Making Roman Subjects: Citizenship and Empire before and after Augustus*

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SUMMARY: Beginning with a semantic history of the term *negotiator*, this essay reconsiders Augustus's role in the history of Roman citizenship. It restores *negotiator* as a byword for how Roman officials in the Late Republic understood Romans in the provinces and argues that the term's connotations, combined with several Late Republican institutions, reveal a vision of these Romans as partaking in Roman imperialism. Several of Augustus's actions, including the development of a new language for understanding these Romans, promoted a new vision of the place of citizens in the empire, making them subjects of an empire which had previously been theirs.

THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED A WATERSHED MOMENT in the history of Roman citizenship.[1] The first emperor not only expanded Roman citizenship beyond Italy and Rome at an unprecedented scale; his rule also brought about a change in the nature of this citizenship. Sherwin-White, in his important monograph on the subject, described the change as a movement from an active citizenship, characterized by rights and duties, to

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[1] Sherwin-White 1973 [1939]: 221–22 is foundational. Other examples include Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 46–47 and 2008: 450–3; Millar 1984: 49–50 and 2002: 314; Bowman 1996: 368–70.