

6

POLYBIUS'S GLOBAL MOMENT
AND HUMAN MOBILITY THROUGH
ANCIENT ITALY*Elena Isayev*

Human mobility, along with circulation of commodities and ideas, is seen as one of the defining features of globalisation today. If Rome was truly globalising, we might expect a sharp increase in such movement following its political and military dominance of the Mediterranean from the second century BC. However, the distribution of people of Italian origin around the Mediterranean prior to the second century BC is difficult to ascertain from the remaining evidence. The overriding perception is that, on the whole, only a small number of Italians chose to venture beyond the shores of the peninsula until the rapid expansion of Roman power in the wake of their victory in the Second Punic War. This setting coincides with, and is perceived as the catalyst for, the *global moment*. In essence, with increasing connectivity not only would we expect a substantial increase in the rate of movement, and especially free movement, in contexts deemed globalised, but also a lower rate in the periods preceding them. It is in part the effects of such an assumption that I would like to test in this chapter, and to suggest that what most people take as the *global moment* may have involved a shift in thinking about the nature of connectivity, as outlined by Pitts and Versluys in Chapter 1 of this volume, rather than a significant break from what had gone before. The following discussion also forms the starting point for an investigation into whether there was a substantial change in the nature of that movement and its agents, which in part may have been what prompted the shift in perception.

As concerns any recognition in our written sources of an increased out-migration of individuals from the Italian peninsula at this point, outside of colonising and military endeavours, it is largely lacking. Ancient authors seem uninterested in the presence of Italians abroad, whether from Magna Graecia or the hinterland, nor are they distinguished from any other foreign

– Elena Isayev –

group. Their movements did not constitute a migration phenomenon. That does not mean that Italians were not a significant part of the mobile community, but rather that their presence as individuals of Italian, and particularly Roman origin, rarely appeared on the radar, and en masse only in special circumstances. One such incident that drew the attention of ancient commentators occurred in the first century BC, when Mithridates ordered the authorities of cities in Asia Minor to massacre their Roman and Italian residents, resulting in the death of 80,000 people, according to some reports.¹ For historians of migration it is not just the cruelty of such an act that is shocking but the figure itself. As we will see below, our evidence, primarily from inscriptions of the second century BC onward, gives no indication that such a high number of foreigners from Italy had taken up residence in this corner of the Mediterranean.

The episode of the massacre in 88 BC, and the epigraphic evidence in the eastern Mediterranean (considered below), give rise to two key questions concerning mobility from Italy: (1) Is the second century BC the beginning of Italian emigration? (2) If not, is there evidence for an earlier more persistent presence of Italian settlers abroad that stretches back centuries? The pressure to answer the first question in the affirmative comes partly from the identification of the second century BC as the *global moment* for the Mediterranean. Such a reading of the period is not simply made by current scholars, who see it in conjunction with the expansion of Roman power, but also by those who were there to witness the transformations. Most notably Polybius, observing his contemporary world from his perch in Rome, noted in the *Histories* that from his time on, previously distinct local historic trends were intertwined and all history became an organic whole, a universal history based around Roman hegemony.² While the passage raises the possibility of something that comes near to contemporary global consciousness – a criterion of some definitions of globalisation,³ the motivations of Polybius in presenting Rome's rise as coinciding with, or even being responsible for, globalness can be questioned.⁴ Not least because Herodotus too presented the Persian Wars as just such a shift, when previously separate histories were intertwined.

The ancient historian Polybius, in much the same way as our own generation, labelled what he was witnessing as an evolutionary moment. Even if not defining it as *globalisation*, he stressed that it was a break from the past and a move from separate entities into a large interconnected whole. The fact that he perceived it as such is interesting in itself, but can we trust this identification which implies that what had existed before was very different? Horden and Purcell's *Corrupting Sea* and numerous other studies have successfully shown the intensely interconnected nature of the

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

Mediterranean throughout the last millennium BC. Hence, the identity of a *global moment* only towards the end of the millennium cannot be wholly accurate, and Versluys’s punctuation of connectivity section highlights precisely this point.⁵ As concerns the second century BC specifically, while Versluys is right in indicating that archaeological findings, especially shipwreck data, suggest a substantial increased connectivity between the third and first centuries BC,⁶ more appropriate is his earlier point that it is intensification that we are dealing with, and a strengthening of certain vectors of the network, rather than an increase as such. As concerns Italy, it would also be difficult to believe that Italian communities, and especially Rome, were unique in the Mediterranean by remaining largely static until this point, although that is the image of Rome that Polybius puts forward. It is one of the aims of this chapter to make explicit the fragility of any historic moment identified as *global*, or rather the problematic implication that the periods before it were not. The question, which perhaps this volume as a whole attempts to answer is: when is connectivity perceived as globalisation?⁷

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

Globalisation is one volatile term, *migration* is another, which is why mobility is a more preferable neutral expression. The difficulty of applying *migration* to the ancient context becomes evident when we consider the history of how the concept came into being in American English, and the way it is used in such key works as Manning’s *Migration in World History*.⁸ Our 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.⁹ The novelty of its use was noted at the time by the philologist John Pickering, who included the terms *to immigrate*, *immigration* and *immigrant* as neologisms in his 1816 work, *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases Which Have Been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America*.¹⁰ By 1828 the new definition appeared in Webster’s *American Dictionary of the English Language*: ‘Migrate – To pass or remove from one country or from one state to another, with a view to permanent residence, or residence of some continuance’.¹¹ The result was that space, time and purpose became fundamental characteristics of migration. This new construction of migration, with a focus on permanent residence, encouraged a fear of displacement and overcrowding by new arrivals into America at the time.¹² The reality of cyclical or circular

– Elena Isayev –

mobility was ignored once migration came to be defined more narrowly, as a one-way relocation, moving along a single trajectory. It fuelled a particular view of the foreigner as threatening, and hence also a protectionist migration policy by autonomous states, a policy which has been projected back into history as the norm.¹³

Such a definition of migration would not have been possible in a world prior to the Treaty or Peace of Westphalia of 1648. It created sovereign states with territorial integrity, and hence the notion of an international border, which could, or could no longer, be crossed.¹⁴ Both the idea of a territorial state border, as opposed to a particular status or state membership, and also the sense of a permanent residential relocation, as distinct from the enduring nature of one's birthplace, are therefore not suitable for the earlier historical contexts. Human mobility in the ancient world is more ephemeral, without the same interest in physical border crossings, and it is therefore difficult to answer directly questions such as: Who migrates? How many? For how long? How far? And into what state? In part this is because such questions assume that migration is an isolated identifiable phenomenon which has a beginning and an end, and that the move is in one direction only. The lack of such one-way trajectories makes it difficult to capture the extent of emigration or immigration in the ancient context, but we can get the sense of the rate of mobility which appears to have been high throughout the last millennium BC.

THE 88 BC MASSACRE OF ITALIANS IN ASIA MINOR

On a pre-determined day in 88 BC, the residents of some cities in Asia Minor responded to Mithridates' command and murdered the *Rhōmaioi* – the Romans and Italians, who lived among them.¹⁵ Appian, writing some two centuries later, provides a gruelling narrative of women and children being torn away from their refuge at sacred sanctuaries, only to be massacred with the rest.¹⁶ The total number of those killed was substantial.¹⁷ Ancient authors writing in a period closer to the events, Valerius Maximus and Memnon of Heraclea Pontica, both record 80,000 deaths.¹⁸ Plutarch goes even further and almost doubles the figure to 150,000.¹⁹ Can we believe such high numbers?²⁰ Were there even 80,000 *Rhōmaioi* available for execution in the early first century BC in this part of the eastern Mediterranean? The figures had to be believable on some level, but even if they were to be reduced by a multiple of ten or even one hundred for this episode, the total still alludes to the magnitude of Italians overseas, easily numbering in the thousands if not tens of thousands.

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

These Italians were dispersed across numerous cities, they were not in Asia Minor as part of any Roman state-initiated mass resettlement project. They came as individuals for a variety of reasons and over a long period of time, stretching back at least two generations. These types of private or independent movements leave little trace in the archaeological record, and hence those who moved are almost invisible. Inscriptions provide the most direct evidence of their presence overseas, but they too have limitations. Iasos, for example, a prosperous coastal town, has a particularly well-preserved epigraphic record of foreigners in the second century BC.²¹ The eighty inscriptions mentioning foreigners reveal that they arrived from forty different locations, including sites as far away as Scythia, Sicily and Jerusalem (Hierosolyma).²² Iasos was a cosmopolitan hub where no single alien group appears to have dominated. No Italians are recorded as part of this mixed community until the first century BC. This is not surprising, as the total number of inscriptions mentioning inhabitants with Italian origins in Asia Minor, prior to the massacre of 88 BC, is little more than a handful. In part this may be due to the writing habits among communities in Italy. For the whole of the peninsula the total number of Latin inscriptions known from the third century BC is some 600, of which only about 146 are from the city of Rome.²³ In the following two centuries the total Italian figure rises to over three thousand, and most of these date to the final 160 years,²⁴ precisely the point at which Italians overseas become epigraphically more visible. We do know of a substantial community of Italians in Delos already from the third century BC, and a sprinkling of inscriptions make reference to Italian craftsmen who were scattered around the Mediterranean. But even with this increase spurred on by the changing epigraphic habit, the numbers of settlers from Italy who are attested directly are in the hundreds, not tens of thousands.

Studies focusing on the epigraphic evidence for the spread of Italians in the Greek world, such as that of Müller and Hasenohr, confront some of the constraints of this type of material. In particular they note the difficulties in establishing the provenance of individuals through the record of names alone. Members of a family carrying a *gens* name may have moved between places within a lifetime and over several generations. For example, the successful family of *negotiatores*, the Castricii, could have originated from Campania, but throughout the second and first centuries BC they are mainly known to us from their activities in Boeotia and Delos.²⁵ The earliest record of their name appears overseas, and only later in Italy, where they may have moved to once such ports as Puteoli became major trading hubs.²⁶ Could we not see them then as Boeotians or Delians coming as foreigners to Italy? How long the label persisted would in large part depend on what

– Elena Isayev –

incentives were in place to keep it, such as Roman citizenship that allowed access to privileges and networks, although perhaps not in Asia Minor in 88 BC. The characteristic cyclical nature of individual mobility that conveyed people around the Mediterranean in search of opportunities may have deposited them in a place only fleetingly or for the remainder of their lifetime. In capturing their presence on records, whether of death, patronage, honours or memberships, we are left with a static snapshot of a small element of one mobile community. As already noted, the material does not provide evidence of immigration or emigration trends, since such single trajectory movements from point A to B are difficult to trace in the ancient evidence. For these reasons it is not surprising that we hear little of the Italians who met their fate under the hands of Mithridates. Beyond the evidence of epigraphy, other forms of material culture, while excellent for connectivity, tracking the movement of goods and spread of knowledge, are less suitable for tracking migratory trends of specific communities for contexts in which the mobile are integrated into existing settlements, the net migration is zero and the form of mobility is cyclical.

MOBILITY BEFORE THE GLOBAL MOMENT

To get a sense of the nature and rates of human mobility through Italy in the period prior to the second century BC we rely heavily on the material evidence. Archaeological remains can show us moments of creation and growth of a site and its collapse in larger networks. Within Italy itself these have been used to consider the process of colonisation, or the formation of emporia, in the early part of the first millennium BC, with a focus on connectivity and the influx of people into the peninsula. One of the best known sites, often presented as the earliest Greek settlement in Italy, is Pithekoussai, which was situated not on the mainland but on the island of Ischia just off the Campanian coast. Its situation is particularly useful for investigating early circulation of goods and people, which has also been used to question whether colonisation is a relevant term for the processes occurring in this early period.²⁷ At the beginning of the eighth century BC, the site of Pithekoussai was probably a centre for exchange, an island emporion that linked the maritime traders with the producers of metals on mainland Italy. From the material objects at the site, which have multiple provenances representing a variety of cultural trends, it is clear that there were diverse communities who participated in its creation, including those ‘indigenous’ to the island, the Phoenicians and the Greeks. The population mix was not the result of any single state programme but

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

was due to the opportunities at this particular node of the ancient Mediterranean network. For it to have been successful, which it was, with a rapid gathering of a population estimated at some 5–10,000 at its height, we must imagine a context where there is constant high mobility of groups and individuals with wide knowledge, who are looking for opportunities. A site offering considerable potential encourages individuals to pause there for a significant amount of time to create a substantial settlement, or increase an existing one. Pithekoussai is one example of a site, the populating of which could only have been the result of an environment that was intensely interconnected.

This perspective from the archaeological material does not sit comfortably with the myths of early migrations narrated by later historians, which include scenarios of mass influx of ethnic groups into new lands as a result of land hunger, leading to takeover and expulsion of local populations. The Gauls appear in various narratives, such as that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,²⁸ as the perpetrators who force out indigenous inhabitants and Etruscans from the north of Italy. However, the archaeological evidence from the sites around the Po valley shows ongoing contact between these groups over centuries. In the Veneto and in Liguria, archaeological evidence points to the presence of these groups within Italic settlements visible already from the seventh century BC.²⁹ The scenario of the threat of a mobile barbarian incomer, taking over civilised sedentary communities, is a literary trope that suits the perspective of individuals based in densely populated urban environments, or territorial states. My point here is not to negate the violence that was exercised by one group over another, often culminating in the expulsion of local communities or their enslavement. Polybius’s *Histories* are full of such episodes. Rather, it is to question the scarcity of land as the catalyst for takeover of communities, and the scenario of en masse migrations as a key factor. The long-term study of Italy carried out by Lo Cascio and Malanima, even taking into account reservations about the difference in opinion of the low and high count of the Italian population in the period,³⁰ shows that for two millennia the peninsula sustained a population fluctuating between seven and sixteen million until the industrial period.³¹ Population growth rates fluctuated but did not reach such high proportions as to outgrow the resource base. Demographic studies show that if there was a migration ‘crisis’ in the ancient context it was due to emigration or out-migration and not overpopulation. The difficulty was trying to keep people in one place. Italy was most likely underpopulated not overpopulated.³² Such urban environments as Rome, although appearing crowded, needed an ongoing influx of people to sustain themselves.³³ It is this influx into both Rome

– Elena Isayev –

and Italy that most of our literary evidence focuses on for the period before empire. The problem is that except for military ventures, we have very little evidence in the literary texts for Italians at sites outside of Italy before the second century BC, and as we saw at the start of the chapter, they are also largely invisible in the material record as individual foreign settlers. They are, however, visible as being active players in the network of connectivity that animated the Mediterranean.

PLAUTUS, FOREIGNERS AND INSTRUMENTS OF CONNECTIVITY

One piece of material evidence that attests to the mobility of individuals from Italy is the small and rare object known as the *tessera hospitalis*, or *symbolum*. It could be in a myriad of shapes and designs, such as a fish, a boar or a lion, and made out of a variety of materials, including ivory and metal. It consisted of two parts, each of which was kept by the parties whose names it recorded. We are fortunate to have surviving examples of *tesserae* from Italy and from other parts of the Mediterranean (Fig. 6.1). One half of

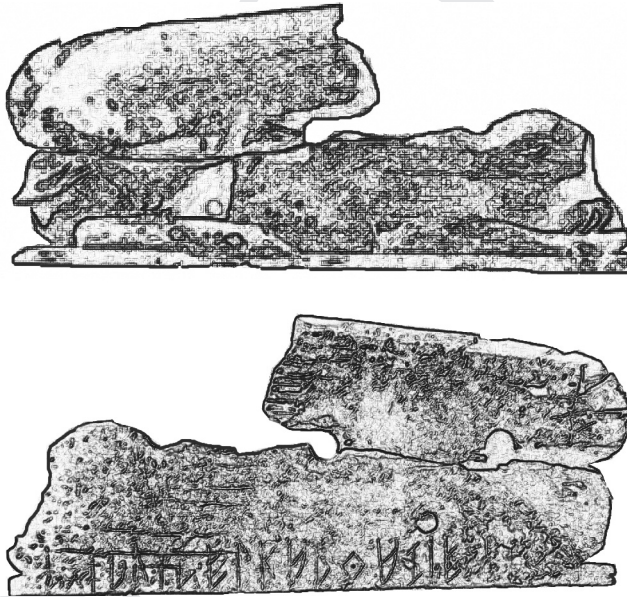


Figure 6.1: *Tessera Hospitalis*, ivory boar *Tessera* found in a cemetery at Carthage. The inscription, in Etruscan, is as follows: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[-]na* (I (am) Puinel from Carthage ...). Drawn by Antonio Montesanti after E. Peruzzi, *Origini di Roma: La Famiglia*, vol. 1, Florence: Valmartina 1970, Tav. I and Tav. II.

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

such an ivory plaque, carved in the shape of a boar, proclaims in Etruscan: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[-]na*; ‘I (am) Puinel from Carthage ...’.³⁴ This *tessera*, found in a cemetery in Carthage dating from the sixth century BC, is a testament of a link between a Carthaginian and his Etruscan speaking guest-friend. It could also be used as proof of identity at a reunion years or decades later. The hospitality to which these objects attested stretched across vast distances and over generations.

This instrument of connectivity appears in the earliest extant Latin texts of the late third – early second century BC. The characters in Plautus’s comedy *Poenulus* exhibit how such a device may have been used and the forms of mobility implied by its very existence.³⁵ The Carthaginian protagonist of the comedy, Hanno, having travelled around the Mediterranean in search of his stolen daughters, lands in Calydon. He proceeds to the house of his guest-friend, who unbeknownst to him is dead, and is instead greeted by his friend’s heir Agorastocles. As Hanno presents his half of the *tessera*, which attests to his official tie and also acts as proof of his identity, Agorastocles recognises that it is the other half of the one his adoptive father has stored in the house.³⁶ This leads to a happy reunion of family friends – who turn out to be relations, but that is another story. We have no way of knowing how many such *tesserae* Hanno, or others on the move, would have carried on their journeys, or brought with them when they changed their place of residence. These objects would have formed part of a wider system of private contracts on which the Mediterranean network was based.

The scenario described above is exemplary of the world portrayed in Plautus’s comedies, which is full of highly interconnected and internally diverse communities.³⁷ Every play has foreigners in it, many of whom are the main protagonists. There is no sense that this is somehow a new cosmopolitan environment or different to one that had preceded it. While we do find cultural stereotyping, occasions when appearance, language and exotic destinations all provide opportunity for comic interludes, there is no indication of xenophobia. Undoubtedly foreigners had a different status, which is expressed in the comedies through such episodes as the attempt by foreigners to bring criminals to justice, which they explicitly note is more difficult than for locals. Yet, the very fact that they can do this shows frameworks of understanding and shared reciprocal inter-state agreements. A less favourable status did not prevent characters coming from abroad or going to foreign shores, which they do for a myriad of reasons – love, wealth, escape – mostly personal, as we would expect in the comic genre. It is such individual mobility which appears most prominently. The large en masse migrations that are the foundation for demographic studies are hardly visible in the comedies, although we do see some of their

– Elena Isayev –

effects. There are soldiers returning from battle, parents searching for their enslaved children, prisoners of war and recruitment for colonial endeavours. Although Plautus's work is based on earlier Greek originals, the environment he depicts in the comedies, and especially in his meta-theatrical prologues and comments, is that of his contemporary Italy – an Italy that is perfectly comfortable with its cosmopolitan, or *globalised*, state already in the third century BC. While the Plautine corpus in itself may not be concrete evidence for a highly mobile Italian environment, it does provide a sense of the context that was prevalent at the end of the third century. The comedies portray an open attitude to foreigners in their midst, and also to mobility, especially for those at particular points in their life cycle, the youth and the middle-aged. The choice to move to another place or to set out on a journey was one option that was commonly taken, seemingly, with little regard for distance or the dangers of travel.

POLYBIUS AND THE GLOBAL MOMENT

Polybius was a near contemporary of Plautus, writing several decades later, but reflecting on the same period of the late third – early second century BC. While in Plautus the interconnected environment is portrayed as an ever present norm, Polybius instead chooses to identify it as the *global moment*, a historic shift into a newly transformed state of being for the world as he knew it. To what extent can we trust this astute historian's assessment? It is true that Polybius is not specifically talking about mobility and connectivity, as such, but displaying a new perception of these phenomena and their agents. The first thing to note is that such a perspective was part of the rhetoric of the age that saw itself as a new beginning. As part of this rhetoric, and for the purpose of his *Histories*, which was to show how a little known place like Rome rapidly took over the known world, it meant that Polybius needed to have Rome as small, and as isolated as possible at the beginning of his narrative. This would then allow him to narrate her rapid rise and expansion in the second century BC, leading up to becoming the head of empire by the end of his work. However it may be defined, the rapid rise of Roman imperialism in the second century BC is uncontested. What interests me is rather what Polybius does to create the image of an infant Rome at the start of his narrative, and the way he chooses to identify a point of transformation bringing Rome into the wider sphere of connectivity within the Mediterranean. For Polybius this moment of engagement is when Rome first took to the sea.³⁸ It is for this reason that he gives such prominence to what he calls the first Roman crossings into Sicily in 264 BC, and then Illyria in 229 BC.³⁹

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

To emphasise the rapidity of Roman progress, he highlights the fledgling state’s initial incompetence at sea, not simply in military terms and through the inability to construct warships,⁴⁰ but also in relation to any seafaring venture.⁴¹ The resulting image of Rome prior to this period of engagement, as one of insularity and ineptitude, does not stand up to scrutiny. There is enough evidence from other sources, and within Polybius’s own narrative, to show that he must have been aware not only that Rome’s aggression spilled over outside the peninsula well before that memorable crossing to Sicily in 264 BC, but also that Roman trading ships had been plying the Mediterranean coasts for some time.⁴² The Roman treaties with Carthage that pre-date this venture, which Polybius discusses in some detail,⁴³ outline rules and constraints on Roman trading practices in the fourth century BC and include a ban on the foundation of cities in those areas that were under Carthaginian control, specifically Libya, Eastern Sicily and Sardinia. An agreement about the restrictions on such activities would have been unnecessary unless they were already being practised by both powers in each other’s area of influence. Polybius’s Second Treaty between Rome and Carthage, which is believed to date to 348 BC,⁴⁴ may have been prompted by a Roman attempt at what appears as a colonising venture in Sardinia as early as 378 BC (or 386 BC).⁴⁵

The crossing to Illyria and that part of Europe in 229 BC is highlighted as another major event in the Roman spread of power into areas previously uncharted by them.⁴⁶ Yet, the explanation of the grievances that provoked the expedition suggests that the Romans could not have been wholly unfamiliar with the region. Polybius describes how Illyrians had been in the habit of maltreating sea merchants from Italy *for a long time*, and that recently such a clash had resulted in the robbery, imprisonment and death of many Italian traders.⁴⁷ These few clues need to be seen in connection with the activities of other Italian trade hubs outside of Rome, such as for example the ports of Caere and Tarentum, where Romans had a presence. We also need to add into the mix the image of mobility presented in Plautus and the strong evidence for shared international frameworks of understanding. This broader picture suggests that we need to treat Polybius’s turning point not as a break from what had gone on in the past,⁴⁸ but rather as an intensification and a shift in the nature and perception of connectivity, especially for Italy and Rome.

COUNTING THE MOBILE

Up to this point there has been little consideration of any specific numbers for mobility rates or the demographic studies for which Polybius’s narrative

– Elena Isayev –

is of importance, especially his account of the mobilisation for the Roman campaign against the Gauls in 225 BC.⁴⁹ The evidence that informs demographic investigations is gleaned from recorded figures for the Roman census, and state-initiated events that include: colonisation; veteran and viritane settlement; enslavements; mass transfer of populations – such as the Ligurians or Picentines; repatriation of prisoners of war; and military recruitment. There are ongoing debates about the total population of Italy from this period, with both low and high counts continuously being reassessed.⁵⁰ The human flows tend to be considered in the context of a total free population of Italy in the range of at least three to four million, the low count, with some preferring to see the figures closer to seven million or higher.⁵¹ For this population, Scheidel estimates that the total number of individual movements in the last two centuries BC, excluding slaves, was in the range of two to two and a half million.⁵² The statistics for slave imports into Italy for the same period Scheidel calculates at some two and a half million, cautiously using figures such as those recorded by Polybius of the 150,000 enslaved in Epirus in a single campaign led by Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC.⁵³ These figures, while not measuring precisely like for like, fall considerably short of the theoretical extreme of forty million movements that Erdkamp estimates if we were to apply Osborne's method in his studies that use comparable trends from the early modern period.⁵⁴ The difference between the two ends of the spectrum is determined by how much weight is given to the rate of individual mobility, as compared with that which is initiated by the state. While Scheidel leans towards a relatively low figure for individual or personal movement, it would be a mistake to presume that what he suggests is a low overall rate of mobility, his calculations for a more specific period reveal otherwise. He estimates that at the time of Augustus, for which we have better data, some forty per cent of male Romans over the age of forty-five would have been born in a different location from their current place of residence.⁵⁵ Scepticism of such high figures is a common knee-jerk reaction, especially if compared with official statistics for mobility today. While these do not measure identical forms of mobility, they give a sense of the trend: the UN estimated that by 2002 some 185 million people lived outside their country of birth for at least twelve months, which is just over two per cent of the world's population.⁵⁶ Despite such a seeming contrast, and our scepticism, there is good evidence for a context of high mobility in, from and through ancient Italy.

Understanding the extent of individual or personal movement is central to predicting the nature of the mobile elements of communities. Although this type of mobility is difficult to quantify, Broadhead's study of a series of episodes, which are included in Livy's narrative of the second century BC,

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

highlights the potentially large figures that were involved in such movement.⁵⁷ In a well-known episode of expulsion, dated to 187 BC, Livy records that Latin communities pleaded with the Romans to help them restore their citizens to their colonies by tracking them down.⁵⁸ Roman authorities gave in and some 12,000 Latins were sent out of Rome to return to their own cities. Ten years later, in 177 BC, once again Italian communities came to Rome and this time included the complaints of Samnites and Paelignians that some four thousand families had transferred to Fregellae.⁵⁹ Both of these instances suggest that individuals are constantly on the lookout for opportunities to improve their quality of life, whether in economic or in other ways. We may be less surprised that Rome attracted so many people, but the popularity of Fregellae may at first appear difficult to comprehend in terms of economic or political advantage alone. Although once we start looking for signs of its appeal, we get glimpses of its popularity from some unexpected sectors, such as for example the Carthaginian hostages who were requesting to be moved from Norba. Their request was met, and they were moved to Signia, Ferentinum and also Fregellae.⁶⁰ Whatever may have been the reasons behind the movement of these individuals and their families, and even if their numbers were lower than those recorded by Livy, the implication is that many chose to relocate and there were no barriers to prevent them from doing so. Such an observation does not sit comfortably with the supposed *ius migrandi* – an exclusive law allowing privileged free mobility between Rome and the Latin communities, which until recently appeared alongside other rights that the Latins shared. Through contextualising the Livy passages dealing with these migratory moments in 187 and 177 BC, Broadhead has successfully shown that the *ius migrandi* never existed.⁶¹ The institution of a ‘migration law’ is the fabrication of modern scholarship that does not fit the evidence and institutional developments, which point to the free and anticipated movement of individuals in ancient society.

CONCLUSIONS

In relation to *ius migrandi*, what allowed the interpretation of the ancient evidence to be skewed in the first instance is the assumption of modern migration-as-threat mentality, which assumes that states would have wanted to prevent immigration. If that was the case we would not have thousands of Italians in Asia Minor or circulating around the Mediterranean, as do the majority of the Plautine characters. In earlier periods, non-state initiatives such as Pithekoussai would also be difficult

– Elena Isayev –

to explain, as well as the thousands who wanted to make Rome or Fregellae their new home. Instead, what these episodes show is that there was: a mobile population seeking opportunities; a knowledge system that directed it; sites and communities that were keen to draw in groups and individuals; and institutions and bordering practices that did not inhibit such mobility. This highly interconnected environment existed well before the transformations that were noted by Polybius. What he observed was not a shift from a less globalised to a more globalised state, but a re-centring of trajectories around Rome, the new facilitator of this interconnected environment. The Roman state fostered a global consciousness, which in turn is what most likely prompted the Polybian reflection in his *Histories*, a perspective which we may choose to term globalisation.

To characterise such a development as globalisation, however, does not necessarily tell us very much about the ancient context, but rather the way that contemporaries perceived it.⁶² Where its application is useful is in a comparative context, and when considering the *longue durée*. Looking at early periods of history through the lens of globalisation makes explicit our explanatory frameworks. At the same time it highlights the assumptions made in some contemporary globalisation discourse, which tend to be evolutionary minded, by providing alternative episodes and fluctuations that force a rethinking of globalisation as a one directional phenomenon.⁶³ Our community of the twenty-first century considers itself globalising (if not strictly fully globalised) by assuming a preceding non-globalised state of being, in the same way as did Polybius, presumably. Between these two historic points of alleged globalisation there must have been periods when society was, or felt itself to be, or wanted to be, less globalised. There would have been phases of perceived or real de-globalisation and fragmentation and, as Pitts and Versluys emphasise, it is a relative concept.⁶⁴ We may wonder whether one such point of de-globalisation is captured in the fourth century, AD poem *Mosella* by Ausonius from Gaul, as Rome's centrality is undermined. Through the long lens of history we need to ask whether there are patterns that enhance or prevent what may be termed globalisation, or whether it is an ever present phenomenon that we *perceive* as rising and receding.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The workshop that has resulted in this publication was a truly thought-provoking experience, and I would like to thank Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys for all their suggestions and patience in bringing this volume

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

together and their astute comments on this chapter, along with that of the readers, which have made it a much better and more coherent piece than it would have been otherwise.

NOTES

1. See discussion below.
2. Polybius, *Histories*, 1.3. As also noted in Pitts & Versluys (Chapter 1, this volume).
3. e.g. Robertson (1992, 8), and others building on his ideas have shown that globalisation is not modernity: see Pitts & Versluys (Chapter 1, this volume).
4. See Morley (Chapter 3, this volume).
5. See Versluys (Chapter 7, this volume).
6. Ibid.
7. See Versluys (Chapter 7, this volume), esp. the section on ‘punctuating connectivity’, and Sommer (Chapter 8, this volume).
8. Manning (2005).
9. For a discussion of the term’s new meaning in this period, see Shumsky (2008).
10. Pickering, J. (1816, 108); *The Oxford English Dictionary*; Thompson (2003, 195 n. 21); Shumsky (2008, 132).
11. Webster (1828). Offering a second definition of *migrate*, Webster acknowledged that the word has an alternative usage – ‘to pass or remove from one region or district to another for a temporary residence: as the Tartars *migrate* for the sake of finding pasturage’ (Shumsky 2008, 130).
12. Shumsky (2008, 131–4).
13. The 2010 UK immigration policy, and the introduction of a cap on immigrants, is just one example of this phenomenon, which is fuelled by the kind of stereotypical image of the immigrant that is presented in one of the many articles on this issue in the *The Guardian Newspaper* on 25 September 2010, concerning Sweden’s tightening immigration policy, as a key issue in the political election. For statistics and data currently used to inform UK government policy, see the material provided by the *Migration Observatory of the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)* at the University of Oxford: www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk.
14. For the liberty and control of movement in the Imperial period and the role of territory, which depended on political structures and degrees of centralisation, see Moatti (2004, 1–24, esp. 4–7); Moatti & Kaiser (2007).
15. Only Appian distinguishes the victims as Italians and Romans, all the other sources speaking of *cives romani*, and post-89 BC the distinction had little meaning since all Italian communities south of the Po were enfranchised in the wake of the Social War. For a discussion of the terminology and the events, see Wilson (1966, 94); Amiotti (1980, 137–8).
16. Appian, *Mithridates* 4.22–24.

– Elena Isayev –

17. Cicero does not provide specific figures but notes they were substantial in his *Pro Flacco*, 25.60, and also mentions that the massacre of Roman citizens spread across numerous cities in his *Pro Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 3.7.
18. Valerius Maximus 9.2.3 (ext.); Memnon of Heraclea Pontica 31.9 (= FGH III B, p352, lines 16–21).
19. Plutarch *Sulla*, 24.4–7, with comments by Wilson (1966, 126).
20. Hind (1994, 148) suggests that such high numbers were probably an exaggeration as Dio, fr. 109.8, believed that the mutual pogroms of Marius and Sulla were far worse. Wilson (1966, 123) indicates that the figure may have only entered circulation in the last decades of the republic. For discussion of the figures see also Magie (1950, 216); Brunt (1971, 224–7).
21. Mastrocinque (1994); Delrieux F. (2001).
22. Delrieux (2001, 154), for details.
23. Gordon & Reynolds (2003, 219–20).
24. Note also the increase in inscriptions following the Social War, documenting euergetism, an obligation which directly stimulated the growth in epigraphic commemoration, with further references in Gordon & Reynolds (2003, 219–20 n. 37, 227–8).
25. Wilson (1966, 98 n.3, 131–6); Müller & Hasenohr (2002, 18–20).
26. For the importance of Puteoli as a draw for international traders, see Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2002).
27. Osborne (1998); Horden & Purcell (2000, 347–8, 399); Bradley & Wilson (2006); Cuzzo (2007, 246).
28. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.3.2. Livy 5.24, 5.33–35, presents a couple of alternative versions of migrations into North Italy, including a long and a short version.
29. Häußler (2007, 45); Lomas (2007, 36). For example in Padua a mixture of Celtic and Venetic names, such as Tivalos Bellenios, appear on inscriptions (Prosdocimi 1988, 288–92), and in the funerary sphere, stelai exhibit Celtic motifs in the iconography (Fogolari 1988, 102–3).
30. For more about the debate, see discussion below.
31. Lo Cascio & Malanima (2005, 227). With discussion in Scheidel (2004, 1); Scheidel (2006, 209).
32. For debates about demography in Italy, de Ligt & Northwood (2008), de Ligt (2012).
33. Edwards & Woolf (2003).
34. Rix (1991, Af 3.1); with discussion in Prag (2006b, esp. 8–10, 24); Messineo (1983, 3–4); Acquaro (1988, 536).
35. Plautus, *Poenulus*, 958; 1047–55. Plautus's comedies, dating to the end of the third – early second century BC, are some of the earliest Latin texts surviving from Italy.
36. Plautus, *Poenulus*, 1047–55.
37. For aspects of mobility in Plautus see Isayev (forthcoming).
38. Polybius 1.5.1.
39. Sicilian crossing: Polybius 1.5.1, Illyrian crossing: Polybius 2.2.1, with notes for the date in Walbank (1970, Vol. II, 47, 153, respectively).

– Polybius’s global moment and human mobility through ancient Italy –

40. Polybius 1.20.
41. Polybius 1.37.10, comments on the destruction of Roman ships due to ineptitude and arrogance.
42. For a discussion of the development of Roman sea power, see Thiel (1954); Steinby (2007), with comments in Leigh (2010).
43. Polybius, 3.22–5.
44. Diodorus 16.69.1 and Livy 7.27.2, see discussion in Walbank (1970, Vol. I, 346); Serrati (2006, 119).
45. Diod. Sic. 15.27.4, provides the main evidence for this venture, but the reliability of this passage and such early Roman colonisation overseas has been questioned; see Thiel (1954, 54–5); Serrati (2006, 118, n. 17), contra Momigliano (1936, 395–6), who questions the authenticity of the Diodorus passage.
46. Polybius 2.2.1; 2.12.7.
47. Polybius 2.8.1–4.
48. For notions of mobility that long predate the Punic Wars, and the mistaken belief that the earlier the period the less mobility, see Purcell (1990).
49. Polybius 2.23–4.
50. For the figure of four million, Scheidel (2006, 209). Most recently, however, Scheidel (2008) has expressed reservations about the low population count, and has now moved toward a middle ground. The high count of fourteen to twenty million, he still sees as extremely flawed, and more so than the low count. The collection of papers by de Ligt & Northwood (2008) provides the latest debates on the demography of ancient Italy. For the figure of ten million in Augustan Italy, the mid-point between low and high counts, see Hin (2008). For debates of what constituted the census figures, and how that affects the overall population count, see the contributions in de Ligt & Northwood (2008).
51. Lo Cascio & Malanima (2005, 227); Scheidel (2006, 209, 2004, 1). See also previous note for references.
52. The figure is made up of an estimate of 1–1.25 million individuals who were settled in colonies or *viridane* settlements in the last two centuries BC, and adding to that a similar number of centripetal movements from the countryside to urban centres (Scheidel 2004).
53. Scheidel (2005). Polybius 30.15 (16) as cited by Strabo 7.7.3.
54. Osborne (1991) with a cautionary note by Erdkamp (2008), who questions the reliability of the comparison.
55. Overall he concludes that even if his figures need tweaking – there is no arguing for the massive demographic effect of the different movements and especially the relocation programmes (Scheidel 2004, 13–20; Scheidel 2006, 223–4).
56. Castles & Miller (1993, 4). Additional figures cited by Hollifield (2008, 185) show that at the end of the twentieth century 125 million people lived outside of their country of birth (the figure does not take into account illegal movement).
57. Broadhead (2001, 2002, 2004, 2008).
58. Livy 39.3.4–6.
59. Livy 41.8.6–12.

– Elena Isayev –

60. Livy 32.2.3–5. Nepos, *Hann.* 7.2–3 states they were moved to Fregellae; with further discussion in Allen (2006, 89, esp. n. 70).
61. For the historiography of *ius migrandi*, see Broadhead (2001).
62. That from this point on there was a sense of Rome as a global city according to those living at the time, may be in line with that of modern standards, as suggested by Robertson & Inglis (2006), and allows us an insight into the social imagination but not necessarily about the historical circumstances that led up to it.
63. As discussed by Pitts & Versluys (Chapter 1, this volume).
64. *Ibid.* See also Jennings (2011) in his discussion of multiple globalisations.