The Department of Greek and Latin, University College London (UCL), in co-operation with the Department of Classical Philology, Jagiellonian University in Kraków (JU),

presents an academic conference

# Citizenship in Classical Antiquity: Current Perspectives and Challenges

**1-3 July 2019**

**UCL Institute of Archaeology, G6 lecture theatre**
**31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY**

Organisers: Chris Carey (UCL), Jakub Filonik (JU), Christine Plastow (OU) and Roel Konijnendijk (Leiden), assisted by Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL) and Joanna Janik (JU)

## Monday, 1 July

8:30-9:00am    Registration (UCL Institute of Archaeology, Leventis Gallery)

9:00-9:15        Welcome address (UCL Institute of Archaeology, G6 lecture theatre)

9:15-10:05      Keynote speech (*chair: Jakub Filonik*)
**Engin Isin (Queen Mary University of London)**
*Citizenship: ancient and modern*

10:10-11:10    **First citizens: Near Eastern ideas of citizenship** (*chair: John Davies*)
Eva von Dassow (Minnesota), 'Native sons, foreign rule, and political rights in ancient Near Eastern states'
Sean Manning (Innsbruck), 'The service-citizenship nexus in Babylonia'

11:10-11:30    Tea and coffee

11:30-1:00pm  **How to define a 'citizen'** (*chair: Roger Brock*)
Alain Duplouy (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne), 'Lifestyle, behaviours, *habitus* and *schemata*: the other language of citizenship'
Roel Konijnendijk (Leiden), 'The citizen as hoplite: a reappraisal'
Stefano Frullini (Cambridge), 'The vocabulary of citizenship in fifth-century Greek historiography: a linguistic approach'

1:00-2:00        Lunch (at UCL Department of Greek and Latin, Gordon House, 29 Gordon Sq)

2:00-3:30    **Becoming citizens 1: Procedures** (*chair: Christine Plastow*)

Barbara Schipani & Ferdinando Ferraioli (Naples, 'L'Orientale'), 'Some considerations on the granting of citizenship to women in ancient Epirus'

Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL), '*Eispoiētoi* and *dēmopoiētoi*: "making" sons and citizens in classical Athens'

James Kierstead (Wellington), 'Incentives and information in Athenian citizenship procedures'

3:30-3:50    Tea and coffee

3:50-5:20    **Becoming citizens 2: Backdoor routes** (*chair: Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz*)

Fayah Haussker (Tel Aviv), 'ΜΗΔΕΝΕΣ ΜΗΔΑΜΟΘΕΝ in classical Athens: smuggling infants, citizenship fraud and gender perspectives'

Sviatoslav Dmitriev (Ball State), 'Citizenship for sale? Grants of *politeia* for money: a reappraisal'

Nick Fisher (Cardiff), 'Citizenship anxieties: the Athenian *diapsēphisis* of 346/5'

5:25-6:15    Keynote speech (*chair: Christine Plastow*)
**Catherine Neveu (IIAC (CNRS-EHESS), Paris)**
***Exploring citizenship(s) in context(s): anthropological perspectives***

6:15-7:30    Wine reception

# Tuesday, 2 July

9:00-9:05am   Opening of day 2 of the conference

9:05-9:55    Keynote speech (*chair: Chris Carey*)
**Clifford Ando (University of Chicago)**
***Census, censor, citizenship***

10:00-11:30   **Graeco-Roman intersections** (*chair: Mirko Canevaro*)

Edward Harris (Durham & Edinburgh) & Sara Zanovello (Edinburgh), 'Manumission and citizenship in ancient Greece and Rome, or *Avarice grecque et générosité romaine* revisited'

Andrea Raggi (Pisa), 'The Greeks and Roman citizenship in the late Republic: a reappraisal'

Lucia Cecchet (Mainz), 'Between honorific title, local membership and cosmopolitan identity: citizenship in the Greek east under Roman rule'

11:30-11:50   Tea and coffee

11:50-1:20pm **Citizenship and social status** (*chair: Alain Duplouy*)

Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Tel Aviv), 'Tracing status boundaries in the ancient polis'

Katarzyna Kostecka (Warsaw), 'The mobility and status of travelling specialists in archaic Greece'

Christian A. Thomsen (Copenhagen), 'The ideology of the ancient Greek metic (c. 400-31 BCE)'

1:20-2:10    Lunch (at UCL Department of Greek and Latin, Gordon House, 29 Gordon Sq)

2:10-3:40        **Citizen and city** (*chair: Roel Konijnendijk*)
Eli Elad Aizikowitz (Oxford), 'Citizenship in early Greece: the condition of urban life'
Chris Carey (UCL), 'The citizen abroad: space, belonging and identity in the Greek polis'
Javier Martínez Jiménez (Cambridge), 'Citizenship as urban identity in the post-Roman West'

3:40-4:00        Tea and coffee

4:00-5:30        **The centre-periphery dynamics** (*chair: Catherine Steel*)
Myles Lavan (St Andrews), 'Citizenship, city-state and empire: the doctrine of *communis patria* from Cicero to Caracalla'
Federico Russo (Milan), 'Becoming Roman Citizen in a Provincial Community of the Empire: The problem of the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*'
Martyna Świerk (Wrocław), 'Epigraphy of Roman Carthage as a source of information about citizenship in African provinces'

6:00-8:00        **Public event, with wine reception (UCL, Gustave Tuck lecture theatre)**

8:00-10:00        Conference dinner

# Wednesday, 3 July

9:00-9:05am    Opening of day 3 of the conference

9:05-9:45        Keynote speech (*pre-recorded, chair: Roel Konijnendijk*)
**Josiah Ober (Stanford University)**
***Cleisthenes' wager: the rationality of the ancient Athenian democracy***

9:45-11:15        **Civic honours** (*chair: Christian A. Thomsen*)
Roger Brock (Leeds), 'Civic subdivisions, identity and social stability in the Greek polis'
Mirko Canevaro (Edinburgh), '*Timē*, Athenian citizenship and "falling short"'
Linda Rocchi (Edinburgh), 'Identity, status, and "dishonour": was *atimia* relevant only for citizens?'

11:15-11:30    Tea and coffee

11:30-1:00pm **Citizenship in court** (*chair: Brenda Griffith-Williams*)
Christine Plastow (Open), 'Places of citizenship in forensic rhetoric'
Janek Kucharski (Silesia), 'Duty to despise: anger and hatred as civic obligation in the Athenian forensic discourse'
Brad Cook (Mississippi), 'The supposititious citizen & the "birther" attack in ancient Athens: Demosthenes vs. Aeschines'

1:00-2:00        Lunch (at UCL Department of Greek and Latin, Gordon House, 29 Gordon Sq)

2:00-3:30    **Citizenship as metaphor** (*chair: Myles Lavan*)

Julien Perrez (Liège), 'Conceptual metaphors in political discourse: evidence from citizen discourse'

Olivia Elder (Cambridge), 'Citizens of the wor(l)d: language, citizenship and metaphor in Roman discourse of identity'

Sam Beckelhymer (UCLA), 'Citizens of Latin and the *res Latina'*


3:40-4:00    Tea and coffee


4:00-5:30    **The extent of *politeia* and *res publica*** (*chair: Clifford Ando*)

Benjamin Gray (Birkbeck), 'Debating the scope of citizenship and political life in the Greek cities under Rome'

Catherine Steel (Glasgow), 'Citizenship and political change at Rome, 91-49 B.C.'

Arnaud Besson (Yale), 'Cassius Dio: universalization of Roman citizenship and law of succession'


5:30-6:20    Keynote speech (*chair: Chris Carey*)

**John Davies FBA, FSA (University of Liverpool)**

***Is modern scholarship asking the right questions about ancient citizenship systems?***


6:20-6:30    Closing remarks

# Abstracts

## Engin Isin (Queen Mary University of London)
### *Citizenship: ancient and modern*

Our 'disenchantment of the world' is century-old now. At the turn of the twentieth century, Max Weber used this expression to describe how modernity involved losing faith in progress. Before the twentieth century modern (read Western) world and its art, literature, politics, and thought were seen arising from ancient Greek and Roman worlds. The ancient world was seen to constitute modern world in an insular, linear and teleological way. Yet, throughout the twentieth century, we first discovered that we had invented this passage from ancient to modern. Then we recognized there were other (read non-Western) ancient worlds. Then 'we' realized that ancient was as much a product of modern as modern was of ancient. We now write complex histories (multiple, non-linear, non-insular). We write about inhabiting complex geographies (decentred, overlapping, transversal). After a century of disenchantment of the world are we now finding our way into ancient and modern worlds differently? These questions will guide my discussion of how we are writing histories of citizenship against the background of Weber's heroic struggle to write a world-history of citizenship and what to make of this struggle for ourselves.

## Catherine Neveu (IIAC (CNRS-EHESS), Paris)
### *Exploring citizenship(s) in context(s): anthropological perspectives*

To what extent do we speak about the "same thing" when we speak about citizenship in classical antiquity or in today's Europe? Or when we speak of citizenship in English, French or any other language? Are we discussing about a status, an "identity", about practices? Are there even connections, and of what kinds, between the many processes that "are called citizenship" (Isin, 2009)? Indeed the "idea of citizenship" has a "sometimes uncertain, often normative, always historical meaning" (Déloye, 1994), and as such it presents a large variability in time and space.

While R. Lister remarked in 2005 that most discussions on citizenship were "conducted in what is virtually an empirical void" (Lister, 2005), recent anthropological research has strongly contributed to fill in such a void by exploring its many "manufactures" (Bénéï, 2005), unbundling its "natural" configurations and exploring how this notion was endowed with meanings by a variety of actors and in a diversity of settings (governments, public policies, social movements, ordinary practices; see among others Clarke et al., 2014).

This keynote lecture will try to underline such variability in the meanings of citizenship(s) in context(s). Relying on a series of (mainly) anthropological research, it will explore how such variations have to be related to their contexts, in terms of the political processes and imaginaries at play. One aim will thus be to denaturalize the political processes through which localizations, levels, conceptions of citizenship(s) are produced and bundled in specific ways,

relying mainly (but not only) on European contexts, including a discussion of the case of EU citizenship.

Bénéï, Véronique (ed.), 2005. *Manufacturing citizenship. Education and Nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China*, London, Routledge.

Clarke, John; Coll, Kathleen; Dagnino, Evelina; Neveu, Catherine, 2014. *Disputing Citizenship*, London, Policy Press.

Déloye, Yves, 1994. *Ecole et citoyenneté: l'individualisme républicain de Jules ferry à Vichy: controverses*, Paris, Presses de la FNSP.

Isin, Engin, 2009. "Citizenship in Flux: The Figure of the Activist Citizen", *Subjectivity*, 29.

Lister Ruth et al., 2005. "Young people talking about citizenship in Britain", in N. Kabber (ed.), *Inclusive citizenship. Meanings and expressions*, London, Z Press.

## Clifford Ando (University of Chicago)
### *Census, censor, citizenship*

Apart from the office's role in managing state properties, Roman historical memory and aristocratic ideology connected the censor with several discrete functions in respect of persons.  The first was the maintaining of a list of citizens and, therefore, effectively determining who was in and who was out:  the original purpose was no doubt to provide up-to-date knowledge in respect of military manpower.  The second was the power to render judgment on moral conduct outside the law, the so-called *regimen morum*, which affected all manner of citizenly duties and privileges connected with status.  The capacity of the censor to fulfill these functions was effectively sundered by the outcome of the Social War, which required that agency and the institutions of census-taking be distributed throughout the municipalities of Italy.  In the paper, I adopt the history of the census and censor in the late republic as a lens on the broader transformation of the meaning of republican citizenship in the expanding Roman state.

## Josiah Ober (Stanford University)
### *Cleisthenes' wager: the rationality of the ancient Athenian democracy*

In Plato's typology of non-ideal regimes in Republic book 8, democracy comes second to last: below timocracy and oligarchy and just above tyranny. The reason for democracy's low ranking is its irrationality: the democratic citizen and citizenry are characterized by Plato's Socrates as having incoherent preferences, as well as opinion-based beliefs. As a result, democratic decision-making was inherently chaotic.  Although the oligarch's preference for wealth accumulation is despicable, it is consistent over time. As a result the oligarch is at least capable of instrumentally rationality. Democratic irrationality is associated by Plato with liberty (the democrat is free to form a new preference at any moment) and equality (he fails to rank-order his preferences). Variants on Plato's charge of irrationality are frequently repeated by modern critics of democracy. But a review of citizen-centered institutions, established after the democratic revolution of 508 BCE, and recent scholarship on legislative,

judicial, and executive institutions of democratic Athens in the age of Plato, effectively refutes Plato's charge: The citizens who manned Athenian institutions did indeed value freedom and equality, yet they proved capable of sustaining the conditions of formal rationality in the complex process of collectively identifying and choosing among available options, based on coherent preferences and orderly beliefs about the relevant state of the world.

**John Davies FBA, FSA (University of Liverpool)**
*Is modern scholarship asking the right questions about ancient citizenship systems?*

After some preliminary courtesies, this final paper will attempt to locate the themes and topics discussed in by the foregoing papers within a broader interpretation of the general phenomenon of ancient citizenship.  That interpretation will take account of other recent monographs and conference publications but will find itself obliged to engage in the foolhardy task of offering a general theory of the phenomenon. That is because I now see it as having not two (as in *OCD*[3] and *OCD*[4] s.v. Citizenship, Greek) but at least five components, the untidiness of the resultant compound accounting for much of the disjointed articulation of current scholarship. Moreover, those five components – military, cultic, familial, economic, and political – each varied substantially in primacy by period and by polity to such a degree that no one formulation does justice to their relative weights and interactions. I shall then attempt to show how citizenship came to be a multi-purpose instrument, serving both inclusion and exclusion and enabling both the diffusion and the concentration of power. The papers to be delivered at the conference show abundantly how it could be, and was, weaponised in all directions both by polities, by manipulated public opinion, and by individuals, but much other evidence can be adduced in contrast to show how flexibly and creatively polities could in their own interest accommodate outsider groups and statuses.

Such considerations will lead on in two directions. The first will be a review of the relationship of the concept of ancient citizenship to those of identity, ethnicity, and human rights, and thence to the extent to which it can connect with the modern discourse as represented, e.g., by Shachar et al. 2017. The second will adopt the use made by Duplouy (in Duplouy & Brock 2018, 47) of the distinction between formalist and substantivist analyses of ancient citizenship in order to compare it with the distinction between the classic structural-functional sociology of Talcott Parsons and the more behavioural and situationist approaches that have been developed since the 1960s such as Erving Goffman's 'frame analysis' and Bruno Latour's 'social network analysis'.

**Eli Elad Aizikowitiz (Oxford), 'Citizenship in early Greece: the condition of urban life'**

   The problem of ancient Greek citizenship has tended to divide scholars along two roughly defined approaches, one privileging political and legal institutions, the other, a broader swathe of communal life, such as cultic and banqueting practices. Both approaches, however, remain deficient in certain respects. Formalism fails to account for the penumbra of individuals and practices not included in, yet structurally connected to political and legal institutions, while substantivism deprives the community of its state-institutional framework that enables and is incentivized by the production of luxury. The present paper seeks to resolve these issues by yoking together the formalist and substantivist approaches within a dialectic of institutional functionality, and a deep, subjective emotional commitment. It will argue that citizenship denotes a condition of social life that is the exploitative or exploited participation in an institutionalized and sedentary separation from subsistence living—namely, the state; and consequently, in the production of tangible and intangible cultural assets in the form of a powerful ideological bundle that perpetuates this manner of social life—namely, the city. This approach, emancipated both from matrices of various necessary conditions (e.g., city walls, centralized government), and from the ideology of *polis*, *polites*, mass and elite, can trace the development of Greek city-life in the centuries after 1200 BCE, simultaneously as *loci* of emotional commitment—what T. H. Marshall called "the life of a civilized being" (*Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays*, p. 10) and Alcaeus, in exile, yearned for (fr. 130B)—and, inseparably, as tools of what Charles Tilly identified as the "omnivorous state": demographic organization, mobilization, structural subjugation, and an underlying, destabilizing momentum of political and economic acquisitiveness (*Coercion, Capital, and European States,* pp. 19-20, 25). The paper will then examine, as an initial test case, how the production, importation, use, and interment of Nestor's cup illuminate the emotional and functional urban life of 8th century Pithekoussai, and to what extent the cup can therefore be taken as an artifact of Iron Age citizenship. Through the idea of Iron Age citizenship, the paper seeks to put pressure on the exceptionality of Greek urbanism by contextualizing it in a wider, Mesopotamian-Mediterranean urban *koine*.

**Sam Beckelhymer (UCLA), 'Citizens of Latin and the *res Latina*'**

   This paper explores a metaphorical framework in which Roman authors conceive of the Latin language as a sovereign state, and the process by which foreign diction and neologisms are admitted into this state as an act of granting citizenship. The earliest attestation of the idiom *citivatem dare* to refer to the sponsorship of unfamiliar words (also expressed as *civitate donare*) dates to the time of Tiberius, as Suetonius' *Lives of the Grammarians* (*de Grammaticis*) records. Here a notoriously severe *grammaticus* called M. Pomponius Porcellus rebukes an attempt at neologism by the emperor himself, and responds to Tiberius that *tu … civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes*.

Three additional occurrences of the metaphor in Classical Latin, sometimes extended to other aspects of sovereignty, imperialism, and incorporation, assist in creating a theoretical basis of the language qua state. The persistence of the metaphor suggests that an underlying conceptualization of Latin as a state and its words as its citizens was prevalent especially during the high Imperial period, and invites our consideration of this imagined *res Latina* alongside and against the more clearly defined *res publica*.

My paper answers this invitation by posing several questions: what is the *res Latina* and how is it delimited? How, if at all, do its boundaries reflect the expansion of the *res publica* across space and time? By what processes and to whom (i.e., to what words) is citizenship extended? And perhaps most importantly who possesses the authority to grant citizenship to new words? By addressing these lines of inquiry I demonstrate the ways in which the Latin language, under the aegis of certain authorities, could adapt, adopt and naturalize unfamiliar diction. I show that the incorporation of this unfamiliar diction—some from foreign languages, some from within dialects of Latin—occasionally parallels, but often contrasts starkly with the *res publica*'s modes of assimilating immigrant and foreign populations. By doing so I present the *res Latina* as a distinctly imperialist entity that, like the *res publica*, was obligated to define and enforce the scope of its membership and hegemony as it spread across the Mediterranean Basin.

Billerbeck, A. 1990. "Philology at the Imperial Court." *Greece and Rome*, second series, 37.2: 191-203.

Bloomer, M. 1997. *Latinity and Literary Society at Rome*. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dickey, E., and A. Chahoud, eds. 2010. *Colloquial and literary Latin*. Cambridge; New York. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Dubuisson, M. 1995. "Cicéron et le bilinguisme gréco-latin." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis*, 31: 43-8.

Garcea, A. 2012. *Caesar's de Analogia: edition, translation and commentary*. New York. Oxford University Press.

Gunderson, E. 2009. *Nox Philologiae: Aulus Gellius and the Fantasy of the Roman Library*. Madison. University of Wisconsin.

Holford-Strevens, L. 2003. *Aulus Gellius: an Antonine Scholar and His Achievement*. New York. Oxford University Press.

Kaimio, J. 1979. *The Romans and the Greek Language*. Helsinki. Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Kaster, R. 1980. "The Grammarian's Authority" *Classical Philology*, 75.3: 216-241.

_____ 1988. *Guardians of language: the grammarian and society in late antiquity*. Berkeley. University of California Press.

_____ 1995. *Suetonius' De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, with introduction, translation and commentary. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

Morgan, L. 1997. "'Levi quidem de re...': Julius Caesar as Tyrant and Pedant." *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 87: 23-40.

Oksala, P. 1953. *Die griechischen Lehnwörter in den Prosaschriften Ciceros*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, series B, 80.1. Helsinki.

Ramage, E.S. 1961. "Cicero on Extra-Roman Speech." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 92: 481-94.

Rawson, E. 1985. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. Duckworth. London.

**Arnaud Besson (Yale),**
**'Cassius Dio: universalization of Roman citizenship and law of succession'**

In 212 AD, the emperor Antoninus Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, through the Antonine Constitution. Without a complete version of the text of the edict, its interpretation remains a challenge. In this context, Cassius Dio's *Roman History* 78.9.4-5 entails the only detailed commentary on some consequences of the Antonine Constitution. According to Dio, Caracalla's only motives were to increase fiscal revenues through a tax on inheritance and enfranchisement.

Recently, some scholars (e.g. Davenport, CQ, 2012) called into question the reliability of Dio's testimony, showing that Dio's opinion on Caracalla is usually very negative. He portrays himself as representing the senatorial order and express a broad unfavorable opinion on Caracalla's fiscal policy. Moreover, this passage 78.9.4-5 must be handled carefully as it came to us through a Byzantine abbreviator.

However, the comparison with legal literature (most notably the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* 16.9.3) enables a reinterpretation of Cassius Dio's opinion. It shows that the senator had a better understanding of the situation than we thought. As a rule, it seems that the Antonine Constitution did not abrogate local law, nor did call into question privileges and fiscal obligations of the communities of the Empire. However, in the case of succession law, as mentioned by Cassius Dio, the legal content of Roman Citizenship brought a real change in the life of regular individuals. And this leads to explore some of the most important consequences of the universalization of Roman Citizenship in 212; how inheritance practices changed in the next decades, how individuals as well as the Roman power had to adapt. This topic is thus a good opportunity to explore how Roman law interacted with local law and how a status like Roman citizenship can be defined when it becomes universal and ceases to be restricted to a specific and exclusive group.

José Luis Alonso (2013) « The status of peregrine law in Egypt: 'customary law' and legal pluralism in the Roman Empire », *JJP*, 43, p. 351–404.

Arnaud Besson (2018), *La Constitutio Antoniniana: l'universalisation de la citoyenneté romaine au 3$^e$ siècle*, Thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Neuchâtel le 9 novembre.

Caillan Davenport (2012) « Cassius Dio and Caracalla », *CQ*, 62, 2, p. 796-815.

Fergus Millar (1964) *A study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford.

Andrew G. Scott (2015) « Cassius Dio, Caracalla, and the Senate », *Klio*, 97, 1.

**Roger Brock (Leeds), 'Civic subdivisions, identity and social stability in the Greek polis'**

Archaic and classical Greek *poleis* were regularly divided into smaller units, often organised by tribe, location, fictive kinship, commensality or on a simple numerical basis, which supplied

their citizens with a range of further nested or overlapping identities. The evidence collected by Jones (1987), supplemented more recently by the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Hansen & Nielsen 2004) suggests that the smallest civic subdivisions typically had an average membership in the high tens or low hundreds. I suggest that groupings of this size, which is broadly in line with 'Dunbar's number', generated a context in which members of citizen communities that often numbered thousands could invest much of their capacity for stable social relationships in environments characterised by a high level of day-to-day interaction and mutual knowledge, promoting co-operation, reciprocity and trust and so fostering social capital. I shall argue that participation in the meaningful activities of these bodies, particularly religion, as well as the appointment and regulation of officials and management of their own affairs and resources, not only provided a rewarding sense of identity, but will also have gone a long way to satisfy the desire of ordinary citizens for *timê* and their perception of what was justly due to them. Since *timê* is, on Aristotle's account (*EN* IV.3), linked to status, different groups will have had different expectations, but the recognition of what Josine Blok (2017) has called 'baseline *timê*' remained important: I propose that meaningful participation and inclusion through local identity conferred status and a sense of agency on ordinary citizens even when they were formally or effectively excluded from political activity, and so contributed to social stability, counteracting the tendency to alienation and so muting enthusiasm for revolution, *stasis* or tyranny.

Blok, J. 2017. *Citizenship in classical Athens*. Cambridge.
Dunbar, R. 1992. 'Neocortex size as a constraint on group size in primates', *Journal of human evolution* 22 (6), pp.469-93.
Hansen, M.H. & Nielsen, T. H. (edd.), 2004. *An inventory of archaic and classical poleis*. Oxford.
Jones, N.F. 1987. *Public organization in ancient Greece*. Philadelphia.

**Mirko Canevaro (Edinburgh), '*Timē*, Athenian citizenship and "falling short"'**

In this paper I hope to tackle the issue of the momentous changes in the epigraphic (and honorific) habit of fourth-century Athens relating to honour for citizens, and for ordinary citizens as magistrates, from the vantage point of the new perspectives on Greek honour developed within the Edinburgh 'Honour in Classical Greece' project.

Two facts have long puzzled scholars: first, only well into the fourth century BCE we start to find consistent evidence of honorary inscriptions for Athenian citizens (before then they were only for foreigners); second, only from ca. 350 onwards we have consistent epigraphical evidence for honours for ordinary citizens in their capacity as ordinary magistrates. These developments have often been read as 'inflation' of honours, evidence either of their devaluing, or of a democratic reaction to increasing honours for (mainly foreign) super-benefactors connected also with growing honours granted by civic subdivisions. A particularly thorny issue is the relationship between more frequent public *timai* for citizens – honours understood as intrinsically differential, marks of esteem, forms of 'appraisal respect' (to use Stephen Darwall's category) – and the intrinsic egalitarianism of the distribution of *time* to

Athenian citizens – 'recognition respect' granted by virtue not of high performance but of a commonality of status.

My working thesis for this paper is that this so-called 'inflation' should be better read as connected with the permeability in Athens between *time* as 'appraisal respect' and *time* as 'recognition respect'. Public honours that were initially extraordinary and differential – reserved for few – became in time something tightly connected with citizenship itself: something that a good citizen should both expect to gain at some point of his life, and an incentive for citizens to behave as such in the public sphere, lest they fall short of their expected 'worth', status and civic obligation. I shall attempt to make this case by looking primarily at the evidence of inscriptions and of the orators, particularly that of Demosthenes' *Against Androtion*.

**Chris Carey (UCL), 'The citizen abroad: space, belonging and identity in the Greek polis'**

'We enjoy freedom both in our public life and as regards mutual suspicion in daily affairs; we do not get angry if our neighbour acts as he pleases, nor do we put on those resentful looks which though practically harmless are distressing to see.' So Thucydides' Perikles in his inspirational presentation of the uniqueness of Athenian civic culture. The reality was more complex. There was a range of ways in which individual behaviour impacted (or could be made to impact) on personal standing for good or ill. This paper looks at one area of (in)action, the relationship between domicile, identity and perceived patriotism. There was no embargo on citizen movements in and out of the city and no residence requirement for Athenian citizens. But sojourn in or absence from the city could be used as tests for loyalty. Refusal to leave the city except for military service is used as a positive marker of loyalty in oratorical texts; at the other extreme, readiness to live abroad as a metic (though never subject to legal sanction) becomes a mark of fundamental disloyalty to the city and to the democracy. The paper will draw on oratorical texts, sepulchral epigrams and Plato's quasi-forensic *Crito*.

**Lucia Cecchet (Mainz), 'Between honorific title, local membership and cosmopolitan identity: citizenship in the Greek east under Roman rule'**

This paper discusses the phenomenon of multiple civic identities in the Greek East during the first two centuries of Roman Empire. Greek honorary citizenship has been usually interpreted as a mere title of prestige, mostly devoid of political and legal content. In Greek antiquity, in fact, individuals could hold citizenship in more than one polis, but citizen rights were mostly exerted only in the city in which one resided. However, multiple citizenship is a phenomenon much more complex than just a title of honour or a title of access to specific rights. Our perception of this phenomenon, in fact, changes completely if we abandon the mere legalistic and institutional perspective and look at citizenship, both effective and honorary, as a phenomenon involving also the aspect of identity and membership.

Interestingly, the reality of multiple citizenship in the Greek East during the imperial age contributed to the formation of an international elite, whose members transcended the boundaries of local membership and aspired to cosmopolitan identities. And not only could

local (Greek) citizenships be cumulated: especially since the second century AD members of the Greek elites could also receive Roman citizenship, which opened up the path to political career in the Empire.

This paper analyzes inscriptions and literary texts attesting to holding citizenship in several *poleis* mainly by public benefactors, such as the Lycian magnate Opramoas in the cities of Lycia in 2nd century AD. It discusses 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, including the combination of Greek and Roman citizenship. It focuses on questions such as how the "accumulation" of citizenship of various *poleis* – often in addition to Roman citizenship – was experienced in the terms of individual identity and construction of public *personae*; how membership in different civic bodies could be combined without generating conflict; in what terms multiple civic identities could be displayed in public contexts, and, by contrast, in what circumstances individuals preferred to "make a choice", thereby stressing one civic identity over the others. In sum, using the case of multiple citizenship as a testing ground, this paper aims at complementing the traditional legalistic approach to citizenship with a perspective that considers also performative and identity-related aspects.

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**Brad Cook (Mississippi), 'The suppositious citizen & the "birther" attack in ancient Athens: Demosthenes vs. Aeschines'**

In 343 and again in 330 BC Aeschines employed a broad range of slurs against Demosthenes as a false Athenian, a foreigner to the sacred rites and ancestral tombs, a foreigner to the customs and ways of true Athenians, a foreigner to legal marriage and genuine families, and a foreigner to Athenian trust, decency, and uprightness, a fake in birth and profession,

debauched, and venal. These attacks are so ubiquitous that he must have expected the label of suppositious citizen, a "Scythian," to resonate with the dikasts in the courts, but why? He does not bring them as legal charges, though there were laws about citizenship, as well as the special review of the citizen lists in 346/5; instead, he uses them as character attacks, to arouse suspicion in his listeners over every utterance that Demosthenes makes. These attacks, comparable to the "birther" attacks made in the US against past and current politicians, embed seemingly ineradicable suspicion because they invoke socio-political frames that bypass the intellect and seem impervious to analysis. *Arguing* against such attacks is futile: you must reframe them. This paper examines how Aeschines attempted, both in *On the False Embassy* and *Against Ctesiphon*, to deploy his labeling of Demosthenes as a foreigner to explain everything that is wrong with him and with every aspect of his life, private and public. The rhetorical and ideological net of accusations that he cast was successful in 343 but failed in 330. The second half of this paper reveals how Demosthenes defeated Aeschines in 330 on this point, not by arguing over the role of ethnicity in citizenship, but by leading the dikasts to a higher ideal, replacing Aeschines' passive definition of civic privilege with his own active fulfillment of civic service.

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## Sviatoslav Dmitriev (Ball State),
### 'Citizenship for sale? Grants of *politeia* for money: a reappraisal'

Macarius' reference to the people of Phaselis as offering the *politeia* of their city to anyone who would give them one *mina* was the starting point of Louis Robert's short article (1940), which laid the groundwork for the modern theory of the "sale of citizenship" in ancient Greece (Gauthier 1974; Davies 1977-8; Baslez 1984; Stern 1987).

This theory, however, obscures important nuances. On the one hand, in similar cases, grants of *politeia* either involved monetary contributions or not. People of "impure birth" receiving *politeia* had to pay in Byzantium (Arist. *Oec.* 2.2.3), but not in Cyrene (*SEG* 9, 1.2-6). Likewise,

grants to mitigate a scarcity of *politai* required payment in Samos (Arist. fr. 575), but not in Pharsalus (*IG* IX.2, 234). A payment was not a prerequisite for such grants. On the other hand, grants of *politeia* also rewarded other expenditures, like offering financial support to a city 3 in need (Isocr. 9.54) or selling grain to citizens at moderate prices (*SEG* 38, 1193; 39, 1159; *Syll*.[3] 493). And even when grants required a payment, its purpose was to finance specific demands, like raising funds to train athletes (*I.Ephesos* 1414-1416), supply weapons (*I.Ephesos* 2001), or meet other needs (*SEG* 39, 1155).

Reexamining the corresponding literary and inscriptional sources—both those available to Robert and others discovered more recently—allows us to rethink the traditional interpretation of such grants. They reciprocated benefactions carrying a financial expenditure for the benefit of the city. Such grants could be interpreted as a sale of *politeia* (Dem. 13.23-24), similar to grants of citizenship by many modern countries in return for investments. However, like these modern gifts of citizenship, such awards in ancient Greece reflected the basic norm that *politeia* could only be conferred on benefactors: [Dem.] 59.89; cf. Lonis 2000, 265.

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**Alain Duplouy (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne),**
**'Lifestyle, behaviours, *habitus* and *schemata*: the other language of citizenship'**

'Citizenship' is usually considered as a granted status enshrined in legal criteria and institutional affiliations, and therefore assimilated to the 'membership' of a previously defined political entity, the 'city'. Instead of 'membership', which introduces a view from the top, I prefer to describe archaic citizenship as 'participation' and to focus on the study of society. From a sociological perspective, the Greek city formed what Max Weber called a *Stand* or, in English, a 'status group'. According to Weber, the notion of *Stand* is tightly linked to a 'positive or negative social estimation of honour': 'above all else a specific lifestyle is expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle'. What is interesting in Weber's definition of the *Stand* is that it mainly rests on lifestyle. Instead of focusing on institutions when dealing with the

*polis*, looking at behaviours and how they were enforced or transmitted is another way to investigate ancient citizenship.

Beside attending the Assembly and the Council, which imply formal institutions, the exercise of citizenship extended to all the areas of collective activities and individual performances, to all spheres or behaviours that contributed to sketch the outline of the citizen community. This is actually the double meaning of the Greek word *politeia*, applied, on the one hand, to forms of government and, on the other hand, to citizen lifestyles, also referred as *nomoi*, *tropoi* or *epitèdeumata*. In the absence of a register certifying one's legal status in most archaic cities, the quality of a citizen had to be permanently demonstrated in order to be acknowledged and accepted by others. Adopting the normative behaviours of the citizens in all aspects of their lifestyle provided the best means of being acknowledged as a fellow citizen. In order to be accepted as a citizen, one had to behave like a citizen. Complying to the citizen lifestyle made you a legitimate member of the community; whereas rejecting it or being unable to adopt it made you an outsider.

The notion of *habitus*, popularised by Pierre Bourdieu refers to the lifestyle, values, dispositions and expectations of social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. They are socially acquired *schemata* –another ancient concept–, sensibilities, dispositions and tastes that are repeatedly reproduced through individual behaviours, therefore reinforcing the strength of the *habitus* itself. By adopting a lifestyle which was valued by the whole citizen community, individuals behave in order to be accepted as insiders – that is as fellow citizens – and to be distinguished from outsiders.

## Olivia Elder (Cambridge), 'Citizens of the wor(l)d: language, citizenship and metaphor in Roman discourse of identity'

In five passages of Latin literature (Sen. *QNat*. 5. 4, Sen. *Ep*. 120.4; Quint. *Inst*. 8.1.2–3; Suet. *Gram. et rhet.* 22; Gell. *NA*. 19.8.1), the integration of a foreign word into Latin is described using the metaphor of 'giving it citizenship'. Swain has dismissed this metaphor as a 'cliché', but I will argue in this paper that we should attribute greater significance to it. Through it, we see a live contemporary debate that is revealing of contemporary attitudes to the citizenship and of its fluid, contested place within Roman identity.

I will begin with a close analysis of the passages and use this as a way into a wider discussion of contemporary discourse about citizenship, language and belonging. The conceptual approach underlying this analysis follows that of other recent work that analyses vocabulary and phraseology as a way into Roman patterns of thought or the Roman 'social imaginary' (Ando, Lavan). Metaphor is an especially fruitful source for this kind of analysis: variations within a metaphor reveal parameters of contemporary thought.

I will show that the metaphor of granting citizenship to words, whose terms vary between the passages, illuminates contemporary thinking about several different themes and questions surrounding citizenship. The first of these is where authority to grant citizenship rested and in particular the legitimacy of the emperor's power in this sphere. I argue that the metaphor provides an oblique way to question this legitimacy. The passages also challenge the value and significance of the citizenship. I will argue that they show that the citizenship

was a necessary, but not sufficient, condition of being Roman. This insight is important, not least because it contrasts with the way that citizenship is often regarded as the ultimate marker of Roman identity. In setting citizenship in relation to other markers of Romanness (language, origin), the metaphor shows how citizenship fits within a wider understanding of what it meant to be Roman.

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**Nick Fisher (Cardiff), 'Citizenship anxieties: the Athenian *diapsēphisis* of 346/5'**

This paper would offer a reconsideration of the *diapsephisis* in Athens in 346/5 BC, when Demophilos' decree imposed on all demes an emergency revision of their citizen lists, apparently as part of an anti-corruption programme (cf. Aeschin. 1. 77-8, 86). As Demosthenes' observed in the defence of Euxitheos ('at the time when the whole polis was stirred up in great anger at those who had jumped disgracefully into the demes', 57.49), the measure captured a mood of powerful emotion. The paper will consider types of scenarios which Athenians imagined had led to widespread infiltration of deme-lists (e.g. richer metics or foreigners paying poorer citizens to claim kinship relations or adoptions, or *hetairai* persuading their citizen-lovers to legitimize a child). It will explore the conditions of Athenian social life which facilitated confusions and deceptions over the boundaries between citizens and others, above all varied commercial, political and friendship networks, and it will seek to identify reasons why emotions of anger and resentment, and the cognitive beliefs inspiring them, came to a head at this moment, a time which other evidence suggests saw a growing sense of cultural decline and political danger faced with the Macedonian threat (Fisher 2001, 53-67; contrast Kapparis 2005, 94-5). Central to the analysis will be major recent developments in scholarship. The explorations of multiple interlocking social networks (e.g. Vlassopoulos 2007, Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015, Ismard 2010, 2017) will help to reveal multiple contradictions and tensions in Athenian attitudes to *xenoi* and slaves; and the revisionist view of Athenians' conception of 'citizenship', (see Blok 2017, Wijma 2014 and others), emphasising the idea of participation by both genders in civic cults and rituals, along with evidence for a number of trials alleging sacrilegious activities of women (cf. Eidinow 2016), will widen the sources of alarm at possible breaches of status barriers.

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**Stefano Frullini (Cambridge),**
**'The vocabulary of citizenship in fifth-century Greek historiography: a linguistic approach'**

The concepts of *syntagmatic* and *associative* (or *paradigmatic*) *relation* were defined by de Saussure (1955, 170–74) as, respectively, the relation between a linguistic constituent and its context, and that between the constituent and the alternatives to it among which the speaker has to choose when producing the message. This double relation was further explored, among others, by Jakobson (1956, 72–76) who focused on how the addressee interprets the message through alignment with the context and use of his own knowledge of the code.

In my paper, I employ syntagmatic/paradigmatic relations to address the question of the 'Greek vocabulary of citizenship' (Blok 2017, 147) from a fresh viewpoint. More specifically, I look at how the most important fifth-century BCE historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, chose between *astos* and *politēs* to identify 'citizens' and embed them into their historical narrative. Their linguistic code offered them two words for 'citizen', and the distance between the two options could vary widely in a context in which citizenship had no straightforward formal definition (Osborne 2011, 92–105). This opens up a series of mutually connected problems.

The primary problem is posed by the cases where a strong difference in meaning can be perceived between *astos* and *politēs*: how did the two authors conceptualise this distinction? Is our knowledge of classical Athenian citizenship useful to read the way Herodotus and Thucydides depicted citizenship in communities distant from democratic Athens (in space and time)? Conversely, where the two words appear all but interchangeable, how did they choose? Was it just a matter of style?

Borrowing Jakobson's focus on the addressee, we should also ask what the audience, or the reader, was expected to make of the fact that one of the two words had been chosen over the other. Were they expected to appreciate the difference? Was the choice between *astos* and *politēs* ever meant to convey a specific, ideologically-tinged message?

Lastly, what functional role did citizenship play in the construction of their broader historical narrative? And how much weight (if any) did historiography as a genre have on the meaning(s) attributed to these words, as opposed to the meaning(s) attested in contemporary sources of different nature (e.g. tragedy, comedy, inscriptions)?

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**Benjamin Gray (Birkbeck),**
**'Debating the scope of citizenship and political life in the Greek cities under Rome'**

This paper will address changing ideas about the scope and duties of citizenship in the Greek cities in the later Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods. It will focus on comparing and contrasting these debates of the early Roman East with those of earlier periods in the history of the polis, especially Classical Athenian debates. Recent work by scholars such as V. Azoulay and J. Blok has brought into renewed focus the rich debates among Classical Athenian democrats and philosophers about the scope of citizenship and political life more generally (both described with the word *politeia*): broad, inclusive notions of *politeia*, incorporating culture, ritual and voluntary interaction, co-existed and competed with much narrower understandings, which laid the emphasis on participation in political institutions. The different approaches tended to rely on a sharp binary distinction between public or political life, on the one hand, and private life, on the other, though they drew the line differently; this left little space for any Classical Athenian concept of a distinct 'social sphere' or 'civil society', occupying its own position between political and private life. This pattern endured into the Hellenistic period, but the Roman conquest brought interesting new developments, which this paper will examine on the basis of examples from inscriptions, philosophy and historiography. The traditional debate between broader and narrower conceptions of *politeia* was renewed and revivified. Some advocates of the narrower view were particularly innovative, because they were no longer content to relegate everything outside strict politics to 'private' life. Instead, some of them developed a much more explicit, complex and subtle notion of 'social life' between politics and private life, sometimes describing it with new words such as *synanastrophe* and *symbiosis*. This paper will seek to track these changes in the debate under Rome and to interpret them as responses to changing forces in civic life: Roman power; the increasingly autonomous role of voluntary associations, often involving Roman members or norms; and the increased role of culture and education at the heart of civic life and prestige.

**Brenda Griffith-Williams (UCL),**
**'*Eispoiētoi* and *dēmopoiētoi*: "making" sons and citizens in classical Athens'**

Citizenship in classical Athens was strongly hereditary, and closely linked with membership of an *oikos* (family). An Athenian's introduction to his father's phratry and registration in his deme confirmed the young man's status not only as a member of the paternal *oikos* but also as an Athenian citizen. From the mid-fifth century until the late second century BC, the primary qualification for Athenian citizenship ('being Athenian') was descent from two Athenian

parents. Outsiders could not apply to 'become Athenian', or qualify for citizenship by meeting a fixed set of criteria, but the *dēmos* occasionally granted the honour or 'gift' of citizenahip to non-Athenians. Decrees from this period declare the new citizens to 'be Athenian', while in literary sources they are said to have been 'made' (*poieisthai* or epi*poieisthai*) citizens (e.g. Pasion *epepoiēto hupo tou dēmou politēs*, [Dem.] 46.15). When an Athenian acknowledged paternity of his legitimate son, he literally 'made' the boy his son (*epoiēto huion*). If he had no natural legitimate son, he could adopt (*poieisthai* or eis*poieisthai*) anyone of his choice. Thus, according to Blok (*Citizenship in classical Athens*, 2017: 253) '… making a non-Athenian into an Athenian entailed *adopting* the prospective citizen into the *polis*'.

But could a citizen (or a son) really be made, not born? While an adopted son had exactly the same legal rights and obligations as a natural (*gnēsios*) son, including participation in the religious cults of his father's *oikos* and inheritance of the paternal estate, a citizen by decree could not hold an archonship or priesthood, or (probably) dispose of his property by will, although his legitimate descendants enjoyed full civic rights. Moreover, some passages of Athenian oratory (e.g. Lyc. 1.48; Dem. 60.4) suggest that neither adopted sons (*eispoiētoi*) nor citizens by decree (*dēmopoiētoi*) were always fully accepted as equals by members of the descent group.

After discussing the Athenian sources I consider their possible relevance in the modern world, where (although the principle of citizenship by descent is still generally recognized) acquiring new citizenship is relatively easy and not uncommon – but popular prejudice against 'new' citizens is by no means unknown.

**Edward Harris (Durham & Edinburgh) & Sara Zanovello (Edinburgh),**
**'Manumission and citizenship in ancient Greece and Rome,**
**or *Avarice grecque et générosité romaine* revisited'**

In 214 BCE Philip V of Macedon advised the people of Larissa them to grant citizenship to Thessalians and others Greeks residing in their city (*IG* IX, 2 517). He cited the Romans who, when they manumit their slaves, admit them to the citizen body and grant them a share in the magistracies. Though Philip exaggerates a bit, slaves manumitted in certain ways did become Roman citizens; by contrast, a slave manumitted in a Greek *polis* became a metic, but not a citizen. What was the reason for this difference? In an essay published in 1974 Philippe Gauthier argued the reasons *generosité romaine* and *avarice grecque* was to be found in the different nature of citizenship in the Greek *polis* and in Rome. In Greece, citizenship was the right to participate in the Assembly, the courts and in public office. In Rome, however, citizenship was viewed less as a right to participate in politics than a guarantee of certain legal rights.

This paper addressses Gauthier's question but seeks a different answer by examining the motives of masters in freeing slaves and the larger institutional context. We examine first the mechanisms and motives for granting citizenship and second the absence of subordinate statuses within the citizen body in the Greek *polis*. In Greece, the only way ex-masters have to keep their former slaves in a dependent position is to include *apeleutheroi* among the metic population (thus placing them outside the citizen body) and to arrange *paramone* agreements

with them. In Rome, by contrast, slaves manumitted 'formally', became free and citizens, and placed in a dependent status of *clientes* within the citizen body. This was possible because, unlike Greece, difference of statuses among *cives* did exist. The patronage relationship resulting from manumission was important for *patroni*, who could count on their freedmen for having supporters at elections and their role advertised. Second, the inclusion of freedmen in the citizen community and their right to vote in assemblies had a counter-balance in the timocratic and voting system of Roman assemblies. This did not exist in the assembly of the Greek *polis*.

## Fayah Haussker (Tel Aviv), 'ΜΗΔΕΝΕΣ ΜΗΔΑΜΟΘΕΝ in classical Athens: smuggling infants, citizenship fraud and gender perspectives'

Demosthenes, in his forensic speech *Against Meidias* (347/6 BCE) indicates to the jury that his opponent, whom he is suing for *hybris*, is 'no one and nobody's son' (μηδένα μηδαμόθεν). Denigrating Meidias as a supposititious child, Demosthenes presents a narrative of an infant who soon after his birth was secretly purchased from an anonymous woman, his biological mother, by his adoptive mother, an Athenian citizen woman (21.148-149). A detailed description of the performance of such a process appears in a comic episode in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria* (411 BCE), which depicts a married citizen woman pretending to be in labor until she succeeds, through an assistant, to purchase a male baby and display him as her own (*Th*. 502-516). In both cases the infant's doubtful origins and obscure birth circumstances didn't allow them the appropriate status to be registered and raised as citizens according to the concurrent Athenian legal perspective.

Most probably Demosthenes' scenario about the origins of Meidias, an Athenian citizen of distinguished family, was imaginary, as also the historicity of the narration that Aristophanes stages is highly questionable. Yet Demosthenes' fabricated accusation and the picturesque fictive scene in Aristophanes faithfully represent a recurrent motive in sources expressing the means by which fraudulent citizenship, difficult to prove, can be achieved, at least in the Athenian imagination (e.g. E. *Ph*. 28-31; Ar. *Th*. 339-40, and Pl. *Mx*. 237e), by a practice executed almost exclusively by women and at their initiative.

The present article shall examine the representations of baby-smuggling narratives in different discursive areas of fifth and forth century BCE Athens, in the context of children's legal status and contemporary socio-gender perspectives. The discussion will conclude with an argumentation that although the occurrence and scope of baby-smuggling *per se* is difficult to access, nevertheless its literary representations point to the feasibility of the existence of alternative and indeed complicated and dangerous means of conducting the unofficial illegal adoption of male infants, and that such a venture was impossible to accomplish without active feminine collaboration.

## James Kierstead (Wellington),
### 'Incentives and information in Athenian citizenship procedures'

Citizenship in classical Athens was defined by a number of associations, including demes and phratries as well as (probably) *genē* and *orgeones*. This paper seeks to explain why this was the case.

Why was citizenship controlled almost entirely by associations rather than the central state? Drawing on social scientific work on networks and groups, I suggest there were two main reasons: because small groups were better at gathering accurate information about citizens; and because small groups had greater incentives to identify and exclude non-citizens (since members of smaller groups have their power eroded by new members more quickly than members of larger groups).

Why were there at least two (and probably three) stages in becoming a citizen? I suggest that this was to ensure that candidates were fully Athenian in each of three important senses. Though all Athenian associations had a variety of functions, I argue that, in the context of citizenship procedures, *genē* and *orgeones* looked mainly at religious belonging, phratries at descent, and demes at a man's claim to participate in the civic life of the *polis.*

Why did this system persist throughout the course of Athens' democratic history? Though the system was partly a response to practical exigencies (no ID cards or databases) I think it also went hand in hand with the pluralistic nature of Athenian democracy, which had a tendency to disperse rather than concentrate authority. By certifying new citizens as respectful of the local gods, of Athenian extraction, and part of the city's community of adult citizens, it also gave Athenians a reason to trust their new compatriots from the get-go, and this may have played some part in helping make Athenian democracy work.

## Roel Konijnendijk (Leiden), 'The citizen as hoplite: a reappraisal'

Exactly forty years ago, Ronald T. Ridley published a long article in *L'Antiquité Classique* titled 'The hoplite as citizen'. The piece is unabashedly polemic. Ridley was dissatisfied with the failure of overly technical works on Greek warfare to give due weight to the socio-political system on which it was built: 'we have forgotten to ask,' he declared, 'what it was like to be an ordinary citizen called upon to serve in the phalanx.'

The article prophesied much of the scholarship that was to come. Both the individual experience of battle and the importance of polis institutions and citizen ideology in shaping the Greek way of war have been the subject of intense study. Recent works can no longer be accused of the shortcomings Ridley identified. What have we learned from this acknowledgement of warfare's wider context? How does the recognition of the hoplite as a citizen, and the citizen (at least archetypically) as a hoplite, improve our understanding of these ancient phenomena?

Ridley's own view was highly optimistic: committed citizens proved good soldiers. But it is easy to see how the relationship between hoplite and citizen, certainly in democratic states, was one of tension rather than harmony. I will discuss some of the ways citizen values conflicted with military needs, and some of the measures taken by states like Athens to tackle

the problem of their reliance on free citizens that could not be turned into professional soldiers.

**Katarzyna Kostecka (Warsaw),**
**'The mobility and status of travelling specialists in archaic Greece'**

In archaic Greece, one's social status was strongly connected to his belonging to the *polis'* citizenry. The citizens had a privileged position as they were able to contribute to the community's public and political life and could draw prestige from it (M. Giangiulio 2017). However, as it is now underlined, many individuals had a much more fluid *polis'* affiliation and are not easy to categorize as neither members of the community nor outsiders (A.Duplouy, R. Brock 2018). Among them are the travelling specialist, such as doctors and seers. These, in pursuit of best clients and profits, often abandoned their native *polis* and travelled all throughout Greece to sell their services in various poleis, staying often at the courts of tyrants and kings (Raaflaub 2004, Dillery 2005). Because their specialized knowledge and *techne* were usually in grand demand, the specialist could in a brief time achieve much prestige in the new *polis* that hired them - gain great wealth and different forms of praise such as an honorific place on the battlefield next to kings (Hdt III.131, IX.33). They also participated in aristocratic culture and display - they took part in sport competition (Pindar *Olympian* 6) or dedicating prestigious votives (the *kouros* of the doctor Somroditas CA 550). In other words, we can see there a paradoxical situation - such specialists were, for a longer or shorter period, part of a high elite of a given *polis* without being its citizens. In this paper, I want to show how the ambiguous position of the specialists connected to their lack of strong attachment and fluid membership in the community affected their position and the dynamics of their success in the long term. I will argue that their high mobility enabled them to achieve success very quickly, but at the same time deprived them of the mechanism of protections that the less mobile citizens had - and thus often contributed to their dramatic downfall (Hdt. III.125, V.44, IX.37). Finally, I will show the strategies the specialists to keep their prestige stable, focusing especially on cases of acquiring new citizenship (Hdt, V.45 IX.33).

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J. Dillery, *Chresmologues and manteis: Independent diviners and the problem of authority*, [in:] S. Johnston, P. Struck, Mantike, Leiden 2005, 167-231.

K. Raflaaub, *Archaic Greek Aristocrats as Carriers of Cultural Interaction*, [in:] R. Rollinger, Ch. Ulf, *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means Transmission and Cultural Interaction*, Munchen 2004, 197-217.

**Janek Kucharski (Silesia),**
**'Duty to despise: anger and hatred as civic obligation in the Athenian forensic discourse'**

A recurrent motif in the arsenal of rhetorical tools available to the Athenian prosecutors was the idea that the defendant ought to be hated by every citizen (e.g. Lys. 14.1; Dem. 18.280; 21.142; 22.64; Lyc. 1.6; cf. Sanders 2012). This sentiment, however, is somewhat unexpectedly embedded in a discursive framework of obligation uniting the citizen body, and not, as one might assume, in that of highly-pitched emotional appeals (Rubinstein 2004; 2013). It is therefore constructed and deployed not as a mob passion, but as a civic duty. In this paper I will attempt to untangle this surprising – indeed oxymoronic by the modern standards – twist of emotional discourse in the Greek orators.

The "duty" to hate and feel anger against the offender is in the Athenian forensic discourse consistently paired with the obligation to punish him (Allen 2003; Rubinstein 2004). While such appeals to anger and hatred are not entirely alien to modern courtrooms, they are usually understood as cases of revenge masquerading as punishment: for the latter is nowadays conceived of as an impersonal and dispassionate act of justice administration, and as such explicitly opposed to the former. In the Athenian forensic discourse, however, the two were never firmly distinguished from one another, not even on the notional level (Cairns 2015). What we now understand as punishment, in ancient Athens went just as well with anger and hatred, as did revenge pure and simple. And to punish offenders was the duty of the dikasts, who in turn – owing to their sheer number, and the participatory ethos of democratic institutions in general – were consistently identified with the entire citizen-body or even the polis itself. As a result, just like punishment – or perhaps "communal revenge" (Rubinstein 2016) – so too the emotions of anger and hatred which were discursively bound with it, could be constructed and deployed not only as appeals to *pathos*, but also as rational arguments tapping into the concept and practice of Athenian citizenship.

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**Myles Lavan (St Andrews), 'Citizenship, city-state and empire:**
**the doctrine of *communis patria* from Cicero to Caracalla'**

Greek and Roman conceptions of citizenship emerged from a political culture in what the city-state was the hegemonic form of political organisation. This paper explores how this model of citizenship operated within the larger imperial formations to which city-states were eventually annexed, specifically in the early Roman empire. It argues that Roman citizenship was not conceptualised as membership of the territorial state that the Roman empire in effect constituted, but rather as membership of one particular city-state – the city of Rome – whose hegemony extended over thousands of other cities and peoples.

The paper centres on a close analysis of the concept of Rome as *communis patria*, an idiosyncratic legal doctrine about administrative space that reveals some distinctive features of how contemporaries understood the relationship between citizenship, city and empire. The early Roman empire of was a patchwork of 2-3,000 largely self-governing communities, variously Roman, Latin and peregrine. Roman legal and administrative practice ensured that all persons were clearly affiliated to one of the constituent communities. For many issues, the affiliation that mattered was the state of origin – a person's *patria*. Only a small minority of Roman citizens were registered in the city of Rome; the vast majority were affiliated to the community where they originated, whether Roman, Latin or peregrine. Yet Roman jurists continued to insist that the city of Rome was the *communis patria* of all Roman citizens. That meant that Roman citizens were no less 'at home' for administrative purposes when they were in the city of Rome than when they were within the territory of the community from which they originated. As a result, Roman citizens were considered to in their *patria* when they were in their city of origin and when in the city of Rome, *but not* anywhere else in the empire, not even in other Roman communities (the *coloniae* and *municipia* of Italy and the provinces). This idiosyncratic doctrine is significant because it reveals the fact that *civitas Romana* continued to be conceptualised as citizenship of the city of Rome, not of the empire as a whole.

**Sean Manning (Innsbruck), 'The service-citizenship nexus in Babylonia'**

Just like Greeks and Romans, the peoples of lower Mesopotamia divided themselves into a group privileged by membership in an urban community, and larger groups without those privileges: resident foreigners, slaves, and so on. Just like the Greeks and Romans, the obligation to provide service was seen as centrally linked to these privileges. However, where classical literature presents service as positive and civic, Mesopotamian literature presents it as a burden to be avoided. This paper will explore this relationship and whether this reflects differences in culture, or differences in the sources, touching briefly on the longue durée but concentrating on the mārū-banûtu of Babylonia in the long sixth century BCE (c. 626-482 BCE).

The keywords dullum, dullu, and ilku (toil, conscription, forced labour) are common in cuneiform texts from the third millennium onwards and appear as one of the fundamental demands of rulers: as a Sumerian proverb put it, "a citizen cannot ignore dullum." However, who exactly was obliged to provide service is always implicit: there is no cuneiform equivalent of Polybius 6 or the conscription diagramma from Macedonia. Modern discussions often focus

on the best translation for these terms and whether wealthy citizens were expected to serve in person or simply to commute or substitute a cash payment or worker in their place. Other researchers offer informal analogies, such as Kendall's suggestion that the citizens of Nuzi in the Late Bronze Age were a kind of 'minutemen' obliged to arm themselves on a moment's notice and march out against raiders. It is clear that this service could take 'military' and 'civilian' forms and that no Mesopotamian culture had the basic opposition between the two (Wehrpflicht and Zivildienst, conscription and corvée) which is taken for granted in European languages.

Research into Babylonia in the long sixth century is very active, but work remains to be done synthesizing it and integrating it into wider discussions in ancient history. Service obligations are ubiquitous in the world history of complex societies, and often seen in very different lights by political theorists and the men obliged to leave their homes and risk their lives for token pay.

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**Javier Martínez Jiménez (Cambridge), 'Citizenship as urban identity in the post-Roman West'**

The transformation of Roman citizenship after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is a subject of much scholarly debate. By extending citizenship to a large proportion of the free population, citizenship lost its exclusivity, watering down its potential as a marker of identity and alterity. In the post-Roman period, however, we see the emergence of new forms of self-definition, especially amongst the new military Germanic elites, like ethnicity. In this context, I would like to introduce anthropological and sociological theories of place-based identity into the general discussion to highlight how locality (and not ethnicity) might have been a better form of differentiating "the other". Place-based identity is inclusive, inasmuch as it does not require of peer approval for membership, and it intersects with other layers of identity such as class, rank or ethnicity. In a pre-modern world, locality might have been a stronger communal bond than other forms of socio-economical differentiation. Furthermore, I propose that the eminent locality of post-Roman citizenships (where *civis* highlights the belonging to a

particular city rather than assuming that it refers to a *civis Romanus*) overlaps with these concepts of urban identity, as can be seen from a combination of literary sources and the evolution of urban monumentality and its material culture, and the way cities compete with each other and place themselves as opposites to the countryside. Eventually, this correlation between urban identity and citizenship will lead to the medieval-charter concept of *vicinus* (and, eventually, of burgher), where municipal rights are restricted to urban residents, shifting the Ancient concept of citizenship to a more modern meaning of simply town-dweller.

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**Julien Perrez (Liège),**
**'Conceptual metaphors in political discourse: evidence from citizen discourse'**

In the wake of Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work (1980), much attention has been devoted to the study of metaphors not as rhetoric figures but as conceptual tools structuring complex realities. While conceptual metaphors occur in every area of life, the political domain remains one prominent area where to find metaphors. This importance of metaphors in politics has among others been stressed by Charteris-Black (2011, 28) who highlights their contribution to the construction of more accessible 'mental representations of political issues' and suggests their power resides in their ability to 'activate unconscious emotional associations', which 'contributes to myth creation'.

Accordingly, scholars in linguistics and in political science have moved toward investigating the use of metaphors in various political domains (for an overview, see Bougher 2012). Yet, in these accounts of the metaphor's role in politics, the predominant focus has always been on discourses by the political elites (see for instance Charteris-Black 2011). While the metaphors used by the elites are definitely relevant because they illustrate how they frame the political debate, citizens' discourse about politics should also be taken into account. More specifically, research on citizen data can lead to two specific kinds of insights: on the one hand, it makes it possible to assess to what extent metaphors produced by the political elite are integrated in the citizens' political reasoning, but on the other hand, it also offers the opportunity to look

at how citizens 'generate their own metaphors (i.e., spontaneous metaphors) to make sense of the political environment' (Bougher 2012, 149).

The relevance of metaphors in citizen discourse has been confirmed by Perrez & Reuchamps (2015) who showed that citizens do produce metaphors when talking about complex political processes and that these metaphors reveal different political visions. Against this background, this contribution will present the results of new citizen data analyses, collected in 2017 and 2018 in the Dutch-, French- and German-speaking communities of Belgium. Comparing this new citizen corpus with the one used in Perrez & Reuchamps (2015) will make it possible to analyse to what extent the metaphor use of citizens has evolved over time and different political contexts.

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## Christine Plastow (Open), 'Places of citizenship in forensic rhetoric'

Successful persuasive rhetoric relies on an understanding of the identities of your listeners. In the Athenian courts, the listeners and targets of persuasion were the dikasts, for whom a key part of their identity is that they were citizens. A number of rhetorical strategies could be employed in order to encourage Athenian judges to vote based on the values, whether ideological or real, that came along with their citizenship. In this paper, I explore one of the rhetorical strategies that sought to activate the citizen identity as a persuasive factor in the courtroom: the description of places where citizenship was enacted.

Place is a powerful rhetorical concept, as it speaks to people's personal experiences. Places do not exist fully without people to experience them, and they affect and are affected by people's behaviour within them. For the Athenians, citizenship, besides being a legal status, meant access to a variety of civic spaces and processes in which one could take part. On several occasions, orators describe these places and the acts of citizenship that take place in them as part of their courtroom narratives. In this paper, I explore the use of civic spaces (e.g. the assembly and the council) as well as private spaces (the oikos) and the citizen behaviours appropriate to them as persuasive techniques. I examine the functioning of this technique, with a particular focus on the dual role of place as a static representative of Athenian citizen ideology and an arena for the enactment of (in)appropriate citizenship through behaviour. I show that although these techniques were unsurprisingly used most extensively in public cases, they also have a role to play in private cases, where they strongly suggest the ideological

belief that the behaviour of the individual citizen in the public (and private) places of the city reflects on the citizen body as a whole.

**Andrea Raggi (Pisa), 'The Greeks and Roman citizenship in the late Republic: a reappraisal'**

Some decades ago, publishing the second edition of his 'The Roman Citizenship' (Oxford 1973), A.N. Sherwin-White claimed that in the late Republic «evidently citizens of eastern Greek cities were not expected to welcome the grant of Roman status at this time, and were not allowed the opportunity» (p. 307). Following this statement, scholars have supposed a clear, though diminishing in time, reluctance to become Roman citizens among Greeks from the eastern provinces. It is believed that in Italy few could have become Romans except as manumitted slaves before Sulla's dictatorship. The first group of Greek externs would seem to be some Sicilian notables enfranchised during the operations of the young Pompeius (82 bc) in the island. It was the urgencies of the civil wars after 49 that led to large-scale acts of individual enfranchisement in the Greek East thanks to Caesar, and especially to the Triumvirs (namely Antonius and Octavian). Revising these studies, my paper will try to stress that, actually, the Social War was a turning point not only for the Italians, but also for the Greeks, including eastern Greeks, in the opportunity to be inserted in the Roman civic body. Epigraphic and literary sources prove that a sort of movement of Greek speaking individuals took place from east to west in order to be in the 'right place' when the Roman state decided to bestow the citizenship to all the inhabitants of Italy. Moreover, it is now time to stress the importance of the role played by Pompey in the proliferation of viritane grants in the Greek east.

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**Linda Rocchi (Edinburgh),**
**'Identity, status, and "dishonour": was *atimia* relevant only for citizens?'**

When the Greek *atimia*, normally translated as 'dishonour', is used in legal discourse, the word is commonly rendered as 'deprivation of civic rights'. Thus, the notion of *atimia* has often been considered – and indeed is – central to the understanding of citizenship in classical Athens. And yet, despite much academic attention to this topic, no consensus on the core and range of its meanings has yet emerged.

Since Swoboda's 1893 article on the *atimos* Arthmius of Zeleia, the publications on this subject have tended to present a markedly developmental account of the concept, according to which a gradual change in the meaning of *atimia* – from 'outlawry' to 'disfranchisement',

or from a moral concept to a legal one – was ultimately prompted by the evolution of citizenship. As a result, *atimia* has generally been regarded as a penalty that applied exclusively to (male) citizens, and all the instances that do not fit into this general picture have been explained away as insignificant, or residual, or incorrect.

While acknowledging the importance of the relationship between *atimia* and citizenship, this paper will challenge the traditional, exclusively legalistic approach and will advocate a broader perspective on the notion, focussing specifically on cases in which *atimia* was used against nonAthenians (e.g. Arthmius of Zeleia and Euthycrates of Olynthus) through forensic speeches and epigraphic sources. Rather than postulating a change in the meaning of the term, *atimia* will be analysed in its interconnection with the notion of *timê* ('honour'). This will prove useful to show that *timê* and *atimia* are categories through which Athenian conceptualised and negotiated any kind of identity, not only civic identity. From this standpoint, it will become clear how both *timê* and its contrary (*a-timia*) were key concepts within Athenian society, and played a fundamental role in terms of status, identity, and social interactions.

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**Federico Russo (Milan), 'Becoming Roman Citizen in a Provincial Community of the Empire: The problem of the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum'***

In provincial communities of the Roman Empire the possession of Roman citizenship represented a status-symbol of great importance, which often meant being part of the political and social élite of the city. Accordingly, the Roman state was particularly careful in attributing and defining the right by which provincial citizens could obtain the Roman citizenship. Among the several ways that the Rome established for grating the *ius civitatis*, a special attention must be paid to the so-called *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*, which granted the Roman citizenship to all former magistrates of Latin municipia of the Empire after leaving their office. The *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum* is also attested by the local charter of the Latin municipium of Irni in *Baetica* (Spain), which was promulgated by Domitian: the so-called *Lex Irnitana*. This piece of evidence, which will be at the centre of the proposed paper, defines *the ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum* in detail, by especially establishing the cases in which it could not be applied.

The main scope of the paper is, on the one hand, to better define the juridical limitations that could concern the granting of Roman citizenship within the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*; on the other hand, it will be shown that the correlated juridical concepts of Latium minus and Latium maius, which also concerned the granting of Roman citizenship by defining the passage from the status of *civis Latinus* to the one of *civis Romanus*, are not the be collocated in the second century AD, as usually accepted in modern scholarship. On the contrary, a thorough analysis of the *Lex Irnitana* suggests that they were introduced in the Roman legislative system already in the Flavian period, which confirms the caution shown by the central power in attributing the honour of the *civitas Romana* to the local élites of the Empire.

**Barbara Schipani & Ferdinando Ferraioli (Naples, 'L'Orientale'),
'Some considerations on the granting of citizenship to women in ancient Epirus'**

The concept of female citizenship in the ancient Greek world is still difficult to interpret. The word *politeia*, citizenship, is in fact rarely linked to woman, but above all it is not always clear what rights and privileges are associated whit a woman in possession of *politeia*. Two decrees, dated to the first half of the IV century B.C. and found at the sanctuary of Dodona, bring us a procedure that is not attested in any other part of the Greek world: the conferral of citizenship to a woman. In classical Athens, the woman was a citizen only in a passive sense, i.e. as a mother of male citizens, who could transmit her rights. A functional status that did not make the woman a politically active being and participating in the life of the polis or able to be a legal entity. But from Athens, although there is an epigraphic documentation much broader

than that of Epirus, there are no similar decrees to those of Dodona. Moreover, in Northwestern Greece, as well as in the Pelopponese and in Gortina on the island of Crete, the epigraphic and literary testimonials seem to present the woman in a more active condition, especially about the ability to dispose of their goods without the necessary presence of a *kyrios*. The purpose of this intervention is to try to deepen the analysis compared to the few studies published on the texts in question in order to understand what the citizenship for the woman meant in the context of the *koinon* of the Molossians in Epirus in IV sec. a.C. and whether such citizenship had a passive connotation, as in classical Athens, or whether the woman could exercise more actively her rights as a citizen and how.

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### Catherine Steel (Glasgow), 'Citizenship and political change at Rome, 91-49 B.C.'

The extension of Roman citizenship following the Social War was a profound change in the nature of Rome's political community, consolidating a split between citizenship and political participation which had emerged piecemeal over the previous century and more. But the consequences of the expansion of citizenship are difficult to disentangle from other profound political changes which took place shortly afterwards under the direction of Sulla during his dictatorship. This paper seeks to understand the consequences of a greatly expanded citizen body in the context of the Sullan *res publica* and in relation to the modifications to Sulla's programme which took place in the decade following his death. It explores them under three headings. First, the effects on elections, where I argue that the period is distinctive not simply for the intensity of competition but also for participants' expectations of unpredictability and resulting tactics. Secondly, the methods by which *popularis* politicians sought support from the electorate. Thirdly, the articulation of citizen identity and purpose by politicians across the political spectrum and the implications for patterns of political support and decision-making. Each of these aspects underscores the destabilising effects of extended citizenship within a political system still predictated on face-to-face participation.

### Martyna Świerk (Wrocław), 'Epigraphy of Roman Carthage as a source of information about citizenship in African provinces'

The importance of African provinces in Roman Empire system is incontrovertible. Fertile areas of North Africa from the 2nd century BC began to be used by Rome as a source of agricultural production, mainly cereals, which contributes to the growth of the province's importance and development. Provincial citizens were playing an important role in the

political and cultural life of Rome. An example of a specific urban center in these areas is Carthage the largest city in North Africa and one of the five largest port cities in the world. The sources that give direct consideration to the life of the population, but also telling a lot about social, historical and cultural conditions are particularly well-preserved inscriptions in Africa. Analysis of the numerous epigraphic material preserved from the city areas, will allow answering questions related to the status and position of citizens of provincial cities. Based mainly on honoryfic inscriptions and epitaphs, it will be possible to present various groups of citizens appearing in the sources and their functions in the structures of the provincial administration. Frequently it is possible to define the relations between citizens and other members of society. Analysis of sources in terms of quantity will show what was the share of inscriptions issued by citizens in the general "epigraphic habit" of the city and could be a starting point to reflect on the participation of provincial citizens in the general social structure. Another important fact is that the specificity of the city was owed to the combination of local Libyan influences, the ancient Punic tradition and Roman culture. It is worth considering whether such a cultural mix was reflected in epigraphic sources referring to citizens. The use of epigraphic material in studies on provincial citizenship also brings some methodological difficulties, which will be briefly presented.

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**Christian Thomsen (Copenhagen), 'The ideology of the ancient Greek metic (c. 400-31 BCE)'**

   Unlike the study of the citizen and citizenship, the study of the ancient Greek metic (I use the term here in a non-technical sense) has, apart from a strict focus on Classical Athens, mainly been concerned with the legal aspects of *metoikia* (Whitehead 1977; Niku 2007; Kamen 2013). This in part in due to the nature of the evidence created by citizens and through their institutions. From this point of view, metics were mostly simply metics, free foreigners who had settled and been accepted as members of the community though with considerable restrictions viz-a-viz the citizens, and modern scholars have largely followed this perspective. This view contrasts sharply with that of the metics themselves as demonstrated by the thousands of funerary inscriptions preserved from practically every Greek *polis* in which free foreigners in variably identified as citizens of their "native" *poleis* even if, for some at least, residence—to say nothing of active participation in civic life—must have laid generations in the past.
   Accordingly, the paper explores metic expressions of belonging in relation to both host and native *polis* as well as the metic community through active participation in civic and social life, acculturation and nostalgia for their home *polis* through a variety of sources. Identification with, and nostalgia for, the native community is found to occupy a central place in metic self-expression. The paper therefore attempts to answer so far unasked questions about the practical relationship and interaction between metics and their native communities and, by the extension, the meaning and value of citizenship for those who had settled beyond those cities in which they, at least nominally, had a share.

**Eva von Dassow (Minnesota),**
**'Native sons, foreign rule, and political rights in ancient Near Eastern states'**

   Citizenship in ancient Near Eastern contexts becomes most distinctly visible in Babylonia during the mid-first millennium BCE, under Assyrian, then Babylonian, then Persian rule.  In this period the term *mār banê*, which may loosely be translated "well born," emerged to denote that part of the population distinguished by criteria that typically define citizenship. Persons having the status of *mār banê* were free (not the property of others nor bound to institutions), native-born (descended from recognized Babylonian lineages), propertied (though they might be poor), and had access to political power, through participation in assemblies, as well as to justice, through the courts.  They owed labor and military service, though not to the Assyrian state if they dwelt in cities privileged with *kidinnu* status, which were exempt.  Citizen status was not limited to residents of cities, for qualified members of village communities or so-called tribal lineages were also *mārū banê*.
   Thus the concept of citizenship is clearly applicable to first-millennium Babylonian society. It cannot however be extrapolated *tout court* from this historically context to the entire ancient Near East, going all the way back to the original period of state formation in the late fourth millennium.  Each of the basic criteria – free vs. unfree, native vs. foreign, obliged for

service, eligible for governance, rights protected in law – is also found elsewhere, and earlier, although the terminology differs from one period, region, or language to another. But so do the forms of polity that give the notion of citizenship meaning. Membership in a political community could rest on criteria of birth and residence in an environment of autonomous states, but it would acquire additional dimensions once one acquired dominion over others, with results that would vary with the structure relating the hegemon to its constituents. The status of dumu-gir₁₅, "native son," of Sumer in the late third millennium, *ḫanigalbatūtu*, denoting citizenship of Mittani in the mid-second millennium, or "Assyrian" status in first-millennium Assyria are qualitatively different. Paradoxically, (some) Babylonian cities may have acquired the highest degree of autonomy not under native rule but under Assyrian rule, when venerable cultic centers like Babylon obtained *kidinnu* status and representative bodies of their citizens (*mārū banê*) negotiated directly with the Assyrian king.

In this paper I shall explore what elements remain constant or develop over the course of history to form a differentiated idea of citizenship in ancient Near Eastern states.

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**Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Tel Aviv), 'Tracing status boundaries in the ancient polis'**

In what way, by what means—if at all—were non-citizens distinguished from citizens in the Greek polis? Representations of non-citizens in the visual arts (vase painting, gravestone reliefs and statues) make it often difficult to tell slaves and free non-citizens from citizens (Weiler 2002; Wrenhaven 2012; Karlsson 2014). This is also true of many grave inscriptions, where the absence of ethnics and patronyms makes it impossible to know whether the deceased was a citizen, a foreigner or a slave (Fraser and Rönne 1957; Fraser 1977; 1995; Nielsen; Bäbler 1998; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2015). Evidence on everyday life also shows that often citizens, foreign residents and slaves worked together and interacted socially (Vlassopoulos 2007, 2009; Gottesman 2014). Moreover, the ease with which non-citizens penetrated the citizens' community, assumed citizen status and appropriated privileges—as allegedly did Neaira ([Dem.] 59) and Pankleon (Lys. 23)—seems to suggest that status boundaries were rather blurry; it also implies that often in daily life legal status played a minor role. Conversely, other texts, especially inscriptions, make a sharp distinction between statuses. Habitually, slaves and free non-citizens are referred to as such or presented as

distinct groups in relation to citizens. In such cases the status of a person can hardly be mistaken: we recognize non-citizens because they are distinguished from (sometimes opposed to) the dominant group of citizens. Furthermore, although social networks and interaction with citizens helped non-citizens in attaining privileges, even citizenship, such privileges were defined according to legal statuses. Moreover, slavery and immigration, with their social and culture implications, were deeply inscribed in the Greek experience, as reflected in the drama and by grave inscriptions.

This paper traces situations where categories of non-citizens are, or expected to be, mentioned, and the boundaries delineated thereby between statuses. This is done by looking at allusions to non-citizens (slaves and free) in literary and epigraphic sources. It will be argued that whereas status boundaries in everyday life were crossed and even overlooked when living and working together created solidarity, such boundaries were clearly formulated and declared where public or religious needs demanded it; moreover, in certain circumstances the non-citizen's 'otherness' was acknowledged and abhorred.

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