migration, mobility and place in ancient italy

migration, mobility and place in ancient italy challenges prevailing conceptions of a natural tie to the land and a demographically settled world. it argues that much human mobility in the last millennium bc was ongoing and cyclical. in particular, outside the military context 'the foreigner in our midst' was not regarded as a problem. boundaries of status rather than of geopolitics were difficult to cross. the book discusses the stories of individuals and migrant groups, traders, refugees, expulsions, the founding and demolition of sites, and the political processes that could both encourage and discourage the transfer of people from one place to another. in so doing it highlights moments of change in the concepts of mobility and the definitions of those on the move. by providing the long view from history, it exposes how fleeting are the conventions that take shape here and now.

elena isayev is professor of ancient history and place at the university of exeter. she is the author of inside ancient lucania: dialogues in history and archaeology (2007), co-editor with g. bradley and c. riva of ancient italy: regions without boundaries (2007) and, currently with evan jewell, displacement and the humanities. in support of her research into ancient mobility and place-making she has held the davis fellowship at princeton university and an ahrc fellowship. for her current work on hospitality and asylum she has been awarded a historical research centre fellowship at the australian national university. she also works in current refugee contexts, including with campus in camps in palestine, and has created the initiative future memory which works with communities where there are tensions.

© in this web service cambridge university press
www.cambridge.org
Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy

ELENA ISAYEV
University of Exeter
For

Cleo, Ezra, Sama and Tala
Contents

List of Illustrations [page x]
List of Plates [xiii]
List of Maps [xiv]
Acknowledgements [xv]

PART I [1]

1 Introduction [3]
   Mobility and Migration – Then and Now [8]
   Mobility in the Mediterranean [16]

2 Statistical Uncertainties: Mobility in the Last 250 Years BC [18]
   Introduction [18]
   Demography and Mobility Statistics [22]
   Independent and Private Mobility – Its Extent and the Role of the State [34]
   Tracing Mobility beyond Italy: Visibility in the East Mediterranean [47]
   Conclusion [65]

PART II [69]

3 Routeways, Kinship and Storytelling [71]
   Routeways and Methods of Getting Around [71]
   Stories of Populating Italy [87]
   Small-Group Enterprise and the Legend of Demaratus [98]

4 Mixed Communities: Mobility, Connectivity and Co-Presence [108]
   Etruscan Mobility and Presence Abroad [109]
   Gauls in North Italy: A Different Kind of Presence? [119]
   When Encounter Is Not Colonial [125]
   Conclusion [138]
5 Why Choose to Come Together and Move Apart?
Convergence and Redistribution of People and Power [139]
Internal or External Impetus for Change and Competition [141]
Centralisation and Infilling of Territory in the Fifth to Third Centuries BC [144]
Rome the New Mover of People — Centralising, Colonising and Infilling Territory [178]
Conclusion [184]

PART III [189]

6 Plautus on Mobility of the Everyday [191]
Plautus and His Comedies [191]
Six Plautine Elements of Mobility [198]
Types of Mobility in Plautine Comedies [220]
Conclusion [227]

7 Polybius on Mobility and a Comedy of The Hostage Prince [229]
Polybius and Motion [229]
Rites of Passage: When Rome Took to the Sea [231]
Foreign Residents in Italy and Civilian Groups Abroad [236]
Mobile Inter-State Machinery: Envoys, Prisoners and Hostages [246]
Conclusion [266]

8 Polybius on the Moving Masses and Those Who Moved Them [267]
Mass Movement [267]
Movement through Coercion [275]
When Was It Acceptable to Move People? [286]
Nomads, Barbarians and Other Large Groups on the Move [289]
Mercenaries [296]
Conclusion [305]

PART IV [309]

9 Social War: Reconciling Differences of Place and Citizenship [311]
Introduction to the Social War [313]
Contents

Views of the War from Outside and Inside Italy [316]
A Tale of Two Cities: Corfinium and Rome [320]
Integration before the War [342]
After the War: New Citizenship and Origins [345]
Elite Epigraphy: Marking One’s Place in the Landscape [351]
Local Traditions Re-invented [354]
Conclusion [358]

10 Mapping the Moving Rome of Livy’s Camillus Speech [360]
The Roman Setting of Livy’s Camillus Speech [361]
Rome Is Not a Space on a Map [377]
How We Relate to Real and Imagined Landscapes: The Relational Approach [390]

11 Materialising Rome and Patria [395]
Exilium – Exile [395]
Patria and Urbs [401]
Domus and Memory [409]
Religio [412]
Conclusion [416]

12 Conclusion: Everyday and Unpredictable Mobility [419]

Appendix A Key Mobility Strands in the Comedy Plots [426]
Appendix B Homecoming and Hospitality Greeting Scenes [428]
Appendix C Mobility without Personal Agency – Key Examples [430]
Appendix D Livy’s Camillus Speech and Translation [431]

Bibliography [443]
Index [504]

The colour plate section can be found between pp. 266 and 267.
Illustrations

1. Fresco from the villa ‘Grotte di Catullo’, Sirmione (BS), Italy. Museo dell’Area Archeologica delle grotte di Catullo Concession of Ministero per i beni Culturali. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle antichità della Lombardia, Milan Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [page 4]

2. A depiction of a merchantman from the Tomba della Nave, Tarquinia, fifth century BC. Source: Adapted from Colonna 2003: 72, fig. 11. [77]

3. Peutinger Map, circa fourth century AD, from eleventh- to twelfth-century copies. Source: Austrian National Library/Vienna, Cod. 324, Segm. 4–7. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [81]


5. Terracotta Antefix from Veii temple Apollo, Portonaccio Sanctuary c. 500 BC. Source: Alamy Stock (Image ID: CC4301). Copyright: Peter Horree / Alamy Stock Photo. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [107]

6. Veii, schematic overview of ancient site. Source: Drawn by John Davey after Ward-Perkins 1961: 26, fig. 6; Murray 2011: 203, fig. 10. [111]

7. Black-figure Hydria depicting pirates turning into dolphins 510/500 BC. Source: Getty Images: 96503475/De Agostini Picture Library. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [113]

8a. Torre di Satriano Site Plan. Source: Osanna 2011a: 94, fig. 5. [147]

8b. Torre di Satriano view south-west. Source: MarsPF2 (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikimedia Commons. [147]

8c. Bronze griffin and lion door decorations – Archaic, Torre di Satriano (drawn by R. Pontolillo). Source: Osanna 2013: 123, fig. 5b. [148]
List of Illustrations


10a. Roccagloriosa site plan. Source: After Gualtieri 2011: fig. 2. [155]

10b. House ‘Complex A’ with shrine, at Roccagloriosa. Schematic drawing by Adam Wainwright after Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 223, fig. 5. [155]

10c. House ‘Complex A’ courtyard with shrine, at Roccagloriosa. Source: Gualtieri 2011: fig. 3. [156]


12. Caduceus (or Kerykeion) from Roccagloriosa. Source: Gualtieri 2010: fig. 8. [157]


16. Inscription from the temple of Apollo, Messene (Messana) c. 250 BC. Source: Crawford 2011: 1515, Sicilia / Messana 4. With Permission from BICS. [169]

17. Warrior returning home, from Andriulo Necropolis, Tomb 12, Poseidonia (Paestum) fourth century BC. Image from Alamy Stock (Image ID: CYE313). Copyright: charistoone-images / Alamy Stock Photo. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [171]

18a. Detail of Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral. Copyright: Mappa Mundi Trust and Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [194]
List of Illustrations

18b. Detail of Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral. Copyright: Mappa Mundi Trust and Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [194]

19. Silver Denarius 90–89 BC, issued by the Italian Socii (allies) during the Social War. Source: Sydenham 621. VF, toned. From the Karl Sifferman Collection. Wiki Commons License: Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 Generic. [323]


20b (i-v). Sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, view from the theatre to the valley. Details of arch, telamon and griffin in the cavea. Photographs by the author. Copyright: Elena Isayev. [330]

21a. Sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio. Schematic drawing by Adam Wainwright after Adamesteanu 1992: 63, fig. 111. [335]

21b. Sanctuary courtyard at Rossano di Vaglio looking south-west from the entrance steps. Author’s own photo. Copyright: Elena Isayev. [336]


23. Nile Mosaic, located at Palestrina, Praeneste. Image from Alamy Stock (ID: F15H12). Copyright: Raffaele Provinciali / Alamy Stock Photo. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [384]


25. Johannes Vermeer, Officer and Laughing Girl: Frick Collection, New York. Date: c. 1657. Image from Alamy Stock (ID: D983WM). Copyright: PAINTING / Alamy Stock Photo. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section. [417]
Plates

Plate 1 (Figure 1) Fresco from the villa 'Grotte di Catullo', Sirmione (BS), Italy. Museo dell'Area Archeologica delle grotte di Catullo Concession of Ministero per i beni Culturali. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle antichità della Lombardia, Milan Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

Plate 2 (Figure 5) Terracotta Antefix from Veii temple Apollo, Portonaccio Sanctuary c. 500 BC. Image from Alamy Stock – Image ID: CC4301. Copyright: Peter Horree / Alamy Stock Photo.

Plate 3 (Figure 7) Black-figure Hydria depicting pirates turning into dolphins 510/500 BC. Photo: Getty Images 96503475/De Agostini Picture Library.

Plate 4 (Figure 17) Warrior returning home, from Andriulo Necropolis, Tomb 12, Poseidonia (Paestum) fourth century BC. Image from Alamy Stock (ID: CYE313). Copyright: charistoone-images / Alamy Stock Photo.

Plate 5 (Figure 18) Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral. Copyright: Mappa Mundi Trust and Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

Plate 6 (Figure 23) Nile Mosaic, located at Palestrina, Praeneste. Image from Alamy Stock (ID: F15H12). Copyright: Raffaele Provinciali / Alamy Stock Photo.

Plate 7 (Figure 24) Map of Texúpa (1579). Modern Santiago, Oaxaca, Mexico. Source: La Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (9-25-4/4663-xvii).

Plate 8 (Figure 25) Johannes Vermeer, Officer and Laughing Girl: Frick Collection, New York. Date: c. 1657. Image from Alamy Stock (ID: D983WM). Copyright: PAINTING / Alamy Stock Photo.

Plate 9 (Figure 3) Peutinger Map, circa fourth century AD, from eleventh- to twelfth-century copies. Segments 4–7, indicating the sites in Plautus's Poenulus: Rome, Carthage, Anactorium, Calydon, Sparta.
Maps

1 Ancient Mediterranean with sites noted in text. [xix]
2 Ancient East Mediterranean with sites noted in text. [xix]
3 Ancient Italy with sites noted in text. [xx]
4a North Italy with sites noted in text. [xxii]
4b South Italy with sites noted in text. [xxii]
5 Italy with overview of Republican and Imperial roads. [73]
6 The Region around the ancient site of Matelica, Italy. [79]
7a Region around ancient Rome with possible routes of the Via Salaria and Via Campana. [83]
7b Rome and surrounding areas. [84]
8 Ancient Lucania with sites noted in text. [145]
9 Journeys in three plays of Plautus as depicted on a conventional modern map: Curculio, Persa, Poenulus (adapted from Richlin 2005: 18). [193]
10 Ancient Hirpinia and surrounding area with key sites in south-west Italy. [318]
11 Corfinium and surrounding sites in central Italy. [321]
Acknowledgements

To those with whom I have spent years thinking, across immeasurable distances into a more hopeful if uncertain future, your generosity, inspiration and challenge have allowed for a new way into the past. This book offers one possibility of that journey. It began in Venice while contemplating the fluid meaning of ancient place, and being confronted by the presence of larger-than-human-size Palestinian passports standing between national pavilions – created by Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti – De-Colonising Architecture (DAAR). Their art along with the mobile landscapes of Catrin Webster, and our ongoing critical discourse, have provided the colour and stimulus driving this inquiry. The book is the culmination of many journeys, which I, now holding two of the increasingly coveted pocket-size passports, was fortunate enough to make.

The research moments of encounter and creation were generously supported by a Davis Fellowship in the Davis Centre for Historical Studies at Princeton, an Arts and Humanities Research Council Fellowship, and a University of Exeter Research Leave. Throughout this time one of the constant places has been the University of Exeter and the many inspirational friends, colleagues and students there, with whom I have had the pleasure of learning, not least from the sparky and inventive doctoral students: Claude Kananack, Antonio Montesanti, Rafael Scopacasa, Christopher Siwicki, Chiara Strazzulla and Charlotte Young. The openness and collegiality of the Classics and Ancient History Department is a model of borderless thinking. Across the Atlantic I am grateful to the colleagues of the History Department and the Institute at Princeton, for a most vibrant atmosphere in which this research took shape. It is a much sharper work thanks to conversations with Yair Mintzker, Helmut Reimitz, Daniel Rodgers, and insightful suggestions from Peter Brown (the story of the three rabbits stayed with me while writing). Greg Thalmann’s seminal response to our experimentation with cultural geography and the ancient world was critical in developing this connection. These first readers of the early chapters were joined by other colleagues and friends who generously gave their time and knowledge, suggesting new directions that helped refine ideas and shape the narrative:
Barbara Borg, Guy Bradley, Craige Champion, Jane Chaplin, John Davies, Chris Gill, Tom Harrison, Saskia Hin, Claire Holleran, Matthew Leigh, Stephen Mitchell, Neville Morley, Corinna Riva, Saskia Roselaar, Richard Rylance, Rafael Scopacasa, Christopher Smith, Catherine Steel and Andrew Thompson. I have also been fortunate to draw on the ancient expertise of Ed Bispham, Lin Foxhall, Ray Laurence, Elio Lo Cascio, Michael Crawford, Eleanor Dickey, Nick Lowe, Sharon Marshall, Claudia Moatti, Damien Nelis, John North, Peter O’Neill, Alan Outram, Jeremiah Pelgrom, Martin Pitts, Jon Prag, Nicholas Purcell, Jo Quinn, Tessa Stek, Michel Tarpin, Miquel-John Versluys, John Wilkins, Andrew Wilson, Peter Wiseman, Greg Woolf and Matthew Wright.

Many intersections were possible, with opportunities for discovery and the testing of hypotheses, thanks to dynamic workshops and networks, including those at the Immigration History Research Centre in Minnesota and the hospitality of Donna Gabaccia; the Research Seminars at the Universities of Leiden, Cardiff, Newcastle, Exeter, Durham and Nottingham; Migrations & Large Scale Movements in the Mediterranean, at University College London; Migrations Panel at AIAC in Rome; the Frontiers of the European Iron Age in Cambridge; Integration and Identity in Manchester; Minderheiten und Migrationsphänomene in Heidelberg; E pluribus unum? at Fondation Hardt in Geneva; Migrating Italy, and Roman Representations of Others, both in Oxford; L’Italia e le sue regioni at La Sapienza in Rome; Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities in Copenhagen; Diaspora and Migration at the APA in Chicago; Globalisation and the Roman World in Exeter; the workshops of DAAR Architectural Rehab Camp in Stockholm; and Al Masha – the Space of the Common in Berlin.

There were many other chance encounters for exchanging ideas, and I am grateful for the patience and interest of my fellow scholars, whose insights constantly open up new ways of thinking. Learning from colleagues in Politics, History and Geography has been seminal; my research would be much less exciting without conversations with Dario Castiglione, Mick Dumper, Nick Gill, Mark Goodwin, Ian Hampshire-Monk, Ilan Pappe, Andrew Schaap and John Wylie. Other special places to think together are DAAR, Campus in Camps and Dheisheh Refugee Camp, which represent some of the most innovative, ‘outside the box (and any border)’ thinking and doing that one can hope to be a part of. I thank the initiators, Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal, and the people who transformed their vision, Ishaq Al Barbary, Aysar Dawoud, Ahmad Lahham, Athar Mufreh, Murad Owdah and Diego Segatto, for letting me share the ancient world.
with them, and in turn for challenging it to be a place for addressing contemporary concerns. Alice’s Tent in the Calais Refugee Camp in France was another such crossing.

The book could not have been written without the intense idea-sharing moments that took place in projects and initiatives that others gave their time to join me in. One of the earliest was the lively Migration Network, supported by the University of Exeter, that my co-director Regenia Gagnier and I ran over three years. In the wake of this, a partnership with Guido Bonsaver and Guido Tintori resulted in a series of intense interdisciplinary debates in Oxford, as part of Italy as a Crossroad, focusing on the intersection between mobility and culture, made possible by an AHRC Network grant. This ran alongside the series of Future Memory Projects, in Exeter, Swansea and Glasgow, which began with a grant from the AHRC Beyond Text scheme. I am grateful to Evelyn Welch for her enthusiastic support of what seemed a risky endeavour. The many artists, scholars, singers, student-volunteers, hundreds of school pupils, curators, composers, archaeologists, historians, refugees and asylum seekers who came together in making these events were instrumental in developing ideas and showing the many ways the story of the journey could be told. I am especially grateful to my co-creators, Michael Given, Rebecca Kay, Basharat Khan, Michael Ormiston, Shauna McMullen, Alison Phipps, Iseult Timmermans, Catrin Webster and Marion Wood, for the late-night brainstorming and for never losing faith in reaching into the unknown, which resulted in De-Placing Future Memory, 1000 Colours Blue and Future Memory in Red Road.

In forging these ideas into a book, I am grateful for the careful and valuable suggestions of the anonymous readers of the manuscript, and the editor Michael Sharp with his team at Cambridge University Press, especially Marianna Prizio and Vel Inbasigamoni, for their sharp eye and patience in bringing this work into being. All remaining errors are my own. I was fortunate to find excellent support for the production of maps and figures, most of which were drawn by John Davey, with others by Adam Wainwright and Antonio Montesanti. I am also thankful to Olivier De Cazanove, Helena Fracchia, Maurizio Gualtieri, Massimo Osanna and Paolo Poccati for supplying and giving me permission to use the images of their archaeological sites and materials. The book has also benefitted from being able to include a number of important maps and images thanks to their provision, and permission for their reproduction, from Museo dell’Area Archeologica delle grotte di Catullo and the Ministero per I beni Culturali, for the fresco from the Grotte di Catullo, which formed the inspiration for the cover; the Austrian National Library...
Acknowledgements

and Richard Talbert, for the Peutinger map; the Mappa Mundi Trust and Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral, for the Mappa Mundi; La Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, for the Map of Texúpa, and the help of Timothy Rees in navigating the Spanish maze of documents.

None of this would be possible without the pauses on the journey, my relational place – a meshwork of friends and family. Thank you to Ian, Christine, Cat, Zad, Anna, Avram, Annie, Stephen, Matti, Chris, Sandi, Ale, Diego and Athar for welcoming me at your hearths wherever they may be. To my parents Tanya and Leon, and my siblings Julia, Alex, Lenny and Merlin, I am grateful to you for always seeing the funny side and keeping my feet on the ground. This book is dedicated to the hope and laughter of those who have the most to teach us about the unimaginable possibilities of our future memory: Cleo, Ezra, Sama and Tala.
Map 1  Ancient Mediterranean with sites noted in text.

Map 2  Ancient East Mediterranean with sites noted in text.
Map 3. Ancient Italy with sites noted in text.
Map 4a North Italy with sites noted in text.

Map 4b South Italy with sites noted in text.