PART I

1 Introduction

iam uer egelidos refert tepores,
iam caeli furor aequinoctialis
iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis.
linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi
Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae:
ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes.
iam mens praetrepidans auet uagari,
iam laeti studio pedes uigescunt.
o dulces comitum ualete coetus,
longe quos simul a domo profectos
diuersae uarie uiae reportant.

Now spring brings back mild breezes without cold,
now heaven's equinoctial fury
falls silent at Zephyr's pleasant breezes.
Let the Phrygian meadows be left behind, Catullus,
and the teeming fields of sun-scorched Nicaea:
let us fly to the glorious cities of Asia.
Now my mind trembling in anticipation longs to roam,
now happy in their zeal my feet grow strong.
O sweet band of comrades, fare you well,
whom having set out all at once, far from home,
diverse routes bear back in varied ways.[1]

Catullus, *Carmine* 46

With the mild spring breeze, Catullus sweeps us along in the excitement of adventure, emotions of separation, anticipated reunion and return. We find ourselves in the mobile world of the young poet, at the end of the first millennium BC, caught between two pauses on a journey, in a place both distant and familiar (Fig. 1, Plate 1). It is interlaced with sensations of joy and the ache of nostalgia, characteristic of an environment where movement is omnipresent. This setting, fleetingly sketched by Catullus, introduces the argument of this book: that a high level of human mobility was not

[1] Catullus, *Carmine* 46. Translation adapted from Smithers 1894, with suggestions by Sharon Marshall.

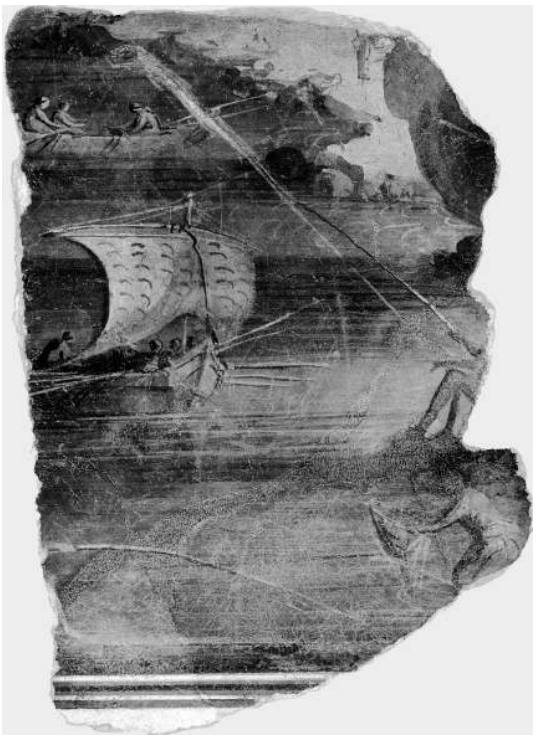

Fig. 1 Fresco from the villa 'Grotte di Catullo', Sirmione (BS), Italy. End first century BC – beginning of first century AD. Showing merchant galley approaching a coast under sail and oars. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

exceptional among ancient Mediterranean communities. Indeed, it was built into the way that society functioned; it was necessary for successful business ventures, military recruitment and deployment, establishment of a work force, and cultural vitality. It was anticipated in legal rights and restrictions, and a prerequisite for the practice of war and the acquisition of wealth.

In recognising that Italy was part of this dynamic landscape well before the Imperial period, we are faced with a paradox. At the end of the Republic, there is mounting evidence for multiple forms of movement crisscrossing the peninsula and stretching beyond it, but there is also a rapid growth of pronouncements about the fixity of people, the importance of sustaining traditions and the naturalness of ethnic boundaries.[2] These

[2] Autochthony – meaning emerging from the soil – an extreme claim of traditions of indigeneity – ascribed to by the Athenians among others, only makes sense in a context of mobility not predominating stasis.

are projected onto the past. As actual movement increases, voices proclaim the desirability of the opposite. It could be that we are faced with just such a situation in the early twenty-first century. An emphasis on locality and homeland, while living in an age of intense mobility, is not an uncommon paradox. It does not disprove the mobility thesis, and may even confirm it – we cannot get away from the immense impact of the movement of people in our evidence. Yet, it is a response that gives prominence to stasis rather than motion as the basis for understanding ancient Italy historically. This view has affected how we interpret societal forms, the creation of institutions, and modes of cultural interaction and belonging. If, on the other hand, we accept the fact of a mobile rather than a stable society, our understanding of the dynamics of change alters. Migration becomes a constitutive presence and not a challenge to an otherwise naturally static state. The historical paradigms explored here – through the case of ancient Italy – provide a long-term perspective on contemporary concerns by locating them in rival contexts. In these dynamic situations, human mobility is sometimes thought acceptable, and sometimes perceived as anathema.

In the chapters that follow, it will be argued that the extent of human mobility was much greater than is suggested even by attention-grabbing figures for colonisation and state-sponsored incentives. These calculations discount the rate of individual, independent or private mobility which, although largely shielded from view like the invisible mass of an iceberg below the waterline, are far greater. Furthermore, the cyclical nature of human mobility, sometimes over several generations, makes statistical measurements difficult to establish. Rather than a completed movement from location A to destination B, we have an iterated serial movement of peoples in which A and B are staging posts. It is an open question whether the figures for those on the move, which become more readily available from the second century BC onwards, represent a significant alteration from the preceding period. But the evidence allows us to trace both continuity and transformation in the modes of mobility, the approaches to migration, and to those on the move. It indicates that although there were changing trends in the nature of movement there was a familiarity with, and expectation of, mobility, opportunistic or coerced, and that its levels were high.

The focus of this book is the nature of human mobility and attitudes to it over the last millennium BC in Italy (Map 3). It is organised into four parts in order to foreground distinct approaches. Following an overview of the book, the remainder of this introduction will consider the conceptualisation of mobility, then and now. The next chapter focuses on the role of

demographic data, and the wide range of evidence available in the last two centuries BC, to ascertain the proportion of the population on the move. It shows how studies of ancient statistics, which depend on recorded figures for mass movements, bring their own difficulties and opportunities. The second part of the book moves beyond the numbers, to consider mobility in earlier centuries for which numerical data is lacking. It draws on mytho-historical narratives and archaeological material which have been the foundation for investigating culture-contact, settlement patterns and colonisation. The way that these phenomena inform our understanding of mobility, and provide an alternative perspective to the formation and dissolution of communities through migratory practices, constitutes the focus of Chapters 3–5.

The third part of the book tests the extent to which mobility was anticipated and expected. In gauging whether a highly mobile environment was the norm, Chapters 6–8 consider the prevalent attitudes to migrant groups and individuals, by using two of the key earliest witnesses in Italy: Plautus and Polybius. While these authors represent very different viewpoints – one being an Italian comic playwright, the other a historian and senior Greek diplomat – both depict a world that seems perpetually on the move. It is difficult to identify static communities in their narratives. On the contrary, the trouble for authorities was how to keep people in one place. Their accounts reveal that the boundaries that were difficult to cross were not those inscribed on the land but those of social and civic status. Outside the military context, the physical presence of foreigners was not in itself a problem. It became an issue if they had pretensions to act as free-born citizens when they were not. These chapters demonstrate that attitudes to certain types of mobile groups, and to those responsible for moving people, are context-specific. But although there is clear evidence of cultural stereotyping, as well as constructions of the 'other', actual xenophobia is more difficult to find.

By looking at narratives of migration, especially in Parts II and III, this book considers the way that socio-political structures influence and constrain migratory behaviour. It takes into account the impact of the life cycle on decision-making, whether that of an individual or a community. In arguing that migration is common in antiquity, it builds on emerging research that regards human mobility as an integral part of societal existence and not external to it. In historical studies, high levels of mobility tend to be identified either through a focus on communities that are explicitly presented as non-sedentary,[3] or by integrating migratory

[3] For example: Batty 2007.

episodes into narratives of socio-political change.[4] More recently, the nature of the flows themselves has become the object of historical inquiry.[5] For the ancient Mediterranean, archaeological and geo-historical approaches, spurred on by Braudel, Horden and Purcell,[6] have moved on from concentrating on the effects of mobility in colonial contexts at the interface of the meeting of cultures. They now incorporate models of connectivity[7] and apply tools such as network theory to investigate the vitality of interactions across the sea-centred micro-regions.[8] These studies have demonstrated that the role of any site, including Rome, can only be understood in the context of networks that existed around it, both in its immediate environment, such as Italy, and the wider Mediterranean (Map 2).[9] Cosmopolitanism has provided a complimentary framework to investigate the nodes on these networks more closely.[10]

If high rates of human mobility are persistent, and there is no essential relationship between people and territory, then how does any place function as a site for belonging and identity? The final aim of this book is to consider how constructions of place are formed and which of them are specially privileged. In the fourth part, two moments in time are taken as a basis for examining the way that the concept of place, and Rome, were transformed in the last century BC. The first moment is the Social War, which is the topic of Chapter 9. The conflict culminated in the extension of Roman citizenship to all Italian communities south of the river Po and in so doing re-centred allegiance. The concept of a capital city was crystallized as its position became more fixed. Two generations later, the process of re-centring continued and required new forms of expression to understand the meaning of Rome for its new citizens. The second moment, explored in the last two chapters, engages the context of Livy's Camillus speech, written just as Augustus came to power. Livy's arguments against moving Rome attempt to establish the meaning of Rome spatially and materially. What these two episodes show is that notions of belonging appear to have altered and become more homogenised in the last century BC. Part of this

[4] For example: Kleinschmidt 2000; Wickham 2005; Heather 2006.
[5] For example: Hoerder 2002; Magee and Thompson 2010; Amrith 2013.
[6] Horden and Purcell 2000, esp. 382–92; with continuing debates: Harris 2005.
[7] Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010.
[8] The application of network theory aims to map *nodes* and their connecting *vectors*. The exchanges which flow along the vectors can be material but also function on the level of ideas, institutions and technologies, bringing the definition and stability of the *node* into question. Knappett 2011; Malkin 2005; Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009, 4–5.
[9] Morley 2008: 122.
[10] For the Imperial period especially: Moatti and Kaiser 2007a; Edwards and Woolf 2003.

transformation is notable in the increasing interest in mapping. Although regional maps drawn to scale did not exist for another millennium, an exploration of cartographic practices enables analysis of the way people in the Late Republic increasingly understood their relationship to the political and territorial spaces around them. A shift occurred as a more absolute conception of space came to the fore, privileging fixedness to particular sites. It vied with the more fluid, relational approach. This was uninterested in defining place spatially, but preferred to see it as a site of convergence of life-pathways conducted through time and space.[11]

This study focuses on ancient Italy, not because it was exceptional, but because it opens up general dynamics in seemingly more relational and less rigid terms than what we know, for example, from the Greek world of the polis. Italy and Rome's shift to becoming a hegemon in the last centuries BC allows for an exploration of the way that such an imperial moment coincided with an increasing commitment to specific sites. Despite renewed opportunities for mobility, the conception of fixity was one response to a changed understanding of one's origin and *patria* – fatherland – at the end of the Republic. It is this moment which this work tries to capture. It constitutes the foundation for subsequent developments in the Imperial period and is the source of ideas which have tended to dominate scholarly thinking on mobility in the Roman Empire.[12]

Mobility and Migration – Then and Now

In presenting the ways that mobility and place were conceptualised in the ancient world I hope that this investigation illuminates the extent to which the modern outlook – prevalent in migration studies – is dependent on the creation of the nation-state, and with it a very particular categorisation of the migrant. Recognising the constructed and volatile nature of such a perspective will help better understand the ancient context of mobility and associated topics such as citizenship and identity. Too often these have been constrained by contemporary understanding of migration as (i) bad, except when it is elite, (ii) based entirely on the modern concept of the nation-state, (iii) a process which should be subject to state bureaucratic control, (iv) either unnecessary (because globalisation has eliminated difference) or dangerously unfair (because it involves the illegitimate

[11] This draws on contemporary geographers: Massey 2004; Massey 2005; Harvey 2009; Ingold 2011. See discussion in Chapter 10, pp. 390–94.
[12] For example: Moatti 2004.

appropriation of resources by the migrant). So, paradoxically, migration is only acceptable when it does not involve change of economic or social status.

The poet Catullus from Verona did not see himself as a foreigner in Rome, although his home region of Cisalpine Gaul had only just become part of the Roman enterprise. It did not gain the right to full Roman citizenship until 49 BC, after the poet's death.[13] Catullus may not have been born in Rome but he was as much part of that city, and perhaps even more so, than many of his friends. Through his activities and imaginings he was one of the many who paused there and made it the place that it was. His father and Caesar were part of the same elite network headed by Rome, and they would have used each other's resources, knowledge and contacts to fulfil their goals, even if Caesar may not have regarded him as his equal. The Roman general visited the poet's North Italian home as a *hospes* – guest – and was close enough to the family to have forgiven the young Catullus for insulting Caesar in his poetry.[14] Catullus did not emigrate to Rome any more than the Corinthian Demaratus (whom we will meet in Chapter 3) emigrated to Tarquinii some six centuries previously. The modern concept has little meaning in the ancient world. The terminology itself was present, but was used by ancient authors quite differently.

The Latin term *migrare* and its derivatives may lie at the root of our current terminology but, as will be shown, the meaning of the Latin term is more fluid.[15] It is not used, for example, to discriminate between a move to a house down the road or a journey to a foreign land; nor is such a move necessarily in one direction and completed. There is no generic term for 'migrant' in the Republican period. Terms do exist for the friendly outsider – *hospes* – and the one who is much less so, an enemy – *hostis*. Neither of these expresses the same sentiment as the modern usage of 'migrant'. Instead they focus on the specific relationship of the individual to the host community.[16] The closest equivalent to a migrant is *transitor* – literally, he who goes over or is a passer-by – which only appears in Late Antiquity.[17] In this later period, concepts of immobility became part of the repertoire of virtue.[18] The new terminology is an expression of shifting

[13] Although citizenship was given in 49 BC the region was only incorporated into Italy in 42 BC: Williams 2001: 16.
[14] Catullus 11, 54, 57, 93. Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 73. [15] Chapter 6, pp. 215–16.
[16] Cicero *de Officiis* 1.12.37; Varro *LL* 5.3, with discussion in Chapters 2, p. 39 and 6, pp. 216–17.
[17] *transitor* – one who goes over, a passer-by (Ammianus 15.2.4): Lewis and Short 1900. While there are specific terms related to travelling tradesmen for example (Holleran 2012), there is no general term for 'migrant' until Late Antiquity.
[18] Horden and Purcell 2000: 384. See also note in Chapter 2, p. 22.

attitudes to mobility, to the status of individuals and methods of control. Fluctuating definitions of the mobile require that our own terminology, when applied to historical contexts, is sensitive to these changes.

By using 'migration' to describe a historical process we implement an explanatory framework that brings with it assumptions about the nature of human mobility. Implicit within migration studies of current global trends is that people move either within a state boundary or across it. Mobility tends to be defined by the status of groups and individuals in relation to a specific nation-state. While approaches to migration are discussed in intricate detail in such studies, it is rare to find a definition of the concept itself. It does not appear in the key study by Stephen and Castles, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (2003, 3rd edn.). In a more recent volume edited by Brettel and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (2008), the following definition appears in a footnote:

> Normally a conceptual distinction is drawn between migration and immigration, the former referring to movement that occurs within national borders (internal migration) and the latter to movement across national borders (emigration or immigration). We use the term *migration* somewhat loosely here to refer to international migration ... However, from a theoretical perspective it is worth noting that economic theories of migration can often apply to either internal flows or international flows ... and some sociologists and human geographers (Smith and Favell 2006) may prefer the more general term 'mobility' to migration.[19]

Within Migration Theory, the idea of trans-nationalism and a post-nation world is considered an extreme scenario. The definitions with which these studies operate raise issues for historical periods prior to the creation of the seventeenth-century nation-state, and the territorially bounded membership assigned to it.

The preferred use of the term 'mobility' by scholars such as Smith and Favell indicates concern with the uncritical use of the concept of migration which can inhibit cross-period insight. Favell states this directly in his contribution to the Brettel and Hollifield volume: 'Nearly all the chapters assume that we know what migration is, and that we can accept the units – from which people move to which they move – given by the political world we live in. But these are only conventions that happen to be the case here and now.'[20] Underlying his concern is that the use of the label 'migration' is

[19] Brettell and Hollifield 2008: 2, note 1. The note is attached to the following sentence: 'Whether and where there might be a migration crisis remains an open question. But clearly we are living in an age of migration (Castles and Miller 2003).' Favell, A. and Smith, M.P. (eds) 2006 *The Human Face of Global Mobility*, New Brunswick NJ.

[20] Favell 2008: 269–70.

not neutral; it privileges certain narratives and interpretations over others. Terms such as 'mobility' or 'flows', on the other hand, encompass a wider range of processes and their definition is not limited to those with a single direction, end point or purpose. More neutral terms make it easier to gain a long-term perspective. They allow us to gauge whether the era we currently live in is uniquely an *Age of Migration*, as suggested by Stephen and Castles,[21] or part of a longer historical trajectory where mobility is the norm. How this issue is resolved depends in part on whether we believe that communities were largely sedentary and that the choice to leave one's place of origin was exceptional, or the other way around. Anthropologists have noted that sedentism is relative and relational, 'no society is sedentary not even our own, people simply move in different ways.'[22] Sedentism is an assumption, often presented by an outsider who writes from a unitary-state perspective, and views territorial displacement as aberrant.[23] A more pertinent question is whether this perception exists in other periods of history, and what kind of conditions encourage such a view? But first we need to understand better how the contemporary view of migration was formed, as it effects how we analyse the evidence from earlier periods of history.

Our own current usage of 'migrate' and its derivatives – meaning to move across an international border or boundary, in a 'permanent' way with the purpose of 'residence' – is very recent, with roots in the eighteenth-century context of North America. The novelty of its use was noted at the time by the philologist John Pickering who included – to immigrate, immigration and immigrant – as neologisms in his work: *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases Which Have Been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America*.[24] By 1828, the new definition appeared in Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language*.[25] As Shumsky points out, it made 'space, time, and purpose fundamental characteristics of migration'.[26] The power of such a social construction probably was not apparent to Webster whose work appeared before the major migratory waves of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the new construction of migration, with a focus on permanent residence, encouraged a fear of displacement and overcrowding by new arrivals.[27] With it came the institution of the passport that became a mechanism for criminalising unauthorized movement, and creating a

[21] Castles and Miller 2003. [22] Kelly 1992: 60. [23] Malkki 1992: 31.
[24] Pickering 1816: 108; *The Oxford English Dictionary*. See: Shumsky 2008: 132; Thompson 2003: 195, note 21.
[25] Webster 1828. [26] Shumsky 2008: 131. [27] Shumsky 2008: 134.