This is the final peer-reviewed accepted manuscript of:

Stark, Robert J., Emery, Matthew V., Schwarcz, Henry et al. (4 more authors) (2020) Imperial Roman mobility and migration at Velia (1st to 2nd c. CE) in southern Italy. Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports. 102217. ISSN 2352-409X

The final published version is available online at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102217

Rights / License:

The terms and conditions for the reuse of this version of the manuscript are specified in the publishing policy. For all terms of use and more information see the publisher's website.

This item was downloaded from IRIS Università di Bologna (<u>https://cris.unibo.it/</u>)

When citing, please refer to the published version.

1	Imperial Roman Mobility and Migration at Velia (1 st to 2 nd c. CE) in Southern Italy
2 3 4 5	Robert J. Stark ¹ , Matthew V. Emery ² , Henry Schwarcz ^{1,3} , Alessandra Sperduti ^{4,5} , Luca Bondioli ⁴ , Oliver E. Craig ⁶ , Tracy Prowse ¹
5 6	¹ Department of Anthropology, McMaster University
7	Chester New Hall Rm. 524
8	1280 Main Street West
9	Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4L9
10	E-mail: stark.robert.james@gmail.com [Corresponding Author]
11	Phone: (+1) (905) 525 9140 ext. 24423
12	
13	² School of Human Evolution and Social Change, Arizona State University
14	900 Cady Mall
15	Tempe, Arizona 85281
16	USA
17 18	3Sebeel of Coography and Earth Saianaaa, McMaatar University
10	³ School of Geography and Earth Sciences, McMaster University General Science Building Rm. 302
20	1280 Main Street West
21	Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4L9
22	
23	⁴ Servizio di Bioarcheologia, Museo delle Civiltà
24	Piazza G. Marconi 14, 00144
25	Rome, Italy
26	
27	⁵ Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"
28	Piazza S. Domenico Maggiore, 12 - 80134, Napoli
29	
30 31	⁶ Department of Archaeology, University of York
32	BioArCh, Environment Building
33	Wentworth Way, Heslington
34	York, United Kingdom
35	YO10 5DD
36	
37	

38 Abstract:

39 Mobility and human migration are seen as hallmarks of Roman society. With increasing 40 territorial expansion throughout the Mediterranean region during the Imperial Roman period, 41 wider opportunities for both self-driven and forced mobility became possible. This study analyzes δ¹⁸O and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values from the dental enamel of 20 human second molars (M2) to 42 43 examine for potential instances of mobility at the 1st to 2nd c. CE site of Velia, located on the 44 Tyrrhenian coast of southern Italy. Velia served as a secondary port and was utilized for the 45 shipment of goods, boat maintenance, fish processing and arboriculture. Bagplot analysis 46 indicates that at least 10% (n=2/20) of the individuals sampled immigrated to Velia from non-47 local regions. The remaining 18 individuals show mixed signs of local residency and local 48 mobility. Comparison of the Velia data with the contemporaneous southern Italian Imperial 49 Roman (1st to 4th c. CE) site of Vagnari indicates a similar level of mobility to both sites. 50 Though mobility is clearly evident among the individuals sampled from Velia, mobility to Velia 51 appears to have been less common than to larger cosmopolitan sites, such as Portus, in 52 proximity to the capital at Rome. 53 54 55 **Highlights:** 56 57 1. δ^{18} O and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr were used to assess mobility at Imperial Roman Velia 58 59 2. Bagplot analysis of δ^{18} O and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values identified two individuals as non-local 60 61 3. Mobility at Velia appears relatively local 62 63 4. Areas of isotopic homogeneity may obscure regional origins and cases of mobility 64 65 5. Velia provides insight to mobility in Imperial Roman southern Italian contexts 66 67 **Keywords:** oxygen and strontium isotopes; Italian peninsula; Imperial Rome; Mediterranean; 68 migration and mobility 69 70 Declarations of Interest: None

72 **1. Introduction**

73

74 The guestion of how do we conceptualize and identify migrants in ancient Roman contexts 75 remains a core issue in modern Roman studies. Traditionally, migrants have been conceived of 76 as outsiders coming in. More recent theorizations on mobility and human interaction have 77 moved away from "us" and "them" conceptions to discuss mobility in terms of both variation in 78 distance from an original homeland as well as transition in cultural continuity, placing gualifiers 79 on what the distance an individual travelled means in terms of how they would have integrated 80 into the social environs in which they ultimately came to reside (Albrecht 1972; Kearney 1986, 81 1995; Burmeister 2000; Brettel 2015; Moatti 2019). As Horden and Purcell (2000) contend, it is 82 theoretically challenging to speak of the population of a city or region, given that on any given 83 day there will be within the boundaries of a city, or imperial territory, hundreds of individuals who 84 will not be there tomorrow, thousands who will not be there a year from now and tens of 85 thousands who will have left the city over a decade. The converse can also be argued in terms 86 of individuals who will arrive: in the Roman Imperial period it has been suggested that ~40% of 87 adult Italian males over age 45 would have dwelt in a place different to their birthplace (Pearce 88 2010). A wide range of evidence, from epigraphy to burial style and chemical methods, have 89 been utilized within Roman studies to identify mobile individuals and to gualify potential 90 instances of and reasons for mobility. 91 From epigraphic and literary sources, it is clear that mobility events in the Roman

92 circum-Mediterranean were common (Huttunen 1974; Wierschowski 1995; Noy 2000, 2010). 93 One of the challenges of these sources, however, is that inscriptional evidence reflects only 94 individuals who received burial commemoration and who explicitly had their experience of 95 mobility documented, such as the rare case of Barates of Palmyrene origin and his wife Regina 96 of Catuvellaunian origin (Nov 2010). Social and linguistic factors may have also played a role in 97 the commemoration of homelands in epigraphic materials. It has been argued that some 98 locations of origin may have carried greater potential stigma than others and as such were likely 99 less frequently recorded, with Noy (2000) noting that it may be significant that the vast majority 100 of Egyptians documented in the pagan civilian epitaphs are listed as having a connection to 101 Alexandria and not Eqypt.

102 Who then were the most likely to have their homelands commemorated? It has been 103 argued that soldiers were the most likely to provide insight to their place of origin, having likely 104 never intended to move to the military outpost where they ultimately perished (Noy 2000, 2010; 105 Wierschowski 2001; Woolf 2013). In rare instances epigraphic materials can provide insights to 106 multiple migrations, such as the epitaph discussed by Moatti (2006) of an artisan who made 107 seventy-two journeys from Phrygia to Rome. Regionally specific names can also help identify 108 potential cases of migration, though caution is needed as regionally specific names do not 109 necessarily imply foreign origins as such names may simply be ancestral or family names 110 (Maier 1953-1954; Cebeillac-Gervasoni 1996; Salomies 2002; Noy 2010). Documentation of foreign deities can also provide indirect evidence of nonlocal individuals in a region, such as the 111 112 worship of Syrian storm gods along the Danube and Rhine frontiers (Fulford 2010; Hin 2013; 113 Woolf 2013). The use of epigraphic evidence is, however, faced with the challenge that males 114 are disproportionately represented over females, with Noy (2000) identifying 76.7% of Roman 115 epigraphs as documenting males, whereas only 21.0% document females.

Similarly, literary sources, in many cases, provided a skewed representation of the nature of mobility. Typically written by social elites, literary accounts of mobility often have a distinct agenda: either embracing the merits of migration, recording prestigious and "exotic" foreigners, or vilifying various foreign groups; it is uncommon to find textual evidence regarding more mundane migrations (e.g. mobility related to work), even though it is clear from other sources, such as censuses and documents discussing trade, that employment-related migration was ubiquitous (Vallat 2001; Salomies 2002; Helttula 2007; Bruun 2010; Noy 2010; Hin 2013; 123 Woolf 2013). Ball (2000) likens this process of selective epigraphic commemoration and textual 124 discussion to believing what you see on television, in that such evidence presents one

125 perspective that must be treated with due caution as it is not always free of bias.

126 Burial style and grave goods have also long been a method for examining possible 127 instances of foreignness and migration in archaeological contexts (Saxe 1970; Morris 1992; 128 Fontana 2001; Sprague 2005; Pearce 2010; Wells 2013). However, as Pearce (2010) notes, 129 caution is needed so as not to equate a culture-historical view of burial practices with a specific 130 "people." Noy (2000) contends that there is very little evidence that groups with a common 131 geographical origin ever established their own separate burial areas in Rome. This is further 132 supported by the fact that there are, to date, no known ancient burial grounds reserved for 133 "foreigners" at Rome, suggesting a degree of homogenization in burial that makes separating 134 regional origins of buried individuals based on burial style alone unlikely (Nuzzo 1997).

135 With the advent of isotopic methodologies came the possibility to assess mobility events 136 at an individual level based on preserved chemical values within skeletal materials. Though this 137 method cannot attest to the name or precise homeland of origin, it does provide insight to 138 mobility that can be developed in tandem with other methods to provide increasingly nuanced 139 assessments of individual and group mobility events.

140 Initial isotopic studies of Imperial Roman mobility in Italy focussed on the area around 141 Rome (e.g. Prowse et al. 2007; Killgrove 2010a, b; Killgrove and Montgomery 2016), with 142 subsequent studies presenting data from broader pre-Roman and Roman contexts, such as 143 those examining mobility and genetic diversity at Vagnari and Botromagno (Roman Silvium) in 144 southern Italy (Prowse et al. 2010; Emery et al. 2018a, b). To varying degrees, these studies all 145 documented instances of mobility. The distance of mobility and evident regions from which 146 migrants emigrated however, are variable. The studies of Prowse et al. (2007) at Isola Sacra 147 and Killgrove (2010a, b, c, 2013, 2014) and Killgrove and Montgomery (2016) at Casal Bertone 148 and Castellaccio Europarco suggest a much more geographically diverse nature of mobility to 149 the area around Rome in comparison to the more regionally-local mobility evident at Vagnari in 150 southern Italy, though mobility from evidently distant locales was evident at this site as well 151 (Prowse et al. 2010; Emery et al. 2018a, b). This diversity of mobility patterns brings into 152 guestion the nature of migration to larger cosmopolitan centres, such as Rome, in comparison to mobility to more rural and provincial settings, such as those at Vagnari and Velia. 153

154 What remains clear regardless of the methodology employed, is that mobility was a 155 common occurrence within Imperial Roman contexts. Who was mobile, the pattern of mobility, 156 and the purpose of mobility remain much greater challenges to address substantively. The study presented herein utilizes oxygen ($\delta^{18}O_{dw}$) and strontium ($^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$) values to provide an 157 158 assessment of mobility at the Imperial Roman site of Velia (1st to 2nd c. CE). This study seeks 159 to investigate the degree of mobility to Velia, a secondary port city where access to the Italian 160 peninsula via coastal routes is expected to have resulted in higher rates of mobility compared to 161 inland sites in southern Italy, such as Vagnari, but less frequent, and ostensibly less regionally

162 diverse, than at primary ports and major cities, such as Portus and Rome.

163

164 1.2 The Site of Velia

165

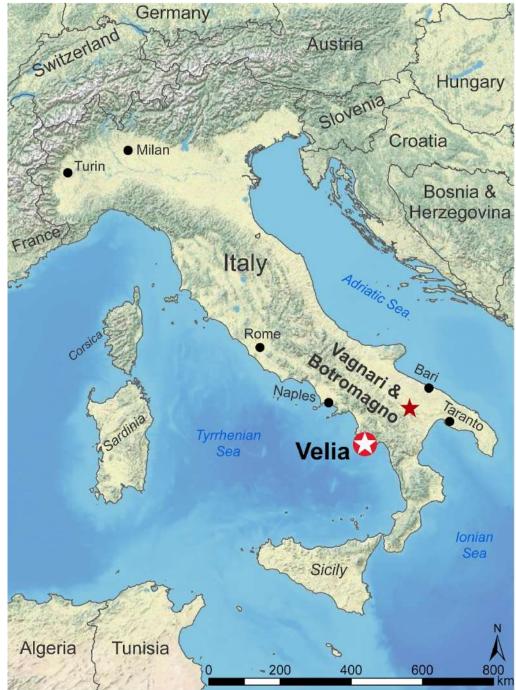
166 Velia is located on a promontory on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy in the Cilento of Lucania

167 between the mouths of the rivers Alento and Fiumarella, 112 km southeast of Naples (Pellegrino

168 1957; Richardson 1976) (Fig. 1). Velia (Elea) originated as a Phocaean colony known as Hyele

169 in ca. 540 BCE, during which time construction concentrated in the area of the acropolis

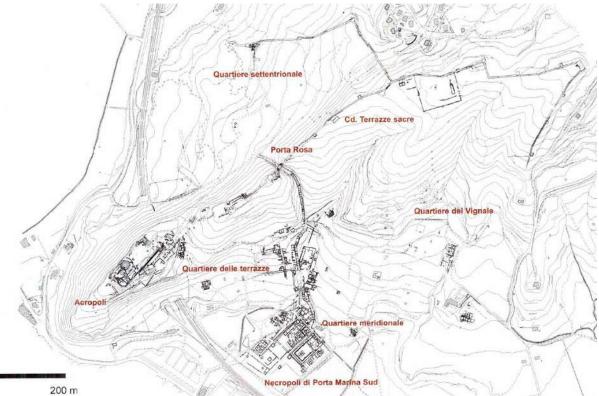
170 (Pellegrino 1957; Musti 1966; Cerchiai 2004; Mele 2006; Nenci and Vallet 2012).



- Fig. 1: Map showing the location of the sites of Velia, Botromagno (Roman Silvium), and
 Vagnari.
- 175
- 176
- Following incorporation into Roman territory in the 3^{a} c. BCE, development focussed in the southern quarter, including the establishment of a necropolis (Richardson 1976; Ermolli et al.
- 179 2013).
- 180 Numerous accounts of the ruins at Velia are provided by early travelers in the region,
- 181 with the first known being that of Carletti in 1794 (Vecchio 2007). Ramage (1868) describes a
- 182 number of the Roman ruins and Schleuning (1889) provides an early archaeological

assessment of Velia, but it was not until 1927 that limited excavations began under the direction

- of Amedeo Maiuri, Superintendent of Campania (Vecchio 2007). Extensive excavation of the
- site was initiated in the 1960s with the research of Mario Napoli on the southern slope of the
 Phocaean acropolis (Napoli 1972; Krinzinger and Tocco Sciarelli 1997; Vecchio 2007). From
- 186 Phocaean acropolis (Napoli 1972, Kinzinger and Tocco Sciarelli 1997, veccho 2007). From 187 1969–1978 and throughout the 1990s, a systematic survey of the ruins of the Phocaean colony
- 188 was undertaken by German and Austrian archaeological missions (Fiammenghi 1994;
- 189 Krinzinger and Tocco Sciarelli 1997).
- Archaeological research on the Roman contexts at Velia focussed in the southern part of the site, around the area of the Porta Marina Sud. Several houses, a building with a
- 192 cryptoporticus, and early Imperial era structures flanking the road exiting the Porta Marina Sud
- 193 were documented in this area (Krinzinger and Tocco Sciarelli 1997; Fiammenghi 2003;
- 194 Fiammenghi and La Torre 2005). The Porta Marina Sud area is also the location of the Roman
- 195 necropolis (ca. 1st to 2st c. CE), identified along what Fiammenghi and La Torre (2005) refer to as 196 a "street of burials" in proximity to the coast (**Fig. 2**).
- 197



- 198 0 200 m
 Fig 2. Velia site plan showing the Acropolis and Imperial Roman settlement, including the necropoli di Porta Marina Sud (as published in Greco 2003).
- 201
- 202

The Roman necropolis at Velia was investigated by Fiammenghi (2003), who notes that,
 up until the time of her research, the only known information about the necropolis had come
 from the works of Ebner (1962, 1970, 1978) who discusses a limited number of
 decontextualized funerary inscriptions. Excavations by Fiammenghi identified approximately 330
 burials scattered over a 0.5 ha area with no apparent subdivisions of the cemetery (Fiammenghi

208 and La Torre 2005).

Burial types at Velia ranged from simple earthen graves to monumental tombs and mausolea (Fiammenghi 2003; Fiammenghi and La Torre 2005). To date, only the earthen 211 graves have been excavated, of which both cremations and inhumations were documented

(Craig et al. 2009). Each grave contained a variable number and type of grave goods, though

the exact type and distribution of grave goods is currently unknown as the necropolis has not

been fully published. Both Fiammenghi (2003) and Craig (2009) note that evidence of variation in social status was not evident from burial contexts alone. Bioarchaeological examinations of

the Roman skeletal remains from Velia have focused on dietary reconstruction (Craig et al.

217 2009), dental asymmetry (LaFleur 2011), palaeodemography, health status and working

activities (Crowe et al. 2010; Sperduti et al. 2012; Bondioli et al. 2016; Marciniak et al. 2016),

- and age-related bone loss (Beauchesne and Agarwal 2014).
- 220

221 **1.3** δ¹⁸O and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr Variation in Nature

222

223 The water cycle is the key medium through which oxygen isotope variation occurs and can be 224 tracked: δ^{18} O of precipitation generally decreases with distance from a marine coastline, 225 increase in elevation and latitude, and decrease in temperature of precipitation and increasing 226 latitude, with further potential effects due to humidity (Dansgaard 1964; Gat 1996, 2005; Gat et 227 al. 2003; Bowen 2010; Schwarcz et al. 2010). In continually hot climates (> ~25°C) this trend 228 breaks down and one must rely on the amount of precipitation, where low δ^{18} O values occur in 229 rainy periods and high δ^{18} O in dry periods (Dansgaard 1964). Using these parameters, global 230 variability of δ^{18} O in meteoric precipitation can be mapped using region specific data, such as 231 those compiled as part of the Global Network of Isotopes in Precipitation (GNIP) project (GNIP 232 2015).

233 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values in underlying geology are dependent upon time allowed for 87 Rb \rightarrow 87 Sr 234 decay, with #Rb having a half-life of ~4.88 x 10¹⁰ years: initial ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr ratio; and original 235 concentrations of ⁸⁷Rb and ⁸⁷Sr (Faure and Mensing 2005; Dickin 2005). Rocks that are very old 236 (i.e. >100 mya) with high original ⁸⁷Rb/⁸⁷Sr content have ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values generally >0.710, with 237 the upper limit being ~0.750; rocks formed comparatively recently (<1–10 mya) with low original 238 ⁸⁷Rb/⁸⁷Sr have low ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values, generally <0.704; the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr of river water varies with 239 local geology, while marine water has had a value of ~ 0.7092 for at least the last 10,000 years 240 (Faure and Powell 1972; DePaolo and Ingram 1985; Elderfield 1986; Veizer 1989; Bentley 241 2006; Copeland et al. 2008; Malainey 2010; Bataille and Bowen 2012; Zaky et al. 2019).

242

243 **1.4** δ¹⁸O and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr in Dental Enamel and Dental Development

244

245 Oxygen and strontium in enamel reflect values integrated during dental development from the 246 foods (87 Sr/ 86 Sr) an individual eats and the water (δ^{18} O) they consume, with dietary water and 247 atmospheric oxygen playing minor secondary roles (Bentley 2006; Hedges et al. 2006; Price 248 and Burton 2002), $\delta^{18}O$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ are integrated into bioapatite. (Ca₉(PO₄)_{4.5}(CO₃)_{1.5}(OH)_{1.5}). 249 allowing for their use in tracing instances of mobility (Rey et al. 1991; Kolodny and Luz 1991; 250 Arppe and Karhu 2005; Price and Burton 2011; Rabadjieva et al. 2011). Strontium (87Sr/86Sr) 251 can substitute for calcium (Ca) in the body and does not undergo fractionation, providing a 252 direct reflection of the values consumed (Bentley 2006; Burton 2008; Price et al. 2015). Oxygen 253 $(\delta^{18}O)$ undergoes fractionation in the body and can be derived from two locations within apatite: 254 carbonate (CO₃) and phosphate (PO₄) (Elliot et al. 1985; Kolodny and Luz 1991; Daux et al. 255 2008: Price and Burton 2011).

Dental development begins *in utero* at ~14–20 weeks post-fertilization and proceeds
until around age 17 (Scheuer and Black 2000; Hillson 1996). Crown initiation for the first
permanent molar (M1) is underway by birth, for the second molar (M2) by ~2.5–3 yrs., and for
the third molar (M3) by ~7-10 yrs.; crown development is complete for M1 by ~2.5–3 yrs., for M2
by ~7–8 yrs., and for M3 by ~10–17.5 yrs. (Schour and Massler 1940; Hillson 1996; Al Qahtani

261 2009). Possible late term *in utero* diet and breastfeeding, in the case of M1, and childhood diet 262 contribute to δ^{18} O and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values reflected in the permanent dentition (Christensen and 263 Kraus 1965; Herring et al. 1998; Wright and Schwarcz 1998, 1999; Knudson 2009; Schuurs 264 2012). Accordingly, the isotopic signature in dental enamel of the permanent dentition can be 265 used as an indicator of residence for the period from around birth until completion of dental 266 development.

267

268 **1.5 Diagenesis and Preservation of Isotopic Values**

269

270 Within depositional contexts the isotopic values present in skeletal remains can progressively 271 equilibrate towards the isotopic signature of the surrounding matrix due to isotopic exchange, 272 sorption factors, crystallite growth, and re-crystallization, resulting from elemental commonalities 273 between skeletal materials and the surrounding burial environment (Likins et al. 1960; Nelson et 274 al. 1986; Ayliffe et al. 1992; Stuart-Williams et al. 1996). Bone is very porous, being composed 275 of smaller poorly crystalline structures, and has a significant organic component that is subject 276 to postmortem decay and microbial attack; enamel is more resistant to diagenesis due to the 277 larger, less porous, and denser arrangement of apatite crystals (Kohn et al. 1999; Hedges 2002; 278 Kohn and Cerling 2002; Hedges et al. 2006; Price 2008; King et al. 2011).

Isotopic exchange towards equilibrium with the surrounding burial environment remains the key process for δ^{18} O diagenesis; for 87 Sr/ 86 Sr, secondary Ca and Sr exchange with biogenic Sr through pore filling and concentration along microcracks and on the bone surface, recrystallization, and re-mineralization of diagenetic Sr in hydroxyapatite are the key forms of diagenesis (Budd et al. 2000; Bentley 2006). Given these characteristics of diagenesis, dental enamel is the preferred material for palaeomobility studies.

286 2. Materials and Methods

287

Adult second molars (M2) from 20 individuals (10 male and 10 female) were selected for assessing potential instances of mobility to the site of Velia utilizing δ^{18} O and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values from dental enamel. Samples were collected from the Museo delle Civiltà (formerly the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "L. Pigorini") in Rome. The collection is curated by the Servizio di Bioarchaeologia of the Museo delle Civiltà.

293

294 **2.1 Age and Sex Estimation**

295

Age and sex estimations were determined based on macromorphological skeletal traits. Morphology of the greater sciatic notch, ischiopubic ramus, ventral arc, subpubic concavity, and cranial morphology were used for establishing sex; pubic symphysis, sternal ends of ribs, auricular surface morphology, and cranial suture closure were utilized for establishing age (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970; Ferembach et al. 1977-79; Buikstra and Ubelaker, 1994; Nikita, 2017).

302

303 2.2 Dental Enamel Preparation

304

305 All 20 second molars were initially manually brushed to remove adhering debris before being

306 submerged in individual containers of distilled water (dH₂O) and ultrasonicated for 10 minutes.

307 Ultrasonication was repeated three times changing the water after each session. Following

308 ultrasonication, teeth were allowed to dry before using a diamond tipped hand-held electric 309 Dremel drill to remove enamel for sampling: ≥10 mg of powdered enamel for δ^{18} O analysis and

 $310 \ge 60 \text{ mg}$ for ${}^{87}\text{Sr}/{}^{86}\text{Sr}$. After each use the drill bit was soaked in 0.25M hydrochloric acid (HCI) to

avoid cross contamination. Enamel powder was collected in 1.5 ml plastic centrifuge

- 312 microtubes.
- 313

2.3 δ¹⁸Ο Methodology

315

316 Enamel preparation for oxygen (δ^{18} O) isotope analysis followed the protocols established in 317 Koch et al. (1997). Collected enamel samples were treated with 0.04 ml of 2.5% bleach solution 318 (NaClO) per mg of sample, agitated, and allowed to react for 24 hrs. Following this reaction, 319 samples were centrifuged and rinsed with de-ionized water five times, centrifuging after each 320 rinse. After rinsing, 0.04 ml of 1M acetic acid acetate buffer (CH₃COOH) per mg of sample was 321 added to remove potential diagenetic secondary carbonates. Samples were agitated and 322 allowed to react for up to 24hrs. Samples were centrifuged and rinsed five times with de-ionized 323 water, centrifuging after each rinse. After the fifth rinse samples were centrifuged and the 324 remaining water removed before allowing samples to dry.

325 This methodology should not detrimentally affect carbonate values, though recent 326 research has shown the potential impacts of pre-treatment chemicals, reaction temperatures. 327 and phosphoric acid concentrations in terms of variability in results (Snoeck and Pellegrini 2015; 328 Pellegrini and Snoeck 2016; Demény et al. 2019). Direct comparisons of samples prepared 329 using different protocols should accordingly be undertaken with caution. In the case of the 330 present study, potential impacts of variability in preparation methodology do not form an issue of 331 concern as both the Velia and Vagnari samples were prepared using the same protocols and 332 were analyzed at the same laboratory.

333 Once dry, 2 mg of powdered enamel was weighed into stainless steel cups. Enamel 334 powder was reacted with 100% phosphoric acid at 90°C in an autocarb analyzer to produce CO_2 335 gas, which was analyzed on a VG OPTIMA Isocarb isotope ratio mass spectrometer (IRMS) at 336 the McMaster Research for Stable Isotopologues (MRSI) laboratory to measure δ^{18} O values. 337 For each carousel containing 14 samples one sample was run in duplicate to monitor accuracy 338 and reproducibility. The data collected are presented using delta values (δ) such that,

- 339
- 340 341

$$\delta^{18}O = ({}^{18}O/{}^{16}O)_{sample}/({}^{18}O/{}^{16}O)_{standard} - 1,$$

where (¹⁸O/¹⁶O)_{sample} indicates the sample analyzed and (¹⁸O/¹⁶O)_{standard} indicates an
 international standard, herein measured relative to the Vienna Pee Dee Belmnite (VPDB)
 standard. The resultant values are presented in per mil (‰) notation.

345

346 **2.4** ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr Methodology

347

348 Enamel samples were dissolved in 1.2 ml of 2.5 M hydrochloric acid (HCI) and subsequently 349 centrifuged for 10 minutes. Cation exchange was employed to complete strontium separation. 350 Cation exchange columns were calibrated employing a "spiked" sample followed by 10 ml of 351 deionized water to cleanse the cation exchange columns before use. A wash of 60 ml of 6 M 352 HCl was introduced, followed by 10 ml of deionized water, and then finally 5 ml of 2.5 M HCl. 353 Dissolved enamel solution for each individual was introduced into the exchange columns in 1 ml 354 portions and was washed into the column using 1 ml of 2.5 M HCl, after which a wash of 3 ml of 355 2.5 M HCl was introduced. Waste sample matrix was eluted using 20 ml of 2.5 M HCl. After the 356 20 ml elution, 6 ml of 2.5 M HCl was introduced for strontium collection. Each dried sample was 357 loaded onto a pre-treated single tantalum filament in dilute phosphoric acid (H₃PO₄) and 358 sequentially inserted into a vacuum system. 87Sr/86Sr values were measured by dynamic multi-359 collection using a thermal ionization mass spectrometer (TIMS) in the School of Geography and 360 Earth Sciences at McMaster University. Results were fractionation normalized to

- 361 ⁸⁸Sr/⁸⁶Sr= .1194, with an average ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr= 0.71026±18 (1σ) for the NIST 987 Sr standard and 362 internal precision (within-run precision) of $\pm 0.0012 - 0.0018\%$ (1 σ) standard error based on 150
- dynamic cycles. 363
- 364

365 2.5 FTIR

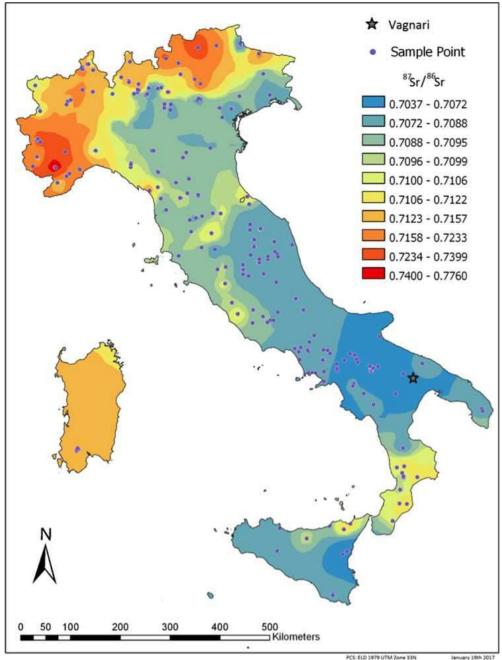
366

367 Preservation of biogenic apatite at Velia was assessed utilizing Fourier transformation infrared 368 spectroscopy (FTIR) analysis of dental enamel from five individuals interred at Velia. FTIR was 369 used for calculating crystallinity index (CI) where, CI = $(A_{565} + A_{605})/A_{595}$, A_x being absorbance at 370 the wave number X in cm⁻¹; Cl values \leq 3.8 indicate preservation of biogenic apatite (Shemesh 1990; Wright and Schwarcz 1996). FTIR analysis was conducted at the McMaster Combustion 371 372 Analysis and Optical Spectroscopy Facility. Samples were cleaned, enamel ground into a fine 373 powder, passed through a #200 mesh sieve, combined with dry potassium bromide (KBr), 374 ground, and compressed into pellets at 10,000 psi. Samples were analyzed using a Nicolet 375 6700 dry nitrogen purged FTIR, room temperature DTGS detector with extended KBr beam 376 splitter, resolution 4 cm⁻¹ (wavenumber) at 32 scans.

377 378 2.6 Predicted Strontium (⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr) and Oxygen (δ¹⁸O_{dw}) Values for Velia

379

380 The geology of Velia is a mixture of lower Miocene flysch, including limestone, sandstone, and 381 dolomite; lower Pleistocene conglomerates; middle Pleistocene clays with peat; and sand with 382 volcanic ashes, as well as more recent Holocene gravels and sand with beach gravels (Gelati et 383 al. 1989; Guariglia 2011). Based on the predictive modeling of bioavailable ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr variation in 384 Italy presented by Emery et al. (2018a), Velia is located in a region where ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values 385 between 0.7037-0.7088 are expected (Fig. 3). To provide further refinement for the environs 386 around Velia, ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values from nine archaeofaunal pig teeth, originally presented in Stark 387 (2016), were utilized to establish an expected bioavailable ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr range. Domesticated 388 porcine species in southern Italy are known from as early as the Bronze Age, with Lucania, the 389 region within which Velia is located, being a key region of pork supply during the Roman era 390 (MacKinnon 2001; Lega et al. 2016). Swine are commonly fed grains and foodstuffs consistent 391 with or similar to those used in human diets; resultant ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values can provide valuable 392 insight to expected local bioavailable ranges.

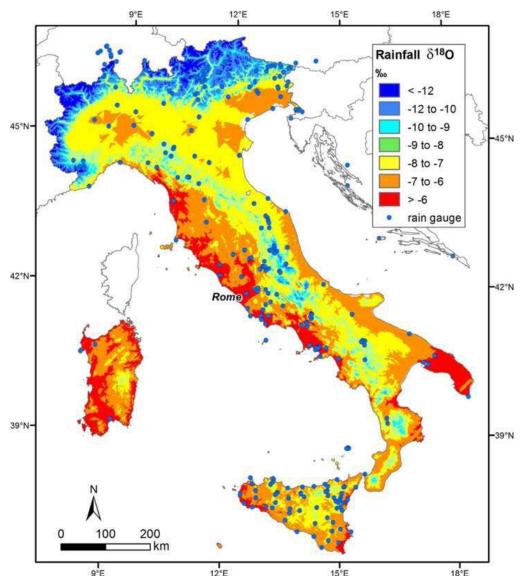


394 395 Fig. 3: Approximated distribution of bioavailable ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values for the Italian peninsula (as 396 published in Emery et al. 2018)

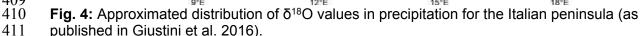
397

398 In terms of $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ variation, the data presented by Longinelli and Selmo (2003) place Velia within a region having expected $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values between -6‰ to -5‰. This predicted range 399 was expanded in 2016 by Giustini and colleagues, to include values from -8‰ to -6‰ (Fig. 4). 400 Intra-population variation in local δ^{18} O values is generally accepted to be ~±1‰ (Schwarcz et al. 401 402 2010). To approximate the expected local value of meteoric precipitation at Velia and to facilitate comparison with GNIP and local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ datasets, $\delta^{18}O_{c}$ values were converted to $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ following Chenery et al. (2012). Such values carry an uncertainty of ±1‰ (2 σ) and are 403 404 used as a guide for gauging the correspondence between individuals and their residential 405 406 environment (Pollard et al. 2011; Chenery et al. 2012).

407 408



409



412

413 2.7 Statistical Analyses

414

SPSS was used to examine for potentially significant differences in $\delta^{18}O$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values between males and females and between age categories. A Shapiro-Wilk test was employed to gauge the normality of sample distribution. To assess for significant differences between male and female individuals, a t-test was utilized for normally distributed samples and the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test was used for non-normally distributed samples. To examine for significant differences by age group, four age categories were established: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, and 50+. An ANOVA test was employed for normally distributed samples and a non-parametric

422 Kruskal-Wallis test for non-normally distributed samples (Ross 2010).

Identification of local vs. non-local individuals was determined using bagplot analysis
 (Fig. 5). Bagplots provide a robust assessment of outliers utilizing three nested polygons known

425 as the "bag," "fence", and "loop", which are based on a depth median, being the point with
426 highest half space depth (visualized as a red starburst). The bag, indicated with dark blue, is
427 established using a Tukey depth (centerpoint) and comprises ≤50% of the data points; the

428 fence, which is not plotted, is formed by expanding the bag by a factor of three and serves to

separate inliers from outliers; the resulting intermediary area between the bag and the fence,

identified using light blue, is known as the loop. This loop area represents values that falloutside of the limits of the bag (i.e. values that have greater dispersion from the depth median)

432 but are still within the established limits of the fence (i.e. are not statistical outliers). This method

433 creates a robust threshold beyond which values can be considered confidently as outliers within

434 a given sample (Rousseeuw et al. 1999; Gower et al. 2011; Lightfoot and O'Connell

435 2016).Generation of a bivariate bagplot was conducted using the R statistical package *aplpack*436 (Wolf 2018).

- 437
- 438 **3. Results**
- 439

440 **3.1 CI Values and Defining Local Ranges**

441

442 FTIR analysis yielded CI values of ≤3.8, indicating preservation of biogenic apatite within 443 depositional contexts at Velia. Based on the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values derived from nine archaeofaunal 444 pig teeth from Velia, which were previously presented in Stark (2016), the expected bioavailable 445 ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr range for Velia was established by Stark (2016) as approximating 0.70783–0.70979 446 (2σ), a local range consistent with ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values predicted from underlying geology in regions 447 surrounding Velia (Emery et al. 2018a). Such consistency suggests that the pig teeth utilized 448 from Velia were not likely imported from a distant region. Based on the expected $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values 449 of precipitation established by Giustini et al. (2016) in conjunction with the expected local values 450 established by Prowse et al. (2007) for the site of Portus, located in the same isopleth as Velia 451 further north on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, an expected local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ range for Velia was 452 approximated as -8.9% to -4.8% (1 σ).

453

454 **3.2** δ¹⁸O_{dw} and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr Variation among Individuals from Velia

455

456 Among the 20 individuals sampled from Velia, all of whom were interred in inhumation style 457 array a_{180}^{180} values varied from 1.2% (Valia 57) to 0.4% (Valia 211), a range of 8.1%

457 graves, $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values varied from -1.3‰ (Velia 57) to -9.4‰ (Velia 211), a range of 8.1‰. 458 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values ranged from 0.70788 (Velia 57) to 0.70901 (Velia 211) (**Table 1**).

459

460 **Table 1:** Osteobiographic data, $\delta^{18}O_c$ VPDB, $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ VSMOW, and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ for 20 individuals 461 sampled from Velia

Individual	Sex	Age (yrs.)	M2 δ ¹⁸ O _c VPDB (‰)	M2 δ ¹⁸ O _{dw} VSMOW (‰)	⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr
Velia 57	М	30-35	-1.1	-1.3	0.70788
Velia 82	F	50+	-4.1	-6.2	0.70879
Velia 117	F	20-30	-5.6	-8.7	0.70880
Velia 134	F	20-30	-5.8	-9.0	0.70890
Velia 139	М	30-40	-4.6	-7.0	0.70839
Velia 146	М	43-55	-4.3	-6.5	0.70827
Velia 160	F	30-40	-4.9	-7.5	0.70866
Velia 169	М	30-40	-5.5	-8.4	0.70874

Velia 174	М	40-50	-4.7	-7.1	0.70869
Velia 181	F	50+	-4.7	-7.1	0.70866
Velia 182	М	25-30	-4.2	-6.3	0.70873
Velia 186	М	20-24	-3.6	-5.4	0.70857
Velia 194	М	30-40	-5.8	-9.1	0.70860
Velia 205	F	30-40	-2.4	-3.5	0.70868
Velia 211	М	30-35	-6.0	-9.4	0.70901
Velia 214	F	25-35	-5.5	-8.5	0.70822
Velia 222	М	30-40	-3.5	-5.3	0.70878
Velia 223	F	40-45	-5.4	-8.4	0.70875
Velia 270	F	40-50	-3.9	-5.9	0.70900
Velia 283	F	50+	-4.2	-6.4	0.70882

462

463 **3.3 Normality and Significance**

464

Mann-Whitney U (p=0.165) and t-test analyses (p=0.573) identified no significant differences
between males and females at the 0.05 level. ANOVA (p=0.947) and Kruskal-Wallis (p=0.517)
analyses identified no significant differences between age categories at the 0.05 level. Given
the absence of statistically significant differences between age and sex categories, all samples
were pooled.

470

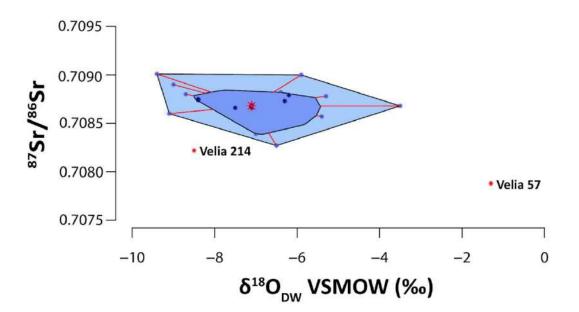
471 **3.4 Local vs. Non-Local Individuals**

472

473 Taking the expected local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ range into consideration on its own, two females (Velia 134, 474 205) and three males (Velia 57, 194, 211) fall outside of the expected local range, though Velia 475 134 and 194 are only slightly outside of the predicted local range. No individuals fall outside of 476 the expected local bioavailable 87 Sr/ 86 Sr range based on the values provided by the pig teeth. A 477 graphical representation of the expected local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr ranges is presented in

478 **Supplementary Fig. 1**.

The use of a bivariate bagplot identified two individuals as distinctly non-local: Velia 57 and Velia 214. Several individuals also fall between the fence and the loop which, though statistically considered local, may imply mobility towards Velia from geographically similar or proximate regions (**Fig. 5**).



484 485 **Fig. 5:** Bagplot analysis of $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values for 20 individuals sampled from Velia. 486 Distinct statistical outliers are shown as red dots and have been identified by their associated 487 labels: Velia 57 and Velia 214.

488

489 4. Discussion

490

491 4.1 Water Sources at Velia

492

493 From its earliest inception as a Phocaean colony the water supply of Velia was provided by a 494 mixture of rain water, stored in communal cisterns and pithoi, and local spring water channeled 495 through canals from the surrounding vallone del Frittolo (Krinzinger 1986; Greco and De Simone 496 2012). This method of water collection was maintained into the Roman era, at which time a 497 small aqueduct system and public fountains were built to increase the volume and distribution of 498 water (Smith 1854; Ashby 1935; Greco and De Simone 2012). Given the local source of the 499 spring water, the use of enclosed distribution piping, and the large size of the main cisterns 500 minimizing evaporation, consumption of the drinking water at Velia would have provided local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values. 501

502

503 4.2 87 Sr/86 Sr Variability at Velia

504

505 Looking at the expected ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values for Velia from the generated bioavailable mapping of 506 Emery et al. (2018a) and the previously analyzed archaeofaunal pig teeth of Stark (2016), it is 507 clear that discrepancies exist between the expected values and the proximate geology of the 508 Velia region. The predicted bioavailable range of ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values for Velia presented in Emery 509 et al. (2018a) falls between ~0.7037 to 0.7072, a range into which none of the archaeofaunal or analyzed human teeth fall. Northeast of Velia is a zone in which predicted ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values range 510 511 from 0.7072 to 0.7088, a range that more readily aligns with the values observed from most of

512 the 20 individuals sampled. Such variation, particularly in light of the more variable $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ 513 observed, brings into question the nature of ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values at Velia. Three possibilities can be

514 readily guestioned: predicted bioavailable values, dietary sources, and sea spray.

515 The predictive baseline model presented by Emery et al. (2018a) utilized published bioavailable modern and archaeological ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr datasets as well as fossil, sediment, and 516 517 natural spring water values (n=199 data points). Using these values, a bioavailable map of the 518 Italian peninsula was generated based on a bounded inverse distance weighting (IDW) 519 interpolation. This map provides the first approximation of bioavailable values for the Italian 520 peninsula but must also be used with caution as the values presented are derived from wide 521 regions and interpolated across the predictive ranges. Emery et al. (2018a) recommend that, when available, local bioavailable ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values be utilized in tandem to supplement regional 522 523 values provided by the bioavailable map. In the case of Velia, the generally lower predicted 524 ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr range for the area of Velia presented by Emery et al. (2018a) in comparison to the pig 525 teeth values from Velia suggests that more nuanced local ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr variation in southern Italy 526 may be obscured by the larger regional trends interpolated from the values employed in the 527 mapping.

528 The possibility of consuming staple foodstuffs developed in the hinterland of Velia, or 529 potentially from regions further afield, and processed products such as garum may have played 530 a role in the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values reflected in the 20 second molars sampled. Craig et al. (2009) 531 investigated diet at Velia and found that the primary diet appears to have been high in cereals 532 with comparatively lower intake of meat/fish. They identified two distinct dietary groups: Group I, 533 which exhibit $\delta^{15}N$ and $\delta^{13}C$ values indicative of high cereal consumption with lesser contributions from meat/dairy and minor fish/garum intake (δ^{13} C range= -20.0‰ to -19.0‰; δ^{15} N 534 535 range= +6.4‰ to +9.6‰); Group II, which exhibits similar δ^{13} C values to Group I but δ^{15} N values 536 >+9.6‰, suggesting greater contributions from meat/fish products. Of the 20 individuals 537 sampled, only Velia 57 ($\delta^{15}N=14.0\%$) and Velia 169 ($\delta^{15}N=11.3\%$) fall within Group II. As 538 previously noted, Velia 57 appears distinctly non-local. Velia 169 has an ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr value 539 consistent with the expected local range and similar to the remaining 18 individuals within Group 540 I of Craig et al. (2009), suggesting that the potential impacts from elevated consumption of salty 541 foods (e.g. garum) does not appear to have adversely influenced the resultant ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values 542 (cf. Wright 2005; Fenner and Wright 2014). A Pearson correlation was undertaken to assess the degree of correspondence between $\delta^{15}N$ and $\delta^{13}C$ values published by Craig et al. (2009) and 543 544 δ¹⁸O_{dw} and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values presented herein. A distinct lack of correspondence is apparent 545 (Table 2).

546

547 **Table 2:** Pearson correlation between $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$, ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$, $\delta^{15}N$, and $\delta^{13}C$ values from Velia

	δ ¹⁸ O _{dw} VSMOW	⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr
δ ¹³ C	0.22349	0.14448
δ ¹⁵ N	0.49768	-0.48048

548

549 Lastly, sea spray may have been a factor in the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values of individuals from Velia. 550 Sea spray may unnaturally influence coastal ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values, pushing values towards that of 551 sea water (0.7092) with the addition of sea spray to consumed foodstuffs (Bentley 2006). Given 552 the proposed reliance on foodstuffs from the inland territory of Velia it is unlikely that sea spray 553 contributed significantly to the ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values documented (Veizer 1989; Chadwick et al. 1999; 554 Whipkey et al. 2000; Kusaka et al. 2009; Bentley 2006; Knudson et al. 2014). This assumption 555 is further validated by the finding that only two individuals at Velia (Velia 211, 270) exhibit values approximating marine ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values, suggesting that sea spray was not a major factor at 556

557 Velia. Though not evident in the individuals sampled, further analysis of floral, faunal, and 558 human ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values may help to assess the potential of sea spray contributions at Velia 559 (cf. Ryan et al. 2018).

560

561 4.3 Regions of Mobility

562

563 Based on the bivariate bagplot, at least 2 individuals (n=2/20, 10%) appear distinctly non-local to Velia: Velia 57 and Velia 214 (Fig. 5). Velia 57 has δ¹⁸O_{dw} and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values consistent 564 with an origin in a warmer region such as North Africa ($\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ =-1.3‰; ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr=0.70788), a 565 finding further supported by the comparatively high $\delta^{15}N$ at 14.0‰ and low $\delta^{13}C$ at -19.2‰ 566 567 previously presented for this individual by Craig et al. (2009). Prowse et al. (2007) present 568 evidence of a 40–50 year old male individual from Isola Sacra (SCR 617) with a $\delta^{18}O_c$ signature 569 of -1.3‰ which they propose as being from North Africa, while the expected local ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr 570 range of 0.70732–0.70789 presented by Buzon et al. (2007) for Tombos aligns with that of 571 Velia 57, providing additional substantiating evidence for a possible North African childhood 572 residence of Velia 57. Though an origin in North Africa appears the most probable for this 573 individual, it must also be kept in mind that other circum-Mediterranean regions where similar 574 δ^{18} O and 87 Sr/ 86 Sr values are present cannot be entirely ruled out.

575 Velia 214 presents $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values suggestive of early life residency in the 576 interior of the Italian peninsula. The ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ and $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values of this individual fit within both 577 local ranges, suggesting residency in an area of proximate or similar geology and drinking water 578 to Velia; statistically however, this individual falls outside of the bagplot loop indicating a distinct 579 non-similarity to the rest of the sample. Based on the $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values presented in Giustini et al. 580 (2016) and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr in Emery et al. (2018a), a residency of this individual in the foothills of the 581 Apennine mountains or in the border region between Campania, Basilicata and Calabria 582 provides the most parsimonious interpretation for childhood residency.

583 Three individuals (Velia 134, 194, 211) who fall outside of the local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ range, but 584 who are not statistical outliers on the bagplot, have comparable $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ (-9.4‰ to -9.0‰) and 585 ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr (0.70868 to 0.70901) values that suggest a similarity in residency during M2 586 development. The area around Vallo della Lucania, northeast of Velia, and the elevated inland 587 border region between Campania, Basilicata and into Calabria exhibit a continuum of δ¹⁸O_{dw} 588 values that extends to -10% to -9.0% (Giustini et al. 2016). A parsimonious interpretation of the 589 data, given the similar ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values of these three individuals to other local individuals at 590 Velia, suggests it is probable that they arrived at Velia from these nearby regions, though not necessarily all from the same area. Similar $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values are recorded elsewhere: 591 592 Schweissing and Grupe (2003a.b) report expected ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values between 0.70899 to 0.70992 593 for the area south of the Danube, while Sofeso et al. (2012) report δ^{18} O values ranging from 594 -8.1‰ to -9.9‰ for the majority of individuals from the Imperial Roman site of Erding Kletthamer 595 Feld; numerous others areas in the Apennine and Alp regions also present similar values. Such 596 a distant origin of these three individuals, though not impossible, is less probable.

597 The remainder of the individuals sampled (n=15) appear local. The diversity of $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ 598 and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values represented among these 15 individuals does not suggest a singular place 599 of residency. Rather, it appears that individuals sampled likely lived in and around the region of 500 Velia and that local mobility events to Velia, where they were ultimately interred, were taking 501 place. As these individuals all fall within the expected local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ ranges, it is not 502 possible to further delineate the potentiality of local mobility, or rather mobility within the 503 expected local $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ ranges, though such events almost certainly occurred.

604

605

607 4.4 Interpreting "Foreigners" at Velia

608

609 What can be made of the evident foreigners at Velia? From a bapplot analysis of the isotopic 610 data it is apparent that 10% (Velia 57 and 214) of the individuals examined are distinct outliers 611 and can be considered non-local to the area of Velia up to at least the age of ~7-8 when M2 612 dental enamel development is complete. Three additional individuals (Velia 134, 194, 211), 613 though statistically within the loop of the bagplot, exhibit $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values that suggest childhood 614 residency at a location somewhat removed from the environs of Velia. It is important to keep in 615 mind that the interpretation of δ¹⁸O and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values from bulk enamel represent the average 616 of values integrated into the enamel structure over the period of formation and as such 617 identification of mobility events from the timeframe of formation represents a broad picture of 618 mobility. 619 In the case of Velia 57, who has a signal consistent with a childhood residency in North 620 Africa, it is unclear what might have brought this male individual to Velia. Connections between 621 Roman North Africa and peninsular Italy are well known (Rickman 1980; Bagnall and Frier 622 1994; Pomey 1997; Cherry 1998; De Ligt 2012). Aside from the port environs of Velia itself,

622 1994; Pomey 1997; Cherry 1998; De Ligt 2012). Aside from the port environs of Velia Itself, 623 access and mobility to Velia would also have been readily possible via the larger port of Puteoli 624 at Naples, a key location for shipments from Alexandria (D'Arms 1974; Brunson 2002; Arnaud 625 2005, 2012). As Velia was a port city this may provide one part of the explanation as to why 626 individual Velia 57 came to ultimately reside at Velia. Beyond this supposition, however, further 627 rationale for the eventual residency of this individual at the site of Velia cannot be clearly 628 elucidated from the evidence currently available. The case of Velia 214 appears to suggest a 629 much more local mobility event.

630 Based on textual and epigraphic data Noy (2000) estimates the percentage of free 631 migrants in 3rd CE Roman contexts at ~5%: 2% being soldiers and their families, and 3% being 632 civilian immigrants. Hin (2013) argues that Rome was overwhelmingly the main migration 633 destination for free migrants, with migration into the provinces believed to have been 634 comparatively minor. Though precise homelands cannot be determined for the two non-local individuals identified at Velia, the approximated regional origins of Velia 57 and Velia 214 635 636 indicate that mobility to Velia was taking place from both relatively local (Velia 214) and 637 evidently more distant (Velia 57) environs. Further analysis of a larger sample of individuals and 638 faunal remains from Velia may help to refine the initial insights on mobility presented herein.

639

640 *4.5 Mobility in Southern Italian Contexts*

641

With Roman imperial expansion into southern Italy came the establishment of coastal ports and the extension of roadways, such as the Via Appia, making mobility to these regions and associated settlements increasingly possible (Garnsey and Saller 2014). The degree to which mobility varied between inland and coastal sites remains an area in need of further investigation (Lomas 1993, 2016; Greco 2003; Prowse et al. 2010). To date, the Imperial Roman sites of Vagnari (Prowse 2010; Emery et al. 2018a.b) and that of Velia, presented herein, are the only from southern Italian contexts to be investigated from an isotopic perspective.

649 Mobility to the inland site of Vagnari (1st to 4th c. CE), part of an Imperial Estate located 650 near Gravina in the Basentello valley of Puglia where tile and iron production as well as 651 development of interior lands took place, has been investigated using δ^{18} O, ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr and aDNA 652 (Small and Small 2005; Prowse et al. 2010; Prowse 2016; Emery 2018a,b). Initial assessments 653 of mobility using δ^{18} O identified >90% of the analyzed individuals as being from Vagnari, falling 654 within the expected local range of -8‰ to -6‰ (Prowse et al. 2010; Prowse 2016). Employing 655 δ^{18} O_{dw} in conjunction with a local bioavailable ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr range of 0.70802-0.70901, as derived

from soil, snail shell and ungulate teeth, Emery et al. (2018a) were able to show, using bagplot

analysis, that 39/43 (90%) individuals were local: 25 individuals (58%) were identified as having 657 658 δ¹⁸O_{dw} and ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr values that indicate their residency directly at Vagnari, while an additional 659 34% were identified as from proximate environs in southern Italy. A small proportion of 660 individuals (~7%) were indicated as having migrated to Vagnari from more distant areas. No significant differences were noted between males and females. Bagplot analysis identified four 661 662 distinct outliers (Female: F130; Male: F67, F131, F231). The proposed origins of these outliers 663 were identified as potentially North Africa or southern Spain (F130), northern Italy, and western 664 Europe. The use of mtDNA evidence by Prowse et al. (2010) and Emery et al. (2018b) provides 665 supplementary confirmation of the generally local nature of individuals interred at Vagnari. Among the mtDNA haplogroup profiles of the 30 individuals presented by Emery et al. (2018b) 666 667 28/30 (~93%) are consistent with a western Eurasian genetic background; the remaining 2/30 668 (~7%) individuals (F34 and F37) belong to haplogroup D4b1c, a grouping commonly found in 669 eastern Eurasian populations. Though such genetic evidence cannot provide insight to specific 670 mobility events, it nonetheless attests to haplogroup diversity at Vagnari, which has implications 671 for past mobility events into the region.

672 Taking the evidence from Vagnari and Velia into account, a similar picture of mobility is 673 evident at both sites. Both southern Italian sites exhibit similar rates of mobility at ~10% and a 674 similar distribution based on the samples analyzed. Such a finding suggests that Roman 675 Imperial era southern Italy saw a comparatively lesser degree of mobility than more urban and 676 cosmopolitan sites such as Casal Bertone, Castellaccio Europarco and Portus, where the rate 677 of non-local individuals identified approaches 33% (see Prowse et al. 2007; Killgrove 2010a, b; 678 Killgrove and Montgomery 2016). Among local and non-local individuals identified at Velia and 679 Vagnari a similar regional pattern also appears evident. At both sites the majority of individuals 680 sampled appear local from the site environs, while a smaller, though still significant number of 681 individuals, appear to have resided in environs directly proximate or within close proximity to the 682 sites in question: at Velia the inland border region between Campania, Basilicata and into 683 Calabria appears to have been a point of mobility; at Vagnari the region around the Basentello 684 valley appears to have been a primary locale of mobility. A small proportion of non-local 685 individuals at Vagnari and Velia appear to have been mobile from significantly distant regions, likely including North Africa (Velia 57) and North Africa or southern Spain (F130), as well as 686 687 northern Italy and western Europe.

688 Such evidence indicates that while mobility in southern Italian Imperial Roman contexts 689 does appear to have been less frequent, that distant mobility events were still taking place. The 690 possible rationale behind such mobility events are so multifold-ranging from mobility for 691 employment, government or military service, to enslavement, among others-that they cannot 692 be readily delineated without further substantiating epigraphic and/or archaeological evidence 693 (Noy 2000; Scheidel 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007; Webster 2008, 2010; Woolf 2016). What is 694 evident based on the evidence from Vagnari and Velia, however, is that mobility within southern 695 Italian Imperial Roman contexts does not appear to have been significantly different for coastal 696 vs. inland access routes.

697

698 **4.6 Isotopic Assessments of Mobility for the Italian Peninsula**

699

The viability of using isotopes of oxygen and strontium for examining mobility within Roman contexts have been confirmed on numerous occasions (e.g. Prowse et al. 2007, Killgrove 2010 a,b; Killgrove and Montgomery 2016; Emery et al. 2018a, b). The application of this approach, however, is not without its challenges for identifying mobility within peninsular Italian contexts (cf. Bruun 2010). Regions of homogeneous $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values within the environs of the Italian peninsula present opportunities for the introduction of ambiguity in differentiating between local and non-local mobility depending on the regions in question. In terms of $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$,

- east to west mobility events can be comparatively easily differentiate, while large regions of homogeneous $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values exist in a north-south direction (Longinelli and Selmo 2003;
- Giustini et al. 2016). Conversely in the case of ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr, broadly speaking, north-south mobility
- is much more readily discernible compared to east-west mobility (cf. Emery et al. 2018a). The
- interplay of these two systems (i.e. $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$), when utilized in tandem, can mitigate
- the challenges of regional homogeneity, as has been previously demonstrated in the work ofKillgrove and Montgomery (2016) and Emery et al. (2018a).
- Though this brief synthesis of mobility events at Velia has shown a subset of individuals to have been non-local, it must also be borne in mind that mobility from proximate regions as well as mobility across regions with homogeneous isotopic values could also have been
- 717 potentially occurring at Velia, but are not readily evident from isotopic evidence due to regional
- 518 similarities in isotopic values. Further definition of expected local isotopic values and
- bioavailable ranges within peninsular Italy will help to reduce the impact such areas of isotopichomogeneity have on palaeomobility studies.
- 721

722 **5. Conclusions**

- 723
- 724 With increasing territorial expansion during the Imperial Roman era, ever greater opportunities 725 for mobility were possible: both self-directed and enforced (Noy 2000; Scheidel 1997, 2001, 726 2004, 2005, 2007; Webster 2008, 2010; Woolf 2016). Regardless of the mechanism or impetus 727 for mobility, the movement of people across the landscape is a defining feature of the Imperial 728 Roman era. The southern Italian port of Velia is no exception. Though the study presented 729 herein examines a relatively small subset of twenty individuals from the broader population of 730 Velia, the identification of two distinct non-local outliers interred at Velia makes clear that 731 individuals were mobile towards this site from both proximate and more distant regions. With 732 additional sampling and isotopic analyses and integration of further datasets from
- archaeological and epigraphic materials it is hoped that an increasingly robust assessment of
- mobility events to Velia can be derived in future analyses.
- 735

736 Acknowledgements

737

The authors would like to thank the Museo delle Civiltà of Rome for permitting research on the Velia collection and Dr. Alan Dickin and Martin Knyf for their guidance in preparing and running isotopic samples from Velia. The authors would also like to express their gratitude to the Editor and anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on this article.

742 743

744 Funding Sources

- 745
- This research was funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of
 Canada (SSHRC), the Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement (CGS-MSFSS), the Ontario
 Graduate Scholarship (OGS), the Lemmermann Foundation, the Shelley Saunders Scholarship
 in Anthropology (McMaster University), McMaster University Department of Anthropology, the
 Shelley R. Saunders Thesis Research Grant (CAPA-ACAP), and the Italian Government
- 751 Bursary for Foreign and I.R.E Students.
- 752
- Funding sources for this research did not have any input to the design, data collection or article generation based on the data collected.
- 755

756 757	Bibliography
758 759 760	Al Qahtani SJ. 2009. Atlas of Human Tooth Development and Eruption. www.atlas.dentistry.qmul.ac.uk.
761 762 763	Arnaud, P, 2005. Les Routes de la Navigation Antique. Itineraires en Méditerranée. Éditions Errance, Paris.
764 765 766 767	Arnaud, P. 2012. L'Homme, le Temps et la Mer: Continuité et Changement des Routes Maritimes de et vers <i>Portus</i> . In: Keay, S., (Ed.), Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean. The British School at Rome, London, pp. 127-146.
768 769 770 771	Arppe L, Karhu JA. 2005. Paleoclimatological Signals in the Oxygen Isotope Composition of Mammoth Skeletal Remains from Finland and Western Russia. Geophysical Research Abstracts 7:04737.
772 773 774	Acsádi, G., Nemeskéri, J. 1970. History of Human Lifespan and Mortality. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
775 776 777	Ashby T. 1935. The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome, edited by I.A. Richmond. The Clarendon Press, Oxford.
778 779 780 781	Ayliffe LK, Lister AM, Chivas AR. 1992. The Preservation of Glacial-Interglacial Climatic Signatures in the Oxygen Isotopes of Elephant Skeletal Phosphates. Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology 99:179–191.
781 782 783 784	Bagnall RS, Frier B. 1994. The Demography of Roman Egypt. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
785 786	Ball W. 2000. Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire. Routledge, New York.
787 788 789	Barth F. (Ed.). 1969. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. George Allen and Unwin, London.
790 791 792	Bataille CP, and Bowen GJ. 2012. Mapping ⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr Variations in Bedrock and Water for Large Scale Provenance Studies. Chemical Geology 304-305:39-52.
793 794 795	Bentley RA. 2006. Strontium Isotopes from the Earth to the Archaeological Skeleton: A Review. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 13:135–187.
796 797 798	Bondioli L, Nava A, Rossi PF, Sperduti A. 2016. Diet and health in Central-Southern Italy during the Roman Imperial time. Acta Imeko, 5:19-25.
799 800 801	Bowen GJ. 2010. Isoscapes: Spatial Pattern in Isotopic Biogeochemistry. Annual Review of Earth and Planetary Sciences 38:161–187.
802 803 804	Brunson M. 2002. Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire, Revised Edition. Facts on File, New York.
805 806	Bruun C. 2010. Water, Oxygen Isotopes, and Immigration to Ostia-Portus. Journal of Roman Archaeology 23:109–132.

807 Budd P. Montgomery J. Barreiro B. Thomas RG. 2000. Differential Diagenesis of Strontium in 808 Archaeological Human Dental Tissues. Applied Geochemistry 15:687-694. 809 810 Buikstra JE, Ubelaker DH. 1994. Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains. 811 Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 44, Fayetteville. 812 813 Burmeister S. 2000. Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of 814 Migration. Current Anthropology 41:539-567. 815 816 Cebeillac-Gervasoni M. 1996. Gli Africani ad Ostia, Ovvero le Mani sulla Citta. In: Montepaone 817 C. (Ed.), L'Incidenza dell'Antico: Studi in Memoria di Ettore Lepore. Edizioni Luciano, Naples, 818 pp. 557–567. 819 Cerchiai L. 2004. Elea (Velia). In: Cerchiai L, Jannelli L, Longo F. (Eds.), Die Griechen in 820 821 Süditalien auf Spurensuche zwischen Neapel und Syrakus. Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 822 Stuttgart, pp. 82-89. 823 824 Chadwick OA, Derry LA, Vitousek PM, Huebert BJ, Hedin LO. 1999. Changing Sources of 825 Nutrients During Four Million Years of Ecosystem Development. Nature 397:491497. 826 827 Chenery CA, Pashley V, Lamb AL, Sloane HJ, Evans JA. 2012. The Oxygen Isotope 828 Relationship Between the Phosphate and Structural Carbonate Fractions of Human Bioapatite. 829 Rapid Communications in Mass Spectrometry 26:309-319. 830 831 Cherry D. 1998. Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 832 833 Christensen GJ, Kraus BS. 1965. Initial Calcification of the Human Permanent First Molar. 834 Journal of Dental Research 44:1338–1342. 835 836 Copeland SR, Sponheimer M, le Roux PJ, Grimes V, Lee-Thorp JA, de Ruiter DJ, Richards MP. 837 2008. Strontium Isotope Ratios (87Sr/86Sr) of Tooth Enamel: A Comparison of Solution and 838 Laser Ablation Multicollector Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry Methods. Rapid 839 Communications in Mass Spectrometry 22:3187-3194. 840 841 Craig OE, Biazzo M, O'Connell T, Garnsey P, Martinez-Labarga C, Lelli R, Salvadei L, Tartaglia 842 G, Nava A, Renò L, Fiammenghi A, Rickards O, Bondioli L. 2009. Stable Isotopic Evidence for 843 Diet at the Imperial Roman Coastal Site of Velia (1st and 2nd Centuries AD) in Southern Italy. 844 American Journal of Physical Anthropology 139:572-583. 845 846 Crowe F, Sperduti A, O'Connell TC, Craig OE, Kirsanow K, Germoni P, Macchiarelli R, Garnsey 847 P. Bondioli L. 2010. Water-Related Occupations and Diet in Two Roman Coastal Communities 848 (Italy, First to Third Century AD): Correlation Between Stable Carbon and Nitrogen isotope 849 Values and Auricular Exostosis Prevalence. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 850 142:355-366. 851 852 D'Arms JH. 1974. Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic 853 Study. The Journal of Roman Studies 64:104-124. 854 855 Dansgaard W. 1964. Stable Isotopes in Precipitation. Tellus 16:436–467. 856 857 Daux V, Lécuyer C, Héran MA, Amiot R, Simon L, Fourel F, Martineau F, Lynnerup N,

858 Reychler H, and Escarguel. 2008. Oxygen Isotope Fractionation Between Human 859 Phosphate and Water Revisited. Journal of Human Evolution 55:1138-1147. 860 861 De Ligt L. 2012. Peasants, Citizens and Soldiers: Studies in the Demographic History of Roman 862 Italy 225 BC-AD 100. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 863 864 Dickin AP. 2005. Radiogenic Isotope Geology, Second Edition. Cambridge University Press, 865 Cambridge. 866 867 Demény A, Gugora Ad, Kesjár D, Lécuyer C, Fourel F. 2019. Stable Isotope Analysis of the 868 Carbonate Component of Bones and Teeth: The Need for Method Standardization. Journal of 869 Archaeological Science 109: 104979. 870 871 DePaolo DJ, Ingram BL. 1985. High-Resolution Stratigraphy with Strontium Isotopes. Science 872 227.4689:938-941. 873 874 Ebner P. 1962. Scuole di Medicina a Velia e a Salerno. Apollo 2:125–136. 875 876 Ebner P. 1970. Nuove Iscrizioni di Velia. La Parola del Passato 25:262–267. 877 878 Ebner P. 1978. Altre Epigrafi e Monete di Velia. La Parola del Passato 33:61–73. 879 880 Elderfield H. 1986. Strontium Isotope Stratigraphy. Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, 881 Palaeoecology 57:71–90. 882 883 Emery MV, Stark R, Murchie TJ, Elford S, Schwarcz H, Prowse TL. 2018a. Mapping the origins 884 of imperial Roman workers (1st-4th century CE) at Vagnari, southern Italy, using ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr and 885 δ^{18} O variability. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 166:837-850. 886 887 Emery MV, Duggan AT, Murchie TJ, Stark RJ, Klunk J, Hider J, Eaton K, Karpinski E, Schwarcz 888 HP, Poinar HN, Prowse TL. 2018b. Ancient Roman Mitochondrial Genomes and Isotopes 889 Reveal Relationships and Geographic Origins at the Local and Pan-Mediterranean Scales. 890 Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports 20:200-209. 891 892 Ermolli ER, Romano P, Ruello MR. 2013. Human-Environment Interactions in the Southern 893 Tyrrhenian Coastal Area: Hypotheses from Neapolis and Elea-Velia. In: Harris WV. (Ed.), The 894 Ancient Mediterranean Environment Between Science and History. Brill, Leiden, pp. 213-231. 895 896 Faure G, Mensing TM, 2005. Isotopes: Principles and Applications, Third Edition. Wiley, 897 Hoboken. 898 899 Faure G, Powell JL. 1972. Strontium Isotope Geology. Springer-Verlag, Berlin. 900 901 Fenner J, Wright L. 2014. Revisiting the Strontium Contribution of Sea Salt in the Human Diet. 902 Journal of Archaeological Science 44:99103. 903 904 Ferembach D. Schwidetzky I. Stoukal M. 1977-79. Raccomandazioni per la Determinazione 905 dell'Etá e del Sesso sullo Scheletro. Rivista di Antropologia 60:5-51. 906 907 Fiammenghi CA. 2003. La Necropoli di Elea Velia: Qualche Osservazione Preliminare. 908 Quaderni del Centro Studi Magna Grecia 1:29-48.

- 909
- 910 Fiammenghi CA, La Torre C. 2005. L'edificio Funerario Numero 1 dalla Necropoli di Porta 911 Marina Sud di Velia. In: Brandt B, Krinzinger F. (Eds.), Synergia: Festschrift für Friedrich 912 Krinzinger. Phoibos, Vienna, pp. 25–35. 913 914 Fontana S. 2001. Leptis Magna. The Romanization of a Major African City Through Burial 915 Evidence. In: Keay S., Terrenato N. (Eds.), Italy and the West Comparative Issues in 916 Romanization. Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp. 161-172. 917 918 Garnsey P., Saller R. 2014. The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture. University of 919 California Press, Oakland. 920 921 Gat JR. 1996. Oxygen and Hydrogen Isotopes in the Hydrological Cycle. Annual Review of 922 Earth and Planetary Sciences 24:225-262. 923 924 Gat JR. 2005. Some Classical Concepts of Isotope Hydrology: "Rayleigh Fractionation, 925 Meteoric Water Lines, the Dansgaard Effects (Altitude, Latitude, Distance From 926 the Coast and Amount Effects) and the D-Excess Parameter. Aggarwal PK, Gat JR and 927 Froehlich KFO, (eds.) Isotopes in the Water Cycle: Past, Present and Future of a Developing 928 Science. Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands: 127-139. 929 930 Gat JR, Froehlich KFO, (Eds.) Isotopes in the Water Cycle: Past, Present and 931 Future of a Developing Science. Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands: 127-139. 932 933 Gat JR, Klein B, Kushnir Y, Roether W, Wernli H, Yam R, Shemesh A. 2003. Isotope 934 Composition of Air Moisture Over the Mediterranean Sea: An Index of the Air-Sea Interaction 935 Pattern. Tellus 55:953-965. 936 937 Gelati R, Brambilla F, Napolitano A. 1989. Map #6 Geologia, Atlante Tematico d'Italia. Touring 938 Club Italiano, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. 939 940 Giustini, F., Brilli, M., Patera, A., 2016. Mapping oxygen stable isotopes of precipitation in Italy. 941 Journal of Hydrology: Regional Studies 8: 162–181. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejrh.2016.04. 942 001. 943 944 GNIP 2014 = Global Network of Isotopes in Precipitation (GNIP). http://www-945 naweb.iaea.org/napc/ih/IHS resources gnip.html. 946 947 Gower, J., Gardner-Lubbe, S., le Roux, N., 2011. Understanding Biplots. Wiley & Sons Ltd., 948 Chichester. 949 950 Greco E. 1975. Velia e Palinuro: Problemi di Topografia Antica. MEFRA 87:81-142. 951 952 Greco E. 1999. Velia: Città delle Acque. In: Krinzinger F., Tocco G. (Eds.), Akten des 953 Kongresses "La Ricerca Archeologica a Velia" (Rom, 1-2 Juli 1993). Austrian Academy of 954 Sciences Press, Vienna, pp. 73-84. 955 956 Greco E, Schnapp A. 1983. Moio della Civitella et le Territoire de Velia. MEFRA 95:381-415. 957

958 Greco E. Schnapp A. 1986. Fortification et Emprise du Territoire: Le Cas de Velia. In: Leriche P. 959 Tréziny H. (Eds.), La Fortification dans l'Histoire du Monde Grec. Éditions du CNRS, Paris, pp. 960 209-212. 961 962 Greco G. (Ed.) 2003. Elea-Velia Le Nuove Ricerche: Atti del Convegno di Studi, Napoli 14 963 Dicembre 2001. Naus Editoria, Pozzuoli. 964 965 Greco G, De Simone D. 2012. Velia: Città delle Acque. Water Supply/Water System. In: 966 D'Agostino S. (Ed.), Storia dell'Ingegneria. Nessuno, Naples, pp. 601–624. 967 968 Guariglia E. 2011. Parco Archeologico e Antiguarium di Velia Progetto di Musealizzazione 969 dell'Acropoli. Facoltà di Architettura e Società Corso di Laurea Specialistica in Architettura, 970 Politecnico di Milano. 971 972 Hedges REM. 2002. Bone Diagenesis: An Overview of Processes. Archaeometry 44:319–328. 973 974 Hedges REM, Stevens RE, Koch PL. 2006. Isotopes in Bone and Teeth. In: Leng MJ. (Ed.), 975 Isotopes in Palaeoenviromental Research. Developments in Paleoenvironmental Research 10. 976 Springer, Dordrecht, pp. 117–146. 977 978 Helttula A. 2007. Le Iscrizioni Sepolcrali Latine Nell'Isola Sacra. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 979 30. Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, Roma. 980 981 Herring DA, Saunders SR, Katzenberg MA. 1998. Investigating the Weaning Process in Past 982 Populations. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 105:425–439. 983 984 Hillson S. 1996. Dental Anthropology. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 985 986 Hin S. 2013. The Demography of Roman Italy, Population Dynamics in an Ancient Conquest 987 Society 201 BCE-14 CE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 988 989 Hin S. 2016. Revisiting Urban Graveyard Theory: Migrant Flows in Hellenistic and Roman 990 Athens. In: De Ligt L., Tacoma LE. (Eds.), Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire. 991 Brill, Leiden, pp. 234–263. 992 993 Horden P., Purcell N. 2000. The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History. Blackwell 994 Publishers, Malden. 995 996 Huttunen P. 1974. The Social Strata in the Imperial City of Rome: A Quantitative Study of the 997 Social Representation in the Epitaphs, Published in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, 998 Volumen VI. University of Oulu, Oulu. 999 1000 Kearney M. 1986. From the Invisible Hand to the Visible Feet: Anthropological Studies of 1001 Migration and Development. Annual Review of Anthropology 15:331-361. 1002 1003 Kearney M. 1995. The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and 1004 Transnationalism. Annual Review of Anthropology 24:547-565. 1005 1006 Killgrove K. 2010a. Migration and Mobility in Imperial Rome. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1007 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 1008

1009 Killgrove K. 2010b. Identifying Immigrants to Imperial Rome Using Strontium Isotope Analysis. 1010 In: Eckardt, H. (Ed.), Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in 1011 the Roman Empire. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 78. Journal of 1012 Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, pp. 157–174. 1013 1014 Killgrove K. 2010c. Response to C. Bruun "Water, Oxygen Isotopes and Immigration to Ostia-1015 Portus". Journal of Roman Archaeology 23:133–136. 1016 1017 Killgrove K. 2013. Biohistory of the Roman Republic: The Potential of Isotope Analysis of 1018 Human Remains. Post-Classical Archaeologies 3: 41-62. 1019 1020 Killgrove K. 2014. Bioarchaeology in the Roman Empire. In: Smith, C., (Ed.), Encyclopedia of 1021 Global Archaeology. Springer, doi: 10.1007/978-1-4419-0465-2, pp. 876-882. 1022 1023 Killgrove K. Montgomery J. 2016. All Roads Lead to Rome: Exploring Human Migration to the 1024 Eternal City Through Biochemistry of Skeletons from Two Imperial-Era Cemeteries (1st-3rd c. 1025 AD). PLoS ONE 11: e0147585. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0147585. 1026 1027 King CL, Tayles N, Gordon KC. 2011. Re-examining the Chemical Evaluation of Diagenesis in 1028 Human Bone Apatite. Journal of Archaeological Science 38:2222-2230. 1029 1030 Knudson KJ. 2009. Oxygen Isotope Analysis in a Land of Environmental Extremes: The 1031 Complexities of Isotopic Work in the Andes. International Journal of Osteoarchaeology 19:171-1032 191. 1033 1034 Knudson KJ, Webb E, White C, Longstaffe FJ. 2014. Baseline Data for Andean Palaeomobility 1035 Research: A Radiogenic Strontium Isotope Study of Modern Peruvian Agricultural Soils. 1036 Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences 6:205219. 1037 1038 Kohn MJ, Schoeninger MJ, Barker WW. 1999. Altered States: Effects of Diagenesis on Fossil 1039 Tooth Chemistry. Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta 18:2737-2747. 1040 1041 Kohn MJ, Cerling TE. 2002. Stable Isotope Compositions of Biological Apatite, Phosphates. In: 1042 Kohn ML, Rakovan J, Hughes JM. (Eds.), Geochemical, Geobiological, and Materials 1043 Importance. Reviews in Mineralogy and Geochemistry 48:455–488. 1044 1045 Kolodny Y, Luz B. 1991. Oxygen Isotopes in Phosphates of Fossil Fish-Devonian to Recent. In: 1046 Taylor HP, O'Neil JR, Kaplan IR. (Eds.), Stable Isotope Geochemistry: A Tribute to Samuel 1047 Epstein. The Geochemical Society Special Publication 3. The Geochemical Society, San 1048 Antonio, pp. 105-119. 1049 1050 Krinzinger F. 1986. Velia. Grabungsbericht 1983–1986. Römische Historische Mitteilungen 1051 28:31-56. 1052 1053 Krinzinger F, Tocco Sciarelli G. 1997. Velia. Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale. 1054 Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome. 1055 1056 Kusaka S, Ando A, Nakano T, Yumoto T, Ishimaru E, Yoneda M, Hyodo F, Katayama K. 2009. 1057 A Strontium Isotope Analysis on the Relationship Between Ritual Tooth Ablation and Migration 1058 Among the Jomon People in Japan. Journal of Archaeological Science 36:2289–2297. 1059

1060 LaFleur M. 2011. Fluctuating Dental Asymmetry at the Imperial Roman Necropolis of Velia. 1061 Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, California State University, Sacramento. 1062 1063 Lega C, Fulgione D, Genovese A, Rook L. 2016. Like a Pig Out of Water: Seaborne Spread of 1064 Domestic Pigs in Southern Italy and Sardinia During the Bronze and Iron Ages. Heredity 1065 118:154-159. 1066 1067 Lightfoot E, O'Connell TC. 2016. On the Use of Biomineral Oxygen Isotope Data to Identify 1068 Human Migrants in the Archaeological Record: Intra-Sample Variation, Statistical Methods and 1069 Geographical Considerations. PLoS ONE 11(4): e0153850. 1070 1071 Likins RC, McCann HG, Posner AS, Scott DB. 1960. Comparative Fixation of Calcium and 1072 Strontium by Synthetic Hydroxyapatite. The Journal of Biological Chemistry 235:21522156. 1073 1074 Lomas K. 1993. Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 BC–AD 200. Conquest and Acculturation 1075 in South Italy. Routledge, London. 1076 1077 Lomas K. 2016. Magna Graecia 270 BC-AD 200. In: Cooley AE. (Ed.), A Companion to Roman 1078 Italy. Wiley Blackwell, Malden, pp. 253–268. 1079 1080 Longinelli A, Selmo E. 2003. Isotopic Composition of Precipitation in Italy: A First Overall Map. 1081 Journal of Hydrology 270:75–88. 1082 1083 MacKinnon M. 2001. High on the Hog: Linking Zoooarchaeological, Literary and Artistic Data for 1084 Pig Breeds in Roman Italy. American Journal of Archaeology 105:649-673. 1085 1086 Malainey ME. 2010. A Consumer's Guide to Archaeological Science: Analytical Techniques. 1087 Springer, New York. 1088 1089 Marciniak S, Prowse TL, Herring DA, Klunk J, Kuch M, Duggan AT, Bondioli L, 1090 Holmes EC, Poinar HN. 2016. Plasmodium falciparum malaria in 1st-2nd c. C.E. 1091 Southern Italy. Current Biology 26:1220-1222. 1092 1093 Mele A. 2006. L'Identità di Elea: da Platone a Stradone. In: Velia: Atti del Quarantacinguesimo 1094 Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto, Marina di Ascea 21-25 Settembre 2005. 1095 Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, Taranto, pp. 65-91. 1096 1097 Moatti, C., 2006. Translation, Migration, and Communication in the Roman Empire: Three 1098 Aspects of Movements in History. Classical Antiquity 25, 109-140. 1099 1100 Moatti, C., 2019. Mobility in the Roman World: New Concepts, New Perspectives. In: Zerbini, A., 1101 Yoo, J. (Eds.), Migration, Diaspora and Identity in the Near East from Antiguity to the Middle 1102 Ages. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 15-25. 1103 1104 Musti D. 1966. Testi e Monumenti. PdelP 21:310-335. 1105 1106 Nelson BK, DeNiro MJ, Schoeninger MJ, DePaolo DJ, Hare PE. 1986. Effects of Diagenesis on 1107 Strontium, Carbon, Nitrogen, and Oxygen Concentration and Isotopic Composition of Bone. 1108 Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta 50:1941–1949. 1109

1110 Nikita E. 2017. Osteoarchaeology: A Guide to the Macroscopic Study of Human Skeletal 1111 Remains. Academic Press, London. 1112 1113 Nov D. 2000. Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers. Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd. 1114 London. 1115 1116 Noy D. 2010. Epigraphic Evidence for Immigrants at Rome and in Roman Britain. In: Eckardt H. 1117 (Ed.), Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman 1118 Empire. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 78. Journal of Roman 1119 Archaeology, Portsmouth, pp. 13-26. 1120 1121 Nuzzo D. 1997. Preatti: Provinciali a Roma nelle Testimonianze dell'Epigrafia Sepolcrale 1122 Tardoantica. XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina. Rome, 18-24 September. 1123 Edizioni Quasar, Rome, pp. 705-712. 1124 1125 Pearce, J., 2010. Burial, Identity and Migration in the Roman World. In: Eckardt, H. (Ed.), 1126 Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire. 1127 Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 78. Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1128 Portsmouth, pp. 79-98. 1129 1130 Pellegrini M, Snoeck C. 2016. Comparing bioapatite pre-treatments for isotopic measurements: 1131 Part 2-impact on carbon and oxygen isotope compositions. Chemical Geology 420:88-96. 1132 1133 Pellegrino CS. 1957. Greek Elea-Roman Velia. Archaeology 10:2-10. 1134 1135 Pollard AM, Pellegrini M, Lee-Thorp JA. 2011. Technical Note: Some Observations on the 1136 Conversion of Dental Enamel $\delta^{18}O_p$ Values to $\delta^{18}O_w$ to Determine Human Mobility. American 1137 Journal of Physical Anthropology 145:499-504. 1138 1139 Pomey P. (ed.). 1997. La Navigation dans l'Antiquité. Édisud, Aix-en-Provence. 1140 1141 Price TD. 2008. Isotopes and Human Migration: Case Studies in Biogeochemistry. In: 1142 Schutkowski H., (Ed.), Between Biology and Culture. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1143 pp. 243-272. 1144 1145 Price TD, Burton JH, Bentley RA. 2002. The Characterization of Biologically-Available Strontium 1146 Isotope Ratios for Investigation of Prehistoric Migration. Archaeometry 44:117–135. 1147 1148 Price TD, Burton JH, Fullagar PD, Wright LE, Buikstra JE, Tiesler V. 2015. Strontium Isotopes 1149 and the Study of Human Mobility Among the Ancient Maya. In: Cucina A. (Ed.), Archaeology 1150 and Bioarchaeology of Population Movement among the Prehispanic Maya. Springer, New 1151 York, pp. 119132. 1152 1153 Prowse TL. 2016. Isotopes and Mobility in the Ancient Roman World. In: De Ligt L., Tacoma LE. 1154 (Eds.), Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire. Brill, Leiden, pp. 205–233. 1155 1156 Prowse TL, Schwarcz HP, Garnsey P, Knyf M, Macchiarelli R, Bondioli L. 2007. Isotopic 1157 Evidence for Age-Related Immigration to Imperial Rome. American Journal of Physical 1158 Anthropology 132:510-519. 1159

1160 Prowse TL, Barta JL, von Hunnius TE, Small AM, 2010, Stable Isotope and Mitochondrial DNA 1161 Evidence for Geographic Origins on a Roman Estate at Vagnari (Italy). In: Eckardt H., (Ed.), 1162 Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire. 1163 Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 78. Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1164 Portsmouth, pp. 175–197. 1165 1166 Rabadjieva D, Tepavitcharova S, Sezanova K, Gergulova R, Titorenkova R, Petrov O, 1167 Dyulgerova E. 2011. Biomimetic Modifications of Calcium Orthophosphates. In: Pramatarova L. 1168 (Ed.), On Biomimetics. InTech, Rijeka, pp.135162. 1169 1170 Ramage CT. 1868. Ramage in South Italy. The Nooks and By-Ways of Italy. Wanderings in Search of its Ancient Remains and Modern Superstitions. E. Howell, Liverpool. 1171 1172 1173 Rey C, Frèche M, Heughebaert JC, Lacout JL, Lebugle A, Szilagyi J, Vignoles M. 1991. Apatite 1174 Chemistry in Biomaterial Preparation, Shaping and Biological Behaviour, In: Bonfield W. 1175 Hastings GW, Tanner KE. (Eds.), Bioceramics, Volume 4, Proceedings of the 4th International 1176 Symposium on Ceramics in Medicine, London, UK, September 1991. Butterworth-Heinemann 1177 Ltd., Oxford, pp. 57-64. 1178 1179 Richardson L. 1976. Elea later Velia, Campania, Italy. In: Stillwell R, MacDonald WL, McAlister 1180 MH (Eds.), The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites. Princeton University Press, 1181 Princeton, pp. 295–296. 1182 1183 Rickman GE. 1980. The Grain Trade Under the Roman Empire. Memoirs of the American 1184 Academy in Rome 36:261–275. 1185 1186 Ross SM. 2010. Introductory Statistics, Third Edition. Elsevier, Amsterdam. 1187 1188 Rousseeuw PJ, Ruts I, Tukey JW. 1999. The Bagplot: A Bivariate Boxplot. The American 1189 Statistician 53:382-387. 1190 Ryan S.E., Snoeck C., Crowley Q.G., Babechuk M.G. 2018. ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr and Trace Element 1191 1192 Mapping of Geosphere-Hydrosphere-Biospehere Interactions: A Case Study in Ireland. Applied 1193 Geochemistry 92:209–224. 1194 1195 Salomies O. 2002. People in Ostia: Some Onomastic Observations and Comparisons with 1196 Rome, In: Bruun C. Zevi G. (Eds.). Ostia e Portus Nelle Loro Relazioni con Roma. Acta Instituti 1197 Romani Finlandiae 27. Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, Roma, pp. 135–159. 1198 1199 Saxe AA. 1970. Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1200 University of Michigan. 1201 1202 Scheidel W. 1997. Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire. The Journal 1203 of Roman Studies 87:159-169. 1204 1205 Scheidel, W., 2001. Progress and Problems in Roman Demography. In: Scheidel, W. (Ed.), 1206 Debating Roman Demography. Brill, Leiden, pp. 1-81. 1207 1208 Scheidel, W., 2004. Human Mobility in Roman Italy, I: The Free Population. The Journal of 1209 Roman Studies 94:1-26. 1210

1215 Citizens and Soldiers: The Social, Economic and Demographic Background to the Gracchan 1216 Land Reforms, University of Leiden, June 28-30, 2007. 1217 1218 Scheuer L, Black S. 2000. Developmental Juvenile Osteology. San Diego, Elsevier Academic 1219 Press. 1220 1221 Schour I, Massler M. 1940. Studies in Tooth Development: The Growth Pattern of Human 1222 Teeth. Journal of the American Dental Association 27:1778–1792; 1918–1931. 1223 1224 Schuurs A. 2012. Pathology of the Hard Dental Tissues. Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. 1225 1226 Schwarcz HP, White CD, Longstaffe FJ. 2010. Stable and Radiogenic Isotopes in Biological 1227 Archaeology: Some Applications. In: West JB, Bowen GJ, Dawson TE, Tu KP. (Eds.), 1228 Isoscapes: Understanding Movement, Pattern, and Process on Earth Through Isotope Mapping. 1229 Springer, New York, pp. 335–356. 1230 1231 Schweissing MM, Grupe G. 2003a. Stable Strontium Isotopes in Human Teeth and 1232 Bone: A Key to Migration Events of the Late Roman period in Bavaria. Journal of Archaeological 1233 Science 30:1373-1383. 1234 1235 Schweissing MM, Grupe G. 2003b. Tracing Migration Events in Man and Cattle by Stable 1236 Strontium Isotope Analysis of Appositionally Grown Mineralized Tissue. International Journal of 1237 Osteoarchaeology 13:96–103. 1238 1239 Shemesh A. 1990. Crystallinity and Diagenesis of Sedimentary Apatites. Geochimicha et 1240 Cosmochimica Acta 54: 2433-2438. 1241 1242 Small CM, Smal AM. 2005. Defining an Imperial Estate: The Environs of Vagnari in South Italy. 1243 In: Attema PAJ, Nijboer A, Zifferero A. (Eds.), Papers in Italian Archaeology VI. Communities 1244 and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Modern Period. Oxford, Oxbow, pp. 894-902. 1245 1246 Smith W. (Ed.). 1854. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. London. 1247 1248 Snoeck C, Pellegrini M. 2015. Comparing bioapatite carbonate pre-treatments for isotopic 1249 measurements: Part 1-impact on structure and chemical composition. Chemical Geology 1250 417:394-403. 1251 1252 Sofeso C, Vohberger M, Wisnowsky A, Päffgen B, Harbeck M. 2012. Verifying Archaeological 1253 Hypotheses: Investigations on Origin and Genealogical Lineages of a Privileged Society in 1254 Upper Bavaria from Imperial Roman Times (Erding, Kletthamer Feld). In: Kaiser E, Burger J, 1255 Schier W. (Eds.), Population Dynamics in Prehistory and Early History: New Approaches Using 1256 Stable Isotopes and Genetics. De Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 113-130. 1257 1258 Sperduti A, Bondioli L, Garnsey P. 2012. Skeletal Evidence for Occupational Structure at the Coastal Towns of Portus and Velia (1st-3rd c. A.D.). In: Schrüfer-Kolb I. (Ed.), More than Just 1259 1260 Numbers?: The Role of Science in Roman Archaeology. Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1261 Portsmouth, pp. 53-70.

Scheidel, W., 2005. Human Mobility in Roman Italy II: The Slave Population. The Journal of

Scheidel W. 2007. Roman population size: the logic of the debate. VICI Conference, Peasants,

1211

1212

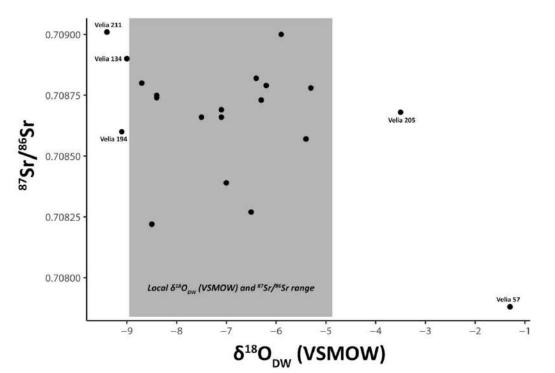
1213 1214 Roman Studies 95:64-79.

1263 Stark, R. J. 2016. Ancient Lives in Motion: A Bioarchaeological Examination of Stable Isotopes, Nonmetric Traits, and Mobility in an Imperial Roman Context (1st-3rd century CE). Unpublished 1264 1265 Doctoral Dissertation, McMaster University. 1266 https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/20937 1267 1268 Stuart-Williams HLQ, Schwarcz HP, White CD, Spence MW. 1996. The Isotopic Composition 1269 and Diagenesis of Human Bone from Teotihuacan and Oaxaca, Mexico. Palaeogeography, 1270 Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology 126:1-14. 1271 1272 Vallat JP. 2001. The Romanization of Italy: Conclusions. In: Keay S, Terrenato N. (Eds.), Italy 1273 and the West Comparative Issues in Romanization. Oxbow Books, Oxford, pp. 102-110. 1274 1275 Veizer J. 1989. Strontium Isotopes in Seawater Through Time. Annual Review of Earth and 1276 Planetary Sciences 1:141–167. 1277 1278 Webster J. 2008. Less Beloved. Roman Archaeology, Slavery, and the Failure to Compare. 1279 Archaeological Dialogues 15:103-149. 1280 1281 Webster J. 2010. Routes to Slavery in the Roman World: A Comparative Perspective on the 1282 Archaeology of Forced Migration. In: Eckardt, H. (Ed.), Roman Diasporas: Archaeological 1283 Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire. Journal of Roman Archaeology 1284 Supplementary Series 78. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, pp. 45-65. 1285 1286 Whipkey CE, Capo RC, Chadwick OA, Stewart BW. 2000. The Importance of Sea Spray 1287 to the Cation Budget of a Coastal Hawaiian soil: A Strontium Isotope Approach. Chemical Geology 168:37-48. 1288 1289 1290 Wolf HP. 2018. Another Plot Package: 'Bagplots', 'Iconplots', 'Summaryplots', Slider Functions 1291 and Others. Version 1.3.2. Accessed online at: https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=aplpack. 1292 1293 Woolf G. 2013. Diasporas and Colonization in Classical Antiquity. In: Ness I. (Ed.), The 1294 Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, pp. 1201-1215. 1295 1296 Woolf G. 2016. Movers and Stayers. In: De Ligt L, Tacoma LE. (Eds.), Migration and Mobility in 1297 the Early Roman Empire. Brill, Leiden, pp. 438–461. 1298 1299 Wright LE. 2005. Identifying Immigrants to Tikal. Guatemala: Defining Local Variability in 1300 Strontium Isotope Ratios of Human Tooth Enamel. Journal of Archaeological Science 32:555-1301 566. 1302 1303 Wright LE, Schwarcz HP. 1996. Infrared and Isotopic Evidence for Diagenesis of Bone Apatite 1304 at Dos Pilas, Guatemala: Palaeodietary Implications. Journal Archaeological Science 23:933-1305 944. 1306 1307 Wright LE, Schwarcz HP. 1998. Stable Carbon and Oxygen Isotopes in Human Tooth Enamel: 1308 Identifying Breastfeeding and Weaning in Prehistory. American Journal of Physical 1309 Anthropology 106:1–18.

1310

- Zaky AH, Brand U, Buhl D, Blamey N, Bitner MA, Logan A, Gaspard D, Popov A. 2019. Strontium Isotope Geochemistry of Modern and Ancient Archives: Tracer of Secular Change in
- 1311 1312 1313 Ocean Chemistry. Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences 56:245–264.

1314

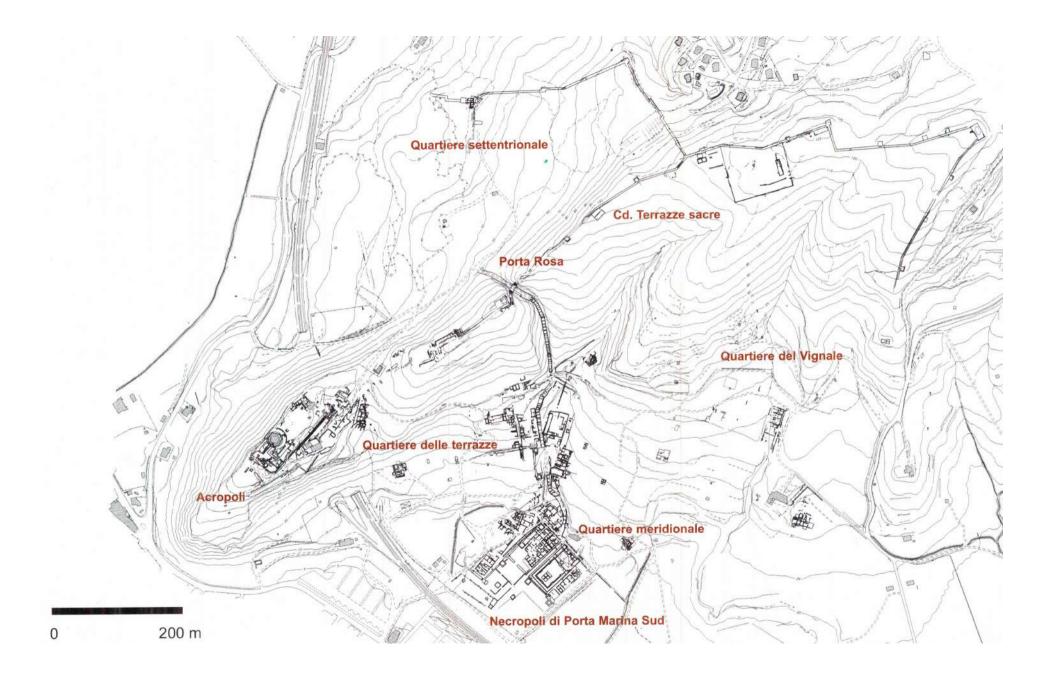


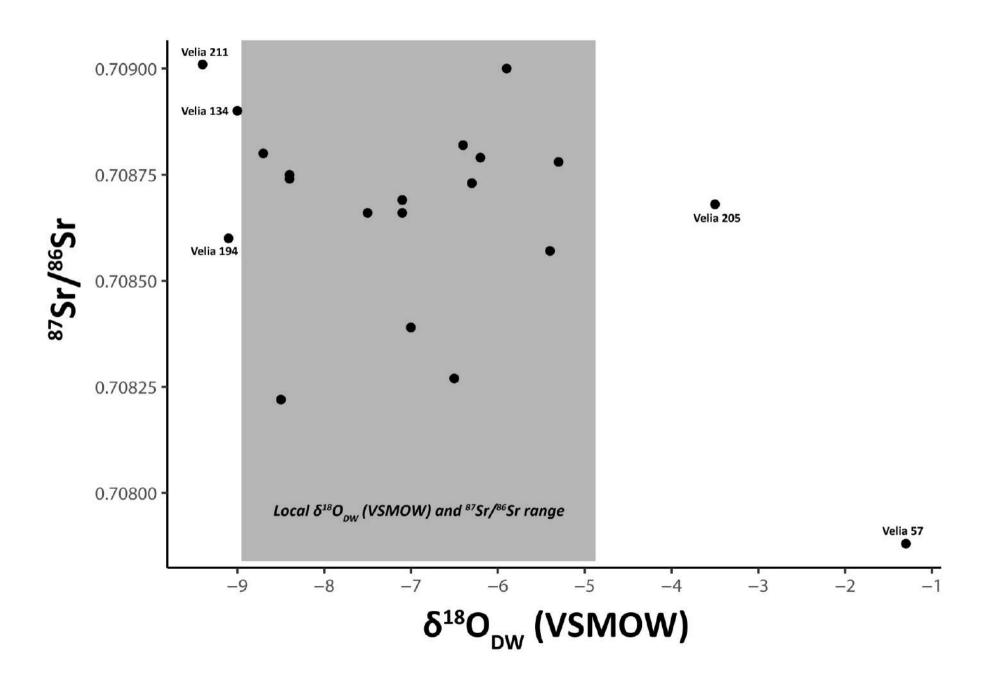
 $\begin{array}{c}1316\\1317\end{array}$

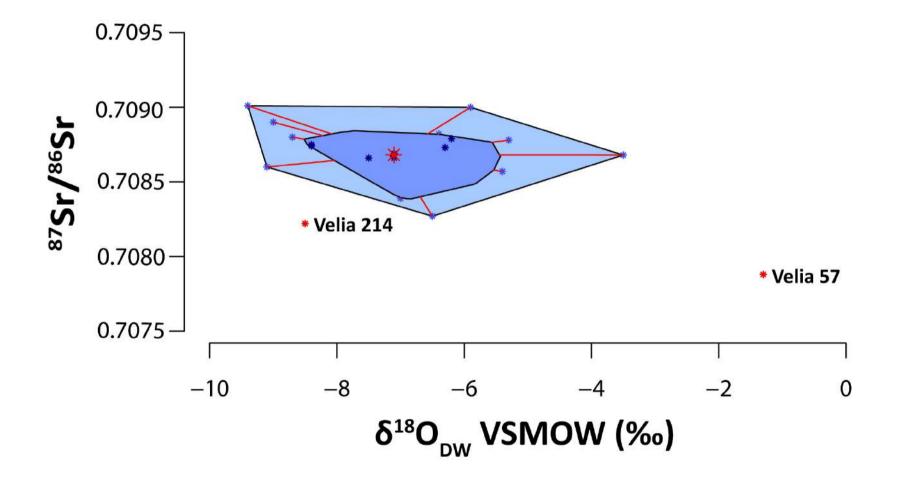
Supplementary Fig. 1: Scatter plot showing the distribution of $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ and ${}^{87}Sr/{}^{86}Sr$ values for the 20 individuals sampled from Velia against the expected local ranges (grey box). Individuals 1318

who fall outside of the local range have been labelled. 1319









Author Statement

Robert Stark: conceptualization; project administration; methodology; validation; formal analysis; investigation; visualization; writing – original draft and review & editing; funding acquisition

Matthew Emery: conceptualization; visualization; writing - review & editing; formal analysis

Henry Schwarcz: conceptualization; writing - review & editing

Alessandra Sperduti: resources; writing - review & editing

Luca Bondioli: resources; writing - review & editing

Oliver E. Craig: resources; writing - review & editing

Tracy Prowse: supervision, funding acquisition, methodology; writing – review & editing