

## The epigraphy of Agrigento in context

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This paper offers a very brief overview of the epigraphy (principally on stone) of ancient *Akragas/Agrigentum*, within the wider Sicilian epigraphic context. The motivation for doing so is, on the one hand, that the inscriptions of Agrigento tend to be treated individually and in isolation, for their potential historical value; and on the other, that the development of digital resources for Sicilian epigraphy, in particular the *I.Sicily* project (directed by the author), greatly facilitates such study. A brief presentation of the *I.Sicily* project is included as an appendix at the end of the paper.<sup>1</sup>

The epigraphy of Agrigento has been published in multiple locations over time, but never unified. The original *corpora* volumes for Sicily each record four texts for the city (*IG XIV.262-265*; *CIL X.7192-7195*). The steady addition of material over time reflects the principal periods of archaeological work in the area, published mostly at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the 1920s, in the 1960s, and the 1980s<sup>2</sup>. Material, mostly Greek, was gathered together by De Waele (1971: 31-44), Dubois (1989: 204-215 with 2008: 146-152), and Arena (1992: nos. 89-95 = 2002: nos. 88-95), and supplemented by Manganaro (1999: 35-39). However, none of these individually published more than a dozen or so texts<sup>3</sup>. The current total known to me is 34 inscriptions on stone, with at least 53 texts recorded across all materials<sup>4</sup>. I do not publish a full listing here, since such a list with further references is now easily obtainable online, and a list presented here will rapidly become out of date.

In publishing his corpus of *Inscriptions Grecques dialectales de Sicile*, Laurent Dubois remarked that ‘L’*épigraphie* d’Agrigente est d’une extrême pauvreté’<sup>5</sup>. Such remarks are generally a hostage to fortune, due to the uneven publication record and the vagaries of survival and recovery. However, on this occasion it is difficult to argue and I shall offer brief thoughts on this at the end. A comparison between the number of texts on stone from Agrigento and the other major centres of Sicily producing 20 inscriptions or more is revealing (Fig.1).

Of the significant coastal settlements which persisted into the Roman period, none has produced fewer texts than Agrigento, and several settlements which did not achieve colonial status have produced more material (e.g. Halaesa, Centuripae, Akrae, Segesta, Selinus). Even Messina, where the archaeology has been impacted not only by modern overbuilding but also the effects of the 1908 earthquake, has produced more material. It is consequently unsurprising to see that Agrigento features rarely, if at all, in epigraphy-based discussions of ‘romanisation’, or linguistic and cultural interaction<sup>6</sup>.

However, a further, very striking point emerges from this map, and that is the marked epigraphic isolation of Agrigento in southern central Sicily. This epigraphic isolation is even more marked in the Roman period (fig. 2). The epigraphic evidence appears to accord remarkably well with Strabo’s notorious observation that ‘Of the remaining sides of Sicily, that which extends from Pachynos to Lilybaion has been utterly deserted, although it preserves traces of the old settlements, among which

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<sup>1</sup> References will be made in what follows to *I.Sicily* numbers. These can be resolved as per the following example: <http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/inscription/ISic0001>.

<sup>2</sup> Convenient summary of past archaeological work in De Miro 1984.

<sup>3</sup> A summary overview in Lombardo 1984; and see the list of material for the study of Doric gathered by Mimbrela Olarte 2012: 32-33, c.18 texts on various types of support (plus coin legends) for Agrigento, but with considerable additional material from the wider region adduced also.

<sup>4</sup> *I.Sicily* records 34 texts on stone (<http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/> (22.11.2016)); a search on *EDR* (<http://www.edr-edr.it/> (22.11.2016)) returns 53 texts, of which 19 are not on stone.

<sup>5</sup> Dubois 1989: 205.

<sup>6</sup> Absent from Wilson 1990: 313-320; passing mention in Korhonen 2012, cf. 2011; there are only two substantive uses of Agrigentine material in the edited volume Tribulato 2012a (pp. 200 and 313).

was Kamarina, a colony of the Syrakosians; Akragas, however, which belongs to the Geloans, and its seaport, and also Lilybaion still endure' (Strabo 6.2.5). The extent to which the archaeology supports Strabo's vision is not yet wholly clear, and the precise trajectories of urban and rural settlement in Roman Sicily remain the subject of debate: what evidence there is has been taken to support the idea of 'un generale spopolamento delle campagne nei primi secoli dell'occupazione romana' in this part of the south coast<sup>7</sup>. Epigraphic material, by its very nature, tends to concentrate in urban centres, so its absence does not in itself entail 'desertion', only the apparent absence of the classic urban model (see further below). Epigraphic culture may be weaker in Sicily than in some parts of the ancient Mediterranean, but even by Sicilian standards, this region, and Agrigento especially, underproduces<sup>8</sup>.

In order to explore this in more detail, it makes sense to examine the Agrigentine material more closely and to extend the range of the comparison. In the first place, we can compare the distribution of the dated Agrigentine lapidary epigraphy over time, as against that of Sicily as a whole (figs. 3-4)<sup>9</sup>. Notwithstanding the small size of the Agrigentine dataset (which means all of this is merely impressionistic), it is striking to see that the predominance of Latin epigraphy in the early Empire for the island as a whole is replicated in the Agrigentine material. Two trends which are perhaps implied in figure 4 deserve closer inspection: the relative prominence of Archaic Greek epigraphy in Agrigentum, and the early presence of Latin.

If we compare the distribution of lapidary epigraphy in Sicily from the Archaic period, then a rather different pattern emerges (fig. 5)<sup>10</sup>. The epigraphy of the Archaic period can be seen, unsurprisingly, to follow the distribution of the Greek and Phoenician colonies. In this distribution, Agrigentum sits comfortably within a continuum that runs across the southern half of the island, from Megara Hyblaia and Syracuse in the East, to Motya in the West. The absence of epigraphy from the northern part of the island is clear. What is particularly notable, however, is the relative proximity to Agrigentum of the substantial funerary and votive epigraphic cultures of Selinus (Greek) and Motya (Punic)<sup>11</sup>. The Archaic epigraphy of Agrigentum, while small in quantity, aligns well with that material, being primarily funerary and engraved on local stone<sup>12</sup>. At the same time, texts erected by the Agrigentines are found at Delphi, illustrating the engagement of the Agrigentine community (or the tyrants) in the wider Greek culture of epigraphic display at this period<sup>13</sup>.

The distribution pattern for the island as a whole shifts markedly when we move to the Hellenistic/Roman Republican period, i.e. the last four centuries BC (fig. 6). Epigraphic culture becomes an island-wide phenomenon. The steady increase of epigraphic culture on the west, north and east of the island is in this period still approximately matched by the south coast settlements. Agrigento is the source of several notable texts that fit comfortably within the broader hellenistic epigraphic culture of Sicily, and beyond (as suggested also by the Molossian grant of proxeny to Agrigentines in the early Hellenistic period<sup>14</sup>). Not included in the data under consideration here is the bronze proxeny decree for Demetrios of Syracuse, probably of the second century BC<sup>15</sup>: the text belongs within a small but distinctive Sicilian set of bronze honorific texts (in this case directly paralleled by the honours in similar form for the same man decreed by the people of Melita, *IG*

<sup>7</sup> So Bejor 2007: 16-17; cf. Pfuntner 2013 on reading Strabo on Sicily; and more generally Wilson 1990: 194-5.

<sup>8</sup> On Sicilian epigraphic culture see Tribulato 2012a; Salmeri 2004; Prag 2002; Gulletta 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Dated material is a subset of the known material. The majority of the undated material, which is excluded from these charts (either fragmentary material, for which no-one has yet proposed a date and/or material for which even a date range of a couple of centuries is speculative) probably falls between the second century BC and the fourth century AD.

<sup>10</sup> As with figs.3-4, the following maps utilise the more limited sub-set of approximately dated inscriptions (however, inscriptions can in general be attributed to the Archaic period with some confidence, and undated inscriptions that may belong to this period are relatively few).

<sup>11</sup> See especially Brugnone 2006 and Amadasi Guzzo 1986.

<sup>12</sup> The inscriptions are *I.Sicily* 1488, 3015, 3633, 3657, 3656.

<sup>13</sup> Dubois 1989: no.182a-b.

<sup>14</sup> Dubois 1989: no.184 (see now <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk/> to contextualise proxeny activity).

<sup>15</sup> Dubois 1989: no.185.

XIV.953; note too the likely Agrigentine origin of *IG XIV.954-955*)<sup>16</sup>. In considering the limitations of the surviving evidence, what is most notable for this period is the current absence of Hellenistic funerary inscriptions from Agrigento. In almost every period, funerary epigraphy constitutes the majority of texts. In the Hellenistic period, the dataset is skewed by the vast quantity of necropolis material from the island of Lipara, but even so this is the period in Sicily for which funerary epigraphy constitutes the smallest proportion of the material that has so far been recovered. Agrigento is not unique in lacking such material for this period, but the identification and excavation of a substantial hellenistic necropolis for the city would have the potential to alter the data significantly. The epigraphy of Agrigento is otherwise typical of the period in several ways. In the first place, there is a significantly increased diversity of types of epigraphic documents, including public epigraphy: dedications, decrees, building inscriptions – even if honorific epigraphy (especially statue bases) also seems to be lacking from the Agrigentine sample<sup>17</sup>. This emerges most clearly if one makes a direct comparison of epigraphic types on stone between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods across the island (figs.7-8). Secondly, the range of materials employed also diversifies. This is a phenomenon that can be observed across the island, not simply at Agrigento (figs. 9-10): in the Archaic period, almost all inscriptions employ local stone (and the absence of epigraphy in the northern half of the island explains the absence of volcanic stone); but in the Hellenistic period, the types of stone become much more various, frequently imported - marble is the clearest indicator of this, since genuine marble is not naturally occurring on the island. At Agrigentum, the substantial statue base dedication to Hermes by Phalakros (*I.Sicily* 1489), probably of the third century BC, on an imported fine blue marble, not dissimilar to Hymettos marble, is a particularly good example of the greater care and expense involved in the erection of epigraphic texts.

Recalling the observation above that Latin epigraphy appears early at Agrigentum, a rather different pattern emerges if we consider the distribution of pre-imperial Latin epigraphy on the island (fig. 11). It can be clearly seen that the pattern of Latin is at odds with the overall distribution for the Hellenistic/Republican period. With the understandable exception of Syracuse, seat of the Roman governor, Latin inscriptions fall almost entirely in the western half of the island (this distinction disappears in the later period, for which the distribution is much more even). Agrigento's presence within this map can be linked to a number of epigraphic elements in the city; but it also makes eminent sense in the context of the western end of the island's interaction in a different cultural and economic orbit, between Africa and Campania – a set of interactions that have frequently been commented upon and emphasised<sup>18</sup>. Epigraphic evidence attests to the strength of the late Republican Roman/Italian community in the city: internally, the Latin honorific of c.100 BC from the area of the so-called Oratory of Phalaris provides a classic example of linguistic interference, employing the Greek accusative for the honorand<sup>19</sup>; externally, the existence of honorifics for Pompeius Magnus by the *Italicei qui Agrigenti negotiantur* (in Rome) and for M. Favonius M.f., *legatus*, by the *populus Agrigentinus* (at Tarracina) aligns well with the Ciceronian evidence for a Roman *conventus* in Agrigento<sup>20</sup>. Given the limited volume of material recovered from Agrigento, it is notable that the epigraphic texts from the period of transition between Republic and Empire show considerable evidence for cross-cultural interference: a bronze fragment of an Agrigentine decree from Rome is one of only three Greek epigraphic texts that transliterate the word *municipium* into Greek (and two of these are Sicilian)<sup>21</sup>; while the substantial *gymnasium* bench dedication shows continued use of Greek in the Augustan period within what is generally agreed to be a Latin *municipium*, as does an

<sup>16</sup> Manganaro 1963 remains the primary discussion, but note now *SEG* 59.1100 from Halaesa.

<sup>17</sup> The lapidary material is *I.Sicily* nos. 1489, 3130, 3713, 3712, 616, 1663, 1082, 814.

<sup>18</sup> In relation to epigraphy, Salmeri 2004: 284 and most recently Pfuntner 2016; but see also e.g. Bivona 1999, Salmeri 1986. The Roman road between Agrigento and Palermo is of relevance too (cf. Prag 2006).

<sup>19</sup> *I.Sicily* 616 = Marconi, *NSA* (1926) 110-111, fig.14, cf. Campagna 2007: 119. For this use of the accusative, see Adams 2003: 658-661, noting another Sicilian example (*ILLRP* 320, from Halaesa).

<sup>20</sup> *ILLRP* 380 = *CIL* VI.40903 (between 67 and 52 BC: the persistence of the self-identification as *Italici* at least two decades after the Social War date is notable), and *ILLRP* 398. Full discussion and context in Amela Valverde 2006; cf. Manganaro 2013: 251 n.11.

<sup>21</sup> *IG XIV.954* with Manganaro 1963: 213-215 (triumviral period?); cf. *IG XIV.367* (Haluntium, Augustan) and *I.Ephesos* 3048 (123-148 AD).

architrave fragment recording *duumviri* in Greek (compare the Augustan-era coinage in *RPC I*, nos.658-660, the first of which is likewise in Greek)<sup>22</sup>.

However, the further point to emphasise is that the epigraphy of Agrigentum as it survives does not subsequently follow the trajectory which one might then expect / assume for the imperial period. The city's place within the western (and African) Sicilian orbit is commonly taken to imply steady and increasing Romanisation, and aspects of the city's archaeology such as the porticoed temple above the area of the *bouleterion*, as well as the recent demonstration that the city acquired full colonial status at the end of the second century AD, enable statements such as that '...Agrigentum [was] among the most politically and culturally Roman cities in high imperial Sicily'<sup>23</sup>. Beyond the curious private Latin dedication (seemingly to Augustus and his adopted son Gaius Caesar) set up by the Annii, only two Latin fragments and a single funerary text testify to any sort of municipal urban culture<sup>24</sup>. These are supplemented by a handful of mostly Greek funerary inscriptions from the first five centuries AD<sup>25</sup>. It is striking that the only other public Latin text was erected by the *res publica Lilybitanorum*<sup>26</sup>, and the text proving Agrigentum's colonial status was found in Lilybaeum, which city has also produced a very much more substantial body of imperial period public Latin epigraphy. These latter two texts suggest an element of civic interaction, perhaps also rivalry, with the municipal/colonial city of Lilybaeum under the high empire; but perhaps, beyond that, we should give Agrigentum's relative isolation on the south coast greater weight. Epigraphic culture is precisely that – a culture. As Ramsay MacMullen's famous paper emphasised long ago, it does not simply transmit historical 'reality', but reflects deliberate choices, themselves constructed by questions of identity, culture and society<sup>27</sup>. Agrigentum's relative epigraphic isolation, above all in the imperial period, itself reflects the city's relative urban isolation, which had been slowly increasing for several centuries, and should perhaps be considered to be at least partly self-reinforcing. In Greg Woolf's formulation, the culture of Latin (monumental) epigraphy reflects the expansion of Roman society, in particular in urban and/or military form<sup>28</sup>. In southern Sicily that expansion was more limited. Agrigentum's survival no doubt owed much to the importance of the sulphur trade (which is regularly adduced to explain the Annii inscription)<sup>29</sup>. If the lack of epigraphic material, and especially public epigraphy, in this period is more than an accident of survival – and it may be no more than that, as, for instance, the recent increase in the imperial-period evidence from Halaesa illustrates – then we might wish to consider whether this sort of epigraphic culture had much currency in the urban landscape of a city that had become increasingly isolated from precisely the sort of environment that generated monumental epigraphy; a city which primarily acted as an outlet for the sulphur trade within an increasingly sparsely populated rural landscape. The fact that the Agrigentines were nonetheless familiar with the uses of epigraphy and could employ it is demonstrated both by the funerary texts and by the texts noted above found in external locations in Lilybaeum and Italy; but they may have felt less of a social or cultural pressure to do so within their own city.

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<sup>22</sup> Fullest edition of the bench inscription (*I.Sicily* 1418) in Fiorentini 2009, cf. Manganaro 2013: 248-9; Tribulato 2012b: 313-314 briefly considers the bench inscription in its linguistic context. Architrave (*I.Sicily* 814) in Griffo 1963: 178-179 no.8 tav.57 fig.9-10. Status of the Sicilian cities in this period is a notorious crux: see esp. Vera 1996.

<sup>23</sup> De Miro and Fiorentini 2011: 45-70 for the temple; Silvestrini 2011 (*I.Sicily* 3349) for the text proving colonial status, inserted into the western Sicilian, Severan and African context. The quotation is from Pfuntner 2016: 441 (notwithstanding the quote, Pfuntner's analysis in this paper has much to recommend it; it is only that the position of Agrigentum specifically requires more careful consideration, and cannot simply be aligned with Lilybaeum).

<sup>24</sup> See Battistoni and Rothenhöfer 2012 with Manganaro 2013: 249-52 for the Annii dedication (*I.Sicily* 3324); *CIL* 10.7194 (*I.Sicily* 475); *AE* 1989.345a (*I.Sicily* 762); Griffo 1963: 176 no.7, cf. *AE* 2010.611 (*I.Sicily* 813).

<sup>25</sup> *I.Sicily* 474 and 777 (Latin, funerary); *ISic.*3714 (Greek, fragmentary); *ISic.*1542, 3078, 1083, 1543, 1544, 3717, 2832, 1545 (all Greek, funerary).

<sup>26</sup> *CIL* 10.7192 (*I.Sicily* 473).

<sup>27</sup> MacMullen 1982.

<sup>28</sup> Woolf 1996: 36-39.

<sup>29</sup> On the sulphur trade now Zambito 2014; the *tegulae sulphuris* are part of a distinct epigraphic practice.

Arguments based upon the mere survival of evidence are always a hostage to fortune. But as the epigraphic evidence for Sicily steadily increases, and its publication improves, the epigraphic isolation of Agrigento begins to look ever more of a reality. If the internal epigraphy of the city also continues to prove relatively weak, then I suggest that it is worth considering the extent to which civic interaction fosters epigraphic culture, and what, therefore, the implications might be for our understanding of the civic community in Roman Agrigentum.

### **Appendix: *I.Sicily: a digital corpus of the inscriptions of ancient Sicily***

*I.Sicily* is a project to build and maintain a free, online digital corpus of all the inscriptions from ancient Sicily (VII cent. BC through to VII cent. AD), in all languages. In the first instance the project has concentrated on texts on stone, but we fully intend to incorporate inscriptions on other materials, such as metal, in the future.

The material is recorded using TEI XML, according to the EpiDoc standard (see <https://sourceforge.net/p/epidoc/wiki/Home/>). A separate EpiDoc file is maintained for each inscription. When complete, each file is intended to contain not only text and translation of the inscription, but a complete bibliographic, archaeological and epigraphic record of the inscription, its support, its provenance and its publication history, together with details of known current location. Wherever possible imagery will also be included. The EpiDoc files are managed in an eXist XML database, and presented through a web interface built primarily using Javascript, which enables extensive searching and filtering. Map-based, museum-based, and bibliography-based searching are all supported. All the EpiDoc files are available for download as XML files, and the results of searches in any of the tables can be downloaded as CSV files (and this was the basis from which the maps in the preceding paper were generated). Individual inscription records can be printed or saved as PDF publications.

Every inscription in the corpus is assigned a unique identifier (the *I.Sicily* number), and this identifier serves as the base of a URI, a unique web identifier, which resolves as a web-publication of the inscription record. The corpus is hosted at <http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk> and the URIs take the form of <http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/inscription/ISic0001>, and these should form the basis for any citation (short-form references, as in the preceding paper, can therefore take the form *I.Sicily* 0000 or even *ISic* 0000). *I.Sicily* numbers are in turn matched with *Trismegistos* records (see [www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org)) to ensure validity of the unique identification and enable easy cross-referencing. Records are also aligned with the *EDR* and *PHI* databases.

The data collection began with the systematic recording of the material in all the major modern corpora for Sicily, beginning with *CIL* and *IG*, and the epigraphic gazetteers *L'Année Epigraphique* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. These were then supplemented by the existing museum catalogues for Palermo, Termini Imerese, Messina, Catania, and corpus volumes for Lipara and Akrai. Systematic recording of the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* is in progress. A very large number of other publications has also been more or less systematically searched for material. The current working bibliography is held in a publicly available Zotero bibliography (<https://www.zotero.org/groups/382445/items>) and at the moment of writing contains 789 records.

At the same time, the *I.Sicily* project is working with a growing number of collections and museums in Sicily to undertake a programme of cataloging and autopsy (e.g. the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi di Siracusa; the Museo Civico Castello Ursino di Catania), with the result that there is a growing number of previously unpublished texts also in the corpus. The ultimate ambition is to supplement the published record in all cases with autopsy.

One of the principal challenges of Sicilian epigraphy has long been the highly fragmented nature of epigraphic publication – the case of Agrigento, discussed above, is entirely typical in this regard. One of the main aims, and immediate benefits of the *I.Sicily* project is a single unified repository and

identifier for all of the Sicilian material. The extensive recording of bibliographic information by the project (necessary simply to disambiguate the inscriptions) in turn means that *I.Sicily* also serves as a concordance for existing epigraphic publication (and it is possible to generate *ad hoc* and bespoke concordances using the filters on the main page of the website).

One key principle must be emphasised: *I.Sicily* remains a permanent work-in-progress, by virtue of being a live digital publication, and consequently all data is subject to change. Each individual record has a date-stamp indicating the most recent revision of the file. Each file also contains an explicit statement of all those who have contributed to the record up to that date. Both elements should be included when a record is being cited for discussion. Individual inscriptions have an indication of their current status (unchecked, draft, edited), but even inscriptions which are marked as fully edited remain open to future revision. Where a file is marked as 'unchecked', the data should be used with due caution (although errors are more likely to be those of omission, or typographic, rather than factual). All data derives from either existing publication or autopsy, and substantive additions will be subject to peer review. *I.Sicily* is ultimately a collaborative exercise, intended to be a resource for all those interested in Sicilian epigraphy. As such we hope that those interested in Sicilian epigraphy will not simply use it but also contribute to it. All corrections and additions will be very gratefully received and fully credited.

For further information visit:

<https://isicily.wordpress.com/>

and

<http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/>

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Illustration captions:

Figure 1: Distribution of lapidary inscriptions across Sicily (VII cent. BC – VII cent. AD). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 3179$ . Locations with more than 20 inscriptions are highlighted and labelled; other locations with inscriptions are indicated by pale grey markers. Map prepared using Tableau Public 10.1, with a map-base from OpenStreetMap.

Figure 2: Distribution of lapidary inscriptions across Sicily (I cent. – VII cent. AD). Data from *I.Sicily* as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 1699$ . Locations with 10 or more inscriptions are highlighted and labelled; other locations with inscriptions are indicated by pale grey markers. Map prepared using Tableau Public 10.1, with a map-base from OpenStreetMap.

Figure 3: Distribution of dated Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone from Sicily over time. Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 2299$ . Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

Figure 4: Distribution of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone from Agrigento over time. Data from *I.Sicily* as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 31$  (a further 3 undated). Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

Figure 5: Distribution of lapidary inscriptions across Sicily in all languages (VII - V cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 179$ . Map prepared using Tableau Public 10.1, with a map-base from OpenStreetMap.

Figure 6: Distribution of lapidary inscriptions across Sicily in all languages (IV – I cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 279$  (a further 154 from Lipara and 2 from Melita are not shown). Map prepared using Tableau Public 10.1, with a map-base from OpenStreetMap.

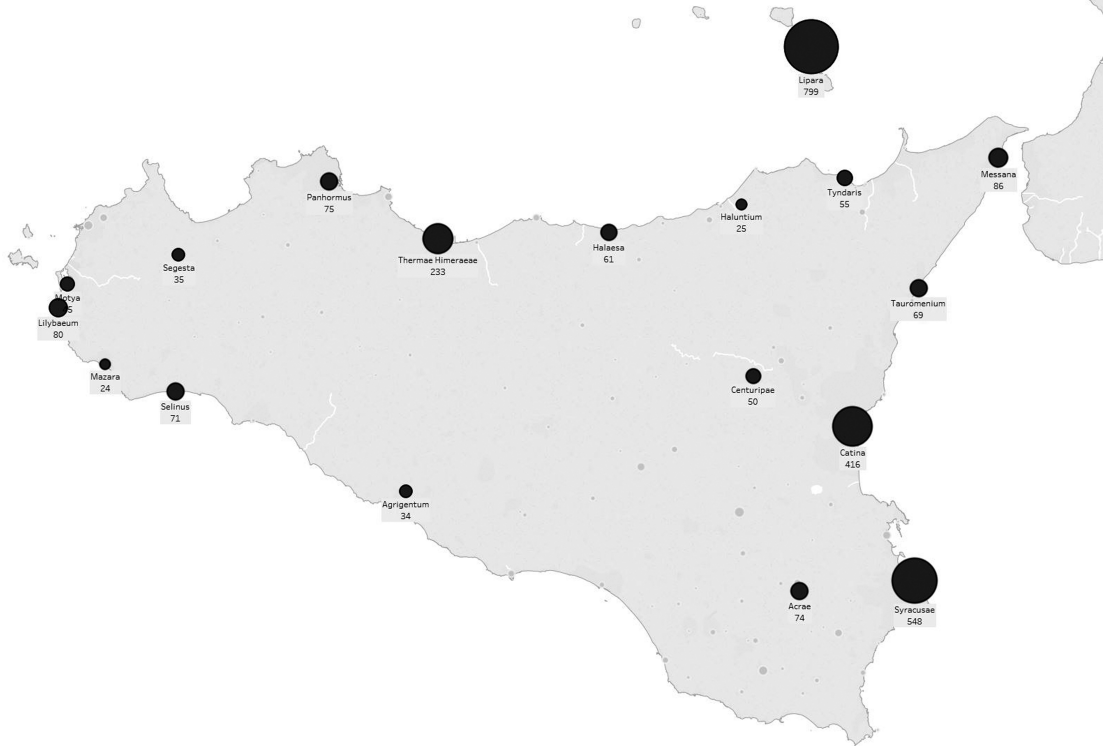
Figure 7: Types of inscription on stone in Sicily (VII-V cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 179$ . Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

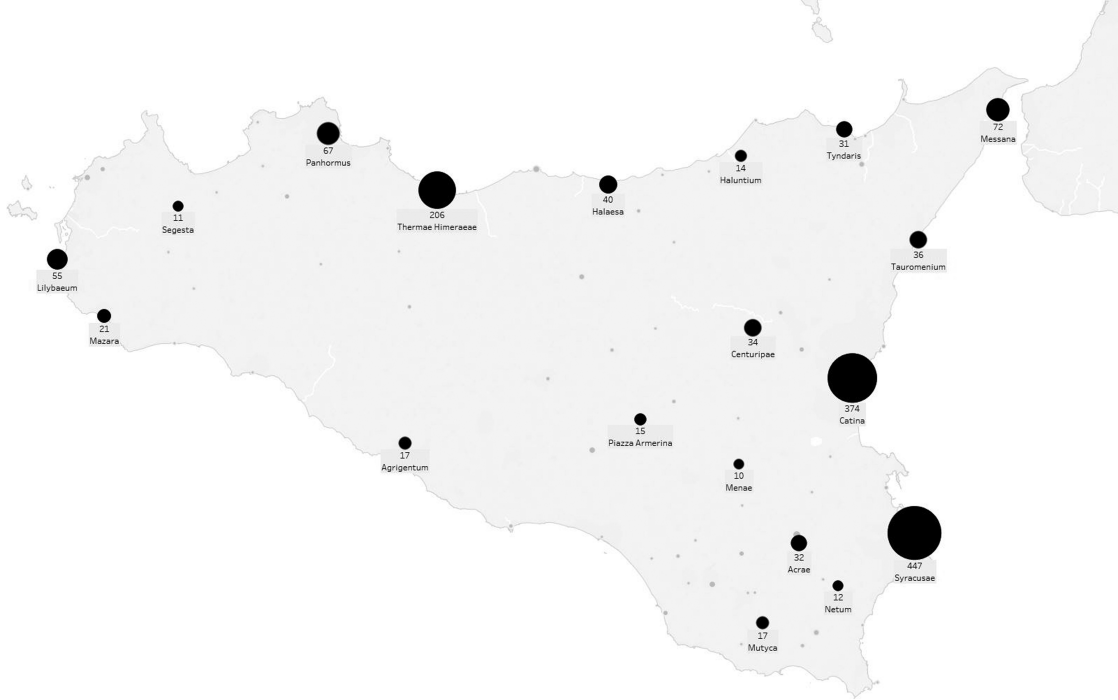
Figure 8: Types of inscription on stone in Sicily (IV-I cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 435$ . Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

Figure 9: Types of stone used for inscriptions in Sicily (VII-V cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 179$ . Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

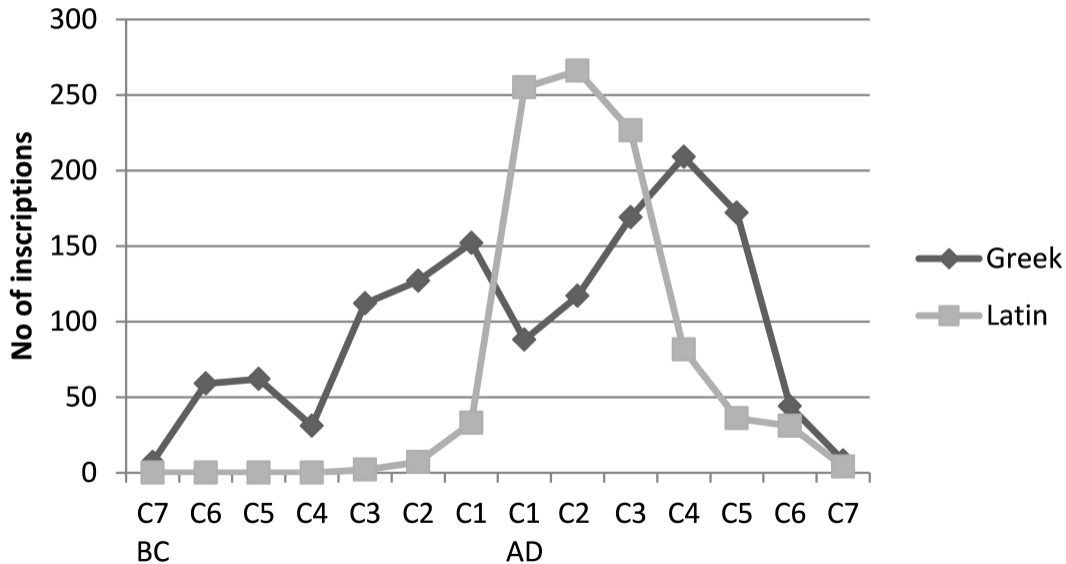
Figure 10: Types of stone used for inscriptions in Sicily (IV-I cent. BC). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 423$ . Data analysis and visualization was aided by Daniel's XL Toolbox addin for Excel, version 7.1.4, by Daniel Kraus, Würzburg, Germany ([www.xltoolbox.net](http://www.xltoolbox.net)).

Figure 11: Distribution of Latin inscriptions across Sicily (IV-I cent. BC). Locations with Latin inscriptions are highlighted and labelled; the presence of texts in other languages is indicated in pale grey (compare figure 6). Data from *I.Sicily*, as of 22.6.2016;  $n = 433$  (2 from Melita excluded). Map prepared using Tableau Public 10.1, with a map-base from OpenStreetMap.

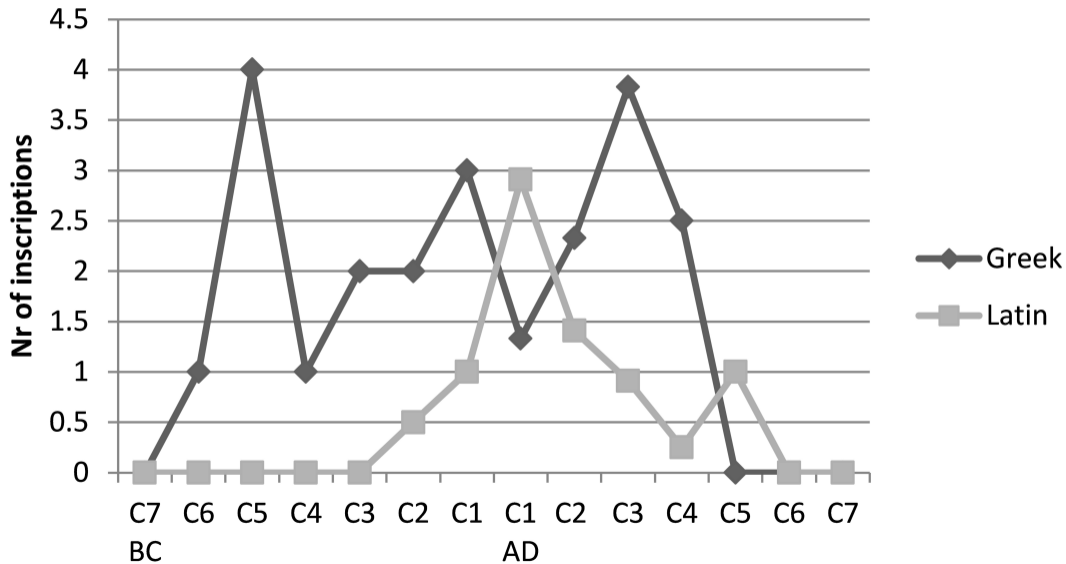


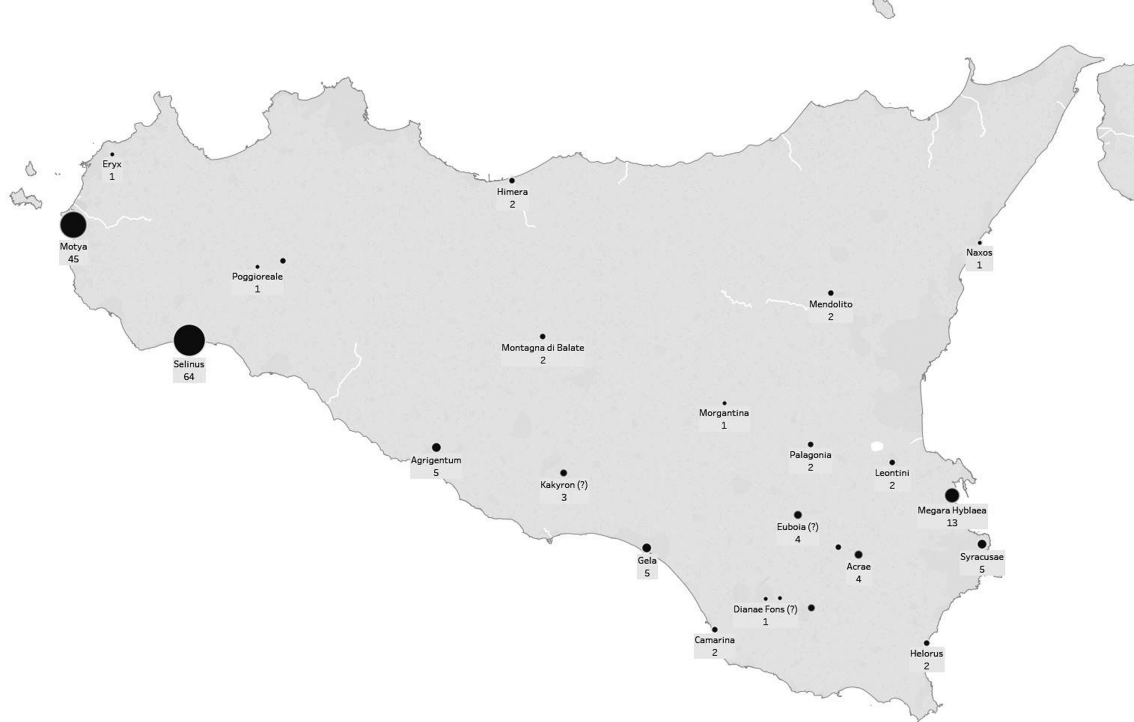


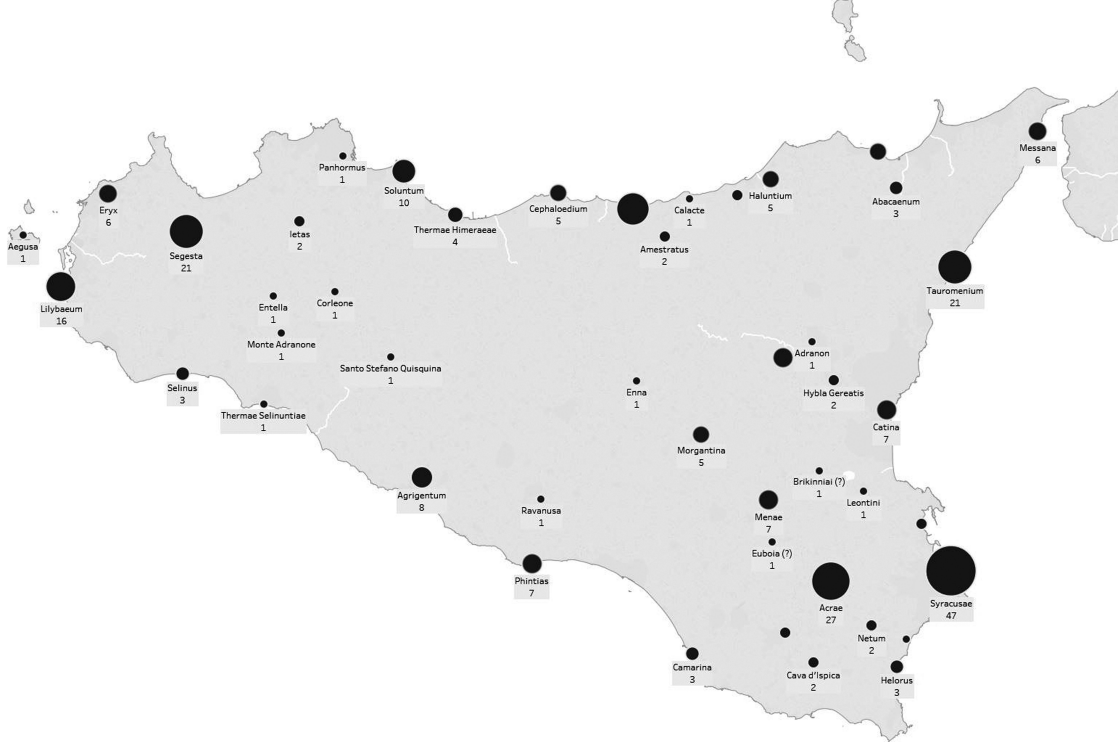
## Sicilian lapidary inscriptions over time



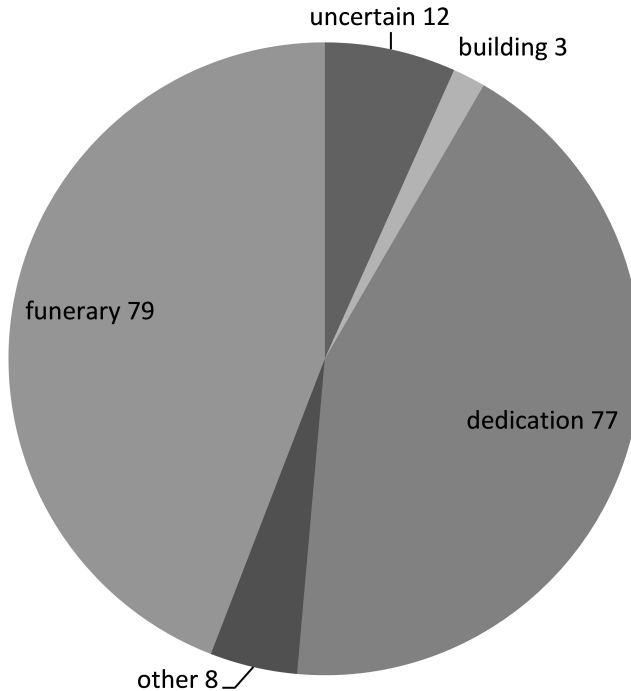
## Agrigento lapidary inscriptions over time



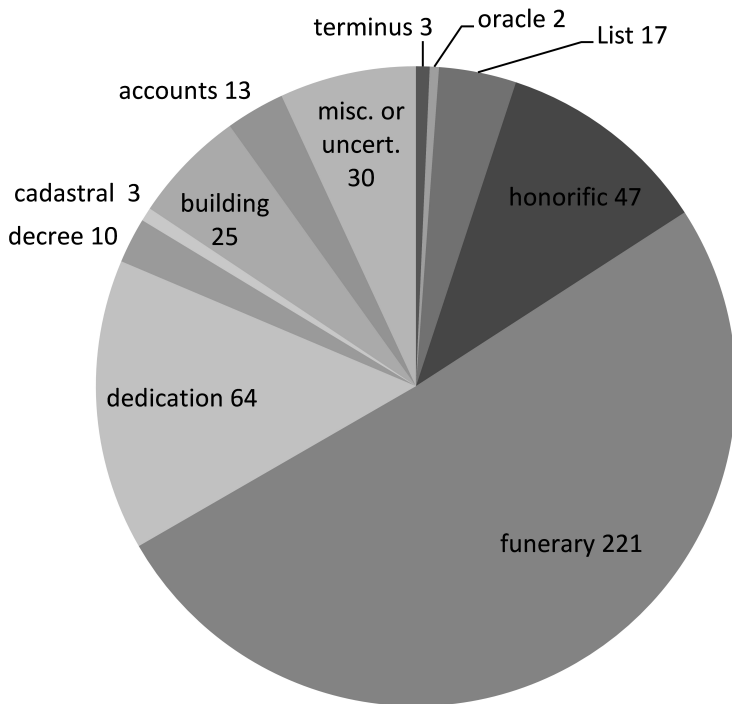




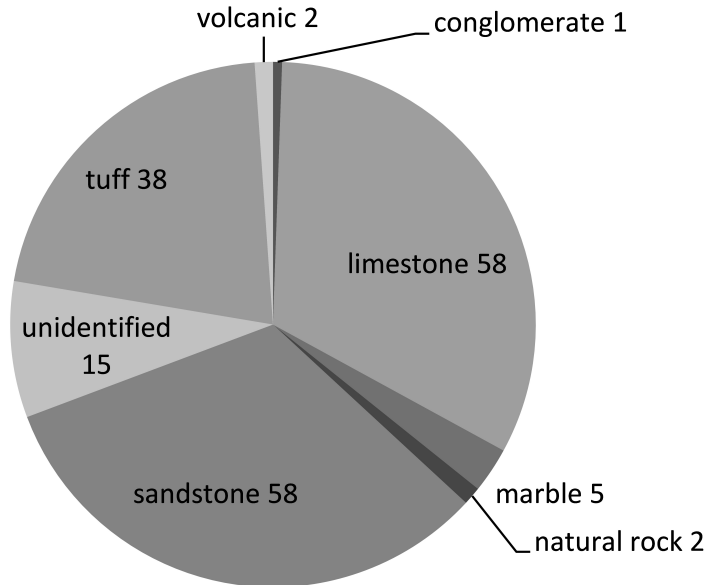
# Categories of Sicilian inscriptions on stone C7-C5 BC



# Categories of Sicilian inscriptions on stone C4-C1 BC



# Types of stone in Sicilian inscriptions C7-C5 BC



# Types of stone in Sicilian inscriptions C4-C1 BC

