The transition from Republic to Principate in Sicily: an epigraphic perspective[*]

Jonathan R.W. Prag
University of Oxford
jonathan.prag@merton.ox.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper considers the value of epigraphic evidence for assessing the nature of the social and political change on the island of Sicily in the period after c.49 BCE and the Roman civil wars, through to the early Roman Empire. The discussion makes use of the data generated by the ERC Crossreads project (grant agreement nr. 885040) and available in the *I.Sicily* corpus. The first section considers different methodological uses of epigraphic evidence and its use to date, broadly (1) inscriptions as a source of specific historical and institutional data, (2) quantitative analysis as a measure of cultural or linguistic change, (3) the application of socio-linguistics. Quantitative analysis to date for the period in question is briefly summarised in the second section.

The remainder of the paper considers the epigraphic culture of the *coloniae* and other Sicilian settlements in more detail, combining the insights of socio-linguistic analysis with improving datasets. Case-studies are presented of material from the *coloniae* of Syracusae and Tauromenium, illustrating the increasing complexity of the emerging picture in this period of transition. The *coloniae* have been the primary focus of study in most recent work, and so the final part of the paper considers examples from other communities which did not undergo such radical population transformation in this period. A re-examination of the problem of civic status on the island in this period, especially the status of *municipium*, is followed by analysis of several examples combining analysis of language, typology, form and material, to illustrate future lines of interpretation. Overall, it is argued that the impact of Latin, and Latin epigraphic practices was sudden and substantial, as has long been recognised, and particularly in the *coloniae*, but it was also not as rapid or as complete as has often been assumed. It is clear that a much more complex picture needs to be elucidated, reflecting complicated social and political choices on the ground, and that in turn the use of epigraphic evidence for the period needs to be more sophisticated and nuanced.

Keywords: Roman Sicily, epigraphy, acculturation, multi-lingualism, socio-linguistics

L'articolo esplora il valore delle testimonianze epigrafiche per valutare la natura dei cambiamenti sociali e politici in Sicilia nel periodo successivo al 49 a.C. e alle guerre civili romane. La discussione prende le mosse dai dati prodotti dal progetto ERC Crossreads (grant agreement nr. 885040) e accessibili attraverso il corpus online I.Sicily.

La prima sezione analizza il diverso impiego euristico delle testimonianze epigrafiche fino ad oggi, in particolare: (1) come fonte di dati storici e istituzionali in specifici contesti storici; (2) come fonte per l'analisi quantitativa dei dati linguistici come indicatori di cambiamenti culturali o linguistici; (3) come fonte per l'indagine socio-linguistica. Nella second sezione,

[*] This paper was prepared within the framework of the Crossreads project: this project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 885040.

l'analisi quantitativa condotta fino ad oggi e relativamente al periodo in questione viene brevemente riassunta.
A partire da un corpus di iscrizioni sempre più ricco e dunque capace di una maggiore disponibilità di dati socio-linguistici, nell'articolo si prende in considerazione in modo particolareggiato la cultura epigrafica delle coloniae e degli altri insediamenti siciliani. In particolare, vengono presentati come casi studio sia documenti provenienti dalle coloniae di Siracusa e Taormina, illustrando la crescente complessità del quadro sociale e linguistico emergente in questo periodo di transizione, che documenti provenienti da quelle comunità oggetto solo in minima parte di una trasformazione demografica. Ad un riesame della questione dello status degli insediamenti nell'isola (in particolare di quello di municipium) nel periodo oggetto di indagine segue la presentazione di diversi casi studio in cui un metodo di ricerca combinato che prende in esame la lingua dei documenti, la loro tipologia epigrafica, la forma e il materiale del supporto mostra future vie di interpretazione del documento epigrafico.
In sintesi, pur concordando con l'assunto, ormai ampiamente riconosciuto, che l'impatto del latino e delle pratiche epigrafiche latine nell'isola è stato repentino e significativo, in particolar modo nelle coloniae, si sottolinea come esso non abbia avuto la rapidità e la capillarità ipotizzate in passato. Il quadro storico-epigrafico e linguistico dell'isola risulta molto più complesso di quanto ammesso fino ad oggi: esso riflette complesse scelte sociali e politiche e invita ad un più sofisticato e sfumato approccio euristico ai documenti epigrafici come testimoni del periodo in questione.

Parole chiave: Sicilia romana, epigrafia, acculturazione, multilingulismo, sociolinguistica

European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

The "long century" between the start of the Roman civil wars in 49 BCE and the death of Nero in 68 CE marks a significant period of transformation in the history of ancient Sicily, whether viewed in terms of population change, settlement patterns, the built environment, institutional structures, language use, coinage, or material culture. While the definition of late Hellenistic / Republican Sicily remains contested, seemingly more part of the "late Hellenistic" than the "Roman" world, the island from Augustan times onwards is always Roman Sicily.[1] However, it is also the moment when Sicily essentially passes out of written history.[2] Consequently, attempts to study and account for this period of transformation are hampered by the lack of narratives (or dictated by pre-conceived narratives) and the need to reconstruct history from other types of evidence. Within this context, epigraphic texts, the focus of this paper, occupy a crucial place, offering the principal source of contemporary documentary and linguistic evidence; numismatic evidence, not directly considered here, is also relevant, with a brief flourishing on the island in this period of "Roman provincial coinage", which however ceases by the reign of Tiberius.[3]

The way in which we can – or should – use this epigraphic evidence deserves consideration. On the one hand, it has most frequently been employed as supporting evidence in the attempts to unpick the institutional transformation of the island, in other words the missing data points for "*histoire événementielle*". On the other, the changes in the epigraphic culture, visible in the changing nature of the epigraphic material through this period (whether quantitative or qualitative, changes in content, material, language, form or type), are themselves the evidence for deeper changes on the island. Consequently, detailed study of the changes in the epigraphic evidence should, in theory, provide rich evidence for the wider socio-cultural changes taking place on the island in this period of transition. Occasionally these two distinct ambitions overlap – above all in attempts to make sense of the changes in communities' political status on the island in this period – but neither the implications of that overlap, nor the methodological considerations involved, have always been adequately considered.[4] This paper examines both methodological approaches to the epigraphic evidence and specific evidence for change in the Sicilian communities' epigraphic cultures during the transition of the early imperial period.

1. Approaching the evidence

Put simply, there have been three main approaches to the epigraphic evidence in relation to this period in Sicily: these might loosely be captured by the distinction between *histoire événementielle*, with reference to the first, and *histoire conjoncturelle* with reference to the second and third.[5] The first exploits inscriptions as direct evidence for specific events or changes, such as that recording the construction of fortifications by L. Plinius Rufus under Sextus Pompeius at Lilybaeum during the civil war (ISic000007), although texts of this sort are rare.[6] The most frequent use of epigraphic evidence in this fashion for study of the period

[1] WILSON 1990, pp. 313 and 329; cf. PRAG 2009, p. 136 and esp. CAMPAGNA 2011, p. 162.
[2] ECK 1996, p. 109: "*Das Sizilien der Hohen Kaiserzeit scheint fast geschichtslos zu sein*."
[3] See most relevantly for this paper, BURNETT 2002.
[4] KORHONEN, SORACI 2019 is the most recent attempt to highlight the issues.
[5] Following BRAUDEL 1972 and WALLERSTEIN 1988.
[6] All inscriptions are referenced through the *I.Sicily* corpus (PRAG 2017-2023), where texts, images, and further bibliography can be found: http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk (and individual inscriptions resolve on the model of http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/inscription/ISic000007).

has been in support of attempts to trace the institutional history of the island, and above all the changing political status of individual communities, typically from Greek *polis* to Roman *municipium* or *colonia*. I shall return to some of these issues below (§3.2). The second main approach is the application of quantitative analysis. Various scholars have attempted to quantify the presence of Greek and Latin texts on the island, mostly at the level of individual cities and stone inscriptions, either with a view to analysing linguistic change on the island over time, or as a measure of romanisation.[7] Analysis rarely went beyond this simple counting prior to c.2000. In 2002 I made a first attempt to take such quantification a step further by seeking to analyse the global numbers of lapidary inscriptions by time, space, language, inscription type, and material.[8] Although I have expanded this sort of analysis to some extent with reference to the pre-Imperial period,[9] such analysis has not progressed much further since then due to limitations in the available data. The third approach is best exemplified by the increasingly sophisticated application of socio-linguistics, illustrated more broadly in the work of the late Jim Adams.[10] In the case of Roman Sicily, this has been pioneered, since 2002, by the work of Kalle Korhonen. He focussed in close detail primarily on the evidence of the funerary epigraphy for the major urban centres on the island in the Roman imperial period, particularly Syracusae and Catina.[11] His analyses have concentrated on linguistic formulae across the Greek and Latin material in the *coloniae*, as well as onomastics, often with close reading of individual texts, providing a much richer and more nuanced picture of the interactions between the two languages in this setting, and what those might imply for our understanding of the relative status and presence of the two languages on the island and the human presence which underlies them.

All three of these approaches continue to be fundamentally compromised by the lack of good data, but also the lack of good data practices.[12] The most extreme illustration of this, for the first approach, is the primarily inscription-based study of Roman imperial Sicily by Giacomo Manganaro in 1988, which he prefaced with the observation that to write it "*sentivo il bisogno di ripercorrere tutta la documentazione epigrafica, sia greca che latina, di Sicilia riferibile all'epoca imperiale*." This he did in order to propose a new reading of the island's history in this period (in explicit rejection of pessimistic, neo-marxist readings proposed over the preceding decade), "*convinto che ancora molta documentazione pertinente rimane preclusa e che sia da indagare meglio il materiale epigrafico emerso finora*."[13] Manganaro's work remains without parallel – and essentially unreproducible –, citing, quoting and alluding to at least 300 individual texts, while scarcely solving the underlying problem of accessibility (he may have reread all the epigraphic material, but it is impossible to know what that actually was; and immense effort is required merely to retrace the material he selected for

[7] PRAG 2002, pp. 16-18 details the main attempts; WILSON 1990, p. 415 nn. 9, 10, 11, 14, 16 for individual city statistics.
[8] PRAG 2002.
[9] PRAG 2018.
[10] Above all ADAMS 2003, applied in work such as MULLEN 2013 on Gaul.
[11] See especially KORHONEN 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2007 (section 1), 2011, 2012, 2017 (with some overlap between the various contributions); note also TRIBULATO 2012 on the material from the immediately preceding period. The account of Sicilian Greekness in SALMERI 2004 (esp. pp. 274-89) reflects the shift in approach.
[12] See BODEL, PRAG, ROUECHÉ 2024.
[13] MANGANARO 1988a, pp.5 and 10; and for the historiography, CAMPAGNA 2003.

mention).[14] A subsequent effort by the same author to consider the evidence of epigraphy for the use of Greek and Latin on the island in the imperial period (and so with reference to approaches two and three) is even more fundamentally flawed by this use of the evidence, applying an essentially qualitative approach to a fundamentally quantitative problem.[15] In neither case is it possible to draw meaningful conclusions about either the epigraphic culture on the island or individual practices and patterns within the material, given the apparently arbitrary selection of material, its selective use, and lack of contextualisation: on the one hand, it is scarcely possible for a reader to assess independently whether the selection of material is actually representative; and on the other, any sense of actual trends or patterns remains wholly impressionistic. The reader can either accept the assertion of the title ("*Greco nei pagi e latino nelle città della Sicilia romana*"), on the basis of the author's demonstrated command of the material, or not. Methodologically, a similar approach ultimately underlies my own attempt (2008) to gather and survey the institutional evidence for the urban centres of the island in the imperial period, notwithstanding claims to be comprehensive.[16] Variations on this basic problem of reproducibility, which is directly consequent upon our inability to reference the material consistently, access it easily, or subject it to systematic, well-documented, machine-based analysis, continue to limit the value of all work to date, since it remains easy to argue over points of detail or the value of individual texts, but almost impossible to challenge or refine broader assertions based upon privately assembled datasets.[17] Focusing therefore on approaches two and three outlined above, the remainder of this paper considers first the contribution of and continuing limitations to quantitative approaches, given the current state of the data (section 2); and then moves to a more qualitative assessment of the evidence, seeking to move beyond the debates about civic status while considering the evidence firstly from the *coloniae* (section 3.1), and secondly from other communities on the island (section 3.2).

2. Quantitative approaches

Quantitative approaches to Sicilian epigraphy remain a work in progress. Nonetheless, work to date can at the very least demonstrate that there is a significant change in epigraphic culture on the island, contemporary with the period under discussion (something which needs to be formally demonstrated, however obvious and intuitive it may seem). This can be shown most easily through the quantitative analysis conducted in 2002 for the island as a whole, with reference to the Roman period, and which was repeated in 2016 with primary reference to the Hellenistic period.[18] It is instructive to compare in particular these two attempts to quantify Sicilian lapidary inscriptions by language over time.[19] (The data is derived from the

[14] See http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/publication/RZSFKACR for a not yet complete (work-in-progress) attempt to document all the texts referenced in this study.
[15] MANGANARO 1993; and see http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/publication/JBI7CI5R for the material deployed (from which it quickly becomes apparent that, notwithstanding the title, almost all the material belongs to the period after 300 CE).
[16] PRAG 2008: the data employed for that study (collected in 2007-2008) was eventually (2019!) made available at https://doi.org/10.5287/bodleian:pzMe0PZAk, but in a format that is still far from user-friendly or re-usable.
[17] Ultimately true therefore for the otherwise invaluable work of e.g. MIMBRERA 2012a or the studies of KORHONEN cited above; FAIR principles (WILKINSON *et al.* 2016) should apply no less in humanities data analysis than in the sciences.
[18] PRAG 2002 and PRAG 2018. The 2016 data employed for the latter analysis is partially available at https://doi.org/10.5287/bodleian:YeRab9boO (and see PRAG 2019 for a discussion of the data publication issues).
[19] PRAG 2002, p. 23 fig. 2.2 and PRAG 2018, p. 132 fig. 1 (the latter also in PRAG 2019, p. 112 fig. 1).

I.Sicily project, an ongoing attempt to collect all epigraphic evidence for the island in an open access, standardised format; a fresh analysis of the data in 2022 would produce a subtly different result again, but given that the data is still incomplete, and that the analysis remains a non-trivial exercise, it was decided not to do so at this point.[20]) Notwithstanding the fact that the number of dated inscriptions recorded in the 2016 dataset was some three times greater than that of the 2002 dataset, key patterns remain similar, in particular the rapid increase and predominance of Latin epigraphy in the first two centuries CE (this point might suggest that the size of the dataset is already sufficient to overcome any bias consequent upon incomplete recording of published material). It is worth noting, as one indication of the limitations to the current data, that the total quantity of Greek attested in the third to sixth centuries CE appears to have decreased relative to the total quantity of Latin recorded in the preceding period, when comparing the 2002 and 2016 datasets: it is certain that this apparent change is deceptive, an artefact of the data collection, and it will be reversed again in the near future, as the early Christian material from Syracusae and Catina is the least complete part of the existing dataset, and will soon be more fully incorporated (c.1,000 further inscriptions, 80-90% of which are Greek). There is no reason to think that the relative position of the two languages as observed for the first three centuries CE will change significantly.

There are, it must be strongly emphasised, major limitations to the value of this dataset. At present, the majority of the "dated" inscriptions considered here are only dated to within a couple of centuries (primarily funerary inscriptions). The problems with such a dataset and the resulting interpretation have now been stated very clearly: as David CHERRY emphasised in 1995, aggregating data that is a mix of narrowly dated and broadly dated material (especially when the latter material is itself averaged across that broader time range) has the effect of emphasising those points in time for which narrowly dated material exists; secondly the narrowly dated inscriptions are primarily a function of the dating methods available (which in some cases are themselves dangerously circular and deserving of careful attention), so it is ultimately dating methodologies which are being illustrated (i.e. those subsets of material for which we have the ability to propose a narrower date), not necessarily actual historical patterns in the data.[21] The risk of this misrepresentation is at least reduced (if not removed) if we do not pretend to false levels of precision, and present the data at the level of one or two centuries, rather than artificially narrower windows of time. It remains the case that the basic point of comparison, between the last two centuries BCE and the first two centuries CE stands: there is a fundamental shift on the island, in both epigraphic quantity and epigraphic use of language, associated with the transition to Empire. This of course reflects the much more widely recognised shift in epigraphic practice in the Roman Empire as a whole, which has been repeatedly noted and discussed. The existence of the phenomenon is not however an explanation, and general attempts to explain the practice at a global level do not obviate the need to explain it with reference to the local or regional level.[22]

[20] See http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk and https://isicily.org; on the project, PRAG, CHARTRAND 2018.
[21] CHERRY 1995, esp. pp. 146-147; see the recent overview of NAWOTKA 2020.
[22] Classically, MACMULLEN 1982 and more broadly ALFÖLDY 1991, WOOLF 1996 for the epigraphic culture of the high Roman Empire.

Ideally, we could add some nuance to this basic observation, comparing the (later) Hellenistic with the early Imperial periods.[23] In the Hellenistic period (here understood as the period down to the end of the Roman Republic in the mid-first century BCE), lapidary epigraphic practice on Sicily seems to have increased steadily over time; texts were predominantly in Greek, and the practice can be seen to spread across the island, in contrast to an earlier concentration in the southeastern and southwestern regions of the island (the primary areas of Greek colonisation). Although texts concentrate in urban centres, some penetration of practice into the island's interior is also visible. The variety of types of text increases significantly, with funerary epigraphy constituting c.50% (a relatively low figure), balanced by dedications and a wide variety of public documents. The use of materials also sees an increasing diversification, with use both of more prestigious, decorative, high quality Sicilian stones and also of imported marble (constituting c.10% of stone inscriptions in this period). The increased public epigraphy in particular seems to go hand-in-hand with increased public monumentality in urban spaces.[24] Much of this fits within a wider Mediterranean Hellenistic *milieu*, but it is also the case that a distinctive Sicilian Doric persists across much of this material, and that inscriptions entirely in *koine* are very much the exception down to the first century BCE.[25] Latin is rare, with c.20 pre-Augustan inscriptions (excluding the Egadi *rostra* inscriptions): Latin is found mostly in the western half of the island, and Latin texts are either erected by Romans or Italians, or else by Roman magistrates; honours for Romans are all in Greek (unless erected by Italians).[26] A number of these Latin texts also show interference from Greek.[27]

Describing the epigraphic culture of the period which follows is far from simple, above all because of the problems of assessing the data in aggregate – partly because the data is still incomplete, and partly because without further study much of the data remains too imprecise, particularly with reference to chronology, to enable the more nuanced analysis we might wish for.[28] Patterns and interesting phenomena certainly exist, but it is hard to know how real a pattern or how significant a particular feature may be when the data is incomplete. It is immediately clear that Latin comes to predominate. The proportion of surviving funerary material also seems to increase. Certain types of honorific inscription, most obviously imperial honorifics, emerge and are also overwhelmingly Latin practices.[29] Imported marble becomes much more common: this particular point is clear, but the data is not yet sufficient to document this in detail, or to attempt answers to important and interesting questions such as whether its use is particularly concentrated in particular places, types of epigraphy, or linguistic domains, or indeed from where the marble is imported; several case studies in the next section aim to illustrate the potential for future analysis.[30] Public epigraphy is

[23] See PRAG 2018 for a fuller discussion of Hellenistic epigraphic culture in Sicily, and earlier discussion in PRAG 2007.
[24] See, e.g. CAMPAGNA 2011.
[25] MIMBRERA 2012b, pp. 248-249.
[26] See PRAG 2018, pp. 139-140 (and PRAG 2007, pp. 251, 259-260) and TRIBULATO 2012.
[27] Tribulato 2012, pp. 302-319.
[28] See, for example, the limited and impressionistic remarks on the Latin epigraphic culture of the island offered by BIVONA 2001; cf. KORHONEN 2011, p. 7, "it is less easy [in contrast to some aspects of Roman culture] to make sweeping statements about the spread of the Latin language."
[29] Noted already by BIVONA 1987, pp. 261-264, cf. PRAG 2002 p. 25.
[30] Curiously, this point is minimised almost to extinction in BIVONA 2001 (e.g. pp. 50-51), who only references the mixed use of material, and in fact suggests a more common use of local material.

predominantly Latin in this period, in contrast both to the preceding Hellenistic period and to a more mixed situation which emerges in the later imperial period (the fourth century CE and later).

The preceding paragraphs have deliberately stressed the inadequacy of the existing data and therefore refrained from attempting detailed fresh analysis, since to do so will merely be to repeat with variation the problematic and limited assertions of earlier studies, as critiqued in section 1 above. The *I.Sicily* and *Crossreads* projects aim to make good much of that deficiency, and within a framework of open access data that will be amenable to further testing by others.[31] Until that work is sufficiently advanced, however, it remains the case that we must focus instead upon more qualitative analysis. The remainder of this paper focuses on the evidence from Sicilian towns in the period of transition, further highlighting the risks inherent in quantitative analysis based upon flawed datasets, while exploiting the initial work of the *Crossreads* project to highlight, via several case-studies, a number potential avenues of future analysis. As will be apparent, the question of civic status continues to entangle any study of the material in this period, but in what follows I attempt to shift the focus, such that this becomes a context, rather than a determining factor or the primary goal, in any analysis.

3.1 Assessing epigraphic culture in the *coloniae*

Kalle Korhonen has made the most detailed attempts, at the level of the individual *coloniae*, to assess the changes in public epigraphy. On the one hand, in both Catina and Syracusae, both *coloniae* from 21 BCE, public epigraphy can be shown to be almost wholly in Latin.[32] On the other, there is evidence for the limited use of Greek in public epigraphy within specific cultural domains, whether that is texts erected by external Greek-speaking communities, or texts pertaining to the arts and religion.[33] However, the case of public epigraphy in Syracusae in this period immediately demonstrates the extent to which any such analysis continues to be a hostage to fortune in the face of very incomplete datasets. Korhonen counts c.20 Latin public inscriptions for Syracusae in the first two centuries CE, and on this basis, given the (limited) continuity of Greek practice and the relatively limited archaeological evidence for construction activity in the Augustan period itself (although the archaeological record for Syracusae as a whole is poor), downplays the immediate impact in the urban centre of Syracusae, in contrast with other colonies in Sicily.[34] Both the contrast with other colonies and the specific Syracusan picture are, however, far from certain. In the case of Syracusae itself, ongoing work in the stores of the Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi", as part of the *I.Sicily* / Crossreads projects and in long-term collaboration with

[31] On the aims of the *Crossreads* and *I.Sicily* projects, see PRAG 2021.
[32] KORHONEN 2004a, p. 240 for Catina; 2011, pp. 8-10 for Syracusae.
[33] For Catina, Korhonen cites ISic003154 of the first century CE, erected by the city of Laodikea (the restoration is plausible); for Syracusae, examples include ISic000634 (dedication to Zeus and Tyche) and ISic000829 (a list of priests), and the dedications to Anna and the Paides, such as ISic002997 of 35/6 CE. Exceptional is ISic003208 from Catina, apparently recording a vote in Greek (although Korhonen's reading [---ψηφί]σματι [βουλῆς(?) ---] must be corrected to [---ψηφί]σμα πᾳ[ρὰ(?) --]).
[34] KORHONEN 2011, pp. 9-10 with n. 39. A total of 29 texts are in fact listed across nn. 38-40, although several of these should be discounted, as being either private or dating to the later 2nd century CE or later. His full list of published material is: ISic000401, 000407, 000408, 000411, 000412, 000414, 000417, 000418, 000426, 000442, 000620, 000621, 000724, 000725, 000726, 000728, 000729, 000730, 000731, 001725, 001782, 001783, 001784, 001785, 001786, 001787, 003326, 003422, 004359. Of these, ISic000414 is surely private, 001784 is later 2nd century at the earliest and possibly private; 003326 is certainly 3rd century.

the Parco archeologico di Siracusa, has identified at least another 25 Latin texts of monumental form and belonging predominantly to the first two centuries CE (almost all are fragments of 1-3 letters of large, high quality marble plaques, many recovered from the area of the Forum).[35] Consequently, conclusions that the transformation in Syracusae might not have been as dramatic as in other cities would seem premature, and the reality was that there was indeed a very significant and very visible (but now mostly lost) monumental Latin epigraphic culture on display at the public heart of the *colonia* of Syracusae.[36]

As this discussion already highlights, the essential step required to advance our analysis further is the completion of a systematic study of the material – and its ready accessibility for analysis.[37] This is no less true of the private, funerary epigraphy than it is of the public epigraphy, although again the work of Kalle Korhonen has already significantly advanced our understanding of some of the interactions that can be discerned in the funerary epigraphy of Syracusae and Catina in particular. Korhonen focused on the use of individual linguistic formulae across the Greek and Latin texts, and also the implications of onomastic choices. He has persuasively demonstrated the existence of "a fairly stable and widespread bilingualism, language maintenance and substantial speech communities for both Greek and Latin on the eastern coast", while suggesting that "a trend of slow Latinisation may still have been present", stronger in some *coloniae* than others.[38] It would be premature to attempt a reassessment: however, on the one hand, the current work of encoding not only text but syntax across this corpus opens up the exciting possibility of applying systematic analysis to syntactic variation within and across both language and different genres of text, in an approach which will go beyond the selective cataloguing of examples of specific *formulae* and their variation;[39] and on the other hand, work already undertaken on the collections has both revealed new texts of significance for this discussion and suggested new ways in which these interactions might be traced. Before moving on from the case of Syracusae, I briefly present two examples.

---

[35] These fragments are now published online as ISic000438, 000439, 001671, 001788, 001789, 001790, 001792, 001793, 001794, 001795, 001796, 001797, 001798, 001799, 001800, 001801, 001802, 001803, 001804, 001805, 001806, 001807, 001808, 003204, 004341.

[36] Contra KORHONEN 2011, p. 10: "Thus, the overall appearance of the administrative centre in Augustan times was not very different from the pre-colonial period: there may well have been both Greek and Latin inscriptions in sight for enthusiastic readers."

[37] Specifically with reference to Syracusae, Korhonen counts a total of c.1,300 published texts. To date, in formal collaboration with the Parco archeologico di Siracusa and the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, *I.Sicily*/Crossreads has recorded over 1,000 inscriptions in the Museo archaeologico regionale "Paolo Orsi" and the PCAS antiquarium; and we know of c.400 inscriptions still to be recorded; at the same time, we have identified a not entirely co-extensive list of over 1,050 texts in the museum's inventory; and the list of published inscriptions is similarly not entirely co-extensive (many of the items in the museum stores are unpublished, while published texts include many which are now lost and those located elsewhere). *I.Sicily* itself currently only displays records of c.700 texts for Syracuse (the published catacomb material is being gradually incorporated). This discussion employs material which is not yet publicly available on *I.Sicily*.

[38] KORHONEN 2002, pp. 71-73 for bilingualism in particular funerary formulae at Syracusae (broadly understood and not simply in the sense of biversion texts), with clear evidence for the ongoing prestige of Greek within the mixed epigraphic practice of the community; KORHONEN 2004a, pp. 243-249 for a similar analysis of Catina, suggesting a "convivenza" of Greek and Latin, but with a greater influence of Latin on Greek (and cf. KORHONEN 2004b, pp. 83-89 and 93-100 for a systematic analysis of formulae in the epitaphs of Catania). The fullest discussion, reprising and extending these earlier analyses, with a particular focus on onomastic practice, is KORHONEN 2011, pp. 12-21 (summarised in part in KORHONEN 2017), quotation from p. 21.

[39] CRELLIN forthcoming; note too the work on changes in Greek in this period being undertaken by Livia Tagliapietra.

Amongst new and re-studied texts that have been identified, of particular significance for the period under discussion is an inscription uncovered by Gentili during excavations in 1949-1950 along the course of the via F.S. Cavallari, apparently in re-use in the remains of the ancient road leading to the monumental Roman arch south of the amphitheatre.[40] The arch itself, if the reconstruction is correct, is one of the few identified elements of the Augustan phase of the Syracusan *colonia*. The text is centred on the face of a substantial block of grey limestone, of which the right and lower sides are lost (Fig. 1). It has previously been considered a funerary inscription, but the use of the dative together with its layout and monumental form, as well as its findspot, more plausibly suggests an honorific, most likely part of a statue base. The text can be read as *C(aio) · Valerio · C(ai) · f(ilio) · Q[uir(ina)] / Sepullaę / TR[- - ? - -]*. Considered in this light and considering its form, Manganaro's suggestion that the *TR* at the start of line 3 might be the continuation of the word *pa-/tri* from the end of line 2 should be rejected (it is unlikely that line 2 contained anything more than the clearly centred cognomen, and the splitting of a word such as *pater* in a text of this form would be highly unusual).[41] Far more likely is the title of *tribunus militum*. This would, in turn, provide us with an important attestation for the Syracusan *colonia* of a possible veteran settler among the colonial elite– something which is otherwise lacking except in the case of Thermae Himeraeae.[42] As we shall note further below, the distinctive triangular interpuncts visible on this stone would seem to support an approximately Augustan date for this text, which is likewise implied by the archaeological context (re-use presumably close to its original location) and form.

A second text, this time a funerary inscription, exemplifies the multiple ways in which socio-linguistic interference can be observed and highlights the need for as nuanced an analysis as possible. This text is a simple quadrangular cinerary chest (Fig. 2), cut from the local limestone (not marble as Ferrua states), reading: Γ(αι) · Ματρίνι / Φηλικίων · / χρη(στὲ) · καὶ · ἄμε(μπτε) · χαῖρε.[43] Ferrua's motivation in publishing the text was to note that cinerary urns are not a part of Christian funerary epigraphy in Syracusae, and in doing so he otherwise commented only on the relatively unusual presence of the Latin vocative form "*Matrini*" in the Greek text. However, we can go much further in tracking the Latin influence across this text: the cognomen itself is a transliteration of the Latin "*Felicio*"; the systematic use of interpuncts across the text, between every word, is a feature of Latin, not Greek epigraphy; and, most strikingly, the final line is heavily abbreviated. This last point is particularly distinctive in context. As a general consideration, although abbreviation is attested in Greek

[40] ISic003204, first published by GENTILI 1951, p. 267 with fig. 6, with an alternative reading in MANGANARO 1988a, p. 41 n. 202. For the arch, GENTILI 1951, pp. 263-277, WILSON 1990, pp. 56-57, and CAMPAGNA 2020, pp. 103-106 (in the context of wider early imperial transformation of Siracusa).
[41] The *cognomen* Sepulla does not seem to be attested, but the *nomen* Sepullius is well attested in northern Italy. The restoration in line 1 of the tribal *Quirina*, as proposed by Manganaro (the most commonly attested tribal for Sicily, see PRAG 2010), is likewise more plausible than Gentili's reading of *C…* (for *C(ai) n(epoti)*?).
[42] For Thermae Himeraeae, see ISic000094, ISic000095, ISic000096, and ISic000098.
[43] ISic003359, published (only) by FERRUA 1941, p. 217 no. 97, without illustration. Ferrua dates the chest to the late 3rd century CE on palaeographic grounds, which seems too late, but it is difficult to know how much earlier it might be.

epigraphy, it is far less common than in Latin inscriptions.[44] At the same time, this particular epitaphic phrase, χρηστὸς καὶ ἄμεμπτος ("worthy and blameless"), is almost unique to southeastern Sicilian Greek texts of the Roman imperial period.[45] Furthermore the phrase is almost never abbreviated: I know of only one other example, from Catania, also on a cinerary chest, also for an individual with a Roman name written in Greek (Φλαβιανὸς = *Flavianus*), and also employing interpuncts.[46] The particular combination of features surely speaks to a Roman / Latin-speaking individual making a deliberate effort to employ the local Greek style of epitaph, but doing so according to the practices of Latin epigraphy.[47] Such an example is clearly in line with Korhonen's general conclusion that "in the domain of funerary epigraphy, neither Greek nor Latin was the H(igh) variant, but the distinction between H(igh) and L(ow) depended on the linguistic form. There were other means, too, which could be used in showing a higher social position, namely the form of the monument."[48] However, it serves emphatically to illustrate the value in pushing further such analysis, considering all aspects of the monument including its materiality as well as the text, whether from a strictly philological perspective, or including related features such as punctuation and abbreviation practices.

Following on from these observations on Syracusae, it should be recognised that it remains difficult to assess accurately the actual transformation of the epigraphic culture in the other Sicilian *coloniae*, when any such argument necessarily starts from the absence of evidence for the epigraphic culture before the Augustan period. This is no less true for the funerary epigraphy than the public epigraphy, where examples of epigraphically active necropoleis that can be observed across both Hellenistic and Roman periods in the same city are sorely lacking. The evidence from the preceding period is essentially lost in the cases of Catina and Tyndaris (*coloniae* from 21 BE), Panhormus (a *colonia* from the Augustan period); and also Messana (exact status uncertain, possibly a *municipium* from the Augustan period). Some material is preserved at Thermae Himeraeae (*colonia* from 21 BCE), although the uncertainty as to whether several of the Greek texts from the city belong to the Hellenistic period or the second century CE highlights the interpretative problems involved when chronology is uncertain.[49] The extent to which epigraphic evidence survives in Sicily is extremely uneven and irregular, and deserves detailed discussion in its own right as part of any more systematic attempt at its interpretation.

Only in the case of Tauromenium is there significant public material from the Hellenistic period (but little, in turn, from the Imperial period), and several small pieces of epigraphic evidence from across this period of change, when set in context, offer a particularly striking

[44] For the general point and the most systematic discussion of Greek epigraphic abbreviation to date, notwithstanding its age, see AVI-YONAH 1940 (cf. GUARDUCCI 1967, pp. 398-406 and MCLEAN 2002, pp. 49-58).
[45] KORHONEN 2002, pp. 72-73, in part after FERRUA 1941, pp. 180-210.
[46] ISic003236 (cf. KORHONEN 2004b, no. 87): Φλαβιανὸς · χρησ-/τὸς · καὶ ἄμεν(πτος) · ἔζη(σεν) / ἔτη · λζ · μῆν(ας) · γ · / ἡμέ(ρας) · ι ·. The chest (marble) is dated between the later first and early second century CE; notably, the epitaph includes the age in years, months and days (another originally Latin feature), with the use of abbreviation also in the age formula, as would be normal in Latin.
[47] Although we could obviously consider permutations of this formulation, such as an enfranchised Hellenophone aping Roman norms, or the intermediate role of a workshop more familiar with Latin epigraphy; the onomastics make the first of these alternatives less likely.
[48] KORHONEN 2002, p. 73.
[49] As noted e.g. in KORHONEN 2017, p. 350.

challenge to some of our common assumptions. There is some uncertainty as to whether Tauromenium became a *colonia* already in c.36 BCE immediately after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, or only in 21 BCE alongside the other Augustan foundations. In the historical tradition, Diodorus Siculus asserts that the city's inhabitants were expelled by Octavian due to their support of Sextus Pompeius, and replaced by Roman colonists.[50] The archaeology of the public centre of Tauromenium speaks particularly clearly to a phase of major urban transformation in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period: the Hellenistic peripteral temple on the west side of the agora appears to have fallen out of use at this time, and the agora appears to have been redefined (as a forum) on both its east and west sides by substantial new walls; an area of Hellenistic public structures on the north side of the agora likewise seems to have been subject to signficant intervention, obscuring or removing earlier honorific statues; in the theatre, a major new brick wall around the top of the *cavea* seems to have excluded an earlier small temple from the complex; while in the so-called 'lower agora', a major hellenistic portico was replaced by the brick-built monumental cistern and façade known as the *naumachia*. The brick-built structures may belong to the Julio-Claudian period, but the other transformations are suggested with some confidence to be Augustan in date.[51]

Against this backdrop, three pieces of epigraphic evidence are particularly interesting and highlight the dangers of trying to use epigraphic evidence too rigidly – and the merits of both more socio-linguistic and better contextualised approaches. Tauromenium is famous for the extensive but fragmentary series of account inscriptions in Greek from the later Hellenistic period. Two of these texts show a distinctive shift in practice from the rest, recording magistrates called *duo andres* in contrast to the preceding *stratagoi* (as well as new minor magistrates called *laurarchoi*), referring to coinage as *nommoi* (presumably *denarii*) instead of *talanta*, and using the months of the Roman calendar instead of the local calendar (although, as Manganaro observed, the references to trimesters in these texts imply that the local Hellenistic calendar persisted, despite the new month names).[52] These texts are, not unreasonably, considered to be chronologically the most recent of the surviving blocks. Since one of them (ISic002986, col. 2, l. 12) includes the month *Quinctilius*, they are, logically, prior to the renaming of that month as *Julius* as part of the calendrical reforms adopted in 45 BCE. If one assumes that the changes reflected in these inscriptions must necessarily reflect a change in the formal status in the city, then this creates an almost implausibly narrow window of essentially one year for the production of this text, following the grant of Latin rights to the island by Caesar in probably 46 BCE, and relying on an assumption that the adoption of the new month name was not immediately recognised (but one should recall that the new name was part of a much more comprehensive calendrical reform, not merely a change of month name).[53] Many scholars have sought to avoid this by assuming that the new month name was deliberately not adopted by the city, in a demonstration of support for Sextus Pompeius, thereby creating a potential window for use of *Quinctilius* between 46 and 36 BCE (notwithstanding the probability that any such desire to show support for Sextus would not

[50] Diod. Sic. 16.7.1.
[51] On the transformations as a whole, CAMPAGNA 2019; for the *naumachia*, CAMPAGNA, LA TORRE 2008; for the Hellenistic temple, CAMPAGNA 2016; for the use of brick, VENUTI 2019.
[52] ISic002985 and ISic002986: Λαυράρχοι are attested in ISic002985, col. 1, line 26; reference to trimester at col. 1, line 18-20 (on which, MANGANARO 1964, p. 56). For the shift, see MANGANARO 1964, pp. 55-56, and MANGANARO 1988b, pp. 182-190.
[53] See e.g. FEENEY 2007, pp. 196-197.

have been apparent in 45/44 when the change was made, and that the initial grant of Latin rights which was apparently being celebrated in these texts was a gift of Caesar, not Octavian).[54] As part of any such hypothesis, attempts have been made to use these texts in support of arguments regarding the change of status of the cities of Sicily, whether the grant of Latin rights by Caesar in 46, or of Roman citizenship, possibly made by Antonius in later 44 BCE (see further below). This is theoretically possible, but proof is lacking. More seriously, adopting such a move is to ignore firstly the fact that a grant of *ius Latii* does not by itself entail institutional change (see below), and secondly the possibility that such adoptions of Roman-style institutions and language are also perfectly well attested independent of any formal change of civic status, driven by a variety of more or less conscious acts of emulation (examples such as the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* make this abundantly clear).[55] The significance of the change, whether to be dated to a very narrow window after 46 BCE, or simply in the later years of the Roman Republic, is rather the formal demonstration by a Greek-speaking community of its alignment to Roman institutions, and the implications of such a gesture (remembering that other cities in Sicily, such as Halaesa in 95 BCE, requested constitutional intervention from Rome in this period without any formal change of status).[56] Even if the shift in terminology reflects a formal change of status (which is far from certain), this is still a Greek text advertising Roman affinities, rather than a wholesale change in the public sphere.

The second piece of epigraphic evidence from Tauromenium is a fragmentary Latin calendar, unique outside the Italian peninsula, accompanied by both local and consular *fasti*, dedicated by one or more individuals at their own expense, most likely the local *duumviri*.[57] As is frequently noted, this text, to be dated after 8 BCE but not necessarily much later, speaks strongly to the idea of a new and very "Roman" identity being displayed by the Augustan colonists, and aligns very neatly with both Diodorus' recording of the punitive imposition of the colonists at the expense of the previous inhabitants and the archaeological evidence discussed above. Not so often noted, however, is the fact that line 2 of the calendar's header aligns the Roman calendar with the local Greek calendar (although necessarily this alignment was valid only in the year of its inscription). Moreover, the direct association of the calendar with flanking lists of local *duumviri* and *aediles* has more in common with Hellenistic magistrate lists (as are familiar from Tauromenium itself) than other Roman calendars; while the Latin of the superscript is also somewhat anomalous (the verb *dare* instead of *deducere*, and the use of the word *munere*). As Brigitte Ruck rightly concluded, having highlighted all these features, the text on the one hand expresses very clearly a strong connection to Rome

[54] Although almost the only explicit formulation of this suggestion is to be found in MANGANARO 1963, p. 19 (cf. SORACI 2018, pp. 49-50); see in general MANGANARO 1964 and 1988b.
[55] Notoriously the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* is dated before or after the Social War depending, *inter alia*, upon one's view on the possibility of the use of Oscan pre- or post-Social War and on the signficance of the presence of Roman-style magistracies and the imitation of Roman titular abbreviations in the Oscan: see CRAWFORD 1996, pp. 273-276 and BISPHAM 2007, pp. 142-152. It is worth noting Cicero's passing observation in 70 BCE about the use of *Latina nomina* by Sicilians (Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.112), for which see also BRUGNONE 2021, pp. 66-67 and PRAG 2007, p. 256.
[56] For the example of Halaesa in 95 BCE, see Cic. *Verr*. 2.123 (and 122-125 for comparable episodes at Agrigentum and Heraclea), on which GABBA 1959 and PRAG 2014, pp. 170-171.
[57] RUCK 1996 for the fullest reconstruction: the consular fasti (ISic000624) are assumed to be part of the same monument as the calendar and local fasti (ISic000662), due to their physical similarity, but they cannot be shown to join (and so are treated separately in *I.Sicily*).

and the Roman world; but on the other it maintains a distinct local identity and highlights efforts at integration with that local identity.[58] Lorenzo Campagna has noted in similar fashion that, although the archaeological evidence implies a physical restructuring of the community, it does not totally abandon the pre-existing urban identity. The alignment to the local calendar in fact speaks strongly to the perceived importance on the part of the new colonists of the local institutions – and perhaps of the continued significant presence of the pre-existing Greek-speaking inhabitants.

The third piece of evidence comes from the bricks used in the early imperial period construction of the major building known as the *naumachia*, which superseded an earlier Hellenistic stoa. A not insignificant number of these bricks are stamped with the Doric Greek ethnic plural Ταυρομενιτᾶν (most likely the product of "*una grande figlina locale, forse pubblica*"), and the implication of the number of visible brick stamps in the walls is that more are present but with the stamp concealed on an inner face.[59] Close study of the brick-use (and their sizes and types) across the city demonstrates that these stamped bricks are part of a phase of brick-building belonging to the early imperial period (itself not a technique used in this way and this scale before the Roman period), rather than simply re-use of older bricks.[60] Superficially, the presence of the Doric Greek ethnic plural presents a challenge to the idea of a Roman *colonia* imposed upon the settlement, and consequently the common response has been to assume that these bricks must pre-date the foundation of the *colonia*.[61] Arguing that the bricks should belong to the Julio-Claudian period, Lorenzo Campagna instead associates them with the bilingual context emphasised in the recent work of Korhonen, noted above.[62]

These three epigraphic windows on the community of Tauromenium in the period of transition emphasise the point that schematic assumptions about language use in relation to legal status are at best risky and at worst fundamentally misleading.[63] Tauromenium is our clearest example of radical change in the Augustan period, with a forcible change of population and associated rebuilding. This is confirmed by the exceptional case of the Latin *fasti*. A contrast is also evident between the use of Greek in the public texts of the account inscriptions (and the *stratagoi* and gymnasiarch inscriptions) and Latin in the *fasti*. At the same time, the last of the account inscriptions show a Greek-speaking – or at least publicly Greek – community actively presenting a Roman institutional façade (whether due to a change in civic status or not, we cannot formally tell). By contrast, the Latin *fasti* show an outwardly Latin-speaking and strongly Roman community, which has taken over the city, but one which nonetheless is actively seeking to integrate with the seemingly still-existing Greek

[58] RUCK 1996, p. 277, "*Mit der Stiftung der ganzen Inschrift hätte man also einerseits seine Verbundenheit mit Rom zum Ausdruck gebracht, sich andererseits aber auch vom Römischen durch die Integration lokaler Traditionen abgesetzt*."
[59] CAMPAGNA, LA TORRE 2008, pp. 142-143; MUSCOLINO 2012, pp. 415-416 for the type, pp. 441-443 for a catalogue, pp. 456-460 for a complete list of stamped bricks identified in the *naumachia*.
[60] VENUTI 2019.
[61] Most recently MUSCOLINO 2012, p. 440, who argues that the form of the stamp "*presupporre quell'organizzazione politica che, per Tauromenion, è ben testimoniata dal corpus delle iscrizioni pubbliche greche*" (i.e. of the pre-Roman *polis*).
[62] CAMPAGNA 2019, p. 92.
[63] The point was recently restated by KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, pp. 98-99; I here try to emphasise the further necessary step, which is a more contextualised and systematic engagement with such texts and their supports, rather than their continued treatment as isolated texts.

institutions (and individuals?) of the preceding community. Lastly, the Greek brick-stamps express a public identity, in the traditionally marked Doric dialect of the island (which was fading fast from view at this date, but not completely abandoned), which further suggests the continued presence of a part of the community that still maintained a Greek-speaking identity, and acceptably so even within a public context and among significant local economic actors.[64] It should be very clear that any idea that language use can be taken to demarcate clear institutional or chronological boundaries is misguided; rather, that use can offer valuable insights on the otherwise largely invisible processes of contact between the constituent elements of these communities and the associated relations of power.

3.2 Assessing epigraphic culture outside the *coloniae*

Most discussion of these issues has to date focused upon the key examples of the *coloniae*, in part because they offer the largest datasets. However, the *coloniae* are also in some regards the least challenging communities for this discussion precisely because their status change is certain and clearly dated and includes the arrival of a substantial new community of Roman citizens.[65] The various *poleis* of the island which may or may not have changed status in the same period present a much greater challenge. Nonetheless, they deserve precisely this sort of more nuanced and systematic analysis, instead of the traditional – and misplaced – focus on the contribution of individual inscriptions to the seemingly unresolvable question of whether a particular community became a *municipium* of Roman or Latin status at a particular moment in time.[66] In the final part of this paper, I shall first revisit the thorny question of civic status, since it is the essential background to almost all discussion to date, before turning to a case study (Halaesa) and further examples from other communities in order both to trace the shift in epigraphic practice visible in these communities' public epigraphy across this period, and to highlight the value of considering inscriptions from multiple angles, both textual and material.

It is essential to recognise that a precise answer to the status of the Sicilian communities in the period after 49 BCE will probably always be impossible. The terms of the question are in fact easily defined (and have been regularly rehearsed).[67] Probably in 46 BCE (but certainly

[64] TAGLIAPIETRA 2018 assesses the changing use of Doric and emphasises the potential saliency of such forms (esp. pp. 157-159), with a list Doric forms attested in the later first century BCE and the first century CE at pp. 155-56, including the Agrigento gymnasium bench (ISic001418), certainly late Augustan in date, and (*contra* MUSCOLINO 2012, p. 440 n.53) the later account inscriptions from Tauromenium itself (ISic002985).

[65] However, it remains the case that little of substance can be said about the nature of that change.The fullest discussion of the impact of such colonising communities remains KEPPIE 1983, but the Sicilian colonies are formally omitted from that study, and the likely impact can only be inferred by comparison with evidence from the mainland; WILSON 1990, pp. 38-40 and KORHONEN 2011, p. 8 summarise. MOLÈ 1999 explores the parameters in a discussion of acculturation in the Sicilian *coloniae*, with primary reference to Catania, but is able to add little of substance (and the contribution of epigraphic evidence, assumed to be institutional, is dismissed as poor, pp. 436-437).

[66] KORHONEN, SORACI 2019 shift the focus to the *municipia*, on the grounds that Korhonen's work to date has concentrated on the *coloniae*, while simply concluding, on the basis of very rapid study of a seemingly arbitrary selection of material, that there is no evidence for a linguistic policy regarding the use of Latin by these communities (a point that has long been recognised in Roman studies, but rarely fully internalised).

[67] The most rigorous discussion remains WILSON 1990, pp. 33-45, but cf. VERA 1996; SORACI 2018 revisits the discussion in detail, with the earlier bibliography, but her conclusions are unclear. It is essential to treat the problem within the wider discussions of *Latinitas* in Gaul and Spain and the growing recognition in recent scholarship of the transformation of the use and nature of *Latinitas* over the centuries, especially after the Social War.

no later than early 44 BCE), Caesar granted "*Latinitas*" to the "*Siculi*", according to a brief allusion in Cicero; in April 44 BCE, Antonius brought a law to the *comitia* "*qua Siculi cives Romani*", making the Sicilians Roman citizens.[68] Diodorus Siculus, writing before c.30 BCE, observed that the sharing of the Roman *politeia* with the Sicilians (τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας) reduced the significance of local magistracies and eponymous priesthoods, and also that some Sicilian cities stopped using the laws of Diokles (of the late 5th cent. BCE) at the point when all the Sicilians were thought worthy of the Roman *politeia* (πάντες οἱ Σικελιῶται τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἠξιώθησαν).[69] Thereafter, the only literary evidence is the text of Pliny the Elder, containing a somewhat confused – and undatable – listing of communities on the island, including some reference to status: five *coloniae* and 63 *civitates* (of which two, Messana and Lipara, are subsequently described as *oppida civium Romanorum*, and so possibly *municipia civium Romanorum*[70]); in a first coastal section towns are then described as *oppida* alongside the *coloniae* (with some geographical and historical confusions); and this is followed by a second interior listing of communities (not all in fact from the interior and raising significant chronological problems), which begins with "*intus autem Latinae condicionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani*, *stipendiarii Assorini*…[45 more communities are listed]".[71] This literary evidence can then be supplemented by epigraphic texts, of which the only ones of absolutely certain value are those explicitly naming a community as either a *colonia* or a *municipium*: from these we learn that Agrigentum, Halaesa, Haluntium, Lilybaeum, Lipara and Segesta were all *municipia* in the period before 212 CE, as well as Gaulus, Melita, and Cossura – and in the case of Agrigentum, Halaesa, Haluntium, and Segesta, this seems to be almost certainly the case by the end of the Augustan period.[72] A greater number of communities provide evidence (epigraphic and/or numismatic) for the presence of *duumviri* in the first two centuries CE (of which the numismatic evidence all falls in the period between the triumvirate and the reign of Tiberius).[73]

[68] Cic. *Att*. 14.12.1 (SB 366), 22 April 44 BCE.
[69] Diod. Sic. 16.70.1 and 13.35.3.
[70] LE ROUX 2017, p. 588 and 597 n.54 and others consider this the most likely implication of the Plinian phrase, although certainty is not possible.
[71] See WILSON 1990, pp. 35-38 on Pliny's list in detail.
[72]Explicit attestations of a town as *municipium*: Agrigentum: ISic030281, ISic000813; Haluntium: ISic000587, ISic000588, ISic001190; Segesta: ISic000622, ISic000666; Halaesa: ISic001705, ISic000582; Lilybaeum: ISic000503; Lipara: ISic003341; Gaulus: ISic003354, ISic003464, ISic003465, ISic003468; Melita: ISic001829, ISic003637; Cossura: ISic001781. Whether Gaulus, Melita and Cossura should be considered part of the 'Sicilian' discussion regarding possible Latin municipal status, or simply as Roman *municipia* (as assumed, e.g., by ALFÖLDY 2005 for Cossura), is very uncertain. Additionally, Henna claims the title of *municipium* on coinage of probably triumviral or Augustan date (*RPC* I, nos. 661-664, *mun(icipium) Hennae*).
[73] Abacaenum (ISic000623), Agrigentum (ISic000814, 001418, both Greek; *RPC* I, no. 660), Centuripae (ISic000004), Cephaloedium (*RPC* I, no. 635, *RPC* I, no. 626), Mazara (ISic000490, 000491, possibly to be linked to Lilybaeum), Piazza Armerina (= Sophiana?, ISic002915) and Segesta (ISic000622, 000665, 001825, *RPC* I, nos. 648-649?), as well as Gaulus (ISic001826, 001827) and Melita (ISic003637). Of the *coloniae*, Catina (ISic000307, 000308, 000312, 000313, 000315, 000316, 000337, 000710, 003152), Panormus (ISic000016, 000017, *RPC* I, no. 644), Tauromenium (ISic000282, 000283, 002985, 002986, the latter two Greek), Thermae Himeraeae (ISic000094, 000097, 000101, 000104), and Tyndaris (ISic000684, *RPC* I, no. 648(?)); additionally, ISic000963 from the third century CE (Greek) for Akrai; ISic004344, possibly from Centuripe; and *RPC* I nos. 668-670 of uncertain attribution. Recent lists of *duumviri* also in SORACI 2018, p. 42 n.21 (exluding coins and Greek instances); AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, p. 112.

Any analysis of this evidence is hampered by complete uncertainty as to whether the Caesarian grant of *ius Latii* was ever revoked or not – there is, it must be emphasised, no evidence that it was revoked and the default position should be that it was not. It is, however, reasonably assumed that Antonius' grant of citizenship was revoked as part of the larger revocation of his legislation in the months after Caesar's death (and there is no subsequent evidence for such a universal grant).[74] Recent scholarship has helped to develop the discussion a little further. In the first place, there is no certainty as to whether Caesar's grant of *ius Latii* was made to an undefined (and limited) number of specific communities, or to all Sicilians. Patrick Le Roux has argued that grants of *ius Latii* are community specific in this period, not universal provincial grants, although it is clear that there can be no absolute certainty on this point at this date, since he has also convincingly argued that the very status/creation of a Latin *municipium* makes no sense without the prior grant at a larger scale (explicitly provincial) of *ius Latii*: ultimately this comes down to a personal view on whether such a grant could already have been made by Caesar or not.[75] Diodorus is moreover explicit that some form of change was extended to all Sicilians. Cristina Soraci has rightly highlighted the possibility that *politeia* in Diodorus need not mean citizenship specifically, and this leaves open the question as to whether he was referring to citizenship or, e.g., a grant of *ius Latii* (it also cannot be proven whether he refers to the period before or after 36 BCE, or indeed whether these passing references deep within his work necessarily reflect the situation as it still was at his death, c.30 BCE).[76] It seems worth asking whether the verb ἠξιώθησαν at 13.35.3 might in fact refer to the right to access citizenship *per magistratum*, as would be the case with a grant of *ius Latii*, and not simply an outright grant of citizenship. With these points in mind, any decision on the status of communities after 30 BCE comes down to (a) whether one speculates that Caesar's grant of *ius Latii* was revoked, (b) how extensive one thinks Caesar's grant was (the whole province; a significant number of communities across the province; or only a very few communities in the province), and (c) how much faith is to be placed in the list presented by Pliny, whether in terms of its accuracy, or in terms of the actual date of the source(s) being reproduced, or in terms of the significance of some of his terminology. Pliny's list has tended to dominate the discussion, but scholars have repeatedly highlighted both the uncertainty around his sources (and their date) and the value of his lists for legal civic status, which inevitably leaves the door open to extensive manipulation of its significance.[77] The point of focus is Pliny's affirmation that Centuripae, Netum and Segesta were of *Latinae condicionis* (but this is part of a list which seems to derive from an earlier source): for some this entails that no other communities had *ius Latii* at the date of that list, but the exact significance of the phrase remains very uncertain, with diverse interpretations suggested.

---

[74] Cic. *Phil.* 12.12 and 13.5 (March 43 BCE), the former passage specifically including his grants of citizenship.
[75] E.g. LE ROUX 2017, p. 592, against earlier scholarship, although one should note that this is an argument made on the basis that he can find no explicit evidence for such grants at this date, including (n.49) the claim that Cicero's use of *Siculi* in Cic. *Att*. 14.12.1 and not, e.g., *tota provincia*, supports the argument, which seems far from definitive, especially in the context of a letter; cf. LE ROUX 2009, p. 161, discussing the development of *Latinitas* in Spain: "*il serait contradictoire de penser que le municipe latin aurait existé dès Auguste sans concession collective du droit latin provinciaux, ce qui est avéré par l'histoire du droit latin provincial à partir de César*."
[76] SORACI 2018, pp. 44-48, but her final conclusion that Diodorus describes neither *Latinitas* nor Roman citizenship, merely some generic and informal regime change of Roman type, makes no sense.
[77] See e.g. FRANCE 2021, pp. 382-83 on the problems of *stipendiarius* and *tributum*; cf. LE ROUX 2017, pp. 587-588.

Perhaps most importantly, Patrick Le Roux has clarified the point that while a grant of *ius Latii* at this date entails the existence of an autonomous civic community to which such a grant can be made, it in no way entails the adoption of specific magistracies or institutions by that community.[78] In other words, *Latinitas* does not by itself entail the establishment of a *municipium* or a municipal charter; but it does open the way to such a transformation at a later date for an individual community, most clearly seen in the Vespasianic and Domitianic grants of municipal status to many of the Iberian peninsula communities.[79] This clarification opens the door to a much more efficient interpretation of the available evidence, with (1) some, many or even all communities receiving *ius Latii* in c.46 BCE from Caesar, but then (2) a slower process of the securing of formal (Latin) municipal status from the time of Augustus onwards for an unknown number of these communities, of which the minimum is those for which we have explicit evidence. Notably, we lack any evidence outside of Pliny for the status of Netum (or indeed Messana), and in the case of Centuripae only the later evidence of a duumviral inscription, which should serve to remind us of the fragility of our evidence in general.

Turning now to the material itself, Halaesa offers a valuable case-study: epigraphic evidence covers both the Hellenistic and Imperial periods in a small *polis* which held a privileged position under the Republican administration as a *civitas immunis ac libera*, while seemingly becoming a (Latin) *municipium* in the Augustan period.[80] In the Hellenistic period, public epigraphy for the city is all in Greek and uses several different types of more or less local stone. The majority of the honorific texts on monuments of various types in the agora are on a dark, moderately coarse local stone. By contrast, monumental public texts such as the cadastral inscription and associated documents employ a fine white limestone identified as coming from some distance to the east along the coast.[81] The stone is not very hard-wearing, but it has the great merit of taking a finely carved text in small characters, unlike the local stone, enabling the sort of lengthy public epigraphy familiar from the wider Hellenistic world, most commonly engraved on marble, which material is however lacking in Sicily. It is notable that this distinctive white stone is used therefore not for statue bases but for lengthy public legal texts, on distinctive epigraphic monuments such as the large stelae of the cadastral inscription.[82] In the Imperial period, by contrast, the epigraphy of Halaesa transforms rapidly and completely into Latin epigraphy, consistently on imported marble, whether for building inscriptions, honorifics, or dedications, mostly using a distinctive cream-coloured marble with blue-grey veining. The only Greek inscription of the first two centuries CE is a second-century CE honorific for a *rhetor* (with a Latin name suggesting a North African origin), echoing the sort of cultural domain specific usage suggested by Korhonen for Syracusae.[83] However, the real interest lies in a text that can be clearly shown to sit right on

[78] LE ROUX 2015, p. 191: "…*le ius Latii n'exigeait aucune forme institutionnelle précise incluant des magistratures définies et des institutions politiques autres que celles d'une cité autonome maîtresse de son pouvoir local*" (and cf. LE ROUX 2009, p. 160).
[79] SORACI 2018 moves towards this position after Le Roux and Sisani, but ultimately (at pp. 48-53) seems to adopt an intermediate position, closer to the traditional one.
[80] Cic. *Verr*. 3.12 for *civitas immunis ac libera*; ISic000582 and ISic001705 for *municipium*; FACELLA 2006 for a detailed history of the city.
[81] ARENA 2020, p. 26 n. 4 and p. 95 (cf. pp. 47, 68, 75, 81, 83, 85).
[82] ARENA 2020, pp. 95-96 on the cadastral stele and associated texts (ISic001174, 003651, 004407).
[83] ISic003584.

the moment of transition (but is impossible to place with precision). The text is a small stone plaque, originally inserted in the wall of one of the rooms ("Taberna I") at the rear of the agora portico, on the same fine white limestone as the Hellenistic public inscriptions (Fig. 3). The text is a dedication to all the gods (a common pattern in the Hellenistic honorifics) by one Markos Aimilos Rhodon, son of Kipos, in commemoration of his holding of the office of *agoranomos*: Θεοῖς πᾶσι / Μ(άρκος) · Αἰμίλιος · Ῥό[δων] / Κίπου · υἱὸς · ὑπ[ὲρ τῆς] / ἀγορανομ[ίας] / ἀνέθ[ηκεν] / ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδίων].[84] Plausibly, it reflects reconstruction work on that part of the agora conducted while he held the office.[85] It is notable that, because of the assumption that this text must be late Republican, precisely because it is in Greek, it has never been linked to the archaeologically attested redevelopment of the adjoining 6 rooms along the west side of the portico into spaces for imperial cult and other uses in the early Principate.[86] The dedicant has a fully Roman name but would seem to be a first-generation citizen of Italic origin.[87] A further notable feature of the text, unique among the Greek inscriptions from Halaesa (other than the much later second-century CE text noted above), is the consistent use of interpuncts throughout the text. Furthermore, these interpuncts have a very distinctive "hollow triangle" form.[88] Something similar is implied in the antiquarian record of a now lost Augustan dedication in Latin from Halaesa.[89] More generally, pronounced triangular interpuncts are found in early Sicilian Latin inscriptions of precisely this period, between the mid-first century BCE and the mid-first century CE, particularly in the earlier Latin material from Halaesa, in most of the early Latin texts from Segesta, and in early Latin texts from Thermae Himeraeae – and in the Syracusan honorific discussed above.[90] The point of interest is the way that this dedication by a Marcus Aemilius follows the typical Greek formulation of the local community, while simultaneously using Latin epigraphic conventions in the inclusion of interpuncts, and demonstrating a desire to use a high quality stone for display purposes, typical of the rapid transition to marble use visible in Halaesa and across the island in the Augustan period - in this instance adopting the best regionally available marble substitute. Something very similar can be observed in the choice of the north coastal "breccia di San Marco" for the honorific inscriptions of the early colonial elite at Thermae Himeraeae and Haluntium (although at Haluntium the choice is perhaps less marked, since the stone is very local and used more widely across the local epigraphy; but one might speculate that the links with Haluntium implied by the honorands of these

[84] ISic000770, with SCIBONA 1971 for provenance; detailed edition, without further conclusions, in PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO 2012, p. 180.
[85] SCIBONA 1971, p. 14, CAMPAGNA 2007, p. 118.
[86] For the transformation, see TIGANO 2012, pp. 139-141 (NB I do not suggest that the plaque *must* be linked to this particular phase of work, the point is only that it *could* be).
[87] MORETTI 1986-1987.
[88] An interesting direct parallel is offered by ISic003026 from Lipara, a Greek text recording the dedication of a treasury altar by two freedmen *agoranomoi* and belonging to the same chronological period (and compared to this text already by MANGANARO 1992, pp. 389-390): recent personal autopsy confirms that this text also has large hollow interpuncts between words, and the precise date must be a matter for speculation.
[89] ISic000582, with the distinctive interpuncts recorded both by Antonio Agustín (*cod. Matritensis* 581 f.22 no.3, discussed in PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO 1993, p. 531) and Georg GUALTHERUS (1624, no. 299).
[90] Especially ISic003577 (Augustan), ISic003576 (Julio-Claudian) and ISic003575 (C1 CE?) from Halaesa; at Segesta in most of the earliest Latin texts from the mid-C1 BCE through to the Julio-Claudian period (see AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, pp. 40-41), notably ISic003325 and ISic001825; notable examples at Thermae Himeraeae include ISic000096 and ISic000098 (military veterans), ISic000101 and ISic000104 (early imperial building dedications by *duumviri*), and ISic000147 (early imperial); also found in the building inscription of L. Plinius Rufus from the 30s BCE at Lilybaeum (ISic000007). On the typology, more generally, ZUCCA 1994, pp. 132-133.

inscriptions in fact informed the choice of the material).[91] At both Halaesa and Thermae one might imagine the direct influence of the increasing Roman use of marble, prior to the growth of reliable marble imports on the island. The difference, however, between the cases of Thermae and Halaesa is that the former was a *colonia* with veteran settlers from outside the island, while the latter's status at this date is uncertain and the local elite can clearly be demonstrated to remain in occupation.[92] The presence of Italians at Halaesa has long been documented, so there is no need to think that Aemilius, or even his father, was a new arrival; more significant therefore is the conscious act of following Roman practices within a Greek context – and whether this belongs before, during, or after the civil wars is unknowable. A further contrast is in turn provided by Segesta, where instances of Greek / Latin interference are well documented in the transition to Latin by what must be a more or less local elite in a city of privileged status, but the use of imported marble appears very rare.[93]

Examples of this sort of more nuanced reading across the multiple dimensions of language, format and materiality could be extended many times over. A recently discussed example from Centuripae records a dedication to Apollo by one Herak<l>eios son of Aristophylos δεκυρεύσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (Fig. 4).[94] The term δεκυρεύσας, a neologism from the Latin *decurio* is unparalleled. (I remain very sceptical that a fragment from the Syracusan catacombs recorded by Paolo Orsi should be restored to read [δε]κυρεύ/[-σας] as proposed by Wessel, or redated to the late first century BCE as argued by Korhonen: moreover, a small text like this on a marble plaque would be unusual at such a date.[95]) However, a now-lost inscription from Lilybaeum records honours set up by οἱ δεκορίωνες, a similar calque, moderately well attested in the form δεκουρίωνες (already in Polybius 6.25.2).[96] The interest of the Lilybaeum inscription is that the statue base (stone, unspecified), while honouring a Marcus Valerius Chorton, son of Diognetos Megas (and so a first generation Roman citizen), retains traces of Doric (εὐεργέταν) while also having a parallel Latin text (not a direct translation) on the side: *ordo et populus civit(atis) Lilybit(anorum) patrono perpetuo*. This latter is presumably a Latin rendition of ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς πόλεως τῶν Λιλυβαιτᾶν.[97] A second inscription from Mazara del Vallo appears to record similar honours for the same man in Greek (lost and fragmentary), while a third inscription honours Diognetos Megas, the father, also as εὐεργέταν.[98] Significantly, the last of these, either contemporary to or earlier

[91] ISic000095 and ISic000096 at Thermae, and ISic001190 at Haluntium for the same man or an immediate relative (cf. KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, pp. 103-106, with reference only to onomastics and palaeography); ISic001191 for an earlier use of the breccia at Haluntium.
[92] Visible in the series of inscriptions recording members of the Lapiron family, which also neatly illustrate the shift in language *and* material across the civil war divide: ISic000800, ISic001175 and ISic001176 are all later Hellenistic Greek honorifics on the local coarse stone for members of the same family; ISic003571 is a fine Augustan or Julio-Claudian Latin text on an imported marble for another Lapiron, who achieved the rank of *praefectus fabrum*.
[93] Only two marble fragments are attested among the 14 Latin lapidary texts (ISic000663 and ISic004410; cf. AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, p. 131 on *I.Segesta* L10 = ISic000663), and none among the Greek texts; Erdas summarises linguistic interference in the Latin epigraphy at AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, pp. 39-40.
[94] ISic001394 (*IG* XIV.575), cf. KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, pp. 106-107.
[95] ISic004335 (ORSI, *NSA* 1895, p. 494 no. 192; WESSEL 1989, no. 124), republished and redated to the late first century BCE in KORHONEN 2011, p.22 (reprised in KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, pp. 110-111); see full discussion online in ISic004335.
[96] ISic001097 (*IG* XIV.277).
[97] Cf. ISic001660 for the Doric genitive plural Λιλυβαιτᾶν.
[98] ISic001096 (*IG*XIV.273) and ISic001660 (MANNI PIRAINO 1963, pp. 159-162 no. 2); cf. BRUGNONE 2021 for the Lilybaeum context.

than the bilingual text for the son, is in finely carved letters (late Hellenistic, including the distinctive rhomboid omega widely attested on the island from the second century BCE) on a substantial off-white limestone plaque (seemingly not a common epigraphic choice in the city, but showing considerable similarity to the stone at Halaesa, discussed above).[99]

It is, as will be clear by now, impossible to date any of these texts closely, and arguments that they *must* reflect a change of status, while tempting, are never decisive. Arguments from palaeography are weak and highly subjective. Arguments from language choice are also weak, being reflective not of legal status, but rather of cultural choices. Arguments from material and form are suggestive, but hardly definitive. In the case of the text from Centuripae, the suggestion of Korhonen and Soraci that the palaeography would imply an early Hellenistic date is implausible (the coarse limestone employed makes a serifed text highly unlikely and other aspects are against a date earlier than the second century BCE), while the assumption that, because of the term δεκυρεύσας, it "*rappresenta forse la prima attestazione della condizione municipale di Centuripe*" (and so belongs at some date after c.46 BCE) simply begs the question.[100] The choice of material – the local rather poor soft limestone – is in stark contrast to the rich marble Latin epigraphy of imperial period Centuripae; while the dedicant, Herak<l>eios, is clearly not a Roman citizen. It is easier to imagine an aspirational adoption of Roman institutional language within the strongly Romanocentric environment of first-century BCE Sicily (or even a little earlier), rather than to require this to serve as evidence for a change in civic status (it *may* do so, but certainly cannot prove it). The situation is similar to the case of the Tauromenium account inscriptions discussed above. The Lilybaeum example is then a further variation on the same theme, the *polis* honouring a father and his enfranchised son for acts of euergetism, and doing so both in the vernacular Doric of Hellenistic Sicily (εὐεργέταν) and presumably at the same time in the Latin terminology of the ever more dominant Roman world (*patrono perpetuo*).[101] The adoption of a distinctive fine limestone for at least one of these Lilybaeum texts increases the likelihood of a slightly later date, but none of these elements require it. They all speak to aspirations, however, and to an increasingly conscious move away from the existing identity of the late Hellenistic *polis*.

It is precisely this situation which is exemplified by several of the texts which explicitly confirm the title of *municipium* in this period (for the full list see n. 72). Two of these, from Agrigentum and Haluntium, are in Greek, with the term *municipium* simply transliterated, τὸ μουνικίπιον.[102] The traditional tendency to try to date these to a narrow window between 44 and 36 BCE should be abandoned;[103] what these two texts illustrate most clearly is the use of

[99] Note that the stone is wrongly described as marble in previous publications. A second example of rhomboid omega at Lilybaeum in ISic001780; for rhomboid omega at Segesta from the later second century BCE onwards and more widely on the island, see AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, p. 37 (and cf. KORHONEN 2004b, p. 92; noted already by TORREMUZZA 1784, p. xlvii).
[100] KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, p. 107.
[101] Although the combination *patronus perpetuus* is in fact rare outside a few instances in late Roman north Africa, which might support an early date in a primarily non-Latin context.
[102] Agrigentum, ISic030281: [τῶι δὲ μουνι]κιπίωι τῶν Ἀκραγαντί[νων]; Haluntium, ISic001190: τὸ μουνικίπιον τῶ[ν] / Ἀλοντίνων.
[103] As rightly noted by KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, who suggest a date after 21 BCE for ISic001190 due to the presence of the same person, or an immediate relative, at the *colonia* of Thermae Himeraeae. However, their suggestion that the bronze fragment ISic030282 is palaeographically later than ISic030281, with which it is

the newly acquired title (at whatever precise date) within the existing linguistic and cultural horizons of the pre-existing Hellenistic poleis, τὸ μουνικίπιον simply replacing ὁ δᾶμος.[104] Texts from Haluntium, Halaesa and Segesta then illustrate a second step in this gradual process of self-transformation. All three communities erect Latin inscriptions in the name of the *municipium* in the abstract, all of which date to the reign of Augustus, or else shortly afterwards.[105] As Marina Silvestrini first observed, this abstract use of *municipium* is exceptional, otherwise only attested in a couple of south Italian instances, or as a feature of later formulations in *tabulae patronatus*.[106] It is best understood as a further continuation of existing Greek formulaic practice, with texts commonly erected by ὁ δᾶμος, sometimes without further qualification.[107]

4. Conclusions

The epigraphy of Sicily at this moment of transition, therefore, turns out to be particularly eloquent of the transition itself, and not only in the simplistic sense of the sudden arrival of a Latin epigraphic habit. If we use this material not in an attempt to answer the essentially unanswerable question of precisely when and how the civic status of any particular community changed, but rather to explore the choices made by members of these communities in their self-representation, however loosely dated, we can instead advance much further in our attempts to understand some very basic questions - questions to which the answers are, in fact, not otherwise readily available, such as what was the impact, in human terms of the installation of (veteran) *coloniae* on the island under Augustus, and in what ways did civic life (and not in the *coloniae* alone) change on the island in this period (civic because the lapidary epigraphy is above all an urban phenomenon in this period). As illustrated in the above examples, to do this we must capture, with as much nuance as possible, how the epigraphic evidence changes over time. This is meaningful because epigraphic evidence is itself the product of cultural choices, that is to say, the cultural practice of inscribing texts of different sorts onto more or less durable materials and objects for public consumption: the very nature of that cultural practice can change and the documentation and analysis of that change is itself one way of describing and exploring wider social and cultural transformation.

It should now be clear that, while the impact of Latin and Latin epigraphic practices was sudden and substantial, and obviously coincident with the imposition of Roman colonies on the island and changes of civic status, it was also not quite as rapid and sudden a transition as has sometimes been assumed, and certainly not itself the basis for dating such changes.

---

commonly linked, is very speculative (KAJAVA 2014, whom they adduce, is in fact rightly cautious): there is no evidence that it comes from Agrigentum, the community self-references in the text as a *polis*, and the text has Doric forms, all of which point generically to a first century BCE date, which is also quite plausible palaeographically.

[104] ISic001418 (Greek), implies that municipal status was acquired by Agrigentum no later than 14 CE; ISic000587 (Latin) indicates that Haluntium likewise had municipal status no later than 14 CE.

[105] ISic000587 (Haluntium, 13 BCE-14 CE); ISic000588 (Haluntium, probably after 43 CE, but cf. KORHONEN, SORACI 2019, p. 103 for suggestive arguments that it may be Augustan); ISic000582 (Halaesa, 12 BCE-14 CE); ISic001705 (Halaesa, presumably Augustan or shortly after); ISic000622 (Segesta, presumably Augustan or shortly after); ISic000666 (Segesta, presumably Augustan or shortly after).

[106] SILVESTRINI in CHELOTTI *et al.* 1985, p. 68 no. 36 and SILVESTRINI 1999, p. 110; NICOLS 1980, p. 541; PRAG 2008, p. 78 and PRAG, TIGANO 2017, p. 84; cf. AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019, pp. 111-112.

[107] See e.g. ISic001189 (Haluntium), ISic001181 (Apollonia).

Furthermore, we can begin to see more clearly the evidence for variation between communities (whether status-based or otherwise), in the diverse responses by individuals and communities to the changing imperial pressures, whether they be incomers or locals responding to incomers. The changes that we can detect reflect those responses, whether the changes are linguistic, formulaic, typological, material, or something else again. Besides exemplifying some of those changes in the discussion above, I hope to have illustrated also the extent to which many of these changes reflect choices and responses, conscious or unconscious, rather than the simple imposition of new rules or expectations from above.

Looking to the future, ideally, we want to move beyond a purely qualitative study based upon specific examples, of the type presented above, in order to identify particular patterns and features in the epigraphic culture which might be thought to be indicative (or suggestive) of particular social and historical developments. But we should also be aiming at much richer quantitative analysis than in the past, capturing intersections between material, textual and linguistic change, as currently generally treated only in exemplary case studies. This remains a challenge in the face of incomplete and insufficiently standardised and accessible datasets, as well as in the need to bring together multiple disciplinary specialisms such as linguistics and archaeometry. Nonetheless, especially as the data improves, it is worth asking, to take only a single example, whether we might eventually use the increasingly rich epigraphic evidence, including a more nuanced approach to linguistic interactions, to help us get at the thorny problem of the demographics of the Augustan *coloniae* on the island, where both total population and numbers of immigrant colonial settlers (and even their origins) are highly speculative.[108] For all that it has been studied for centuries, the epigraphic evidence still holds out the promise of enormous potential for future study.

[108] See the quantitative modelling of HANSON 2021 for a new way of approaching this particular question.

Bibliography

ADAMS 2003 = J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003.
ALFÖLDY 1991 = G. ALFÖLDY, *Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation. Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik*, in *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, pp. 289–324.
ALFÖLDY 2005 = G. ALFÖLDY, *Ein römischer Ritter aus Cossura (Pantelleria)*, in *ZPE* 151, 2005, pp. 193–213.
AMPOLO, ERDAS 2019 = C. AMPOLO and D. ERDAS, *Inscriptiones Segestanae. Le iscrizioni greche e latine di Segesta*, Pisa 2019.
ARENA 2020 = E. ARENA, *Nuove epigrafi greche da Halaesa Archonidea. Dati inediti sulle Tabulae Halaesinae e su una città della Sicilia tardo-ellenistica*, Oxford 2020.
AVI-YONAH 1940 = M. AVI-YONAH, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions: (the Near East, 200 B.C.-A.D. 1100)*, London 1940.
BISPHAM 2007 = E. BISPHAM, *From Asculum to Actium : the Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*, Oxford 2007.
BIVONA 1987 = L. BIVONA, *Panormo romana in età imperiale. La documentazione epigrafica*, in *Kokalos* 33, 1987, pp. 257–274.
BIVONA 2001 = L. BIVONA, *Brevi considerazioni sulla epigrafia latina di Sicilia*, in G. Angeli Bertinelli and E. Donati (edd.), *Varia Epigraphica. Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000*, Bologna 2001, pp. 49–61.
BODEL, PRAG, ROUECHÉ 2024 = J. BODEL, J.R.W. PRAG, and C. ROUECHÉ, *Open scholarship: epigraphic corpora in the digital age*, in P. Fröhlich and M. Navarro Cabellero (edd.), *L'épigraphie au XXIe siècle. Actes du XVIe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, Bordeaux, 29 août-02 septembre 2022*, Bordeaux 2024.
BRAUDEL 1972 = F. BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. S. Reynolds, 2 vols, London 1972.
BRUGNONE 2021 = A. BRUGNONE, *Parlare greco a Lilibeo: la documentazione epigrafica tra II e I sec. a.C.*, in M.G. Griffo, A. Mandruzzato, and E.C. Portale (edd.), *Lilibeo al tempo di Cicerone. Atti della Giornata di Studi Museo Archeologico Regionale Lilibeo - Marsala, 3 maggio 2019*, Palermo 2021, pp. 55–80.
BURNETT 2002 = A. BURNETT, *Latin on coins of the western empire*', in A.E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, Portsmouth RI 2002, pp. 33–40.
CAMPAGNA 2003 = L. CAMPAGNA, *La Sicilia di età repubblicana nella storiografia degli ultimi cinquant'anni*, in *Ostraka* 12, 2003, pp. 7–31.
CAMPAGNA 2007 = L. CAMPAGNA, *Architettura pubblica ed evergetismo nella Sicilia di età repubblicana*, in C. Miccichè, S. Modeo, and L. Santagati (edd.), *La Sicilia romana tra Repubblica e Alto Impero*, Caltanissetta 2007, pp. 110–134.
CAMPAGNA 2011 = L. CAMPAGNA, *Exploring social and cultural changes in provincia Sicilia: reflections on the study of urban landscapes*, in F. Colivicchi (ed.), *Local Cultures of South Italy and Sicily in the Late Republican Period: Between Hellenism and Rome*, Portsmouth, RI 2011, pp. 161–183.
CAMPAGNA 2016 = L. CAMPAGNA, *Tauromenion (Taormina, Sicily): the Hellenistic sacred area near the church of Santa Caterina and its transformations during the Roman imperial age*, in M. Melfi and O. Bobou (edd.), *Hellenistic Sanctuaries between Greece and Rome*, Oxford 2016, pp. 254–272.
CAMPAGNA 2019 = L. CAMPAGNA, *Le città della Sicilia nella prima età imperiale. Considerazioni sulla periodizzazione a partire dal caso di Taormina*', in L. Fuduli and V. Lo Monaco (edd.), *ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΗ ΝΗΣΟΣ. Symposium on Archaeology of Sicily, University of Sao Paulo, 3-5 April 2019*, Rome 2019, pp. 85–95.

CAMPAGNA 2020 = L. CAMPAGNA, *Trasformazioni dei paesaggi urbani in età augustea: Sicilia e Italia meridionale a confronto*, in *Mediterraneo Antico* 23, 2020, pp. 93–126.
CAMPAGNA, LA TORRE 2008 = L. CAMPAGNA and G. F. LA TORRE, *Ricerche sui monumenti e sulla topografia di Tauromenion: una stoà ellenistica nell'area della naumachia*, in *Sicilia Antiqua* 5, 2008, pp. 115–146.
CHELOTTI *et al*. 1985 = M. CHELOTTI, R. GAETA, V. MORIZIO and M. SILVESTRINI, *Le Epigrafi romane di Canosa*, I, Bari 1985.
CHERRY 1995 = D. CHERRY, *Re-Figuring the Roman Epigraphic Habit*, in *AHB* 9, 1995, pp. 143–156.
CRAWFORD 1996 = M.H. CRAWFORD (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, London 1996.
CRELLIN forthcoming = R. CRELLIN, *Quantitative approaches to characterising the syntax of Sicilian funerary inscriptions: measuring syntactic isomorphy* (article in preparation).
ECK 1996 = W. ECK, *Senatorische Familien der Kaiserzeit in der Provinz Sizilien*, in *ZPE* 113, 1996, pp. 109–128.
FACELLA 2006 = A. FACELLA, *Alesa Arconidea: ricerche su un'antica città della Sicilia tirrenica*, Pisa 2006.
FEENEY 2007 = D.C. FEENEY, *Caesar's Calendar. Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, Berkeley 2007.
FERRUA 1941 = A. FERRUA, *Epigrafica sicula pagana e cristiana*, in *RAC* 18, 1941, pp. 151–243.
FRANCE 2021 = J. FRANCE, *Tribut: une histoire fiscale de la conquête romaine*, Paris 2021.
GABBA 1959 = E. GABBA, *Sui senati della città siciliane nell'età di Verre*, in *Athenaeum* 37, 1959, pp. 304–320.
GENTILI 1951 = G.V. GENTILI, *Siracusa. Scoperte nelle due nuove arterie stradali*, in *NSA* 1951, pp. 261-334.
GUALTHERUS 1624 = G. GUALTHERUS, *Siciliæ obiacentium insular. et Bruttiorum antiquæ tabulæ, cum animadversionib.*, Messana 1624.
GUARDUCCI 1967 = M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 1, Roma 1967.
HANSON 2021 = J.W. HANSON, *Cities, information, and the epigraphic habit: re-evaluating the links between the numbers of inscriptions and the sizes of sites*, in *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 4, 2021, pp. 137-152, doi: 10.1484/J.JUA.5.126597.
KAJAVA 2014 = M. KAJAVA, *Two Greek Documents on Bronze (IG XIV 954; IG XIV 955 = IGUR 4)*, in *Arctos* 48, 2014, pp. 205–209.
KEPPIE 1983 = L.J.F. KEPPIE, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47-14 B.C.*, London 1983.
KORHONEN 2002 = K. KORHONEN, *Three cases of Greek/Latin imbalance in Roman Syracuse*, in E.N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in cultural interaction*, Aarhus 2002, pp. 70–80.
KORHONEN 2004a = K. KORHONEN, *La cultura epigrafica della colonia di Catina nell'alto impero*, in G. Salmeri, A. Raggi, and A. Baroni (edd.), *Colonie romane nel mondo greco*, Roma 2004, pp. 233–254.
KORHONEN 2004b = K. KORHONEN, *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico di Catania: storia delle collezioni, cultura epigrafica, edizione*, Helsinki 2004.
KORHONEN 2007 = K. KORHONEN, *Erudite forgeries or families seeking distinction? Cesare Gaetani's inscriptions from Syracuse*, in *ZPE* 161, 2007, pp. 291–298.
KORHONEN 2011 = K. KORHONEN, *Sicily. Language and identity in the Roman colonies of Sicily*, in R.J. Sweetman (ed.), *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation*, Oxford 2011, pp. 7–31.

KORHONEN 2012 = K. KORHONEN, *Sicily in the Roman Imperial Period*, in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 326–369.
KORHONEN 2017 = K. KORHONEN, *"Bande à part" : l'eredità greca nelle colonie augustee di Sicilia*, in C. Brélaz (ed.), *L'Héritage grec des colonies romaines d'Orient. Interactions culturelles dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain*, Paris 2017, pp. 347–354.
KORHONEN, SORACI 2019 = K. KORHONEN and C. SORACI, *Forme amministrative e scelte linguistiche nelle epigrafi e nelle monete della Sicilia romana*, in *Gerión* 37, 2019, pp. 97–116.
LE ROUX 2009 = P. LE ROUX, *Peuples et Cités de la Péninsule Ibérique du II^e a.C. au II^e p.C.*, in *Pallas* 80, 2009, pp. 147–173.
LE ROUX 2015 = P. LE ROUX, *Le droit latin (ius latii): une relecture*, in G. Cresci Marrone (ed.), *Trans Padum … usque ad Alpes. Roma tra il Po e le Alpi: dalla romanizzazione alla romanità*, Roma 2015, pp. 179-195, doi: 10.4000/books.pur.161800.
LE ROUX 2017 = P. LE ROUX, *Le ius latii d'Auguste aux Flaviens. Histoire d'une expansion provinciale*, in *REA* 119, 2017, pp. 585-608, doi: 10.4000/books.pur.161805.
MACMULLEN 1982 = R. MACMULLEN, *The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire*, in *AJP* 103, 1982, pp. 233–246, doi: 10.2307/294470.
MANGANARO 1963 = G. MANGANARO, *Tauromenitana: un calendario romano di Tauromenion*, in *ArchClass* 15, 1963, pp. 13–31.
MANGANARO 1964 = G. MANGANARO, *Iscrizioni latine e greche dal nuovo edificio termale di Taormina*, in *CronASA* 3, 1964, pp. 38–68.
MANGANARO 1988a = G. MANGANARO, *La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano*, in *ANRW* 2.11.1, 1988, pp. 3–89.
MANGANARO 1988b = G. MANGANARO, *Le tavole finanziare di Tauromenion*, in D. Knoepfler (ed.), *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque: actes du colloque international d'épigraphique tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de J.Tréheux*, Neuchâtel 1988, pp. 155–190.
MANGANARO 1992 = G. MANGANARO, *Tra epigrafia e numismatica*, in *Chiron* 22, 19992, pp. 385–410.
MANGANARO 1993 = G. MANGANARO, *Greco nei pagi e latino nelle città della Sicilia romana tra I e VI sec. d.C.*, in A. Calbi, A. Donati, and G. Poma (edd.), *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, Faenza 1993, pp. 543–594.
MANNI PIRAINO 1963 = M.T. MANNI PIRAINO, *Due iscrizioni inedite di Marsala*, in *Kokalos* 9, 1963, pp. 157–162.
MCLEAN 2002 = B.H. MCLEAN, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, Ann Arbor MI 2002.
MIMBRERA 2012a = S. MIMBRERA OLARTE, *Fonética y morfología del Dorio de Sicilia (siglos VII-I a.C.)*, Madrid 2012.
MIMBRERA 2012b = S. MIMBRERA, *The Sicilian Doric koina*, in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 223–250.
MOLÉ 1999 = C. MOLÉ VENTURA, *Dinamiche di acculturazione in epoca augustea*, in M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro, and A. Pinzone (edd.), *Magna Grecia e Sicilia. Stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca (Atti dell'Incontro di Studi, Messina 2-4 dicembre 1996)*, Messina 1999, pp. 415–438.
MORETTI 1986-1987 = L. MORETTI, *Per la storia di Halaesa in Sicilia*, in *RPAA* 59, 1986-1987, pp. 195–197.
MULLEN 2013 = A. MULLEN, *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*, Cambridge 2013.

MUSCOLINO 2012 = F. MUSCOLINO, *Bolli laterizi di Taormina*, in *PdP* 67, 2012, pp. 414–467.
NAWOTKA 2020 = K. NAWOTKA, *Epigraphic habit, epigraphic culture, epigraphic curve: Statement of the problem*, in K. Nawotka (ed.), *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity*, London 2020, pp. 1–30.
NICOLS 1980 = J. NICOLS, *Tabulae patronatus: A Study of the Agreement Between Patron and Client Community*, in *ANRW* 2.13, 1980, pp. 535-561.
PRAG 2002 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Epigraphy by Numbers: Latin and the Epigraphic Culture in Sicily*, in A.E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?* Portsmouth, RI 2002, pp. 15-31.
PRAG 2007 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Ciceronian Sicily: the epigraphic dimension*, in J. Dubouloz and S. Pittia (edd.), *La Sicile de Cicéron, Lectures des Verrines*, Besançon 2007, pp. 245–271.
PRAG 2008 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Sicilia and Britiannia: Epigraphic Evidence for Civic Administration*', in C. Berrendonner, M. Cébeillac Gervasoni, and L. Lamoine (edd.), *Le Quotidien municipal dans l'Occident romain*, Clermont-Ferrand 2008, pp. 67–81.
PRAG 2009 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Republican Sicily at the start of the 21st Century: the rise of the optimists*, in *Pallas* 79, 2009, pp. 131–144.
PRAG 2010 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Sicilia Romana tributim discripta*, in M. Silvestrini (ed.), *Le tribù romane. Atti della XVIe Rencontre sur l'épigraphie (Bari 8-10 ottobre 2009)*, Bari 2010, pp. 305–311.
PRAG 2014 = J.R.W. PRAG, *Cities and civic life in late Hellenistic Roman Sicily*, in *CCG* 25, 2014, pp. 165–208.
PRAG 2017-2023 = J.R.W. PRAG (ed.), *I.Sicily*: *Inscriptions of Sicily*, http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, Oxford 2017-2023.
PRAG 2018 = J.R.W. PRAG, *A new bronze honorific inscription from Halaesa, Sicily, in two copies*, in *Journal of Epigraphic Studies* 1, 2018, pp. 93–141.
PRAG 2019 = J.R.W. PRAG, *I.Sicily, Open Scholarship, and the Epigraphic Landscape of Hellenistic/Roman Sicily*, in *Ktema* 44, 2019, pp. 107–122.
PRAG 2021 = J.R.W. PRAG, *I.Sicily and Crossreads: a digital epigraphic corpus for ancient Sicily*, in C. Prescott, A. Karivieri, P. Campbell, K. Göransson, and S. Tusa (edd.), *Trinacria, 'an Island Outside Time'*, Oxford 2021, pp. 181–192.
PRAG, CHARTRAND 2018 = J.R.W. PRAG and J. CHARTRAND, *I. Sicily: Building a Digital Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient Sicily*, in A. De Santis and I. Rossi (edd.), *Crossing Experiences in Digital Epigraphy*, Warsaw 2018, pp. 240-252.
PRAG, TIGANO 2017 = J.R.W. PRAG and G. TIGANO, *Alesa Archonidea: il lapidarium*, Palermo 2017.
PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO 1993 = A. M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, *Revisioni epigrafiche alesine e nuove inedite trascrizioni della grande tabula di Alesa*, in *Kokalos* 39–40, 1993, pp. 528–533.
PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO 2012 = A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, *Spazio pubblico e memoria civica. Le epigrafi dall'agora di Alesa*, in C. Ampolo (ed.), *Agora greca e agorai di Sicilia*, Pisa 2012, pp. 171–200.
RUCK 1996 = B. RUCK, *Die fasten von Taormina*, in *ZPE* 111, 1996, pp. 271–280.
SALMERI 2004 = G. SALMERI, *I caratteri della grecità di Sicilia e la colonizzazione romana*, in G. Salmeri, A. Raggi, and A. Baroni (edd.), *Colonie romane nel mondo greco*, Roma 2004, pp. 255–308.
SCIBONA 1971 = G. SCIBONA, *Epigraphica Halaesina I*, in *Kokalos* 17, 1971, pp. 3–20.
SILVESTRINI 1999 = M. SILVESTRINI, *Un Itinerario epigrafico lungo la Via Traiana: Aecae, Herdonia, Canusium*, Bari 1999.

SORACI 2018 = C. SORACI, *Diritto latino, cittadinanza romana e municipalizzazione: trasformazioni graduali e progressive in Sicilia tra Cesare e Augusto*, in *DHA* 44, 2018, pp. 37–58, doi: 10.3917/dha.441.0037.
TAGLIAPIETRA 2018 = L. TAGLIAPIETRA, *Il declino del dialetto dorico nelle iscrizioni di Sicilia del periodo tardo repubblicano: una nuova ipotesi*, in *Linguarum Varietas* 7, 2018, pp. 143–162, doi: 10.19272/201811601010.
TIGANO 2012 = G. TIGANO, *Alesa Arconidea: l'agora/foro*, in C. Ampolo (ed.), Agora *greca e* agorai *di Sicilia*, Pisa 2012, pp. 133–154.
TORREMUZZA 1784 = G.L. CASTELLI PRINCIPE DI TORREMUZZA, *Siciliae et objacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio prolegomenis et notis illustrata, et iterum cum emendationibus, & auctariis evulgata*, 2nd edition, Palermo 1784.
TRIBULATO 2012 = O. TRIBULATO, *Siculi bilingues? Latin in the inscriptions of early Roman Sicily*, in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 291–325.
VENUTI 2019 = M. VENUTI, *L'introduzione dell'opus latericium a Taormina: I casi della cd. Naumachia e del teatro*, in J. Bonetto, E. Bukowiecki, R. Volpe (edd.), *Alle origini del laterizio romano. Nascità e diffusione del mattone cotto nel Mediterraneo tra IV e I secolo a.C.*, Roma 2019, pp. 253-260.
VERA 1996 = D. VERA, *Augusto, Plinio il Vecchio e la Sicilia in età imperiale. A proposito di recenti scoperte epigrafiche e archeologiche ad Agrigento*, in *Kokalos* 42, 1996, pp. 31–58.
WALLERSTEIN 1988 = I. WALLERSTEIN, *The Inventions of TimeSpace Realities: Towards an Understanding of our Historical Systems*, *Geography* 73, 1988, pp. 289–297.
WESSEL 1989 = C. WESSEL, *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis*, Bari 1989.
WILKINSON *et al.* 2016 = M.D. WILKINSON *et al.*, *The FAIR Guiding Principles for scientific data management and stewardship*, *Sci Data* 3, 2016, doi: 10.1038/sdata.2016.18.
WILSON 1990 = R.J.A. WILSON, *Sicily under the Roman Empire: the Archaeology of a Roman Province, 36 B.C. - A.D. 535*, Warminster 1990.
WOOLF 1996 = G. WOOLF, *Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire*, in *JRS* 86, 1996, pp. 22–39.
ZUCCA 1994 = R. ZUCCA, *Sui tipi di interpunzione nelle iscrizioni latine dall'età più antica alla fine della repubblica*, in *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 18, 1994, pp. 123-150.

Fig. 1 – ISic003204. Honorific inscription, from via. F.S. Cavallari, Siracusa. Photograph R. Wilson 2009, with the authorisation of the Parco archeologico e paesaggistico di Siracusa, Eloro, Villa del Tellaro e Akrai; reproduction is not permitted.

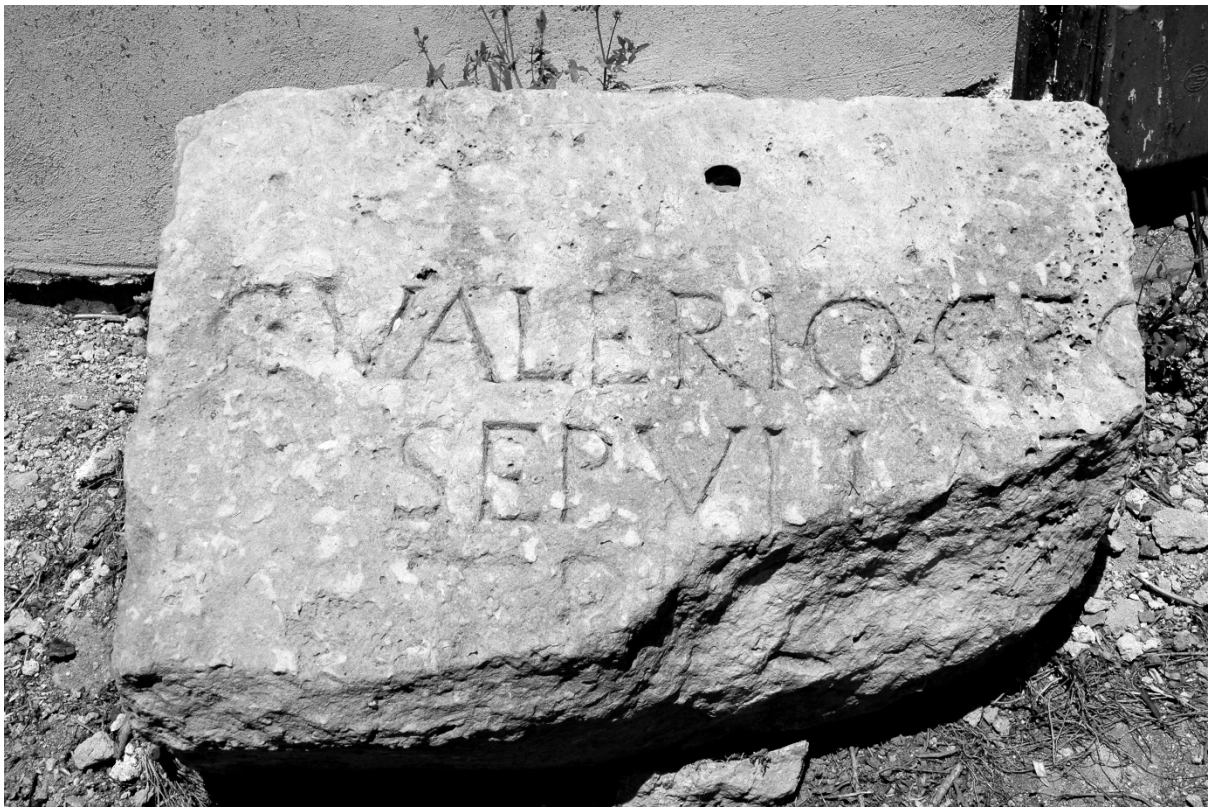

Fig. 2 – ISic003359. Funerary chest, from a hypogeum in Grotticelli, Siracusa. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. 22226. Photograph J. Prag 2013, with the authorisation of the Parco archeologico e paesaggistico di Siracusa, Eloro, Villa del Tellaro e Akrai; reproduction is not permitted.

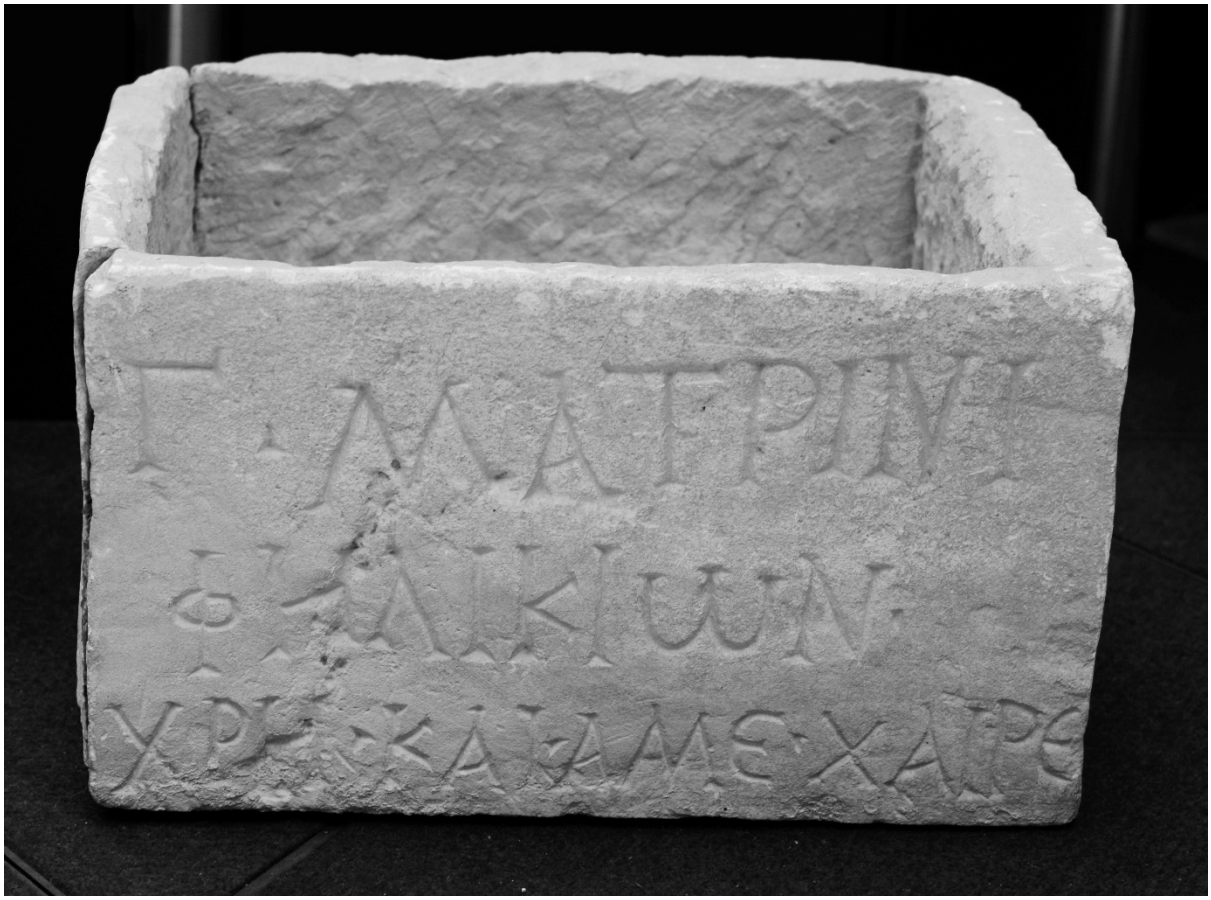

Fig. 3 – ISic000770. Dedication by Markos Aimilios, from the agora, Halaesa, inv. ME 20223. Photograph J. Prag 2016, with the authorisation of the Parco archeologico di Tindari; reproduction is not permitted.

Fig. 4 – ISic001394. Dedication by Herak<l>eios, from Centuripe. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. 27720. Photograph J. Prag 2016, with the authorisation of the Parco archeologico e paesaggistico di Siracusa, Eloro, Villa del Tellaro e Akrai; reproduction is not permitted.