

Population transfers of non-enslaved peoples from outside Roman territory to within it aroused complex reactions, despite Rome's well-known territorial and population expansion. The frequent immigrations that began with the Marcomannic Wars (166/167-180 CE) and intensified later were often decried as foreign invasions or incursions, and though some viewed them as key to perpetuating Rome's manpower and thereby strength, others saw them as triggering Rome's "fall" (e.g., Amm. Marc 31.3.8; 31.4.1-11). Population transfers from the Republic and early Empire were at least equally problematic, although they are less familiar. They were uncommon – only eight Roman resettlements of external peoples are attested from 180 BCE through the 1st c CE - and their scarce, often oblique documentation indicates the controversy and disquiet they occasioned. Individual instances are mentioned in scholarship on demographics or on specific areas and/or periods (e.g., Conole and Milns 1983), but the rare phenomenon has been addressed as a whole only summarily (see de Ste Croix 1981, 509-18; Batty 2007, 411-12). My illustrated paper examines Rome's transfers of external peoples into Roman territory beginning with the forced relocation of 100,000 Ligurians to Samnium in 180 BCE, and going through the settlement in Pannonia of Celtic Cotini and Osi late in the 1st century CE. I explore the implications of the evidence and phenomenon for Roman imperialism, *virtus*, and civic and military glory.

Republican and early imperial population transfers are linked to dispute over the glory accruing to the supervising Roman(s). Although triumphs or (after 8 BCE) triumphal ornaments ultimately were awarded the general(s), such glory was notably lessened or slighted. Livy remarks in shock that M. Baebius and L. Cornelius Cethegus, who triumphed in 180 BCE for transferring some 100,000 Ligurians to Samnium, were the first of all to triumph 'when no war had been waged' (Livy 40.38.8-9). Tiberius' transfer of 40,000 Germans across the Rhine in 8 BCE is the first instance of 'triumphal honors' rather than a full triumph (Suet. *Tib.* 9.2). Two population transfers across the Danube in the 60s or early 70s CE, one of which involved 100,000 'transdanubians,' are known solely by early Flavian inscriptions honoring the senators involved, Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus and L. Tampius Flavianus (*ILS* 986=MW 261; *ILS* 985, better MW 274). The now battered texts clearly indicate that credit for the deeds was long withheld.

Early population transfers have been interpreted in Realpolitik terms: to ensure settlement of depopulated lands; to give Rome cheap manpower; to eradicate pockets of anti-Roman resistance; or as capitulations to undeniable pressures. But the ancient evidence suggests that they should be seen in more personal terms. They thus contribute to discussions of the Roman "frontier" (see Kristof 1969; Isaac 1992, 395-96) and to the understanding of negotiations of power in Rome.