways. First, a slave owner could bring his slave to a magistrate, with the magistrate formally certifying the freedom with a touch of his official's rod.<sup>58</sup> The second was that a slave owner could stipulate in his will that a slave be freed

---

<sup>52</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 48.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>53</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 48.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>54</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 49.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>55</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 53-54.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>56</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 54-55.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>57</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 56-57.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>58</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

upon execution of the will.<sup>59</sup> Both of these options were formal pathways, with the end result being both freedom from slavery as well as full citizenship. However, there were also women who were freed informally, with their master simply saying that the slave was freed. However, because they were not granted citizenship through this process, their property and future children were still considered the property and slaves of the original owner.<sup>60</sup> The pathway for slaves to become citizens was not affected by the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which granted universal citizenship to all subjects within the Empire.<sup>61</sup> This was because slaves were not, legally speaking, free people. Slaveowners sometimes took advantage of this status by having their slaves perform tasks that free people could not do without incurring social stigma.

However, while it required some degree of risk, becoming a citizen of Rome was not without its benefits. These benefits were not just found in what is modern-day Italy but were in place throughout the empire. Many of these benefits included legal and political possibilities; however, there were other benefits, including possible tax exemptions.<sup>62</sup>

One benefit of being a Roman citizen was being able to take part in various legal processes. For example, Roman citizens living in Cyrene were able to be members of juries in

---

<sup>59</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>60</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>61</sup> Hekster and Zair, *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*, 123.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>62</sup> Augustus. "Ancient Roman Statutes: Translation, with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index," edited by Clyde Pharr, trans. by Allan Chester Johnson, Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, and Frank Card Bourne. (Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Yale Law School-Lillian Goldman Law Library), III.

[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus\\_001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus_001.asp).

court.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, St. Paul was able to gain many legal benefits as a naturally born citizen.<sup>64</sup> For example, he was able to avoid an interrogation and should not have been arrested; however, he was placed under arrest before the commander in charge of the city knew that he was a citizen.<sup>65</sup> His citizenship was also used to save his life in that same period. When Jews were plotting to kill him, St. Paul was granted a cavalry escort to see the governor of the province.<sup>66</sup>

Josephus was also able to defend his religion from Romans who were attacking it. This is especially seen in his text *Against Apion*. In the text, Josephus discusses how the Judeans were insulted, and argues both that the Jews were being insulted and that the libel was not accurate and sometimes even hypocritical.<sup>67</sup> For example, Josephus is willing to call out fellow Romans for only believing Greek historians, while not considering the historiography of other places, such as Jewish historians.<sup>68</sup> Josephus also points out the hypocrisy in only studying history from the Greeks, as they disagreed amongst themselves on the accuracy of historiography.<sup>69</sup> This text in particular was very important for Jews not in Judea. These Jews were captured in the aftermath of the original Siege of Jerusalem; they were taken prisoner by the Romans.<sup>70</sup> It is also important to note that Josephus was a bit of mixed bag when it came to his identity. He was a

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., VI.

<sup>64</sup> Acts 22:29, New International Version

<sup>65</sup> Acts 22:23-28, New International Version

<sup>66</sup> Acts 23: 23-35, New International Version

<sup>67</sup> Flavius Josephus and John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion* (Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary. Leiden: Brill, 2007), 217-221.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=232352&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>68</sup> Flavius Josephus and John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion*, 13.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=232352&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>69</sup> Flavius Josephus and John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion*, 18-20.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=232352&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>70</sup>Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 354

Roman citizen by the time that he died. However, he was born as a Jew, and took part in the Jewish revolt in 70 CE.<sup>71</sup> He was captured and became a Roman citizen after this capture. However, he always remained close to his Jewish roots, both defending the Jewish people from Romans and Greeks who were insulting the Jews as well as by arguing against Jews fighting for freedom from the Romans by arguing that God had allowed the Romans to win over the Jews, so the Jews should be submissive towards their Roman rulers.<sup>72</sup> However, it is important to note that Josephus was indeed a Roman citizen. Because of this status, he was actually able to be able to speak to Greeks and Romans and defend his faith, similar to how St. Paul was able to defend himself as a Roman citizen who was an early proponent of Christianity. It was presumably also one of the reasons why he was able to insult Apion so directly.<sup>73</sup>

While Roman citizens were able to get legal benefits owing to citizenship, there were also other non-legal benefits. For example, some citizens were able to leave Rome and help to found a new colony, which could further advance their careers and their social status, as well as that of their children.<sup>74</sup> For example, citizens could be made into members of the Equestrian Order, which was seen as prestigious from a military position.<sup>75</sup> This not only was prestigious, but also suggested that the family had wealth. Moreover, it was not an order that was gender exclusive; Julius Caesar himself was betrothed to a woman who was of the equestrian rank.<sup>76</sup> Members of the Equestrian Order were even addressed by the future emperor Augustus (referred

---

<sup>71</sup> Mellor, *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Major Writings*, 269.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=300>.

<sup>72</sup> Mellor, *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Major Writings*, 269.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=300>.

<sup>73</sup> Flavius Josephus and John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion*, 187-188.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=232352&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>74</sup> Asconius, *Asconius: Commentaries on Speeches of Cicero*, 7

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 153

<sup>76</sup> Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, "Lives of the Twelve Caesars," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, compiled by Ronald Mellor, translated by Ronald Mellor (3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 396. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=426>.



to as Octavian) when issues with the triumvirate were breaking out.<sup>77</sup> Future generations were also affected by their predecessor's actions, as children who were born to citizens were also legal citizens; the person getting citizenship may not have seen it in their lifetime, but that child or a future grandchild then had a stronger opportunity through which they could gain glory for their family name.<sup>78</sup> It was even possible for someone not born in Rome to end up becoming the Roman Emperor, such as the Emperor Hadrian, who was born in Spain.<sup>79</sup> It was also possible for entire towns to become more prestigious amongst their neighbors in different ways, such as by becoming an official colony.<sup>80</sup> Another way through which individuals could gain more social status was to become involved in the Imperial cults, where they could serve as priests, a position which gave a great deal of status.<sup>81</sup> One last way benefit that some people were able to obtain was exemption from Roman duties and taxes.<sup>82</sup>

Being a citizen of Rome was a worthy goal for any person in Rome to aspire to. It was not a goal that was easy to obtain, however, nor was it a goal without risk and cost. Men had to literally fight for their citizenship, undergoing many years of warfare and campaigning so that

---

<sup>77</sup> Appian, *Roman History*, trans. by Horace White (London: W: Heinemann, 1912-1913), 431-433  
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001768695>.

<sup>78</sup> Joy Connolly, *The State of Speech: Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=286701&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>79</sup> "Writers of Augustan History," in *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, compiled by Ronald Mellor, trans. by Ronald Mellor (3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 544.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=575>.

<sup>80</sup> Carolynn E. Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2018), 57.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

<sup>81</sup> Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, 59. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

<sup>82</sup> Augustus. "Ancient Roman Statutes: Translation, with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index," edited by Clyde Pharr, trans. by Allan Chester Johnson, Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, and Frank Card Bourne, III.  
[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus\\_001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus_001.asp).

they and their future descendants could get the chance to climb the socioeconomic ladder.<sup>83</sup> Meanwhile, free women had to wait until their father died or had to be emancipated to be made independent, upon which they could begin to experience citizenship.<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, women under the yoke of slavery had to convince their owner to free them.<sup>85</sup> This was not always an easy decision, as the owner would consider the slave to be an economic investment.<sup>86</sup> However, even if the woman was able to convince her owner to free her, this did not inherently mean that their owner would give them true freedom, which also included citizenship. Instead, it was possible that the former owner would only casually free the slave, which would only grant freedom, but not true citizenship.<sup>87</sup> However, those slave women that were formally manumitted were granted citizenship along with their newfound freedom.<sup>88</sup> In the end, though, it did not matter; for a great deal many more people were able to get citizenship through the *Constitution Antoniniana*.<sup>89</sup>

## Conclusion

Ancient Rome was one of the most impactful empires in the world. Over the course of several centuries, it was able to touch as far west as Britain, as far east as Egypt and modern-day

---

<sup>83</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 50

<sup>84</sup> Jane F Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (London: Routledge, 1993), 86.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>85</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 53.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>86</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 49.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>87</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>88</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>89</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

Israel, and as far south as North Africa.<sup>90</sup> Because of this expansion, a great deal of movement was happening all across the land. One way in which migration affected the Roman world was through the movement of non-Roman groups, such as the Helvetii and other tribes who were not Roman but were attempting to travel through the Roman world, with varying levels of success. For example, the Helvetii were ultimately unsuccessful in their attempt to move through the Roman province of Gaul.<sup>91</sup> However, there were also Roman migrants who were not associated with the military in any sense, instead being mainly composed of voluntary settlers.<sup>92</sup> However, not every settler was free or voluntary, with slaves and prisoners being among the migrants of the Roman world.<sup>93</sup> There were also gender roles that influenced Roman migrations.<sup>94</sup> For example, a motion was discussed and debated which would prevent women from traveling with their husbands when the men traveled to perform some sort of duty, an argument stemming from the ideal of a woman maintaining the household and estate.<sup>95</sup> While the motion failed to pass, it was still one way in which gender affected migration as well as thoughts on migration. However, it is also important to note that men may have also kept women in their lives from traveling out of fear of losing them forever due to the fairly high risk of the woman dying through some means.<sup>96</sup> There were also the military migrations throughout the Roman world. Some of this military movement came from the legions; some of them would march to wherever one campaign was taking place, while others would march to take part in a different campaign or

---

<sup>90</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 219

<sup>91</sup> Fitzpatrick and Haselgrove, *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*, 73. [https://search-ebscohost-com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live](https://search.ebscohost.com/spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live).

<sup>92</sup> Lo Cascio, Ernst Tacoma and Groen-Vallinga, *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17-19, 2015)*, 35. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1428732&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 36. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1428732&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 175

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 175

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-180

skirmish. This was often the case when some sort of crisis requiring military intervention occurred. The various Roman-controlled auxiliary units were also migrating; however, because they were much smaller and not as often permanently stationed, they were able to migrate more often than the full legions were.<sup>97</sup> Along with these military groups, there were also other former soldiers who marched off to found a new colony; these veterans would have already been discharged and granted citizenship.<sup>98</sup> These new colonists were not separate from towns that were already in existence; rather, these new and old towns formed competitive rivalries with each other. These other towns that had already been created were also vying to make their own citizens look better.<sup>99</sup> One of the strongest ways for different towns and villages to was to associate themselves with the emperor.<sup>100</sup> This connection was further able to help the people begin to regain status and prestige that may have been lost due to a major event, such as the change from Republic to Empire.<sup>101</sup> Another way in which towns could try to surpass their neighbors was through the construction of certain buildings, such as amphitheaters, and connect that building in some way with the emperor.<sup>102</sup>

However, migration in the Roman Republic and Empire was not a standalone part of Roman history; rather, it was also impacted by citizenship, and by the many people who sought out citizenship for themselves and their future descendants. There was also a difference between

---

<sup>97</sup> Cascio, Ernst Tacoma and Groen-Vallinga, *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17-19, 2015)*, 174. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1428732&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>98</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 218

<sup>99</sup> Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, 57. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

<sup>100</sup> Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, 56. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

<sup>101</sup> Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, 56. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

<sup>102</sup> Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, 57. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

how men and women obtained citizenship although both genders, depending on status, had to deal with some level of risk when trying to obtain citizenship. For men, to follow the path to citizenship was to follow the path of the sword. Free male Roman subjects had to join into an auxiliary unit formed of other men who were from the same area and serve for either 25 years or serve in 16 different campaigns.<sup>103</sup> After this time period, they would be discharged from military service, and were also granted citizenship for themselves and their descendants.<sup>104</sup> Women, on the other hand, had to deal with one of a few scenarios, depending on whether they were free or enslaved. For women who were born free, they had to be given independence from their father before being able to fully experience their citizenship. This came about in one of two ways: either their father died, or the father emancipated his daughter.<sup>105</sup> However, while independent women were able to perform some actions on their own, such as getting married or divorced of their own accord, they were also not able to do many other things that men were able to do. Some things that they could do were diminished rights that men could enjoy, such as being able to partake in political or financial matters.<sup>106</sup> There were also rights that men were legally granted that women were not; for example, women could not partake in political or legal work, such as being on a jury.<sup>107</sup> However, this scenario was only the case if the woman were born free. If a woman was born as a slave, then she would have to obtain freedom, and furthermore citizenship, from her master.<sup>108</sup> The first step in this process was for the woman to convince her

---

<sup>103</sup> Dando-Collins, *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*, 52-53

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 52

<sup>105</sup> Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen*, 86.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>106</sup> Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen*, 86-87.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>107</sup> Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen*, 85.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>108</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 53.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

master to grant her freedom from slavery, of which there were a few methods. One method was to simply buy their own freedom.<sup>109</sup> Some occupations that let the women procure funds were prostitution and being in the entertainment industry, such as by acting.<sup>110</sup> However, while enslaved women could feasibly get money through those professions, the jobs were also seen as being dishonorable, and so even if the woman could gain both full freedom and citizenship, it was possible for her to have a reputation that was not regarded well.<sup>111</sup> It was also possible for the woman to ask someone else to pay for her freedom, and was a rather common phenomenon.<sup>112</sup> The other fairly common way for an enslaved woman to be granted freedom was through a romantic and/or sexual relationship with either her owner or another slave.<sup>113</sup> For example, some enslaved women were freed because they were married to a male former slave who had already been granted freedom.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, women who underwent sexual relationships with their former owner were able to use that as a way to bargain for their freedom.<sup>115</sup> It was also possible for an enslaved woman to be given freedom so that she could then proceed to marry her former owner.<sup>116</sup> All of these were possible methods through which an enslaved woman could be granted her freedom. After succeeding through one of these ways, the

---

<sup>109</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 53-54.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>110</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 56-57.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>111</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 57.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>112</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 57.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>113</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 58.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>114</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 58.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>115</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 54.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>116</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 54.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

woman could be granted freedom in either a formal or informal manner.<sup>117</sup> There were two major ways that a slave could be granted their freedom formally. The first would be a scenario where the owner brought the slave to a magistrate and granted the slave freedom, which the magistrate would signify.<sup>118</sup> The other formal way in which slaves could be freed was through the owner's will; when the slaveowner died, if he wrote that a slave was to be freed, that manumission would occur upon the execution of the will.<sup>119</sup> Informal manumission usually occurred in a discussion; the owner would simply let the slave know in some way that they were free, and that was the entire process.<sup>120</sup> However, slaves who were manumitted informally were not fully granted freedom, as their future children and property were still owned by the person who had freed them.<sup>121</sup> They were not also granted citizenship in the Republican era, but were during the early Imperial era.<sup>122</sup>

It is important to discuss the scope of this paper. I was unable to find research talking about male slaves during the timeframe that I was looking at; I assume that the process was different, especially for slaves who fought as gladiators. Similarly, I was also unable to find research. I also had a focus on the years 60 BCE to 212 CE. This meant that I could not find sources talking about how Christianity influenced Roman policies, as Christianity had not yet become the state religion by that time period. However, it is also important to note that this paper

---

<sup>117</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 59-60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>118</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>119</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>120</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>121</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>122</sup> Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*, 60.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

was meant to be foundational, beginning a new “super field”, for lack of a better term, composed of how migration, citizenship, military affairs, and economics affected the Roman world, as well as how they all interacted and influenced each other.

The Roman Empire was one of the most impactful empires in global history. It was able to control much of Europe, the Middle East, and part of North Africa. Among the many subjects living under Roman control, there were those who were willing to risk a great deal in order to become citizens. In the end, though, it was only those who survived that risk who were able to call themselves, and their descendants, citizens of Rome.



# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

- Asconius. *Asconius: Commentaries on Speeches of Cicero*. Clarendon Ancient History Series. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2006.  
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1203048&site=ehost-live>.
- Appian. *Roman History*, Translated by Horace White. London: W: Heinemann, 1912-1913.  
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001768695>.
- Augustus. "Ancient Roman Statutes: Translation, with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index." Edited by Clyde Pharr. Translated by Allan Chester Johnson, Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, and Frank Card Bourne. Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Yale Law School-Lillian Goldman Law Library. Accessed March 7, 2021. [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus\\_001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/augustus_001.asp).
- Caesar, C. Julius. "Commentaries on the Gallic War." In *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, translated by Ronald Mellor, compiled by Ronald Mellor, 82-109. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge. Accessed April 16, 2021.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=112>.
- Cocceianus, Cassius Dio. "Dio's Roman History." Accessed March 7, 2021.  
<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007475535>.
- Josephus, Flavius, and John M. G. Barclay. *Against Apion*. Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary. Leiden: Brill, 2007.  
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=232352&site=ehost-live>.
- Tacitus, Cornelius. "The Life of Agricola." In *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, compiled by Ronald Mellor, translated by Ronald Mellor, 290-301. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=320>.
- Tranquillus, Gaius Suetonius. "Lives of the Twelve Caesars." Compiled by Ronald Mellor. In *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, translated by Ronald Mellor, 395-463. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=426>.
- "Writers of Augustan History." In *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Ancient Writings*, compiled by Ronald Mellor, translated by Ronald Mellor, 544-60. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=1047060&ppg=575>.

## Secondary Sources

Cecchet, Lucia, and Anna Busetto. *Citizens in the Graeco-Roman World: Aspects of Citizenship From the Archaic Period to AD 212*. Mnemosyne Supplements. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1613561&site=ehost-live>.

Connolly, Joy. *The State of Speech: Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=286701&site=ehost-live>.

Dando-Collins, Stephen. *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2012.

Fitzpatrick, Andrew P., and Colin Haselgrove. *Julius Caesar's Battle for Gaul: New Archaeological Perspectives*. Haverton, P.A.: Oxbow Books, 2019. [https://search-ebscohost-com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live](https://search.ebscohost.com.spectacled.ursinus.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2281413&site=ehost-live).

Gardner, Jane F. *Being a Roman Citizen*. London: Routledge, 1993.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=460210&site=ehost-live>.

Hekster, Olivier, and Nicholas Zair. *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*. Debates and Documents in Ancient History. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=243580&site=ehost-live>.

Lo Cascio, Elio, Laurens Ernst Tacoma, and Miriam J. Groen-Vallinga. *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Twelfth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Rome, June 17-19, 2015)*. Impact of Empire. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1428732&site=ehost-live>.

Mellor, Ronald. *The Historians of Ancient Rome: An Anthology of the Major Writings*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012. Accessed April 6, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1047060>

Pennell, Robert F. *Ancient Rome: From the Earliest Times Down to 476 A.D.* [Luton, England]: Andrews UK, 2012.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=995049&site=ehost-live>.

Perry, Matthew J. *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=644587&site=ehost-live>.

Roncaglia,Carolynn E. *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2018. Accessed March 20, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ursinus-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5108367&ppg=82>.

Tacoma, Laurens Ernst, and L. de Ligt. *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*. Studies in Global Migration History. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1160162&site=ehost-live>.