

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY: WESTERNERS IN THE EAST ONOMASTIC OBSERVATIONS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Within the structure of the congress, this paper belongs to the section “Movilidad socio-geográfica”. The fact that the term defining the “movilidad” consists of two parts, “socio-” and “geográfica”, indicates clearly enough that mobility, at least if used as a term describing and analysing human societies, has two different dimensions. In social mobility, the direction of the movement is vertical, whereas geographical mobility is more or less a horizontal movement. Although it is certainly possible to combine the two approaches to the subject, e.g., by studying (I here limit myself to an example from Roman history) the social mobility of Italians settling in a certain province, I think I am not altogether wrong if I assume that scholars dealing with mobility normally concentrate on one of the two aspects of the subject. Accordingly, there are studies dealing with social mobility which is in fact a quite common topic¹, and there are studies dealing with emigration and immigration², these illustrating the geo-

graphical aspect of the subject (it goes without saying that in many such studies aspects of the other dimension of mobility can be introduced).

My task is to deal with mobility in the Roman East. Either the social or the geographical approach can be applied to the study of mobility in these parts. However, considering the need to concentrate on a clearly defined subject and the fact that the topic of social mobility has been covered by several scholars in recent years³, I arrived at the conclusion that this paper should concentrate on geographical mobility. My subject is, then, the movement from Italy to the eastern parts of the Roman empire, the accent being on Greece, Macedonia and Asia Minor.

Of course it must be stressed at this point that my subject, Romans and Italian moving to the East, is by no means novel. This was the subject of a couple of memorable monographs by J. HATZFELD at the beginning of the 19th century⁴, and, after many useful studies published in the

1. E.g., all studies dealing with the background of senators and knights would come under this heading. For a collection of papers dedicated solely to this topic note FRÉZOUZ, E. (ed.), *La mobilité sociale dans le monde romain : actes du colloque organisé à Strasbourg* (novembre 1988) (1992).

2. For a recent monograph dealing with immigration and immigrants to the city of Rome, cf. NOV, D. *Foreigners at Rome: citizens and strangers* (2000). On Ostia, see my paper in BRUUN, C. (ed.), *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma* (Acta Inst. Romani Finlandiae 27, 2002), p. 150ff. On mobility in, from and to Roman Gaul see WIERSCHOWSKI, L., *Regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches* (1995); Id., *Fremde in Gallien — “Gallier” in der Fremde. Die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. Texte — Übersetzungen — Kommentare* (2001). Note also the collection of papers in SORDI, M. (ed.), *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (Milano 1994), although only few of the papers deal with the Roman period.

3. I am here thinking especially of the work done by H. HALFMANN on Roman senators from the Greek East (*Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* [Göttingen 1979] and Id., in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II 603-650) and of studies by H. DEVIJVER (‘Equestrian Officers in the East’, in: FRENCH, D.H., & LIGHTFOOT, C.S., (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire, British Archaeological Reports* 553 (1989) I, 77-111 = Id., *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army* vol. 2 (*Mavors* ix, 1992) 66-100) and S. DEMOUGIN (‘L’ordre équestre en Asie mineure. Histoire d’une romanisation’, in: *L’Ordre équestre. Histoire d’une aristocratie* [1999] 579-612) on eastern knights. But one could go on with the list for quite some time.

4. HATZFELD, J., ‘Les Italiens résidant à Délos’, *BCH* 36 (1912) 1-208; Id., *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l’Orient Hellénique* (1919).

5. Note, e.g., WILSON, A.J.N., *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (1966; covering also the West) and the papers in RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (Meletemata 21, 1996).

meantime⁵, this is now the subject of a most remarkable collection of papers published in 2002 and called *Les Italiens dans le monde Grec*⁶. However, I think there may still be something to be said on the subject, and in any case I am under the impression that the focus in the past has been on the earlier period — the Republic and the Early Empire — and on *negotiatores* rather than on people in general although it is clear that people must have also been moving to the East in later periods, and that among these people there must also have been, in addition to the *negotiatores* (a category of a certain social status), persons representing the lower classes. If one studies the many different and often rare Roman *nomina* attested, e.g., in the inscriptions of Thessalonica or Cyzicus, many of them from the second and third centuries AD, one gains the impression that there must have been many people in these cities who descended from immigrants and that this immigration cannot have been limited to the early period and the class of the *negotiatores*. In any case, the emigration of Romans and Italians to the eastern parts being such a large and complex topic, I think there is still some work to do and this paper, which draws on material collected in view of a more ambitious study of westerners in the East, is meant to contribute to this subject. The scope of this paper is, however, modest. My aim is simply to present some observations, based mainly on onomastical criteria, which seem to obtrude themselves to the student of the sources at our disposal. The observations presented here will deal mainly with the following topics:

- (a) The local origin of Italian settlers in the East;
- (b) the movement of people with an immigrant background within the East;
- (c) emigration from the West to the East during the Empire.

As mentioned above, in dealing with what I refer to as the “East”, I shall concentrate on the Greek-speaking Roman provinces around the Aegean, essentially on Greece, Macedonia and Asia Minor.

6. MÜLLER, C. & HASENOHR, C. (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde Grec. II siècle av. J.-C. — Ier siècle ap. J.-C. Actes de la Table Ronde, Paris ... 1998* (BCH Suppl. 41, 2002). The book, with most detailed indices, includes, *inter alia*, a new list, by J.-L. FERRARY, C. HASENOHR and M.-Th. LE DINAHET, of Italians attested on Delos, intended to supersede the list of HATZFELD.

The source material for a study on these lines consists mainly of inscriptions⁷. An inscription from the East mentioning a Roman or an Italian who seems to have been a resident (and not, e.g., an official spending only a limited time in the East or someone only making a halt on his way)⁸ is thus a potential source item. However, it is only rarely that Romans attested in eastern inscriptions refer to themselves as immigrants (usually by mentioning their hometowns back in Italy)⁹. Normally, one is forced to deduce the existence of immigrants on the basis of other factors, especially on observations of an onomastic nature, often combined with indications furnished by chronological considerations. On the other hand, as one is dealing with source material which is extremely fragmentary, it very often happens that immigrants themselves do not appear in our sources but are reflected by their descendants or freedmen (or in the descendants of their freedmen), a fact which obviously introduces a degree of uncertainty into the study of immigration.

On the other hand, there is also the problem of Romans attested in the East whose nomenclature reflects not immigration but the diffusion of Roman citizenship among the local population in the Greek East. It is well known that Greeks who became Roman citizens during the Empire normally took the family name of the reigning emperor (accordingly, one does not normally consider the eastern Iulii, Claudii, etc. as immigrants or descendants of immigrants). However, it is also known that new citizens could choose other names for themselves. In some cases, they took over the nomenclature of the provincial governor then in office¹⁰. That is why we find, for instance, Carminii in Asia, and Licinii and Marcii in Lycia-Pamphylia. In some cases again, one simply took over the name of a Roman friend, as in the case of the author Plutarch¹¹. Especially in the

7. The most important literary source is the correspondence of Cicero which includes quite a few references to Romans residing in the East. Full use of this material was, of course, made by HATZFELD.

8. One can find exponents of this category, e.g., as dedicators of votive monuments at famous sanctuaries or as tourists scribbling graffiti (this latter group being mainly attested in Egypt and thus falling outside the scope of my study).

9. Cf. below at n. 36.

10. Cf. my paper ‘Römische Amtsträger und römisches Bürgerrecht in der Kaiserzeit. Die Aussagekraft der Onomastik’, in ECK, W. (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* (1993) 119-145; cf. my *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 245 n. 252.

11. As a Roman citizen, Plutarch was called Mestrius Plutarchus (see *PIR*² P 526), the nomen clearly being derived from his senatorial friend Mestrius Florus (*PIR*² M 531), a man who, although moving in eastern circles, apparently never actually held an office in Achaëa.

early period, there are soldiers of eastern origin with *nomina* which seem to have been chosen more or less by chance¹². Moreover, Roman citizens with *nomina* not commonly attested in the east can have been introduced to these parts by manumissions by Romans not residing permanently in the east, for instance in the case of officials on duty or of westerners owning land in the east¹³.

One sees, then, that among the Roman *nomina* attested in the east, there are a large number of names which have been introduced to the east not by immigration but in some other way. The question is, of course, how to deal with the problem arising from this. One way of proceeding could be to ignore, in a study of immigration, all names identical with those of governors and other Romans attested in the East, and to classify the rest of the names as potential sources (at the same time remembering the possibilities referred to in nn. 11 and 12). However, this, too, is most problematic inasmuch there are many names whose presence in the East can be explained in more than one way. For instance, *Arrius* is attested both as the name of early settlers and, later, as a name taken over from Roman governors¹⁴. One sees, then, that the nature of the source material at our disposal is likely to create many problems of interpretation. On the other hand, it must be observed that the same material is, although in many respects problematic, also of great interest; this fact urges one to try to use it, with due caution, for observations of a historical nature.

II. THE ORIGIN OF ROMANS IN THE EAST

To illustrate the onomastic consequences of Italian immigration in the Roman East, let us begin with numbers. According to my statistics, one finds about 1,400 different *nomina* in the the East (as defined above). This number should be contrasted with the total number of Roman *nomina* attested in the Roman world, which seems to be somewhere around 10,000. Considering that very many of these 10,000 names are attested only once or or only a few times (and often only in some remote Italian country town), one could say that practically all of the Roman *nomina* which are not extremely uncommon have also left some traces of their use in the Greek East. Of course, there are great differences in the diffusion of the individual names in the eastern lands. In the case of common *nomina* (mainly those of emperors and some others of the type *Valerius*), the number of persons using these is very large. On the other hand, there are also a significant number of names which seem to be attested only once (a situation which of course can change with new finds). Many of them are of course names which must in general be considered as rather uncommon¹⁵. But in the category of names attested so far only once in the East, one also observes some names which were quite common in Italy and in the West, for instance the following *nomina*: *Alennius*;¹⁶ *Asellius*;¹⁷ *Aulius*;¹⁸ *Baius*;¹⁹ *Bellicius*;²⁰ *Decidius*;²¹ *Fufidius*;²² *Gargilius*;²³ *Hirtius*;²⁴ *Horatius*;²⁵ *Laecanius*;²⁶

12. Cf., e.g., the soldiers in *ILS* 2483 (Augustan) or the auxiliary soldier C. Sertorius C. f. *sive* *Cetrizis Besidelti f.* in an inscription from Serriae (*AE* 1991, 1427 with LOUKOPOULOU, L. D., in *Meletemata* 10 [1990] 185). Cf. CUNTZ, O., *JÖAI* 25 (1929) 70-81; O'BRIEN MOORE, A., *YCS* 8 (1942) 44-49.

13. For a family of freedmen of a governor apparently settling in Patara in Lycia note *CIL* iii 14181 = *IGR* iii 678 = *TAM* ii 461 (for freedmen of Roman senators not attested as having served in Asia settling in Asia, see my paper in ECK, W., *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* [1993] 127 n. 28). For a freedwoman of a landowner, note a certain Rubellia Helione now attested in a inscription from near Sardis (MITCHELL, S., *Archaeological Reports for 1998/99* [1999] 145), who must have had something to do with the *per Asiam aviti agri* (*Tac. ann.* 14. 22. 3, cf. 57) of the senatorial Rubellii (cf. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 167f.).

14. There is an *Arrius* on Delos (*ID* 1713) and a very early *duovir* in Dyme of the same name (*RPC* I no. 1283f., cf. RIZAKIS, A.D. and ZOLIMBAKI, S., *Roman Peloponnese* I [2001] Achaia no. 39). For an (Cn.) *Arrius* at Hierapolis who can be attached to a Flavian proconsul, see *Arctos* 35 (2001) 142.

15. For instance *Abucceius* in Dyrhachium (*AE* 1994, 1568), *Aco* in N. Macedonia (RIZAKIS, A.D. & TOURATSOGLOU, I., *Επιγραφήδες άνω Μακεδονίας* (1985) 160), *Adurius* in Stobi (*CIL* vi 2382), *Aeteius* in Lampsacus (*I. Mylasa* 371), *Allassienus* in Acmonia (*BCH* 17 (1893), 260 no. 43 = RAMSAY, W.M., *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* ii [1897] 654 no. 569), *Ampilius* in Nicomedia (*TAM* iv 1, 300), *Anteius* in Aegeae (*PIR*² A 730), *Asinatius* in N. Macedonia (*ILJug.* 1239), *Auscus* in Thessalonica (*IG* x 2, 1, 354).

16. WAELKENS, M., *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine* (1986) 191 f. no. 471 (at Afyon, coming from some of the cities in the area, such as Docimium).

17. *I. Anazarbos* 455 (cf. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 149f.).

18. *I. Anazarbos* 316.

19. MENDEL, G., *Musées impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* (1914) no. 916 (of uncertain origin, but no doubt from somewhere in the larger area).

20. *CIG* 3665, line 50 (Cyzius).

21. *AM* 6 (1881) 42 f. no. 1, b, col. ii, line 9; c, line 21 (Cyzius).

22. BURESCH, K., *Aus Lydien* (1898) p. 164 (written as Πουφιδίος).

23. RAMSAY, W.M., *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (1906) 335 no. 14 (Antiochia Pisidiae).

24. *IG* xii 9, 916 (Chalcis, Augustan).

25. *CIL* iii 633 (two instances; Philippi).

26. *PIR*² L 29 (Tarsus).

Maesius;²⁷ *Metilius*;²⁸ *Tarquitius*;²⁹ *Titurius*.³⁰ The presence of all these names in the eastern parts is no doubt, in most cases, to be attributed to immigration; conversely, some names clearly point to locals having taken over names of Roman officials.³¹

So far, we have been talking about immigration. Let us turn for a while to the other aspect of the movement of people, namely to emigration. In order to be able to move to the East, people had to leave their homes in Italy, and it would be interesting to know if there were areas which contributed more to the volume of emigration than others. It is true that for a long time it was customary to say (mainly on the basis of the early 19th-century work, referred to above n. 4, of Hatzfeld) that Campanians and other southern Italians dominated Italian emigration at least in the case of Delos.³² However, this view has since been modified,³³ and there seems to be no reason not to assume that most regions of Italy, with the possible exception of some out-of-the-way places, contributed to the movement, although there must naturally have been differences in the chronological distribution, the emphasis no doubt moving ahead chronologically when one moves from the South to the North. In an earlier study, I thought I could identify *nomina* attested in Macedonia originating in various Italian regions including Venetia in N. Italy.³⁴ In any case, the fact is that the establishment of the exact origin of eastern settlers — I am here not thinking of people referring to themselves simply as ‘Romans’ or ‘Italians’³⁵ — must be based almost exclusively on

observations regarding the origin of their nomina, as it is only rarely that one finds immigrants referring to their hometown. Let me adduce at this point instances known to me (excluding veterans settling in colonies).³⁶ I start with those cases which seem to date from the late Republic and the early empire:³⁷

Ancona: Γάιος Καίσιος, Ἀγκωνεΐτης I. *Dyrrachion* 20;

Casinum: M. Sontei^s M. f. Ter. Casinas, *sacerdos Divi Augusti* I. *Cret.* iv 295;³⁸

SOLA, F., ‘Romani e Italici in Oriente’, *DdA* IV/V [1971], 317). Of course this is legitimate and useful in the earliest period when we observe Greeks from the Greek cities in Italy settling in the East. But when, in the later second and in the first century, we face a period when practically all Italians have a *nomen*, the distinction between ‘Romans’ and ‘Italians’ seems to me more or less senseless as the two categories overlap: a person from (say) Puteoli in (say) the time of Sulla would belong to both categories. Moreover, it is, in my view, not really possible in most cases to distinguish, in a meaningful way, between ‘nomi romani’ and ‘nomi italici’ (CASSOLA): how would one classify a *nomen* like *Pomponius*, attested both for Roman Republican consuls and in Oscan inscriptions?

36. However, considering veterans in the East would not produce a long list of Italian cities mentioned as hometowns, for *patriae* are mentioned only rarely in eastern inscriptions of veterans; among the veterans in Patrae (*I. Patrai* 151-154, 157, 368f.), there is no instance of the mention of a *patria* (this must no doubt be connected with the fact that most of them have been registered in the local tribe Quirina) unless *Oriculo* in no. 152 (mentioning the only veteran with a different tribe, the Tromentina) is interpreted as the name of a city (a possibility not excluded by Rizakis). However, a city of this name is not known, and we might be dealing with a cognomen (*Auriculo*?). — For an interesting example of a veteran of western origin settling in the East and producing descendants reappearing in the West labelled as men of eastern origin note [D. Fur]ius D. f. Octavius Se[c]undus *Curib(us) Sab(inis)* in *CIL* iii 7334 (Philippi), no doubt to be connected with D. Furius D. f. Vol. Octavius Octavianus *Philippis* attested in Rome, *CIL* vi 3597.

37. I adduce here only instances in which the *nomen* is given or preserved; however, in the earlier period, many Italians attested in Greece use a nomenclature of the Greek type, many because, as *peregrini*, they did not have a *nomen*, some others no doubt because they preferred to conform with local onomastic customs. For Italians on Delos, cf. the list in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 236-8, with people coming from the following cities: Ancona, Canusium, Heraclea in Lucania, Locri, Metapontum, Neapolis, Petelia, Tarentum, Ugentium (*Ugento*), Velia (Naples, Tarentum and Velia dominating). Attested outside Delos, one finds people from Agrigentum (HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* (n. 4) 25 n. 8), Ancona (ibid. 25 n. 7), Arpi (Argyripa) (ibid. 26 n. 2), Brundisium (ibid. 87), Canusium (ibid. 26 n. 1), Catina (ibid. 73 n. 2; 100), Centuripae (ibid. 73 n. 2), Cumae (ibid. 73 n. 2), Neapolis (ibid. 41f. n. 6; 73 n. 2), Regium (ibid. 25 n. 6), Syracusae (ibid. 28; 39 n. 3), Tarentum (ibid. 25 n. 8; 41f. n. 6; 68; 73 n. 1; 88); Tauromenium (ibid. 25 n. 8); Velia (ibid. 25 n. 5). Many of the people coming from the above cities belong to the earliest phase of Italian emigration.

38. This is clearly an early text, probably not much later than Augustus. Note that the only other instance of the *nomen Sontei^s* is in an inscription from Casinum (*AE* 1946, 175). There

27. *SEG* xlii 582 line 21 (Calindoea).

28. *I. Cos* ED 72, line 15.

29. MALAY, H., *I. Mantisa Museum* 36 (from somewhere in Lydia; spelt Ταρκύτιος).

30. *AM* 26 (1901) 121-4, B, Rückseite, line 14 (Cyzius).

31. Thus probably is the case of the Cilician Antei^s (cf. n. 15), who has the same praenomen *Publius* as a senator of the same name (*PIR* 2 A 731), and possibly in the case of the Laecanius from Tarsus (n. 26).

32. Cf. for instance HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* (n. 4) 240. It should be noted that HATZFELD’s observations, when based simply on names, in some cases do not amount to much more than guesses. (But of course he is right about names such as *Cluvius* and *Cossinius*, the Campanian nature of which cannot be denied).

33. Cf. ÉTIENNE, R., in: *Les Italiens* (n. 6) 3 with n. 4.

34. SALOMIES, O., ‘Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor During the Principate’, in RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (n. 5) 111-127.

35. Categories of people which seem to disappear after the early Empire. Note, however, from a later period [Σ]έξτος Ουαλέριος Ζώσιμος ... ἀπ’ Ἰταλίας ἔλθών *CIG* 3823 (Cotiaenum). — In earlier literature, one seems to observe a tendency to distinguish (apparently mainly on the basis of *nomina*) between ‘Romans’ and ‘Italians’ (cf., e.g., the discussion in CAS-

Formiae: L. Marius M. f. Aem., *Caiata I. Erythrai* 430;³⁹
 Fregellae: Μάρκος Σέστιος Μάρκου Φρεγελλανός *ID* 757;⁴⁰
 Lanuvium: Q. Avilius G. f., *Lanu(v)inus*⁴¹ *CIL* i² 2259 = *ILS* 6203 = *EAM* xxx 495;
 Marsi: T. Ninnius T. f. Ser. Fronto *pater*, [.] Ninnius T. f. Ser. Fronto *filius*, *Marsi* *AE* 1999, 1575 (Ephesus);
 Puteoli: A. Cossinius Philocratis, *Puteolanus* *CIL* iii 574 = *IG* ix 1² 1451 (Leucas; cf. below at n. 82);
 Rome: L. Pompilius Eros *negotiator ab Roma ex horreis Cornific(ianis)* *AE* 1946, 230 = *ILGR* 231 (Amphipolis; cf. below at n. 83);
 Signia (?): Μάνιος Κόρτιος Μανίου, Σίγνιος *IG* x 2, 1, 80 (Thessalonica; interpreted as referring to Signia in Latium by Edson);
 Tarentum: A. Κορνιφίκιος, Ταραντίνος *SEG* xxxvii 559 (Cassandria);
 Tarracina: L. Memmius T. f. Ouf., *Tarrichinensis (sic)*, *CIL* I² 2266 = *CIL* iii 6086 = *I. Ephesos* 2285.⁴²

The following cases seem to be much later: M. Acilius Pottinus (?) *medicus colonia Bononia* (*CIL* iii 559 from Athens); Marius Severus, *Potiolanus* (*ILGR* 35 from Syros); Venuleia Rufa, *domo Roma* (*CIL* iii 14184, 7 from Sebastopolis).

In any case, although the above list of names of cities from which the settlers originated is not without interest, the list is so short that there is not very much one can do with it. Thus, if one tries to find from where in Italy people emigrated to the East, one has to turn to additional sources of a different nature. Some rare praenomina of Oscan origin can be used to establish with some confidence of the origin in the Oscan regions of Central Italy of the users of these praenomina. Of such persons, we may note here the following (all dated or datable to the earliest empire):

Sal(vius) Pompullius Sal. l. Chilo (*CIL* iii 675, Philippi);
 Sal. Vinnicius Q. f. (*TAPhA* 57 (1926) 236 no. 73, Pisidian Antioch);
 St(atius) Pescennius L. f. Ser. (*CIL* iii 6843, Pisidian Antioch);

are in fact also many further traces of Campanians in Crete; cf. M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, in CHANIOTIS, A. (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders. Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete* (1999) 305-347 (cf. *SEG* xlvii 1378).

39. Caiata (modern Gaeta) belonged to the territory of Formiae.

40. Cf. *Les italiens* [n. 6] 215 no. 1 with n. 66.

41. In the Greek version the man is referred to as 'Ρωμαῖος.

42. Note also an early *proxenos* C. Statorius from Brundisium in Delphi (*SIG* 3 585, 69).

St. Vallius St. f. Lem. Rufus (*CIL* iii 7301 probably from Thespieae,⁴³ AD 14);
 [V]aléria St. f. [---]na (*BCH* 58 (1934) 481 no. 32, Philippi).

To go on, there are some tribes attested in the East mainly in the case of immigrants and their descendants, the diffusion of which in Italy shows heavy concentration in a certain region. This constellation appears at least in the case of the tribes Falerna (pointing to Campania), Stellatina (Samnium) and Velina (Picenum and NE Italy in the area of Aquileia and Istria). Therefore, we might tentatively assign an origin from Campania, Samnium or from somewhere along the northern Adriatic to the following persons:

Falerna: P. Avianius C. f. Fal. (*I. Erythrai* 412);⁴⁴ Λούκιος Δομέτιος Λουκίου υἱὸς Φαλέρνα (*Corinth* viii 1, 134); Αὔλος Ὀρδεώνιος --- υἱὸς] Φαλέρνα Σατορνεί[νος] (*I. Ephesos* 981);⁴⁵ C. Iulius C. f. Fal., *I. Ephesos* 2292 (an early inscription); Γ. Μίνδιος Γαίου υἱὸς] Φαλέρνα Παυλεῖνος *I. Ephesos* 1150; L. Papius L. f. Fal. Luperus, *Corinth* viii 2, 105; L. Titinius L. f., f., Fal. [---?],⁴⁶ *CIL* iii 7112 = *I. Smyrna* 381.⁴⁷
 Stellatina: C. Fufius C. f. Ste., KEIL-PREMERSTEIN, *Bericht über eine 3. Reise in Lydien* (1915) no. 49; Cn. Varius Cn. f. Stel. Magnus (inscription, perhaps unpublished, seen by me in Dion).
 Velina: C. Aruntius [s - f.] Vel. Arabus, *AE* 1978, 797 = *SEG* xxviii 55 = Kearsley (n. 46) no. 55 (Eumonia); C. Clitius C. f. Vel. Granus, *CIL* iii 14187, 6 (Nicaea?); Cosinii and Cusinii in Ephesus and Pisidian Antioch;⁴⁸ Γάιος Γαβείνιος Οὐ[ε]λίνα

43. HATZFELD, *Trafiquants* (n. 4) 69.

44. Note that the man also has a *nomen* well attested in Campania.

45. Note the typically Campanian *nomen*.

46. The second *f.* in the filiation refers to fact that the man is not simply the son of a Lucius, but the son of a person of the same name who is mentioned in the same inscription, i.e., the πάππος of line 6 (this could be translated as "L. Titinius L. f. the Younger"; cf. *Arctos* 27 (1993) 95ff.). This inscription can be also found in KEARSLEY, R., *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia* (IK 59, 2001), no. 43 (with the incorrect translation "son of the son of Lucius").

47. Note also *I. Ephesos* 1961, where men are mentioned who use the *praenomen* *Publius* and have the tribe Falerna and who seem to have a *nomen* which ends with *-cius* (line 1 in the Latin part) and begins with Πατηρ- (line 5, in the Greek part; it would be useful if one could correct the reading [Πτο]πι[λ]ίου in Keil's Skizzenbuch to [Πό]πι[λ]ιος). Possibly one could combine this evidence to produce a *nomen* *Patercius*, not otherwise known but plausible along with *Patercilus* (cf. *Maecius* / *Maecilius*, etc.). Note furthermore that a man in the Falerna and the son of a *Publius* appears also in *I. Ephesos* 999A (fragmentary); possibly one could attach this person to those in 1961.

48. Ephesus: *I. Ephesos* 716; 4119/20; *AE* 1993, 1489 = *SEG* xlili 825. — Antioch: *AE* 1941, 144 (thought by some to be a senator, cf. *PIR*² C 1628; THOMASSON, B.E., *Laterculi praesidium* i [1984] 260). The name is spelt as *Cosinius* in *I. Ephesos* 716 and

Νίγερ, SEG vi 107 = WÆLKENS, M., *Kleinasiatische Türsteine* (1986) 236 (with incorrect date; Cotiaenum); Πόπλιος Σα[φ]ίνιο[ς] Ποπλίου υἱὸς Ο[ύ]ελίνα IGR iv 961 cf. SEG xxxiv 866 (Samos); C. Sepullius C. f. Vel. Rufus IGR iv 173 = I. Kyzikos I 433 = KEARSLEY (n. 46) no. 6; Γάιος Σωρνά[τιος -] υἱὸς Ούελίνα Β[---], MAMA vi 260 (Acmonia);⁴⁹ at least some of the Lycian Vilii ([Ουείλι]ος Κοίντου Ουειλ[ίου ---?] υἱὸς Ουελλείνα Τιτιανδ[ς---?] Παταρεύς, TAM ii 667). — In the case of the diffusion of this tribe, however, it should be noted that some trouble is introduced into the scenario by the fact that this tribe also appears in the case of some legionary soldiers recruited from Galatia and datable to the earliest empire.⁵⁰

However, although *praenomina* and tribes may be of some use for identifying immigrants and determining their background, there can be no doubt that the most useful source material for an enquiry of this kind consists of the *nomina* one encounters in a certain area. Reference was made above to the view, not altogether incorrect but possibly to be somewhat modified, that most of the Italians on Delos were Campanians or other southern Italians, a view which is based only on the *nomina* of the same settlers. Now it is certainly true that *nomina*, if not belonging to the category of common *nomina* attested nearly everywhere, can be used to study the provenance of immigrants, since it is clear that there were *nomina* the Italian attestations of which are concentrated in

AE 1993, 1489, as *Cusinius* in the other instances. Because of the tribe, I think that we are dealing with the same name in these cases. However, I would not like to extend the identification of *Cosinius* and *Cusinius* to all the attestations of the name (both forms are not uncommon in Asia Minor). Perhaps the material should be given some scholarly attention, also taking into account the existence of *Cossinius* (on Cos etc.).

49. Note that the rare *nomen* is attested in Pola (CIL v 116 = *Inscr. It.* x 1, 200), the inhabitants of which were in the Velina. This seems to settle the question of this man's *ultima origo*. (I do not think this man settled in Acmonia could be identified with the man honoured in I. Pergamon 431 and/or with the legate of Lucullus, as suggested by A. B. BOSWORTH, CQ 52 (2002) 354-355).

50. Early soldiers from Pessinus with the tribe Velina: a Domitius (CIL iii 2709 = ILS 2253), a Iulius (AE 1994, 1355), a Riccius (CIL iii 1818; the dedicator of the inscription is an Atilius also in Velina). Note also a T. Volumnius T. f. Vel. in Vasada (SWOBODA H., KEIL, J., KNOLL, F., *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* [1935] 30 no. 66), who may well be the son of a soldier (thus RAMSAY, W.M., *Anatolian Studies Buckler* [1939] 207). Furthermore, note an equestrian Iulius of Tralles, the father of senators, who also has the tribe Velina (OGI 499 = I. Tralleis 51). Because of the striking tribal affiliation — normally one expects Iulii to be in the Fabia — one might wonder whether the family might not be connected with early soldiers.

one city or area, and this observation can be used to say something on emigrants using the same names. For a case about which there cannot be any doubt, note the existence in Thessalonica of persons with the *nomen Terraeus*. This *nomen* is otherwise found only in and around Brundisium, and considering not only this but also the fact that the only *praenomen* attested in combination with this *nomen* both in Brundisium and in Thessalonica is *Numerius*, a rarish *praenomen*, one arrives at the inevitable conclusion that the Terraei in Thessalonica must have come to Macedonia from the area of Brundisium.⁵¹ Of course things are normally not as clear as in this case,⁵² but certainly it is possible to propose an origin from a certain part of Italy for a number of *nomina* attested in the east; for an essay on these lines, in the case of some *nomina* attested in Roman Macedonia, see my article referred to in n. 34.

III. THE MOVEMENT FROM DELOS

This, I think, will be enough on the subject of the origin of settlers in the east, a difficult subject and one which cannot produce results on a spectacular scale. Let us thus move on to the settlers' movements in the east. Now it is well known, especially since Hatzfeld published his studies, that, in the early period of Italian immigration in the east, the island of Delos was the most important point of arrival. Moreover, it is also known that, after the decline of Delos, many, if not most of, the Italians who were settled on the island left for more prosperous locations in the area of the Aegean and in Asia Minor. The observation is, of course, based on the fact that, after the decline of Delos, one finds representatives of *gentes* earlier attested on Delos now based in other centres in the area. There are thus Gerellani in Ephesus and other Asian cities, Granii, Ofellii and Paconii especially on Cos but also in other places in the wider area. In these cases, one observes that the main direction of the movement from Delos was to the eastern coast of the Aegean. However, this was cer-

51. See my paper referred to in n. 34, p. 118.

52. But cf. also, e.g., the case of *Digitius*, a *nomen* which is attested almost exclusively in Paestum, an observation which may be used to assume that people with this name (attested in the East in Thessalonica) had a Paestan background (see my paper referred to in n. 34, p. 118). Similar cases are, e.g., some *nomina* attested in Italy almost exclusively in Canusium (*Galbius*, *Libuscidius* etc.), of which *Libuscidius* is of interest here, inasmuch it is a *nomen* found a few times in SW Asia including Rhodes. (The name should not be connected with the senator Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus.)

tainly not always the case. In fact, studying the later vicissitudes of families once active on Delos, one can observe a wide dispersion. No doubt there were some favoured destinations, among them certainly, as in the above examples, some cities and islands on the western coast of Asia Minor, but the emigration from Delos was by no means limited to this sector. However, there were areas which seem to present few traces of immigration coming from Delos; C. MÜLLER and C. HASENOHR (in *Les italiens* [n. 6] p. 17 f.) make the observation that this seems to be the case in Thessaly (“les «exilés» déliens se sont peut-être arrêtés, au Nord, avant la Thessalie”). And the almost total lack of Romans, whether coming from Delos or from some other place, on Rhodes (already observed by HATZFELD) is surely also most notable.⁵³

Although this is not at all a new subject, let us have another look at the dispersion in the east of Delian families,⁵⁴ incorporating recent epigraphical finds whenever possible. At this point it may, however, be useful to point out that there are a number of *gentes* attested on Delos which have not left any trace in the epigraphical record in the East outside Delos.⁵⁵ There is probably nothing to worry about, as this may well be explained by chance, an important factor in epigraphy. However, one wonders whether this might not be interpreted as indicating that in some cases people simply returned to Italy when the good days on Delos were gone.⁵⁶

53. HATZFELD, *Trafiquants* (n. 4) 153-7. See now A. BRESSON, in RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (n. 5) 228-238; Id., in *Les Italiens* (n. 6) 147ff.

54. Cf. RAUHL, N., *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce. Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos* (1993) 72 f., with a table, based mainly on HATZFELD, summarising the “relocations of Roman and Italian families from Delos to Asia Minor in the First Century B.C.”. Note, however, the restriction to Asia Minor (including the islands).

55. Note at least the following *nomina* (some of which were quite common in Italy) which I have not been able to find anywhere in the East outside Delos: *Agirius Ampius Attiolenus Bombius Campius Canta[-]* (ID 1765) *Critonius Diobellius Labienus Laronius Μέντιος* (no doubt representing *Mintius*) *Nimmius Ofidius* (Ὀφίδιος with an omicron; hardly to be identified with *Aufidius*) *Pediasius Petennaesus Pettius Plutidius Pumidius Satricanius Serpoleius Sillius Stalceius* (usually identified with *Stlaccius*) *Sulfius Verrinius Veveius Viseius* (for the details, see the list in *Les italiens* (n. 6) p. 186ff.). Note also, e.g., that *Vicirius* (of which there seem to be four attestations on Delos) is otherwise found only once, and only as a single name (and not as a *nomen*) in Thespieae (Ζώσιμος Βεικερίου IG vii 1777, ii 16).

56. Cf. perhaps the *Seii*, studied by E. DENIAUX in *Les Italiens* (n. 6) 29-39, members of which *gens* are already attested on Delos in the 2nd century BC; the presence of *Seii*, who seem to be connected with people on Delos, in Italy in the 1st century may indicate that some *Seii* simply moved back to Italy after the decline of Delos.

But of course it is well known that many people did move from Delos to other places in the East. There are some very well-documented cases and we shall come back to them; for the moment, let us stay with some rare *nomina* which may offer some clues to the destinations of people who left Delos for more attractive places in the East. There are a number of rare *nomina* which are attested on Delos and (as far as I can see) in only one other place in the East. I think that in most cases one can assume that there is a connection between the people on Delos and those in the other places, and that, consequently, one can use these names for observations regarding the movements of people from Delos. Here is a list of such names:⁵⁷

Aliceius: Thessalonica;⁵⁸ *Caltius*: Iasos;⁵⁹ *Capinius*: Philippi;⁶⁰ *Cispus*: Athens;⁶¹ *Felsonius*: Priene; *Graeceius*: Thessaly;⁶² *Luxius*: Thespieae;⁶³ *Mor(r)asius*: Parium;⁶⁴ *Obellius*: Lesbos; *Raecius*: Thyatira;⁶⁵ *Tuscenius*: Samos.⁶⁶

What we see here, then, is a wide selection of eastern cities; it seems notable that only *Caltius*, *Felsonius* and *Obellius* were registered by HATZFELD in his *Trafiquants*, although many (but of course not all) of the above instances appear in inscriptions which were available to him.

But let us move on to more common names. Now it is well known that names found on Delos

57. References are given only in the case of the other cities and only if the same cities do not figure in the list in HATZFELD, *Trafiquants* (n. 4) 383ff. (most of them are absent); for the attestations from Delos see (again) the lists in *Les italiens* (n. 6) p. 186ff.

58. AE 1991, 1421. Note that the instances on Delos and in Thessalonica of this *nomen* are the only ones in the Roman world.

59. In HATZFELD, *Trafiquants* (n. 4) 104 n. 2; 385, *Caltius* is by mistake referred to as being attested in Miletus; for the correct references see *I. Iasos* 278, 44; 280, 42 (ca. Augustan).

60. *Arch. Eph.* 1950-51, 67 no. 10 = PILHOFER, P., *Philippi II. Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi* (2000) 725 / L 718.

61. IG ii/iii2 2093 = SEG xxix 152, D, col. iii, 35.

62. HELLY, B., BCH 99 (1975) 130-1; LUCAS, G., *Les cités anti-ques de la Haute Vallée du Titarèse* (1992) 407-8.

63. IG vii 1777.

64. *I. Parion* 39.

65. IGR iv 1316 = TAM v 2, 1101. Note that there are several instances of this *nomen* on Delos.

66. IG xii 6, 1, 190; I think that this instance (of AD 6/7) may provide the exact setting for the activities of a certain *Tuscenius* referred to by Cicero (*ad Q. fr.* 1. 1. 19), localised only in Asia in general (cf. HATZFELD, *Trafiquants* [n. 4] 127). — One further instance of a name attested only on Delos and in one other city could be *Raius*; but in the case of a certain C. *Raius* *Zosimus* in Thessalonica (IG x 2, 1, 259 cf. SEG xxx 622), it has now been suggested that the reading of the *nomen* should in fact be ὤλιος (see RIZAKIS, A.D., in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 129 n. 95).

and (later) in other places in the East tend to be concentrated in one area, this probably indicating that members of different *gentes* on Delos had different ideas about where to move on from Delos. Thus (as observed above), one finds Gerellani above all in Ephesus, Allii, Granii, Ofellii and Paconii especially on Cos, and there are some other well-documented and well-known cases. However, one can go further pursuing this line of research as a closer look at the diffusion of names attested on Delos and in other eastern cities and the larger area produces many further observations regarding the concentration of certain names in certain areas. Let us have a look at some cases.⁶⁷

Names the attestations of which show heavy concentration in one larger area:

- Achaia (i.e., the area of the Roman province):
*Flaminius*⁶⁸ *Heius*⁶⁹ *Orarius*⁷⁰
 Area of modern Greece in general: *Cornificius*⁷¹
 Athens and Macedonia: *Mundicius*.⁷²
 Macedonia: *Avius*.⁷³
 Macedonia and NW Asia: *Olius*.⁷⁴

67. Again I refer to the list in *Les italiens* (n. 6) p. 186ff. for the attestations from Delos.

68. This *nomen* is attested in mostly early inscriptions from Athens, Megara, Messene and Eretria (see HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* [n. 4] 391; FOLLET, S., in *Les italiens* [n. 6] 81 [other Athenian Flamini in *IG ii/iii2* 10941. 13008. 11674a], and for instances not in HATZFELD *SEG* xl 424. 425 [Megara]; *SEG* xx 207, 25 [Messene]). There are also a couple of scattered attestations from Asia.

69. In the East, this *nomen* (apparently not appearing in HATZFELD) is attested almost exclusively in Achaia, where it is found at least in Athens (*IG ii/iii2* 7624; *SEG* xii 115), Corinth (*Roman Peloponnese* [n. 14] 326-8 no. 305-311; add the men in *FD* iii 4, 92 and 96 and possibly also the man in *SEG* iii 335, 10), Mantinea (*IG* v 2, 275), Sparta (*IG* v, 659 cf. *SEG* xi 835) and Cephallenia (*IG* IX 1² 1572).

70. Attested outside Delos only in Athens (*IG ii/iii2* 1996, 16. 4199; *FD* iii 2, 100), Chalcis (*IG* xii 9, 952, ii, 6, an early attestation: Πόπλιος Ὠράριος Δέκμου Ῥωμαῖος; cf. below n. 85) and Olympia (*Roman Peloponnese* [n. 14] 434 no. 60).

71. Attested almost exclusively in Achaia and Macedonia; I have observed attestations in Athens (*IG ii/iii2* 6828), Patrae (*Roman Peloponnese* [n. 14] 70 no. 81), Nicopolis (*CIG* 1821c [the cognomen Κορνοφικ[α]νός]), Dium (*SEG* xlvi 800) and Cassandria (*SEG* xxxvii 800).

72. *Mundicius* in Athens: at least *IG ii/iii2* 6944 (*SEG* xxi 896). 12183. Macedonia: *IG* x, 2, 1, 310; *SEG* xxxviii 598; *JÖAI* 15 (1912) 52 no. 20 = DÜLL, S., *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens* (1977) 281 no. 21 (from Stobi); SVERKOS, I.K., *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Ἀνω Μακεδονίας* (2000) p. 208; DUNANT, C., POUILLOUX, J., *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* ii (1958) no. 224. Otherwise this *nomen* seems to be attested in the East only in Ephesus.

73. Outside Delos, *Avius* seems to be attested only in Macedonia and in an inscription from Parium: Thessalonica: *IG* x 2, 1, 68. 69. 101. 126. 236. 615. 723. 813; *SEG* xliii 457. Dium: ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, G., *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (1915) no. 43; *CIG* 1957 = DEMETAS 1. — *I. Parion* 5.

74. In Macedonia: *SEG* xlii 563 (Anthemus, an early

Cyclades and W. Asia: *Sextilius*.⁷⁵

Asia (area of the province): *Audius*,⁷⁶ *Hordeonius*.⁷⁷

Pergamum: *Otacilius*.⁷⁸

SW Asia: *Samiarius*.⁷⁹

Pontus: *Verginius*.⁸⁰

One could go on with this; however, I think that even the above sample of instances is enough to illustrate the phenomenon of members of certain *gentes* heading for certain regions and staying there. As for the connection of these people to Delos, I think that in most of the above cases a connection is most probable or even practically certain, e.g. ,because of the *praenomina* in use on

instance); *I. Leukopetra* 90; *I. Beroia* 27; *Iliria* 17, 2 (1987) 110 no. 73 (Byllis); in Stobi: PAPAZOGLOU, F., *Chiron* 16 (1986) 233 no. 27-33. Thessalonica: RIZAKIS, A.D., in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 129 n. 95 (?). Byzantium: *I. Byzantion* 345. Asia: *I. Parion* 62; *I. Ephesus* 1687 (1) ii 2. 3; *AM* 33 (1908) 398 no. 22 (Pergamum). There are scattered instances also in Athens, Corinth and Heraclea Pontica (*I. Heraclea Pontica* 4). Cf. RIZAKIS, A.D., in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 128 n. 95.

75. Except for *CIL* xvi 78 (a man from Stobi), I have not been able to trace instances of *Sextilius* in mainland Greece and in Macedonia. Instead, there are many instances from the islands and from the cities in western Asia: e.g. *IG* xii 7, 247 (Amorgos, the same man in 253; AD 185/192), *IG* xii 5, 39, 19 (Naxos, an early attestation), *IG* xii 9, 916, 44 (Chalcis on Euboea, c. 30 BC); *I. Cos* 219. In mainland Asia, there are instances, e.g., in Cnidus, Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamum, Smyrna.

76. The attestations of *Audius* in the East seem to be approximately as follows: MAIURI, *Nuova silloge* no. 495 (Cos); PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G., in *Syntelesia Arangio-Ruiz* ii (1964) 816 (Cos); *CIG* 2665 (Halicarnassus); *I. Ephesos* 1602 (i) 3; 1687; 3308; *I. Smyrna* 788; *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965) 119 no. 2 (Miletus); *I. Hadria-noi* 5. There is also an instance or two from Athens.

77. All the instances of this *nomen* seem to be from the islands and from western Asia: *IG* xii Suppl. 25 (Lesbos); MAIURI, *Nuova silloge* no. 623 (Cos); *SEG* xlvi 1095 (Cos); PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G., in *Syntelesia Arangio-Ruiz* ii (1964) 818 (Cos); *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 219 no. 62; 233 no. 126 (Rhodes); *PIR*² H 203 (Ephesus); *I. Ephesos* 981; *I. Didyma* 98; *BMC Lydia* p. 21 (Dios Hieron).

78. There are many attestations of this *nomen* in Pergamum, the accompanying *praenomen* usually being *Gnaeus* (attested also on Delos): see the index to *I. Pergamon*, p. 525. Other instances from Asia: *SB Akad. Berlin* 1894, 903 (*AM* 14 [1889] 90 no. 6; *BCH* 18 [1894] 541, Mysia; also *Gnaeus*); *CIL* iii 13685 = *I. Kyzikos* i 380. There are scattered instances also from Thessalonica, Aspendus and Ancyra (an Augustan soldier interestingly also calling himself *Gnaeus*: *CIL* iii 6627 = *ILS* 2483).

79. This *nomen* seems to be attested only in Hydae near Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 910 [unless this text comes from Iasus]), Iasus (many instances, some of them early, in *I. Iasos*, index p. 225), Miletus (*Milet VI* 2, 629; *I. Didyma* 353. 354). Cf. MASTRO-CINQUE, A., 'Gli italici a Iaso', in SORDI, M. (ed.), *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (Milano 1994) 250.

80. Outside Delos (*Les italiens* [n. 6] 220 no.1), I have observed eastern Verginii almost only in the Pontic area (the exception being an instance from Cyzicus, *AM* 6 [1881] 42 f. no. 1); MAREK, CHR., *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (1993) 135 no. 1, ii, 16 (Pompeiiopolis); *Studia Pontica* iii (1910) 143 no. 124 (Amasia); *REG* 15 (1902) 313 no. 4 (*Tokat* belonging to the territory of Comana).

Delos and among the later namesakes (cf. n. 78 for an observation on the Cn. Otacilii).

IV. IMMIGRANTS NOT PASSING THROUGH DELOS

In any case it is quite clear that much of the earlier western immigration to the east was channelled through Delos. However, it is equally well known that there were many people coming to the East directly from Italy without ever spending any time on Delos. This can be established, e.g., on the basis of the appearance of early Roman and Italian settlers with names which are not found on Delos in various eastern locations (cf. below). We also know of *gentes* which seem to start their eastern activities in some other places and which only later extend their operations, or at least their presence, to Delos; this seems to be the case, e.g., with the Pandusini.⁸¹ There are also other cases in which one seems to observe the early presence in the eastern lands of people who are members of Delian *gentes* or who at least have the same names. This is the case with the Cossinii; there are some on Delos, and it seems a reasonable assumption that this provides an explanation for the Cossinii on Cos, Calymnos, Ephesus, etc. But there is also an earlyish Cossinius on Leucas (not Zacynthos), who says he comes from Puteoli.⁸² In this case, it may well be that there is no connection with the Cossinii on Delos, or only a connection through a common point of departure in Italy (that is, Puteoli). Similarly, one finds that there is at least one Pompilius on Delos, a certain L. Pompilius L. f. in *ID* 1754 (dated to the end of the second century); but perhaps about the same time, another L. Pompilius, who says he is from the city of Rome, is attested in Amphipolis.⁸³ Possibly there is no connection at all between these people. On the other hand, there are quite a few cases where one can observe a *nomen* known on Delos also being attested early in some other eastern place,⁸⁴ and in many of these cases it seems reasonable to assume that we are dealing with people starting somewhere else and then extending their activities to Delos. However, surely we must assume that already in the early period there was also some movement from Delos to some-

81. Cf. ÉTIENNE, R., in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 3 with n. 6.

82. *CIL* iii 574 = *IG* ix 1² 1451 A. Cossinius Philocratis Puteolanus Ἰώλος Κοσσίνιος Φιλοκράτης Ποσειδωνός. The inscription is dated to ca. 100 BC by HATZFELD (*Trafiqants* (n. 4) 390), to the second or first century in *IG*.

83. L. Pompilius Eros negotiator ab Roma ex horreis Cornific(ianis): *AE* 1946, 230 = *ILGR* 231.

84. Thus, e.g., in the case of Marcii, Mevii and Mindii.

where else, for doubtless there must have been people who left Delos for other eastern locations long before the end of Delian prosperity. An instance of this might be Πόπλιος Ἰωράριος Δέκμου Ῥωμαῖος in Chalcis in ca. 100 BC;⁸⁵ and the phenomenon seems in any case to be indicated by the fact that there are some quite early attestations of typically Delian names in eastern cities far from Delos.⁸⁶

But it is, of course, in any case well known that, already in the early period, there were many Romans and Italians who moved directly from Italy to eastern cities without ever having had Delos as their base.⁸⁷ Even a quick glance at the studies of HATZFELD and WILSON makes it evident that, from the late third century BC onwards, one can observe Romans and Italians spreading to almost every corner of the more central parts of the eastern world.⁸⁸ This same dispersion of Romans in the East in the Republican period also appears in more recent epigraphical finds, not yet cited in the works of HATZFELD and WILSON. It may be of some use if I present here a few instances.

Romans residing in the East in the early period appearing in recent (more or less) epigraphical finds (in alphabetical order):

Agelleius on Thasos;⁸⁹ *Caesius* (from Ancona) in Dyrrachium;⁹⁰ *Cornelius* in Amphipolis;⁹¹ *Cosconius* in Amathous;⁹² *Curtius* in Thessalonica, possibly from Signia;⁹³ *Dindius* and *Timinius* in Philomelium;⁹⁴ *Ferranius* in Calindoea;⁹⁵ *Lucilius*

85. *IG* xii 9, 952, ii, 6 (cf. HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* [n. 4] 41; above n. 70). This person cannot, I think, be separated from the Orarii on Delos (among whom the *praenomen* *Publius* is attested).

86. Note, e.g., D. Paconius L. I. Dionysius in Athens, *CIL* iii 7295 (dated to the late 2nd century BC by HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* [n. 4] p. 399); Q. Pactumeius M.f., a Roman in Thessaly in the early 2nd century BC, *IG* ix, 2, 258 = *SEG* xlv 607.

87. Cf. Hatzfeld, *Trafiqants* (n. 4) 17ff., with chapter I on the *negotiatores* before the mid-second century BC, and ch. II on those attested before the Mithridatic wars (note also the Index of names, p. 383ff., where the fact is noted if a name is also attested on Delos, the absence of this note implying that the name is not found on Delos); WILSON, *Emigration* (n. 5) 94ff.

88. Note especially the material assembled by HATZFELD, who, however, does not seem to have used all the material which would have been at his disposal.

89. POUILLLOUX, J., *Recherches sur ... Thasos I* (1954) 114 = *IG* x 2, 1, 1040 (dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC).

90. I. *Dyrrachion* 20 (dated to the second or first century BC).

91. SAMSARIS, D., 'La vallée du Bas-Strymon à l'époque impériale', *Dodone* 18 (1989) 226 no. 25.

92. *SEG* xli 1437.

93. *IG* x 2, 1, 80 (cf. above at n. 41/42).

94. *SEG* xxxvi 1199 = I. *Sultan Dagi* i 36.

95. *SEG* xlii 585.

in Apollonia (Mygdonia);⁹⁶ *Opsius* in Megara;⁹⁷ *Orfidienus* in Chyretiae.⁹⁸

So again one observes the great dispersion of Italians all the around the East attested during the Republican period: even in this short list we find eastern cities from W. Macedonia (*Caesius*) to Cyprus (*Cosconius*).

V. MOVEMENTS OF IMMIGRANTS WITHIN THE EAST

Let us now move to a new subject, the movement of Italian immigrants and their descendants within the East, obviously leaving out people leaving Delos for other places, a topic already dealt with above. This subject is not an easy one, as there is not really much source material at our disposal; and to tell the truth, there is not very much I can say on the subject. But since having arrived at this point, one might try to say something. In any case, this subject can, I think, be approached in two ways. First, there is the possibility of collecting sources in which the movement of people (in this case Romans in the East) is explicitly attested. And here one might produce, e.g., the following instances:

Inside Achaia: Gellii moving from Athens to Arcadia.⁹⁹

From Macedonia to Moesia superior:¹⁰⁰ Caelidii and Octavii moving from Stobi to Scupi.¹⁰¹

From Asia to Galatia: Arruntii and Sertorii moving from Laodicea on the Lycus to Iconium.¹⁰²

Inside the Pontic area: a Caelius moving from Amisus to Amastris.¹⁰³

From Cilicia to Laconia: an Anteius moving from Aegeae to, or at least spending some time in, Argos.¹⁰⁴

From Cyrene to Asia: a Munatidius moving from Ptolemais to Chios.¹⁰⁵

96. PAPANGELOS, I.A., in *Α' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Έπιγραφικής (Πρακτικά)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999 (2001) 111-113 (dated to the end of the second century BC).

97. *SEG* xiii 321.

98. *RE* xviii col. 1019.

99. *SEG* xiii 261 (*Roman Peloponnese* [n. 14] Arcadia no. 84)

100. As for movement inside Macedonia, one is tempted to mention here L. Octavius L. f. Aem. Fronto attested in Beroea, *CIL* iii 596 = *I. Beroea* 418. Because of his tribe, the man gives the impression of originating in Stobi.

101. *CIL* iii 8203 = *ILS* 7177 = *IMS* vi 62 (Caelidii); *IMS* vi 42 (Octavius; but this is a veteran, so we are dealing with special circumstances).

102. ROBERT, L., in *Laodicée du Lycos. Le nymphée* (1969) 279 f., 360 n. 4.

103. MAREK, *op. cit.* (n. 80) 169 no. 46.

104. *PIR*² A 730 (*Roman Peloponnese* [n. 14] Argolis no. 14).

105. *CIG* 2243.

One could add a very large number of similar instances; however, isolated material such as this does not really illustrate very much, and it is in any case well known that, during the principate, there was a lot of immigration and emigration going on all the time.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, let us try another approach which may seem more suitable for illustrating the movements of Italian immigrants in the East. The approach I am referring to is based on the identification of early eastern attestations of certain — more or less rare — *nomen* the attestations of which in a later period seem to concentrate in another area. This observation would then point to a movement, at some date, of the people using these names from place A to place B. Now of course I am very aware of the fact that there is a lot of uncertainty in an approach of this nature; moreover, only rare names can be used for observation and one can only hope that people with more common names did approximately the same things as those with more uncommon names. In any case, let us exemplify this approach by having a look, e.g., at *Lanius*, an extremely rare *nomen*. The name appears early, probably in the 1st century BC, in Mytilene; then there is nothing until one finds the same name three times in an ephebic catalogue of Trajanic date in Pompeiopolis in Pontic Galatia (for the details, cf. below). A tentative conclusion could, then, be that representatives of this family moved their activities from Lesbos to Pompeiopolis, this again for its part illustrating the movements of early Roman settlers. As mentioned above, there is naturally a lot of uncertainty here; but this is a situation not uncommon in ancient history. Let us thus move to instances of the kind just described:

Name	Early attestation	Later attestation
<i>Lepidius</i>	Dyrrachium	Philippi ¹⁰⁷
<i>Maecilius</i>	Dyrrachium	Athens ¹⁰⁸
<i>Saenius</i>	Corcyra	Olympia, Athens ¹⁰⁹
<i>Murrius</i>	Epirus	Thessalonica ¹¹⁰
<i>Stallius</i>	Athens	Byzantium ¹¹¹

106. Cf. above n. 2.

107. Dyrrachium: *AE* 1978, 748. Philippi: *Arch. Eph.* 1950-51, 69 no. 12 = PILHOFER, *op. cit.* (n. 60) 727 / L 720; *AE* 2000, 1326.

108. Dyrrachium: *CIL* iii 626. Athens: *IG* ii/iii² 1774, 12; *SEG* xxix 152, A, i 27 (etc.).

109. Corcyra: *IG* ix 1² 856. Olympia: *I. Olympia* 83, 4. Athens: *IG* ii/iii² 2228, 54.

110. Epirus: HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* (n. 4) 62. Thessalonica: *IG* x 2, 1, 297.

111. Athens: HATZFELD, *Trafiqants* (n. 4) 76; FOLLET, S., in *Les italiens* (n. 6) 85. Byzantium: *I. Byzantion* 35.

Name	Early attestation	Later attestation
<i>Aequan(i)us</i>	Peloponnese	Thessalonica, Cyzicus ¹¹²
<i>Salarius</i>	Chalcis, Thessalonica	Pompeiopolis ¹¹³
<i>Olius</i>	Coastal Macedonia	Inner Macedonia ¹¹⁴
<i>Caius</i>	Byzantium	Sinope, Neapolis (Galatia) ¹¹⁵
<i>Lanius</i>	Lesbos	Pompeiopolis ¹¹⁶
<i>Blossius</i>	Cos	Heraclea Lyncestis ¹¹⁷
<i>Suetonius</i>	Cos	Macedonia ¹¹⁸
<i>Stenius</i>	Cos	Oenoanda ¹¹⁹
<i>Sestullius</i>	Cos	Asia, Galatia etc. ¹²⁰
<i>Albanus</i>	Rhodes	Smyrna ¹²¹
<i>Cervius</i>	Iasus	Cyzicus ¹²²
<i>Lorentius</i>	Iasus	Phrygia, Galatia ¹²³

Obviously there is no need for me to stress the fact that the interpretation of this list is most uncertain and must be treated as such. On the other hand, in at least some of the cases I would be inclined to assume that there is a connection of

112. Peloponnese: *Roman Peloponnese* (n. 14) Eleia no. 11; Achaia no. 14-19. Thessalonica: *IG x 2, 1, 628*. Cyzicus: *CIG 3663*.

113. For the attestations of this *nomen* in Chalcis and Macedonia, where it appears for the first time in the thirties BC, see my observation in the paper referred to in n. 34, p. 119. From the time of Trajan onwards, one starts to find attestations in Pompeiopolis: MAREK, *op. cit.* (n. 80) p. 135 no. 1, i 15; 139-40 no. 14 (four persons in an ephebic catalogue).

114. See n. 74.

115. Byzantium: *I. Byzantion* 117 (note also an attestation in an inscription of unknown origin in the museum of Bursa, *I. Prusa* 1039). Sinope: *IOSPE I² 364*. Neapolis: *MAMA viii 369 = I. Sultan Dagi 551*.

116. Lesbos: *IG xii 2, 88* (line 12). 360 (= *CIL iii 7161*); *IG xii Suppl. 68*. These three attestations are all early, Republican or Augustan. Pompeiopolis: MAREK, *op. cit.* (n. 80) p. 135 no. 1, i 13; ii 12; iii 12 (in an ephebic catalogue from the time of Trajan).

117. Cos: PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G., in *Symteleia Arangio-Ruiz ii* (1964) 817, a, 1-3 (late Republic). Heraclea: *IG x 2, 2, 73*.

118. Cos: *CIG 2504 = PATON - HICKS, I. Cos* 116. Macedonia: DÜLL, S., *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit* (1977) 318 no. 91 (from near Kavadarci SE of Stobi); *CIL iii 6427 = ILJug 259 = AE 1999, 1240* (from Dyrrachium).

119. Cos: *IGR iv 1101*; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G., in *Symteleia Arangio-Ruiz ii* (1964) 817, a; *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* 3 (1932) 14 no. 11. Oenoanda: *IGR iii 497 (222/235)*.

120. Cos: SEGRE, *I. Cos* ED 200. Asia, Galatia etc.: this *nomen* (sometimes spelled Συστάλιος) is attested very many times in various locations in Asia Minor (see MITCHELL, S., *AS* 29 [1979] 13-22).

121. Rhodes: *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 219 no. 60 (cf. BRESSON, A., in *Les italiens* [n. 6] 152). Smyrna: *IGR iv 1477 = I. Smyrna 225*.

122. Iasus: *I. Iasos* 269, 12. Cyzicus (or Miletoupolis): *I. Kyzikos ii 72*.

123. Iasus: *I. Iasos* 277, 8. Synnada: *IGR iv 706*. Laodicea Combusta: *AM* 13 (1888) 236 no. 7; 272 no. 141.

sorts between people in one place and the people with the same name later in some other place. I would assume this, e.g., in the case of the Lanii first in Mytilene and much later in Pompeiopolis; but at least in the case of the Oлии we are close to certainty, for the early Olius in Anthemous is the son of a Manius (Olius), a man with a rare *praenomen* which is also used by the much later Oлии in Stobi.¹²⁴

VI. WESTERN IMMIGRATION DURING THE EMPIRE

There remains the chronological dimension of the western immigration in the East. The studies dealing with immigration from the west normally concentrate on the early period of immigration, until about the Augustan period. This is, of course, easily understandable inasmuch as it is exactly the early period which is of real historical interest since this immigration played an important role in the formation of the Roman East as we know it during the imperial period. Furthermore, the early emigration from Italy also illustrates many aspects of the economic history of the same period. In any case, a consequence of the concentration of modern studies on western immigration in the early period, if I am not totally mistaken, is that scholars would seem to assume that this concentration reflects a historical fact, namely that western immigration mostly dried up by the early Principate, citizenship grants then taking the place of immigration as the main source of the spread of Roman citizenship and citizens in the East.

On the other hand, no doubt there must also have been a lot of movement from the west to the east during the Empire. Certainly there was much emigration and immigration going on in the west (this being a topic on which there are some recent studies¹²⁵), and there seems no reason for assuming that things would have been different in the case of the Greek East, especially when one also takes into account the economic prosperity of, e.g., many Asian cities in this period. Of course it is possible that some potential western emigrants may have had some doubts about the eastern cities because moving, e.g., to Ephesus would have meant that one would have had to move to an almost exclusively Greek-speaking milieu (note also the Hellenisation of the Roman colonies in

124. *CIL iii 12309; ILJug 1256*.

125. See above n. 2.

the second century).¹²⁶ But the change from a Latin to a Greek environment did not seem to scare away the emigrants of the earlier period, and I am very much inclined to assume that immigration from west to the east went on pretty much the same way and on the same scale during the Empire as in the earlier period. The problem is, however, that this mobility does not seem to have left many traces in our sources. It is true that there are a handful of inscriptions mentioning immigrants which seem to be from the second or third century AD,¹²⁷ but there is nothing one can do with this minimal number of documents. On the other hand, it seems that there is some material which could be used to show that there was also some immigration from the west to the east during the empire. Let me finish this paper by referring to two possible ways of extracting from our sources indications hinting at the possibility that this was the case. I hardly need to stress again the fact that we are dealing with material of the greatest uncertainty.

First, there are some eastern cities where the epigraphical material seems to indicate that these cities were receiving immigrants even after the earliest empire. Among these cities I would like to single out Thessalonica and Cyzicus. In these two cities, the epigraphical material shows a heavy concentration in a rather late period, say between the Flavians and the Severans.¹²⁸ Now one observes in both cities in inscriptions of a fairly late date a number of persons with rare or even unique Roman *nomina* which are not found in earlier texts in these cities or elsewhere and which could be interpreted as reflecting immigration to these two cities. For instance, in a second-century ephobic catalogue from Thessalonica, *IG x 2, 1, 241*, one finds three persons with the *nomen Astricius*, a name not attested anywhere else; and the first and only *Bellicius* in the East appears in an ephobic list from Cyzicus not earlier than the Severans (*CIG 3665, 50*). There are also some further similar cases.¹²⁹ Obviously many of these people

will have been descendants of immigrants rather than immigrants themselves, but I think a case could be made for regarding these instances, in which *nomina* make their first appearance in the east in second-century or later inscriptions, as potential reflections of immigration datable to a period later than the earliest empire. Approximately the same could perhaps be said of the following Roman *nomina* which are more often attested in the East than the ones referred to made above, but which share the feature that they seem to be attested only in inscriptions of a somewhat later period. An instance might be *Sellius*, a *nomen* of which there are several examples from the province of Asia, the earliest of them being datable to AD 92/93.¹³⁰ Similar observations could also be made e.g. in the case of the *nomina Biesius Blaesius Nymphidius Orfius¹³¹ Tonnius¹³²*. However, we are moving here on most uncertain ground, as a single new earlier instance of one of these names would change the situation.¹³³ We have thus clearly arrived at a point when pure speculation takes the place of legitimate conjecture and this seems a suitable point to conclude this paper.

second century (I limit myself here to names beginning with an A, B, C or D; * = only instance of a certain name in the East): in Thessalonica: *Aupronius* (*IG x 2, 1, 218*; the only attestation of this name); *Celerius* (*IG x 2, 1, 742** second or third century AD); *Denaesus* (*IG x 2, 1, 325*; otherwise unknown); *Digitius* (*IG x 2, 1, 320**); *Dosenius* (*IG x 2, 1, 58*) = *DESPINIS, G. & al., Catalogue of Sculptures in the Arch. Museum of Thessaloniki i* [1997] no. 111*). Cyzicus: *Caecius* (*CIG 3664, 32**); *Caienus* (*AM 6* [1881] 42 f. no. 1 and other instances; in the east, attested only in Cyzicus from about the time of Hadrian onwards); *Carisius* (*AM 6* [1881] 43 f. no. 2, iii, 39*); *Carpunnius* (*CIG 3665, 52*); *Decidius* (two instances in *AM 6* [1881] 42 f. no. 1*); *Dracius* (*AM 26* [1901] 121-124, A, 29).

130. *I. Ephesos 1012*. The other instances are later: *I. Didyma 332* (cf. ROBERT, L., *Opera minora selecta ii* [1969] 866; HERRMANN, P., *EA 19* [1992] 116); *TAM v 2, 1126* (Thyatira); *SEG xxxviii 1117 cf. xlii 1022* (Stratonicea). For further instances, from Smyrna (from the time of Marcus Aurelius) and from Philadelphia (Severan), see ROBERT, *ibid.* n. 9.

131. This *nomen* seems to be attested only in Mytilene (*IG xii 2, 67* = *IGR iv 45* = Labarre, G., *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale* [1996] no. 48; *IG xii 2, 447*; *IGR iv 103*) and in Cyzicus (*IGR IV 155*; *AM 13* [1888] 304-309 cf. 16 [1891] 437-440, I, line 26). The dated instances are not earlier than Hadrian, and in the instance from Mytilene which is not exactly datable, *IG xii 2, 447*, Orfia Lailia Sotion has two *nomina* and her husband, a [M]ᾶρ. Κλαύ(διος), the *cognomen* Τρονφωϊανός, all this pointing to a late date.

132. Attested only in inscriptions later than Hadrian (*SEG xxx 1331* [Erythrae]; *I. Smyrna 705, 771*). The *praenomen* is always *L*.

133. Note how the existence of the Augustan poet Έρηνκιος from Cyzicus changes the impression regarding the distribution of *Erucii* in Cyzicus which one gets from the prytany lists (cf. my observation in the paper referred to in n. 34, p. 116).

126. Cf. LEVICK, B., *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967) 130-162.

127. Cf. above at n. 42.

128. In the case of Cyzicus, I am thinking of the official documents (prytany lists, etc.) rather than of the funerary inscriptions (in *I. Kyzikos 1*), although there are many latish texts among these also. As for the prytany lists, I think that someone should publish them in a corpus. For the moment, cf. my paper in *Arctos 36* (2002) 97-102, where I refer to some of the more important of the lists and where I assign to Cyzicus a text now in Bursa (*I. Prusa ad Olympum 52*).

129. Similar instances in inscriptions not earlier than the