

Politics and citizenship in Etruscan and Italic societies

Introduction

Citizenship in ancient Italy was a constantly evolving concept, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The rights conveyed by citizenship changed out of all recognition from the archaic period to the late Republic, and some citizen bodies also expanded enormously in scale as Rome conquered and incorporated other states in Italy. In Etruscan and Italic societies citizenship varied in its definition and development by the time of the Roman conquest, which mostly took place in the late fourth to early third century BCE, but it became increasingly homogenised under Roman control. This process ended with the Social War (91 - c. 88 BCE), where all previously independent Italian communities were incorporated into the Roman state, and their inhabitants became citizens of Rome. Discussing politics and citizenship in Etruscan and Italic societies thus requires looking at an enormously varied and rapidly changing situation from around the sixth to the first century BCE.

The flexibility of Roman citizenship was one of the keys to the expansion of Rome. It evolved out of the Italian environment, with Rome having close connections to and in some cases shared citizen relations with Etruscan and Italic societies. Concepts of citizenship in Italy were also subject to considerable influence from the cities of Magna Graecia (southern Italy and Sicily), Carthage and the western Mediterranean, where distinctive ideas of community life were circulating. The comparison with the situation in Greece helps to show the importance of understanding the wider context out of which Roman citizenship emerged:¹ whilst the citizenship of Athens is the best known of the city-states in Greece, it was by no means the dominant model and was part of a wider fabric of belonging and status in Greece.

In fact, recent work on mobility has shown that all Mediterranean cities were probably open to outsiders, and most will have had non-citizens present in varying proportions. Some did not fully integrate incomers into the state, restricting citizenship such as at classical Athens, which had a substantial population of metics. Whether this was a typical situation is unclear as we need broader comparative investigation into Mediterranean-wide citizenship practices. We can however be sure that city populations within Italy were characterised by mobility and fluidity. The state of our evidence means that this movement cannot be quantified and is only visible sporadically in our sources, such as individuals attested migrating in the archaic period, large scale movement to Latin colonies occasionally recorded in our literary sources, and Roman laws in the last two centuries BCE attempting (but probably failing) to impose restrictions on these movements, whether to Rome or elsewhere. But on the basis of recent research, we can hypothesise a model in this chapter in which mobility was both reciprocal and extensive across most central Italian cities and peoples (Bourdin 2012; Bradley 2015; Isayev 2017).

¹ An approach emphasized in Bradley (2020).

Recent work has also helped refine our definitions of citizenship, which is now understood in broader terms than its simple legal definition to encompass a shared lifestyle (particularly performative aspects such as dining), participation in rituals, and customs.² Our modern term comes from the Latin *civis* (citizen) and *civitas* (citizenship; city-state). Its equivalent in Italic and Etruscan is uncertain, although *spur-* and its derivatives seem to denote a city-state in Etruscan, and *tota-* that in Italic societies (Bourdin 2012, 229-40; Hall 2016, 117). The close relationship of *civis* to *civitas* implies that it only relates to urban, city-based societies, but this may be misleading. It is an important issue as many Italic societies such as the Samnites, Lucanians and the peoples of the central Appennines did not organise themselves around city-states until the period after the Roman conquest, and yet probably had defined citizen bodies.

The construction of citizenship in archaic Rome and Italy

In Rome, the rights and institutions of citizenship were closely connected to the reforms allegedly introduced by the king Servius Tullius in the sixth century BCE and to the Struggle of the Orders between patricians and plebeians in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The Servian reforms mark an important, if somewhat obscure step in the evolution of Roman citizenship. According to our sources they were instigated in the mid-sixth century BCE by the republican-minded monarch Servius Tullius, and saw the reorganisation of the citizen body into two new groups, geographical *tribus* (tribes) which formed the basis of the *comitia tributa*, and *centuriae* (centuries), which were the basis of the five wealth classes of the *comitia centuriata*. There were four urban tribes and multiple rural tribes. The original number of *centuriae* is uncertain, but reconstructions envisage at least 40. There has been extensive scholarly debate on how far this system dates back to the monarchic period (before 509 BCE). We know that tribes already existed by 495 BCE when Livy records their expansion to 21 (Livy 2.21.7; Bradley 2020: 312). We also know that *proletarii* and *assidui* (those who were part of or excluded from the centuries and classes) already existed by 450 BCE (XII Tables I, 4; Cornell (1995, 288ff); Bradley (2020, 127-31). Whilst the system is probably originally monarchic, it underwent important modifications in the early Republic with the introduction of *tributum* (tax) and *stipendium* (army pay) in the late fifth century BCE. There were several key features of these new institutions. They combined voting rights with citizen burdens (military service and taxation), calibrated to give the rich more political power. They were also flexible, allowing the censors to incorporate into the citizen body anyone who had taken up residence in Roman territory through the regular reassessment of all citizens in the census (ideally five yearly, but conducted more sporadically).

This system, with its 'archaic rationality' in exploiting and rewarding its citizens, was clearly integrated with military service (Ampolo: 1988; Bradley: 2020, 108). The *comitia centuriata*, the assembly of the citizens by centuries, was used to draw up its members army service, and took place outside the city boundaries in the Campus Martius. The system also had economic ramifications. As Roman Roth has pointed

² Davies, this volume, sees Greek citizenship in terms of five criteria.

out, paying out *stipendium* led to a need for censors to assess people's property assets and quaestors to cover the financial aspects.³ There was therefore an economic nexus between the use of a treasury and citizenship, which went together from the late fifth century.

Citizenship in the ancient Mediterranean was also connected to religion. This is clear from the participation of the whole Athenian community in the *Panathenaia* at Athens, both citizens and metics, and male and female, for instance including a procession and dance of the armed youth of the city. Participation in civic festivals was key to the way that status as a citizen was defined (and non-citizens were excluded).⁴ Citizenship in Italy was also by defined in festivals and rituals. The census at Rome had strong religious associations, and participation in festivals like the *Ludi Romani* must have helped build a powerful sense of Roman identity. A highly complex programme of festivals was governed by the Roman calendar, a document which probably dates back to the monarchic period. Foreigners were explicitly excluded from some cults, such as that of Hercules at the Ara Maxima. Some cults were explicitly conducted *Graeco ritu*, that is according to Greek rites, accentuating the contrast between Roman and foreign through different types of ritual.

From a modern nationalist perspective it is easy to assume that citizenship is a privilege in the ancient world. But there is plenty of evidence that in ancient Italy, just as in the modern world, it could be just as much coercive as beneficial.⁵ The balance of benefits and duties associated with Roman citizenship were clearly weighted in favour of the latter in the archaic period. The struggle of the plebs for greater citizen rights from the fifth century BCE was fundamental in shaping the Roman citizenship of the later Republic, and probably drew on ideas from Athens and more democratic regimes in Magna Grecia.

The plebeian movement emerged in the early fifth century, resisting some of the more onerous duties associated with being a citizen such as the compulsory levy for military service, and working to augment its meagre benefits (no execution without trial, less harsh punishments than slaves). In doing so, they show the complexity of the forces shaping early citizenship, which was nothing like the sought-after status known to the inhabitants of imperial Rome. A major plebeian complaint according to the literary sources concerned debt. Whilst some scholars have argued that this is an illegitimate retrojection of conditions of the first century BCE, the contemporary evidence of the XII Tables of 450 BCE supports the picture. They show that citizens could be subject to severe forms of debt bondage, and if they were unable to pay could be sold (into slavery) across the Tiber in Etruria (XII Tables III, 1-7; Crawford 1996). If I am correct to argue that the first two Secessions of the Plebs (494 and 450 BCE) were an implicit threat by the plebs to move away from Rome to join

³ Roth, Unpublished paper in *Debating Early Rome workshop* (2021).

⁴ Hdt. 5.55 on how the assassination of Hippas stemmed from the humiliation of Harmodius' family after his younger sister was rejected by the tyrant as a *kanephoros* (basket carrier) in the festival.

⁵ Cf. Scott (1998) for an anarchist perspective on modern states.

enemies like the Volsci, then the plebeian movement helped to clarify the minimum requirements of citizenship which would enable them to stay: the First Secession in 494 BCE resulted in the establishment of plebeian tribunes, who could protect the plebs; the Second in 450 overturned the tyrannical Decemvirate (Bradley 2020: 245-254). The movement in Rome may well have provided a model for underclasses in other Italian societies, although the evidence is very fragmentary. Citizens were also defined against the 'other'. Holding citizenship was the opposite of slavery, an institution that it is reasonable to assume existed from the start of the historical era in Rome and Etruscan cities. Citizens were also defined against outsiders, such as in Latin the *perigrinis* (an outsider, foreigner, someone who moves) and *incola* (resident alien), or the Etruscan *etera/etru* (dependents, outsiders) (Isayev 2020: 69-73).

In investigating this topic, we know much more about Rome than about Etruscan and Italic societies. Given the close relationship between these societies, we tend to work out from the Roman evidence towards Italian cultures. This is not unproblematic. The literary evidence of Greek and Roman writers is much later, and (particularly in Greek authors) there is a distorting emphasis on the positive role of Roman 'generosity' with citizenship. Looking back on the early city from the hindsight of empire, our sources stress the continual openness of Roman citizenship as a positive thing. For instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes the following about the Roman treatment of Tusculum in the aftermath of its defeat in 381 BCE:

Believing that the one thing that holds together all who belong to one another by reason either of kinship or friendship is the equal sharing of their blessings, they decided to grant citizenship to the vanquished, giving them a part in everything in which the native-born Romans shared. Thereby they took a very different view from that held by those who laid claim to the leadership of Greece, whether Athenians or Lacedaemonians. (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.6, trans. Cary; cf. 1.9.4)

Our sources often fail to appreciate just how far citizenship had changed over the course of the Republic. We can also use Greek and Roman writers for Etruscan and Italic societies, but must remember they provide an outside perspective. Epigraphy is particularly useful here, especially the prolific epigraphic output of the Etruscan cities. This provides contemporary evidence from an internal perspective and so can act as a corrective to the literary evidence. But it is often frustratingly sporadic in its attention to political status, and many Etruscan texts cannot be understood with certainty. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence does help us identify immigrants in Etruria because Etruscan was a uniquely non-Indo-European language in Italy, and thus allows us to track the immigration of Indo-European speaking people from Latium and other Italic areas. Overall, it is important to appreciate that many of our deductions must continue to remain hypothetical and uncertain at this stage of research.

Etruscan and Italic societies

In Etruscan and Italic societies, as in Rome, the origins of citizenship concepts and structures probably go back to the beginnings of urbanization, which in Etruria starts in the early Iron Age, around the ninth to the eighth centuries BCE. Further developments are likely to have occurred in the archaic period (c. 600 – c. 450 BCE), the era of the Servian reforms at Rome, when the cities of the Tyrrhenian coast underwent a process of developed urbanization, with extensive building of monumental structures like temples and fortifications. This process affected inland and Adriatic districts at different times: areas such as Umbria and Apulia on the periphery of highly developed zones such as south Etruria and Latium experienced monumental urbanization from around the fourth century BCE onwards; in more mountainous zones such as the central Appennines, Samnium and Lucania, the onset of this process was generally later, and restricted to the third or second centuries BCE.⁶

During the rapid conquest of Italy by Rome from the fourth to the early third century BCE, Roman citizenship was extended to many non-Roman communities. The conquest proceeded in two major stages: first the subjection of the southernmost part of Etruria, Latium and Campania by 338 BCE, followed by central, southern and northern Italy south of the Appennines from 338-264 BCE. Around 30 cities were made Latin colonies, others (generally those closer to Rome) were absorbed into the Roman state, and the majority became allies of Rome. Regarded by later writers as generous, some of these extensions came after defeats, involved restricted citizen rights, and were clearly unwelcome. For instance, in 306 BCE, the Hernici of Anagnia 'and such others that had revolted against the Romans were admitted to citizenship without the right of voting' (Livy 9.43). In 304 BCE, the Aequi complained of Rome intimidating them into becoming Roman citizens, noting that those Hernici who had been able to choose decided to remain independent. Although poorly understood, vast swathes of the Sabines conquered in 290 BCE were given Roman citizenship without the vote, and only later on elevated to full citizen status. This complex patchwork of allied, Latin and Roman districts was dissolved in the Social War, when many of the allied communities went to war against Rome (including the cities in Roman territory and the vast majority of Latin colonies). The war resulted in the distribution of Roman citizenship to all the peoples of peninsular Italy south of the Po river, which they held alongside citizenship of their own *municipium* (town).⁷

Etruria

The best evidence for citizen communities comes from Etruria. Our literary sources presume that citizenship existed in Etruscan cities by at least the mid seventh century BCE. Demaratus of Corinth is said to have become a citizen of Tarquinia when he fled his home town in 657 BCE, and a generation later his son Lucumo 'easily obtained citizenship' at Rome (Cic. *Rep.* 2.34; cf. Polyb. 6.11a.7). These reports may simply reflect the expectations of the sources' own times. But there is

⁶ For this characterisation of Italy in terms of three zones, see Torelli (1999, ch. 1).

⁷ See chapter by Roth, this volume.

also contemporary evidence for the existence of politically organised city-states like that in Rome from many Etruscan centres.

The sources record single rulers in Etruscan cities in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, who must be types of kings or dictators. These include Lars Porsenna from Clusium, who besieged Rome in the late sixth century BCE, and Lars Tolumnius named by Livy as the ruler of Veii in the late fifth century (Livy 2.9; 5.1). At some point around 500 BCE, Caere had single rulers. A leader called Thefarie Velianas is attested on the bilingual Pyrgi tablets, a record of the dedication of a temple in the port of Caere written in Phoenician and Etruscan in c. 500-480 BCE. He is named as a *zilath* (supreme magistrate) in the Etruscan version of the text and a *melek* (king) in the third year of his reign in the Phoenician version. This may mean that he occupied a position somewhere in between lifetime kingship and an annual magistracy, perhaps an 'elected' dictator of some form. Another king of Caere called Orgulnius was said to have been expelled from power by a member of the Spurinna family in Tarquinia, according to the early imperial 'Elogia Tarquiniensia'. There is no formal date for this episode, but a point somewhere in the fifth century seems likely (Torelli 1975.)

These single rulers are replaced by, or alternate with, republican regimes led by magistrates. A wide range of magistracies are attested epigraphically, although the full cursus is known only from Tarquinia. Some of these attestations are very early, showing that republican regimes do not necessarily always postdate monarchies. For instance, the chief magistrate of Etruscan republics, the *zilath*, is attested epigraphically as far back as the early sixth century BCE in Rubiera in the Po Valley. The subordinate magistrate known as the *maru* is attested in Tragliattella (Caere) in the mid sixth century. These magistracies become the mainstay of most Etruscan governments in the fourth and third centuries (Tagliamonte 2017). They imply the existence of a citizen body who elects the officials, probably on an annual pattern as in Rome. The Etruscan term for such a city-state seems to have been *spur-* (Bourdin 2012, 229-40; Hall 2016, 117).

Such magistrates will have been drawn from the Etruscan elite. The nature of the lower echelons of Etruscan society has long been a topic of considerable debate. Up until the 1970s it was widely considered that the mass of Etruscan society consisted of dependents, who made up a type of semi-servile underclass visible only when they rebelled against their masters. But more recently scholars have questioned this view, pointing out that Dionysius's use of the word *penestai* (normally used of the semi-servile Thessalian dependent population) to describe Etruscan dependents is not as significant as it has been claimed, and that other evidence for such a semi-servile underclass is weak (Benelli 2013). Instead there is likely to have been a substantial middle class of citizens that served in the military from the archaic era and occupied the type of middling size houses we can see in planned cities such as Marzabotto (Amann 2017). We also have references to the lower classes undertaking military service, although we should not assume that this necessarily brought with it the right to vote (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.5.4; Livy 9. 36; Amann 2017).

The most famous rebellions came in Arretium (302 BCE) and Volsinii (264 BCE), both of which required the intervention of Roman armies. Although our sources describe the rebels at Volsinii as ‘slaves’, they are probably best seen as oppressed citizen groups like the plebeians whose rising power threatened the elite’s control of these cities (Benelli 2013). These elites then called on their allies to reinstate them (in this case from Rome), a process which may also have occurred somewhat earlier when the *Elogia Tarquiniensia* record Aulus Spurinna from Tarquinia defeating a (presumably slave) revolt in Arretium (Torelli 1975).

Dependents nevertheless must have existed in Etruscan society. Slaves and freedmen are attested from an early date. Slaves are represented in paintings in the Golini tomb from Volsinii (fourth century BCE), although they are rare in Etruscan epigraphy. In contrast, freedmen, *lautni*, are relatively well attested in Etruria. Whilst they were technically free, only their children could become citizens (Amann 2017). They first feature on an inscription from Campo della Fiera outside Volsinii in the beginning of the fifth century, and then occur commonly in epigraphy from the third to first centuries BCE, particularly in the northern Etruscan cities (Benelli 2013, 448). In the later period they tend to be of external (Greek or other) origin, and their presence is probably a sign of land distribution in this era (Benelli 2013, 557).

Citizen status in Etruscan cities is implied by the use of the binominal naming system prevalent from the mid-seventh century BCE, coincident with the beginnings of widespread urbanization. It was used by free adult citizens, whether male or female. Lower status immigrants into Etruria typically formed a new gentilicial name, often from their place of origin (for example, *Tite Latine* (Titus Latinus in Latin) at Veii in the seventh century BCE). Higher status immigrants are often visible in the elite through gentilicial names derived from non-Etruscan contexts, such as *Larth Telicles* (Etruscan Larth + Greek Telekles) or *Rutile Hipukrate* (Latin Rutilus + Greek Hippokrates) (Tarquinii, late 7th century BCE) (Bourdin 2012). Migrants such as Hipukrate who were buried in prominent tombs must have received citizenship in their Etruscan place of residence, just as happened to Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus (Cicero (*Rep.* 2.19): burial in city cemeteries tends to be reserved for citizens in the ancient world. Many of these communities must have also included foreigners who must have adopted citizenship in their new place of residence. Nomenclature reveals a high level of migration into Etruscan society from Italic areas, particularly Latium and Umbria. In cemeteries such as the Crocefisso del Tufo in Volsinii, approximately 40% of the buried were originally outsiders (or the descendants of incomers), and a similar picture is evident from Tarquinia and Caere (Benelli 2013). This influx is still evident in Etruscan epigraphy in the fourth and third centuries BCE (Bourdin 2012).

Italic societies

Our evidence for political organisation and citizenship in Italic societies, whilst not as rich as for Etruria, suggests similar types of polities. There is some limited evidence for kingship in Italic societies, but by the time epigraphy comes to be more commonly used, from the third century onwards, most communities where political institutions

are attested seem to be republics, with elected magistrates. This implies that even if monarchic regimes had once been common, they had been replaced by republican or quasi-republican governments by the fifth or fourth century BCE.

As mentioned, Italic zones varied in levels of urbanization. Some regions such as Campania, Umbria and Apulia were largely made up of city states from the fifth or fourth centuries BCE. Other areas such as Samnium and Lucania consisted of more dispersed forms of settlement, with some fortified centres such as Monte Vairano or Monte Pallano, large 'rural' sanctuaries such as Pietrabbondante (Samnium) or Rossano di Vaglio (Lucania), and villages. Despite the lack of developed urbanism, these societies had some features of state organization by the time of the Roman conquest, as they were able to raise substantial armies, sometimes under unified regional command, to resist Rome. All these societies generally consisted of an elite who normally provided the cavalry for the army, and an independent (and presumably politically active) middling class that served in the heavy infantry. These communities must also have had some form of dependent class as in Etruria, whether slaves or other forms of underclass, although these are naturally very hard to document. Livy records a revolt by 'plebs' at Ardea in Latium in 443, where they were joined by 'the entire body of artisans' (*multitudine opificium*) in plundering the estates of the rich (Livy, 4.9.8-13). Class divisions are also apparent in cities across Italy in the Second Punic War, where the poor often sought support against the rich from the Carthaginians (Fronza 2010). It is reasonable to assume that such divisions were widespread (particularly as they crop up again in the Social War), although their rigidity is uncertain, and it is not clear how far the dependent class in Italic societies had become emancipated in the manner of the Roman plebs.

In terms of Italic epigraphy, there is considerable evidence for the type of political institutions that we see in Rome and Etruria: magistracies, assemblies and divisions of the populace. The community was commonly called a *tota/touta*, or one of its derivatives, which seems to imply a community tied together by laws (perhaps equivalent to a *civitas*). Sacrifices recorded in the the great ritual inscription of the Iguvine Tables, for instance, were dedicated to *populper totar iiouinar, totaper iiouina*, 'the people of the city of Iguvium, for the city of Iguvium' (Tab. Ig. Ib 21-22; Devoto 1977, 51). This conception is found throughout Italic societies. The term for the supreme magistrate in Oscan communities was *meddix tuticus* (*meddíss túvtíks* in Oscan): *túvtíks* is derived from *touta*, and translates something like *publicus* (public in Latin).

Within these communities we find types of organisation familiar from Rome. At Rome there were said to have been thirty *curiae*, grouped into three tribes, *tribus*, created by Romulus after the foundation of the city. We have no certain date for their introduction, although they must have been connected to urbanistic developments in the eighth and seventh centuries. Our sources imply that the *curiae* were less flexible in accommodating newcomers than the system set up in the later Servian constitution, which must have superceded it, as membership depended on belonging to specific family groups.

We know that the *tribus*, tribe, was a classification in Umbrian Iguvium and in Etruscan Mantua, a town in northern Italy (Bradley 2020, 108-09). It is not entirely clear that the Italic *tribus* is the same thing as the Latin *tribus*: *trifu* at Iguvium seems to be the whole community in its territorial sense, and so there was only one tribe for the whole group. The *tribus Sapina* that Livy refers to in northern Umbria might be similar (Livy, 31.2; 33.37). In contrast, Mantua was said to have been made up of three tribes, which were divided into four *curiae* each. Scholars have argued that this early Etruscan foundation therefore seemed much closer to a putative Romulean organization of Rome, and have tended to see this in evolutionary terms with Roman and Etruscan society being more urbanised and advanced than Italic societies. But this is surely too simplistic given the complexity of Iguvine society revealed by the Iguvine Tables, and the main point to take away is the striking correspondence between the organization of all three societies, Roman, Etruscan and Italic. Iguvium as well as Mantua had *curiae*, here called *dekvias* (similar to Latin *decuriae*) (Devoto 1977, 10). Devoto identified twelve such groups mentioned in the Tables, with two groups of five each headed by two 'quincurial families'. He also notes that there were two types of assembly of citizens in Iguvium, either sacral or military (Devoto 1977, 9).

Other institutions connected to citizenship are attested in the epigraphy of Italic societies. Some Oscan communities have a *keenstur* in a subordinate role to the *meddix*.⁸ This office seems to derive from the Latin *ensor* and may share a similar role in defining membership of the citizen body for military, political and taxation purposes (Bourdin 2012). It became particularly important in the third and second centuries BCE as Rome, through the *formula togatorum* ('the list of those wearing the toga', i.e. those owing troops), demanded military contingents regularly from Italic allies. Another office is the *tríbuf plífríks* found at Teanum. This is thought to be the Oscan equivalent of the tribune of the plebs at Rome, and implies a similar conception of citizenship here.⁹ Although we know little of the detail, the shared identity of citizens must have been confirmed in Italic communities by participation in festivals and rituals of the sort documented on the Agnone Tablet and the Iguvine Tables. The ceremony of the *lustratio* in Iguvium (a ritual associated with the census) is particularly interesting, as foreigners are ritually banished, implying that this was a formal defining of the citizen body (Bradley 2000, 181).

The operation of citizenship in Republican Italy

When we turn to look at how citizenship operated in ancient Italy, we need to consider Etruscan, Italic and Roman societies as interlinked. Various themes can be highlighted.

The first striking feature of citizenship in ancient Italy is its flexibility. Interchange amongst the cities and peoples of Italy is very evident, both in terms of physical mobility of citizens, and also in terms of the sharing of ideas about citizenship and

⁸ Inscriptions attesting this office are collected by Bourdin (2012, 1020).

⁹ Rix Si 3; Crawford (2011, I. 532-533) for an alternative interpretation.

constitutions. It is likely that all these communities were influenced by wider Mediterranean ideas of citizenship, particularly those from Greek cities. We know for instance that there were Italic followers of Pythagoras, according to Aristoxenus, a Greek philosopher writing around 335 BCE. He records Pythagoras as having followers amongst the 'Lucanians, Messapians, the Peucetians, and the Romans' (Aristoxenus of Tarentum fr. 17 Wehrli). In addition, a statue was set up to Pythagoras as the 'wisest of the Greeks' in the *Comitium* in Rome around 300 BCE (Plin. *HN* 34.26). Cicero believed that Pythagorean ideas of the equality of citizens were influential in the early Roman Republic, and they may have played a role in the political reforms of the late fourth century BCE (*Tusc.* 4; cf. Humm 2014, 47). We also know that the Samnites, Lucanians and other non-Hellenic peoples of southern Italy were strongly influenced by Greek culture and ideas (Scopacasa 2015). This may explain the prevalence of *isopoliteia* and other types of shared citizenships, that we find between the Etruscans and Carthaginians in the sixth and fifth centuries, Rome and Caere in the fourth century, and others in ancient Italy (Bourdin 2012, 548-9; Isayev 2017: 323).

As we have seen, the historic and long term openness of Roman citizenship is stressed in many of our sources, such as Cicero (*Rep.* 2.34; *Balb.* 29), Livy (4.3), and Claudius' speech to the Senate recorded in the Table of Lyons (*ILS* 212). Although this is a broad generalization, and obscures periods when Roman citizenship was more closely withheld, such as in the period from 133-91 BCE, it seems essentially correct, and must imply that this openness is replicated elsewhere in Italian communities (one cannot really operate without the other). Philip V of Macedon in his letter to Larissa notes that this helps to explain Roman success in sending out many colonies (*Syll.*³ 543). Reciprocal movement between Rome and the cities of Etruria is presupposed by the Latins present in Etruscan epigraphy, and the Etruscan inscriptions found in Latium (Bradley 2017). This links in with what our sources say about widespread intermarriage between Rome and the Latins, Rome and the Etruscan cities, and Greek cities such as Pithecusae, Syracuse, Morgantina and their Italic neighbours.¹⁰ Although women were excluded from political or military activity, in other ways they were treated as full citizens. They were counted in the Roman census and had the right of holding property in their name in early Rome and Etruria (Amann 2017). Marriage was thus an important way of integrating newcomers into these societies.

This reciprocal freedom of movement is also apparent from our sources on early Rome. For instance, Lucumo (the later king Tarquinius Priscus), arrived in Rome and was 'admitted to citizenship' (Polyb. 6.11a.7; Cic. *Rep.* 2.35). The same happens for Attus Clausus and his clients: the whole clan of the Claudii were said to have been received into the state, their leader gaining patrician status and his followers all admitted to citizenship with a grant of land (Livy 2.16: 504 BCE). Coriolanus moved in the other direction, leaving Rome voluntarily and leading a Volscian army against it (Livy, 2.39). Our sources have similar examples of outsiders leading armies from

¹⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.1.2 (495 BCE); further references in Bradley (2020, 222-224); for Greek cities Saltini Semerari (2015).

other ethnic groups. Quintus Anicius Praenestinus (elected aedile in 304 BCE) had previously been an enemy of Rome according to Pliny (*HN* 33.6). Aristodemus, from Cumae, leads the Aricians of Latium against an Etruscan army from Clusium in 504 BCE. Vitruvius Vaccus resided in Rome, yet led the Privinates. Oblacus (or Oplax) Volsiniensis (from Volsinii) led the Ferentans, of Ferento, Etruria (or of the Frentani in Samnium), against Pyrrhus in the battle of Heraclea (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.12; 29.12; Flor. 1.18.7; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16). We also know that Oscan speakers infiltrated and gained control of Campanian cities like Capua and Greek colonies such as Paestum in the fifth century BCE, becoming part of the citizen body.¹¹ In other cases, our sources record examples of exile, where Roman citizenship was lost. In some of these cases, such as Camillus in Ardea in 390 BCE, the exile is explicitly attested as gaining citizenship of their new place of residence (Livy 5.44.1; Bradley 2020, 234). What is striking here is the relative facility of movement between cities and (presumably) citizenships.

Another important feature of citizenship in ancient Italy is change over time. The major categories were transformed by Roman expansion, which subjected other communities to conquest and alliances.¹² Some communities were given Roman citizenship without the vote, others full citizenship. Roman citizenship was imposed and in some cases resisted. Latin citizenship, taken by colonists in Latin colonies, was open to many of the defeated or allied peoples of Italy (Bradley 2006, 171-177). The key watershed is the Social War, fought between 91-88 BCE over the question of whether Roman citizenship should be extended to all Italians. This had a major influence on our sources. By this time Roman citizenship had become a privileged status, which is not at all apparent in the period before 200 BCE. The massive change introduced here means that all the later literary sources are inherently anachronistic and tend to obscure the hegemonic aspects of the spread of Roman citizenship before this point. The Social War clearly demonstrates that the Italic peoples understood the importance of citizenship as a concept, even if it was a less articulated status in their own communities than in Rome.

Our modern (and implicitly nationalist) perspective might suggest that citizenship operates in tension with these types of movement in ancient Italy. It might be seen as an attempt to get people to commit to one place, and to clarify their duties and privileges in doing so. But this may be misleading. If the institution of citizenship operates in a similar way in Italic areas as in Rome, it would have been able to accommodate high levels of migration and population movement through periodic reinventions of the citizen body, which was continuously dynamic. We also need to emphasise the gradual widening of the distinction between citizens and more dependent statuses. The mass of poor citizens were initially little protected from near slavlike conditions by citizenship: the plebs in Rome were subject to *nexum* (debt bondage), and the Etruscan underclass resorted to rebellion in Arretium and Volsinii in the late fourth and early third century BCE. Citizenship of any Italian city in the archaic period was probably a long way from the sought-after status of Roman

¹¹ Livy, 4.37; Aristoxenus Fr. 124 Wehrli, in Ath. 14.632a; Torelli (1999, 36); Bradley (2020, 291).

¹² See Roth, chapter in this volume.

citizenship at the time of the Social War. For the Roman plebs we might say that citizenship was not fully meaningful until their ineligibility for debt bondage was formally established in 326 BCE, which coincided with the enormous expansion of chattel slavery.

It is also evident that a more flexible idea of citizenship existed in Italy from an early period, which continued to influence conceptions later on. Multiple or interchangeable citizenships were probably normal for the elite in the archaic and mid-republican periods. As Rome conquered other cities from the fourth century BCE, so multiple layers of citizenship were built up, with inhabitants of towns in Roman territory, *municipia*, holding both local and Roman citizenship. This idea was gradually becoming more common in the Mediterranean from the age of Alexander, as it became increasingly dominated by empires like Macedon, Rome and Carthage. The concept was clearly articulated in the municipalisation of ex-allied towns after the Social War, when they all became *municipia* in the way that towns in Roman territory had already been before the war. As a result, all citizens in Italy gained dual citizenship, '*duae patriae*' in Cicero's formulation (Cic. *Leg.* 2.5; Bispham 2007, 161-204).

Conclusion

In conclusion citizenship in ancient Italy was a fluid rather than a fixed concept. It was refined over time, and intimately linked to the historical circumstances of the particular era. The Roman system clearly reflects the broader Italian environment with which it was closely linked. Most Italian communities seem to have ended up by the time of the conquest with republican systems of rule based on the participation of a high proportion of the population as citizens. Citizenship of most communities was probably limited in the rights that it conveyed, permeable, and subject to considerable population mobility at all social levels. The system was subject to widespread change with the Social War, which emerges as a watershed moment both in the history of Italy and the Roman Empire. Recovering the situation before the Social War is challenging but not impossible with the evidence we have to hand. Our literary sources generally provide an anachronistic perspective profoundly transformed by the impact of the war, and only dimly perceive the situation beforehand, for instance in terms of antiquarian memories of other citizenship categories and arrangements such as the citizenship without the vote of Caere, or the shared citizenship of Rome and the Latins. Nevertheless, when used with care these sources can be read alongside the more contemporary source of Italic and Etruscan epigraphy, which, although often more difficult to understand than we would like, provides a rich vein of material.

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