Above: the Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*), a 13th century copy of an earlier Roman map, showing the Roman road network across the empire and the Roman perception of their own physical and human geography.

**Course Description:**

How can we write a history of migration in the Roman empire? This course introduces students to a host of issues stemming from this question, with a chronological focus spanning the history of the Roman empire, from the foundational stories of Aeneas’ flight and Romulus’ asylum to the forced migration of “Romans” from Rome in the later Roman empire by other migrating peoples. Contemporary definitions of mobility, such as displacement and migration, and persons on the move (asylum seeker, refugee, migrant, immigrant) will be scrutinized for their applicability to the Roman world. Students will assess how Rome’s foundational stories were mustered by the Romans themselves (e.g., in Livy or Vergil), outsiders and others after them (e.g., in post-Revolutionary Haiti or colonial Australia), to specific ends in debates over origins, citizenship, asylum and nation building. At the same time, in an empire connected by networks across the Mediterranean, where there were no passports or immigration regulations, we will consider how different forms and levels of mobility might have influenced notions of Rome and other locales as a fixed “place” with topographical imaginaries of their own. From the level of individual exiles, such as Cicero and Ai Weiwei, to more large-scale collective movements, such as colonization initiatives, enslavement and deportations, stemming from acts of Roman imperialism, people were and still are often uprooted against their will. Yet even as these forced migrations have occurred, the advertisement of ethnic or topographical identity on the part of free foreigners, slaves and freedmen, will allow us to consider how some people held a multiplied sense of place that was not exclusively bound up with their current home or Rome.
A note about this course being a Doyle Seminar:

This course is a Doyle Seminar, part of the Doyle Engaging Difference Program, a campus-wide curricular initiative, and gives faculty the opportunity to enhance the student research component of upper-level seminars that address questions of national, social, cultural, religious, moral, and other forms of difference. The Doyle Seminars are intended to deepen student learning about diversity and difference through enhanced research opportunities, interaction with thought leaders, and dialogue with the Georgetown community and beyond.

Course Approach:

Each class meeting will consist of a discussion, based primarily on the day’s reading; brief lectures will also be included throughout as needed. In conversation with each other and with me you will learn how to use a variety of evidence to construct a historical narrative and argument. We will discuss together open-ended problems in the interpretation of individual and large-scale movements of people in Roman antiquity and the contemporary world, and the definitions which arise out of the sources articulating these movements. It is crucial that you come well-prepared for each class, as directed on the assignment sheets distributed in advance and posted on Canvas. Be ready to discuss the readings, bringing your personal notes and also whatever questions you may have, as well as the specified texts.

Required Texts:


All other texts for this class are posted on Canvas as PDFs.

Course Policies and Student Well-being:

Classroom Etiquette:

Attend all scheduled classes and endeavor to arrive on time. Late arrivals and early departures are extremely disruptive and rude to the person lecturing and rude to your classmates. Turn off or silence your cell phones and put them away or prepare to be embarrassed.

Laptops/Technology: Because research has demonstrated that students learn best when writing notes by hand rather than typing on a computer, and because we want to remove temptations to do other things while in class, I ask you not to use laptops in class. I will permit laptops only if a specific reading is only available online. See these articles for more information on the benefits of taking notes by hand, rather than by laptop: https://nyti.ms/2jNTRdS or https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797614524581. If you need to request a special exception to this rule, please go through ARC (Academic Resource Center).

Disability and Support:
As a Georgetown student, you are entitled to reasonable disability support—accommodations—under the Americans with Disabilities and Rehabilitation Acts. However, you also have strong privacy rights under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act, which forbids me from asking you questions about your medical history in order to evaluate an accommodations request. Like many universities, Georgetown has created a special office to address accommodation requests within the Academic Resource Center.

In order to receive disability-related academic accommodations, you must first be registered with ARC, who will walk you through the process of requesting accommodation. Please do not come to me directly with accommodation requests—I will gladly honor such requests from ARC, but cannot evaluate and accommodate students myself. See: https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/

Students who are also athletes must meet with me in the first week of classes to discuss your travel schedule and present a letter from your coach. As per university policy, I reserve final determination of whether your travel schedule can be accommodated in my class. See: https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/athlete/faqs

If you aren’t feeling well...

If the semester or other things happening in life are affecting you and your well-being, please make use of Georgetown’s counseling service: https://studenthealth.georgetown.edu/mental-health/
Your mental health is key to getting through the semester!

IMPORTANT NOTE: I am a mandatory reporter, and hence, if you divulge anything to me about any act of sexual misconduct (assault, harassment, stalking or discrimination) that has happened to you on campus, I will need to report it to the appropriate office (e.g. Title IX).

Academic Honesty:

I expect you to adhere to Georgetown’s Honor Code and am affirmatively responsible for reporting suspected infractions. If you plagiarize, I will catch you, and I will report it to the appropriate investigating officer. That said, the rules around plagiarism and academic honesty are not always intuitive; if you are not sure how best to cite a source or what sort of attribution is appropriate, bring the source to office hours or make an appointment to discuss it. I’m happy to help you stay out of trouble. A rule of thumb: when in doubt, ask me! A first infraction will result in an F on that assignment; a second will result in a possible F for the entire course and/or a referral for investigation and disciplinary actions.

For further guidance and academic honesty policies, see: https://guides.dml.georgetown.edu/plagiarism/policy

Feedback:

Feedback on written assignments will be returned in typed, digital forms; additional audio commentary will accompany written feedback on your final project.

Office Hours:

These are hours set aside for you and I encourage you to take advantage of them. Please come by
to ask questions, discuss assignments or readings, complain or simply chat. If you require a meeting outside the listed times, please email and I'll do my best to accommodate you.

Canvas:

Familiarize yourself with Canvas. Readings and study guides with questions to guide your reading will be posted there; assignments will be submitted there; grades/feedback will usually be posted to your account there.

Course Requirements and Grading Scheme:

1. Engagement in Class Discussions (20%)

A note on attendance: Attendance is important, and there is no way to make up a missed class. Absences beyond two will impact your grade. Absences will be excused for religious observances (with advance notification) and athletic travel (with notification and documentation at the beginning of the semester and in consultation with myself about its viability) and prolonged illness. If you are missing class because of prolonged illness, seek medical care and provide documentation of such to the Dean’s office, which will communicate with me. Note that prolonged absence for any reason may necessitate withdrawal from the course. More important is your actual engagement in class: Ask questions of me! Ask your classmates questions! Come prepared with some reflections and notes on the readings! Bring in a relevant article, website or film clip you might want to share!

Discussion leaders will be assigned for specific classes. If you are a discussion leader, you will be responsible for having read ALL of the readings (including a short summary of the optional pieces), as well as offering a few starting points for the discussion.

Two further notes: (1) you must have hard copies of relevant readings available for each class, as spelled out above and on the assignments sheet – no electronic devices may be used, unless you have a disability exemption from the Academic Resource Center (ARC) or I specify that you need your laptop for a class activity; (2) if classes are cancelled by the University I will be in touch via email about instructional continuity.

2. Blog Posts (15%) (4 required)

In the first class, you will set up your own public-facing Wordpress blog account and blog for this class. Over the course of the class, you will be reading Vergil’s Aeneid and Dan-el Padilla Peralta’s Undocumented in tandem—in addition to the weekly thematic topics. You will write four short reflection posts, written for a public audience, but with academic rigor. These posts will correspond to different milestones (see below in the schedule) in the reading that you must reach by a certain date and the stimulus questions I provide in advance of each juncture. I will provide feedback on a rolling basis, after every post. This is also a low-stakes task that will help me guide you in the improvement of your writing and analysis skills for the essay part of the Collective Dictionary, but it will also lay the foundations for our two final class discussions, and the visit from Professor Dan-el Padilla Peralta. In addition to these blog posts, I will also assign optional extra credit tasks that will be posted on your blogs, if you choose to undertake them.

3. Short Paper (15%)
A short paper (3-4 pages, 12pt., double-spaced) written in response to a prompt on the readings in one of the classes from the first three weeks of the course. This is designed to give me an idea of your writing and analysis skills and you feedback on how to improve them for the final essay and your blog posts.

4. Digital Map Take-Home Quiz (10%) 

Using one of the itineraries we encounter in the class readings, and after practicing using Google Maps and Pleiades in the classroom, you will digitally map an itinerary as a take-home quiz task.

5. Collective Dictionary Project (40%) 

The Collective Dictionary Project is inspired by the Collective Dictionary series created through Campus in Camps. It is relevant because the world it tries to understand is the one beyond the nation state, whereas the world we will be considering is the one before the nation state. This project attempts to create a critical dialogue between the two.

(See the original inspiration for the project from a class run by Professor Elena Isayev, Diego Segatto, and Isshaq Al-Barbery at the University of Exeter, UK, entitled XENIA: http://www.campusincamps.ps/projects/xenia/).

We will discuss together, as a collective, whether we will focus only on one concept, or on multiple concepts (e.g., “asylum”, “displacement”, “hospitality”, “exile”, “forced migration”, “immigrant”).

(A) Individual Critical Essay – (10-12 pages double-spaced, 12 pt.) (20%) 

This is an individual self-reflective, critical essay which assesses the relevance of applying our chosen concept(s) to the ancient Roman world. It should draw equally upon Roman and modern/contemporary examples, incorporate detailed analysis of ancient sources (texts/images) and modern scholarship. (due May 4).

(B) Collective Dictionary Entry – (approx. 7-10 pages per group) (20%) 

This is a definition, focusing on one concept (or the concept we have chosen), that can consist of text, images, interviews, maps, graphs, etc. Multi-media definitions are strongly encouraged! As a whole, our collective dictionary should comprise about 20-50 pages (excluding your essays and depending on the class size) and will become an ebook. In addition, your entry should include references and sources, as well as any specific sections, images, interviews, archival research, etc. that have gone into the main text of the dictionary – these should be included as Appendices, not within the text itself.

We may try to have the dictionary printed and present it both within the University—as part of the Doyle seminar program—and outside, perhaps to community stakeholders, such as an organization or museum we choose to work with and/or visit during the semester. But this will depend on the relevance of the concept(s) that are chosen, and will need to be in discussion with members of any organization and practitioners we engage with. Deciding “what to do with the dictionary” will be part of the exciting venture of this class!
Due to the collective nature of the class, the dictionary entries will be written in collaborative small groups. Communication within your group, as well as with other groups, will be essential to ensuring that your dictionary entry takes shape, is inclusive of all viewpoints, and that everyone is an active and equal team member. We will have strategic planning sessions during the semester and primarily use Canvas, or another platform, such as Slack, to coordinate our efforts. At these planning sessions, an annotated bibliography will be due, as well as drafted pieces of the dictionary. While I will guide you as a class and provide input, this is a student-driven project and will require you all working together as best as you can in a respectful, productive manner. Students will anonymously peer-review each other for a portion of this grade—so it's in your best interest to be a team player!

The final entries written by each group will be presented in the final class, as a mini-colloquium, or “expo”, wherein we celebrate the work you have done over some food (preferably something reflects your own experience of mobility and migration), leaf through the dictionary entries, and listen to your peers present their entry in a 15-20 minute presentation.

Further grade breakdown:

- Annotated bibliography (due in Feb. 19 Strategic Planning Session): 5%
- Peer review of your team contribution: 5%
- Final entry and group presentation (Apr. 27): 10%

Schedule of Weekly Topics and Readings:

**Note:** I reserve the right to modify the course readings and schedule as needed. The double-star ** indicates that a reading is optional.

**Jan. 8:** What is Migration? [Introductory material].

**Jan. 13:** Movement before Modernity (I)
Definitions

**Readings:**
- Gettel, “Recognizing the Delians Displaced after 167/6 BCE.”
- Contemporary: Read through the International Organization for Migration (UN) definitions here: [http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms](http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms)

**Jan. 15:** Strategic Planning Session (I): Choice of Concept(s)

**Readings:** Vergil, Aeneid Books 1-2

**NO CLASS ON JANUARY 20 (Martin Luther King Day)**

**Blog Post 1 Due (Jan. 20): Vergil, Books 1-2; Undocumented, Prologue & Ch. 1-3**

**Jan. 22:** Movement before Modernity (II)
(Dis)connected Space, Strange Geographies: Travel, seafaring and roads in the Mediterranean
Readings:
- Selected ancient sources on travel and itineraries.
- Talbert, “Roads not featured: a Roman failure to communicate?”, in Alcock, Bodel and Talbert (eds), *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-modern World.*
- Contemporary: Giuliani, “The Mediterranean as a Stage: Borders, Memories, Bodies”.

Jan. 27:  
Movement before Modernity (III)  
Mapping and Movement

Readings:
- Selected pages from the Stanford ORBIS project: [http://orbis.stanford.edu/](http://orbis.stanford.edu/)

Jan. 29:  
Movement before Modernity (IV)  
Borders: Un-Mapping, Space and Place

Readings:
- Look at the specific pages (marked in my announcement) from the Stanford *Forma Urbis Romae* project: [https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/](https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/)
- Contemporary: Mariani, “Walls that Bridge. Or, What We Can Learn from Roman Walls.”

Feb. 3:  
Movement before Modernity (V)  
The Demography of Mobility

Readings:
- Isayev, “Statistical Uncertainties: Mobility in the Last 250 Years BC,” Ch. 2 of *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy*.
- Prowse, “Isotopes and Mobility in the Ancient Roman World.”

Feb. 5:  
Voluntary Movement? Economic and labor migration  
Case Studies: Delos, Dacia and Iberia

Readings:
- Truemer, “Negotiating Religious and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Clubhouses in Late Hellenistic Delos.”
- Tacoma, “Migration and Labour,” Ch. 6 of *Moving Romans: Migration to Rome in the Principate.*
- Contemporary: Malone, “Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean 'migrants’”.

Feb. 10:  
**The Connected Mediterranean and its Monetary Currents**

Roman (and Greek) Merchants, Trade and Network Theory

Readings:
- Contemporary: Achilli and Samra, “Beyond legality and illegality: Palestinian informal networks and the ethno-political facilitation of irregular migration from Syria.”

Blog Post 2 Due (Feb. 12): Vergil, Books 3-4; *Undocumented*, Ch. 4-5

Feb. 12:  
**Diasporas (I)**

Modern and Ancient Conceptions and Experiences

Readings:
- Selected inscriptions in translation.
- Cool, “Finding the Foreigners”, on diasporas in Roman Britain, from Eckhardt, *Roman Diasporas.*
- Isayev, “Emerging Diasporas? Oscan-speaking Mamertines, Romans, and Italia.”**
- Selections from Noy, *Foreigners at Rome.***
- Contemporary: Butler, “Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse.”

Feb. 18**:  
**Diasporas (II)** *Visit to Holocaust Museum*

Case Study: Jews in and outside of Rome

**Class meets on a Tuesday due to President’s Day.**

Readings:
- Selections from Philo of Alexandria; Josephus, *The Jewish War.*
- Richardson, “Augustan-era Synagogues in Rome.”
- Contemporary: Lerner, “Narrating Over the Ghetto of Rome.”

Feb. 19:  
**Strategic Planning Session (II)**

*Annotated Bibliography due in class*

Feb. 24:  
**Displacement (I)**

Colonization’s Victims: Domestic

Readings:
- Selections from Cicero and others on “removing” Rome’s poor and freedmen from the city; selections from Livy on Latin colonization.
- Scheidel, “Human Mobility in Roman Italy I: The Free Population.”
- Contemporary: selections from Power-Greene, Against Wind and Tide. The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement.
- Contemporary: Selections from Arneil, Domestic Colonies: The Turn Inward to Colony.

Feb. 26:  
Displacement (II)  
Deracination and Transportation: Slavery and Enslaved Persons

Visit to National Museum of African American History and Culture

Readings:
- Selected sources on the deracination of slaves, their transport, and their legal status.
- Scheidel, “Human Mobility in Roman Italy II: The Slave Population.”
- Contemporary: Webster, “A Distant Diaspora: Thinking Comparatively about Origins, Migrations, and Roman Slavery.”
- Contemporary: Selections from the Georgetown Slavery Archive: [https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/](https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/)

Mar. 2:  
Displacement (III)  
Colonization’s Victims: Deportations and “Resettlements” of Locals

Readings:
- Selections from Livy and his epitomators.
- Boatwright, “Acceptance and Approval: Romans’ Non-Roman Population Transfers, 180 BCE–ca 70 CE.”
- de Blois, “Invasions, Deportations, and Repopulation: Mobility and Migration in Thrace, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia in the Third Quarter of the Third Century AD.”

Mar. 4:  
Displacement (IV)  
“Barbarians at the Gates”: The rhetoric of “invasion”

Readings:
- Selections from Ammianus Marcellinus, Jerome, and earlier sources for metaphors of invasion (Cicero, Sallust).
- Selections from Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (for a previous approach).
- Contemporary: Selections from Santa Ana, Brown Tide Rising.
- Contemporary: Kainz, “People Can’t Flood, Flow or Stream: Diverting Dominant Media Discourses on Migration”, OUP blog: [https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2016/02/people-can%E2%80%99t-flood-flow-or-stream-diverting-dominant-media-discourses-on-migration](https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2016/02/people-can%E2%80%99t-flood-flow-or-stream-diverting-dominant-media-discourses-on-migration)

[NO CLASSES MARCH 9 & 11 - SPRING BREAK]
Blog Post 3 Due (Mar. 16): Vergil, Books 5-9; Undocumented, Ch. 6-14

Mar. 16: Asylum and Sanctuary
From Roman Statue-Clinging to Contemporary Church Thresholds

Readings:
- Selections from Tacitus, Annals and Agricola.
- Sources and selections from Rigsby, Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World.
- Contemporary: Selections from Bagelman, Sanctuary City: A Suspended State.
- Vergil, Aeneid 5-9.

Mar. 18: Romulus’ Asylum (I)
Proto-colony or Safe Harbor?

Readings:
- Claudius’ speech on the admission of Gauls to the senate (Lyon Tablet) and selections from Tacitus, Annals; short selections from Cicero, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ovid, Plutarch, Augustine, Servius, Ammianus Marcellinus, among others.
- Selections from Dench, Romulus’ Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian.*
- Start reading: Emeric Bergeaud, Stella (an 1859 post-revolutionary Haitian novella, in which its main characters are named after Romulus and Remus).

Mar. 23: Romulus’ Asylum (II)
Ancient Model for Modern Times?

Readings:
- Selections from newspaper articles and other sources (18th-19th centuries) on the Australian colonies as Romulus’ Asylum.
- Finish reading: Emeric Bergeaud, Stella (an 1859 post-revolutionary Haitian novella, in which its main characters are named after Romulus and Remus).
- Beard, “Ancient Rome and Today’s Migrant Crisis.”
- Padilla Peralta, “Barbarians inside the Gate, Part I: Fears of Immigration in Ancient Rome and Today.”

Mar. 25: Strategic Planning Session (III)
Drafts to be shared and workshops.

Reading: Vergil, Aeneid 10-12.

Mar. 30: Exile and Return
The Politics of Individual Movement from Cicero to Ai Weiwei

Readings:
- Selections from Cicero’s exilic *Letters*, and speeches upon his return; selections from Ovid, *Tristia* and *Letters from Pontus*.
- Hillner, “Exile and confinement” in *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* with the interactive map on: https://www.clericalexile.org/
- Explore the links posted on Canvas to Weiwei’s relevant artwork.
- **Start watching** *Human Flow* at home—finish by April 1 class.

**Apr. 1:**

**With Arms Wide Open?**  
Roman Hospitalities

**Readings:**
- Selections from Cicero’s *De Officiis*, examples of the *tabula hospitalis* and other sources.
- Nicols, “Hospitality among the Romans.”**
- Isayev, “Between hospitality and asylum: A historical perspective on displaced agency.”
- **Finish watching** *Human Flow* at home.

**Apr. 6:**

**Xenophobia and Ethnicity (I)**  
Plautus’ *Poenulus*

**Readings:**
- Plautus, *Poenulus*.
- Franko, “The Characterization of Hanno in Plautus’ *Poenulus*.”
- Isayev, “Plautus on Mobility of the Everyday.”**

**Apr. 8:**

**Xenophobia and Ethnicity (II)**  
Juvenal’s *Satires*

**Readings:**
- Selections from Juvenal’s *Satires*.
- Watts, “Race Prejudice in the Satires of Juvenal.”

**Apr. 13:**

**Citizenship’s Discontents**  
Reading Hannah Arendt and Roman Authors on Citizenship

**Readings:**
- Sources on Roman discussions of citizenship and legal definitions.
- Selections from Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and “What is authority?”.

**Apr. 15:**

**The Ends of Mobility? Finding a New Sense of Place, or Holding onto Old Places:**  
Moving Rome (Livy’s Camillus)  
Alternatives to Rome (Cicero’s Capua; Ammianus’ Constantinople)  
Rooting Rome in Your Identity (The Poor Man’s Inscriptions)
Readings:
- Livy, Book 5; selections from Cicero’s *de lege agraria* and other sources on Capua.
- Isayev, “Mapping the Moving Rome of Livy’s Camillus Speech,” Ch. 10 in *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy*.
- Selections from Ammianus Marcellinus with Kelly, “The New Rome and the Old.”
- Selected Roman epitaphs in translation.

**Blog Post 3 Due (Apr. 19): Vergil, Books 10-12; Undocumented, Ch. 15 & Epilogue**

Apr. 20: Mobile Narratives (I)

Hegemonic: Vergil’s *Aeneid* compared

Review your notes and blog posts together with the posts of your classmates.

Apr. 22: Mobile Narratives (II)

Subaltern: Dan-el Padilla Peralta’s *Undocumented* compared
 [Author meets audience visit]

Review your notes and blog posts together with the posts of your classmates.

Apr. 27: **Collective Dictionary Expo**: Group Presentations