

Citizenship in antiquity: current perspectives and challenges

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Citizenship

Citizenship is usually defined less by what it is than by what it does, as it allows its holders to enjoy privileges in a political community that others may experience only to a limited degree or not at all. It is sometimes conveniently labelled as political ‘membership’, but it clearly traverses the boundaries of being a member of an ‘organization of citizens’. As inherently a claim to privileges, it has commonly been a source of communal identity – if not ideology – of the entitled, emphasized by their being opposed to the excluded, nowadays more limited as an antithesis, since non-citizenship no longer tends to be hereditary. However, in modern post-Bodin, post-industrial states, citizenship may be considered secondary to a resident status in non-citizens’ common aspirations, with other legal statuses often being equally helpful in regulating one’s ability to work, trade, dwell, and obtain justice in the state, even if requiring some extra formalities. When it is considered essential, it is mostly through the convenience of its permanence, not relying on shifting political attitudes as other statuses often do. At times, this certainly could have also been the case in the ancient Mediterranean, with which this volume is primarily concerned, but, first, the distance between citizens and people of different statuses was larger, more solidified, and often binary, and, second, a large body of sources for this concept and its realities tends to emphasize the political over what we would call the social or simply human.

And yet citizenship keeps returning as hostage in political debates and public rhetoric as the posited better side in ‘us – them’ antitheses, as it did in antiquity. The reasons for this are mostly beyond the scope of this book, but the volume certainly aims to look at the *where* and the *how*, with the hope of showing some shared risks and patterns of overstressing this idea. Citizenship has also been often rephrased across millennia – ever since the proto-concept was formed – as a metonym for ‘civic engagement’ or ‘participation’, as seen in both antiquity- and modernity-oriented discussions in this book (see, e.g., Neveu; Duploux; von Dassow). Last but not least, it necessarily implies a civic (egalitarian, inclusive) form of government or, as the bare minimum, a civic space within a more hierarchical regime, which sets one of the more difficult questions before students of citizenship’s history: can there be citizens where there are rulers and subjects? With this in mind, our journey from the second millennium BCE to the

twenty-first century CE begins, with classical antiquity at the core of – but not the limit to – this volume’s interests.

The exclusivist aspect in citizenship and franchise – leaving out those of the ‘worse’ social background, ethnicity, or sex – seems to be an almost universal pattern in political history. But so are certain degrees of egalitarianism and equality, whether encompassing a painfully narrow, moderate (historically anything above 10%), or larger percentage of the population as part of the in-group, at first often regulated by military needs and army organization. The sizes of these groups regularly fluctuated in most communities, commonly as a result of social conflict or power struggles, but sometimes through debate and joint attempts to avoid bloodshed, or even evolution resulting from changes in socio-economic structure; however, even in the most egalitarian ancient societies, this was probably never a majority of the population, not least because of the presumably large numbers of slaves, mostly unregulated non-citizen immigration, and the problem of unequal privileges of citizen women. These fluctuations, a core interest of political history, are also one of the themes of this book. Their result was usually a better understanding in a given society or state of who had the ‘right to have rights’, or one’s potential place – not just the current actual one – in the political community. How we will look on citizenship both ancient and modern in a decade or a century from now, given how the world is once again experiencing war refugees and mass migration in 2022, remains an open and burning question.

‘Being a citizen’ seems to have commonly been as much a status as a statement. How a relation between the two is actualized often shows the morality and prevalent ideology of the in-group or the wider society. A common pattern of normative behaviour in ancient civic communities was reciprocity and mutual aid (or mutual reliance), whether appearing in horizontal or vertical social relations. Such practices often led to instituting written laws and safeguarding the rights of different parts of the society, whether meeting the strict modern criteria of being always valid and forever granted – truly ‘inalienable’ – or not. On the other hand, unwritten rights and duties were necessarily part of the social practice in most ancient communities, sometimes inscribed, at other times forming part of communal and family traditions. Extracting the ‘civic’ from them and defining the ‘political’ against the ‘social’ often proves to be an impossible task.

(Not just) in antiquity

‘Citizen’ is first defined in Greek, either as *politēs* or through other often unrelated, mostly territorial, blood-related, ethnic terms (Rhodes; Frullini; Filonik in this vol.), and not much later – primarily as *civis* – in Latin, two ancient languages and societies that offer the most in-depth look into this concept or set of concepts. *Politēs* is a person with (at least the potential for) full entitlements in a *polis*, in this sense always masculine and denoting the privileges of enfranchised men in the classical Athenian sense (see Brock, Gordin, Joyce; but cf. Schipani and Ferraioli on Epirus; Carlsson, Müller on Hellenistic Greece in this vol.). This is not very helpful as a definition, but various contributors to this volume offer more comprehensive explanations. The term *polis* only contributes to the conceptual conundrum, as seen in its common rendering in modern languages, exemplified by the English ‘city-state’ or the recently popular ‘citizen-state’. These are probably the best translations, but they are also circular: a citizen is a privileged ‘member’ or ‘participant’ of a citizen-state, and a citizen-state is a state made for and by citizens. A more common identification, however, would be through one’s belonging to a smaller or larger ‘tribe’, a problem somewhat obscured by our present focus.

And indeed the older, more geographically oriented translation of *polis*, is focused on the ‘city’ as its crucial aspect – the territorially enclosed, usually walled and not too large space where a socially and politically separate ‘people’, or *dēmos*, can live, closely studied in recent decades in its many aspects particularly by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (as is often the case, Sparta seems the greatest outlier; cf. Hansen and Nielsen 2004). Such city-states or citizen-states are perhaps easier to understand now, in a world where cities and metropolitan areas are getting more and more attention as contemporary centres of gravity, with some local societal engagement and politics irrespective of (or even opposed to) wider structures, despite major differences between both worlds. Yet this territory-oriented rendering conceals the patterns of exclusion of non-citizen inhabitants, who were physically but not politically part of such states. What links the ancient and the modern are the more civic then, and usually less so now, ‘offices’ or ‘magistracies’, or, to use an industrial metaphor, all the machinery of both the state and the city, which helped the *polis* develop as it did (cf. Davies 2015).¹

Not entirely unlike modern states, *poleis* were quite creative in developing and naming subordinate statuses, often taxed or used in labour but broadly underprivileged. And like citizens of modern states, ancient Greeks voted and could own land and houses in their city-states without major constraints, but were much more widely expected to hold office and serve in the army than citizens of most states in the present day. And with a certain similarity to modernity but often a more obsessive in-group focus, some of them relied heavily on blood relations for the ability even to grant citizen status (Davies 1977/1978), with the exception of

wealthy benefactors having their own route into it, quite like the golden passports known from recent decades, a practice common to many late classical and virtually all Hellenistic *poleis*. In line with the claims of social identity theory, early Greek sources also tell us more about the privileges denied to the excluded and bestowed on the newly included than about the positive definition of what is a ‘citizen’ (cf. Duplouy 2018: 8). Much of this continued into the world of Hellenistic *poleis*, but it had certainly developed new political realities, with the growing popularity of citizenship grants for benefaction, *isopoliteia* and *sympoliteia* treaties essentially allowing dual citizenship, and shifting status boundaries and communal identities (see chapters in Parts 5 and 6 of this vol.).

But starting with the Greeks is also just a traditional way of looking at the ancient political world and not the only path one could take. As the chapters in Part 2 on the Near East show, we may very well speak of a world of Babylonian and Phoenician *poleis*, by borrowing the Greek term but not the Greek focus. Being part of an early second-millennium BCE Mesopotamian political community often implied similar functions related to voting, witnessing, and judging, quite in line with the Aristotelian definition and important to its participants (von Dassow in this vol.). In Hittite Anatolia, further into the second millennium BCE, the relation between ‘subjects’ and the king (‘lord’) was of primary importance in the documents, but some of them also speak of ‘men’ or ‘sons of Ḫatti’ to denote affiliation to local political communities and sometimes seem to be treated as a citizen body (or through more specific designations, as groups capable of fighting), not necessarily as a reward (Gerçek in this vol.). Neo-Babylonian political practices in the first millennium BCE, in turn, reveal various ‘acts of citizenship’ through individual and group efforts appearing in the preserved legal documents despite the surrounding hierarchical socio-political structure, comparable to some Graeco-Roman practices and categories (Gordin in this vol.; cf. Isin and Nielsen 2008 on ‘acts’). Committees of elders can also be distinguished in the same period in the so-called Phoenician city-states of the eastern Mediterranean, some of them dating as far back as to the Bronze Age and taking over the traditional prerogatives of monarchs earlier than others, aided by developing wider citizen assemblies, in principle comprising all men capable of fighting (Woolmer in this vol.). Where older research denied political agency to the peoples of the Ancient Near East, current studies tend to see other important differences in power structures across the Mediterranean (see below on recent research in the field).

In archaic Rome, citizenship most probably already depended on Roman civil law and developed together with similar concepts in other Latin communities (Crawford 2012). It is debatable what in the organization of the citizen body predated the reforms of the fifth century

BCE (see Bradley and Roth in this vol.), but broadly speaking, Roman citizenship matured as much with the evolution of Roman law – such as intermarriage or protections of poorer citizens already in the early Republic – as with growing Roman expansion in Italy and beyond (Ando 2010). In the classical period, it was commonly referred to as *civitas*, also a name for ‘civic community’, derived from *civis* ‘citizen’. Its boundaries were, again, dependent on social dynamics and conflicts between groups, always in a fragile balance held together by the legal protections of the *res publica*, which shaped the early understanding of ‘republican’ citizenship. The status of a Roman citizen by 338 BCE became broadly available to – and was sometimes forced on – other Italian tribes, at first without the right to vote (*sine suffragio*) but with regular citizen duties: tax payment and military service, as ordered by Rome. As a result of the Social War, or the war with the allies, Rome granted them all citizenship through the *lex Iulia* of 90 BCE, a practice soon extended by Caesar’s Gallic war and new conquests, though not all citizens remained equal, not least in terms of the *census* (on the latter, see Clemente 2022; Ando; Roth in this vol.).

Under the Empire, Roman citizenship was made almost universal – most of all excluding innumerable slaves – by the emperor Caracalla (or Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus), through an edict usually called the *constitutio Antoniniana*, of ca. 212 CE (cf. Lavan 2015; Ando 2016a; Besson in this vol.). Scholars are polarized in the assessment of its significance, and it has been argued that it was as much ground-breaking as it was a mere formality to many without real access to the Empire’s social elites, done mostly to enforce taxes; recent research usually sees it as resulting in a modest change, without being truly universal – though also not unwelcome – outside of Italy (Ando 2016b; Lavan 2016; Besson 2020). Further measures to employ the practical equality of statuses were later taken by Christian emperors, most notably Justinian in the early sixth century CE. Regardless of the individual steps along the way, the model of wide-ranging grants of citizenship is undeniably a product of Roman political culture that led to its successful spread on such a vast scale (European states developing later on the basis of Greek or Near Eastern political practices would have created a much different world). Indeed, it has often been noted with a grain of salt – following the Aristotelian categories, Polybius, and Philippe Gauthier (1974; 1981) – that only Roman Senators could be considered ‘proper citizens’ in the Greek sense of the term, given the limited role of civic participation and open discussion in the assemblies of the Roman republic, but this view has been challenged by scholars pointing out the importance of popular assemblies in influencing Roman legislation (Yakobson 1999; Millar 2002; 2005; Tatum 2009). But unlike its Roman equivalent, throughout antiquity Greek citizenship was considered

a scarce entity, bestowed on individuals as an honour and a privilege (Ando 1999; 2010; 2015; cf. Filonik in this vol.). On the other hand, the universalising tradition of the Antonine Constitution continued throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in the Christian language of belonging, surpassing legal status (see the Part Seven of this vol.).

And yet citizenship symbolizes not only the inner circle of belonging but also the outer circle of those who do not belong or may do so on a conditional basis. In every state, alongside those who belonged to the citizen body, resided ‘outsiders’. In Rome, free non-citizens were called *peregrini* (sg. *peregrinus*, from *peregrinor* – to live in foreign lands, to go abroad) or *advena* (sg. *advena*, from *advenio* – to come to a place). In Greek, they were generally called *xenoi* (sg. *xenos*). The word *xenoi* usually described freeborn foreigners (slaves, although *xenoi* by definition, had their special terminology). As foreigners, however, the word also denoted ‘guests’ or ‘hosts’, and also ‘mercenary soldiers’. *Xenoi* were non-citizens who stayed for a short while in the hosting community without becoming full members of it. They lacked civic rights; they were not entitled to own real estate, unless granted this right by the *polis*; in Athens and other places, children born to them by women of citizen status were not considered citizens; and they could not take legal action in the host-community law courts. Yet in some places in Greece (e.g., in Oeanthea and Chaleon, *IG IX 1² 717*), special courts were established for them, and likewise in Ptolemaic Egypt in the Hellenistic period.² There is also evidence that some *poleis* regulated their status by appointing special officials (e.g., the *kosmoi xenōn* in Crete: *IC XI 78*) or by special legislation (e.g., the *xenikos nomos* in Miletos: *Milet I.3, 33a-g*). In Athens, they were also subject to a tax on market activity (*xenikon*: Dem. 57.34), and if they pretended to be citizens they could be prosecuted. The *xenos* could use the help of the local *proxenos* (a citizen of the host-city, chosen by the *xenos*’ city to represent and help its citizens). Some *poleis* made written agreements (*symbolai* or *symbola*), which guaranteed their citizens’ safety when visiting each other’s city (Gauthier 1972).

Xenoi who chose to settle in the hosting city became non-citizen residents, called in Athens and elsewhere *metoikoi* (metics). Many of them could have been refugees (cf. Rhodes; Kostecka in this vol.; Gray 2016). In other places, where they usually comprised the local population subjugated by the dominating group, they were called *paroikoi* or *perioikoi*; foreigners who were settled by the citizens were sometimes called *katoikoi*. These designations, all compounds of the word *oikos*, house (or the verb *oikein*, to reside, settle), emphasized the fact that these non-citizens had their abode together with, near, or by the citizens. Metics were more privileged – but also more regulated – foreigners: they were an important element in the

polis's economy (mostly in manufacturing and commerce), they paid a special tax, participated in some religious festivals, and served in the army.³

To the group of free non-citizens also belonged people freed from slavery.⁴ Manumission, a word of Latin origin but now widely applied, means the termination of the total domination and confinement of one person by another and the annulment of his or her legal condition as property. Being freed, the slave became a subject of rights, limited as they were. Manumission in Greece is attested from the sixth century BCE; however, it was very likely practised even earlier. The evidence shows a variety of local practices and even statuses after manumission. Although manumission in Greece was generally the private initiative of the slave-owner, the state was sometimes involved. Slave owners could attach various conditions to manumission – foremost, payment by the former slaves or by third parties. In fact, conditional manumission seems to have been the predominant practice, emphasizing the slave's absolute dependence and the often protracted relations of dominance, even after freedom was formally granted. These conditions were often secured by penalty clauses threatening the freed slaves with re-enslavement or corporal punishment should they fail to fulfil their obligations. Manumitted slaves in Greece remained non-citizens, even if in some regions their status was more privileged than in others. In Athens, their status was similar, though not identical, to that of metics. They had no civic rights and could not own real estate, and in some places they were subject to special taxes.

Manumission in Rome is mentioned already in the Twelve Tables of the mid-fifth century BCE. Roman law provided Roman citizens with formal modes to manumit their slaves, whereby the latter became both free and citizens, but with certain limitations: they were not allowed to hold office (but their children were full citizens). In time, manumission could also be carried out informally, but following a law of 19 CE (the *Lex Iunia*), slaves who were manumitted informally became *de facto* free but not citizens. In Rome, freed slaves owed deference, obedience, and services to their former owners, who were now their *patroni*. If the freed slave died intestate, his or her former owner became the heir. Under Augustus, manumission was regulated: manumission by will was limited to a certain proportion of one's slaves, and a minimum age of twenty years for the manumittor and thirty years for slaves manumitted was established. After 212 CE, following the edict of the Emperor Caracalla (see above), freed slaves were included among those given full Roman citizenship.

Despite being freed and, in Rome, becoming citizens, manumitted slaves carried the stigma of servile origins, and their obligations to their former masters prolonged their condition of dependence long after attaining legal freedom. All of this shows the complicated and often

lasting stratification of much of the ancient political world (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005; Mouritsen 2011; Ismard 2017; Lewis 2018; Harris and Zanolle in this vol.), even though some social boundaries and contexts seem to have remained more permeable than others (Vlassopoulos 2007; Nevett 2013; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2021).

Current perspectives

This book project began with a conference, jointly organized in 2019 in London by UCL and Jagiellonian University in Kraków, as part of Jakub Filonik's postdoctoral project on the cognitive aspects of Athenian discourse of citizenship (NCN 2016/20/S/HS2/00056). The event was co-organized by Chris Carey, Jakub Filonik, Christine Plastow, and Roel Konijnendijk, assisted by Brenda Griffith-Williams, Joanna Janik, and Monika Zabrocka, and co-funded by the Leventis Fund. It brought together over forty scholars from different research areas (not least Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz, joining us now as a co-editor), encompassed a public event on citizenship ancient and modern, and had its highlights in thought-provoking keynote speeches by Engin Isin, Catherine Neveu, Clifford Ando, Josiah Ober, and John K. Davies. The present book stems from that event but not in any simple 1:1 relation. It certainly sometimes shares its vices (a propensity for the Greek world) and virtues (an attempt to cross simplistic historical boundaries), but hopes to be a more comprehensive discussion of civic communities in the ancient Mediterranean by a much broader coverage of themes and to serve as an accessible companion on the topic also to non-specialists. We are also very lucky to have the introductory chapter on Greek citizenship by Professor Peter Rhodes, better known as PJ Rhodes, who sadly passed away before this book was finished, but remained intellectually active until the very end, and was able to finish his contribution.

This volume is hardly the only work on citizenship to appear in our time. There have been plentiful valuable contributions to the study of ancient citizenship, with which contributors to the present book remain in a constructive dialogue. First of all, the new millennium brought many useful discussions on Near Eastern political history in antiquity. A new handbook of Hittite empire has only just appeared (de Martino 2022), with its detailed explorations of governance and power structures, preceded by another one focused on the state in the ancient Mediterranean and the Near East (Bang and Scheidel 2013) and a close study of Hittite officials and administration (Bilgin 2018). Contributors to a volume edited by Gernot Wilhelm (2012) explored the symbolic repertoire of power in the Ancient Near East, and Andrea Seri (2005) analyzed the functioning of local Old Babylonian power structures,

including councils of elders and assemblies. Daniel E. Fleming's (2004) study of 3,000 cuneiform letters from second-millennium BCE Mari led to conclusions about political traditions resembling those of pre-democratic Greek *poleis*. Going one step further, Gojko Barjamovic (2004) and Seth Richardson (2018) in their papers explicitly spoke of Mesopotamian 'civic institutions' and 'citizens' respectively, a view not unfamiliar to contributors to the present volume (cf. von Dassow 2012), even if still revolutionary in some disciplines, but one perhaps less controversial with respect to Phoenician city-states and Punic Carthage (Hoyos 2010; 2020; Quinn 2017), the latter being one of few non-Greek Mediterranean *politeiai* eagerly praised by Aristotle (Lockwood 2021; Pezzoli 2022).

The Phoenicians – as they were called by the Greeks – presented natural links to the Graeco-Roman world and its authors through similar modes of establishing settlements (city-states, colonies) and growing cultural contacts since the archaic period of Greek history. Carolina López-Ruiz (2022) recently explored in detail Phoenician colonial expansion in different parts of the Mediterranean throughout antiquity. Josephine C. Quinn (2017) in her thought-provoking study discussed the misleading history of naming the Canaanites and replacing their city-state-based identities with ethnic ones by various ancient and modern outsiders. Dexter Hoyos (2010) studied the political and cultural life and city-state developments of the Carthaginians up to their famous clash with Rome. Contributors to volumes edited by Henry Hurst and Sarah Owen (2005) and Guy J. Bradley and John-Paul Wilson (2006) discussed Greek and Roman colonization compared with each other and with their modern equivalents. Irad Malkin (e.g., 2001; 2003; 2016) studied Greek colonization in its religious, ethnic, and political aspects and Robert Garland (2014) explored different categories of migrants in ancient Greece, followed by two volumes on early Greek colonization edited by Lieve Donnellan et al. (2016a; 2016b). Tessa D. Stek and Jeremia Pelgrom (2014) with their contributors analyzed the patterns of Roman republican colonization, and Ramsay MacMullen (2000) examined its continuations in the times of Augustus and the patterns of political expansion of the developing Roman empire, while Kathryn Lomas (2017) looked into the developments of Rome from the Iron Age to the Punic Wars.

Focusing on the Greek world, a volume edited by Alain Duplouy and Roger Brock (2018) offered insights into archaic citizenship liberated from classical definitions and focusing on the period when many concepts and socio-political mechanisms also important in the later Greek world were formed. Contributors to a recent volume edited by Johannes C. Bernhardt and Mirko Canevaro (2022) discussed the manifold aspects of socio-political history of archaic Greece, not least from the broad institutional perspective. Josine Blok (2017) argued for a more

inclusive definition of ‘citizen’ in both archaic and classical Athens, including women, owing to their participation and important role in religious practices. Meanwhile, a now classical contribution to the field by John K. Davies (1977/1978) on Athenian citizenship and its reliance on descent still remains one of the most helpful treatments of the topic (cf. Griffith-Williams; Fisher; Haussker in this vol.). The *Inventory* of Greek *poleis* edited by Mogens H. Hansen and Thomasen H. Nielsen (2004) catalogues and discusses much of the *polis*-related material. Books by Eric Robinson (1997; 2011), Susanne Carlsson (2010), and Matthew Simonton (2017), as well as contributors to volumes edited by Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson (2000), Hans Beck (2013), and Dean Hammer (2015) further problematized Greek citizenship under democracy and oligarchy in its diachronic and synchronic dimensions, the latter by extensively comparing Greek democracies to the Roman *res publica*, and a new book by Kulesza (2022) offers in-depth discussions of Sparta as a state and a society. Cypriot city-states, or rather city-kingdoms, have been studied in the recently monograph recently published by Beatrice Pestarino (2022), arguing for the existence of local councils and assemblies, with which local kings would often share their power. Chapters in a Graeco-Roman collection edited by Lucia Cecchet and Anna Busetto (2017) brought further insights into different aspects of ancient citizenship, not least dual and multiple citizenship under Roman rule and the idea of cosmopolitanism in antiquity. Finally, Claire Taylor and Kostas Vlassopoulos (2015), with their contributors, proposed to look at the wider communities and networks prevalent in the ancient Greek world.

Many recent works are also dedicated to developments following those in classical Greek *poleis*. Contributions to volumes edited by Pierre Fröhlich and Chistel Müller (2005), Onno M. van Nijf and Richard Alston (2011), and Katell Berthelot and Jonathan Price (2019) have brought important insights into citizenship and civic participation in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds of divergent ethnicities and identities. Benjamin Gray (2015; 2016; 2018a; 2018b) in a series of publications studied the public life, values, conflicts, and migrations related to the Hellenistic *polis*. A volume edited by Henning Börm and Nino Luraghi (2018) was also focused on exploring the latter, while John Ma (2013) explored the links between euergetism and civic identity through public statues, recently joined by Marc Domingo Gygax (2016) with his wider study of Greek benefaction and Przemysław Siewierski et al. (2021) with a monograph on honouring women in Greek cities.

Students of the political culture of republican Rome are now lucky to have a new companion edited by Valentina Arena and Jonathan Prag (2022). Clifford Ando (2011; 2015) and Emma Dench (2018) analyzed the political and legal conceptual apparatus of the Roman

empire, while Myles Lavan (2013) studied the metaphorical discourse of slavery present in Rome's vision of its relations with the conquered subjects; Lavan and Ando (2021) also recently joined forces as editors to explore Roman and local citizenship in the 'long second century CE'. Jeremy Armstrong and James H. Richardson (2017) edited a volume focused on Roman political developments in 509-264 BCE, and Alex Imrie (2018) and Arnaud Besson (2020) published new comprehensive discussions of the Antonine Constitution. The issues of citizenship and communal identities in the western Mediterranean have been studied by Jonathan Prag (2015) and Louise Revell (2016). Roman political thought, including the concept of classical republican citizenship and citizen ideals, has been recently given fresh treatment by Dean Hammer (2014) and Jed W. Atkins (2018), while Henrik Mouritsen (2017) explored the intricacies of Roman republican politics. Various recent volumes, notably including one edited by Catherine Steel and Henriette van der Blom (2013), have also given apt attention to Roman political rhetoric and public communication.

There has been renewed interest in the continuations of and innovations to 'classical' Greek and Roman political concepts and broader approaches to ancient citizens. Arjan Zuiderhoek (2017) examined the ancient city in its many aspects, with contributors to a volume edited by Claudia Rapp and H.A. Drake (2014) taking a wide-ranging approach to the matter, from the *polis* through the Roman empire to Christian Europe, and with contributors to a volume on ancient states edited by Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson (2017) taking up an even broader struggle with the material highlighting structures of power ranging from early Mesopotamia through the Zhou empire and Inca despotism to Visigothic Iberia and Byzantium. Last but not least, contributors to a recent book edited by Cédric Brélaz and Els Rose (2021) reflected on manifold aspects of civic identity and participation in late antiquity and early Middle Ages.

And challenges

Insightful questions of both general and specific nature were asked at the London conference by John K. Davies, on whose behalf we may ask now: 'why did systems of citizenship emerge, and what purposes did they serve? Did those purposes change?' and 'Is ancient citizenship a single institution as a single species of collective behaviour, or does the use of the word conceal major structural differences among the various collages of components that one may review in the *Inventory* with its disturbingly uniform format?'⁵ Was the link between the two institutions of city-state and citizenship organic? Do we have a single viable theory of ancient citizenship,

e.g., as a (very rudimentary and selective) charter of Human Rights?', on top of the inwards-oriented question particularly relevant to academics: 'Where is the discourse going, and where should it be going? ... Is ancient citizenship properly comparable to modern citizenship, or is the near-identity of terminology dangerously misleading?'

To these we may now add: is citizenship as performance in its essence the same in a Near Eastern citizen-state, a Greek *polis*, Mediaeval *civitates* and empires, and modern participatory democracies (cf. Gordin; Duploux; Bednarek; Cecchet; Champion; Rose; Smythe; Sehlmeier)? Are politically involved people of non-democratic regimes to a larger degree 'citizens' than idle citizens by name in democracies (von Dassow; Kulesza in ch. 15; Souza)? Is an abstract concept, like English 'citizenship', necessary for assuming the existence of the idea, or do more primary means of expression reveal more about patterns of inclusion and exclusion (cf. Malkin; Filonik; Sanger; Martnez Jimnez and Flierman)? Do we understand the ancient biases against naturalized citizens and if so, what other than the status makes a citizen proper (cf. Griffith-Williams; Fisher; Kucharski; Cook)? Is the meaning of citizenship different in different contexts, both ancient and modern (cf. Neveu; Frullini; Harris and Zanovello)? What is the role of institutions and social norms in promoting and solidifying some of these meanings (cf. Seelentag; Carey; Berthelot; Ando; Roth)? Is citizenship still the primary political identity and is there enough to connect citizens with polarized political views, other than an existential threat?

Theoretical studies from the last decades often focused on 'global citizenship', now already being questioned together with globalization itself by the developments of the recent years. Yet many works have also underlined the problematic labelling of 'citizens' as a posited unified group, arguably created through acquiring a forced, not an elective identity. Performative aspects of citizenship also keep reappearing in modern studies as acts through which citizens can actualize their legal status in both democratic and non-democratic polities (Isin 2017, with bibliography). Many discussions still revolve around the liberal, republican, and communitarian interpretations of the concept, often incongruent with each other. Meanwhile, Josiah Ober (2017) proposes a new constitutional model called Demopolis, in an attempt to creatively transplant citizenship from ancient Greek democratic *poleis* into a much different modern world, where civic dignity and participation need to find different venues. In this rich discursive framework, we attempt to delve into ancient citizenship once again.

This volume brings together scholars working on different regions and periods of the ancient Mediterranean: from the Hittite empire and old Babylonia through Phoenician/Punic

city-states, the non-Graeco-Roman Western Mediterranean, and Graeco-Roman Egypt and Judaea to the Greek *poleis*, the Roman republic and empire, and the Byzantine empire. It takes up the task of providing accounts of the multifaceted and changing dimensions of citizenship across these areas and times, by adopting a multidisciplinary and comparative perspective. The contributions to this volume demonstrate the manifold meanings and ways of defining the concept and practices of citizenship or belonging in ancient societies and, hence, of non-citizenship and non-belonging: whether citizenship was defined by territorial belonging or blood descent; by privileged or exclusive access to resources or participation in communal decision-making; by a sense of group belonging – such identifications were also open to discursive redefinitions and manipulation. Citizenship and belonging, as well as non-citizenship and non-belonging, had many shades and degrees; citizenship could be bought or faked, or even deprived. Contributors to this volume try to answer questions such as: what were the formal requirements needed to become a citizen; what were the formal and informal obligations and privileges of citizens and who was considered a citizen proper; what were the normative linguistic ways of expressing the concept; how could one lose one's citizenship; what were major distinctions between citizens; who were citizens usually opposed to; what laws regulated citizenship and how did they change in the place and period under discussion.

The chapters in Part One address the theory of citizenship, both generally and in the Greek and Roman contexts. In Chapter 2, Catherine Neveu takes an anthropological perspective on citizenship, asking to what extent we speak about the same thing when discussing citizenship in classical antiquity and in the modern world. The chapter underlines how variability in the meanings of citizenship(s) in context(s) can be grasped; such versatility reveals the political projects that underpin them, how they are (temporarily crystalized) answers to conflicts and stakes, and the imaginaries at play about society and rights. It aims to 'denaturalize' the political processes through which localizations, levels, and conceptions of citizenship(s) are produced and bundled in specific ways, and to underline how 'anthropologically minded' approaches to citizenship can contribute to a better contextualization of 'cultures of citizenship', both in contemporary situations and historical ones.

In Chapter 3, P. J. Rhodes offers an overview of Greek citizenship, delineating who was entitled to it in various Greek states and what rights and responsibilities it entailed. The chapter also briefly explores other divisions of citizens and forms of civic belonging, as well as enumerating other status categories and the possibility of grants of partial or full citizenship. It also explores situations where citizenship was not a fundamental division but people from

both sides of the line could engage with one another in spite of their difference of status. In Chapter 4, Alain Duplouy examines Greek citizenship in the broad view from a different angle: that of performative citizenship, the act of participation in the many areas of social life and common affairs. Such a notion of performative citizenship rests on concepts borrowed from sociology, anthropology, and political sciences, such as Max Weber's *Stand* (status group), Marcel Mauss's body, Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*, Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Lebensform* (form of life), as well as the ancient Greek concept of *schēma* (attitudes and body language). All these concepts, which constitute the other language of citizenship as discussed in the chapter, refer to lifestyles and behaviours as practical fields in which citizenship could be defined and enacted in ancient Greece. The second part of the chapter explores the citizen value of the athletic lifestyle in archaic and classical cities.

The final chapter in this Part, by Markus Sehlmeier, offers a contemporary model of Roman citizenship in the early Empire, focusing on the first and second centuries CE. The model by British sociologist Thomas H. Marshall based on early modern England is applied to British citizenship in modern times, but it helps to classify Roman citizen rights, which, in many cases, have analogies to the human rights of the Enlightenment. Citizenship had no priority at first; the *princeps* was in need of backers for constitutional and provincial reforms. The succeeding emperors showed greater effort to expand citizenship over provincial cities, resulting in progressive Romanization. The chapter closes by noting the influence of the Roman Empire for the discourse around European unification.

Part Two examines citizenship in the Ancient Near East. In Chapter 6, Eva von Dassow argues for the application of the analytic category of citizenship to the subjects of Ancient Near Eastern states. Using Josine Blok's model of citizenship as membership in a political community that entails prerogatives and responsibilities non-members lack and that involves a distinct sense of belonging to that community, the chapter focuses particularly on legal documents concerning the status of persons or illustrating community members' participation in governance from the age of Hammurabi. These sources show that native and free status, normally based on descent, were the fundamental criteria for membership in a political community, which entailed both duty on behalf of that community and a share in its governance. N. İlgi Gerçek, in Chapter 7, turns to the subject of citizenship in Hittite Anatolia. The chapter moves beyond the assumption that the people of Ḫatti – usually considered as 'subjects' rather than 'citizens' – were not politically active, and studies Hittite textual evidence to explore the conceptualization(s) and operational reality of citizenship in Ḫatti. It argues for the existence in Hittite Anatolia of different modes and scales of political affiliation and

community membership which can be characterized as citizenship – both in the general sense of an individual’s political affiliation, and in the particular sense of a free member of a polity who bore certain rights and duties in relation to the state and participated in government.

In Chapter 8, Mark Woolmer charts the fluctuating power and fortunes of Phoenician citizen committees from the Late Bronze Age until the end of the First Millennium BCE, focusing on the Phoenician city-states of Arwad, Byblos, Berytus (Beirut), Sidon, Sarepta, and Tyre. The chapter challenges traditional views on the status and prerogatives of Phoenician citizen councils and assemblies to show that Phoenician citizen committees retained considerable political authority and influence throughout their history; that the power and prestige of these committees are best explained by internal socio-political conditions and the socioeconomic activities performed by their members; and that the gradual move away from a dominant elitist strategy towards a more inclusive corporative approach eventually allowed for a smooth transition from monarchy to a more democratic system of government. Finally, in Chapter 9, Shai Gordin takes a comparative approach to emerging citizenship practices in the ancient urban communities of the Neo-Babylonian state. The chapter demonstrates that the Neo-Babylonian state, the emerging Athenian *dēmokratia*, and Rome before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* share aspects of citizenship acts: civic identity and prestige, based on a genealogical system of identification bound in legal terminology, as well as active involvement in cult; and institutionally bound privileges and obligations, which governed marriage, inheritance and certain economic activities, as well as certain duties towards urban and state institutions. It concludes with a comparative example of the boundaries of the rights of citizens – the rights of foreign women marrying into elite citizen families.

Part Three treats the varied forms of citizenship in the Greek world. It begins with a first section on archaic and classical Greece. Chapter 10, by Irad Malkin, examines the phenomenon of supreme arbitrators in Greek societies in the form of colony founders and comprehensive political reformers, exploring the roles they play and their connection to concepts of egalitarianism and ‘sharing in the *polis*’. The discussion takes reforms at Cyrene as a particular focus, and further analyzes their purpose and instruments, such as the probability of the drawing of lots for the purpose of inclusion, recognition, and the distribution of citizens within the *polis*. In Chapter 11, Gunnar Seelentag pursues the question of whether – and if so, how far – it is plausible to speak of ‘citizenship’ as a catalogue of clear-cut criteria, consisting of set rights and obligations, for late archaic and early classical Greece, by examining four inscriptions from Cretan *poleis* that granted individuals who had not been among the political agents of the respective *polis* up to that point the right of participation in different circles of

socio-political integration. The chapter illustrates that these and other modes of socio-political integration, which were meaningful to individuals and groups, did not result from an already strong presence of the *polis*-community but rather were steps towards it: the participation of a man in a number of these circles and his herein reflected acceptance by his peers to be one among them were necessary preconditions for his participation in the *polis*.

In Chapter 12, Ryszard Kulesza explores the interaction between citizenship and *oliganthrōpia*, the decline in the number of citizens, at Sparta in the classical period, to argue that the cause of the decline was the reduced number of citizens enjoying full civic rights, including particularly the ownership of land, and who were thus unable to fulfil all the duties associated with the status of a Spartiate. Chapter 13, by Katarzyna Kostecka, takes up the subject of exiled citizens. The chapter addresses the question of how the sudden social, economic and geographical changes that the exile experienced affected his identity; focusing on athletic contexts, it examines the different ways in which exiles presented their networks, origins, and attachment to their old and new communities. The author argues that because of his unstable position and relations, the exile needed to put a special effort into shaping the image of himself and his family, and explores how the exile managed to balance his conflicting goals: a wish to strengthen the ties with his new community, and a hope to regain his place in the native *polis*.

In Chapter 14, Barbara Schipani and Ferdinando Ferraioli conduct an analysis of two decrees from Dodona granting citizenship to women, with comparisons to ideas of women's citizenship at Athens and in reference to the few other epigraphic sources that contain individual grants of citizenship to women in classical and Hellenistic times. The chapter seeks to understand what citizenship for women meant in the context of the *koinon* of the Molossians in Epirus in the fourth century BCE, and whether such citizenship had a mere passive connotation, as in classical Athens, or whether the woman could exercise more actively her rights as a citizen and how. Chapter 15, also by Ryszard Kulesza, examines the formal status of the *perioikoi*, the free non-citizens in Sparta, who have been called 'second-class citizens' in scholarship. The author argues that, although there were higher- and lower-class citizens in Sparta, no ancient source points to the *perioikoi* as being *politai*; the second-class citizens were not *perioikoi* but *hypomeiones*.

In Chapter 16, Roger Brock explores connections between citizenship and the subdivision of the citizen body into smaller units, normally organized on a territorial or spatial basis or in terms of fictive kinship, or else defined numerically, which was common to many archaic and classical Greek *poleis*. The chapter argues that these subdivisions formed compact

communities that brokered membership of and participation in the *polis* and provided genuine and rewarding social interaction and communal identity in themselves. Stefano Frullini, in Chapter 17, explores how Herodotus and Thucydides used the words *astos* and *politēs* (both meaning ‘citizen’) to further our understanding of the role of the concept of citizenship in early history-writing. In Herodotus, while *politēs* appears to emphasize the horizontal and collaborative dimension of citizenship, *astos* stresses its hierarchical and exclusionary aspect. By contrast, Thucydides appears to take advantage of the greater flexibility of *politēs* and largely limits his use of *astos* to dichotomies. This difference suggests that the semantic boundary was still unstable in this period, and that this flexibility could be harnessed for expressive purposes.

In Chapter 18, Bartłomiej Bednarek treats the relationship between religion and citizenship, civic identity, and other modes of participation in or exclusion from the communities of ancient Greek cities. The author seeks a more balanced vision of the ancient societies, which would fully acknowledge the participation in the social life of all groups and individuals that have once been considered marginal, and highlights the increasing centrality of such notions as individual religion and religious experience or beliefs to the study of ancient Greek religious life. Chapter 19, by Jakub Filonik, discusses the language of belonging to the *polis* community present in the surviving political discourse of classical Greece, with a particular focus on the metaphorical conceptualizations of ‘being a citizen’ through the concepts of ‘sharing’. It also attempts to trace both the possible roots and the possible effects of that language in Greek poliadic culture, aided by methods of cognitive semantics.

The second section of Part Three turns to the particularly well-evidenced case of classical Athens. Chris Carey, in Chapter 20, focuses on citizenship as physical experience. The chapter explores the degree to which the privileged status attached to Athenian citizenship is physically inscribed in the person of the citizen, irrespective of any abstract consideration or physical exercise of political rights, and seeks to chart the lifelong corporeal and experiential relationship between citizen and city. In Chapter 21, Fayah Haussker examines the representations of baby-smuggling narratives in different discursive areas of classical Athens in the context of children’s legal status, contemporary socio-gender perspectives and perceptions regarding obstetric tasks, pregnancy, and childbirth. The chapter concludes that, although the occurrence and scope of baby-smuggling *per se* is difficult to assess, it cannot be discounted outright; literary representations of the issue point to the feasibility of the existence, at least in the classical Athenian male imagination, of alternative and indeed complicated and

dangerous means of conducting unofficial, unlawful adoption of male infants, thus making them eligible for citizenship by fraud.

In Chapter 22, Brenda Griffith-Williams explores connections between the *polis* and the *oikos* in terms of citizenship. It has sometimes been argued that eligibility for citizenship was established by different criteria and through a separate system from eligibility for inheritance, with illegitimate children (*nothoi*) eligible for citizenship provided both of their parents were Athenian; the chapter argues that the sources are obscure and inconclusive, but there are no unequivocal examples of ‘citizen *nothoi*’, and it is far from clear how a *nothos* could have become a member of his father’s deme. On balance, the overall weight of the evidence points to an indissoluble link between membership of an *oikos* and of the *polis*, with marriage between citizen parents as the key to both domestic and civic status. Linda Rocchi, in Chapter 23, challenges the traditional, exclusively legalistic approach to the term *atimia* (loss of citizen rights) and advocates a broader perspective on the notion, focussing specifically on cases in which *atimia* was used against non-Athenians through forensic speeches and epigraphic sources. Rather than postulating a change in the meaning of the term, *atimia* is analyzed in its interconnection with the notion of *timē* (‘honour’) to show that *timē* and *atimia* are categories through which Athenian conceptualized and negotiated any kind of identity, civic or otherwise.

In Chapter 24, Christopher Joyce addresses recent scholarship which has argued that women, no less than men, were counted Athenian citizens provided they met the same criteria of parentage and kinship which male citizens needed to be able to demonstrate. The chapter argues that, though women were citizens in a limited legal sense, the fact that they were excluded from participation in the assemblies and law courts, as well as from the governance of the city (*viz.* the *politeia*), meant that their citizenship was unequal to that of their male counterparts. Comparison with the role of metics and slaves shows that to be a social participant was not tantamount to holding citizenship, since metics and slaves played an important role in society more widely but were nevertheless excluded from the concept of citizenship. Christine Plastow, in Chapter 25, focuses on the rhetoric of citizenship through two forms of placemaking; the chapter examines the use of two Athenian places connected with citizenship, the Propylaia and the Bouleuterion, in the forensic speeches. The Propylaia holds rhetorical power as a reminder of the lineage and heritage of Athenian citizenship; the Bouleuterion can be useful as a synecdoche for the democracy, and holds particular potency as a site for the potential corruption of the city if the judges fail to do their job.

Chapter 26, by Nick Fisher, reconsiders the purposes and consequences of the *diapsēphisis* held in Athens in 346/345 BCE, when a decree proposed by Demophilos imposed on all demes a special revision of their citizen lists. The chapter shows that the revisionist view of the Athenians' conception of citizenship emphasizing the importance of participation by Athenian women in civic cults, combined with evidence for trials of notorious women accused of impiety, makes plausible a growth in general alarm at a threat to family life and values; it also discusses the growth of economic and social networks between citizens, foreigners, slaves and freed, which had encouraged a significant removal of status barriers in commercial lawsuits. All these developments may have helped create a conservative backlash and a belief that a review of citizenship lists, among other 'reforms', might arrest moral decline and rekindle a pride in civic identity. In Chapter 27, James Kierstead and Sofia Letteri survey appeals to membership in demes, phratries, *genē*, *orgeōnes* and *thiasoi* in surviving oratory. The chapter finds that associations of all types are appealed to overwhelmingly with an eye to demonstrating legitimate descent, which lends further support to the ideas that associations were seen as useful sources of social information, and that *genē* may also have allowed citizens to bolster kinship claims with appeals to more mythological notions of descent.

In Chapter 28, Brad L. Cook explores rhetoric from the courtroom and Old Comedy that aimed to raise suspicions of illegitimate citizenship, particularly accusations of 'Scythian' birth. The chapter makes clear that however much laughter these varied attacks may rouse, they could end in disenfranchisement and death. Aeschines' creative persistence in deploying this motif against Demosthenes is countered by Demosthenes' attacks on Aeschines' own background, especially vicious in 330 BCE. With any question of his own past silenced, Demosthenes clears the path for his detailed narrative of how he has been throughout his life a true Athenian citizen. The final chapter in the section (29), by Janek Kucharski, provides an overview of the legal merits and demerits of the infamous emergency measures introduced by the orator Hyperides in the wake of the Chaeronea disaster. The decree itself – granting naturalization to metics, re-enfranchisement to the disenfranchised and liberty to slaves – though never enacted, was nevertheless attacked in court as illegal. The chapter argues that the main legal infractions of Hyperides' motion concerned the procedural aspects of the relevant laws and not their substance.

Part Four moves forward in time to the Hellenistic period. In Chapter 30, Susanne Carlsson focuses not only on the purely formal requirements of citizenship in the Hellenistic period in political terms but foremost on religious and social functions that suggest a broader concept of citizenship including women and resident foreigners. The notion of exclusive

citizenship was relaxed in the Hellenistic period and citizenship was increasingly bestowed on praiseworthy individuals, sometimes even on slaves. The coveted status of citizenship survived well into the Roman period, and consequently resident and non-resident foreigners continued to be demarcated as separate categories in *polis* decrees. In Chapter 31, Randall Souza examines citizenship in the western Mediterranean. The Greeks who settled along the central and western shores of the Mediterranean brought the *polis* with them, and yet centuries of interaction with the peoples already inhabiting those territories shaped notions of citizenship that differed markedly from the mainland Greek model. Because citizenship is inextricably linked with personal and group identity, the Greek-barbarian dichotomy structured much political ideology throughout the region though it was not always or even often the principal factor. The relative recency of Greek settlements with their attendant demographic needs, the relatively high mobility of populations in several modes, and the interventions of hegemonic powers, among other elements, combined to render citizenship here fundamentally a matter of practice, of culture rather than of essence.

Christian A. Thomsen, in Chapter 32, argues that for many metics of the late classical and Hellenistic periods, citizenship played an important role and brought very tangible benefits even in a life spent abroad. The chapter first documents the privileges offered by Greek *poleis* to the citizens of other, specific, *poleis* who visited or settled within their territories, and argues that the states were conscious of the effects such policies had on migration and sought to encourage it. Next, the chapter addresses the problem of verification of foreigners' citizenship and argues that Greek cities were willing to issue documents verifying identity and citizenship. The chapter's last section considers migration and distance and argues that most metics had in fact not migrated very far and that many metics kept close contact with their home cities. In Chapter 33, Patrick Sanger seeks to take a closer look at semantic shifts in citizenship terminology in Hellenistic Egypt and the administrative or social reality behind them. The chapter argues that the linguistic hybridizations in question seem to be a consequence of the almost entire lack of *polis* structures in Egypt, so that the reinterpretation of Greek legal terms seemed to be less problematic than in regions dominated by old-established *poleis* and could be used to create inclusive and adaptable concepts for different patterns of belonging.

Finally, in Chapter 34, Christel Muller analyzes the making, *poiēsis*, of citizens and the way in which status groups were recomposed in the Hellenistic period. There were several ways of making a citizen: recognition, adoption, granting of *politeia*, which all allowed access to participation, *metousia*. The *dēmopoiētoi*, however, were sometimes considered apart from the native citizens, as in Cos. Chronologically, beyond a certain relaxation of practices in the

Late Hellenistic period, it is difficult to propose a linear evolution shared throughout the Greek world. The specificities and changes were more of a regional nature. However, the influence of wars and population displacements on oliganthropy, or that of the kings and then the Romans, should be stressed.

Part Five steps outside of traditional geographical and temporal boundaries, to explore some examples of citizenship between and beyond Greece and Rome. In Chapter 35, Dexter Hoyos examines citizenship in pre-Roman Carthage. Carthaginian citizenship's active benefits, just as in other ancient states, were for men only. These had the vote in elections to office and, in some though not all situations, in legislation. At home the Carthaginian citizen enjoyed, or at any rate took part in, communal banquets at festivals and perhaps other occasions. Aristotle thought these shared meals important enough to mention in his brief description of the Carthaginian republic, the only non-Greek state treated in the *Politics*. But citizenship was not equal: an elite minority always dominated the republic through holding its *sufetships* and *generalships*, and as members of the city's senate (the *adirim*) and its administrative bodies. In Chapter 36, Edward M. Harris and Sara Zanollo examine the reasons why the Greek *poleis* in general did not make manumitted slaves citizens except in exceptional circumstances while the Romans provided several ways for *liberti* to become citizens. In the Greek *polis*, *isonomia* among citizens ensured that there was no subordinate status within the citizen body. For this reason, the only way ex-masters had to keep their former slaves in a dependent position was to include *apeleutheroi* among the metic population (thus placing them outside the citizen body) and to arrange *paramonē* agreements with them. In Rome, by contrast, slaves manumitted 'formally' became free and citizens, and were placed in a dependent status within the citizen body. This was possible because, unlike in Greece, differences of status among *cives* did exist.

Chapter 37, by Katell Berthelot, suggests that the Jews' adoption of civic terminology (mostly as a metaphor) to describe their *ethnos* and their communities probably had to do with their experiences of local citizenships in the diaspora, but also with their fascination for Greek culture. It further explores the implications of the adoption of the citizenship model for conceptualizing membership in the people of Israel, as well as the specific impact of the Roman notion of citizenship on two Jewish authors from the first century CE, Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. In Chapter 38, Lucia Cecchet explores multiple citizenship in the Greek cities of Asia Minor during the Imperial Age. The chapter discusses some case studies of multiple citizenship holders, focusing on inscriptions and selected passages from the orators of the Second Sophistic, such as Dio Chrysostomus and Aelius Aristides, which are relevant to the performance and discourse of multiple civic identities. It argues that the distinction between

actual and honorific citizenship does not do justice to the complex reality of multiple citizenships. Finally, Andrea Raggi, in Chapter 39, examines the spread of the right of Roman citizenship among Greek individuals in the Republican age. The chapter argues that there was no reluctance on the part of the Romans to include neo-citizens of Greek origin in the Roman civic body. During the Social War, all the inhabitants of the cities of Magna Graecia and several bankers and merchants coming from the Greek East were granted Roman citizenship. The Mithridatic Wars, however, still hindered the process of the spread of the right in the East. During the civil wars, and in particular starting from the Caesarean period onwards, one can note a significant process of enfranchisement in the Greek Eastern regions.

Part Six deals with Rome and the Roman world, in roughly chronological order. Thus it begins with Chapter 40, by Guy Bradley, on politics and citizenship in Etruscan and Italic societies. Recent study of Italic and Etruscan societies has revealed the extent to which central Italy experienced a shared cultural *koinē* in the period from the Orientalizing era to the Roman conquest. This was the result of extensive inter-community mobility. Rome was part of a network of central Italian cities that shared certain citizen rights in the early Republic. The complex patchwork of different practices and experiences across the peninsula was gradually transformed as Rome conquered the Italian peoples or coerced them into alliance. In Chapter 41, Roman Roth tracks the emergence of Roman citizenship during the mid-Republican period and argues that the institutions of citizenship developed as part of what is commonly known as the Roman conquest of Italy. Key to understanding these dynamics are two institutions: the *tribus* (citizen tribe) as a focal area of integration between new and old citizens in conquered territories; and the *municipium* as the vehicle for the transitioning of existing city-states into the Roman community. In addition, the chapter assesses the roles that were played by intermediate forms of integration, such as Latin colonies, *praefecturae*, and the much-debated *civitas sine suffragio*.

Chapter 42, by Craige B. Champion, takes up much debated questions about religion and citizenship for the Romans: should we view religion and citizenship as autonomous spheres, or rather as interdependent components of something larger, which we may choose to call the state (*res publica*)? Do our analytical terms map onto Roman vocabularies and conceptions unproblematically? Focusing on discredited (but lingering) ideas of Roman power elites incredulously manipulating religion to control nonelites, the chapter destabilizes some commonplace scholarly presumptions, and contemplates how analytical tools may mislead for purposes of historical reconstruction. In Chapter 43, Clifford Ando adopts the history of the Roman censor as a lens on the broader transformation of the meaning of republican citizenship

in the expanding Roman state. The chapter focuses on the presence of economic data among the information collected, and the absence of any scrutiny of moral conduct, as heuristically significant. Citizens were of interest to the state insofar as they were economic actors and owners of property; they were interpellated as such; and their sense of self in their relations with other persons similarly interpellated was as participants in households and owners of things.

In Chapter 44, Martyna Świerk expands our view of Rome to the Roman provinces in Africa. The first part of the chapter outlines the privileges that obtaining Roman citizenship could bring to the inhabitants of the province, and the process of acquiring citizenship as illustrated by two epigraphic monuments. The second part deals with individual perceptions of citizenship by provincial residents, drawing on further epigraphic evidence. The chapter aims to demonstrate the differences between perceptions of citizenship and its meaning for representatives of different groups of provincial society, in different geographical, economic or social contexts. Chapter 45, by Maria Nowak, also focuses on Africa, specifically Roman Egypt before 212 CE. The chapter examines two types of citizenship in Roman Egypt – Roman and local – and addresses the question of whether the local citizenship of Egyptian *poleis* was shaped independently by each city or uniformly by Romans. The last chapter in this Part, by Arnaud Besson, offers an introduction to the legal consequences of the Antonine Constitution that granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire in 212 CE. It shows that the Antonine Constitution was a break with previous Roman citizenship policies, but one deeply imbued with legal and administrative continuity; legal pluralism was a reality before and after 212 CE.

The final part, Part Seven, briefly examines citizenship in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. In Chapter 47, Javier Martínez Jiménez and Robert Flierman present an overview of the ways in which citizenship and civic language continued to be useful and meaningful in the post-Roman Latin West. The chapter outlines the state of affairs in the Late Roman Empire, when Roman citizenship still functioned within the legal and political framework of a Roman state. It examines the post-Roman West, discussing the continued use and development of Roman citizenship as a legal category after the disintegration of the West-Roman Empire, and addresses the diverse and widespread role of local citizenships in the former Roman territories of the West. It also deals with the appropriation and repurposing of civic language in Christian discourse, the aims of which were by no means exclusively spiritual.

In Chapter 48, Els Rose analyzes the inclusive and exclusive power of hagiographic texts and liturgical rites celebrating the life and deeds of saints, in order to gain deeper insight

into the transformation of civic identities under the influence of Christianity in the late Roman and early post-Roman period. The performative texts in commemoration of urban saints form a rich source to analyze how civic belonging and the Christianization of civic concepts transformed through performance. At the same time, by liturgically enacting the life and deeds of the urban patron saint, the citizens gave expression to the boundaries of their citizenship, demarcating the identity of those who belonged as well as those who did not belong to the civic community. Finally, in Chapter 49, Dion C. Smythe offers a view from Byzantium, where ‘belonging’ was more diffuse than ‘citizenship’. The chapter discusses the use of the term ‘intersectionality’ for the multiple ways individuals have seen themselves and have been seen by others, and seeks to pay close attention to what the texts, our primary sources, say and what they mean, concluding that often, they may mean several different things at once.

There certainly remain elements of ancient citizenship not covered by the contributions to this volume, whether geographically, temporally, or conceptually; these are excluded merely for practical reasons of space. Nevertheless, the editors hope that this volume offers a substantial starting-point for further inquiry.

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¹ In his keynote speech at the ‘Citizenship in classical antiquity’ conference in London, Prof. Davies proposed to enhance his OCD entry (Davies 2015) by distinguishing five separate components of Greek citizenship: military, cultic, familial, economic, and political. All of these are analyzed in various contributions to this volume, but a full treatment of each is beyond the scope of the present overview.

² In fourth-century BCE Athens, foreigners and metics were allowed to appear in citizens’ law courts in cases involving maritime trade (the *dikai emporikai*, on which see MacDowell 2004 and Harris 2015).

³ On *xenoi*, see Gauthier (1972), Whitehead (1977), Wijma (2014), Kennedy (2014), Akrigg (2015), and Kapparis (2018). Many chapters in this volume discuss foreigners; see, e.g., Bednarek, Berthelot, Besson, Bradley,

Carlsson, Cecchet, Champion, Filonik, Fisher, Gordin, Griffith-Williams, Haussker, Kostecka, Müller, Rhodes, Rocchi, Seelentag, Smythe, and Thomsen.

⁴ On the citizen-slave antithesis, see Rhodes, Gercek, Hoyos, von Dassow, Carey, Fisher, Neveu, Nowak, and Sehlmeier in this vol.

⁵ Referring to Hansen and Nielsen (2004), also mentioned above.