The changing urban landscape of Roman Sicily

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation analyzes the settlement landscape of Sicily in its seven centuries under Roman hegemony, with the aim of understanding the effects of large- and small-scale economic and political changes on patterns of urban settlement across the island and within its regions. Sicily's long history of urbanization and its early and enduring incorporation into the Roman Empire make it a valuable case study for examining the relationship between imperialism and urban development, allowing a "long view" of the impact of imperial power on local, regional, and supra-regional economic, political, and social structures.

I begin with an overview of the historiography of Roman Sicily, followed by a summary and justification of my own methodology. I argue against the once dominant strand of scholarship that framed Sicily's history under Rome as one of decline and obsolescence. Instead, based on the recent proliferation of archaeological research in Sicily, my approach to the island's urban history in the *longue durée* rejects the dichotomy between urban and rural settlement. In its place I adopt a flexible definition of settlement that takes into account the wide range of roles that cities could exercise for their inhabitants, and the potential for these roles (and their manifestations in urban space) to change over time.

I follow this introductory section with the empirical core of the dissertation: a quantitative overview of the development of Sicily's urban landscape across its seven centuries as part of the Roman Empire, based on a database containing archaeological and historical data on urban settlements occupied within this period. I identify two main transformative periods. First, the establishment of Roman hegemony after the First Punic War led to the sharp decline in the number of secondary urban centers (mostly hilltop settlements fulfilling a primarily defensive function) in the western interior. Second, the shift of commercial currents towards Rome after the sack of Carthage in 146 BC brought about a contraction in urban settlement on the southern coast that climaxed in the mid- and late first century BC (and was institutionalized in Augustus' new urban hierarchy), and that later affected urban settlement in the interior. Outside these periods, however, the urban system as a whole was relatively stable.

This overview of urbanization across the island is followed by an examination of the history and material culture of several archaeologically and historically well attested urban settlements, focusing on their individual development in the first two centuries AD. In these case studies, I argue for the "transformation" rather than the "decline" of urban life in Sicily. Many former *poleis*, especially along the southern coast and in the interior, gradually lost their roles as centers of political authority and of elite residence and investment, though some remained centers of economic activity, sometimes following movement to more economically integrated sites. Political activity was instead concentrated in a few large coastal cities that had been made colonies by Augustus or that later gained colonial status. These cities were centers of diverse populations and a wide range of economic activities, and they maintained strong connections with other regions of the Mediterranean. In the final chapter, I examine the new forms of settlement that arose in the imperial period, whose emergence and development, as I suggest, reflected the evolving political and economic position of Sicily within the Roman Empire as a whole. These semi-urban centers tended to be located close to maritime and land transportation routes and they show evidence of intense economic activity, but few signs of political autonomy. Some lay in the hinterland of primary urban centers and served as economic satellites; others served as population and service centers in areas otherwise devoid of urban settlement.

A key finding of the dissertation – and one that is not necessarily paralleled in other parts of the Roman Empire – is that within Sicilian cities, economic activity and political authority were only loosely related variables. Though only a small number of urban centers were *loci* of political authority, economic activity was diffuse: towns that lost their political roles could remain centers of economic activity, while new settlements were largely geared towards the processing and distribution of agricultural products. I conclude, therefore, by suggesting ways in which Sicily's urban history can be understood more broadly, in the context of the urbanization of the Roman Mediterranean, and especially in comparison to North Africa and southern Italy, regions with strong historical ties to Sicily, but with different histories of political, economic, social, and cultural relations with Rome.

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Introduction

This dissertation examines the changes in the consistency and nature of urban settlement in Sicily in the seven centuries in which the island formed part of Rome's overseas empire (ca. 250 BC – AD 450). It is a diachronic study of both *urbanization* (the size and location of cities) and *urbanism* (the physical structures of cities and their embedded political, social, cultural, and economic roles) in Roman Sicily.[1] Such a topic may not appear promising for a large-scale study initially: the textual and archaeological evidence for the Roman period in Sicily is notoriously sparse and problematic, especially compared to other regions of the Roman Empire, such as North Africa, mainland Italy, Gaul, the Iberian peninsula, and Asia Minor. But this evidentiary challenge is, I believe, one of the main reasons why scholars of Roman urbanism - and, more broadly, scholars of the history, economy, and culture of the Roman Empire - should not ignore places like Sicily. As Susan Alcock showed for the province of Achaea, we risk ignoring important elements of the Roman-era settlement landscape and we miss out on the opportunity to increase our understanding of the complexity of Roman imperial power structures in the provinces (and local responses to them) if we focus only on the provinces and cities where the monumental remains of these power relationships are best preserved and most visible.[2] In other words, the sparse topography of the famously maligned "non-*polis*" of Panopeus in Phokis[3] may tell a different story about how individual communities adapted to the economic, political, and exigencies of Roman imperial power than the lavish monumental cityscapes of Corinth, Carthage, or Tarraco. But this story is no less valuable for our understanding of the development of provincial settlement landscapes under the Roman Empire.

In addition, Sicily occupies a unique place in the history of Roman overseas expansion that makes it a valuable case study for the impact of the political, social, cultural, religious, and economic consequences of Roman imperialism on the shape of regional settlement landscapes. Sicily was geographically, ethnically, and culturally diverse, and it possessed a variety of ever-shifting maritime connections to other Mediterranean regions. But as an island, it represented a self-contained geographic unit of administration for the Romans with clear external borders. Along with a few small outlying islands,[4] it was administered as a single *provincia* after the

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[1] I am intentionally leaving out the demographic component of most modern demographers' definition of urbanization – i.e. as the measure of the percentage of the total population that resides permanently in urban centers – because of the difficulties of accurately measuring the population of any ancient city (with the possible exception of imperial Rome). I discuss these difficulties in greater detail in chapter 3, and see also J. De Vries, "Problems in the Measurement, Description, and Analysis of Historical Urbanization," in *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, ed. A.D. Van der Woude, A. Hayami, and J. De Vries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 43-60, for the challenges of studying demographic urbanization in the pre-modern world. I am instead studying the physical aspects of urbanization in Roman Sicily – that is, the location, complexity, and, to a lesser extent, the size of urban centers – that can be recovered more reliably from the archaeological record.

[2] S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[3] Pausanias (10.4.1) sneers that the residents of Panopeus "possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no marketplace, no water descending to a fountain."

[4] Namely, the nearby Aegadian (Egadi), Pelagian, and Aeolian archipelagos, as well as the more distant and larger islands of Cossyra (Pantelleria) and Gaulos and Melita (Malta).

Second Punic War, until Diocletian's reforms of the late third century AD transformed it into an administrative unit of *Italia*. From the beginning (and for all) of its Roman history, Sicily lay at the heart of Rome's Mediterranean empire, between the Italian peninsula and the Tunisian littoral, and midway between the eastern and western Mediterranean basins. Sicily's fertile agricultural territories were therefore relatively easily accessible from the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy and from the central North African provinces. The island was also at the center of several major trade routes, including the shipping channels that carried commodities such as grain, olive oil, and wine between the Italian coast and the Mediterranean "core" provinces.

Sicily was also a vital and fully incorporated part of the Roman Empire longer than any other region (except parts of mainland Italy). The Romans were first involved militarily on the island in the third quarter of the third century BC, in the context of the First Punic War against Carthage. However, the Roman state (as well as individual Romans) had economic and political interests in Sicily even before the outbreak of that war, since the island had been a source of food for the expanding city of Rome since at least the fifth century BC.[5] After the incorporation of the entire island as a *provincia* following the conclusion of the Sicilian phase of the Second Punic War (ca. 210 BC), Sicily remained under Rome's firm hegemony for the entirety of the imperial period, and long after the weakening of Roman power in other areas of the central and western Mediterranean: arguably, until the Vandal incursions from Africa in the mid-fifth century severed the island's political and economic connection with Rome.[6]

Even before the Roman conquest, moreover, the communities of Sicily had a long history both of urban development and of living under imperial hegemony. The Greek colonial settlements founded in the early archaic period had, by the sixth and fifth centuries BC, expanded and developed into true urban centers,[7] often in control of extensive agricultural territories. These urban centers possessed the full range of *polis* government, military, economic, religious, and cultural institutions, as well as the monumental expressions of these institutions, including temples, perimeter walls, "industrial areas," and public buildings and open spaces.[8] In the western corner of Sicily, Phoenician settlers established footholds at a number of coastal locations around the same time (if not earlier) than the Greek *apoikiai* in the East. The urban development and the internal and external political, economic, and cultural relations of these settlements are not as well known as those of their Greek counterparts. Nonetheless, by the classical period, communities such as Motya show sufficient evidence of high-level political, religious, and economic organization, monumentality, productive activity and market exchange, and internal cohesion to be described as true urban centers.[9] And finally, many "native" non-Greek settlements especially in the mountainous interior of Sicily – the Elymian stronghold of

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[5] See chapter 1 for discussion of Rome's early relations with Sicily, and for bibliography.

[6] After this event, western Roman political and economic control over Sicily was irregular and subject to negotiation, though the island retained links with the Church of Rome (especially in the form of extensive ecclesiastical landholdings); see chapter 1 for further discussion of the "end of antiquity" in Sicily.

[7] In chapter 3, I outline the challenges of defining "the ancient city" and I put forward my own definition of an urban center.

[8] Indeed, several scholars have argued that the "colonial experience" of the early archaic period was integral to the emergence of the institutions of the *polis* in mainland Greece; see M.H. Hansen, *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 44-7 for this argument.

[9] For an overview of Phoenician settlement in the Western Mediterranean, see M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade* (2nd ed. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Segesta being the most notorious example - developed into organized and monumentalized urban communities in the archaic and classical periods, apparently drawing on the political, religious, and cultural institutions and the architectural forms of the Greek *apoikiai* with whom they were frequently in competition for territory.[10]

All of the island's communities also had long experiences of living under imperial hegemony, even before the Roman conquest of the island in the third century BC. This experience came first in the early fifth century in the form of the competing territorial claims of Carthage and the Greek city-states (especially Syracuse) – claims that resulted in wars, forced population movements, and other upheavals in communities across the island for much of the classical period. In the early third century, foreign monarchs such as Pyrrhus (and the homegrown, would-be Hellenistic potentates Agathocles and Hieron II of Syracuse) made more fleeting attempts to establish political, economic, and military dominance over much of the island.[11] Finally, we must remember that the overseas military and administrative apparatus of Rome – i.e. the "Roman imperial state" - was in its earliest form when it first made its presence felt in Sicily in the First Punic War. The personnel, institutions, and practices of this imperial state continued to evolve on the island – and elsewhere in the empire – over the course of the Republic (third through late first centuries BC), with major changes made in the reign of Augustus, and they underwent further evolutions under the Principate.

And so, if urbanization (that is, the growth in the size and number of cities) may be used as a proxy for political, social, economic, and cultural development – and even growth – in the Roman Empire, as has become widely accepted among Roman historians and archaeologists,[12] we must attempt to trace and understand processes of settlement change in areas like Sicily that were highly urbanized and/or subject to imperial power before the coming of Rome – or, in the case of Sicily, subject to early iterations of Roman imperial power. In this way, we can better understand the impact, both direct and indirect, of Roman imperial power– and especially of its specific political, cultural, economic, religious, social manifestations – on local, regional, and "provincial" settlement landscapes by comparison with the structures of empire that preceded it.

I begin this study of the changing urban landscape of Roman Sicily with an overview of the historiography of Roman Sicily, followed by a summary and justification of my own methodology (chapters 1-3). I argue against the once-dominant strand of scholarship that framed Sicily's history under Rome as one of decline and obsolescence. Instead, taking advantage of the recent proliferation of archaeological research in Sicily, I argue for the necessity of first putting the Sicily's settlement landscape on a firmer quantitative footing by mapping and analyzing changes in the number, location, and consistency of urban centers over time. My approach to the island's urban history in the *longue durée,* as outlined in these chapters, emphasizes settlement change in Roman Sicily as a complex process that has often been misunderstood on empirical grounds, as the result of an overreliance on literary sources and on the archaeology of

[10] See Thuc. VI.6-8 for the role of Egesta/Segesta in prompting the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 BC. The main publication for research in the field of "Elymian Studies" in Sicily is the semi-annual *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima*, which I cite frequently in the chapters that follow.

[11] See chapter 1 for an overview of the history and historiography of third-century Sicily.

[12] I trace the relationship between urbanization and political, social, and cultural development in the Roman Empire in chapter 2; the connection between urbanization and economic growth in the empire is less generally accepted among Roman historians and archaeologists (cf. chapter 3).

monumental urban centers (which itself has often favored the recovery of archaic and classical monuments over the remains of Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique occupation).

For similar reasons, I also reject the dichotomy between urban and rural settlement and the notion of "competition" between processes of urbanization and "ruralization" in the various periods of Sicily's ancient history. Such dichotomies, I argue, mask the variable range of social, economic, and political functions that urban centers could play for their rural territories, as well as the diversity of non- or semi-urban settlements that dotted the Sicilian landscape in various periods of antiquity. It is also difficult to distinguish finite territorial and maritime "hinterlands" for individual urban centers at any point in antiquity. Instead, drawing on modern archaeological theory (and especially recent research on urban transitions in late antiquity), I adopt a flexible definition of urban settlement that takes into account the wide range of roles that cities could exercise for their inhabitants, and the potential for these roles - and their manifestations in urban space - to change over time. I also assert that urban centers lay at one end of a "spectrum" of settlement in the ancient Mediterranean landscape, and that they are distinguished from other settlements on this spectrum mainly by their density of occupation and by the intensity of the political, economic, social, and religious/cultural activities taking place within them.

In chapter 4, the empirical core of the dissertation, I use this flexible definition of urban settlement to formulate a new way of framing and measuring changes in urban settlement patterns in Sicily that emphasizes the qualitative shifts in the roles of cities over time along with the physical changes in their location and size. My quantitative and qualitative overview of the development of Sicily's urban landscape across its seven centuries as part of the Roman Empire is based on a database containing archaeological and historical data on the dozens of urban settlements occupied within this period. I identify two main transformative periods in the Sicilian settlement landscape that impacted the number and location of urban settlements. First, the establishment of Roman hegemony after the First Punic War led to the sharp decline in the number of secondary urban centers (mostly hilltop settlements fulfilling a primarily defensive function) in the western interior. Second, the shift of commercial currents towards Rome after the sack of Carthage in 146 BC brought about a contraction in urban settlement on the southern coast that climaxed in the mid- and late first century BC. The new urban hierarchy of *coloniae* and *municipia* established by Augustus in his "settlement" of ca. 21 BC effectively institutionalized this shift in the strategic and economic core of Sicily. Outside these two periods, the urban landscape was relatively stable as a whole, though the effects of the transition from Republic to Principate (as well as of later events) on local and regional settlement systems varied from region to region.

Having rejected the traditional picture of urban "decline" and established the overall stability of the urban settlement landscape in Sicily in the Roman *longue durée*, in the analytical section of the dissertation (chapters 5-7), I examine the political, social, economic, cultural, and religious processes shaping the development of individual cities, and the relationships between cities and other forms of settlement, under the Principate. I argue in these chapters that the traditional dichotomy between "urban" and "rural" occludes the complexity of non-urban settlement in the Roman period. One of the indirect effects of the political, economic, and social changes brought by the Principate was the emergence of new forms of non-urban settlement in Sicily, especially in areas where older urban centers were in crisis or had largely disappeared. Nonetheless, cities remained the most intensive and durable habitation forms on the settlement spectrum in many other regions.

I also argue that the settlement spectrum of Sicily did not exist in a vacuum; rather, the way it got "plugged into" the wider Mediterranean world changed from the Hellenistic period to the Roman Republican era and into the Roman Empire, with variations between regions and localities. The reason for these shifts and changes is the variable economic, political, social, and religious/cultural roles that cities could play as centers of authority within state and imperial systems. Between the late Republic and the mid-imperial period, many former *poleis* in Sicily, especially along the southern coast and in the interior, gradually lost their roles as centers of political authority and of elite residence and investment, though some remained centers of economic activity, sometimes following movement to more economically integrated sites. Political activity was instead concentrated in a few large coastal cities that had been made colonies by Augustus or later gained colonial status. These cities were centers of diverse populations and a wide range of economic activities, and they maintained strong connections with other regions of the Mediterranean. In other words, with the broad shift of the urban "centers of gravity" in Sicily from the northern and southern coasts to the eastern and western coasts came a shift in the nature of Sicilian urbanism: that is, in the types of activities taking place in cities, the individuals and groups involved, and the physical forms these activities took in urban space. These shifts were rooted in wider political and economic changes in the Roman Empire, as the Roman imperial state's formal and informal mechanisms of political and economic control continued to evolve, and as the dominant commercial currents of the Mediterranean changed over time.

The quantitative analysis of chapter 4, in conjunction with the detailed consideration of individual urban landscapes in chapters 5-7, points to three key developments in the Sicilian settlement landscape in the Roman period. In addition to the movement of intense urban settlement away from the southern and northern coasts and to the eastern and western coasts, there were significant changes in urban forms and in the nature of urban life in Sicilian cities. These included the adaptation of existing buildings and spaces to serve new functions, as well as the dispersion of locations of commercial and political activity within cities. In addition, changes in the relationship between primary and secondary urban settlements can be detected, as the major coastal centers of the eastern and western coasts consolidated their positions at the top of the provincial urban hierarchy and as older second-order urban centers in the interior and on the southern coast, and later on the northern coast, ceded to new forms of semi- or sub-urban settlement.

The picture that emerges from this study of the Sicilian urban landscape is one of cities not only as (passive) consumers of wealth and of "cultural capital," but as (active) connectors of people and resources, particularly in the Roman imperial period, when the psychological, economic, and political barriers to connections between localities and between regions were greatly reduced and the incentives for establishing such connections were heightened.[13] I hope that in addition to shedding light on the development of individual Sicilian cityscapes, this work will highlight the variability of connections between individual cities, between individual cities and other forms of settlement, and between Sicilian cities and other regions as reflected in the material and historical record of urban settlement.

[13] See, for example, K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.-A.D. 400)," *JRS* 70 (1980): 101-25, for the Roman state as a driver of greater economic connectivity between imperial core and periphery.

Part 1: Problems and Methods

Chapter 1: The Historiography of Roman Sicily

Introduction

The sea played a key role in shaping the human and productive landscapes of the pre-modern Mediterranean, as an important recent strand of historical scholarship has emphasized. This "ecological" history focuses not on discrete events in the Mediterranean basin, but rather on the connections between places and populations enabled by the sea that were essential for human survival, because of the instability and diversity of the microregions around it.[14] According to this approach, Sicily is the archetype of the "non-insular" Mediterranean island: lying approximately midway between the eastern and western ends of the sea, and at a short distance from the shores of North Africa and the Italian peninsula, it has served as a stopping point for seafarers since prehistory.[15] Sicily's fertility and its climatic advantages made it one of the most attractive "tesserae" in the Mediterranean microregional mosaic, but also one of the most unstable.[16] Throughout history, periodic influxes of new peoples, as well as the movement of population and resources out of the island – i.e. the fluctuations in its "insularity" – have affected settlement patterns and productive regimes, as well as the social and political organization, religion, culture, and economy of individual settlements. The nature and extent of these changes depended on the adaptive decisions of the island's inhabitants as well as the often-detrimental economic logic of the newcomers, whether individuals, communities, or states.

With the exception of the pre- and proto-historic eras, however, the settlement landscape of ancient Sicily has received little scholarly attention.[17] For later periods of antiquity – and especially the period of Roman hegemony over the island - such basic but important (and interrelated) questions as why communities formed where and when they did; their relationship with the physical (including the productive) landscape; the nature of the physical structures and social institutions they acquired; the functions they performed for their members, and their definitions of membership; and the nature of their relations with each other and with the outside world, including their responses to outside interventions, are usually addressed only indirectly, in

[14] This approach is laid out in P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000).

[15] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, esp. 224-30. Although Mediterranean islands may be unique in the intensity of their connections with each other and with continental places, and in the geological factors contributing to this "connectivity," island societies in other parts of the world (e.g. Oceania and the Caribbean) possess similar "fragmented" ecologies and have demonstrated similar "connectivity" over history. See, for example, the essays collected in S.M. Fitzpatrick, ed. *Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004).

[16] F. De Angelis, "Ancient Sicily: The Development of a Microregional Tessera in the Mediterranean Mosaic," in *Sociéte et climats dans l'empire romain*, ed. E. Hermon (Naples: Editoriale scientifica, 2009), 235-50.

[17] F. De Angelis, *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous: The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003) for the ecological, social, and economic factors conditioning the settlement landscape of the archaic and classical periods. Id., "Tessera," begins to apply this approach to the Roman period.

the service of elucidating other historical topics.[18] This subordination of the study of the human landscape was in the past largely due to the paucity of archaeological evidence for all but the largest settlements, and the accompanying lack of a sophisticated theoretical framework within which to interpret such evidence. This is rapidly changing, however, as the publication of the results of field survey projects conducted across the island has enabled the diachronic study not only of individual settlements, ranging from large cities to small farmsteads, but also of networks of settlements across regions.[19]

All but the most recent assessments of Sicily's history in the Roman era have been dominated by the contemporary Greek and Roman literary sources available for the island, and at the same time constrained by the limitations of the archaeological evidence. Since, as is often pointed out, it is impossible to write a coherent historical narrative of Sicily's fortunes under Roman hegemony (particularly for the imperial period), scholars have instead attempted to produce models of Sicily's economic, political, and social development based on varying interpretations of the same set of sources. The rest of this chapter will explore the approaches scholars in the last century have taken to the history of Sicily under the Roman Republic and Empire - a survey that is by necessity selective, but which focuses on the works most concerned with patterns of settlement on the island.[20] This survey provides the framework for the next chapter, in which I will set out the goals of this dissertation and outline how my approach will depart from previous scholarship on ancient Sicilian settlement, particularly of the Roman imperial period.

Hellenistic Sicily and the coming of Rome

The third century BC began with the consolidation of Agathocles' power in Syracuse and the reaffirmation of that *polis* as the most powerful and influential in Sicily. In subsequent decades, Roman involvement in the island increased, particularly in its western half in the aftermath of the First Punic War (264 – 241 BC), while Hieron II's Syracusan kingdom (c. 271 – 216 BC) was economically and politically dominant in the East. Hieron's death triggered unrest in Syracuse and marked the end of three decades of peace in Sicily, as the island was once again engulfed in

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[5] G. Bejor, "Aspetti della Romanizzazione della Sicilia," in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nella società antiche* (Pisa and Rome: Scuola normale superiore and École française de Rome, 1983), 345-78, and R.J.A. Wilson, "Changes in the Pattern of Urban Settlement in Roman, Byzantine and Arab Sicily" in *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV, Part i: The Human Landscape*, ed. C. Malone and S. Stoddart (Oxford: B.A.R.), 313-44, are exceptions to this general neglect of the settlement landscape of the Roman period, although both of these analyses were written before the final publication of the results of several field surveys conducted in the 1980s and 1990s. See L. Campagna, "La Sicilia di età repubblicana nella storiografia degli ultimi cinquant'anni," *Ostraka* 12 (2003): 7-31, esp. 22-5 for the impact of Bejor and Wilson's work.

[19] Recent publications of surveys include: A. Spanò Giammellaro, F. Spatafora and P. van Dommelen, "Sicily and Malta: between Sea and Countryside," in *Rural Landscapes of the Punic World*, ed. P. van Dommelen and C. Gómez Bellard (London and Oakville, Conn.: Equinox, 2008), 129-58; M. Fitzjohn, ed., *Uplands of Ancient Sicily and Calabria* (London: Accordia Research Institute, 2007); P. Perkins, "*Aliud in Sicilia*? Cultural development in Rome's first province," in *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic*, ed. P. van Dommelen and N. Terrenato (*JRA* suppl. 63; Portsmouth, R.I., 2007), 33-53; and O. Belvedere, "Organizzazione fondiaria e insediamenti nella Sicilia di età imperiale," *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 43 (1997): 33-59.

[20] Therefore, I will largely exclude specialist studies of the island's epigraphy, numismatics, etc. from the following discussion.

war with Rome. The century concluded with the confirmation of Roman dominion over the entire island after the fall of Syracuse (210 BC). Unsurprisingly, most historical studies of this eventful century are political, focusing on the policies and personalities of the island's leaders (primarily Agathocles, Hieron II, and the Epirot interloper Pyrrhus), or the causes, events, and consequences of the wars that engulfed the island.[21]

However, in recent decades, an extensive debate has arisen over the nature of "Hellenism" in Sicily in this period: namely, the extent to which the Greek *poleis* of the island and their "Hellenized" indigenous counterparts participated in the cultural, religious, social, economic, and political developments of the wider Hellenistic world. Work on the settlement landscape of the third century has come largely in this context. For example, scholars have focused on the "urban ideology" of Hieron II, and the impact of his economic and political reforms on the urban development of cities in the eastern half of Sicily. Nicola Bonacasa has led the way in seeking Eastern Mediterranean (in particular, Ptolemaic) influences in the extensive public building projects initiated in several Sicilian towns – both in the architectural forms employed, and in the conception of the city as monumental space.[22] Similarly, other scholars have linked the development in Sicily of such key Hellenistic urban institutions as the *gymnasium*, as well as the construction of monumental granaries and wall circuits, to the economic, political, and cultural policies of Hieron II.[23] Likewise, in the interior and west of the island, scholars have focused on the reception of Greek civic institutions (and the physical structures associated with them) in local, native contexts – particularly in towns such as Soluntum (Solunto), Segesta, and Ietas (Monte Iato) with extensive and well-published standing remains. While such work is valuable as a corrective to the old tendency to view the third century as a period of turmoil and decline for the island,[24] and to the previous isolation of Sicily from larger discussions of the Hellenistic world, its focus is usually on the monumental public structures or elite houses of individual settlements, or of settlements within a particular region. Few scholars have focused their attention beyond monumental city centers, on – to name just two potential avenues of research - the relationship between urban and rural settlement within regions, or the comparative development of regional settlement systems.[25]

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[21] See most recently E. Zambon, *Tradition and Innovation: Sicily between Hellenism and Rome* (*Historia* Einzelschriften 205; Wiesbaden, 2008) for the political and military events of the third century.

[22] N. Bonacasa, "Per una revisione della cultura figurative ellenistica in Sicilia," in *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: Stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro, and A. Pinzone (Messina: Di.Sc.A.M., 1999), 259-73.

[23] A.M. Prestianni Giallombardo, "Cinte murarie fortificate, granai e altri problemi nella Sicilia dell'età di Ierone II," in *Nuove prospettive della ricerca sulla Sicilia del III sec. a.C.: Archeologia, Numismatica, Storia,* ed. M. Caccamo Caltabiano, L. Campagna, and A. Pinzone (Messina: Di.Sc.A.M., 2004), 99-123; F. Ferruti, "L'attività di Ierone II a favore dei ginnasi," *ibid*., 191-212.

[24] E.g. the assessments of V. Scramuzza: "Long before the first Roman soldier set foot on the soil of Sicily, the island was in process of economic decay"; the victory of Syracuse in 413 "marked the beginning of many evils for that city and many more for the other Sikeliots"; and, "In brief, three major evils, that is, tyrannic government, inter- and intra-state hostility, and the unflagging determination of Carthage to extend her sovereignty over the whole island sapped the vitality of Sicilian Hellenism" ["Roman Sicily," in *An economic survey of ancient Rome* v. 3, ed. T. Frank (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), quotes 227-8].

[25] Although L. Campagna has recently hinted at the varying pace and nature of urban change between regions of Sicily in the Hellenistic period, particularly emphasizing the differences between the cities of the Tyrrhenian coast and the northwest and the rest of the island ["Exploring social and cultural changes

For most of the twentieth century, scholars relying on the spare (and biased) Greek and Latin literary record tended to write off the Carthaginian hegemony over the western half of the island in the fourth and early third centuries as oppressive, since they lacked detailed and reliable accounts of the policies and structure of the Carthaginian *eparchia*. However, under the influence of post-colonial historiography, and thanks to the proliferation of field survey projects particularly in the mountainous interior, scholars are increasingly turning their attention to the development of the "Punic" landscapes of western Sicily:[26] for example, the economic relations between Sicily and the rest of the Punic world as deduced through pottery assemblages, and the role of urban settlements in the processing and export of the agricultural commodities of their territories. It is becoming increasingly clear that at least in the sphere of commercial exchange, relations between the "Greek" and "Carthaginian" halves of Sicily were not always adversarial. In the fourth and third centuries, settlements in the Carthaginian *eparchia* developed extensive networks with other parts of Sicily, central Mediterranean regions such as Magna Graecia and the Carthaginian heartland of North Africa, as well as the major commercial powers of the Eastern Mediterranean for the exchange of staples such as wine, grain, and olive oil.[27]

In addition, it is well known that Rome itself imported grain from Sicily long before its final conquest of the island – indeed, recent studies have traced the impact of the importation of Sicilian grain on Roman religious and cultural life as early as the fifth century BC.[28] Until recently, however, there has been little exchange or overlap between studies of the history and culture of "Hellenistic" (and "Punic") Sicily and discussions of the island's entry into the Romans' sphere of interest in the First Punic War.[29] Although the military events of this war are well known thanks to the accounts of Polybius and Livy, as is its devastating impact on some regions and settlements, less well understood is the archaeological and epigraphic evidence – some only recently published – for the activities of Romans and Italians on the island before, during, and after the war, and the impact of their growing presence on the economies and the social and political structures of the island's settlements.

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in *provincia Sicilia*: reflections on the study of urban landscapes," in *Local Cultures of South Italy and Sicily in the Late Republican Period: Between Hellenism and Rome*, ed. F. Colivicchi (*JRA* suppl. 83; Portsmouth, R.I., 2011), 161-83].

[26] Spanò Giammellaro et al., "Sicily and Malta," for a summary of recent work. See S. Helas, "Der politische Anspruch Karthagos auf Westsizilien. Mittel und Wege der Machtsicherung," in *Krise und Wandel. Süditalien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. R. Neudecker (*Palilia* 23; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), 175-92, for a recent reappraisal of Carthaginian "settlement policy" in western Sicily in the fourth and third centuries.

[27] M. Denaro, "La distribuzione delle anfore ellenistico-romane in Sicilia (III sec. a.C. – III sec. d.C.)," *Kōkalos* 41 (1995): 183-208, for an overview of amphora distributions; C. Vandermersch, *Vins et Amphores de Grande Grèce et de Sicile (IVe – IIIe s. avant J.-C.)* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1994) for archaeological evidence for the production and distribution of wine in Sicily; B. Bechtold, "Alcune osservazioni sui rapporti commerciali fra Cartagine, la Sicilia occidentale e la Campania (IV – metà del II sec. a.C.). Nuovi dati basati sulla distribuzione di ceramiche campane e nordafricane/cartaginesi," *BABesch* 82.1 (2007): 51-76, for western Sicily's commercial links with Campania and North Africa.

[28] De Angelis, "Tessera," for bibliography. The clearest example of the influence of the importation of grain on Rome's religious and cultural development is the introduction of the cult of the Hellenic goddess Demeter (as Ceres) to the city (Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 426-7).

[29] K. Lomas, "Between Greece and Italy: an external perspective on culture in Roman Sicily," in *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus*, ed. C. Smith and J. Serrati (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 161-73, makes a start.

Recent epigraphic studies have challenged the notion of a disruption in civic life connected to the beginning of Roman hegemony. The recently published fourth and early/mid-third century Entella tablets, for example, have provided vivid testimony of inter- and intra-urban relations in a time of devastating warfare in the western interior. These documents detail the efforts of a network of Elymian cities to maintain their autonomy and economic interests in the face of the intervention of outside powers (particularly the Carthaginians), using strategies that included offering refuge and assistance to each other on the basis of their shared heritage.[30] The Entella tablets also provide glimpses of the intermittent involvement of Roman soldiers and administrators in the affairs of Sicilian towns: most notably, that of the *epimeletes* Tiberius Claudius Anzias, who was granted proxeny in the fourth decree as a reward for his services to Entella in a time of demographic and economic crisis. In addition, the distinctive Oscan-Campanian names like Leukios Kaisios, Dekios, and Gnaios Oppoios that appear in several tablets hint at a strong Italian presence (both military and civilian) in the cities of western Sicily as early as the First Punic War.

Sicily under the Roman Republic: optimists vs. pessimists

Despite such indications of long-standing economic and social links between Sicily and the Italian peninsula,[31] as well as of the continuity of *polis* institutions (often encouraged by the Romans themselves) amidst the violence of the third century, the idea of a clear "break" between the Hellenistic and Roman phases of Sicily's history, usually placed at the end of the Second Punic War and the dissolution of Hieron's Syracusan kingdom, still prevails in most scholarship. Indeed, the island's long period of transition into a province of the Roman Republic following the end of its involvement in the Second Punic War (c. 210 – 36 BC) has been the focus of most scholarship on Sicily's Roman phase. When confronted with the lacunose and often-contradictory literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, scholars have come up with widely divergent interpretations of the significance of this period in Sicily's history. As Guido Clemente noted, modern scholarship on the Roman Republican period in Sicily can broadly be divided into two schools: the "optimistic" and the "pessimistic."[32] The "pessimists" (or "discontinuists," to use Campagna's terminology) view the imposition of Roman structures of political and economic control as traumatic, and its ultimate (though indirect) result as the decline of the economic and political importance of the island and its retarded cultural and social development under the Principate. The "optimists," on the other hand, view Roman involvement in Sicily as constructive, and at least initially, an engine for economic growth and prosperity for the island's cities and inhabitants. Scholarship has wavered over the decades between positions of "optimism" and "pessimism," largely based on the amount of evidence available and the priority given to the various types of evidence. Moreover, since the debate has largely played out in Italian journals and conferences, amongst Italian scholars based in Sicily or on the Italian mainland, the prevalence of one "school" over the other has been tied closely to prevailing

[30] M. Mattioli, "Roma e la Sicilia nel III sec. a.C.: Morgantina ed Entella," *Acme* 48.2 (1995): 5-21.
[31] I will return to these links between Rome, central and southern Italy, and specific Sicilian regions and cities in the chapters that follow.
[32] G. Clemente, "Considerazioni sulla Sicilia nell'impero romano (III sec. a.C. – V sec. d.C.)," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 192-219, esp. 194-7. See recently J.R.W. Prag, "Republican Sicily at the start of the 21st century. The rise of the optimists?," *Pallas* 79 (2009): 131-44, for criticism of this debate; and Campagna, "La Sicilia di età repubblicana," for its history.

intellectual trends in Italian universities, which are in turn often linked to the political climate in Italy and in Sicily itself.

Although the island had long been on the itineraries of European scholars and antiquarians, archaeological work there began in earnest only after the unification of Italy, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. While such pioneering Sicilian archaeologists as Paolo Orsi and Antonio Salinas brought to light some of the most famous and significant archaeological sites on the island, their interests lay mainly in prehistory and in the Greek colonial period, and they gave only incidental attention to Sicily's Roman phase. Therefore, earlier twentieth century assessments of the impact of Roman rule on Sicily were almost entirely reliant on literary (and, occasionally, epigraphic) evidence. Scramuzza's 1937 overview of the political and economic development of Roman Sicily under the Republic, for example, is almost entirely based on the accounts of Livy, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Cicero, and he tends to take his sources' (and particularly Cicero's) assessments of Roman rule and its impact on the Sicilian economy at face value. His overview of Sicily's economic role under the Principate relies on an even more restricted set of sources, ranging from a handful of inscriptions on Catania's wool manufacturing "industry" to scattered references in Juvenal to Sicilian fishermen catering to the Roman market.[33]

Scramuzza's assessment of Roman Sicily (along with the rest of Tenney Frank's *magnum opus* on Roman social and economic history) is also in keeping with the image of Rome's "moderate imperialism" over its provincial subjects that prevailed in Anglophone scholarship at the height of the British Empire. He provides a picture of Roman administration as largely benign and beneficial to a "backwards" province long past its heyday, though these benefits were tempered occasionally by the brutish behavior of Roman generals and administrators, especially in the first century BC.[34] The scattered upheavals of the Republican period were the fault of Rome's Sicilian subjects, not the policies and behavior of the conquerors.[35]

A largely positive view of the Roman presence in Sicily also prevails in Biagio Pace's monumental 1935 work on ancient Sicilian art and civilization. A leading scholar and antiquarian/archaeologist in his day, and a native of Sicily, Pace is more attuned to material cultural evidence, especially for urban monuments, than Scramuzza.[36] Pace was writing under the influence of nationalism in the decades of fascist rule in Italy, in which Italian art historians and archaeologists were enlisted in the larger political effort to promote Italy's "Romanitas" and cultural autochthony.[37] In keeping with this nationalism in Italian art historical scholarship, Pace

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[33] Scramuzza, "Roman Sicily," 352-7.

[34] Scramuzza says of the Roman reconstruction effort in the aftermath of the Second Punic War: "With self-government preserved for the states, the right of property respected for the individual, and not the slightest increase in taxes, the Roman domination was far from burdensome … The governors were, as a rule, honest and competent administrators" ("Roman Sicily," 236).

[35] Scramuzza says of the origins of the Second Punic War's Sicilian phase: "The cause of [the Sicilians'] discontent is hard to discover, since the Roman rule had been a positive benefit to the island" ("Roman Sicily," 232).

[36] For example, almost twenty pages of his chapter on Roman Sicily are devoted to the condition of the island's towns (303-21).

[37] V. La Rosa, "*Archaiologia* e storiografia: quale Sicilia?," in *La Sicilia*, ed. M. Aymard and G. Giarrizzo (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), 699-731, esp. 722-6; M. Barbanera, *L'archeologia degli italiani* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1998), 103-57, for Pace's fascism and the anti-Semitic overtones of his archaeological work, particularly in Asia Minor – an anti-Semitism that also colors his assessment of Carthaginian rule in Sicily.

explicitly sought to counter the dominant 19th century strand of scholarship promoted by German scholars such as Riegl and Wickhoff (and ultimately derived from Winckelmann) that saw Roman culture, and especially art, as derivative of the Greek tradition.[38] His optimistic assessment of the Roman period – and his effort to refute "il mito di una Sicilia romana vessata e decadente" - ultimately serves his larger goal of demonstrating the cultural strength of Sicily and its unity with the rest of Italy.[39]

The debate over the nature and impact of Roman rule took on new force in the post-war period, and especially in the 1970s and 1980s. The "pessimistic" school emerged with particular vigor in this period under the influence of Marxist historiography, which created a new interest in Sicily among Roman historians and archaeologists as a "laboratory" in which the relations between imperial power, modes of production, and land tenure could be examined, particularly alongside contemporary developments in peninsular Italy.[40] These decades also saw the increase in the systematic excavation of urban sites, the proliferation of rescue excavations necessitated by the expansion of modern Sicilian cities and the construction of the autostrada system, as well as the nascence of rural archaeology and field survey (in part to counter the efforts of the *clandestini*), providing scholars on both sides with new bodies of evidence to incorporate into their models of provincial development.

"Optimistic" and "pessimistic" assessments of Sicily under the Roman Republic are essentially based on variant interpretations of the same small set of literary texts, supplemented with epigraphic and archaeological data. These texts are, primarily, Livy's account of the conquest and early Roman administration of Sicily (Books 24-42, especially 24-7); Diodorus Siculus' account of the two slave revolts in Sicily in the mid and late-second century (Books 34/5 and 36); Cicero's Second Verrine Oration, which provides a description of the province in the 70s BC; and Strabo's geographic overview of the province, written in the late Augustan or early Tiberian period (Book 6.2). These texts too often are treated by scholars on both sides of the debate either uncritically, as unbiased and accurate documents of social and economic conditions in Sicily, or, at the other extreme, as unreliable semi-fictions, separated by time, distance, and ideological agenda from the "reality" on the ground.[41]

Central to the debate between the "optimists" and "pessimists" over the economic and political vitality of the province's urban communities are the questions of the dominant modes of land tenure and agricultural production in the second and first centuries BC; the role of Romans and Italians in the Sicilian economy; and the nature and impact of the system of taxation that Rome imposed on the province after the Second Punic War. According to the general model of

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[38] Barbanera, *L'archeologia,* 121-49 on the debate over the origins of Roman art and its influence on Pace's work.

[39] Pace concludes on the Roman period in Sicily: "L'età romana appare nel suo sviluppo economico il periodo in cui, se tace la cosidetta vita politica delle città elleniche … si perfeziona l'unità nazionale dell'Isola e l'intimità della sua cultura" [*Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* v. 1: *I fattori etnici e sociali* (Milan: Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1935), 325].

[40] Campagna, "La Sicilia di età repubblicana," esp. 12-21 for the contours of the debate between the "optimists" and "pessimists" in the second half of the twentieth century, and for bibliography. L. Capogrossi, A. Giardina, and A. Schiavone, ed., *Analisi marxista e società antiche* (Rome: Istituto Gramsci, 1978); and the three volumes of *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, ed. A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (Bari: Laterza, 1981) for the application to the ancient world of Italian Marxist historiography.

[41] See chapter 2 for criticism of previous scholarly interpretations of literary sources for the imperial period.

provincial development favored by the "pessimists," the direct and indirect involvement of the Roman state and Roman and Italian individuals in Sicily was aimed above all at the increase in Roman (and Italian) wealth, and ultimately led to the de-urbanization of the island and the impoverishment of its inhabitants.[42] The availability of wide tracts of Sicilian land, some confiscated after the Second Punic War, and much more after the civil wars of the first century BC, led to the concentration of land in the hands of a few absentee landowners – some of whom were Romans and Italians taking advantage of Sicily's advantageous position in the Roman grain trade. The development of these *latifundia*, coupled with the easy availability of slaves as a result of Rome's conquests of the second century BC, led to the increasing use of slave labor on the land, either cultivating grain in the fertile plains or herding livestock in the mountainous interior, although there is debate among the pessimists over the pace and extent of this change (especially the relationship between pastoralism and grain cultivation).[43]

One consequence of the change in land tenure, most apparent in the late Republic and early Principate, was the disappearance of smaller and medium-sized farms and the economic decline of the city-based ruling classes whose wealth was based on the possession of such properties, which they farmed themselves and/or rented to tenants. With this fall in prosperity came a real demographic drop in Sicily amongst the freeborn population of the countryside and of small towns, as well as the decline of civic activity and investment in urban infrastructure, especially compared with other western provinces such as Gallia Narbonensis. As the "pessimists" frequently point out, with few exceptions, the Roman authorities made no effort to repopulate cities that were abandoned or destroyed in the course of the third and second centuries.

The optimists, on the other hand, argue against the dominance of the slave mode of production in Sicilian agriculture in the Republic.[44] They instead posit that the Roman state's encouragement of grain cultivation after the Second Punic War, which was reaffirmed after the slave revolts (most concretely, in the so-called *lex Rupilia*), and its taxation system, which essentially devolved the assessment and collection of tithes to Sicilian communities, brought opportunity and prosperity to native Sicilian landowners as well as to Italian and Roman investors (whether merchants or landowners). According to this view, the spread of grain cultivation actually encouraged the persistence of small and medium-sized farms worked by free labor (either of the owners themselves or their tenants), although they undoubtedly co-existed

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[42] S. Calderone, "Problemi dell'organizzazione della *Provincia* di Sicilia," *Kōkalos* 10/11 (1964/5): 63-98; F. Coarelli, "La cultura figurativa in Sicilia. Dalla conquista romana a Bisanzio," in *Storia di Sicilia* II.2, ed. E. Gabba and G. Vallet (Naples: Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, 1980), 371-92, with views largely restated in id., S. Sisani, and E. De Albentiis, ed., *I Romani in Sicilia e nel Sud dell'Italia* (Udine: Magnus, 2006); M. Mazza, "Economia e società nella Sicilia romana," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 292-358.

[43] The evidence for this increase in the use of slaves in plantation-style agriculture and large-scale stockbreeding – particularly slaves of Eastern Mediterranean origin - comes largely from Diodorus Siculus' account of the two slave revolts of the second century, which contains estimates of numbers of participants as well as descriptions of the origins, character and policies of the revolts' leaders. There is, unsurprisingly, no clear archaeological evidence for the use of slave labor in the countryside in this period, or any period; as will be discussed below, the archaeological evidence for rural settlement, especially as revealed by field surveys, is complex, and cannot be deployed in support of a single dominant pattern of land tenure (or labor use) across the island.

[44] G. Manganaro, "Per una Storia della Sicilia Romana," *ANRW* I.1 (1972): 442-61; id., "La provincia romana," in *Storia di Sicilia* II:2, ed. E. Gabba and G. Vallet (Naples: Storia di Napoli e dell Sicilia, 1980), 411-61; R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire: The archaeology of a Roman province, 36 BC – AD 535* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1990), 17-30.

with some large slave-worked estates. Sicily's favorable position in the Roman grain trade, and the many opportunities for profit it brought, was most beneficial to the city-based middle class that owned most Sicilian land, whose members were active participants in the political, religious, and economic life of their towns - as were, perhaps, Romans and Italians with economic interests in Sicily.[45] If a transition to absentee ownership occurred, argue the "optimists," it took place much later, and it was largely a product of the political conditions of the early Principate, which favored the concentration of land in imperial and senatorial hands.

"Optimistic" and "pessimistic" interpretations are largely founded on the same set of literary, archaeological, and epigraphic material, but differ in the priority and reliability they assign to each group of evidence. The first point of departure between the two "schools" is in their treatment of the accounts of two second-century slave revolts originally written by Posidonius and preserved in Diodorus Siculus' early Augustan "universal history" (Books 34/5 and 36). "Pessimistic" historians tend to take the accounts of these revolts at face value, as accurate depictions of a largely deserted Sicilian countryside worked by transient gangs of slaves engaged in pastoralism in the hills and mountains of the interior.[46] Read together with Strabo's description of the desertion (*eremia*) of Sicily's interior, especially in the southern part of the island, these revolts appear to be key moments in the development of the agricultural system of the province – a system based in scattered large-holdings, worked from isolated (and archaeologically ephemeral) estate centers, in an interior largely bereft of cities.

"Optimists," on the other hand, tend to deny or downplay the importance of the second century slave revolts both for the political history and the economic development of the province. Manganaro, for example, asserts that although slaves played a part in these revolts, they mainly arose from the desire of freeborn Sicilians for greater autonomy.[47] An extreme position is that of Gerald Verbrugghe, who argues that Diodorus Siculus' account (and its Posidonian source) is totally inaccurate – essentially an exercise in rhetoric rather than an account of actual events in Sicily - and concludes that neither pastoralism nor slave labor played an important role in the Sicilian economy under the Republic.[48] The optimists similarly refuse to accept Strabo's account at face value, since it ultimately derives from Posidonius and his interpretation of conditions in second-century BC Sicily.[49]

A second point of departure between the two "schools" is in their deployment of Cicero's Second Verrine Oration as a source for economic and social conditions in early first century BC Sicily. The "pessimists" tend to downplay the significance of Cicero's account of Sicilian agriculture, which - as particularly befits the subject of the third book of the oration, Verres' supposed maladministration of the Sicilian grain tithe - emphasizes the interests of grain cultivators. The "pessimists" argue that Cicero's account applies only to certain areas of Sicily - particularly the southeastern corner of the island, in the former kingdom of Syracuse - where grain production predominated, while pastoralism prevailed in the rest of the island.[50] The

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[45] R.J.A. Wilson, "Ciceronian Sicily: an archaeological perspective," in *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus*, ed. C. Smith and J. Serrati (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 134-60.
[46] Clemente, "Considerazioni," 206-11; Coarelli, "La cultura figurativa," 374.
[47] Manganaro, "La provincia romana," 435-40; whereas the "pessimists" view freeborn Sicilians as largely politically apathetic by this point.
[48] G.P. Verbrugghe, "Sicily 210-70 B.C.: Livy, Cicero and Diodorus," *TAPhA* 103 (1972): 535-59.
[49] See chapter 2 for the challenge of using Strabo as a source for the settlement landscape of imperial Sicily.
[50] Mazza, "Economia e società," 333-5.

"optimists," on the other hand, embrace the account of Cicero, who, though he is keen to show the devastation wrought by Verres' years as governor, also depicts a Sicilian countryside that contains a mix of large (mostly Sicilian-owned) estates as well as small- and medium-scale farmers. These Sicilian farmers either lease or own land and work it themselves and with their families, and, even if they possess dispersed landholdings, appear to be actively involved in the affairs of their home cities.[51]

The "optimists" and "pessimists" also differ in their treatment of archaeological evidence, particularly concerning the dating of the monumental public and private building projects initiated in many Sicilian cities.[52] While cities across the island show signs of improvements to their infrastructure and monumental spaces, the greatest amount of evidence comes from a handful of well-preserved and thoroughly excavated and recorded sites in the northwestern corner of the island (namely, Monte Iato, Solunto, and Segesta), although there is debate even amongst the excavators of these sites over the chronology of their monumental phases. On the one hand, "pessimists" tend to accept higher dating schemes for these building projects, assigning them to the pre-Roman Hellenistic period (fourth and third centuries), usually to the time (if not the initiative) of Timoleon, Agathocles, or, at the very latest, of Hieron II. "Optimists," on the other hand, tend to accept lower dates for many of these projects, pushing them as late as the first century BC, and using them as evidence for urban prosperity rather than decline under Roman hegemony.[53]

Finally, "optimists" have deployed epigraphic evidence, including the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, the Entella tablets, and inscribed public records from various Sicilian cities, to a greater extent than the "pessimists." In the eyes of "optimists" such as Manganaro, the account of the Delphic *theorodokoi* (which he dates to the first decade of the 2nd century), with its long list of Sicilian cities visited by representatives from the most famous pan-Hellenic sanctuary, is a powerful testament to the vigorous religious and cultural links between Sicilian communities and the rest of the Hellenistic Greek world, even after the island became a province of Rome.[54] "Optimists" have also turned to epigraphy to support their view of the vital economic, social, and political life of individual Sicilian *poleis*. According to the "optimists," documents such as the contracts from Halaesa and Camarina recording land sales and leases reveal a Sicilian countryside of small- and medium-sized landholdings, in which cities were actively involved in the administration of their territories, according to their own laws, with limited Roman interference.[55]

Despite their differences, scholars from both "schools" are concerned with the same fundamental issues: the prosperity and development (or lack of it) of Sicily, its cities, and its inhabitants – as compared with the island's independent past and its future under the Principate – and the effect of the actions and decisions of the Roman state on that prosperity. They consider political autonomy, artistic and cultural achievement, and monumentality as urban "universals," and therefore treat them as indices of urban communities' economic prosperity, rather than as phenomena that are potentially culturally and historically specific. While the fluctuations in the

[51] Verbrugghe, "Sicily 210-70 B.C."
[52] Campagna, "La Sicilia di età repubblicana," especially 9-12, for the origins and contours of this debate.
[53] Wilson, "Ciceronian Sicily;" Campagna, "Exploring social and cultural changes."
[54] G. Manganaro, "Città di Sicilia e santuari panellenici nel III e II sec. a.C.," *Historia* 13.4 (1964): 414-39.
[55] Manganaro, "La provincia romana," 428-34. M. Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," *Kōkalos* 41 (1995): 229-70, for an "optimistic" assessment of the contracts from Camarina.

visibility of urban communities in the historic and archaeological record over time deserve consideration, especially as they relate to these communities' participation in wider social, economic, cultural, and political trends, "prosperity" and "development" may not be the most effective paradigms for understanding them. In addition, other potential forms of "well-being" and "prosperity" within urban communities besides economic (e.g. psychological and social) may be harder to gauge, but are still worthy of consideration.

Although they debate the nature and pace of change, scholars from both "schools" would also agree that the condition of Sicily under the Principate, whether one of modest prosperity or continued decline, was rooted in the military and political events of the Republic and the institutions of provincial control that arose from them. The main issues scholars confront in the imperial period, including the decline and disappearance of cities, changes in land tenure and agricultural systems, cultural change and the issue of "Romanization," are all thought to have their origins in the Republican period, in some cases as far back as the First Punic War.[56] Thus, through their emphasis on the development and spread of political, social, and economic institutions according to the needs of the Roman state (and its governing class), both schools espouse what is essentially a Rome-centric and evolutionary view of Sicilian history, periodized according to "ruptures" such as the Punic Wars, slave revolts, and the civil wars of the mid-first century.[57] To most scholars, the war between Sextus Pompey and Octavian represents the final and decisive "turning point" in Sicily's ancient history, and so, paradoxically, there is little integration between the study of the Republican period and the Principate.

In addition, both "optimists" and "pessimists" evaluate the fortunes of the town and the countryside as discrete, but intrinsically linked. In the view of the "optimists," the agricultural prosperity of the countryside led to the continued vitality of towns, while the "pessimists" link the disappearance of a freeborn rural labor force and the impoverishment of the municipal elite with the declining fortunes of Sicilian towns. In such schemes, other forms of settlement besides "towns," "farms," and "*latifundia*" – and the spatial and chronological relations between different forms of settlement - are rarely considered.

Provincial Sicily and Republican Rome: new directions in scholarship

One of the more positive developments in recent scholarship on Roman Republican Sicily has been a turn away from such "optimistic" and "pessimistic" evaluations, accompanied by an increasing interest in the cultural, political, and social dynamics of early Roman control over the island. In place of considering the fortunes of Sicilian communities primarily in terms of the actions and policies of the Roman state, scholars are increasingly viewing "provincialization" from the perspective of Sicilian communities themselves, emphasizing the processes of negotiation and adaptation necessary both from individual communities and from Roman administrators.[58] For example, in his study of the epigraphic evidence for Sicilian military

[56] M. Bell, "Roman Sicily," *JRA* 7 (1994): 371-82, here 374-5.

[57] A particular *quaestio vexata* applicable to Sicily (but not confined to it) is when the "Hellenistic" period ended and when the "Roman" period began. See, e.g., the essays in *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization, and the Ancient World,* ed. M. Golden and P. Toohey (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), for the general challenge of periodizing the ancient world.

[58] Mattioli, "Roma e la Sicilia," for this process on the Romans' Punic-Elymian "frontier" in the third century BC. Campagna, "Exploring social and cultural changes," interprets the development of monumental urban infrastructure in several western and northern cities in the second and first centuries as an element of the *autorappresentazione* of local elites aimed at Roman authorities.

participation during the Republic, Jonathan Prag argues that the Roman authorities largely relied on local manpower for Sicily's defensive needs (mainly, protecting the coasts against pirates and the interior against banditry), and so may have encouraged the continuation of *polis* institutions such as the gymnasium that provided basic military training and enhanced community cohesion.[59]

Recent archaeological fieldwork and pottery studies have cast light on aspects of the Sicilian agrarian economy beyond the grain production emphasized in the Roman literary sources. It is becoming increasingly clear from the excavation of individual rural sites that mixed farming was not uncommon in Sicily, at least on small and medium establishments. For example, on the long-lived site of Campanaio in the hinterland of Heraclea Minoa, excavated by Wilson in the 1990s, roof tiles were produced in two kilns from the early-mid second century BC. In addition, while the farm's buildings seem primarily geared towards the production and storage of olive oil (at least in its imperial phases), finds of large numbers of ovicaprid, pig, and cattle bones suggests the raising of stock animals, while the large quantities of deer bones hint at a reliance on the resources of the forest.[60] In addition, the production on Sicilian sites of imitations of common Greco-Italic and Punic amphora types from the fourth to second centuries BC suggests the internal circulation (if not the export) of Sicilian wine and olive oil in these containers.[61] Several Sicilian vintages, particularly from the fertile eastern and northern foothills of Mt. Etna, were well known to Roman connoisseurs, and formed the bases of several important Campanian, Latian, and Etrurian vintages even before the Second Punic War.[62]

As many scholars emphasize, much more work needs to be done both in the field (surveying and excavating rural sites) and in the lab (examining the mineralogical content of ceramics to determine their source) before a fuller evaluation of the Sicilian economy under the Republic is feasible. However, the preliminary results of such work – especially on ceramic assemblages from Sicily – hint at the complexity of local and regional economies. Recent analyses of "Campana C" production in Sicily are illustrative: while Syracuse has long been recognized as a major producer of this fineware in the third and second centuries BC, the presence of forms similar to "Campana C" in the assemblage from the excavation of the farm of Contrada Aguglia near Akrai points to the spread of ceramic productive systems, typologies and techniques from Syracuse into its hinterland. In addition, the petrographic analysis of "Campana C" fragments from the 2nd and first century BC kiln complexes at Morgantina reveal the presence of non-local volcanic clay, probably "imported" from the eastern coast or the southeastern corner of Sicily.[63]

Another valuable development arising from the increasing availability of archaeological data has been the emphasis on the great temporal and regional variety in Sicily's urban and rural development, and the complex causes behind the changes in settlement patterns and productive regimes visible in the archaeological record. Although much more work is needed in this area as

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[59] J.R.W. Prag, "*Auxilia* and *Gymnasia*: A Sicilian Model of Roman Imperialism," *JRS* 97 (2007): 68-100.

[60] R.J.A. Wilson, "Rural Settlement in Hellenistic and Roman Sicily: Excavation at Campanaio (AG), 1994-8," *PBSR* 68 (2000): 337-69.

[61] Denaro, "La distribuzione," 208.

[62] Vandermersch, *Vins*, 155-7.

[63] D. Malfitana, "The view from the material culture assemblage of Late Republican Sicily," in *Local Cultures of South Italy and Sicily in the Late Republican Period: Between Hellenism and Rome*, ed. F. Colivicchi (*JRA* suppl. 83; Portsmouth, R.I., 2011), 185-201, for a summary of these and other ongoing studies of Republican-era ceramics in Sicily.

well, as will be addressed in subsequent chapters, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is impossible to write a single narrative of "prosperity" or "decline" for the entire island during its two centuries under the Roman Republic.[64] And so, after decades of dominance, it appears that "optimistic" and "pessimistic" outlooks – as well as assessments governed principally by the literary sources – are finding less favor, as scholars instead embrace approaches that emphasize the interrelationship between political, economic, social, and cultural change, as well as the potential differences in the pace and nature of such change within regions.

The Roman imperial period

The Principate continues to be the least-studied era of Sicily's ancient history.[65] The difficulty of writing a political narrative for this period is even more acute than for the Republic, since the island is largely absent from the main historical accounts of the decades after the civil wars.[66] Indeed, it is the period of transition from Republic to Empire in Sicily, encompassing the fifteen years between the conclusion of the triumvirs' war with Sextus Pompey (36 BC) and Augustus' final settlement of the island in 22/1 BC, that has long attracted the most scholarly interest, fraught as it is with disagreement over the chronology and nature of Augustus' changes to the island's taxation system, urban hierarchy, and role in the Roman grain supply.[67] Despite such uncertainty over political developments in this period, it is widely seen as a key turning point, if only for the simple reason that it ushered in a "new and quiet phase in Sicilian history."[68]

The divide between "optimists" and "pessimists" persists into the imperial period, as scholars continue to debate the long-term impact of the turmoil of the late first century and the political and economic reforms that arose from it, particularly on the built environment of Sicilian cities and settlements. The war with Sextus Pompey devastated the island, bringing in its aftermath the

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[64] For example, Campagna closes his survey of the historiography of Republican Sicily by rejecting "continuity" and "discontinuity" (and "optimism" and "pessimism") as heuristic tools and by noting, "L'idea di una Sicilia segnata interamente, nel II e I sec. a.C., dall'*eremia* … può essere finalmente archiviata" ("La Sicilia di età repubblicana," 31).

[65] As noted recently by A. Pinzone, "Storia e Storiografia della Sicilia Romana (1997-2000)," *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 297-318, at 312.

[66] For example, Tacitus mentions only four events in or relating to Sicily in the main narrative of the *Annals* (AD 14 – 66): the Segestans' petition to Tiberius for funds for the restoration of the temple at Eryx (4.43); the seeking of Sybilline verses in provinces including Sicily (6.12); the grant of the senatorial privilege of free travel to estates in the province (12.23); and a senatorial decree allowing Syracuse to exceed its prescribed number of gladiatorial shows (13.49).

[67] See especially Wilson, *Sicily*, 33-45 for a summary of the Augustan "settlement" of the island and its impact on Sicilian cities.

[68] Bell, "Roman Sicily," 373. Basic bibliography for the overview that follows includes: M.I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2nd ed. 1979); G. Clemente, "La Sicilia nell'età imperiale," in *Storia di Sicilia* II:2, ed. E. Gabba and G. Vallet (Naples: Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, 1980), 463-80; Coarelli, "La cultura figurativa;" G. Manganaro, "La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano," *ANRW* II.11.1 (1988): 3-89; R.J.A. Wilson, "Towns of Sicily during the Roman Empire," *ANRW* II.11.1 (1988): 90-206; id., *Sicily*; id., "La Sicilia," in *Storia di Roma* III:2, ed. A. Carandini, L. Cracco Ruggini, and A. Giardina (Turin: Einaudi, 1993), 279-98; D. Vera, "Augusto, Plinio il Vecchio e la Sicilia in Età Imperiale. A proposito di recenti scoperte epigraphiche e archeologiche ad Agrigento," *Kōkalos* 42 (1996): 31-58; and E.C. Portale, "Sicilia," in *Le grandi isole del Mediterraneo occidentale,* ed. E.C. Portale, S. Angiolillo, and C. Vismara (Rome: Bretschneider, 2005), 17-186.

forced deportation of entire populations and a heavy indemnity for the province, in addition to the demographic, economic, and infrastructural damage caused by the war itself, particularly to the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The first administrative change hypothesized by scholars, perhaps initiated by Julius Caesar but probably brought into full effect by Augustus, was the imposition of the *stipendium* – a fixed tax – in place of the old *decuma*. The evidence for this change is controversial, but if it did in fact take place, it remains unclear how the new *stipendium* was assessed, and whether it was collected in cash or kind (or both).[69] Augustus' other major post-war reform was the imposition of colonies, probably composed of Italian veterans, in six coastal cities (Tauromenium, Syracuse, Catania, Thermae Himeraeae, Tindaris, and Panormus), likely accompanied by grants of land in the territories of these cities.

The Augustan period also saw the establishment of imperial landholdings on the island, first by Agrippa, whose lands passed to Augustus after his death, and later by other members of the imperial family. The imperial patrimony at first consisted of land confiscated from collaborators of Sextus Pompey, primarily on the northern and eastern coasts. Augustus also indirectly encouraged senatorial ownership of Sicilian land, since it was one of the few provinces that senators were allowed to visit without restriction.[70] The post-Actium years also saw the incorporation of Egypt and Africa into the Roman Empire, providing Rome with new sources for its *annona* grain and thereby reducing Sicily's political and economic importance to the state.

The "pessimists" maintain that the long-term effects of these changes were the de-urbanization of Sicily, and its political, social, and cultural isolation from the rest of the Roman Empire. Coarelli, the main proponent of the "pessimistic" school for the imperial as well as the Republican period, claims: "Nonostante la deduzione di numerose colonie augustee, i primi secoli dell'Impero rappresenteranno il periodo forse meno brillante per la civiltà urbana della Sicilia."[71] Many cities had suffered during the war between Sextus Pompey and Octavian, and those that had sided with Pompey were punished severely in its aftermath with the deportation of populations (in the case of Tauromenium and Lipara), confiscation of land, and the imposition of an indemnity. According to the pessimists, the increase in imperial and senatorial landholdings brought about even higher levels of absentee landownership than under the Republic.

The absence of a wealthy "super-elite" class resident on the island and willing to bestow patronage on its communities, coupled with the impoverishment of the municipal elite of Sicilian cities, contributed to the stagnation of urban life in general and the final abandonment of some urban centers. Municipal governments lacked the finances and manpower to build and maintain monumental public buildings, and local elites lacked the means and connections to advance to equestrian and senatorial status, and thereafter to maintain links of patronage with their home communities. Therefore, there was little locally-initiated cultural "Romanization" in Sicily, in contrast to regions such as Spain, Gaul, and North Africa, which thrived as major exporters of agricultural produce to the Roman market, leading to an increase in the wealth and social aspirations of their elites. In these provinces, local elites (often Roman or Italian colonists and

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[69] The main evidence for the change to the *stipendium* is Pliny the Elder's description of the non-privileged communities of early imperial Sicily as *stipendiarii*. While, among others, Wilson (*Sicily*, 35) questions the validity of the transition, it is generally accepted in Italian scholarship. See P. Erdkamp, *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 219-25, for the argument that the Sicilian grain tax (and taxes on agricultural produce in general under the Empire) continued to be paid in kind, not in cash.

[70] The privilege was later granted to Gallia Narbonensis (Tac. *Ann*. 12.23).

[71] "La cultura figurativa," 380; see also Clemente, "La Sicilia nell'età imperiale" and Bejor, "Aspetti."

their descendants) and imperial authorities created new urban centers and provided the funds for the monumentalization of existing ones. This practice, and the competition it engendered within and between cities, contributed to - and was subsequently reinforced by - the formation of networks of senators and equestrians of provincial origin who had successful political careers in Rome, but who also maintained strong links with their home provinces and cities.[72]

In the view of the "pessimists," the absence of consistent imperial interest and investment in Sicily, due primarily to its reduced importance in Rome's grain supply, contributed to its cultural, political, and social isolation from the rest of the empire. In contrast to regions such as Gaul and Italy, which saw the development of a dense urban network of large, medium, and small towns in the early imperial period, Sicily's urban hierarchy was essentially "primate."[73] The island's population in the first two centuries was predominantly rural and based in small, scattered villages or farmsteads of little architectural pretension, while its urban population was concentrated in a half-dozen coastal port cities that served as administrative centers and export points for the island's produce. Therefore, to the "pessimists," Sicily represents a "square peg" in the general model of rising commerce and economic prosperity, accompanied by increased levels of urbanization and cultural homogeneity, in the Mediterranean basin under the Principate. While "pessimists" often contrast the development of Sicily to that of other provinces in the Western Mediterranean, implicit also is the contrast between the "rehabbed" cityscapes of the imperial period and the magnificent cities of the classical and early Hellenistic periods, dotted with grand temples, theatres, gymnasia, stoas, bouleuteria, and other monuments of civic prosperity and pride.

The "optimists," on the other hand, reject comparisons with other provinces and instead evaluate Sicily on its own terms, arguing for modest levels of prosperity in cities and in the countryside under the Principate. They point to the archaeological evidence for rural settlement, as well as to archaeological and literary testimony of the continuing export of grain from the island, supplemented by specialty commodities such as wine and sulfur.[74] A prosperous if politically unambitious, city-based "middle class" co-existed with several families of larger-scale landowners, some of whom established deep and enduring patronage relationships with the cities in whose territory they owned land.[75] Manganaro (along with Wilson, the main voice of the "optimists" for the imperial as for the Republican period) has also argued that the growth of imperial estates – especially on the northern coast of the island - actually increased the opportunities for advancement for native Sicilian elites, some of whose members appear in the epigraphic record as equestrian-level administrators of the imperial patrimony.[76]

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[72] See R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), esp. 30-84 for the beginnings of this process, and G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), for its impact on the Gallic urban landscape.

[73] N. Morley, *Metropolis and hinterland: the city of Rome and the Italian economy, 200 B.C.-A.D. 200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) for the urban network of Italy and its relation to the city of Rome; Woolf, *Becoming Roman,* for the Gallic urban network. Primate cities and "primitive" urban systems: C.A. Smith, "Modern and Premodern Urban Primacy," *Comparative Urban Research* 11 (1982): 79-96. See chapter 2 for general approaches to urban networks, and chapters 3 and 4 for my own analysis of the Sicilian urban network.

[74] R.J.A. Wilson, "Trade and Industry in Sicily during the Roman Empire," in *ANRW* II.11.1 (1988): 207-305.

[75] Portale, "Sicilia," 35, for a summary of epigraphic attestations of Sicilian municipal elites.

[76] "La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano."

Finally, the "optimists" tend to evaluate the disappearance of cities in the imperial period, particularly in the interior, in terms of a shift ("spostamento") or restructuring ("ristrutturazione") of the urban hierarchy in favor of coastal port cities and dispersed, open rural settlement, rather than as a symptom of the general decline ("decadimento") of urban life on the island.[77] Wilson asserts that the population of Sicily was essentially stable, but that under the Principate, hilltop cities in the interior were gradually abandoned in favor of less "urban" settlements at lower elevations, primarily for economic reasons.[78] He emphasizes that this process had already begun under the Republic, and downplays the role of the spread of slave labor in it.[79] Similarly, Manganaro suggests that this shift towards coastal cities - and the accompanying increase in their territories, which were populated by a well-integrated series of villas, villages, and *stationes* that facilitated the production and movement of agricultural commodities to their ports - was the key economic development in early imperial Sicily, rather than the full transition to a slave labor force in the countryside.[80]

More recently, as with the Republic, scholars have begun to turn away from assessments of Roman imperial Sicily in "positive" or "negative" terms, instead focusing on the ways in which local traditions and contingencies in Sicily interacted with empire-wide social, economic, and cultural trends. Key to this shift away from value-laden assessments of Sicily was Wilson's 1990 monograph on the island's archaeology, which synthesized decades of excavation, field survey, epigraphic research, and architectural study, making the case for Sicily's continuing productivity and importance to the Roman economy, as well as for its inclusion in wider studies of the culture and society of the Roman Empire. His analysis of the course and causes of the province's development – although dominated by the question of the "happiness" of the province under the Principate (which he answers in the affirmative) - has become the departure point for much subsequent scholarship of the Roman imperial period.

In the past few decades, several scholars have turned their attention to the question of why Sicily departed from what is taken to be the normal course of provincial development in the Western Mediterranean. Domenico Vera's work on elite social mobility (or the lack thereof) and Kathyrn Lomas' on cultural change have focused on the often-uneasy relationship between the administrative mechanisms imposed by the Roman state and individual Sicilian cities' Hellenistic traditions of self-government.[81] Vera describes Sicilian society of the imperial period as "schizophrenic," with the cultural "Latinization" of the Augustan colonies proceeding gradually, and separately from the tendency towards traditionalism in other cities (the example he cites is Agrigento), in which civic elites built and renovated public buildings largely in the traditional "Greco-Hellenistic" style and demonstrated little interest in social advancement beyond the local sphere. Lomas has similarly pointed to the "culturally ambiguous" signals

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[77] D. Asheri, "Le città della Sicilia fra il III e IV secolo d.C.," *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 461-76. Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, especially 93-128, makes a similar argument for a demographic shift rather than decline in Roman Achaea.

[78] Wilson, "La Sicilia," 286: "Il declino e l'abbandono degli antichi centri urbani non rappresenta comunque una diminuzione della popolazione in generale: ci fu semplicemente una maggiore dispersione della popolazione nelle campagne."

[79] Wilson, "La Sicilia," 280, for a "minimalist" view of the role of slave labor in imperial Sicily.

[80] Manganaro, "La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano," 5-6.

[81] Vera, "Augusto;" Lomas, "Between Greece and Italy." Much work has been done in this vein for the eastern Roman Empire, beginning with A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

projected by the Sicilian urban built environment, while both scholars draw comparisons and contrasts with contemporary developments in the cities of southern Italy.[82] On the other hand, Oscar Belvedere, in his studies of the impact of Augustan ideology on the urban development of the Sicilian colonies, has considered the ways in which cities such as Syracuse responded affirmatively to empire-wide social and cultural trends, adapting existing public spaces to accommodate new, Roman-style constructions such as amphitheatres and monumental arches.[83]

The work of these scholars also typifies a recent trend in architectural and archaeological scholarship away from evaluating the limited new building programs in Sicilian cities in terms of "stagnation," "poverty" and "decline." Instead, scholars now consider the "reworking" of existing structures, and the juxtaposition of new and old monuments, as potentially powerful ideological statements, and as the means by which the inhabitants of a city could maintain their own architectural traditions (and civic identity) while participating in empire-wide trends in urbanism, perhaps conceding to new Roman or "Romanized" elements of the population.[84] Similarly, instead of ascribing Sicilian builders' and architects' failure quickly to adopt new techniques and materials such as concrete and kiln-fired brick facings – a tendency that makes it difficult to date many structures securely - to the island's cultural "isolation" or "conservatism,"[85] scholars now give careful consideration to the ways in which choices of building technique and style can serve the goals and priorities of their builders. For example, in her study of the public buildings of Augustan-era Catina (modern Catania), C. Molè has challenged the notion that the absence or rarity in Sicily of *opus reticulatum* – a technique in common use elsewhere in the empire - can be taken as a sign of Sicily's cultural poverty and isolation. She instead posits that conformity to imperial norms need not be the only goal of monumental urban construction, and that the choice of material and technique can also reflect the community's wish to maintain continuity with older urban forms. Molè, like Vera for Sicilian colonies in general, also rejects the Augustan period as a key moment in Catania's adoption of Roman urban forms, instead hypothesizing a much more chronologically dispersed process of acculturation.[86]

The analysis of the production and movement of staples such as wine, olive oil, grain, and fish products within and beyond Sicily, enabled by the study of ceramics recovered in

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[82] In a similar vein, K. Korhonen argues in a recent article that the residents of the Sicilian colonies selectively deployed Latin and Greek in inscriptions, with Latin used most often (though not exclusively) for inscriptions set up in public space, and Greek predominating in religious and funerary contexts ["Language and Identity in the Roman Colonies of Sicily," in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation*, ed. R.J. Sweetman (Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow, 2011), 7-31].

[83] O. Belvedere, "Politica urbanistica e ideologia nella Sicilia della prima età imperiale," in *Architettura e pianificazione urbana nell'Italia antica*, ed. L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (Rome: Bretschneider, 1997), 17-24; but see Bell, "Roman Sicily," 377, for the controversy over the dating of the Syracusan structures, and thus the difficulty of making a case for an Augustan building program for the *colonia*.

[84] Bell, "Roman Sicily," 375, for this suggestion.

[85] See R.J.A. Wilson, "Roman Architecture in a Greek World: the Example of Sicily," in *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire*, ed. M. Henig (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1990), 67-90, for the island's architectural "conservatism" in the imperial period.

[86] C. Molè, "Dinamiche di acculturazione in epoca augustea" in *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: Stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro, and A. Pinzone (Messina: Di.Sc.A.M., 1999), 415-38.

excavations across the island, is challenging the notion of the province's marginality to empire-wide commercial exchange after the incorporation of Africa and Egypt into the empire.[87] While it cannot be doubted that because of its position between the Italian peninsula and North Africa, Sicily was a major importer of commodities from these regions,[88] it is becoming increasingly clear that Sicily's economic connections were far more diverse, and were not solely influenced by the demands of the Roman market. For example, the role of salted fish and fish sauce in the Sicilian economy is receiving increased attention, as scholars have identified numerous production facilities and kiln sites on the island's coasts, while amphorae found as far afield as Pompeii and Ephesus have been identified as containers for products of Sicilian origin.[89] Production and storage facilities for olive oil have been found at rural sites across Sicily, while the production and export of the vintages of the eastern coast of the island, centered at Tauromenium (modern Taormina) and the nearby port/*statio* of Naxos, continued into the late empire.[90] In addition, the typology of Sicilian ceramic production in the imperial period is still in its infancy, and it may well turn out that transport amphora types previously assigned to other areas of the central Mediterranean are actually Sicilian products, carrying Sicilian goods.[91]

Sicily and the islands off its coasts were also involved in the production and trade of more specialized goods, some of which achieved empire-wide distribution. The production and export of sulfur from the environs of Agrigento, at first by private companies and then under imperial control, is well-known thanks to finds of *tegulae* documenting the organization of the industry.[92] The production and export of alum, a mineral used in medicines and in the tanning process, from the Aeolian islands as far afield as the British frontier is now better understood, thanks to the linking of the production of the "Richborough 527" amphorae that carried this commodity to huge kiln complexes on Lipari.[93] And handmade, fire-resistant cooking ware from Pantelleria achieved wide distribution in the Central Mediterranean, from the coast of North Africa to Italy, Sardinia, as well as Sicily itself, over several centuries due to the island's position as a port-of-call for cargo ships.[94]

Extra-urban field survey and excavation have highlighted the diversity of rural settlement patterns across the island, giving further cause to doubt the "pessimistic" picture of a deserted and impoverished Sicilian countryside. In his preliminary analysis of the results of field survey projects in the western half of the island, Belvedere has pointed to the mix of settlement patterns even in a single region.[95] Surveys of the territories of the cities of Himera, Heraclea Minoa, and Marsala/Mazara del Vallo document a clear reduction in the number of settlements from the first

[87] Leading the way in this effort is the "Roman Sicily Project," which is working to build a database of Roman-era ceramics recovered in excavations across Sicily and to further the mineralogical analysis of these ceramics in order to shed light on their chronology, origins, and distribution networks. D. Malfitana, "Roman Sicily Project ('RSP'): Ceramics and Trade," *Facta* 2 (2008): 127-92.
[88] Denaro, "La distribuzione," for the importation of Campanian and Latian wine into Sicily in the early Empire, and for African olive oil and garum imports from the second century onwards.
[89] Malfitana, "Roman Sicily Project," 162-6; Portale, "Sicilia," 55.
[90] Portale, "Sicilia," 122; Denaro, "La distribuzione," 208; and see chapter 7 for the production of wine transport amphorae at Naxos.
[91] Portale, "Sicilia," 49.
[92] E. De Miro, "Città e contado nella Sicilia centro-meridionale nel III e IV sec. d.C.," *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 319-29, here 320-4; and chapter 6.
[93] Denaro, "La distribuzione," 193-5.
[94] Wilson, *Sicily*, 257-8.
[95] Belvedere, "Organizzazione," 37-43.

century AD onwards and the growth in the areas occupied by these settlements, suggesting a concentration of landed property in these territories. On the other hand, the survey of the valley of the Belice documented an increase in settlement numbers in the first and second centuries AD – a difference Belvedere tentatively ascribes to geographical and political factors such as the abandonment of inland hilltop centers and the growth of *latifundia* in coastal regions. The *campus Leontinus* – the land confiscated from the southeastern city of Leontinoi under the Republic and subdivided into medium and large lots, probably for the cultivation of grain – also shows a gradual rise in the number of rural sites under the Principate, which perhaps operated as productive units (small farms, villages, or villas) within larger estates.[96]

Field surveys and excavations of rural sites have also highlighted the important economic role of non-urban settlements. In the western part of the island, for example, salted fish production was largely based in small coastal settlements, while agricultural production in the coastal plain seems to have been based in a handful of modest-sized villas, such as the one excavated at Contrada Mirabile in the territory of Mazara del Vallo.[97] In the western interior, rural settlements arose in areas where urban centers were contracting or disappearing altogether – most visibly, in the territories of Segesta and Monte Iato, where over the course of the early and middle imperial period, smaller agricultural settlements located in river valleys and along transportation routes replaced the decaying ancient hilltop cities as residences of the rural labor force and as centers of agricultural processing, storage, and marketing.[98] The assemblages of transport amphorae found in these settlements have shed light on their "domestic" economies. In his study of the ceramics from settlements in the territory of Segesta, Malfitana suggests that in periods in which the area was less integrated into the wider economy of the empire, agricultural production was geared towards poly-cultivation for a local market, as shown by the predominance of locally produced amphorae over imported vessels. Conversely, in periods of greater economic integration such as the Late Empire, in which greater numbers of imported amphorae appear in archaeological contexts, production was geared towards mono-cultivation for export.[99]

The growth of rural settlement in new configurations, away from ancient Greek *poleis*, was not restricted to the western half of the island. In fact, one of the largest and most sophisticated of these new settlements to be excavated so far is Sofiana (ancient Philosophiana), a *statio* and marketing center along the interior route between Catania and Agrigento that arose during the Augustan period, complete with a basic grid plan and thermal complex, but experienced its greatest prosperity in the fourth century.[100] It is becoming increasingly clear, therefore, that in many parts of Sicily, the abandonment of older urban centers and the repopulation of the countryside under the Empire did not necessarily signal economic decline – an issue I will return to throughout this dissertation.

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[96] Portale, "Sicilia," 47-8.

[97] E. Fentress, D. Kennet, and I. Valenti, "A Sicilian Villa and Its Landscape (Contrada Mirabile, Mazara del Vallo, 1988)," *Opus* 5 (1986): 75-96.

[98] Perkins, "*Aliud in Sicilia*?;" F. Cambi, "Segesta. I vilaggi di età imperiale," in *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, ed. G. Volpe and M. Turchiano (Bari: Edipuglia, 2005), 623-40.

[99] Malfitana, "Roman Sicily Project," 148. See below for Sicily's role in the late imperial Roman economy.

[100] See chapter 7 for the development of the settlement at Sofiana.

As with the Republican period, it is now impossible to write a history of the province under the Empire without taking into account the diversity of settlement patterns, systems of land tenure, and levels of economic integration across the island. It is also increasingly difficult to think of Sicily under the Empire in terms of simple dichotomies, and to generalize about the condition of "the coast" versus "the interior," or "cities" versus "the countryside." Instead, as this dissertation will make clear, though the transition from Republic to Empire was undoubtedly a disruptive event to the settlement landscape of Sicily, the three centuries that followed saw a variety of local responses to the economic, political, and social changes the Principate brought that cannot be understood simply in terms of "de-urbanization" or "ruralization."

Sicily in late antiquity: urban crisis and rural revival?

The economic, cultural, and political vitality of Sicily and its cities continues to dominate discussions of the later centuries of Roman rule over the island. Although the divide between "optimists" and "pessimists" is less pronounced for this period, some scholars ("optimists," or perhaps more accurately, "continuists") see the last centuries of Roman rule as bringing to fruition trends already apparent in the earlier imperial period, such as the diffusion of wealth into the countryside; while others ("discontinuists") see late antiquity as a period of revival for the island after its economic, cultural, and political nadir in the early Principate.[101]

Wilson has characterized the late second and early third centuries as a period of stabilization of the island's urban network, with the last of the ancient hilltop cities finally ceasing to show signs of significant occupation.[102] The financial, military, and political upheavals of the third century seem to have left Sicily relatively unscathed, although some scholars have suggested that epigraphic attestations of state intervention in the financial affairs of the larger Sicilian cities in the third and fourth centuries are evidence of their fiscal instability, in parallel with the "crisis" in the Italian urban system often posited for the same period.[103] But the variety of economic factors at work in different parts of the island in this period makes it difficult to assess the fortunes of Sicilian cities as a whole. For example, E. De Miro has connected what he interprets as the decline in the quality of life in the residential quarters of Agrigentum (Agrigento) with the transition of the sulfur industry from private to imperial hands under the Severans and the industry's gradual decline in the fourth century.[104] On the other hand, in Lilybaeum (modern Marsala), 85 miles west, C.A. Di Stefano has connected the intensification of building activity from the end of the second century to the Severans' promotion of African grain and olive oil production and export to Rome, which in turn brought increased commerce and prosperity to the ports of the western Sicilian coast.[105] It should be remembered, moreover, that both cities survived into the fifth century despite their apparently disparate fortunes in the previous two centuries.

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[101] Wilson is in favor of continuity: "l'indubitabile prosperità della campagna tardoromana deve essere letta non come un fenomeno di rottura rispetto all'epoca precedente, ma come parte di uno sviluppo continuo, che, semmai, subisce un'accelerazione" ("La Sicilia," 287). Revival: E. Gabba, "La Sicilia nel III-IV sec. d.C.," *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 516-43; and recently, R.M. Bonacasa Carra, "Civiltà cristiana e bizantina," in *Sicilia. Arte e archeologia dalla preistoria all' unità d'Italia* (Milan: Silvana, 2008), 76-85.
[102] Wilson, *Sicily,* 155-6.
[103] *ibid*., 178.
[104] De Miro, "Città e contado," 324-5.
[105] C.A. Di Stefano, "La documentazione archeologica del III e IV sec. d.C. nella provincia di Trapani," *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 350-67, here 355-6.

As with other periods in its Roman history, the vicissitudes of Sicily's relations with the central Roman state have traditionally dominated discussions of the island in late antiquity and have provided the interpretive framework for developments visible in the settlement landscape. There is general agreement that a key turning point for Sicily's fortunes was Diocletian's incorporation of the island into the Italian peninsula as a single administrative unit ("diocese"), followed a few decades later by the foundation of Constantinople and the diversion of the Egyptian *annona* to that city (AD 332).[106] The first of these developments formalized Sicily's role as a "suburban zone" of Italy. Although many wealthy Romans had long included Sicilian estates in their investment portfolios, Diocletian's reform is widely seen as hastening the concentration of Sicilian land in elite Roman hands. One indication of the amount of land in non-Sicilian hands is the existence under Constantine of a *rationalis rei privatae* exclusively devoted to the administration of the emperor's Sicilian estates.[107] In addition, Rome's need for new sources of grain after the establishment of the Constantinople *annona* and the diversion of Egyptian grain to the Bosporus, coupled with the periodic instability of North Africa in the fourth and fifth centuries, gave Sicily a political and economic importance that it had not experienced since the Republican period.[108] One often-cited measure of Sicily's new prominence in Rome's eyes is the desirability of positions in the province's administration amongst the Roman ruling class.[109]

The consequence of this new economic power and prosperity, it is generally thought, was the influx of wealth into the countryside, seen most dramatically in the construction of enormous villas – most famously, the Villa Casale near Piazza Armerina – which functioned as the ceremonial centers of large estates as well as luxury retreats for their owners. The Roman senatorial families who occupied these villas became a dominant political, cultural, and economic force on the island, and are often seen as bringing Sicily back to the mainstream (or perhaps even the vanguard) of Mediterranean-wide cultural trends. This cultural revival finds its most vivid expression again at the Piazza Armerina villa, where the extensive, detailed and elaborate mosaic floors - the products of the finest North African workshops – were probably commissioned by a high-ranking imperial official (if not the emperor himself).

Although the major coastal cities – especially Catania and Syracuse - continued to flourish in their roles as marketing and export centers for the agricultural production of the countryside, late antique Sicily was characterized, in the phrase of Lellia Cracco Ruggini, by "il volto della non-città."[110] Only the largest cities have provided evidence of continued investment in their infrastructure, public monuments, and private housing – and this only sporadically. Instead, other forms of settlement – primarily, luxury villas – became more attractive venues for elite

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[106] Pinzone calls this a "cliché" of the history of ancient Sicily in late antiquity ("Storia e Storiografia," 316).

[107] Wilson, *Sicily*, 218.

[108] L. Cracco Ruggini, "La Sicilia tardoantica e l'Oriente mediterraneo," *Kōkalos* 43/4 (1997/8): 243-69. See D. Vera, "Fra Egitto ed Africa, fra Roma e Costantinopoli, fra annona e commercio: la Sicilia nel Mediterraneo tardoantico," *Kōkalos* 43/4 (1997/8): 33-73 for the controversial assertion that Sicily was not subject to the Roman *annona*, and that its grain was traded freely (albeit for higher prices) in late antiquity. Given the amount of Sicilian land in imperial hands, the complexity of the imperial administration of Sicily, and the increasingly formalized and coercive nature of the Roman state in general in this period, however, it is hard to believe that at least some portion of the island's grain supply was not subject to state distributive mechanisms.

[109] Cracco Ruggini, "La Sicilia tardoantica," 251-2.

[110] L. Cracco Ruggini, "Sicilia, III/IV secolo: il volto della non-città," *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 477-515.

investment. The luxury villas at Piazza Armerina and elsewhere are widely thought to represent the mobile, dynamic, "elite" face of Sicily in this period, as an occasional, comfortable rural retreat and as a stable and remunerative place for investment. The rest of the (increasingly immobile) population seems to have resided in a dense network of small farms and villages, interspersed with the villas and estate centers that housed the administrators of elite properties and around which the rural labor force was organized. The late sixth century letters of Pope Gregory the Great provide names for the forms of settlement that evolved in this landscape, ranging from the larger communities based around *domus* (often in the decaying remains of Roman luxury villas) and fortified *castra* to the smaller *vici* and *villulae* that housed the majority of the rural population.[111]

Also as an alternative to the old urban centers, larger settlements arose on the coasts (*emporia*) and along the major Roman routes through the province (*stationes*) that served as marketing and export centers for the produce of estates as well as stopping points for travelers, often embellished with amenities like shops, inns, and thermal complexes. The extensive and well-excavated site at Punta Secca on the southern coast, usually identified as ancient Caucana, is representative of the first category of settlement: on an open plan, and endowed with over thirty houses, a small church, warehouses, and a market place, it arose in the mid-fourth century, probably to take advantage of commerce with the North African coast, and was abandoned in the seventh century.[112] Sofiana (ancient Philosophiana), located along the interior route between Agrigento and Catania, is frequently held up as an example of a prosperous *statio*, though whether it functioned primarily as the administrative center of a private estate or as an autonomous marketing center for the surrounding territory is a matter of debate.[113] In any case, although the settlement first took shape in the Augustan period, it reached its greatest prosperity in the fourth century, acquiring a new bath complex fed by an aqueduct and, eventually, a small church.

This "ruralization" of Sicily has provided the context for two of the major scholarly debates regarding the fifth and sixth centuries: the date of the historical and archaeological end of Roman (and ancient) Sicily, and the "Christianization" of the island. On the one hand, Sicily's cities show signs of a reduced ability to recover from the various "crises" that arose in the fourth and fifth centuries, ranging from "acts of God" (earthquakes and volcanic eruptions) to the periodic incursions of the Vandals beginning in 440. The ancient phase of settlement of some cities, including Lilybaeum and Tyndaris, appears to have ended, while others, including Agrigentum, seem to have undergone serious decline in the fifth century.[114] On the other hand, the map of late antique rural sites has only grown denser, especially with increased archaeological investigation of the countryside. In addition to the farms and villages that had long been a feature of rural Sicily, Christian sites and monuments including small churches, cemeteries, and isolated tombs

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[111] F.P. Rizzo, *Sicilia cristiana dal I al V secolo* vol. I (Rome: Bretschneider, 2005), 151; R.M. Carra Bonacasa, "La Sicilia," in *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV – VIII sec.)*, ed. P. Pergola and P.M. Barbini (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1999), 167-80, esp. 174; and Belvedere, "Organizzazione," 40, for Gregory's letters and their relevance to the archaeological record.
[112] G. Di Stefano, "Villaggi rurali e fattorie fortificate degli Iblei. Un modello siciliano tardoantico", in *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, ed. G. Volpe and M. Turchiano (Bari: Edipuglia, 2005), 667-74, esp. 672, for a recent summary of the site and its excavation.
[113] Bell, "Roman Sicily," 380; and chapter 7.
[114] Wilson, *Sicily*, 331-3.

also emerge, first in the eastern half of the island by the late third century, and spreading west through the fourth and fifth centuries.

While the role of the Roman Church as a major landholder in Sicily has long been recognized and is well illustrated in the letters of Gregory the Great, the pace and means by which the population of Sicily itself became Christian – both at the elite and non-elite level – is a matter of greater controversy.[115] What does seem clear is that in many areas by the end of the fourth century, communities had begun to solidify around rural churches that catered to the funerary (if not the daily spiritual) needs of the surrounding population.[116] This proliferation of Christian monuments in the countryside is often contrasted with the apparently minimal physical presence of the Church in Sicilian cities. Although most of the major coastal cities of the imperial period became episcopal sees in the course of the third through sixth centuries, the integration of Christian institutions and buildings into the fabric of these cities is difficult to trace before the Byzantine period.[117]

I will conclude this survey by noting that, as with the other phases of Sicily's Roman history, scholars have recently begun to modify or cast doubt on the traditional narrative of Sicily's late imperial phase, thanks (again) to the increase in archaeological data, especially from field surveys, and the increasing sophistication of pottery studies.[118] There has been a new emphasis on continuities with the early imperial period and with the early medieval period, accompanied by the downplaying of the role of crisis in permanently shaping the Sicilian settlement landscape. The continued excavation of late Roman luxury villas has revealed second and third-century phases for many of them, often completely obliterated by their larger, later manifestations, suggesting a more precocious development of an elite villa culture in the Sicilian countryside than originally thought.[119] In addition, scholars have begun to question the absolute predominance of large, specialized estates in Sicily in late antiquity. Belvedere, for example, has emphasized that Sicily's *latifundia* were less likely vast, uninterrupted tracts of land under grain mono-cultivation than series of properties centered around *vici* or *villae*, taking advantage of the diverse productive opportunities of their environments, including olive and grape cultivation and stock raising.[120]

Scholars have also reconsidered evidence for the vitality of cities, mitigating earlier assessments of decline or abandonment and in some cases pushing the period of "rupture" between late antique and medieval phases of settlement beyond the fifth century.[121] In the countryside as well, individual settlements in many regions show signs of continuous occupation, or only slight disruption, between the fifth and seventh centuries. In addition, the settlement (or re-settlement) of fortified hilltops – long thought to be a defining feature of the Sicilian landscape from the fifth century to the early modern period - seems increasingly to be a phenomenon of the period of the Byzantine and Arab conquests instead, while in some areas, the

[115] Rizzo, *Sicilia cristiana,* 60-81, 90-8, 123-8, 138-55.
[116] Carra Bonacasa, "La Sicilia."
[117] Carra Bonacasa, "La Sicilia;" Rizzo, *Sicilia cristiana*.
[118] R.M. Bonacasa Carra, "Ceramiche di produzione locale e ceramiche d'importazione nella Sicilia tardoantica," *Kōkalos* 43/4 (1997/8): 377-93 for advances in late antique ceramic studies in general and the application of this new knowledge to Sicilian assemblages.
[119] Portale, "Sicilia," 49-50.
[120] Belvedere, "Organizzazione," 50, based on the Himera and Heraclea Minoa surveys.
[121] Rizzo, *Sicilia cristiana*, 93. F. Baratte, "Continuité et discontinuité en Sicile à la fin de l'antiquité: monuments, arts et culture materielle," *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 25-47.

open, low-lying villages of the late Roman period persisted even into the early middle ages (8th-11th centuries).[122] The continuity of settlement between the high and late imperial period and the early medieval period in many regions, as well as on individual sites, has been connected to the continuing vitality of the Sicilian economy and the high value of Sicilian grain, which reinforced connections with Italy, Africa, and other parts of the Mediterranean even in times of political and military upheaval, such as the Vandal incursions, the Byzantine re-conquest of Sicily in the sixth century, and the Arab conquest of the eighth century.

The question of when "antiquity" ends in Sicily is a difficult one, since the island remained under the political control of larger state powers (first Roman, then Byzantine) and integrated into extra-regional economic systems (first centered around Rome, then around Constantinople) for much longer than many regions of the Mediterranean; and it remains satisfactorily to be answered. Wilson ends his survey of Roman Sicily at the Byzantine conquest in 535 with little explanation, though other scholars have favored this as the date of the reorientation of Sicily's economic and political focus from Africa and the Italian peninsula eastward to Constantinople and the Bosporus.[123] Yet other scholars have favored the earlier date of the Vandal invasions of the mid-fifth century, when the influence of the Roman state on the island waned (though its economic links with Italy and Africa were by no means severed).[124] However, the *communis opinio*, especially in archaeological circles, seems to be with ending Sicily's "ancient" phase with the Arab conquests or, at the very latest, those of the Normans, when a clear shift in settlement towards fortified, upland locations seems to occur. But as many scholars admit, these events represent a caesura in evidence - especially regarding patterns of ceramic production and exchange - as much as a point of unambiguous political, social, and economic transformation. I will return throughout this dissertation to the issue of the historical and archaeological "end of antiquity" in Sicily, especially as it relates to the question (more important, in my view) of the relationship between state power, urbanization, and economic integration.

[122] Belvedere, "Organizzazione," 50-3; M.S. Rizzo, "L'insediamento rurale nella Valle del Platani tra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo," in *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, ed. G. Volpe and M. Turchiano (Bari: Edipuglia, 2005), 641-7. Wilson, *Sicily*, 334-6, was among the first to suggest that the return to hilltops was primarily a feature of Byzantine and Arab Sicily.
[123] Cracco Ruggini, "La Sicilia tardoantica," 263-4.
[124] Bonacasa Carra, "Ceramiche," 381.

Chapter 2: Defining and Placing the Urban Communities of Roman Sicily

As I outlined in the previous chapter, most existing studies of Roman imperial Sicily are fundamentally histories of the province's cities: their embellishment by imperial authorities and the municipal elite, as deduced from the archaeological and epigraphic record; their role in the extractive processes of the empire (namely, the cultivation, collection and export of grain and other commodities); and, later, their role in the "Christianization" of the province. These accounts are, therefore, essentially histories of the province's relationship with Rome, in which the vitality of Sicilian cities is largely viewed as dependent on (and reflective of) their status in the empire as determined by Roman authorities: as colonies, *municipia*, stations along imperial routes, seats of bishops, etc. In turn, scholars derive their assessments of urban vitality, or the lack of it, from a few contemporary accounts of the province, written by individuals in or close to Rome and its institutions of government, which paint an ideologically complex (but, for my purposes, potentially deceptive) picture of Sicily and its cities as "downtrodden" and in decay under the Roman Empire.

In this chapter I first explore the perils that arise from too great a dependence on such texts for tracing the history of Sicily's settlement landscape. I then outline the approach to defining and measuring the vitality of Sicily's cities that I will employ in my analysis of urbanization levels in Roman Sicily. I present my methodology for this analysis in full in chapter 3. I will attempt for the moment, however, to sidestep the controversy involved in defining the city as a unique type of settlement and the often-futile effort to identify the exact locations of ancient Sicilian settlements by presenting the city as a multi-faceted form of settlement to those outside and within it, whose definition can be contested, change over time, and that cannot be viewed in isolation from other settlements.

The challenge of writing an "urban history" of Roman Sicily

The usual approach to writing the history of Sicilian cities in the imperial period is, first, to examine the few contemporary texts that describe their juridical and economic condition; to attempt to match the toponyms in these sources with settlements known or suspected to have been inhabited in the imperial period; and to assess their fortunes in terms of the extent of their archaeological and epigraphic records, and especially their monumental public buildings.[1] For some cities, this process of identification is straightforward and uncontroversial (especially for the cities that share a name and site with their ancient predecessors, such as Syracuse, Messina, and Catania). However, many of the toponyms attested in the imperial period can only tentatively be identified with known sites, leaving a seemingly insurmountable "blind spot" to studies of Sicilian settlement.[2] I shall argue in this and the following chapter that this difficulty is due to the frequent discrepancy between the literary and archaeological evidence for urbanization

[1] This is essentially the approach of Wilson, *Sicily*; while it efficiently sets up his valuable survey of the archaeology of the province during the Roman period, as I argue in chapters 5-7, we can now go beyond simply matching names with sites to studying the changing relationships between toponyms and the physical landscape of settlement (see also De Angelis, "Tessera," 246).

[2] See, for example, the many instances of "sito non identificato" among the ancient toponyms listed in the *BTCGI* and in Manni, *Geografia*; I discuss this problem further below.

and urbanism[3] in Roman Sicily – a discord that can be overcome by recognizing the unique merits (as well as difficulties) presented by each body of evidence.

The first ports of call for many scholars of Roman imperial Sicily are the few contemporary texts that include descriptions of the province and its cities: namely, the *Geography* of Strabo, the geographical section of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, and the imperial collections of land and sea routes (the "Antonine Itinerary" and the "Peutinger Table"), supplemented by the less detailed geographic works of Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy.[4] The earliest of these accounts is that of Strabo, whose career as a scholar extended from the early Augustan period into Tiberius' reign, although his *Geography* was probably written in the late Augustan and early Tiberian period.[5] In Book 6 of his description of the known world (*oikoumenē*), in keeping with his general interest in *polis*-history, Strabo briefly describes the location, present condition, and historical vicissitudes of Sicily's cities as part of his *periplus* of the island.

Pliny, writing during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, states in Book 3 of his *Natural History* that Sicily has 63 *urbes aut civitates*, in addition to five *coloniae*. In the section that follows, he circumnavigates the island, listing the chief geographic features of the coast along with the names of eighteen coastal settlements, which he describes either as *coloniae* (towns containing settlements of Roman citizens, probably veterans) or *oppida* (towns without Roman status). Next, he turns inland and lists fifty ethnicities, beginning with three that possess *latina condicio* (the Centuripini, Netini and Segestani; the status was probably roughly equivalent to that of a *municipium*, entailing exemption from taxation without the imposition of a colony), followed by the rest, described as *stipendiarii* (subject to Roman taxation).[6]

Much different in scope and nature are the *itineraria* of the later imperial period, which are often cited as evidence of the "ruralization" of the interior of Sicily in the second and third centuries.[7] The collection of routes known as the "Antonine Itinerary," of unknown origin but perhaps intended for use in the planning of long-distance land and sea travel in the Roman Empire, includes several sequential lists of settlements along the major roads of Sicily, usually placed at intervals of a day's travel from each other, as well as maritime routes incorporating the port cities of Sicily. The "Peutinger Table," preserved in a medieval manuscript, is its simplified, pictorial counterpart, schematically depicting the major roads of the empire and the settlements along them, much in the way of a modern subway map.

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[3] In the following chapters, I use "urbanization" and "urbanism" to describe two historical phenomena: "urbanization" is the process of demographic agglomeration into larger settlements and "urbanism" is the social, cultural, economic, and political formation and definition of the city, on an individual and society-wide level – two processes that are interrelated, but not identical. R.G. Fox, *Urban Anthropology: Cities in their Cultural Settings* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), esp. 16-7 and 39.

[4] Pomponius Mela, who probably wrote his Chorography in the early 40s AD, including a short *periplus* of the coasts of Sicily, drew his information from the same sources as Strabo (and probably from Strabo himself); *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, ed. and trans. F.E. Romer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998). Claudius Ptolemaeus, writing a century later, was primarily concerned with "mathematical" geography, assigning specific coordinates to known places in the *oikoumenē* (text: Manni, *Geografia*, 277-82).

[5] D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 146-51, for the chronology of Strabo's career and the date of his *Geography*.

[6] Wilson, *Sicily*, and Vera, "Augusto," for definitions. Although the meanings of these statuses, their chronology, and the reasons for their bestowal on individual communities have attracted much debate, as I will explain below, they are not immediately pertinent to my discussion of Sicilian urbanism.

[7] See above, chapter 1.

These, then, are the major textual sources for Sicilian urbanization and urbanism under the Roman Empire. However, as I will discuss in the following three sections, each brings with it a unique set of challenges that prevents the easy synthesis of the information they provide into a coherent account of the Sicilian settlement network. These interpretive challenges are, I think, one reason for the absence of Sicily from most broad, thematic studies of the Roman Empire. And, in addition to the relative paucity of archaeological and epigraphic material from the island, there is no single ancient author or source - unlike Pausanias for Greece - that provides a synchronic portrait of the island and its settlements.

Strabo

Strabo's, at first glance, appears to be the most straightforward account of urban conditions in Sicily in the Augustan period. In the tradition of the Greek *periplus*, Strabo describes the features of the Sicilian coast beginning at the Straits of Messina, working south and west around the three "corners" of the island. In addition to noting the main geographic features of the coast (promontories, rivers, etc.), he recounts the history of Sicily's cities and the condition of each "at the present time."[8] For example, he says of Morgantina (his Morgantium), "it used to be a city, but now it does not exist" (*polis d' ēn autē, nūn d' ouk estin*) (6.2.4).[9] And in a passage often cited by scholars of imperial Sicily in support of the province's downtrodden status, he claims of the western part of the island, "the rest of the settlements (*katoikia*) as well as most of the interior (*mesogaia*) have come into the possession of shepherds; for I do not know of any settled population still living in either Himera, or Gela, or Callipolis or Selinus or Euboea or several other places" (6.2.6).

However, thanks to his long scholarly career, broad conception of "recent" history, and use of multiple sources usually without citation, Strabo's "present" (expressed through such temporal indicators as *nun* – now; *neōsti* – recently; and *eph' hēmōn* or *kath' hēmas* – in my/our time[10]) is a slippery entity that refers to various periods and can rarely be pinned down to a specific historical moment. As Katherine Clarke has pointed out, Strabo is more concerned with the key formative periods of the regions and cities he describes than with specific dates or comprehensive historical coverage. Strabo's *nun* is impersonal, and his use of the phrases "in our time" or "recently" in specific historical contexts can refer to events from the mid-first century BC up to Tiberius' reign – in other words, to events that occurred within Strabo's lifetime, or more broadly to the period of imperial consolidation and transition from Republic to Empire that he (and his audience) had lived through.[11] This holds true in the Sicily section, where Strabo's conception of "recent" history extends back to the first century BC. In his account of the settlements of the interior, for example, Strabo describes the execution in Rome of a Sicilian brigand, Selurus, that happened "recently (*neōsti*), in our own time (*eph' hēmōn*)" – an event that

[8] K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1999), 264-81 for Strabo's interest in *polis*-histories.
[9] Text: *Strabon. Géographie. Tome III (Livres V et VI),* ed. and trans. F. Lasserre (Paris: Belles Lettres); English translation: *The Geography of Strabo III. Books VI – VII,* trans. H.L. Jones (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press and Heinemann, 1983), with my modifications.
[10] S. Pothecary, "The Expression 'Our Times' in Strabo's *Geography,*" *CPh* 92.3 (1997): 235-46, for translation of these temporal phrases.
[11] Pothecary, "Expression," esp. 246 for Pompey's settlement of the Pontic kingdom as a key moment of transformation for Strabo, and the beginning of "our time."

probably occurred around 35 BC, during Strabo's first sojourn in the capital (6.2.6).[12] He also describes Augustus' establishment of a colony at Syracuse, usually dated to his visit to the island around 21 BC, as occurring "in our own time" (*eph' hēmōn*) (6.2.4).

There is no indication in Strabo's text that he visited Sicily for any length of time,[13] and like many contemporary writers of "universal" works, he relied heavily and unapologetically on older scholarship for his geographical and historical information. In the Sicily section, which (as is Strabo's practice throughout the *Geography*) condenses the history of the island's cities from legendary to contemporary times, Strabo's present often refers to the latest information he possesses, especially in order to contrast recent history with the mythological past, rather than explicitly to the time at which he is writing.[14] Therefore, in some cases, his "now" refers to the historical judgments of his source material, although the layers of these temporal references are rarely easy to separate. For example, the "now" in his description of the condition of Morgantina could equally refer to the early imperial period, or to that of his main source for the recent history of the interior of Sicily, Posidonius, who wrote in the early first century BC of the events of the second half of the second century (and who himself relied on the fourth-century scholar Ephorus).[15] Similarly, Strabo claims that the various indigenous tribes continue to occupy the interior of Sicily "even to this day" (6.2.4) – a statement that is difficult to reconcile with the archaeological and linguistic evidence for the long-standing Hellenization of the island's settlements of non-Hellenic origin.[16] Instead, Strabo is here again probably echoing a much earlier source, Ephorus, through Posidonius.[17]

Furthermore, what Clarke has characterized as an innovative aspect of Strabo's *Geography* – namely, its concern with the transformative periods that shaped the condition and identity of the regions he describes – makes it a difficult text to use as evidence for the course of Sicilian urbanization in the early imperial period. In his summaries of *polis*-histories, Strabo frequently adopts the attitudes of his sources (without attribution) and implies causality between past events and current conditions, but without indicating specific dates or lapses of time.[18] Strabo's first

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[12] K.M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythical Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990): 44-73, at 53, dates Selurus' execution to the later thirties BC, if not 35 BC specifically, since it cannot have taken place before Strabo's first visit to Rome, which began in 44 BC. But since Strabo says that it took place in the forum, it probably occurred before the construction of Statilius Taurus' stone amphitheatre in Rome in 29 BC.

[13] Though Dueck hypothesizes a short visit to the eastern coast of the island on the journey to Rome (*Strabo of Amasia*, 17 and 27).

[14] Pothecary, "Expression," for Strabo's "present" in provincial contexts as encompassing all time after Roman intervention, in contrast to the more distant pre-Roman past, though she focuses on Strabo's treatment of the kingdom of Pontus, a region whose recent history had a greater personal resonance with Strabo than Sicily's.

[15] *L'Italia di Strabone*, ed., trans. and comm. N. Biffi (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1988), 333 n. 227.

[16] The so-called "indigenous" tribes of the interior of Sicily had been culturally and linguistically "Hellenized" at least since the early Hellenistic period, and in the eastern half of the island, most of their settlements had long since fallen under the political influence (if not the outright control) of the Greek colonies.

[17] Lasserre, *Géographie*, 230.

[18] For example, Strabo summarizes the history of Catania as follows: "Catana, moreover, was founded by the same Naxians, whereas Tauromenium was founded by the Zanclaeans of Hybla; but Catana lost its original inhabitants when Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, established a different set of colonists there and

transformative period for Sicily is the initial period of colonization, followed by the upheavals of the third, second and first centuries BC brought by the Punic Wars, slave revolts, and civil war, respectively. This chaos was eventually resolved in the final transformative period by Augustus' settlement of Sicily. In his description of the city of Messana, for example, Strabo moves swiftly from its colonization by the Naxians to the settlement of the Mamertines, then to its use as a Roman base in the Second Punic War and by Sextus Pompey in the civil war (6.2.3).

Similarly, in his section on the "deserted" interior of Sicily quoted above, Strabo moves between the present, the mythical past (the city of Camici as the royal residence of Kokalos), and more recent history drawn from Posidonius[19] - namely, the Romans' establishment of large estates in the interior and the slave revolt of Eunus. He seemingly (and confusingly) implies that the "desertion" of the cities of the interior both was caused by and contributed to the depopulation of the countryside. In addition, of the five settlements he cites next as lacking any settled population (Himera, Gela, Callipolis, Selinus, and Euboea), three are in fact on the coast, and had been abandoned – mainly as the result of destruction in warfare – by the early third century.[20]

Finally, again due to his use of multiple sources, Strabo's description of Sicily and its cities is far from impartial and objective. Although Strabo's work is usually described as pro-Roman (and especially laudatory of the Principate established by Augustus and perpetuated by Tiberius), he relied directly and indirectly on a series of Hellenistic Greek historians and geographers, ranging from Timaeus and Ephorus in the fourth and third centuries to Artemidorus of Ephesus, Polybius and Posidonius in the Republican era (as well as, probably, numerous anonymous local historians), for most of his historical notes on Italy and Sicily.[21] He cites Ephorus, Timaeus, Posidonius, and Polybius explicitly several times in the Sicilian section, mostly as sources for geographical information and foundation dates. However, he also probably drew most of his historical information from them – and, most important for my purposes, his information on the "economic geography" of Sicily from Posidonius.[22] In particular, his description of the desolate interior of Sicily derives from Posidonius' account of the island in the aftermath of the slave revolts of the late second century. However, as Verbrugghe has pointed out, Posidonius is more concerned with developing his larger theme of the decline of Roman morality in the aftermath of

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called it Aetna instead of Catana," before describing the city's relations with Aetna and relating the legend of its local heroes, the "pious brothers" Amphinomus and Anapias (6.2.3).

[19] Lasserre, *Géographie* and Biffi, *L'Italia,* for Strabo's use of Posidonius for the Sicilian slave revolts. G. Verbrugghe, "Narrative Pattern in Posidonius' 'History'," *Historia* 24.2 (1975): 189-204, emphasizes the anachronisms and generic nature of Posidonius' accounts of the two slave wars in the second century BC. Verbrugghe attributes these anachronisms to Posidonius' use of the events of the more recent rebellion of Spartacus in southern Italy and the Roman suppression of Mediterranean piracy to structure his narrative of the causes and course of the Sicilian revolts.

[20] Himera, on the north coast, was destroyed by Dionysius I of Syracuse at the end of the fifth century and its population later resettled at Thermae Himeraeae. Gela, on the south coast, was destroyed by Phintias of Agrigento in the early third century, and its population resettled at his eponymous city. Selinus, also on the south coast, was taken over by the Carthaginians at the end of the fifth century, and finally abandoned during or after the First Punic War.

[21] Lasserre, *Géographie,* 10-25. Clarke, *Between Geography and History*, Appendix C, gives a list of Strabo's acknowledged sources for Italy and Sicily.

[22] Lasserre, *Géographie*, 18.

the fall of Carthage, and its dangerous consequences for the Roman state and empire, than with providing an accurate account of the causes, events, and aftermath of these revolts.[23]

For more recent events, such as the war with Sextus Pompey and Augustus' subsequent settlement of Sicily, Strabo probably relied on pro-Augustan historians of Greek origin such as Timagenes and Nicolaus of Damascus, as well as his own investigations and experiences in Rome.[24] This reliance on such a chronologically and ideologically varied group of sources gives Strabo's account of Sicily the flavor of a Hellenistic tragic history in places, especially in his description of an interior desolated by war and slave unrest, and in the implicit contrast between the ancient glory of the Greek *poleis* and their current poverty.[25] The gloom is tempered by the occasional appearance of Augustus to restore the downtrodden cities to their former glory - and indeed, the abuses of Sextus Pompey and the interventions of Augustus are the most recent "history" that Strabo includes.[26]

On the whole, Strabo's description of Sicily reflects the concerns of his sources as well as his own intellectual self-positioning as an intermediary between the Hellenistic tradition of local, *polis*-based historiography and the "universal" history and geography centered on Rome and made possible by Rome's imperial expansion across the *oikoumenē*.[27] Like his Stoic-influenced predecessors Polybius and Posidonius, Strabo views cities as living entities with births and deaths, whose lifecycles are among the principal concerns of the geographer/historian.[28] In Sicily and in the rest of the settled world, his primary interest is in the history of the Greek cities from their mythical foundations to the end of their autonomy, either as a result of their destruction or abandonment, or of their absorption into the Roman Empire.[29] He expresses the status of each city in terms only of its own past and its place in the world order established by Rome, giving little attention to relations between individual cities and settlements in Sicily. Therefore, while as

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[23] Verbrugghe, "Narrative Pattern," 196-7.

[24] Lasserre, *Géographie*, 24-5.

[25] This contrast is perhaps most pointed in Strabo's description of the ancient *polis* and sanctuary of Eryx: "Eryx, a lofty hill, is also inhabited. It has a temple of Aphrodite that is held in exceptional honor, and in early times was full of female temple-slaves, who had been dedicated in fulfillment of vows not only by the people of Sicily but also by many people from abroad; but at the present time (*nūni*), just as the settlement itself, so the temple is in want of men, and the multitude of temple-slaves has disappeared" (6.2.6). In addition, Lasserre (*Géographie*, 165) suggests that Strabo's elogy of Sicily's prosperity (6.2.7) is drawn from Posidonius (whom he cites), in whose work it precedes an account of the desolation that followed the Punic Wars.

[26] Augustus appears first in battle with Sextus Pompey off Messina (6.2.3), then to establish a colony at Syracuse and restore the damaged city in the aftermath of the war, and to confer privileges to Catania and Centuripe (6.2.4).

[27] Strabo was not alone in this self-positioning between Greek and Roman intellectual traditions. Clarke, for example, sees Strabo's work as a "spatial parallel" to the work of the Augustan "universal historians" Diodorus Siculus and Nicolaus of Damascus (*Between Geography and History*, 313) – and we could add also Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Greek history of early Rome.

[28] Clarke, *Between Geography and History*, 341 for Stoic *sympatheia* in Posidonius, Polybius and Strabo.

[29] Herein lies another potential meaning of Strabo's description of Morgantina as a "*polis d' ēn autē, nūn d' ouk estin*" (6.2.4) – i.e. that it no longer functions as an autonomous political entity. See B. Tsakirgis, "Morgantina: A Greek Town in Central Sicily," in *Ancient Sicily*, ed. T. Fischer-Hansen (*Acta Hyperborea* 6; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculum Press, 1995), 123-47 for this explanation, and for evidence for Morgantina's continued occupation into the early first century AD. Alcock makes a similar point regarding Strabo's description of the "dead cities" of Roman Achaia (*Graecia Capta*, 145-7).

Clarke suggests, Strabo may offer valuable insight into the "social memory" of the regions he describes and into the conception of the past by Greek intellectuals in the Roman present, the value of his work as a testimony to the general and specific condition of Sicilian cities in the early Empire – and the general shape of the settlement network - is limited.

Pliny

Pliny's list of Sicilian *coloniae, oppida, urbes* and *civitates* is also far from straightforward, in terms both of the identity and location of the communities he lists and of the juridical status he attributes to them. The first difficulty with the list, which is generally agreed to be a product of the early Augustan period (like the rest of Pliny's city-lists), is its specific date of composition and the nature of Pliny's changes to it.[30] Another problem is that the status of some communities listed in Pliny does not accord with their self-proclaimed status in the numismatic and epigraphic record. For example, Lilybaeum and Agrigentum are listed as *oppida* in Pliny, but clearly became *municipia* in the Augustan period.[31] The most acceptable solution to this problem has been to assume that Pliny's source is an official list composed after the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BC, and probably in connection with Augustus' "settlement" of Sicily in 21 BC, and not subsequently updated by Pliny to reflect changes to the juridical status of cities (mainly, the elevation of *oppida*, presumably previously stipendiary, to municipal status).[32]

A more intractable challenge is the identity and location of many of the communities that Pliny lists, particularly in his section on the *stipendiarii* of Sicily. However, problems arise even in his introductory *periplus* of Sicily. First, while he clearly indicates which communities are *coloniae*, he gives no indication of the condition of the towns without special juridical status (*oppida*) he describes. At least three of the towns he lists had ceased to exist long before the Augustan period (and, of course, by Pliny's time): namely, Megaris (Megara Hyblaia), Selinus, and Himera.[33] Such anachronisms give Pliny's *periplus* the flavor of a historical geography rather than a contemporary description of Sicily, in keeping with his professed goal at the beginning of Book 2 to provide an account of the "past and present peoples" (*populi qui sunt aut fuerunt*) of each part of the empire, and probably reflecting the original, Hellenistic source of his *periplus*.[34]

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[30] Especially since Pliny fails to make any reference to the status of Sicilian cities between Julius Caesar's grant of "Latin" status to the whole island, Octavian's wars with Sextus Pompey, and his visit to the island in 21 BC (Wilson, *Sicily*, 35-8).

[31] See Vera, "Augusto," for epigraphic evidence for Agrigentum's status in the Augustan period, and its relation to Pliny's list as a whole.

[32] Wilson, *Sicily*, 38; Vera, "Augusto." Pliny was not the only post-Augustan author to rely on information collected in the Augustan era that was not subsequently updated; C.F. Noreña, "Water distribution and the residential topography of Augustan Rome," in *Imaging Ancient Rome*, ed. L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey (*JRA* suppl. 61; Portsmouth, R.I., 2006), 91-105, argues at 95-6 for similar anachronisms in Frontinus' *De aquaeductu urbis Romae.*

[33] Selinus and Himera had been destroyed in earlier wars without substantial resettlement (Wilson, *Sicily*, 15 and 166). Megara Hyblaia was sacked for a final time by Marcellus (Plut. *Marc*. 18.2), and excavations of the site have provided little evidence of urban settlement thereafter (but see chapter 7 for Roman-era settlement at the site).

[34] Text: *C. Plinius Secundus. Naturalis Historia I. Libri I-VI*, ed. C. Mayhoff (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1985). L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47 – 14 B.C.* (London: British School at Rome, 1983), 5, ascribes this *periplus* to Artemidorus or Varro; C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 1991, 173-4, tentatively to Varro.

The accuracy of his account of the *stipendiarii* of the interior is even more difficult to assess. As he does with other provinces, Pliny lists the *stipendiarii* in alphabetical order, as Latinized *ethnē* rather than toponyms, giving no indication of the location of the communities or their organization. His description of them as "*urbes aut civitates*" at the beginning of the section leaves open the possibility that, to Roman eyes at least, they are not all structured as single *poleis* with an urban center, but could alternatively be organized as groups of communities (not necessarily geographically contiguous) centered on a single urban center for taxation purposes, as in less urbanized western provinces, as well as in certain under-urbanized regions of the Greek East.[35] It need not follow that an *ethnos* should accord with an actual urban center, let alone one in existence in Augustan times.[36]

It is therefore hardly surprising that scholars have had difficulty matching most of the names in Pliny's list with ancient toponyms attested in other sources, let alone with actual sites. Of the 45 names in the list, the locations of at least half are completely unknown or merely conjectured.[37] Other names seem to belong to urban centers that were abandoned or destroyed long before the Augustan period.[38] And the names of some ethnicities are clearly associated with coastal urban centers, despite being classed among the *civitates* of the interior (e.g. the Drepanitani and the Erycini, apparently referring to Drepanum and Eryx on the northwestern coast of Sicily).

Given these difficulties, it is important to remember that Pliny's (and his sources') intention was not to precisely and accurately report contemporary conditions in Sicily, but rather to summarize the Romans' (and particularly Augustus') conception and organization of Sicily into a tax-producing province.[39] Indeed, Pliny's description of Sicily and its cities may be seen as

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Wilson (*Sicily*, 37-8) blames the inclusion of these abandoned cities on Pliny's failure to check and update the *periplus*, without taking into account the stated purpose of his work.

[35] Such as Gaul and Britain; see C. Ando, "Imperial identities," in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. T. Whitmarsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17-45, here 36-8 on the similar pairing of the Greek "*dēmos*" and "*ethnos*" in inscriptions from Asia Minor as a reflection of Roman differentiation between populations based in *poleis* and those that did not live in recognizably Greek cities. S. Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia from 133 BC to AD 250," in *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Eck (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1999), 17-46, on civic and non-civic forms of regional organization in Roman Asia Minor.

[36] Nicolet, *Space*, 175-6, for anachronisms in Pliny's lists of Italian communities.

[37] Ethnicities in Pliny of unknown or uncertain location: Acestaei, Bidini, Citarini, Echetlienses, Egguini, Ergetini, Herbessenses, Herbitenses, Herbulenses, Ichanenses, Imacarenses, Magellini, Mutustratini, Noini, Paropini, Petrini, Scherini, Semelitani, Symaethii, Talarenses, Tissienses, Triocalini, Tyracinenses. There is much scholarly controversy regarding the potential locations of these *civitates*; Wilson (*Sicily*, 36) assigns secure locations to twenty, tentative locations to eight, and classifies the remaining seventeen as unknown. See also G. Verbrugghe, *Itinera Romana* 2*: Sicilia* (Bern: Kümmerly & Frey, 1976), Appendix I; Manni, *Geografia*; *BTCGI*; and appendix 1, *ad loc*.

[38] E.g. the Naxii and the Selinuntii, thought to refer to the cities of Naxos and Selinus, destroyed, respectively, by Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Carthaginians. The "Naxos" in the list probably refers to a roadside settlement near the site of the ancient *polis*, attested as Naxus in itineraries, for which some archaeological evidence has recently been found (see chapter 7 and appendix 1).

[39] T.M. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) for the *Natural History* as a project made possible by, and intended to facilitate, the extension of Roman *imperium* across the *oikoumenē*. Nicolet, *Space*, 173-7 for

reflective of broader contemporary Roman attitudes to Sicily. The coastal cities of Sicily are part of a *periplus* of the island like Strabo's, beginning at Messana, as a traveler from Rome or Italy would, and proceeding south and west along the coast. Pliny lists the coastal cities along with the island's main rivers, promontories, and geographic features (namely, Etna), reflecting the perceptions and interests of a traveler by sea, both commercial (main ports and navigation and landing points) and touristic (natural wonders and ancient cities).[40]

Conversely, the communities of the interior are differentiated only by their taxation status, and (implicitly) of interest only for their exploitative potential, and for the fact that they are part of the Roman Empire. In contrast to Strabo's interest in periods of change for Sicily and its cities, Pliny's geographical description of Sicily is unconcerned with history, instead presenting a catalogue of names – communities now possessed by Rome – according to their status as bestowed by the Roman state.[41] However, both Strabo and Pliny view Sicily essentially from the perspective of the imperial center of Rome, as a province whose independent history (and that of its communities) has effectively ceased with its final incorporation into the empire of Augustus and his successors: an island at peace, whose geography and history lay open and accessible to those at the center of power.

The Itineraries

The main textual sources for the settlement landscape of Sicily in the high and late imperial periods are the collections of land and sea routes preserved in the "Antonine Itinerary" (*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* = *It. Ant.*) and "Peutinger Table" (*Tabula Peutingeriana* = *T.P.*). However, these later road handbooks are no easier to decipher than Pliny and Strabo's texts, and are similarly selective in their depiction of imperial Sicily. The first difficulty is that both documents are of uncertain origin and authorship, and seem to represent individual, practical efforts to consolidate geographical knowledge accumulated for various purposes and by different means, over several generations.[42] The collections of itineraries in the *It. Ant*., for example, seem to represent the empire as it appeared in the last quarter of the third century AD, although the information in some sections dates back to the Severan period. It is generally agreed that the

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Pliny's Augustan sources, and more generally for the conception of geographic space as administrative space in the Augustan era.

[40] E.g. in the first "leg" of Pliny's *periplus*: "Leaving Pelorus and facing the Ionian Sea, we have the town of Messana, whose inhabitants are also called Mamertini and enjoy the rights of Roman citizens; the promontory of Drepanum, the colony of Tauromenium, formerly called Naxos, the river Asines, and Mount Aetna, wondrous for the flames which it emits by night. Its crater is twenty stadia in circumference, and from it red-hot cinders are thrown as far as Tauromenium and Catina … We then come to the three rocks of the Cyclopes, the Port of Ulysses, the colony of Catina, and the rivers Symæthus and Terias; while more inland lie the Laestrygonian Plains."

[41] Murphy, *Pliny*, 129-31.

[42] B. Salway, "Travel, *Itineraria* and *Tabellaria*," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. C. Adams and R. Laurence (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 22-66, esp. 22-32 and 36-47, for this view of the origins of the *It. Ant.* and *T.P*. Although in the past it was assumed that their main source was the archives of the *cursus publicus*, there is no direct evidence that the original versions of the *It. Ant*. and *T.P*. themselves were compiled for official use under imperial sponsorship. In fact, some scholars have argued that the *It. Ant*. and *T.P.* in their current forms are better seen as cultural artifacts, and could have served no practical purpose: see C.R. Whittaker, "Mental maps: seeing like a Roman," in *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History and General History for John Crook on his Eightieth Birthday,* ed. P. McKechnie (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81-112, esp. 94-5 and 105 for this view, and further bibliography.

document reached its final form in the fourth century, during or just after the reign of Constantine. The material contained in the *T.P.* is even more chronologically disparate: famously, in its representation of Italy, the Table includes the cities destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 alongside the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter's in Rome, although the original manuscript probably also took shape in the fourth century, perhaps slightly later than that of the *It. Ant*.[43]

The *It. Ant*., although a complex document on the whole, is relatively straightforward in its presentation of the land and sea routes of Sicily. The land routes (86.2-98.1) probably derive from a regional collection of itineraries for the province of Sicily that was placed between the lists for the islands of Corsica and Sardinia and those for the Italian mainland.[44] The Sicilian routes begin and end in a half-dozen nodal settlements (all coastal cities) and consist of sequences of settlements – either existing cities or specially appointed *stationes* - that can be matched with the courses of the known Roman roads of Sicily.[45] East-West movement is given priority in the lists, since most of the routes begin or end in the cities on the extreme eastern and western tips of the island (and the main embarkation points for Italy and North Africa), Messana and Lilybaeum respectively. The *It. Ant.* lists routes between these two cities, through the interior of the island and along its coasts, directly or via the other main coastal cities of the province (Syracuse, Agrigentum, Catania, Panhormus, and Thermae Himeraeae).[46] The routes depicted in the *T.P.* largely mirror those listed in the *It. Ant*. though with less detail, sometimes giving fewer *stationes* for each route or omitting alternate routes.

However, as with Pliny's list, it is often difficult to match toponyms in the *It. Ant*. with actual sites, since many - especially the road stations in the interior - make their first and only appearance in the itinerary itself. The inland routes connecting Catania and Agrigentum through the southeastern corner of the province are particularly difficult to reconstruct for this reason (87.4-88.4, 94.2-95.1). Only one of the *stationes* between these two cities can be securely identified (Philosophiana, 88.2 and 94.5), while the locations of the rest remain either completely unknown or conjectured based on the distances given in the itineraries.[47]

A related challenge arises regarding the status and nature of these inland *stationes*, which are usually thought to be estate-centers or *vici* doubling as stopping points for travelers, since the

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[43] Salway, "Travel," 44.

[44] Salway, "Travel," 40 with n. 52.

[45] The text of the Sicily section of the *It. Ant.* and *T.P.* can be found in *Itineraria Romana I: Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, ed. O. Cuntz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929) and *Itineraria romana. Römische reisewege an der hand der Tabula peutingeriana*, ed. K. Miller (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1916). I have primarily used Manni's appendix (*Geografia*, 260-3) and the tables and appendices of Verbrugghe, *Itinera*, for their contents and structure.

[46] The itinerary for Sicily can be broken into six groups of routes, which can in turn be subdivided into shorter, more direct routes between individual cities. The first group of routes (86.3-89.2) links Messana and Lilybaeum via Catania on the eastern coast and Agrigentum on the southern coast; the second (89.3-90.4) links Lilybaeum and Messana via Agrigentum and Syracuse; the third (90.5-92.6) is a coastal route linking Lilybaeum and Messana via Panormus and Tyndaris on the north coast; the fourth (93.2-96.4) links Thermae Himeraeae on the north coast to Syracuse via Catania and Agrigentum; the fifth (96.5-97.6) links Agrigentum and Lilybaeum via Panormus; the sixth (97.7-98.1) is a subsidiary route between Hyccara and Drepanum on the west coast.

[47] Philosophiana has been identified on the basis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence with modern Sofiana, near Piazza Armerina. The other unidentified *stationes* are Capitoniana (88.1, 94.4), Petiliana (88.3), Calloniana (94.6), and Corconiana (94.7).

names of some derive from elite provincial families known to have owned large estates.[48] Since very few of these have been identified securely, only one, Philosophiana, has been excavated in any detail, although structures at a few others have been found either by chance or in the course of unrelated excavations. An additional difficulty is that the distances between stopping points (whether cities or road stations) sometimes do not accord between alternate routes in the *It. Ant.*, between the routes in the *It. Ant.* and *T.P.*, or with actual distances between sites.[49]

Since they were primarily intended for long-distance travelers in and through the province, whether emperors, administrators, senators, or provincials themselves, to provide information about the most efficient routes and the amenities along them, these itineraries must be used with care as evidence of the nature of the Sicilian settlement network in the high and late Empire.[50] The itineraries are valuable above all as evidence of the main routes of land travel in the Roman period, and of the cities and settlements thought to offer sufficient accommodation and amenities for these travelers.[51] They hint that the province was conceived of, at least by the compilers of itineraries, primarily as a stopping point on the NE-SW journey across the Mediterranean from Italy to North Africa, given the prominence of East-West routes between Messana and Lilybaeum.[52] Within the province, coastal and East-West travel is favored over inland, North-South routes; the only inland North-South route included in the *It. Ant.* is between Panormus and Agrigentum (96.5-97.2).

Since the *It. Ant.* often offers alternative routes between cities that in turn can be matched to routes depicted in the *T.P.*, comparison of routes reveals a hierarchy of stopping-points in which, unsurprisingly, cities are given precedence over *stationes*. For example, for the coastal route between Messana and Catina, both itineraries given in the *It. Ant.* (86.4-87.4, 90.2-90.4) as well as the one depicted in the *T.P.* include the city of Tauromenium as a stopping-point. However, only the first itinerary in the *It. Ant.* lists the alternative *stationes* of Tamaricum sive Palma (87.1) and Acium (87.3). Furthermore, the distances listed between stopping points give an idea of how quickly Roman-era travelers could traverse the various parts of the province. For example, depending on the pace of travel and the stopping-point chosen, a traveler could reach Panormus from Agrigentum, a distance of 170 km on modern roads, in as few as three days and two nights (traveling 32, 28, and 24 Roman miles per day; *It. Ant.* 96.5-97.2). The longest single distance between stopping-points in the Sicilian itineraries is the 52 Roman miles between Enna

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[48] For example Calvisiana, a *statio* listed on two routes between Agrigentum and Syracuse (89.6, 95.7) and probably located in the hinterland of the long-abandoned *polis* of Gela, is thought to be on an estate belonging to the Calvisii, a family that produced a fourth century *corrector Siciliae* (Verbrugghe, *Itinera*, 80).

[49] E.g. the route between Lilybaeum and Panormus (90.6-91.5): the route in the *It. Ant.* totals 68 Roman miles (approximately 101 km), the *T.P.* distance totals 67 Roman miles (99 km), while the actual distance on the modern coastal road via Trapani (ancient Drepanum) is about 140 km (Verbrugghe, *Itinera*, 70).

[50] These itineraries could serve an ideological role too, glorifying the empire – and Rome's control over it - through the listing or representation of its places, thereby also making it accessible to (at least some of) its inhabitants (Whittaker, "Mental maps," 104). See J. Arce, "El inventario de Roma: *Curiosum* y *Notitia*," in W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Transformations of* Urbs Roma *in Late Antiquity*, ed. W.V. Harris (*JRA* suppl. 33; Portsmouth, R.I., 1999), 15-31, for a similar interpretation of the fourth-century Regionary Catalogs of the city of Rome.

[51] Salway, "Travel," 33-4, for the various amenities, including shopping and bathing facilities, required by long-distance elite travelers, and the potential impact of availability of amenities on choice of route.

[52] Cf. the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, a collection of sea routes tacked onto the end of the *It. Ant.*, which list routes between Italy and Sicily, and between Sicily and Africa (515.3-518.2).

and Thermae Himeraeae on the inland route between Catania and Thermae – a difficult distance to travel in a day in the rugged Nebrodi range. The lack of intermediary *stationes* may point to the obsolescence of this route in the Roman period in favor of easier coastal routes.[53]

This discrepancy between the physical geography of a region and its presentation in the *It. Ant*. points to a larger challenge in interpreting the itineraries: as Ray Laurence has pointed out, they tend to homogenize the geography of the Roman Empire even in regions as ecologically, politically and culturally disparate as Britain and Italy, ignoring the varying physical and human landscapes of individual provinces in favor of presenting linear series of named settlements at more or less uniform distances.[54] The presence or absence of a settlement in these lists reflects its position in relation to the major roads of the province and its role as a potential stopping point or place of embarkation for travelers. Therefore, the Sicilian cities and settlements listed in these itineraries tend to be located on the coast or, if in the interior, in relatively flat, easily accessible and traversable areas. These are, not coincidentally, the inland areas thought to have attracted the greatest agricultural investment and prosperity under the Empire: the southeastern corner of the island corresponding to the modern Ragusa province (87.4-88.4, 89.5-90.1, 94.2-95.1); the foothills of Etna and the plain of Catania (93.2-94.1); and the valley of the Platani (96.5-97.2).

Also, at least some of the *mansiones* listed do not represent organically formed settlements, but rather the sanctioned or imposed agglomerations of the state communications system (the *cursus publicus*), intended to provide travelers on state business with convenient stopping places for spending the night or changing animals, though many probably also provided amenities to non-official travelers and their retinues.[55] The itineraries are not concerned with travel at the local level, between settlements in a region or between individual cities and their subsidiary settlements, or travel in and through regions that were not well-integrated into wider networks of imperial communications and transportation. The conceptual geography of long-distance travel preserved in the itineraries does not necessarily accord with the physical, political, social, or cultural geographies of the regions represented – any more so than road maps do today.[56] Like

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[53] I return to the issues of inter-urban distances, travel, and exchange in chapter 7.

[54] R. Laurence, "The creation of geography: an interpretation of Roman Britain," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. C. Adams and id. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 67-94, here 81. Whittaker, "Mental maps," goes even further, arguing that Roman itineraries both reflected and influenced Roman perceptions of physical landscapes as "hodological space." But see R. Talbert, "Rome's provinces as framework for world-view," in *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*, ed. L. de Ligt (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 2004), 21-37, for a different view of how Romans conceived space.

[55] This is particularly true of the *stationes* of one of the routes between Catania and Agrigentum, which are described as "*mansionibus nunc institutis*" (94.2-95.1; Verbrugghe, *Itinera*, 82-3). A. Kolb, "Transportation and communication in the Roman state: the *cursus publicus*," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. C. Adams and R. Laurence (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 95-105, for the origins and operation of the *cursus publicus*.

[56] As Whittaker says, "[Roman] itineraries or maps could never have been used as guides across country, any more than one can use an underground map of London to walk around the city" ("Mental maps," 103). The linear representation of space in the *T.P*. is often compared to the map of the London Underground, which was in turn adapted for urban public transportation systems around the world. However, economic geography takes precedence over actual population distribution in this map and in the transportation system it represents: as S. Parker points out, the poor borough of Hackney is not served by a subway stop, but the rich boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea are served by six; *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the city* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

Pliny and Strabo's accounts, the road itineraries therefore do not reflect conditions "on the ground" in Sicily, but rather Sicily as viewed by outsiders concerned with traversing the province (and, perhaps, accessing areas of economic interest) as efficiently and easily as possible.

Conclusion: Using Strabo, Pliny, and the *Itineraria* as sources for Sicilian urbanism

Given the challenges described above, it is hardly surprising that scholars' efforts to smooth over the discrepancies between the various sources and match the toponyms in them with (archaeologically) known sites is almost never without controversy, and only rarely bears fruit. Even when sites can be matched uncontroversially with ancient toponyms, as is the case with most of the coastal cities and a few in the interior, the chronology of their urbanization and the nature of their urbanism in the imperial period remain open questions.

So, then, how can we study the Sicilian settlement network – at a regional and at a province-wide level - in the Roman imperial period if we cannot even draw a complete map of the island's cities (let alone its smaller settlements)?[57] And how can we define the Sicilian city if we downplay or reject the distinctions in political status and economic condition made by the literary sources? While modern scholars use measures such as population number, density, and size of inhabited area to define a city (as opposed to a "town" or other, smaller forms of settlement), seeking such quantitative criteria is a futile exercise in Sicilian cities. In almost all cases, it is impossible to determine the extent of the ancient inhabited area or to estimate the ancient population and its density with any hope of accuracy from the evidence available.[58]

Nor is it helpful to define and evaluate the Sicilian cities of the Roman period strictly in terms of their predecessors, the autonomous *poleis* founded by colonists from the Greek mainland, whose architectural (and perhaps political) forms - such as defensive wall circuits, temples, and purpose-built structures for government and entertainment (e.g. *ekklesiasteria*, *bouleuteria*, *gymnasia* and theatres) - were gradually adopted by native settlements of the interior.[59] Many of the criteria for defining the *polis* of the archaic and classical Greek world are irrelevant for the Roman imperial period. Within the Mediterranean-wide domain of the "city-state" of Rome, a provincial "city" could no longer be a "state" itself, and any autonomy possessed by an urban center was nominal, and, in practice, in the gift of the Roman emperor.[60]

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[57] The most thorough attempt to map the cities and settlements of Roman Sicily is Wilson's (*Sicily*, 10; fig. 8). But since this map relies heavily on the Roman itineraries, much of the interior of the island is empty space, and Wilson only distinguishes between "major" and "other" settlements.

[58] Asheri ("Le città della Sicilia," 465-70), for example, attempts to apply the usual assortment of methods for estimating the population of ancient cities (intramural area, capacities of theatres and amphitheatres, epigraphic evidence from cemeteries and catacombs, and amount of water carried in aqueducts) to Sicilian cities, but due to the geographical and temporal patchiness of the evidence available, can only conclude that the populations of the major cities of the high Empire numbered in the 30,000's or lower, while the populations of Catania and Syracuse were potentially higher. Given these difficulties, as I discuss further in chapter 3, I will not be using central place theory and rank-size analysis, which depend on quantitative definitions of the city, to any great extent in my analysis of Sicilian urbanization.

[59] Pausanias' description of Panopeus is the *locus classicus* for this conception of the *polis* as a collection of monumental architectural forms: "From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of 'city' to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no marketplace, no water descending to a fountain" (10.4.1).

[60] The extensive bibliography on the imperial practice of awarding status to cities includes F. Millar, "Empire and city, Augustus to Julian: obligations, excuses, and status," reprinted in *Rome, The Greek*

Likewise, the *polis* had lost its role in organizing its own defense, relying on the Roman army rather than its own citizens, and unable to build or maintain its own defensive structures without the approval of Roman authorities.[61]

Nonetheless, scholars usually define Sicilian cities implicitly by the presence or absence of certain criteria derived from the Greek *polis* and thought to be shared by most proper "cities" in the Roman world: possession of special juridical status (as *coloniae* and *municipia*) accompanied by a constitution and a defined citizenship; monumental public edifices, including temples, administrative buildings, and leisure structures such as baths and theatres; orthogonal planning and respect for the street grid and public spaces; extensive but dense habitation; and presence in the epigraphic and historical record.[62] Individual cities' "success" and their place in the urban hierarchy can be measured by the persistence or disappearance of these criteria over time.

However, for a province like Sicily with a long history of urbanism, where fluctuations in settlement location and size can be demonstrated over the *longue durée*, this approach is fundamentally flawed, since it defines urbanism in external, Roman rather than in local, Sicilian terms and judges any deviation from the set of urban institutional and architectural forms favored by the Romans - especially in other western provinces with less extensive urban histories, but also reinforced in the existing cities of the Greek East[63] - as decline. Levels of epigraphic commemoration, monumental public building, and presence in the historical record are indeed good indications of the general health and prominence of cities - or, more precisely, good proxies

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World, and The East, vol. 2: *Government, Society, & Culture in the Roman Empire*, ed. H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 336-71; and M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. 36-56.

[61] Hansen, *Polis*, 48-9, for autonomy as the most important characteristic of the Greek city state; the defining elements of the *polis* (e.g. a defined male citizenry with military responsibilities, defensive structures such as wall circuits, and a defined hinterland) were all geared towards maintaining this autonomy. It is unlikely that Sicilian communities were formally "disarmed," and indeed Prag, "*Auxilia* and *Gymnasia*," has shown that in the Republican period, many communities possessed their own militias to defend against brigands and pirates. Nonetheless, as the aftermath of the war with Sextus Pompey showed, the Roman state could indirectly and much more effectively deal with the threat of organized violence from individual communities by disenfranchising and displacing local elites and replacing them with new ones whose loyalty was assured (namely, Roman colonists). P.A. Brunt, "Did imperial Rome disarm her subjects?" reprinted in *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 255-66, is the classic study of Roman policies towards "disarmament" of provincial subjects. See also, more recently, J.B. Campbell, "Power without limits: 'the Romans always win,'" in *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A. Chaniotis and P. Ducrey (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 167-80; and C. Ando, "The army and the urban elite: a competition for power," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. P. Erdkamp (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 359-78.

[62] These definitions of Roman urban space structure Wilson's survey of the archaeology of Sicilian settlement (*Sicily*) as well as Wilson's ("Towns of Sicily") and Belvedere's ("Opere pubbliche") contributions to the Sicilian volume of *ANRW*.

[63] A. Lintott succinctly summarizes the Roman relationship with the *polis*-as-city: "the *imperium Romanum* was founded on the *polis*. Cities provided Rome with a convenient channel for her commands and her demands for resources through taxation … because of the ancient belief in the cultural superiority of urban life, the creation or maintenance of cities conferred prestige on the leaders of an empire individually and collectively;" *Imperium Romanum: Politics and administration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 129. See recently Ando, "Imperial identities," for the symbiotic relationship between civic and imperial institutions in the East.

for the extent of elite investment and, in some cases, imperial interest in these cities.[64] However, their absence need not imply a lack of civic identity, community cohesion, or economic integration.[65] An exclusive focus on such measures of urban vitality can obscure the city's role in the lives of its non-elite residents, as well as its relations with other forms of settlement.

Cities in the settlement spectrum: general considerations

Urbanism

Rather than focusing on the criteria described above as the exclusive elements that define the city, in the following account of the Sicilian settlement landscape in the Roman imperial period, I will employ a flexible definition of urbanism that is not limited to the externally imposed, political/juridical roles of cities as centers of government and extraction of tribute that are given greatest prominence in the literary sources, although these roles were clearly often espoused and reinforced by the urban community itself (or, more precisely, its elite) through the construction of public buildings, monuments, and luxurious houses. Especially under the Roman Empire, these roles also implicated the entire urban population, as cities served as nodes for the collection, marketing, and export of raw materials produced in their agricultural hinterlands through trade or state extraction of tax; and as centers of specialized production: namely, the transformation of high-volume, low-cost commodities into low-volume, high-cost goods (e.g. wool into cloth), and their sale, often for cash.[66]

Although the elite had the most visible impact on the physical space of the city - both public space, through the sponsoring of public construction projects; and private space, through the construction of high-status residences and (presumably) the ownership of extensive urban property[67] – they were not the sole force behind its vitality and survival. The persistence of urban life relied not only on the level of elite investment in the urban fabric, but also on the willingness of the whole community to live in close proximity; to form associations for worship, economic and social advancement, burial, and the pursuit of other mutual short- and long-term goals; to continue to produce, consume and exchange goods from within and outside the city; to use its public spaces, and to provide the labor to maintain and enhance its public buildings.[68]

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[64] The hyper-monumentalized Athens and Oenoanda in the Greek East may be cited for the perils of focusing too narrowly on such criteria as monumental construction and imperial attention in evaluating a city's vitality; Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 95 for Oenoanda; Alcock, *Graecia Capta,* for Athens.

[65] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400 - 800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 672-3. In Lombard Northern Italy, cities remained market centers and the focus of elite identity, political activity and territorial organization despite the de-monumentalization of their classical centers, the disintegration of their infrastructure and the impoverishment of their elites (*ibid*., 211-13, 649-55). See chapter 3 for further discussion of the implications of what Wickham characterizes as the "weakening of material forms" of the ancient city.

[66] According to Keith Hopkins' "taxes and trade" model, discussed further below.

[67] See especially Wickham, *Framing*, 670-2, for the nexus between urbanism, elite political and cultural values, and elite wealth. Wickham sees the presence of elites in cities as the primary driver of urbanism in the Early Middle Ages. And, more generally, M. Mann, *The sources of social power 1: A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 7 for the "organizational outflanking" of the masses by the powerful (i.e. the elite) in the institutionalization of social organization and the division of labor – a process that often plays out in cities.

[68] See M.L. Smith, "Introduction: The Social Construction of Ancient Cities," in *The Social*

At various times in its history, the external and elite definitions of a city (as a center of governance, consumption, and social display) and its internal, sub-elite definitions (as a center of population and communal activities such as exchange and worship) can cohere, or exist in opposition. The political, social, economic and cultural authority of the city's elite rests on the incentives or compulsions it can offer to the rest of the population to reside in the city (such as the provision of services and amenities, and opportunities for economic and social advancement in the city; or the lack of these opportunities outside it), and is constantly being negotiated. Cities often appear at their "healthiest" when the terms of this implicit social contract are being kept, and there is general consensus and cooperation between social strata: infrastructure is maintained, residences are inhabited, goods are produced and exchanged, and wages are available. Urban life is therefore attractive to both elite and non-elite strata.

However, this consensus is endangered when the elite lose their incentive to live in cities, whether due to loss of political power or changing cultural values. Non-elite residents can then "vote with their feet," and choose not to reside in a city if the costs outweigh the benefits and if not compelled to do so, for example if infrastructure has decayed, opportunities for employment decrease, and/or rents are too high. They can also manipulate and alter the physical spaces created by the urban elite by refusing to use them for their intended purpose (e.g. not using planned marketplaces for trade), or by creating and adapting other spaces for their own purposes.

Urbanization

I will return to the issue of urbanism – i.e. the social construction of urban space – at the level of the individual Sicilian city in the second part of this dissertation. But first, in the next two chapters, I turn my attention to the history of urbanization in Sicily, and examine the regional and Mediterranean-wide social, political, and economic forces that at various points incentivized, compelled, or discouraged concentrated settlement. Recent studies of the Mediterranean settlement landscape have moved away from evaluating cities and towns as distinct, independent entities that drive historical change (whether political, economic, or social/cultural), in favor of viewing them as "arenas" or "addresses" that concentrate wider social and ecological processes.[69] Cities and towns are only one part of the settlement spectrum, distinguished from other forms of settlement in any particular period only by their political privilege, size of population, physical size, level of monumentality, or the number and extent of their functions.[70] In other words, the city is only one particular politically, economically, and socially constructed form of community, defined according to "what each age takes it to be," but the process of "urbanization" can result in numerous forms of agglomerated settlement.[71]

Construction of Ancient Cities, ed. ead. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 1-36, drawing on modern urban anthropology, for ancient cities as "centers of authority" whose monumentality reflects a long-term investment in consensus between leaders and followers.

[69] Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 89-122; elaborated in N. Purcell, "Statics and Dynamics: Ancient Mediterranean Urbanism," in *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC*, ed. R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 249-72.

[70] As R. Osborne emphasizes, following Horden and Purcell, "What is important about towns is not that they necessarily do or involve anything in particular, but that they make possible a whole range of economic, social, and political activities which cannot be managed, or managed as effectively, in other forms of settlement" ["Urban Sprawl: What is Urbanization and Why does it Matter?" In *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC*, ed. id. and B. Cunliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-16, quote at 13].

[71] Purcell, "Statics and Dynamics," 252; quote: Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 93.

Cities and towns can share economic, social, and defensive functions with a range of settlement types. Settlements usually described as forts or outposts (*phrouria*) can share or take over the defensive functions of cities in times of unrest, and disappear when defense is no longer a priority. The rural settlements usually called farmsteads, villas, villages or hamlets, depending on their size and level of architectural embellishment, can share the economic functions of cities as centers of agricultural processing and exchange. Likewise, all of these settlement types can, to varying extents, share the social and demographic roles of cities as centers of population (both permanent and temporary). Indeed, the very notion of *civitas* (and *polis*) implies an urban center with a territory containing dependent or subsidiary settlements. Although it is impossible to define any Sicilian city's territory[72] or recognize every settlement contained within it, the relations between cities and other forms of settlement, and between non-urban settlements themselves, can be elucidated today to a greater extent than ever before due to the proliferation of field survey projects, often accompanied by scientific study of ceramics, throughout Sicily.

Urbanization, Urbanism, and State Power

Just as a city can share or cede functions to other types of settlement, so its "urbanism," and even its physical location, can fluctuate over time, as a result of internal as well as external political and economic changes, including the presence or absence of a militarily, politically and economically dominant power such as the Roman Empire.[73] The intervention of an outside power can result in visible (and often traumatic) changes to the urban fabric of individual cities, through deliberate destruction of structures, erection of new ones, or transferal of population; or by more indirect means, such as the bestowal or withholding of political or economic favor. The political history of Sicily can be written as a series of such interventions by powers originating within and beyond the island, beginning with the territorial expansion of the archaic Greek colonial settlements into the interior and West of the island; continuing into the classical and Hellenistic periods, as the leaders of Syracuse sought to extend the territory and influence of their city across the island, while Carthage continued to exert economic and military influence on the western half of the island; and ending with the incorporation of the island and its cities into the nascent Roman overseas empire.

Beyond the topography of individual cities, incorporation into a larger political entity - whether a territorial state or an overseas empire - can redefine the fundamental roles of cities in their societies and their relations with other forms of settlement. The impact of the Roman state on provincial settlement landscapes is the subject of numerous scholarly works, most of which owe their fundamental premise – that Rome's impact was largely indirect, and was based above

[72] Definitions of territory are, in any case, fluid – a city's boundaries can shift in response to changing internal and external circumstances (Smith, "Social Construction," 4-5).

[73] The literature on the relationship between the city and state power in the Roman world (as well as earlier periods) is extensive. I cite here only a few works, focusing on different parts of the empire, whose approach has influenced my own: Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, esp. 106-68 on the formation of an urban system in Gaul under the Roman Empire; J.R. Patterson, *Landscapes and Cities: Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) on the relationship between the demands of the Roman state and the city of Rome and the development of rural economies and urban space in peninsular Italy; K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks 350 BC – AD 200: Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) for the impact of incorporation into the Roman state on the *poleis* of Magna Graecia; and Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, for the cities and settlements of Roman Greece. See also, recently, Ando, "Imperial identities," on the Roman "redefinition" of the Greek city.

all on the extractive demands of the Roman core (i.e. the exploding population of the city of Rome itself) and periphery (the militarized frontiers) - to Keith Hopkins's influential model.[74] However, just as state power itself is never static, so the extent of its impact on a particular region can be periodic, and can fluctuate over time. The century encompassing the final years of the Republic and the reigns of Augustus and his immediate successors (c. 50 BC – c. AD 50) has been interpreted as a key formative period not only in Roman political history, but also in the cultures, economies, and societies of the Roman provinces, and particularly for the development of an "urban culture" across the empire – though the extent of this transformation relied in large part on the previous urban histories of individual regions, and the nature of their interactions with the Roman state.[75] The absence or disappearance of an outside power – which, in the case of the Roman state, was felt most acutely in the Mediterranean core of the empire only in the fifth and sixth centuries AD - can have an equally profound effect on cities, even if it does not inevitably lead to their decline or disappearance.[76]

In the chapters that follow, I advocate an approach that does not seek to ascribe changes to the urban fabric of individual cities, and to the settlement network as a whole, to single and finite historical events; the few discrete events of the imperial period that had a clear impact on the topography of individual Sicilian cities have already received sufficient attention elsewhere.[77] Nevertheless, I am focusing on the Principate (c. 30 BC – AD 300) as a period with great potential for effecting change in the broader settlement landscape of Sicily, as it did in other areas of the Mediterranean, as well as in the ways cities were defined and distinguished from other forms of settlement, both in the eyes of their inhabitants and those of imperial authorities.

The next chapter will further explore definitions of the "city" and discuss the methods of determining the periods of occupation for ancient urban settlements. Chapter 4 focuses on urbanization in Sicily in the *longue durée*, beginning with the period of the Roman conquest and continuing through late antiquity, but paying special attention to the first three centuries of the Principate. I attempt to analyze the structure of the Sicilian urban network and the changes it experienced over time in terms not only of the impact of Roman state power, but also of regional and local geographies, ecologies, and histories of settlement.

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[74] Hopkins developed and modified his "taxes and trade" model over several decades and in multiple publications, but the role of cities was one of the first parts of this model that he elucidated in print: "Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 35-77.

[75] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Rome's cultural revolution," *JRS* 79 (1989): 157-64, summarizes the foundational scholarship for this approach to the Augustan period; see also id., "The Roman revolution and material culture," in *La revolution romaine apres Ronald Syme*: *bilans et perspectives,* ed. A. Giovannini (Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 2000), 283-321. MacMullen, *Romanization,* for the significance of the Augustan period for the empire in general, and J.B. Ward-Perkins, "From Republic to Empire: reflections on the early imperial provincial architecture of the Roman West," *JRS* 60 (1970): 1-19, for the architecture of the West. Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (esp. 238-41), similarly characterizes the Augustan period as the key formative moment in the provincial culture of Gaul; see also id., "The formation of Roman provincial cultures," in *Integration in the Early Roman West*: *The Role of Culture and Ideology*, ed. J. Metzler (Luxembourg: Musée national d'histoire et d'art, 1995), 9-18.

[76] Wickham, *Framing.*

[77] This is particularly true of the Augustan period: e.g. Wilson, *Sicily*, 33-45 for the island as a whole; Vera, "Augusto," for Agrigentum; and Belvedere, "Politica urbanistica," for the architecture and topography of the island's *coloniae*.

Chapter 3: Measuring Urbanization in Sicily

The previous two chapters have attempted to show that urbanization and urbanism in Sicily in the Roman period are phenomena worthy of continued study, not least because the island is usually thought to have experienced extensive de-urbanization and the impoverishment of its remaining urban centers, thereby representing an exception to the general model of rising economic prosperity and urban growth under the Principate. The next chapter will attempt to answer the question of just how "urban" Roman Sicily was, first by analyzing island-wide trends in urbanization in the period c. 300 BC – AD 500, followed by closer consideration of regional and temporal patterns.[1] However, before such an analysis is undertaken, it is important to address two methodological questions: first, what is an urban settlement (a "town" or "city")? And second, how do we establish the chronology of urban settlement on a particular site (especially when and how it ended, and/or when and how it ceased to be "urban"), on the basis of often-incomplete or problematic archaeological and textual evidence?

Defining "urban"

The form of settlement that most Anglophone scholars of urbanization (including geographers, sociologists, historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists) would call a "village" or a "town" is, in its most basic definition, a center of population. In traditional agrarian societies, it is at the top of a hierarchy of nucleated settlements. These nucleated settlements offer an alternative for communities to dispersed settlement in the form of spatially isolated homesteads, farmsteads, or compounds. All settlements are essentially *loci* of human social relations, in pursuit of specific goals: at the most basic level (and as a minimum threshold), subsistence. Although communities can alternate between nucleated and dispersed modes of settlement for a variety of reasons, including defensive needs or environmental changes, pastoralism and productive systems with very long fallow periods are usually associated with lower settlement density and smaller settlement units, while intensive agricultural exploitation, and higher population density, is associated with nucleated settlement.[2]

The usual physical form of these agricultural "towns" or "villages" is an agglomeration of houses, from which inhabitants go forth daily to work their fields. This basic definition ties together a wide historical and geographical range of settlements – such as the towns of mid-twentieth century Apulia, the prehistoric Anatolian settlement of Çatal Hüyük, the rural settlements of modern sub-Saharan Africa, and the Pueblos of the Southwest United States[3] - but it is not adequate for settlements in more complex societies; that is, the locations in which larger, more heterogeneous communities form and reside in pursuit of goals beyond subsistence.

The economic prerequisite for urbanization – i.e., the process of population concentration through the multiplication of points of concentration in a landscape or the increase in the size of individual concentrations – is the production of an agricultural surplus, which enables some of

[1] See also appendix 1 for a gazetteer of urban settlements.
[2] C. Renfrew and T. Poston, "Discontinuities in the Endogenous Change of Settlement Pattern," in *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, ed. C. Renfrew and K.L. Cooke (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 437-61, here 440-1.
[3] ibid. 440-1.

the population to earn its livelihood from non-agricultural activities.[4] According to Weber's fundamental definition in *Die Stadt* (*The City*) (1921), what separates the city from other forms of nucleated settlement is not merely the number and density of population, but more importantly, the presence of a non-agricultural population and the economic institutions – primarily, markets - necessary to sustain it.[5] The social, political, and religious structures of the city (most fundamentally, its definition of membership and its "laws") arise from the need by the powerful to coordinate these economic institutions.

Weber defined the "city" in terms of the economic goals and activities of its inhabitants, from its elite down to its "plebeians," and the presence of institutions that could support and facilitate such activities. However, he was largely unconcerned with non-economic (and non-political) definitions of the city, and therefore gave little consideration to the social and psychological forces behind urbanization; in other words, what brought about the desire among non-related humans to live in close proximity to one another (or, at least, the ability to tolerate such proximity), and the potential social and cultural attractions of urban life.[6] Instead, Weber's primary interest in the city in all its cultural forms and in its historical development lay in the operation of power in society, and the economic relationships upon which this social power was based. In this context, he propounded a still-influential evolutionary view of urbanization, in which the Greco-Roman city (particularly the Greek *polis*) was more advanced than the Near Eastern city, but not as successful as the medieval city (particularly that of northwestern Europe), where capitalism developed on the basis of freer relations between rural producers and urban markets and between urban mercantile and rural military elites.[7]

For ancient historians, the emphasis of Weber and his contemporaries on the economic definition of historical forms of the city inspired a long-standing (though perhaps finally concluded) debate on the economy of the Greco-Roman city, and the economic relationship between the city and its territory.[8] Weber saw the fundamental difference between the ancient city and the medieval city – and the reason why the ancient city propagated a less successful form of capitalism than its medieval successor – as the composition, political aims, and economic role of the urban elite. In *Agrarian relations in antiquity* (1909), Weber put forward a model of "city feudalism" to explain the development of the ancient city, in which a militaristic,

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[4] Definition of "urbanization": H. Tisdale, "The Process of Urbanization," *Social Forces* 20.3 (1942): 311-6, at 311; the necessity of agricultural surplus: D. Clark, *Urban Geography: An Introductory Guide* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 40-6.

[5] "Economically defined, the city is a settlement the inhabitants of which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture … Thus, we wish to speak of a 'city' only in cases where the local inhabitants satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local market, and to an essential extent by products which the local population and that of the immediate hinterland produced for sale in the market or acquired in other ways" [trans. and ed. D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 66]. However, Weber goes on to differentiate a "city" from a full and autonomous "urban community" (p. 81), which he describes as a relatively recent development in the history of the city.

[6] Osborne, " Urban Sprawl." See Clark, *Urban Geography*, 46-7 for the social attractions of city life, one of which is the ability of the individual resident to divide his personal time between public, professional settings and private, familial ones.

[7] Compared to the classical Greek *polis* (and particularly Athens and Sparta), Weber has relatively little to say about imperial Rome, let alone the cities of the Roman Empire.

[8] The predecessors and contemporaries of Weber whose work has had a similarly profound impact on modern scholarship of the ancient city include Marx, Bücher, Sombart, and Pirenne.

city-based aristocracy dominated the countryside, basing their wealth and political power in the rents they extracted from the land and from urban properties, as well as from economic opportunities within the city, such as the sale of their agricultural surpluses and investment in long-distance trade.[9] However, these investments were made on a casual, individual basis, and elite wealth was reinvested in land with the aim of increasing rents, rather than in urban industrial ventures. And as a whole, the ancient urban elite's "economic policy" was based in its military and political priorities – in Weber's words, "everything about a *polis* from its foundation onwards was motivated by political and military considerations: the development of every *polis* depended on military events, and so ancient capitalism was shaped by political forces" (p. 358). The economic surplus of the ancient city that was based in the landed wealth of the urban elite allowed city residents to satisfy a significant portion of their daily needs in the local market; however, the relationship between city and countryside was not reciprocal: unlike its medieval counterpart, the ancient city offered little in exchange, in the form of goods or services, to the surrounding countryside.[10]

Weber's conception of the ancient city as a center of consumption dependent on the exploitation of the countryside, primarily in the form of rents and agricultural surpluses, formed the basis of a lengthy debate amongst historians and archaeologists over the role of cities in the ancient economy. In *The City*, Weber differentiated between the "consumer city," in which the purchasing power of large consumers whose wealth was based in non-urban rents determined the economic opportunities of resident tradesmen and merchants, from the "producer city," in which urban purchasing power instead rested with resident entrepreneurs, workers, and craftsmen; although he asserted that actual cities almost always represent mixed types (pp. 68-70). However, the "consumer city" model dominated discussions of the development and organization of the ancient city for most of the twentieth century, with scholars either defending it or proposing alternatives, pointing to evidence (or the lack thereof) for productive activities in city centers, such as pottery kilns, metal workshops, or cloth-manufacturing facilities.[11] Often lost in this debate was the fact that Weber's goal was not to describe all cities of the Greco-Roman world, but rather to understand the wider social and economic context of the ancient city and to explore the development of urban form through history, particularly in periods of transition between different modes of production (ancient slavery, medieval feudalism, modern capitalism) - projects for which his "consumer city" and "producer city" types were just one heuristic device.

Weber saw cities fundamentally as "addresses" or "arenas" for social institutions and processes. Nonetheless, modern scholars have often viewed cities as the key to understanding power-relations in antiquity, and as independent variables in history, leading to a long-standing

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[9] M. Weber, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations*, trans. R.I. Frank (London: NLB, 1976), 38-9, 343-60.

[10] ibid., 48.

[11] See M.I. Finley, "The Ancient City: from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond," reprinted in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. B.D. Shaw and R.P. Saller (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), 3-23 for the history of this debate. C.R. Whittaker, "Do theories of the ancient city matter?" in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. T. Cornell and K. Lomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 9-26; and Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 106-8 for criticism of the "consumer city" model and its alternatives.

emphasis on the essential "urbanness" of Greco-Roman antiquity.[12] To paraphrase one critic of this tendency in the urban history of the pre-modern world, the city is too often seen as an *explanans*, not an *explanandum*, for wider historical processes.[13] Weber's evolutionary view of urban development in the West and his typological distinction between the ancient and medieval city has also perhaps contributed to the continued perception of the separate development of the medieval city, which was necessitated by the "end" of the ancient city in the late Roman period. And finally, the perception of the town and the countryside as fundamentally separate and antagonistic that persists in much scholarship (including that on ancient Italian and Sicilian urbanization – see chapter 1) has its roots in Weber's work as well as that of his near-contemporary Marx.[14]

Since Weber, scholars of urban history who have attempted a definition of the city have usually done so by defining criteria that are *exclusive* to cities (as opposed to other forms of nucleated settlement, such as villages or towns), or by identifying *relative* criteria that cities possess to a greater or lesser degree than other settlements. Many definitions combine these two approaches, characterizing cities as settlements that possess certain criteria exclusively, and others to a greater or lesser extent than other settlements.

The definition of cities according to "exclusive" criteria is often employed in the study of a single period or region, and may be helpful when considering settlements for which some textual and physical evidence, but little demographic data, remains. The "exclusive" criteria used to define a city usually consist of special juridical status and political and religious institutions, and the physical structures that accompany them. So, for example, on the basis of a combination of archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence, the Greek *polis* may be distinguished from other settlements by such features as autonomy, possession of a territory, provisions for its own defense, and a defined citizenship headed by a resident, hereditary elite (or the physical manifestations of these institutions, such as public meeting places, fortifications, luxury townhouses, or extra-urban sanctuaries).[15] However, as seen in the example of the Greek *polis*, the criteria assigned as "exclusive" to cities are often culturally and temporally specific, and not helpful for cross-cultural or diachronic comparisons.

A related approach that goes as far back as Pausanias (cf. Chapter 2) is to define the city as a set or "bundle" of criteria (*Kritirienbündel*). According to this approach, a settlement is not a city unless it possesses a certain number - often rather arbitrarily determined - of physical features and/or social, economic, political, and religious institutions. Such an approach is frequently used for diachronic, multiregional comparison of cities, since it is seen as less susceptible to cultural specificity than "exclusive" criteria. It is also useful for settlements for which some archaeological evidence but less textual attestation remains. So, for example, one frequently cited bundle of criteria for identifying the "medieval city" combines such archaeologically visible structures as defenses, a planned street system, a market, and urban housing, with more relative, subjective criteria which may be deduced indirectly, such as a role as a central place and

[12] For example, Finley describes the Greco-Roman world as "a world of cities" ("The Ancient City," 3); Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 90-122, and Whittaker, "Theories," criticize the dominance of the city in scholarship of the ancient world.

[13] P. Abrams, "Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 9-33, at 30.

[14] Finley, "The Ancient City."

[15] Hansen, *Polis*, 40.

judicial center, a large and dense population, complex religious organization, and economic differentiation.[16]

However, this way of defining the city should be employed with caution, since it runs the risk of circular reasoning: a settlement that has already been identified as "urban" possesses a certain set of features, so other settlements of the same period or region that possess the same features are also "urban." This is one criticism of Childe's frequently-cited list of criteria for the ancient city, which consisted of the features he observed in Near Eastern settlements he had already designated as "urban," such as craft specialization, control of surplus by a central authority, and monumental public architecture.[17] In addition, defining a city as a collection of criteria can also lead to the juxtaposition of apparently unrelated institutions and phenomena: for example, in Childe's definition, the appropriation of economic surplus by a central authority, the emergence of sciences, and naturalistic art.[18]

Scholars who define the city according to a list of criteria also run the risk of undervaluing the variability of cities even within a single period or region by ignoring features of urban settlements not found in their "ideal types." The *Kritirienbündel* approach also is inadequate for understanding urban change, since it requires the exchange of one set of criteria for another – for example, when and how does an "ancient" city become a "medieval" city? And is a city less "urban" when it loses some of the features that define "cityness" in a particular period, such as a wall circuit or public buildings?[19]

An approach that is frequently adopted in studies of modern cities, but less often in all but the broadest considerations of the ancient city,[20] is to define the city in "relative" terms, according to a set of criteria it possesses to a greater or lesser degree than other settlements. These criteria may include size and density of population, differentiation of labor, and the organization and provision of "services" (the number and extent of the social, political, economic, ideological and religious roles a settlement plays for its own population and for those of other settlements). So, for example, in his consideration of early modern European urbanization, Jan de Vries singles out "population size, density of settlement, share of non-agricultural occupations and diversity of non-agricultural occupations" as the "commonly accepted quantifiable dimensions that distinguish cities from other forms of settlement."[21]

The definition of the city according to relative criteria, in cases where accurate demographic data (or, at the very least, acceptable estimates or proxies) are available, allows more sophisticated analysis of settlement hierarchies both diachronically and within a single region, as well as the study of the role of cities in larger "urban systems."[22] Relative criteria are the basis for such fundamental methods of studying urbanization and urban systems in the modern world

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[16] Martin Biddle's criteria for Anglo-Saxon cities, cited by Wickham (*Framing,* 592) and R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The origins of towns and trade A.D. 600-1000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 21.

[17] Osborne, "Urban Sprawl," 5-6; Hodges, *Dark Age Economics,* 22.

[18] Osborne, "Urban Sprawl," 6.

[19] These questions are addressed in greater detail in the next section.

[20] E.g. E. Lo Cascio, "Urbanization as a Proxy of Demographic and Economic Growth," in *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems,* ed. A. Bowman and A. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 87-106.

[21] *European Urbanization, 1500 – 1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 11; see also Wickham's definition of the early medieval city (*Framing*, 593).

[22] e.g. by de Vries, *European Urbanization*.

as Central Place Theory and rank-size distribution.[23] However, it almost goes without saying that the accurate, regularly compiled demographic data that allow the analysis of population trends in modern cities are unavailable for the urban systems of the ancient world. Even in the modern world, the definition of cities according to size or density is complicated by the challenges of distinguishing "urban" from "non-urban" residents and of identifying clear boundaries for a city's population[24] – challenges that are even more acute for the ancient world, where it is often difficult to define a city's center and to identify all potential residential areas.

Nonetheless, even when scholars do attempt to define the cities of the ancient world according to such "relative" criteria as population size, density, and extent of economic/social/religious/political roles, the challenge remains of setting the thresholds that separate the city from other forms of nucleated settlement. There is no consensus on the population threshold for the ancient city, though a number that frequently appears is 5,000.[25] This lack of clear, widely agreed-upon standards makes cross-regional, diachronic comparisons of settlement systems difficult, since scholars studying different periods or regions may use different population thresholds to identify urban settlements.[26] In addition, an emphasis on relative population size and/or density in defining the city can be misleading, since in certain cultural contexts and time periods, including the ancient Mediterranean world, a city's importance in its region and within wider political, economic, and social systems is not necessarily related to its size.[27] For example, in the ancient Greek world, even a rather low size threshold (say, 1,000 inhabitants) would exclude many small *poleis* from categorization as cities, despite their undoubtedly "urban" characteristics and roles.[28] For this reason, and due to the difficulty of determining ancient cities' populations, analysis of rank-size distributions offers little potential for understanding most aspects of ancient urbanization – including those I will be considering in the chapters that follow. Similarly, the challenge of distinguishing all the potential functions of a particular settlement and identifying the territory for which it represents a "center" makes it difficult to construct the settlement hierarchies of Central Place Theory for the ancient Mediterranean.[29]

By their very nature, all approaches to defining the city distinguish the city from other forms of settlement as somehow unique, and perhaps implicitly superior, downplaying the continuum of settlement sizes and types present in all societies, of which the city is just one component. On this continuum between nucleated and dispersed settlement, in which a society's largest and most complex cities represent one extreme, gradations of "urbanity" can exist, and the thresholds and criteria that separate a "city" from a "town," and a "town" from a "village," can vary over time, between cultures, and even between individual observers. This lack of fixity in the definition of

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[23] Clark, *Urban Geography*, 95-103 and 127-30 for an overview of Central Place Theory and rank-size distribution.
[24] ibid., 32-3.
[25] e.g in P. Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development from the Dawn of History to the Present*, trans. C. Braider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 86; and L.-N. Tellier, *Urban World History: An Economic and Geographical Perspective* (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2009), 137.
[26] This is also a problem in modern urban geography: Clark, *Urban Geography*, 25-8.
[27] Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 104.
[28] See Roger Bagnall's response to Lo Cascio, "Urbanization as a Proxy," for a similar criticism of using size exclusively to define the city in the Roman Empire; "Response to Elio Lo Cascio," in *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems,* ed. A. Bowman and A. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 107-12, at 107.
[29] Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea,* 102-3.

the city is important to remember when studying urbanization in the *longue durée*. The definition of the city and of "urban" can change over time according to the values and norms of a particular society, as well as those of its observers. In other words, the city is relative – to borrow one notable description, it is a "reflection in stone" of particular social, economic, and political configurations.[30]

The place of the city in the language of power can also change over time, and these fluctuations can affect the physical appearance of a settlement, giving it more or fewer "urban" features in the eyes of its contemporary as well as later observers.[31] In the past few decades, this fluidity of urban definition has come to the forefront particularly in studies of periods perceived as transitional in the history of Mediterranean urbanization: the Greek "dark ages" and early archaic period (c. 800 – 600 BC), traditionally understood as the period of the "rise" of the Greek *polis*; and the late Roman Empire and early middle ages (c. 400 – 800 AD), the period of the apparent "decline" of the Roman city.[32]

But even in periods of apparent stabilization of urban form – such as the Roman Empire (c. 200 BC – AD 400), in which larger settlements around and beyond the Mediterranean approached uniformity in architecture, political status, and socio-economic function for the first time in history – it is important to pay attention to potential "dynamics" in urban definition.[33] In the period in which the Romans established a Mediterranean-wide territorial empire, the city became the main organizing feature of the imperial landscape, as the center of a defined territory, an administrative unit, and as a *locus* of social and ideological power.[34] The nexus between participation in urban political activity, ownership of land, and the maintenance of an "urban" lifestyle (even when residing in the countryside) proved attractive to elites across the empire and gave rise to many of the most recognizable architectural forms of the Roman imperial landscape, including elaborate villas in the countryside, lavish townhouses, and monumental public architecture in cities.

However, this ideological centrality of the city was not universal to all periods and all regions under Roman hegemony, and could potentially clash with local conditions and exigencies.

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[30] G. Halsall, "Towns, Societies and Ideas: The Not-so-strange Case of Late Roman and Early Merovingian Metz," in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie and S.T. Loseby (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996), 235-61, quote at 256.

[31] In Horden and Purcell's rather extreme formulation, "the circuit of walls, the public amenities, the charter in the archive: these tell us about inflections in the history of values more than about the history of settlement" (*Corrupting Sea*, 93).

[32] Notable recent contributions to the study of the early and late periods of ancient Mediterranean urbanization include the essays collected in R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe, *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC* (*Proceedings of the British Academy* 126; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Wickham, *Framing*, esp. 591-692.

[33] Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea,* 102; Purcell, "Statics and Dynamics."

[34] This process hastened after the conclusion of the Social War in the early first century BC, after which participation in the political life of Italian cities – and the acts of euergetism that accompanied this participation - became the primary means of social advancement, through the acquisition of Roman citizenship, for local elites; and, under the Empire, it was replicated in the provinces. In the absence of a large imperial bureaucracy, cities also served as the basic administrative units of provincial government for much of the Principate, maintaining local infrastructure, negotiating privileges and concessions from imperial authorities, and (most importantly) serving as the primary vehicles for the assessment and collection of taxes in many regions.

Nicholas Purcell has pointed out that in the Mediterranean, the imposition of urban form fundamentally represents an effort to impose stability on an inherently unstable settlement landscape.[35] Therefore, it is important to go beyond the search for visual evidence of the ideology of the city – in other words, its monumental form – and inquire into the environmental, economic, social, and political conditions that impelled populations to favor nucleated over dispersed settlement, and in the case of elites, to adopt (or not) particular forms of nucleated settlement, including the Roman "city."[36]

By acknowledging the instability of the settlement landscape and the fluidity of "urbanity," however, we are left with additional questions for the study of Sicilian urbanization in the Roman period: how can we establish how and when an urban settlement is abandoned (or founded)? And can a settlement become more or less "urban" over time? These questions are at the heart of my analysis in the next two chapters and require, in addition to a flexible definition of "the city," an understanding of the factors shaping the decision on an individual and on a collective level to abandon or disinvest in urban settlement, and the ways in which this process may be reflected in the archaeological record.

Tracing "de-urbanization" in the archaeological record

In the next two chapters I assess the course and causes of a process that has been described in extreme terms as the "decline of urban civilization" in Sicily in the Roman period – but what is generally agreed upon as the reduction in the number of urban settlements and in the population and wealth of the remaining cities (cf. chapter 1). In some cases this change appears sudden, in others less so. Therefore, it is important first to establish a methodology for determining if, when, and how an urban settlement was abandoned – a step that requires a closer analysis of what is meant, especially archaeologically, by the notion of urban "decline."

Compared with the recent proliferation of archaeological work on ancient Mediterranean urbanization, scholars have given relatively little consideration to the process of de-urbanization, which I define as the opposite of urbanization: the decrease in the number of population centers and/or the reduction of the population of individual centers.[37] Archaeologists and historians in the field of Late (or "Late Late") Antiquity, whose main interests lay in the political, social, and economic consequences for cities of the break-up of the Roman Mediterranean empire, are an exception. Therefore, the criteria for measuring urban decline I discuss in the paragraphs that follow are adopted largely from this body of scholarship.[38] Little consideration has thus far been given to urban decline and abandonment in the "high" Roman Empire, a period in which the high level of social, economic, and political integration between the Roman state and its provincial territories is widely thought to have fostered urbanization across the Mediterranean and beyond.

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[35] "Statics and Dynamics," 261-3.

[36] This is essentially the approach of Wickham in *Framing*.

[37] This lack of scholarly interest in processes of abandonment is noted for the classical Greek period by E. Mackil, "Wandering Cities: Alternatives to Catastrophe in the Greek Polis," *AJA* 108.4 (2004): 493-516, at 493.

[38] The works I have found helpful include Wickham, *Framing*; L. Lavan and W. Bowden, ed., *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); T.R. Slater, ed., *Towns in Decline AD 100 – 1600* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000); and N. Christie and S.T. Loseby, ed., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Age*s (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996).

Even in the field of late antiquity, moreover, scholars – especially those who favor models of urban "continuity" or "transformation" over "decline" – largely frame de-urbanization in terms of the material impoverishment of urban settlements, rather than their complete abandonment.

The most direct evidence for the abandonment of an individual urban settlement is the site-wide, contemporaneous destruction or collapse of its physical structures, including both public and private edifices, and the failure to rebuild on the same site soon after the destruction. However, such occurrences are rare in the archaeological record.[39] Even in the most notorious and well-studied instance of sudden, permanent settlement abandonment in the Roman world, the destruction of Pompeii and other settlements in the Bay of Naples after the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, uncertainties remain regarding the pace of Pompeii's abandonment.[40]

All other evidence for urban abandonment or decline is indirect or proximate. Chris Wickham has characterized such evidence as the "weakening of material forms" in the city.[41] Such archaeologically observable processes as the falling into disuse or disrepair of public spaces and buildings; the lack of new construction; the absence or relative rarity of new forms of datable material culture, such as coins, amphorae, and high-end table wares; the failure to adopt new building technologies and architectural styles, and/or the return to simpler construction methods and materials; and the contraction or fragmentation of occupation on a site may well be indications of a larger process of desertion.[42] However, as Wickham points out, these apparent symptoms of urban decline may be more indicative of change in a settlement's position within wider political and exchange structures, and in the prosperity, lifestyles, and political and social priorities of its elite (phenomena themselves worthy of study as the primary determinants of a settlement's "urbanism"), than of its actual state of occupation. I discuss in detail the archaeological evidence for the abandonment of individual settlements in Sicily in chapter 5 (see also appendix 1), but here it is worth noting the general problems and challenges associated with each category of evidence for urban decline and abandonment, as elucidated by archaeological work on settlements in other regions particularly in the late Roman period and the early middle ages, since these considerations govern my evaluation of the Sicilian evidence.

The decay or collapse of public buildings and infrastructure, such as streets, sewer systems, or fortifications, as a result of urban authorities' failure to maintain them is commonly cited as evidence of urban decline, particularly in late antique and early medieval cities. A related development is the decay or collapse of private residences, particularly the luxury townhouses of

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[39] S.A. Tomka and M. Stevenson, "Understanding abandonment processes: summary and remaining concerns," in *Abandonment of settlements and regions: Ethnoarchaeological and archaeological approaches*, ed. C.M. Cameron and S.A. Tomka (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 191-5, at 191.

[40] Particularly, the impact of the earthquake of AD 62 on the apparent decay of urban infrastructure in the years preceding the eruption of 79 remains debated. In addition, looting of the site continued in antiquity even after its burial. See M. Beard, *Pompeii: The Life of a Roman Town* (London: Profile, 2008), 11-15 for a recent summary of the controversies surrounding the condition of Pompeii's buildings and infrastructure before and after the eruption.

[41] *Framing*, 672.

[42] Collingwood's description of fourth-century Verulamium vividly evokes these processes: "the greater part of Verulam was uninhabited, a waste of empty land and ruined houses. Here and there squatters lived among the ruins. The theatre had become a rubbish tip, and its orchestra and auditorium were silted up beneath foot upon foot of domestic refuse. Close round it, a shrunken and impoverished population lived in slum conditions." Collingwood is quoted, though his interpretation is challenged, by N. Faulkner, "Verulamium: Interpreting Decline," *AJ* 153 (1996): 79-103, at 79.

the urban elite, and the subdivision of houses and/or public buildings into smaller, poorer dwellings or their re-appropriation as workshops or agricultural processing facilities. One problem with the interpretation of this type of evidence is that the dating of the abandonment and collapse of individual buildings is far from straightforward, and can rarely be determined with greater precision than a span of decades. Stratigraphically, occupation and abandonment are essentially "non-events" characterized by artifactual voids, since a building's surfaces are presumably kept clean while it is in use. Also, since in many cases abandonment may not be intended as permanent and buildings may be maintained even after they are no longer in use, the earliest post-abandonment deposits created by structural collapse or the use of a building as a waste ground may occur years or decades later. It is also rare that in a single urban settlement, all buildings are abandoned, demolished, and fail to be replaced at the same time, and at the same rate – more often, abandonment and collapse of structures occurs over a longer period (in the case of Verulamium in southern England, perhaps taking as long as a half-century), and does not necessarily affect all parts of a settlement at the same pace, and in the same way.[43]

Even when such developments can be traced across a whole settlement and with some chronological confidence, as many recent re-evaluations of the archaeology of late antique cities have pointed out, they are more revealing of the level of elite investment in urban infrastructure, and the political and social priorities behind such investment, than the actual population level of a city; in other words, a city's "urbanism" rather than its "urbanization."[44] Grand public and private edifices - the temples, bath houses, theatres, amphitheatres, market buildings, administrative offices (*basilicae*, *curiae*, porticoes), and luxury town houses, often erected in enduring materials such as stone or brick, and centered on the open public space of the forum – and technologically advanced infrastructure projects such as paved streets and water supply and sewage systems, are the most visible signs of elite investment in the city as a *locus* of social, economic, and political power in the early and high Empire. When they disappear or fall into decay, often in the later periods of a city's ancient phase of occupation, but at varying paces throughout the empire and for a variety of reasons, so too does the main body of archaeological evidence for the presence of an urban elite.

However, the absence of such structures should not necessarily be interpreted as the absence of an urban elite, even less so the absence of non-elite strata within a city. Since these structures were the most visible archaeologically, and were long associated with the high point of Greco-Roman "urban civilization," earlier excavators often paid more attention to them than to the structures that potentially took their place, which in many regions were built in more perishable materials, such as wood.[45] Only with careful excavation can these more ephemeral subsequent structures be traced – and rarely can the thorough investigation necessary to do so be extended to a whole urban settlement.[46] If, nonetheless, the apparent decline of elite investment in a city proves to be not just an accident of preservation, it is important to ask why this occurred, and what its consequences were for the roles the city played in the lives of all of its inhabitants.

A related, but even more problematic potential indication of urban decline is the failure of civic authorities to employ new architectural styles, construction methods and materials (i.e. a

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[43] Faulkner, "Interpreting Decline."
[44] See especially Wickham, *Framing*, 594-674.
[45] B. Ward-Perkins, "Urban Continuity?" in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Age*s, ed. N. Christie and S.T. Loseby (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996), 4-17, esp. 7-10.
[46] Faulkner, "Interpreting Decline."

failure to keep pace with wider architectural and technological developments), and/or the transition from more expensive, complex construction materials and methods to simpler ones. Like the abandonment and decay of a city's monuments and infrastructure, however, these developments say more about the level of elite investment and the changing nature of elite taste, as well as a city's integration into wider social and economic networks, than about the quality of life within the city. The availability of certain materials, such as bricks and colored marbles, or of trained architects, mosaicists, masons, and other skilled workers, may not be consistent across all regions and time periods. Like the processes of elite disinvestment and material impoverishment that are often cited as the reasons behind the decay of urban landscapes in late antiquity, the reasons for these regional and chronological variations in access to technologies and materials must be sought beyond simple explanations of "decline."

On urban sites that lack proper excavation (including many in Sicily), one way to establish a broad chronology of decline and abandonment is according to the latest datable forms of material culture scattered on the surface or deposited within excavated structures.[47] For the Roman period, this material primarily consists of coins and datable ceramics such as imported transport amphorae and high-end tablewares (Italian *terra sigillata* and African red slip wares). This method is unreliable first because of the various ways in which such highly durable and visible material culture as pottery can enter the archaeological record after its production. The chronological gap between a vessel's production and its deposition in an archaeological context is rarely easy to determine, but can be as short as a few minutes or as long as several decades, depending on the vessel's durability, how long it is in primary use, and whether all or part of it is subsequently modified and reused or recycled instead of discarded.[48] After a vessel is finally discarded, subsequent disturbances of its depositional context may follow, ranging from later scavenging to the dispersal and mixture of sherds through plowing. Furthermore, as discussed above, the relationship between abandonment processes and material culture deposition is not straightforward: the accumulation of datable material like discarded ceramics in an open space or within a structure may follow the abandonment of that structure or area and its conversion to use as a rubbish dump, whereas an absence of material (an "artifactual void") can be a sign of occupation and upkeep.

A broader problem with this method is that even when datable materials come from reliable contexts across a settlement, their presence points more directly to the city's integration into wider economic structures, such as (in the case of imported ceramics) long-distance exchange networks or (in the case of coins) a monetized economy. The absence or relative rarity of such material in a certain period is therefore more indicative of a city's reduced access to widespread, well-known, datable forms of material culture – and perhaps its reliance on more chronologically and spatially restricted, and thus less easily datable, forms such as locally produced amphorae or tablewares - than of its state of habitation. Furthermore, there is the more general question of whether the apparent absence of material for a particular time period on a site is due to an actual gap in occupation, or to a bias in the type and chronology of material preserved, perhaps due to the interests and priorities of the excavators – a reason sometimes cited for the inconsistent

[47] This method is usually employed only as a last resort, when other forms of evidence are lacking, e.g. by Wilson for Entella and Segesta (*Sicily*, 154), before the stratigraphy of the excavated structures of those cities had been published.

[48] For the lifecycle of Roman pottery and the factors affecting its entry into the archaeological record, see especially J.T. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

preservation and publication of late antique material from excavations of "classical" urban settlements.[49] Another potential bias may occur in the recovery of ceramic evidence, particularly from surface scatters in field surveys, in favor of more visible forms such as the glossy, bright red imported table wares of the early and high Empire over less easily distinguishable forms, often from earlier (i.e. Hellenistic) or later (early medieval) periods.

Finally, the contraction or fragmentation of settlement deduced from the abandonment of certain sectors of the city, such as its "suburban" residential districts or its forum, is often interpreted as a symptom of urban decline. While contraction and fragmentation can be indications of a falling population and lower levels of prosperity among the remaining inhabitants, the interpretation of such processes can be difficult if the whole settlement has not been excavated. Just as settlement boundaries can shift over time, so too can an urban settlement's "center of gravity," according to the needs of the community and the priorities of its elite. This process is well-attested in the cities of the late and post-Roman Western Mediterranean, in which the forum as the traditional *locus* of city government and elite benefaction was frequently replaced by "islands" of monumental activity, especially around church buildings, and often on the edges of the classical city center.[50] These "islands" can be difficult to detect, however, especially if excavators concentrate on the city center and the monuments of the so-called "high periods" of Greco-Roman urbanism.

The interpretive challenge of projecting evidence for decline or abandonment from one part of a settlement to the whole site, especially when the extent of settlement is unknown, can contribute to the difficulty of determining the nature and extent of a particular abandonment episode. Ethno-archaeological work on more recent settled agricultural communities has emphasized abandonment as a normal, and not necessarily permanent, process that can occur on a continuum, from the disuse of structures and areas within settlements to the abandonment of whole regional settlement networks. This work has distinguished two often-overlapping types of settlement stability, locational (i.e. spatial) and occupational (temporal). Locational stability refers to the degree to which settlements are continuously or repeatedly located in the same places, while occupational stability refers to how long an occupation continues without interruption at a given location.[51]

A high number of settlements in a particular region that exhibit short-term locational and/or occupational instability, such as temporary pastoral stations that are rebuilt in different locations every year, can skew the archaeological record, giving the impression of a greater number of sites than were ever actually occupied during a given time period.[52] While such potential short-term instability would not have as pronounced an impact on the archaeology of "full" urban settlements, which possess a more or less permanent population and a stable range of economic and political functions, it is a challenge for the interpretation of such ambiguously urban settlements as "agricultural villages" or "hilltop forts," whose existence is dependent on particular communal needs, including agricultural production and defense, and whose presence in the landscape can therefore can be more fleeting.

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[49] Ward-Perkins, "Urban Continuity?," 7-10.
[50] See especially Wickham, *Framing,* 636-71 for this process.
[51] L. Horne, "Occupational and locational instability in arid land settlement," in *Abandonment of settlements and regions: Ethnoarchaeological and archaeological approaches*, ed. C.M. Cameron and S.A. Tomka (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 43-53.
[52] ibid., 45.

The difficulty of establishing a firm chronology of urban decline and abandonment on individual sites makes the task of determining the causes of settlement change all the more challenging. The recent trend towards the re-evaluation of de-urbanization in late antique archaeology arises from the apparent discord between signs of continuity detected both on individual sites and in settlement networks, and the long-standing scholarly emphasis on the connection between "crises" (such as barbarian invasions, warfare, and outbreaks of plague) and decline. As a result, the field has experienced a shift in recent decades away from this "decline and fall" model and its emphasis on discrete events, whose impacts were usually temporally and spatially limited, to the examination of processes – primarily, the breakup of the Mediterranean fiscal unity fostered by the Roman imperial state, perhaps in conjunction with regional cycles of intensification and abatement – whose impact on the settlement landscape was felt in various ways in the long term across the former empire.[53]

This hermeneutical shift away from discrete events as the causes of de-urbanization has not yet occurred in the scholarship of other periods of antiquity. When scholars consider the abandonment of individual urban settlements or of series of settlements, their focus is usually still on instances of sudden and dramatic change – the classic case again being the destruction of Pompeii and other settlements around the Bay of Naples following the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. Until recently, scholars have given little consideration to individual and regional processes of "de-urbanization" in the early and high Empire, and to their context: that is, to the short- and long-term causes and consequences of the gradual, system-wide change in settlement size and location.[54]

This focus on "crisis" or "catastrophe" in the interpretation of de-urbanization can stem from an acceptance of archaeological and literary evidence for settlement abandonment at face value, without consideration of the wider social and ecological processes that can shape the creation, the survival, and the interpretation of such evidence. As I demonstrated for Roman Sicily in the previous chapter, we must be wary of the ideological and rhetorical considerations shaping contemporary literary assessments of settlement destruction and desertion. Events that might be "catastrophic" to certain individuals or sectors within a society may be experienced differently by other individuals or social groups. In the pages above I have argued for caution in interpreting the material signs of settlement decline and abandonment. My argument in the paragraphs that follow is that in cases where settlement change did occur, the causes of such change must be interpreted with similar care.

The obvious questions that arise from the observation of the abandonment of an individual settlement or multiple settlements in a single region are: did a discrete event cause such change? And if so, what amount of time elapsed between the event and the actual abandonment? The tendency in archaeology, particularly of the Roman provinces, has been to attribute "negative" changes such as destruction and abandonment to events in the historical record: primarily, wars and "acts of God" such as earthquakes.[55] Although such occurrences did sometimes cause

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[53] M. Whittow, "Decline and Fall? Studying Long-term Change in the East," in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 404-23, for a summary of the "fiscal" and "intensification and abatement" models of long-term change.

[54] Exceptions include Woolf's study of urbanization (and its limits) in Gaul (*Becoming Roman*, esp. 106-68) and Alcock's work on settlement patterns in early imperial Greece (*Graecia Capta*, esp. 93-171). See also S.G. Schmid, "Decline or prosperity at Roman Eretria? Industry, purple dye works, public buildings, and gravestones," *JRA* 12 (1999): 273-93, for a Greek case study.

[55] See chapter 1 for this tendency in Sicilian archaeology, particularly for the Late Roman period.

destruction to cities that resulted in their temporary or permanent abandonment, the tendency to connect destructions observed in the archaeological record to known events can lead to a circularity of argument, in which reinforcement of the historical record is both the primary goal and the end result of excavation.[56]

In recent decades, archaeologists and anthropologists have turned fruitfully to other academic disciplines for interpretative frameworks for the processes of settlement change (both sudden and gradual, as well as both long-term and temporary) they have observed in ancient and modern societies. For example, Renfrew and Poston, in their application of the "catastrophe theory" of mathematics to the archaeological study of settlement change, point out that swift and dramatic shifts in settlement size and location, such as the shift from nucleated to dispersed settlement (of which urban abandonment can be a symptom), or from settlement on hilltops to valley locations, can actually be the result of long-term processes such as the intensification of agricultural production and the increase in population density, rather than a reaction to a "sudden, exogenous" event. The danger in associating dramatic changes in settlement patterns with contemporaneous events such as natural disasters, plague, or warfare is that these events more often trigger than actually cause change.[57]

Similarly, the application to archaeology of the insights of "settlement ecology," or the study of the relationship between human settlement, productive regimes (and the political and social institutions that govern them), and the environment, has led to the re-interpretation of settlement abandonment as a normal and potentially positive process that need not imply "decline." Communities may choose to abandon a settlement site as a temporary measure prompted by the instability of the social and physical environment – an instability for which it is wise to maintain flexibility in the structure and function of settlements.[58] Abandonment, whether temporary or permanent, can also be one of a range of responses to economic, social, or political pressure on a community from the outside, as Mackil ("Wandering Cities") has shown for certain Greek *poleis* of the classical and Hellenistic periods.

Nonetheless, the complete and permanent abandonment of a settlement, or the widespread abandonment of one type of settlement in a region, is a relatively rare occurrence, and can be the result of broader social, political, and economic changes, rather than simply a community's response to its changing physical environment. In such cases, and particularly in societies with high levels of social, political, and economic integration, "system-wide" as well as local explanations for settlement change should be sought.[59] Therefore, it is essential to pay careful attention to the scale of settlement change observed when assessing causality.

Synthesis

In the pages above, I have considered the various definitional challenges inherent in the "doubly relative concept" of urban decline. It only remains for me to outline my own approach to

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[56] M. Kulikowski, "The Late Roman City in Spain," in *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?*, ed. J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel (*Historia* Einzelschriften 190; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 129-49, at 129, for this problem in previous scholarship of Roman Spain.

[57] Renfrew and Poston, "Discontinuities." For a similar approach, see J. Bintliff, "Catastrophe, Chaos and Complexity: The Death, Decay and Rebirth of Towns from Antiquity to Today," *JEA* 5 (1997): 67-90, esp. 80-6, on the relationship between plague and urban decline in the mid-sixth century Byzantine Empire.

[58] Horne, "Occupational and locational instability," 48-52.

[59] Tomka and Stevenson, "Understanding abandonment processes," 192.

quantifying (de-) urbanization in Sicily and to describe the criteria I will use for defining urban settlement. As the first section of this chapter showed, a definition of "the city" that incorporates all of its historical and cultural manifestations need not be attempted for its own sake, since "the city" is not a historical actor by itself. Rather, urban settlement tends to emerge within societies as a result of conditions that make the concentration of population - as well as the economic, political, social, cultural, and ideological-organizational activities that support and control this population - both feasible and desirable. Therefore, the city in history is a phenomenon worthy of exploration as a "proxy," because fluctuations in the number, size, and definition of urban settlements in any given society are potentially both revealing and symptomatic of wider social, political, and economic changes in that society – including, as I asserted in chapter 2, the presence or absence of state power.[60]

As the first section of this chapter also showed, a scholar's definition of "the city" is in large part conditioned by the scope and goals of his or her inquiry and the nature of the "raw data" he or she employs. So, for example, Weber's conception of the ancient city was influenced not only by his interest in historical sociology, but also by the fact that he derived much of his information on Greco-Roman society and economy from ancient literature. Since my purpose in defining urban settlement is to enable quantification of the phenomenon of urbanization (or "de-urbanization") in Sicily, and following from that, the analysis of change over time in settlement networks, my definition distinguishes urban from non-urban settlement, but is fluid enough to encompass settlements spanning several centuries, while allowing for an understanding of what features of urbanism change over this period. In addition, given the wide disparity in the quality and extent of excavation of Sicilian sites, I employ a flexible, multi-faceted definition of urban settlement based on criteria that can be evaluated primarily from the archaeological and epigraphic record.

First, an urban settlement must possess a relatively dense, cohesive, and permanent population, which can be deduced archaeologically from the presence of multiple, differentiated dwellings arranged within a network of streets or around other forms of open, communal space (not necessarily planned). An urban settlement need not possess a geographically defined territory, but it must perform higher-level economic roles that both tie it to and differentiate it from other settlements in its vicinity: as a market place for the barter or sale for cash of agricultural products; as a concentration of the human, technological, and capital resources that allow the transformation of "raw" agricultural products into consumable goods (e.g. grapes into wine or olives into oil), and/or the manufacture of goods from raw materials (e.g clay into ceramics and building materials, or wool into cloth); as a collection point for agricultural products and cash, in the form of tax and/or rent; and for their consumption, either privately or in the form of public expenditure on infrastructure. These economic roles can be deduced from a range of archaeological and epigraphic evidence, including the remains of buildings or spaces

[60] I will return to the potential direct and indirect impact of the Roman state on urbanization in Sicily in later chapters; but generally, the formation, development, and operation of states both ancient and modern are closely linked to the process of "urbanization." In societies ranging from the early states of the ancient Near East to modern industrial nations, the formation and continued existence of settlements above the level of agricultural self-sufficiency is linked to the presence within them of a number of broad social structures, including, in the words of Bryan Ward-Perkins, the "military and administrative demands of the state; networks of long-distance exchange; the needs of local agricultural producers for markets and artisan goods; the ritual and administrative requirements of religion; and the choice made by local landowners as to where to live and consume their rural wealth" ("Urban Continuity?," 14).

dedicated to the production and/or sale of goods (markets, shops, workshops, kilns, etc.), the epigraphic attestation of civic officials devoted to overseeing the operation of the marketplace or the collection of tax, and the presence in significant quantities of coinage and imported goods, such as ceramics.

Following from its higher-level economic roles, an urban settlement must also possess a heterogeneous and economically and socially differentiated population not engaged solely in agricultural production, and headed by a defined, "embedded" elite. The evidence for heterogeneity in occupation can be direct, such as the presence of shops and workshops that provide goods and services to most, and employment to at least part of the city's population, or the epigraphic attestation of such "manufacturing" or "service" sectors. Indirect indications of occupational heterogeneity can include the construction and maintenance of public buildings and infrastructure, including streets and (in the case of coastal cities) harbor facilities, which would have required a steady expenditure of labor hours, and the ability to control this local labor supply.[61] Heterogeneity in status and the presence of a restricted, defined elite can be deduced from differences in the size and appointment of housing, the presence of luxury goods in domestic or funerary contexts, or the presence of characteristic forms of elite display, such as monumental tombs or honorific statues. [62]

An urban settlement's economic roles as well as its size, density, and heterogeneity depend on and reinforce the political and religious roles it plays for its own population and for its surrounding territory, since a settlement that possesses a market and serves as a major center of cult and administration can support a higher population, a greater percentage of whom earn their livelihoods from non-agricultural activities, than one that does not.[63] These political and religious roles can, in turn, reinforce an urban settlement's cohesion, as well as the power of its elite. Such urban "institutional" roles are evidenced directly in buildings dedicated to political and religious administration, such as council houses, temples, palaces, and churches.

The definition of an urban settlement as a set of archaeological criteria that reflect its broader demographic, economic, political, religious, and social roles is an imperfect one, and I will rely on common sense rather than an arbitrary threshold in order to differentiate an urban from a non-urban settlement according to these criteria. In so doing, I must acknowledge that not all urban settlements will provide the same quality or quantity of archaeological data, and that my interpretation of this data will inevitably be affected by my own preconceptions of what "urban" is, both in the ancient and modern world. For example, it is easier to describe a well-excavated settlement with a visible street plan and standing remains of public buildings and densely packed houses as "urban" than one for which only a few scattered structures of indeterminate function have been detected.

Such bias is largely conditioned by the state of the archaeological evidence, which in some instances can be too minimal to allow even an approximation of the size, chronology, and functions of a settlement. For example, I will exclude settlements that have been deduced only

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[61] Whether that labor was free, unfree, or "semi-free" is another matter; while the status of the urban labor force may, as Smith ("Modern and Premodern Urban Primacy") suggests, be a critical determinant of the intensity of interrelations between urban settlements, it is not immediately pertinent to the definition of urban settlement.

[62] However, elite forms of display are not static over time or space. For example, elite tombs may be distinguished in other ways besides monumentality, such as by occupying a special place in a church or burial ground.

[63] Bagnall, "Response."

from surface scatters of ceramic material and masonry, for which no structures have been identified. Therefore, the quantification that forms the basis for my analysis in the next chapter can only serve as a low count of the actual number of urban settlements in Sicily, and some regional and chronological under-representation is inevitable. Nonetheless, I will make an effort to point out instances where this is likely the case, and tailor my analysis accordingly. While differences in site preservation and archaeological exploration may hinder analysis of settlement trends at a regional level, I maintain that even a minimum count of urban settlements is an appropriate and valuable heuristic device for evaluating change in settlement patterns over time, particularly for the island as a whole.

Since I will be analyzing changes to settlement patterns across Sicily as well as within individual regions over time, I will pay close attention to cases of urban abandonment. In scrutinizing the archaeological evidence for abandonment, my main question will be if an absence of evidence for occupation is really evidence of absence. And so, a settlement must exhibit multiple signs of cessation of habitation across the entire occupied area; otherwise, its abandonment is questionable. I will also pay close attention to settlements whose "urban" status is more ambiguous, such as hilltop settlements and roadside stations.

Finally, as I alluded in chapter 2, a special challenge for Sicily is the disparity between ancient accounts of the settlement landscape and the modern archaeological map: that is, the many settlement sites without known ancient names, as well as the many ancient toponyms for which no site has been identified. As I have already stated, my approach to the settlement landscape will largely be based in the archaeological record, and my goal is not to match unidentified toponyms with nameless sites. I consider archaeological sites to be more concrete evidence of urban settlement than the toponyms given in contemporary texts, though such sites are not necessarily fixed over time – an issue I will return to in chapter 5. In the meantime, the minimum count of urban settlements I present is meant to be illustrative, not comprehensive, and will undoubtedly change over time and with increased excavation, as more sites are firmly connected with known toponyms.

Methodology

Chronological Parameters

My study begins in the decades before the First Punic War, when Roman and Italian political and economic influence may already have been felt in some parts of the island. It extends into the period when the Roman state's economic and political control over the island was deteriorating and new powers (Vandal and Byzantine) had begun to exert influence (c. AD 500). The eight centuries falling within these bounds can be sub-divided into three periods: the *Hellenistic/Roman Republican* (c. 300 – 1 BC); the *Roman Imperial* (c. AD 1 – 300); and the *Late Roman* (c. AD 300 – 500). Each urban settlement in Sicily for which there is reliable evidence of substantial occupation in at least one of these periods has been included in this study.

The early part of the *Hellenistic/Roman Republican* period saw a rapid succession of wars, including the incursion of Pyrrhus of Epirus in the early 270s and the First Punic War (264 – 241 BC). The period covers the approximately two centuries of the Roman Republic's rule over the island, and ends after Augustus had defeated Sextus Pompey and instituted the administrative reforms – including the imposition of at least five veteran colonies, and perhaps changes to the assessment and collection of taxes – that have long been thought to have had a profound impact on the urban landscape.

The *Roman Imperial* period begins during the reign of Augustus, and encompasses the centuries in which the long-term impact of such earlier developments as the establishment of the "pax Romana" over the Mediterranean basin would have been felt in Sicily, as would the impact of more local innovations that began earlier in the reign of Augustus, such as the spread of imperial and senatorial landholdings and the establishment of veteran colonies in several cities along the coast. After Augustus's "settlement" of 21 BC, few direct actions or interventions of the Roman state are attested in Sicily, apart from the elevation of a few cities to colonial status, and the imperial benefactions to a handful of cities known from inscriptions. However, the period brought major economic changes to the Mediterranean basin that we may expect to be reflected in the material record of Sicilian cities: most visibly, in their ceramic assemblages, as (for example) Arretine wares from Italy became the dominant fineware exported across the Mediterranean in the late first century BC, to be supplemented and eventually eclipsed by sigillata produced in North Africa by the second century AD.

The *Late Roman* period begins after Diocletian's administrative reforms to the regions of Italy, which included Sicily and brought the island into closer association with the peninsula. The first event of the period with a significant impact on Sicily would have been the foundation of Constantinople, which had the indirect effect of making Sicily a much more important source of grain for the city of Rome – an effect which has been linked by many scholars to the "revival" of some of the island's cities and the spread of rural settlement in the most fertile agricultural areas. In the centuries after Constantine, the church of Rome becomes significant within the urban communities of Sicily both as a religious and as an institutional force, as the physical structures associated with Christianity (churches, catacombs) spread through the landscape, and as the church became a dominant landholder on the island thanks to state and private donations. The period also includes the Vandal incursions that certainly weakened Roman state control over the island, and may also have contributed to the abandonment of some urban centers. The period ends shortly before the Byzantine re-conquest of the island in the 530s, which marked the end of Sicily's political and economic alignment with Rome.

Categories of Urban Settlement

The urban settlements of Roman Sicily varied widely in physical and demographic size, historical prominence, as well as in the complexity of the economic, political, and social roles they played both locally, for urban residents and inhabitants of their hinterlands, and within larger urban networks. Therefore, this study divides urban settlements into two categories that take into account these differences, as well as the differences in the amount and quality of available archaeological evidence that have arisen from discrepancies in the extent and competency of archaeological excavation across the island.

The first category, *Primary Urban Settlement*, includes settlements in which the full range of urban characteristics I have described above is present. Furthermore, though they need not have large populations, they must display evidence of autonomy, such as the issuing of coins or the possession of an independent civic government. Related to this autonomy is a developed urban identity, both on the cognitive and spatial level, which may be evidenced in institutions such as a defined citizenry and/or structures such as a wall circuit, which would have defined the perceived (if not actual) urban limits. Primary Urban Settlements must show a relatively high concentration of population: that is, a population resident in buildings that are located close together, that exhibit strong spatial relationships (e.g. grouped along streets or around open

spaces), and that are located in a defined area (e.g. within a wall circuit, on a hilltop, or along a major road).

As I have indicated above, one of the key elements that separates a pre-industrial city from other forms of settlement is the existence of a significant sector of the population that is not directly engaged in agriculture, and that therefore relies on the surrounding hinterland (as well as on other sectors of the urban population) for goods and services. The most visible group within this non-agricultural sector – and the one with the greatest economic, political, and social power, and hence the greatest potential to shape urban space – is the elite, who reside in or near the city but rely indirectly on agriculture for their income, primarily through rents. Therefore, the population of a Primary Urban Settlement must also show signs of social and economic differentiation, and the settlement must have an elite in residence either in the urban center itself or in its vicinity (e.g. in suburban villas). And finally, in accordance with its diverse economic, political, and social roles, and its differentiated population, the physical spaces of the Primary Urban Settlement must show signs of differentiation, in terms of function and accessibility (e.g. public vs. private, residential vs. non-residential).

Primary Urban Settlements may have dependent or subordinate *Secondary Urban Settlements*. These settlements display several urban characteristics – such as a relatively high concentration of population, evidence of non-agricultural economic activity, or structures and institutions that indicate a civic identity, like a wall circuit. However, they may lack some of the attributes of Primary Urban Settlements, or exhibit economic or political dependency on another settlement: perhaps by relying on this settlement for governance or for the provision of coinage. Secondary settlements may also play specific, limited roles for Primary settlements, for example as defensive outposts. However, some urban settlements may be classified as Secondary only because of a dearth of archaeological and/or historical evidence for their occupation.

An urban settlement can develop from Secondary to Primary by acquiring a greater range of urban functions, and/or by gaining autonomy from the Primary settlement to which it was previously subordinate. Primary settlements can also become Secondary if they lose their autonomy or some of their functions. However, these transitions are often difficult to detect, and can be a function of the variable amount of evidence available for different periods.

A final category, *Probable Secondary Urban Settlement*, includes sites that can probably be classified as urban for one or more of the periods within the chronological parameters of the study. However, because we lack substantial, reliable archaeological and historical evidence for their occupation, very little else can be said with certainty about the chronology or topography of these settlements. Therefore, I have included them only in a higher, more speculative count of urban settlements – a count in which I also include less secure types of evidence of occupation.[64] This more speculative count will, naturally, result in a denser map of urban settlement for all three periods, but my primary analysis in the pages that follow will be based on a lower, more conservative count, for which I consider only the most secure evidence for occupation.

Regions

The physical landscape of Sicily exhibits great variation in terms of climate, geology, agricultural fertility, access to coasts and waterways, and other environmental factors. As I have discussed above, this variation undoubtedly impacted the settlement history of the island in terms

[64] For example, if a city was clearly occupied in other periods of antiquity, but if its continuous occupation in the Roman imperial period is assumed despite a lack of evidence (i.e. *e silentio*) by its excavators.

not only of the differing agricultural potential of the island's various soils, but also in terms of the economic, political, and cultural connections between settlements that were fostered (if not determined) by geography. Therefore, I have sub-divided the urban settlements included in this study into groups to allow for further analysis of settlement patterns at the regional level to complement my island-wide account. The definition of these regions is based on geographical as well as historical affinities between groups of settlements, though there are many other possible ways of "regionalizing" Sicily than the one I outline here. It should also be kept in mind that certain regions or sub-regions may exhibit strong geographical and historical connections with each other, making it difficult to draw strict borders between regions.

The *Far West* region consists of all settlements, both on the coast and in the hilly interior, located within and to the West of the valleys of the rivers Belice (flowing south and emptying into the Mediterranean near ancient Selinus) and Freddo (flowing north and emptying into the Tyrrhenian at Castellammare del Golfo). Its borders roughly correspond to those of the modern province of Trapani. The *West Central* region encompasses the lands between the Belice and Freddo valleys to the West and the Platani valley to the East, and includes much of the interior of the modern provinces of Palermo and Agrigento. The Tyrrhenian coast is included in the *North and Northeast Coast* region, which stretches east from the city of Palermo to the Straits of Messina. The *Central and East-Central Interior* region consists of the non-coastal settlements to the East of the valleys of the river Platani (flowing south and emptying into the Mediterranean near ancient Heraclea Minoa) and the river Torto (flowing north and emptying into the Tyrrhenian east of Termini Imerese). It includes the Madonie and Nebrodi mountain ranges, part of the modern provinces of Palermo and Agrigento, and most of the territory of the modern Enna and Caltanissetta provinces.

The *Etna and Vicinity* region encompasses the slopes of the volcano, stretching to the North and East of the Salso and Simeto rivers, and to the South and West of the valley of the Alcantara. The *Southeast Coast and Interior* region extends south from the Plain of Catania and incorporates the southeastern corner of the island, including the coastal settlements of the Siracusa province and the interior settlements of the high plateaus of the Ragusid. And finally, the *South Coast* region encompasses the Mediterranean coastline from the mouth of the Platani to the mouth of the Irminio river near modern Marina di Ragusa.

Part 2: An Analysis of the Urban Landscape of Roman Sicily

Chapter 4: Urban Settlement Distribution, c. 300 BC – AD 500

Methodology

My analysis of urban settlement distribution in this chapter is based on a database of sites whose published archaeological records attest to sustained occupation at an urban level within the period of ca. 300 BC to AD 500. I have collected information for over 200 sites across Sicily, making my project unprecedented in its geographic and chronological scope. I have also attempted to distinguish between different levels of urban activity through my classification of sites as Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements (see chapter 3) and to account for changes in urban status over time: another feature that, to my knowledge, is unique in analyses of ancient Sicilian urbanization, and is rarely found in more general considerations of urbanization in the Roman world.[1]

Before I present and analyze my findings, I must give a few caveats regarding the nature of the evidence I have used for determining the periods of occupation of urban settlements, though the numbers I present should be broadly representative of settlement trends in the Roman period. Some urban centers, such as Acesta, Herbita, and Nakone, that are named in historical and epigraphic sources but whose sites have not been identified, and whose periods of occupation therefore cannot be determined, have not been included. Even when a site of urban settlement can be convincingly identified archaeologically, in very few cases is the settlement history of that site clear for all periods of antiquity. For most cities, there are major gaps in our knowledge of the ancient phases of occupation and of the physical extent of the settlement area. These archaeological lacunae may be attributable to the presence of a modern settlement overlying the ancient site that has hindered excavation (as is the case for Drepanum/Trapani and Mazara, to name only two), or to the limited extent of excavation even of sites that were abandoned during antiquity (such as Entella and many other settlements in the interior).[2]

In addition, discrepancies remain in the quality and amount of excavation and other archaeological research (including field surveys and ceramic analysis) conducted within the various regions of Sicily. Broadly speaking, settlements in the western corner and on the northern coast have been subjected to more extensive and programmatic archaeological research than those on the southern coast and in the southeastern corner of the island, though these latter regions have by no means been neglected by archaeologists, as shown by the multi-season (and even multi-decade) excavations at Agrigentum/Agrigento, Heraclea Minoa, Megara Hyblaea, and Camarina. Even more profound is the discrepancy in the attention paid to settlements on the coast versus those in the interior, particularly in mountainous regions: Morgantina and Entella are among the few extensively excavated settlements of the Roman period located at significant

[1] An exception is the forthcoming *Atlas of Urbanization in the Roman World*, ed. C. Noreña (under consideration by the University of Michigan Press).

[2] For the ancient occupation history and the modern history of excavation of the urban sites mentioned in this chapter, and for bibliography, see appendix 1, *s.v.*

distances from the coasts, though thanks to new projects of research at inland settlements (e.g. the Philosophiana Project and the Akrai Project[3]), this discrepancy is diminishing.

The preoccupations and biases of excavators can also color assessment of the chronology of an urban settlement. As I outlined in chapter 1, the Roman phases of settlement at many sites were overlooked or given short shrift in nineteenth and early twentieth-century excavations, when excavators were more interested in the archaic and classical phases of occupation. And even today, when research projects attempt in good faith to record all of the phases of occupation of a site, the dating of the Hellenistic and early Roman phases of Sicilian cities can be difficult to establish, since excavators tend to rely on uncertain ceramic chronologies or imperfect methods such as comparison of architectural styles and techniques. In recent decades, the debate between the "optimists" and "pessimists" on the impact of the Roman conquest on Sicilian urbanization partly has hinged upon the controversial chronology of the monumental phases of a handful of urban settlements in western and northern Sicily. On the one hand, the excavators of Ietas/Monte Iato maintain that the city's monumental phase, centered around the construction of its theatre, began in the late fourth century BC, while archaeologists working at Segesta, Soluntum/Solunto, and Halaesa/Alesa have attributed these cities' monumental building programs to the period after the Roman conquest, in the second and first centuries BC – in other words, to the time of Verres rather than to the time of Timoleon.[4]

The primary place of such extensively, scientifically excavated and well-published sites as Monte Iato/Ietas, Segesta, and Halaesa/Alesa in discussions of urbanism in early Roman Sicily points to another challenge in the interpretation of the archaeological record: that is, the incomplete or misleading impressions that limited excavations – and especially excavations conducted in the first half of the twentieth century or earlier - can give of the nature and extent of settlement at a particular site. For example, the *polis* of Leontinoi/Lentini on the southern edge of the plain of Catania was once thought to have been abandoned after the Second Punic War, based on literary accounts and on limited excavation in the area of the classical city. However, more recent archaeological exploration of the territory has revealed a shift in settlement from the hill occupied by the classical city to surrounding valleys during the Republican period, rather than an outright abandonment.[5] Similarly, at the site of ancient Helorus/Eloro in the Syracusan hinterland, Orsi's excavations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pointed to the desertion of the settlement in the imperial period. However, finds of *sigillata* and other imperial-era ceramics by later excavators have forced the revision of this view.[6]

A further issue to keep in mind is the difficulty of tying abandonment or destruction episodes, which can often only be dated broadly by the ceramics (and sometimes coins) found in

[3] See chapter 7 for recent fieldwork at Philosophiana/Sofiana.

[4] Cf. chapter 1. Recent opinion has largely come down on the side of the "down-dating" of the monumentalization of Ietas/Monte Iato and other northern and western centers to the third century BC, if not later. See, for example, the essays collected in M. Osanna and M. Torelli, ed. *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica. Alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006).

[5] See F. Valenti, "Note preliminari sulla topografia di Lentini della conquista romana all'età tardo antica," *SicA* 32.97 (1999): 169-80, and M. Frasca, *Leontinoi. Archeologia di una colonia greca*. (Rome: Bretschneider, 2009), 147-59, for the archaeology of Roman-era Leontinoi/Lentini.

[6] See chapter 5 for the history of excavation at Helorus.

collapsed or burnt strata, to finite events.[7] This is particularly true of the "eventful" century between the ascendancy of Timoleon in Syracuse (344 BC) and the end of the First Punic War (241 BC), a period in which several wars engulfed the island, but for which our knowledge of ceramic chronologies – and especially of finewares produced in Sicily – is insufficient.[8] And so we should keep in mind the possibility that abandonment or destruction episodes previously dated to the First Punic War or other early-third century conflicts on the basis of ceramics, coins, or even more tenuous evidence, may need to be re-examined in the light of new research.[9]

And finally, as I have already emphasized, we should also use caution when drawing conclusions about the occupation or abandonment of a site *e silentio*, from gaps in the archaeological and historical record. For example, fewer tombs and burial areas of the Roman imperial period have been found in urban areas than burials from the earlier archaic and classical periods and the later paleochristian period.[10] However, this discrepancy may be attributable to the lower archaeological visibility of such areas in the imperial period, perhaps due to changing burial practices (e.g. from inhumation to cremation), or to the reduced circumstances of urban residents, which could be reflected in less-monumental tomb forms and less-prestigious grave goods; or to other factors, such as the interests of excavators in the burials (and grave goods) of earlier eras, rather than to the actual absence of Roman imperial burials.

Nonetheless, in general, I would argue that the absence of evidence from an urban center for a given period should be interpreted as reflective of the reduction, or of the absence, of significant urban activity at the site, if not as evidence of abandonment (i.e., the complete absence of occupation). However, such absences of activity are by their very nature difficult to date with precision. Gaps in the material record, or the "weakening of the material forms" of the city such as the collapse of buildings, are usually symptoms of long, drawn-out processes of abandonment or de-urbanization that are datable at best to broad time spans of decades or quarter-centuries.[11] Therefore, it is important to seek the root causes of abandonment or contraction in the decades preceding the latest evidence of urban life at a site.

Overview

A total of seventy Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements were in occupation within the chronological parameters of this study. Of these, 61 were occupied in the first half-century of the

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[7] Kulikowski, "The Late Roman City in Spain," esp. 129, discusses a similar inclination amongst excavators to date apparent destruction episodes in the late Roman cities of Spain to known historical events (such as the Vandal invasions), even in the absence of closely datable material, creating circularities of argument.

[8] Vandermersch, *Vins et Amphores*, remains the authoritative work on amphora typologies for this period; no similar study exists of late fourth century and early third century finewares found on Sicilian sites.

[9] See e.g. the debate over the period of occupation of Scornavacche, a short-lived late classical/early Hellenistic settlement in the Ragusid, based on the uncertain chronologies of Syracusan coin issues found in excavations: E.C. Portale, "Le terrecotte di Scornavacche e il problema del classicismo nella coroplastica siceliota del IV secolo," in *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia: Atti del simposio in onore di Antonino Di Vita* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2000), 265-82.

[10] The rarity or absence of imperial-era burials has been cited as evidence for the abandonment or decline of such urban centers as Assorus/Assoro, Menai/Mineo, and Abacaenum/Casale di Tripi; see e.g. for Menai/Mineo: A. Messina, "Mineo. Osservazioni sullo sviluppo del centro antico," *CronA* 10 (1971): 93-120, at 119-20.

[11] See chapter 3. The abandonment of most Sicilian cities is datable only broadly to half- or quarter-centuries: e.g. Heraclea Minoa and Soluntum/Solunto (discussed further in chapter 5).

study period (c. 300 – 250 BC). Sicily saw an overall decline in urban settlement numbers in the Roman period, with the 61 settlements in occupation in the first half of the third century BC reduced almost by half, to 33, by the end of the third century AD (Table 1; see Plates 4.1-4.4 for Maps 1-4).[12] The period of greatest change was the early and mid-third century BC: after reaching a high point at the beginning of the century, urban settlement numbers were sharply reduced by the second half of the century, with a net loss of at least eleven urban centers.[13] After the mid-third century, settlement numbers stabilized for most of the Roman Republican period (ca. 200 BC – 50 BC). However, a further, less dramatic drop occurred in the first half of the first century BC, with a net loss of five settlements out of 47 – a contraction that continued into the first century AD, at the end of which 37 centers were occupied (Map 5: see Plate 4.5).[14] The general trend in the high imperial period (AD 100-300) is the gradual reduction of urban settlement numbers (usually a net loss of two or three in each 50-year period), as cities continued to be abandoned but few new urban centers emerged.

Table 1: Urban Settlement in Sicily, 300 BC – AD 500

Period	300–250 BC	250–200 BC	200-150 BC	150-100 BC	100-50 BC	50-1 BC	AD 1-50	AD 50-100
Number of Cities	61	50	49	49	47	42	41	37

Period	AD 100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-450	450-500
Number of Cities	37	38	35	33	32	33	27	26

The slowing pace of urban foundation after the fourth century BC is striking. Of the 70 centers included in the count, 51 were in occupation in the first half of the fourth century BC or earlier. Nine urban centers emerged, through new settlement or re-settlement[15] on a new site, in the second half of the fourth century, followed by five new centers in the next half-century (Table 2). However, the emergence of new urban centers ceased in the Roman Republican period. In the imperial period (AD 1 – 300), only five new urban settlements emerged. The result of this gradual cessation of new urban settlement, coupled with the abandonment or destruction of older cities over the centuries, was that by the fifth century, only 26-27 urban settlements remained in occupation in Sicily.

Table 2: Urban Foundation and Abandonment in Sicily

Period	300–200 BC	200–100 BC	100–1 BC	AD 1-100	AD 100-200	AD 200–300	AD 300-400
Settlements Established	5	0	0	3	2	0	3

[12] According to the higher, more speculative count (cf. chapter 3), 66 centers were in occupation around 300 BC, while by 300 AD that number was reduced to 41.

[13] The third century is also the period of greatest change in the higher count, with a drop from 66 to 54 settlements.

[14] This drop registers differently in the higher count, where the number of settlements in occupation remained at 52 throughout the first century BC but dropped to 49 in the first half of the first century AD. This delay can be attributed to the residual traces of occupation detected in some settlements, though this occupation was probably not on an "urban" level: for example, the early first century AD "squatter settlement" at Morgantina, whose development is discussed on p. 21 below, and in chapter 5.

[15] For example, Soluntum, which was established in the late fourth century on a promontory above its predecessor, the Phoenician emporion of Solous (see appendix 1, *s.v.*).

Settlements Abandoned	13	2	9	5	3	4	8

Although the imperial period experienced a decline in settlement numbers, there was no single century or half-century in which this decline was particularly dramatic. Rather, the total number of urban settlements tended to fluctuate, though generally trending downward. Therefore, it is difficult to speak of a "third century crisis" or any other period of urban crisis in Roman imperial Sicily, at least in terms of overall urban settlement numbers.

The overall decline in settlement numbers did not affect Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements at the same pace or to the same extent (Table 3). The drop in the mid-third century implicated only Secondary Urban Settlements, while Primary Urban Settlement numbers remained relatively stable, decreasing from 36 to 35 over the course of the century. This stability of Primary Urban Settlements continued until the first half of the first century BC, when 34 centers remained in occupation. However, the second half of the first century BC through the first century AD saw a drop in Primary settlement numbers to twenty-four. Thereafter, Primary settlement numbers declined slowly, with further sharp drops in the late third century AD and in the late fourth century.

Table 3. Primary and Secondary Urban Settlement in Sicily, 300 BC – AD 500

Number of Settlements Occupied	Period	300-250 BC	250-200	200-150	150-100	100-50	50-1 BC	AD 1-50	50-100
	Primary	36	35	34	34	34	30	28	24
	Secondary	25	15	15	15	13	12	13	13

Number of Settlements Occupied	Period	100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-450	450-500
	Primary	23	24	21	20	19	18	13	12
	Secondary	14	14	14	13	13	15	14	14

These numbers do not account for the fact that at least five centers were reduced from Primary to Secondary Urban Settlements in the period under consideration, and that one Secondary settlement (Neaition/Netum/Noto) became Primary.[16] The four centers that became Secondary all display strong evidence of a reduction in their economic and political roles (as shown, for example, by a reduction of building activity or of imports received in the settlement), a contraction in their settled area, a new relationship of dependency upon another Primary Urban Center, or some combination of these developments, between the late second century and the early first century AD. In all except Halicyai and Calacte,[17] the reduction to Secondary status seems to have preceded the abandonment of the urban center in the imperial period or in late antiquity.

The chronology of occupation of Probable Secondary Urban Settlements cannot be determined with as great precision as the other two categories of urban settlement, but their numbers appear to have experienced less fluctuation during the Roman period, with the 30 settlements occupied by the end of the fourth century BC dropping to 27 in the Roman period (ca. third century BC – third century AD), and remaining at that number in late antiquity (ca. fourth century – sixth century AD) (Table 4). This apparent stability in the overall number of

[16] The settlements that became Secondary were Halicyai, Calacte, Ietas/Monte Iato, Apollonia/San Fratello, and Abacaenum/Casale di Tripi. Netum/Noto became Primary by the early second century BC largely as a result of its favored status as a *civitas foederata / latinae condicionis*.

[17] Although the hilltop site of Calacte (Caronia) was abandoned by the mid-first century AD, a Secondary urban settlement emerged on the coast nearby, at Marina di Caronia (see chapter 5).

settlements over time can actually be attributed to the instability of occupation of individual settlements. These centers are more ephemeral in the archaeological and historical record, and were generally occupied for shorter spans of time than Primary or Secondary Urban Settlements. However, new centers frequently arose as older ones were abandoned, often on or near the original settlement site. Of the 48 Probable Secondary Urban Settlements identified, only three were in continuous occupation from the fourth century BC until the fourth century AD or after. While almost half of the settlements in existence in the mid-fourth century BC fell out of occupation over the course of the late fourth or third centuries (10 out of 23), an almost equal number (8) arose in the same period. Although most of these new settlements did not survive the third century BC, the imperial and late Roman periods saw the occupation of 15 new settlements, as well as the reoccupation of some previously abandoned sites.[18] As with the other two categories of urban settlement, the Roman Republican period seems to have been a time of equilibrium for probable urban settlements, with only three sites abandoned in the second and first centuries BC, and two settled or re-settled in the same period.

Table 4. Probable Secondary Urban Settlements, c. 400 BC – AD 600

Period	Classical/Hellenistic (c. 400 - 300 BC)	Roman (c. 300 BC – AD 300)	Late Antiquity (AD 300 and after)
Number of Settlements in Occupation	30	27	27

Regional trends

The regions of Sicily experienced changes to their settlement landscapes at different rates and to varying degrees during the Roman period – hardly a surprising development, given the geographical diversity of the island. All seven regions experienced a decline in urban settlement numbers between c. 300 BC and AD 300 (Table 5). However, the regions comprising the western corner of Sicily, its northern and eastern coasts (including the region of Etna), and its southeastern corner experienced a gradual decline in urban numbers in the Roman period, with only a handful of settlements going out of occupation in each area. Lilybaeum/Marsala in the Far West; Panhormus/Palermo, Halaesa/Alesa, Cephaloedium/Cefalù, Tyndaris/Tindari, and Messana/Messina on the North Coast; and Tauromenium/Taormina, Catina/Catania, and Syracuse/Siracusa on the East Coast – all cities that possessed or were in proximity to sea ports - remained Primary Urban settlements for all of the Roman Imperial period and, in most cases, into late antiquity (see chapter 6). On the other hand, the urban settlements of the interior and south coast experienced a steep decline in the Roman period. By the early first century AD, only one urban center, Agrigentum/Agrigento, remained on the south coast out of the five or six centers (including Heraclea Minoa, Phintias/Licata, and Camarina, discussed in chapter 5) in occupation in the early third century BC.

The pace of change also varied between regions. The West Central region experienced dramatic urban contraction in the early and middle decades of the third century BC, when five

[18] Nine settlements were newly occupied between the end of the first century BC and the third century AD, while three were established on or in the vicinity of previously abandoned sites. Six settlements came into occupation in the fourth century AD or after, while two previously abandoned sites were reoccupied.

out of nine settlements ceased to be occupied (Plate 4.6: Maps 6 and 7).[19] The urban settlements of the Central and East-Central Interior experienced a dramatic decline two centuries later, in the late Republican period, as four out of eleven settlements ceased to be occupied by the second half of the first century BC.[20] Enna, Centuripae/Centuripe and, probably, Engyon?/Troina and Agyrium/Agira – all located on or close to the main interior route between the eastern and northern coasts - were the only Primary urban settlements in these regions to remain in occupation throughout the Roman imperial period.

Table 5. Urban Settlement by Region, 300 BC – AD 300

Regional Occupation by Half-Century	300-250 BC	250 - 200	200-150	150-100	100-50	50-1 BC	AD 1-50	50-100	100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300
Central/EC Interior	12	11	11	11	11	7	7	6	6	6	4	3
Etna and Vicinity	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Far West	6	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5	4
N and NE Coast	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	11	11	12	11	11
SE Coast and Interior	10	9	8	8	8	8	7	7	8	8	8	8
South Coast	6	4	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
West Central	9	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	3

The geographical differences in settlement trends are even starker when the smaller regions are consolidated into three larger areas: the North and West, the East, and the South and Interior (Table 6). The number of urban settlements in the North and West was stable at 18-19 from the early third century BC until the early first century AD, when settlement numbers began slowly to decline, to 15 by the late third century. Although settlement numbers in the East declined overall from their height in the early third century BC (15), they were largely stable at 10-12 from the early second century BC until AD 500. The urban settlements of the South and Interior, on the other hand, experienced two periods of sharp decline: the first, in the early and middle decades of the third century BC, saw 8 of 27 settlements go out of occupation. The second, in the first half of the first century BC, saw five of 18 settlements cease to be occupied (Plate 4.7: Maps 8 and 9). Settlement numbers declined steadily, though not dramatically, in the South and Interior in the first and second centuries AD, with 7-8 settlements left in occupation in the third and fourth centuries AD.

Table 6. Urban Settlement by Super-Region, 300 BC – AD 500

Period	300-250 BC	250-200	200-150	150-100	100-50	50-1 BC	AD 1-50	50-100
North and West	19	18	18	18	18	18	19	16
East	15	13	12	12	11	11	10	11
South and Interior	27	19	19	19	18	13	12	11

Period	100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-450	450-500
North and West	16	17	16	15	15	15	12	11
East	11	11	11	11	9	11	10	10
South and Interior	10	10	8	7	8	7	5	5

[19] This contraction is also apparent among the Probable Urban Settlements of the West Central region. Only two of the eight settlements in occupation in the third and fourth centuries survived into the second century BC.

[20] The number of Probable Urban Settlements in this region remained stable at 14 from the Hellenistic period into the Roman period, mostly because new settlements emerged as older ones were abandoned, including four settlements that arose in the first century BC or later (see further below).

Analysis: urban settlement in Sicily under the Roman Empire

The urban landscape – at least in terms of settlement numbers - was punctuated by periods of sharp contraction in certain regions, but was otherwise largely stable over the nearly eight centuries of Roman hegemony over the island. Scholars have tended to emphasize the many political transformations that occurred throughout Sicily's ancient history, but in order to understand the continuities as well as the changes in the settlement landscape under the Romans, we must also take into consideration the several processes at work consistently, acting as "constants," between 300 BC and AD 300, though with considerable chronological and geographical variation in their intensity. One such constant was the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural heterogeneity of the Sicilian population. This heterogeneity was maintained through the importation of slaves from the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the second century BC;[21] the settlement of mercenaries from other regions of the Mediterranean in new or existing towns, particularly in the third and second centuries BC;[22] the deportation and replacement of urban populations, especially in the aftermath of the Punic Wars and the civil war;[23] as well as the regular "background noise" of voluntary immigration and emigration, particularly of merchants, craftsmen, entrepreneurs, and landowners, and particularly between Sicily, the Italian mainland, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean.[24]

Another constant was the density and diversity of maritime links between Sicily and the wider Mediterranean. The extractive demands of large state powers – first Carthage and Syracuse, then Rome – co-existed with the demands of "free" overseas markets for the island's agricultural, mineral, pastoral, and maritime resources: primarily grain, but also wine, timber, sulfur, alum, fruit, livestock, wool, and fish products. In addition to directly exporting its produce overseas, whether to Carthaginian North Africa or to Roman Italy, Sicily was also indirectly implicated in patterns of commercial exchange influenced by, but not necessarily tied to, state exactions from other regions of the Mediterranean. The island served as a stopping-off point on longer maritime shipping channels, such as routes from the Eastern Mediterranean through the Straits of Messina to Italy; and the route between the Tunisian coast and the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, which existed long before the institution of the *annona*.[25] Under the Roman Empire, *cabotage* between smaller ports on the latter route – including the ports of the western and northern coasts of Sicily - co-existed with the large-scale movement of grain from Africa to Rome.[26]

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[21] In the account of Diodorus, slaves from the Eastern Mediterranean were the instigators of the slave revolts of the mid- and late-second century.

[22] This occurred most notably at Morgantina, where the Romans settled a group of *Hispani* (Spanish mercenaries) after they took the town by force in the Second Punic War.

[23] E.g. Octavian's deportation of the population of Tauromenium/Taormina after the civil war with Sextus Pompey.

[24] See chapter 1 for the specifics of these processes, and for bibliography; and chapter 6 for the presence of "foreigners" (including Romans and Italians) in Sicilian coastal cities under the Republic and Empire.

[25] Hence the famous anecdote in which Cato the Elder shows the Roman senate a fig that "had been picked at Carthage the day before yesterday" (Pliny, *HN* 15.74-5). See Bechtold, "Rapporti fra Cartagine, la Sicilia occidentale e la Campania (IV – metà del II sec. a.C.)," for the presence at western Sicilian urban centers (not all coastal) of amphorae and finewares from Campania and Northern Africa; and chapters 5 and 6 for case studies.

[26] See chapters 5 and 6; also, A.M. McCann and J. Freed, *Deep Water Archaeology. A Late-Roman Ship from Carthage and an Ancient Trade Route near Skerki Bank off Northwest Sicily* (*JRA* suppl. 13; Ann Arbor, 1994); A.M. McCann and J.P. Oleson, *Deep-Water Shipwrecks off Skerki Bank. The 1997 Survey*

The persistent movement of people and goods in and out of the island is probably the key reason for Sicily's high and fairly stable urban settlement numbers throughout the Roman period. Some urban settlement was necessary in order to organize the processes of production and redistribution upon which the island's economy depended, and, as I will show in the case studies of the next two chapters, the fluctuations in the strength and location of outside markets for Sicilian exports could play a role in the stability of urban settlement at the regional level. The heterogeneity of the island's population had a profound impact on the topographies of individual cities and the dynamics of regional urban networks. New populations could import elements of urban culture, including practices such as the epigraphic habit, new architectural styles and technologies, or new ways of organizing urban space. The settlement of new population groups – especially if sanctioned by state authority, and accompanied by redistributions of land – could also impact the economic and political bases of individual cities, and could hence alter the relations between cities within regions.[27]

Another way of framing the analysis of change and stability in the settlement landscape of Sicily is in terms of the effects of "triggers" (i.e. proximate causes) versus longer-term (sometimes indirect) causes (cf. chapter 3). "Triggers" were the specific events or "shocks," whether physical (such as the periodic earthquakes felt in various parts of the island over its Roman history) or political (such as the Augustan program of colonization or the foundation of Constantinople), that had an impact on the settlement landscape as the immediate, direct causes of urban contraction and abandonment (or, potentially, urban expansion and growth). They are also the variables that warranted the most comment in the Greek and Roman historical record, and thus they have received the most attention from modern scholars.

Also at work in the settlement landscape were long-term processes that were often restricted to the island itself and its various regions – or even to specific localities - such as the breakdown and formation of regional settlement networks; changing methods and intensities of agricultural production; the accrual and dispersal of land by individuals as well as by cities; and, possibly, environmental degradation from agricultural exploitation and urbanization. The operation and impact of these processes are harder to detect, in general, than those of "triggers." However, the "triggers" and long-term forces shaping the settlement landscape were clearly interrelated, as the impact of shocks or triggers could vary across the landscape depending on the operation of long-term processes within regions or localities. So, for example, the foundation of Augustan colonies was the impetus for the political and economic reorganization of Sicily, but it was conditioned by pre-existing economic and political relationships within the island, and it had long-term repercussions, such as the redistribution of civic land and the creation of new classes of local elites, whose impact varied between localities and regions.

It is hardly surprising that the greatest concentration of urban abandonment and destruction falls between 300 and 200 BC (Plate 4.1: Maps 1 and 2), given the general violence of the century and the political changes that the island underwent: namely, the collapse of the Carthaginian eparchy after the First Punic War and of the kingdom of Syracuse after the Second

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(*JRA* suppl. 58; Portsmouth, R.I., 2004); and A.M. McCann, "Cosa and Deep Sea Exploration," in *The Maritime World of Ancient Rome*, ed. R.L. Hohlfelder, (*MAAR* suppl. 6; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 37-50, for the excavation of the wrecks of imperial and late Roman ships carrying mixed cargoes – probably mid-sized merchantmen engaged in *cabotage* - found off the western coast of Sicily, on an open-sea route between Carthage and the western coast of mainland Italy.

[27] See chapter 6 for further discussion of the impact of these processes on the fabric of individual urban centers.

Punic War, and their replacement with the fledgling administrative apparatus of Rome's first overseas *provincia*. Although histories of the period record military actions resulting in the destruction and abandonment of several towns, or in the reduction of their settled areas, only a few of these events can be confirmed in the archaeological record. One of the more dramatic cases is that of Megara Hyblaea, a Primary Urban Settlement on the coast north of Syracuse that was destroyed by Marcellus at the close of the Second Punic War and whose lack of substantial settlement thereafter has been confirmed by extensive excavation.[28] However, most of the Primary Urban Settlements that suffered in these wars managed to survive violent episodes and thrive thereafter, even if not on the same level as in previous decades. This seems to be the case with the cities that would go on to play a major part in the island's economy and administration - namely, Lilybaeum/Marsala, Agrigentum/Agrigento and Syracuse/Siracusa – as well as cities that were abandoned later in the Roman period, such as Camarina, on the southeastern coast, which was besieged by the Romans in 258 BC but has produced no archaeological evidence of a violent destruction.[29]

The impact of the wars of the third century appears instead to be chiefly indirect, and to implicate mainly the Secondary Urban Settlements of the West Central region (Plate 4.6: Maps 6 and 7). Settlements such as Monte Adranone (Adranon), Caltabellotta (Triokala), Monte dei Cavalli (Hippana), Montagnola di Marineo (Makella), and Pizzo Cannita had been founded in the border regions between the Greek *poleis* and the Carthaginian *eparchia*, and had primarily served strategic defensive and communications purposes, positioned on hilltops overlooking valleys or coastal plains, and controlling routes of access from east to west and north to south. Some of these settlements were of long duration, while others (such as Monte dei Cavalli) had been founded as recently as the fourth century, joining or replacing older centers with similar functions. Some, such as Monte Adranone and Monte dei Cavalli, show signs of violent destruction in the mid-third century that were probably connected with the First Punic War, while others appear to have been gradually abandoned around the same period. None was subsequently reoccupied at a substantial level.[30]

The reason for the lack of reoccupation of these sites, even in cases of non-violent abandonment, is undoubtedly their strategic obsolescence after the conclusion of the First Punic War. Such abandonment episodes were not novel in Sicily: secondary settlements founded by Greek coastal colonies could suffer obsolescence with the decline or destruction of their mother city, as seems to have been the case with the Hellenized center at Butera (identified as Omphake), in the hinterland of Gela, which was abandoned around the same time as the destruction of the colony of Gela in 282 BC. With the end of the Carthaginian *eparchia* in Sicily

[28] But see chapter 7 for the site's *Nachleben* as an agricultural settlement under the Roman Republic and Empire.

[29] Lilybaeum and Syracuse were the more or less permanent seats of the provincial quaestors by the end of the third century BC. Syracuse was made a *colonia* in 21 BC, while Lilybaeum and Agrigentum achieved this status later in the Principate, under Septimius Severus. See *CIL* X 7205 for Lilybaeum's colonial status; M. Silvestrini, "Colonia septimia Augusta Agrigentinorum," in *Scritti di storia per Mario Pani*, ed. S. Cagnazzi (Bari: Edipuglia, 2011), 455-68, for that of Agrigentum; and chapter 6 for further discussion of both cities. See also chapter 5 for the archaeology of Roman Republican Camarina.

[30] As mentioned above, the Probable Urban Settlements in the region show a similar decline in number around the same time. Sites such as Cozzo Spolentino, Monte Sara, and Colle Rotondo – all located on hilltops, the latter two above river valleys - have not been extensively excavated, but appear to have been settled from the archaic or classical era until the early or mid-third century BC.

and the progressive decline in the military autonomy of the older Greek *poleis* (culminating in the fall of Syracuse in 210 BC), the Punic and Greek defensive networks of secondary urban centers – garrisons and *phrouria* in easily defensible and often naturally fortified locations, but with a permanent population and some economic and religious functions[31] – became unnecessary, and their populations were probably dispersed to settlements in less isolated, more accessible locations.

In the second and first centuries BC, the defensive efforts of Sicilian cities were concentrated outwards (against pirates) or against internal threats (such as banditry or slave revolts), rather than against each other, and were organized with the approval of Roman authorities.[32] Since Sicily was already highly urbanized, the Romans, who maintained only a small, nominal military force on the island after the third century BC, adopted a strategy of collaboration with existing cities in order to ensure the security of the island, rather than creating or facilitating the creation of new urban centers, as they did in other, less urbanized regions of the Roman West.[33] This strategy could be modified in times of crisis, such as the Punic Wars, slave revolts, and civil war, when the Romans co-opted entire cities, partly or wholly displacing their populations and replacing them with new populations – often mercenaries or Roman veterans – whose loyalty was more assured, as a means of restoring order.[34]

The stability of settlement numbers in most regions in the Republican period runs counter to the picture of general urban decline painted in the ancient literary record and by some modern scholars. Although the slow decline in settlement numbers in the imperial period is significant, there are no apparent ruptures in the urban settlement landscape across the island that can be tied to specific events. Instead, what appears to be at work is a gradual process of urban contraction and abandonment that reaches a climax between the second quarter of the first century BC and the second quarter of the first century AD, in which the number of mid-sized urban centers was reduced, as cities were abandoned over a long period and not replaced, or as they lost their urban roles and were reduced to "village" level. This decline of mid-sized, intermediary centers occurred across the island, but seems to have been concentrated mostly in the interior and on the South Coast.

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[31] For example, by the fourth century, Monte Adranone (perhaps the western Sicilian Adranon mentioned by Diodorus Siculus) possessed at least three temples (one extra-mural), an extramural artisanal complex, and a probable storage facility within its walls: G. Fiorentini, *Monte Adranone* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1995), 9-12 and 15-21.

[32] Prag, "*Auxilia* and *Gymnasia*." This is also the context of the disastrous episode, recounted in the fifth book of Cicero's Second Verrine Oration, in which pirates burned a fleet of ships under the command of the Syracusan Cleomenes that Verres had assembled from the Sicilian *civitates*.

[33] See Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 112-26, for the "trickle-down" effect of the creation of *coloniae* and *civitas* capitals by Roman authorities on the development of other urban centers in early imperial Gaul. In Britain, the creation of urban centers (*coloniae* and *civitas* capitals) by Roman authorities was even more deliberate and disruptive to existing settlement patterns: M.O.H. Carver, *Underneath English Towns: Interpreting urban archaeology* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1987), 24-6 for a summary and map of this process. M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 1-37, discusses the impact of Roman administrative arrangements on the course of urbanization in early imperial Spain.

[34] This strategy was employed, *inter alia*, at Panhormus and Agrigentum after the First Punic War, at Morgantina and Agrigentum (again) after the Second Punic War, and at Tauromenium after the civil war (Wilson, *Sicily*, 18-20 and 33-5). See Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 132-45, for Roman imperial authorities' strategic manipulation of existing urban boundaries and creation of new cities in early imperial Achaea.

As in the West Central region, some Secondary Urban Settlements in other parts of the interior were destroyed or severely damaged in the wars of the first half of the third century BC and were subsequently abandoned.[35] However, many other centers – both Secondary and Primary – were abandoned in later centuries, in ways not easily ascribable to single events. Cities such as Assorus/Assoro, Adranon/Adrano, Montagna di Marzo (ancient Herbessos?), Morgantina, and Amestratus/Mistretta, spread throughout the East-Central interior of the island, and Heraclea Minoa, Camarina, and Phintias/Licata on the southern coast, all show reduced signs of urban activity – and in some cases, were clearly abandoned - between the early or mid-first century BC and the middle of the first century AD.[36]

In some cases, these processes of abandonment were hastened by military events – as at Morgantina, which seems to have suffered in the civil war between Sextus Pompey and Octavian – though more profound underlying processes seem to have been at work in almost all cases. For example, the impact of the breakdown of regional urban networks centered on powerful Greek *poleis* such as Syracuse – a local fluctuation in the long-term process that Daniel Asheri has described as the "colonization" and "decolonization" of the Greek world[37] – affected even some larger, more complex urban settlements not founded exclusively for defensive purposes. In the archaic and classical periods, Greek colonial foundations such as Syracuse/Siracusa, Gela, Akragas (Roman Agrigentum and modern Agrigento), Selinus and Naxos had played an important role in the urbanization of the Sicilian interior by "Hellenizing" (sometimes violently) already-existing indigenous centers as well as by founding sub-colonies in their hinterlands. The effects on secondary urban settlement patterns of the weakening or destruction of such traditionally strong colonial foundations as Naxos, Selinus and Gela had already been felt before the Roman conquest, in the fourth and early third centuries.[38] Furthermore, by the Roman Republican period, many settlements established for strategic purposes by one colonial power or another had outlived the rationale for their foundation, and the economic and political conditions that had facilitated their growth into settlements more complex than *phouria* no longer existed. If they were not effectively integrated into the economic and political networks that developed under Roman authority, the most likely result was a reduction in their urban roles, the contraction of their settled area, and perhaps eventual abandonment, as the "negatives" associated with their continued occupation outweighed the "positives" for their inhabitants, especially if they were located on mountaintops or in other hard-to-access spots.

Such complicated political and economic forces can be seen at work in the history of Morgantina, located on a long ridge at the western edge of the plain of Catania.[39] Morgantina prospered in the third century BC as a result of its control of an extensive and fertile territory. Its agricultural production made it an important member of Hiero II's Syracusan kingdom, its

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[35] Including Myttistraton and probably Francavilla di Sicilia: appendix 1, *s.v.*

[36] See chapter 5 for further discussion of the abandonment of Morgantina, Heraclea Minoa, Camarina, and Phintias/Licata.

[37] "Colonizzazione e decolonizzazione," in *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società I. Noi e i Greci*, ed. S. Settis (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 73-115, esp. 92-4. Asheri characterizes Greek history from the Myceneans until the Hellenistic period as "una continua alternanza di colonizzazioni e decolonizzazioni" (73), in which the major colonial areas of the Greek world, including Sicily, served as battlegrounds for the great hegemonic powers of each era (culminating, implicitly, with the Romans).

[38] See e.g. Monte Desusino (Phalarion?) and perhaps Butera (Omphake?), in the hinterland of Gela.

[39] See appendix 1, *s.v.*, for a summary of the history of Morgantina and for an archaeological bibliography, and chapter 5 for further discussion of its abandonment.

economic prestige (and political subordination to Syracuse) reflected in the monumental granaries in its agora. In the second century, once its population had been displaced by the Spanish mercenaries (*Hispani*) settled by the Romans and the settlement had lost its defensive function, as seen in the disuse of its fortifications, it developed an urban ceramic industry producing Campana C, pre-sigillata, and other finewares, and seems to have functioned as a commercial satellite of the major production center of Syracuse.[40]

However, by the early first century AD, the city was little more than a squatter settlement. Its depopulation was hastened by destruction wrought in the civil war, but perhaps also was symptomatic of the changing agricultural regimes in the region – a change hinted at by the later nearby development of the Piazza Armerina villa and the secondary urban center of Philosophiana.[41] As large estates arose in some parts of the interior, regional economic centers of gravity shifted to them. Cities such as Morgantina that had previously functioned as regional centers for agricultural processing and distribution lost their economic *raison d'être*, and were supplanted by smaller, less monumental, more specialized settlements, often located along major transportation routes (so-called *stationes*). Such a fate can be hypothesized for less well-excavated cities such as Assorus/Assoro and Adranon/Adrano, both originally founded by larger *poleis* for defensive purposes in the classical period and prosperous in the fourth and third centuries, but which seem to have experienced a reduction in activity (if not outright abandonment) in the imperial period.

One region that may have suffered particularly from a lack of economic integration was the South Coast, where urban settlement experienced a dramatic decline in the Republican period. By the early third century BC, the region had already suffered in warfare in which prominent *poleis* such as Gela and Selinus were casualties. After the relative peace imposed after the Second Punic War, however, the South Coast seems to have been gradually bypassed by prevailing Mediterranean commercial networks, which were now focused on the expanding market of the city of Rome: those between the North African and Campanian coasts (cf. Plate 4.8a), and between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. With the final collapse of the Carthaginian *eparchia* after the Third Punic War, and the incorporation of North Africa and its cities into the Roman overseas tributary empire by the mid-first century BC, the metropolis of Rome surpassed Carthage as the key nodal point in these larger networks.[42]

The concomitant abandonment of Heraclea Minoa and many of the farms of its hinterland in the third quarter of the first century BC, and the lack of Augustan-era ceramics or imported amphorae in the city itself, point to primarily economic reasons for the city's decline, although it may have been hastened by events like the servile wars of the mid- and late-second centuries BC. Further east along the coast, the city of Camarina (Greek Kamarina) prospered in the third century under the auspices of Hieron's Syracusan kingdom, when its agora was the center of commercial and artisanal activity. However, commercial activity seems to have dropped off in the agora in the second century BC, perhaps in connection with the end of Syracusan autonomy, and was sharply curtailed after the middle of the first century BC.[43]

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[40] Malfitana, "The view from the material cultural assemblage," 190-3.

[41] See chapter 7 for this development.

[42] In late antiquity, the breakdown of these Rome-centered networks together with the disintegration of Roman Mediterranean-wide political control had the opposite effect, facilitating the revival of direct economic links between the southern coast of Sicily and the Tunisian coast (see below and chapter 1).

[43] See chapter 5 for further discussion of these cities, as well as Phintias/Licata.

The growth of *latifundia* – or large estates under absentee ownership – may have played a role in the economic decline of cities in regions such as the South Coast and the interior. Although little can be said at present about the extent of such estates, or their mode of agricultural production, in some areas, they do appear to have fostered the development of alternative secondary urban centers to those that underwent contraction or abandonment in the late Republic and early Empire.[44] These settlements become particularly visible in the high and late Empire. They are usually located along primary or secondary inland transportation routes, and seem to have served as the residential bases of the agricultural labor force and as centers for the collection and processing of agricultural produce and for local craft production.[45] Some, such as Campanaio di Montallegro in the hinterland of Heraclea Minoa, could hardly be described as more than agricultural villages. Others, such as Philosophiana, achieved a degree of organization and monumentality, with elite *domus* as well as communal structures like public baths and, eventually, a small church.[46]

In contrast to the South Coast and interior, the other regions of Sicily – that is, the western corner of the island, and its northern and eastern coasts (including the region around Mt. Etna) – had fairly stable settlement numbers throughout the Roman Republic and Empire, with only slight declines in each century. Such numerical stability can partly be linked to the integration of these regions into wider Mediterranean economic networks. The western and northern coasts of Sicily lay along the maritime route from the Tunisian coast to the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy (Plate 4.8a) – a route that had long been the source of prosperity for coastal cities such as Lilybaeum, but which gained importance particularly after the regularization of the *annona* under Augustus, and continued to be essential for Rome's food supply until the fifth century.[47] The eastern and northeastern coasts were implicated in trade routes between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean through the Straits of Messina (cf. Plate 4.8b) – routes that began to concentrate at Rome in the Republican period. While such routes were most famous for carrying ancient artworks, artists, craftsmen, and raw materials such as marble from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Roman market, they also had a significant cultural impact on Sicily, bringing new styles and technologies to the island as well as to the Italian mainland.[48]

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[44] See chapter 1 for previous scholarship on the growth of imperial and senatorial *latifundia* in the early and high Empire.

[45] Among the probable secondary urban centers to emerge in the interior during or after the first century BC were Petrusa, perhaps an estate center and the *statio* / *plaga Calvisiana* of the *It. Ant*.; and Priorato, a rural settlement that perhaps developed into a *statio* in the early imperial period. The emergence of such settlements helps explain the overall stability of Probable Urban Settlement numbers in the Central and East-Central Interior between the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

[46] See chapter 5, chapter 7, and appendix 1 for further discussion of the development of Philosophiana and Campanaio.

[47] Wickham, *Framing*, 708-54, for the implications of the breakdown of the Rome-Carthage "tax spine" for regional urban networks in the Western Mediterranean after the fifth century. The formation of small port centers like Punta Secca (probably Kaukana) on the long-deurbanized southern coast in the late Roman and early Byzantine era – also reflected in the increase in the number of Probable Urban Settlements along the South and Southeastern coast (many centered around small churches) - has been linked to the re-emergence of small-scale, direct trade between the African and southern Sicilian coasts in the aftermath of the severing of the Rome-Carthage economic nexus. See chapter 7 for sub-urban settlement along the southern coast in late antiquity.

[48] L. De Salvo, "Il Commercio in Età Romana e Tardoantica," in *Lo stretto di Messina nell'antichità*, ed. F. Ghedini (Rome: Quasar, 2005), 165-80, for a summary of archaeological evidence, mostly from

The largest Sicilian cities – including Palermo (Panhormus), Catania (Catina), Syracuse and Messina (Messana) - undoubtedly owed their prosperity to their roles as ports in these trade networks, receiving goods from around the Mediterranean as well as exporting Sicilian products such as grain and, in some regions, wine, fruit, minerals, and fish products. In addition, the economic prominence of these larger centers, and hence their strategic importance to Rome, probably also fostered their integration into wider Roman political networks through grants of colonial and municipal status – a nexus between economic, social, and political prestige that I explore in greater detail in chapter 6. Smaller urban settlements also had significant economic roles to play in these exchange networks: for example, the settlement that arose in the Hellenistic period on the site of the old Greek colony of Naxos, which had been destroyed by Dionysius the Elder in 403 BC. This new settlement, a *mansio* in the imperial itineraries, was primarily focused on the commercial activity of its port, located on a sheltered bay just below the city of Tauromenium/Taormina, which had been established by the displaced population of Naxos. Excavations at the site of the *mansio* have revealed a series of kilns dating from the Hellenistic period until late antiquity that produced primarily transport amphorae. These vessels were probably used to export the famous wine produced in the region. The Roman imperial settlement possessed a warehouse complex with *dolia defossa*, also probably connected with the storage and export of wine.[49]

Many of the changes that may have encouraged the abandonment of hilltop centers in the central and eastern interior – such as the institution of the *pax Romana* and the growth of large agricultural estates – impacted other areas of Sicily, but economic integration could modify or retard abandonment processes in hilltop centers located in coastal regions. For example, the city of Calacte (Greek Kale Akte; modern Caronia) was founded by Ducetius in the fifth century BC on a steep hillside on the coast almost halfway between Panhormus/Palermo and Messana/Messina, at the site of modern Caronia. When the hillside site was abandoned in the early first century AD, perhaps after an earthquake, settlement shifted to the port below (modern Marina di Caronia), where excavators have uncovered a probable *horreum* and shops. Even after these structures were destroyed in the fourth century, perhaps in another earthquake, the numerous fragments of transport amphorae found in excavations attest to continued commercial activity into the fifth century.[50]

Segesta and Ietas/Monte Iato were two hilltop centers in the far western interior that were gradually abandoned during the imperial period, though the pace and extent of abandonment may have been modified by these centers' continued participation in wider economic networks. This integration was fostered by proximity to the northern and western coasts, and by existing

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shipwrecks, of commercial and state shipments passing through the Straits of Messina in the Roman period. The cultural influence of the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean on Sicily is seen most clearly in Syracuse under Hieron II, a ruler who fostered the city's political, economic, and cultural links to the East, and particularly to Ptolemaic Egypt (see chapter 1 for recent bibliography on Hieronian Syracuse, and chapter 6).

[49] See chapter 7; M.C. Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," in *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina ed evidenze dai Peloritani. Catalogo mostra archeologica, Museo di Naxos 3 dicembre 1999 – 3 gennaio 2000* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001), 13-29.

[50] See chapter 5 for further discussion of the development of the hilltop and coastal sites of ancient Calacte.

relationships with coastal economic centers like Panhormus/Palermo and Lilybaeum/Marsala.[51] Even as the settlement area of Segesta contracted in the first and second centuries AD, its forum continued to be a center of commercial activity, as shown by the high quantities of African transport amphorae and *terra sigillata* found in excavations.[52] Similarly, at Ietas/Monte Iato, even as public and private areas fell into disuse or disrepair in the first century AD, Italian and African finewares as well as transport amphorae from Africa, Italy, Spain and the East continued to be brought into the city. The site continued to be occupied, though probably on the level of a Secondary rather than Primary Urban Settlement, until the fifth century.[53]

The examples of Calacte, Segesta, and Ietas/Monte Iato show that even in regions with more stable settlement numbers, we should not assume continuity of settlement on individual sites throughout antiquity. Rather, stable settlement numbers can mask fluctuations over time in the distribution of urban settlements within regions. These fluctuations are particularly visible in the western corner of the island, where the gradual abandonment of older city centers such as Segesta and Eryx/Erice was coupled with the resilience or emergence of other centers, especially on the coast. The growth of cities such as Mazara and Drepanum/Trapani, as well as the general prosperity of coastal cities in western Sicily, was linked to the increased trade between the Italian and North African coasts, especially after the establishment of the Rome-Carthage "tax spine."

This fluctuation in settlement location can also be seen at the level of individual cities and their territories, and can be interpreted as a process of re-distribution of settlement in order to suit the needs and desires of inhabitants, rather than as "decline." Settlement in a given locality could shift between various sites, forming an apparent succession of settlements over time. Sometimes these shifts were promulgated by an outside power, and were probably temporary, such as the Romans' transfer of the population of the hilltop town of Eryx/Erice to the neighboring port city of Drepanum/Trapani after the First Punic War. Other shifts in settlement resulted from the destruction of an existing center, such as the apparent transfer of settlement from Monte d'Oro di Montelepre (ancient Hykkara?) to the coast around Baglio di Carini after the former was destroyed in the mid-third century BC, perhaps during the First Punic War.[54] While in cases such as that of Calacte, the shift in settlement location could be accomplished within a few decades, there could be a considerable time gap between the end of settlement at one site and the emergence of new settlement in the vicinity. This is particularly apparent in the Ragusid, where older Greek centers such as Ragusa (Hybla Heraia?) and Mutyce/Modica seem to have faded out of existence in the third and second centuries BC, but were only reoccupied or succeeded by new

[51] The predominance of coins from the mint of Panhormus in the Roman-era assemblage of Ietas/Monte Iato reflects the latter city's economic dependence on the former. S. Frey-Kupper, "La circolazione monetaria a Monte Iato dall'inizio della dominazione romana fino all' età tiberiana," in *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 19-22 settembre 1991* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1992), 281-97.

[52] V. Gagliardi and M.C. Parra, "Ceramiche africane dal foro di Segesta: dati preliminari," in *L'africa romana. Mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano: Atti del XVI Convegno di studio, Rabat, 15-19 dicembre*, ed. A. Akerraz (Rome: Carocci, 2006), 1615-28; A. Mandruzzato, "Segesta. SAS 5. Note sulla terra sigillata." In *Seconde giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 1059-70.

[53] See chapter 5 for further discussion of the pace and extent of abandonment of both cities.

[54] V. Giustolisi, *Hykkara. Sicilia archeologica che scompare* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1973); C. Greco et al., "Nuove indagini archeologiche nel territorio di Carini," *Kōkalos* 43/4 (1997/8): 645-77.

secondary centers, such as Treppiedi di Modica, in the middle or late Empire, with the population of the area perhaps dispersed in villages or smaller agglomerations in the intervening period.

Conclusion

The main conclusion of this study is that although Sicily experienced a reduction in city numbers during the Roman period, after the third century BC, there were no periods of sharp contraction in overall urban settlement. The total number of urban settlements in existence in the early first century BC (n = 47) represents a 4% decrease from the total in existence a century earlier (n = 49); the subsequent century saw a further 11% drop (n = 42). Therefore, rather than looking for events that served as "ruptures" in the island's settlement record, such as the slave wars of the second century BC, the governorship of Verres, or the civil war of the 30s BC, we should consider the long-term impact of the political changes of the Republican and imperial periods, especially on the regional and sub-regional level, that resulted in the gradual contraction of urban settlement.

While in some cases, an event could *trigger* the contraction or abandonment of a settlement (as was the case for Leontinoi/Lentini and Camarina, both of which suffered damage from sieges in the Second Punic War), the broader political developments of the Roman period - such as the end of Syracusan and Carthaginian hegemony, the curtailment of cities' abilities to organize their own defenses, and the lack of external impetus under the Roman Empire towards the foundation or expansion of cities - were the underlying *causes* of change in urban settlement patterns. These larger processes could have varying effects on different regions or sub-regions, ranging from the "weakening of the material forms" of the city to outright abandonment. An urban settlement's ability to sustain itself in the Roman period – i.e. its ability to maintain its monumental infrastructure, to support an occupationally heterogeneous population, and to exercise complex and diverse economic, political, religious, and cultural roles - was strongly linked to its economic potential, which was in turn strongly linked to geographical factors such as its proximity to the coast or to inland transportation routes.

One way to approach the de-urbanization of Sicily in the Roman period is to look backwards to the pre-Roman period and to seek the reasons behind the increasing pace of urbanization in Sicily in the late classical and Hellenistic periods (i.e. the early and mid-fourth century BC until the early third century BC). This growth of cities in number and monumentality (and, apparently, in population), which took place in many regions of the island but was spearheaded by the Syracusan leaders Timoleon and Hieron, was connected to the intensification of a number of economic and political processes. The increase in agricultural production and exchange in both the "Greek" and the "Carthaginian" halves of Sicily, particularly with North Africa, mainland Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean, brought with it increased cultural interaction between Sicily and other regions of the Mediterranean, and new ideas about the organization of urban space.[55] In addition, economic competition between *poleis,* as well as between the Greek and Carthaginian parts of the island, drove imperialistic activities such as the destruction and creation of cities, and increased the need for territorial security, leading to the construction of wall circuits in existing cities and to the creation of *phrouria* and other secondary defensive settlements.

[55] See chapter 1 for recent research on the cultural, economic, and political development of the Greek and Punic halves of Sicily in the late classical and early Hellenistic periods.

These intensifications may have created an artificial and temporary inflation in city numbers in some regions that was unsustainable under the different political and economic circumstances of the Roman *provincia*, as some urban settlements lost their strategic and/or economic *raison d'être*. This is most clear in the West Central region of the island, which experienced a sharp drop in urban settlement during and after the First Punic War, as well as in other parts of the interior, where the urban foundations of Dionysius the Elder and Timoleon faded out of existence. But even if it is accepted that the political and economic conditions of the early Hellenistic period fostered an artificially high level of urbanization in Sicily, the subsequent changes to the urban settlement landscape in the Roman period still require explanation. If many of the conditions that encouraged urbanization in earlier periods persisted into the Roman Republic - such as the intensification of agricultural production, the integration of much of the island into prevailing Mediterranean commercial networks, and the cultural and political impetus towards self-display among urban elites - what changes may have caused and/or triggered the slow but steady contraction of urban settlement in the imperial period?

The major political change of the late first century BC was the imposition of a lasting peace on the seas and on land that accompanied the final incorporation of the entirety of the Mediterranean basin into the Roman Empire. Though the ability of individual Sicilian cities to make war on each other had been limited since the end of Syracusan and Carthaginian hegemony and the creation of the Roman *provincia*, which brought the island under the military power of the Roman state, many cities had maintained militias or small fleets in order to combat brigandage and piracy in collaboration with Roman authorities.[56] However, the end of the Republic marked the end of cities' ability to exercise any form of military autonomy, though not necessarily the end of their symbolic need to defend themselves and their territories.[57]

This was because the fundamental relationship between Sicilian cities and Roman authorities was altered permanently with the creation of the Principate, and particularly after Augustus' "settlement" of Sicily in 21 BC. The Roman Republican system of provincial administration had largely relied on the creation of treaties and other formalized economic and political relationships with existing cities, rather than on the foundation of new urban settlements (i.e. *coloniae* or *civitates*) for assessing and collecting taxes and maintaining the peace. This system fostered an urban elite, especially in the cities of the economically integrated and prosperous eastern and northern coasts, who were active participants in city government, in public beneficence, and in negotiations with Roman authorities for concessions and privileges - this is the urban world of Sicily that Cicero depicts in his Second Verrine Oration.[58] These local notables were the driving force behind the monumentalization of urban public and private spaces

[56] Prag, "*Auxilia* and *Gymnasia*."

[57] See, e.g., the dispute over borders between Lilybaeum/Marsala and Agrigentum/Agrigento in the Julio-Claudian period, whose peaceful resolution (with the assistance of a Roman magistrate) is commemorated in a monumental Latin inscription found at Agrigento (Wilson, *Sicily*, 280).

[58] The career of Sthenius of Thermae as sketched by Cicero is illustrative of the Roman political connections of many Sicilian notables, and of the role local elites could play in negotiations between their home cities and Roman authorities: Sthenius, a *cliens* of Pompey and the most important man in Thermae (*civitatis suae nobilissimus*), was a host (*hospes et familiaris*) of Verres, but argued against Verres' confiscation of the public statuary of Thermae in the local council, incurring the wrath of the governor. Sthenius thereafter sought refuge in Rome, where he complained of Verres' abuses to his friends (*amici*), whereupon the Roman Senate took up his case (2.34f.).

across Sicily in the second and early first centuries, as the island and its urban elites participated in the general Hellenistic embrace of civic embellishment, luxury, and self-display.[59]

In the Empire, however, symbolic military power was vested in the colonies established under Augustus in strategic locations along the northern and eastern coasts, in cities such as Panhormus/Palermo and Syracuse/Siracusa that were already important political and economic centers, and that already possessed extensive, monumental urban infrastructure, such as regular street plans, wall circuits, and harbors. The apparent stability of the largest, most economically integrated cities – even those that had fallen foul of Rome in earlier periods, such as Lilybaeum/Marsala and Agrigentum/Agrigento – can be attributed to the diversity of their economic roles, their strategic interest to Roman authorities, and the persistence of a residential elite – interrelated factors that allowed these cities to acquire Roman municipal or colonial status if they had not been granted it in 21 BC. However, the limited internal and external impetus to city foundation and embellishment that came with this new system made it difficult for less well-integrated centers to maintain the monumental infrastructure they had acquired in earlier, more felicitous periods, as their economic bases were reduced and as they failed to attract elite beneficence. Eventually they were unable to sustain themselves as urban centers with the full range of political, economic, religious and social roles, even if the actual abandonment process was slow or never completed.[60]

The major economic change from the Republic to the Empire that affected urban settlement distribution came in landholding patterns: namely, the gradual emergence of imperial and senatorial estates across the island.[61] It is difficult to asses the relationship between landholding patterns and urbanization in the imperial period since so little is known about the extent and nature of these senatorial and imperial *latifundia* – for example, whether they consisted of single, large blocks of land, or of several separate parcels. Nonetheless, it remains a strong possibility that absentee ownership of large estates may have weakened the integrity of existing urban centers by creating rival economic "centers of gravity," especially in areas of the interior. In addition to altering the roles of existing towns, these *latifundia* fostered the emergence of different types of settlement, such as rural villas, estate centers, and *stationes / mansiones* along transportation routes. Some of these new settlements, such as Philosophiana, acquired truly urban social and economic roles over time, even if they lacked political autonomy, while others remained primarily agricultural processing centers. However, the growth of such new centers was gradual, and was outpaced by the contraction and abandonment of older urban centers throughout the imperial period.

Further questions and agenda for chapters 5 and 6

The study of fluctuations in overall settlement numbers and in urban settlement distribution over time on both an island-wide and regional level can highlight the operation of wider political

[59] Campagna, "Exploring social and cultural changes." See also the case studies in chapters 5 and 6.
[60] See chapter 5 for further discussion. For urban centers in northwestern Sicily that were gradually abandoned in the imperial period, such as Segesta, Ietas/Monte Iato, and Soluntum/Solunto, we can perhaps imagine a migration of elites to Lilybaeum/Marsala and/or Panhormus/Palermo, though specific evidence for this movement is lacking.
[61] The change in the tax burden of Sicily - from a tithe of a tenth of the harvest, collected in kind to a *stipendium*, or fixed amount, potentially collected in cash - hypothesized by some scholars as enacted in the time of Caesar or Augustus is by no means certain, and in any case, it would not have impacted significantly the economic and administrative roles cities exercised for their agricultural hinterlands.

and economic processes within the settlement landscape and point to important periods of transition. I hope that the above discussion will help serve as a corrective to the narratives of "decline" or "prosperity," and the impressionistic accounts of the "fates" of Sicilian cities, that have dominated scholarship of the island in the imperial period until recently. However, the numbers and analysis presented in this chapter are meant above all to be diagnostic of the regions and localities, as well as the periods of time, in which changes in settlement patterns may be most significant and long-lasting, rather than explanatory. Even if this study has made some progress towards the quantification of changes to the urban landscape of Roman Sicily, many gaps still remain in our knowledge of this landscape. As I have already discussed, the number of urban settlements is only one component of urbanization. In the present and for more recent periods of history, it would not normally be studied in isolation from changes in the physical size and/or population of cities. However, these other components of urbanization cannot confidently be measured for any Sicilian city in any period of its ancient history.

In place of these quantifiable measures of urbanization, in order to understand the place of cities in the settlement landscape of Sicily, we must instead look more closely at the changes to the urban fabric of individual centers – such as the construction of new, the demolition of old, and the modification of existing structures for new purposes, or the contraction, expansion, or shift in the inhabited area – as well as to changes in the nature and extent of rural settlement; and what these changes reveal about the roles that these cities played both in the lives of their inhabitants and in wider economic and political networks. The next two chapters will explore these less quantifiable, but still traceable, processes of change in the Sicilian settlement landscape.

One question raised by the apparent general de-urbanization of Sicily in the Roman period is: can an urban settlement persist, or exist, without a residential elite? This question is particularly pertinent for those areas of the interior where the effects of the consolidation of agricultural land into a few large estates are most apparent, and in which new, more economically specialized settlements emerge in the imperial period. In the absence of a residential elite or other inhabitants engaged in non-agricultural work (e.g. as merchants), can a "town" be composed primarily of agricultural workers who perhaps fulfill other roles as well, such as storing or processing agricultural produce into flour, olive oil and wine; and managing its redistribution, through sale, exchange, or collection as tax?

In the pages above, I attributed the strong regional differences in the distribution of urban settlement over time primarily to varying degrees of economic integration, but the considerable variation in the development of cities within regions still requires explanation.[62] More local factors also need to be taken into consideration, such as the origins and nature of a city's political institutions and the composition of its population, as well as its physical setting and its geological and climactic attributes, in order to understand that city's ability to participate in wider political and economic networks, and hence its fate under Rome. Was there any correlation between a city's origins – whether as a Greek *apoikia* or a Hellenized indigenous center - and its development in the Roman period? Were civic traditions stronger and more enduring in some cities than others - for example, in settlements whose urban origins were "organic" or of long duration, versus those whose urban fabric and institutions were imposed or "top-down"? Local

[62] The contrasting fates of the neighboring cities of Panhormus/Palermo and Soluntum/Solunto are illustrative: both cities are located on the northwestern coast and have access to good harbors, but Panhormus thrived in the Roman imperial period, while Soluntum was abandoned by the mid-third century AD.

environmental changes such as reduced access to water, the silting of harbors, and the degradation of soil have also been cited as potential factors in the abandonment of certain urban centers.[63] But can the pace and extent of such changes be measured with any certainty? And does abandonment of an urban center reflect actual environmental change, or rather a community's reduced ability to manage its resources?

Another area in which regional differences can be explored in greater detail is urbanism – that is, the ways in which individuals and communities conceived of, utilized, and behaved within urban space. Are the different origins of the urban systems of the island, as well as the diverse cultural and commercial links maintained between the regions of Sicily and other parts of the Mediterranean, reflected in the urban behaviors observable in the archaeological record of individual cities, such as the adoption of certain monumental forms of public and private architecture or the practice of setting up inscriptions in public spaces (the "epigraphic habit")?

I have also pointed to the importance of commercial relations between the Tyrrhenian coasts of Italy and Sicily – in particular, the cities of the modern Messina province and those of the Campanian and Latian coasts – in shaping the urban development of the northern and eastern coasts of Sicily in the Roman Republican period. Did these relations extend into urban culture and demography – that is, can we detect any cultural influence or interchange between the cities of Sicily and those of southern Italy, or migration of individuals and groups between regions? And did these strong commercial relations persist into the imperial period, or were they weakened as mainland Italy ceded its economic dominance of the Mediterranean to such regions as Gaul, Baetica and Tripolitania? In other words, how did the shifting Mediterranean economic currents of the Roman imperial period affect the urban development of individual Sicilian cities, and how did the cities of Sicily interact with those of other regions of the Roman Empire?

And finally, I have alluded to the probable link between the strategic position of a city, the extent of its economic links with other parts of the Mediterranean, and its treatment in Augustus' "settlement" of 21 BC. In the centuries that followed this settlement, did those cities that gained Roman status as *municipia* or *coloniae* survive at a higher rate than other cities? If so, was this due to their Roman status, and the political, economic, and social advantages that came with it? Or was the grant of Roman status a symptom rather than a cause of the continued vitality of a city and its institutions?

The urban settlements that provide the case studies for the chapters that follow are those for which the most extensive and reliable archaeological, epigraphic, and historical evidence exists for the Roman imperial period (Plate 4.9). These settlements nonetheless vary in their physical settings, their origins and pre-Roman histories, and in their development under the Roman Empire. In the western corner of the island, I will focus on the cities of Segesta, Lilybaeum (modern Marsala), Panhormus (Palermo), Ietas (Monte Iato), Soluntum (Solunto), and Entella. My case studies from the South Coast and Interior will be Agrigentum (Agrigento), Morgantina, Centuripae (Centuripe), Phintias (Licata), Heraclea Minoa and Camarina. The cities under examination on the northern coast are Calacte (Caronia), Halaesa, and Tyndaris (Tindari). The case studies located on the eastern coast (including the Etna region) and the southeastern corner of the island are: Syracusae (Siracusa), Catina (Catania), Tauromenium (Taormina), and Helorus (Eloro).

[63] For example, the abandonment of Morgantina has been attributed, in part, to the gradual diminution of the city's water supply, as shown in the disuse and disrepair of public wells by the late Republican period – see chapter 5 for further discussion.

Chapter 5 will look at processes of urban abandonment and will explore how and when a city ceases to be a city in the archaeological record. The chapter will also examine the uses of urban space after abandonment: can an urban center retain some functions after its abandonment, as a center for economic activity (such as agricultural processing), or as a repository of communal memory or place of cult? The results of field surveys in the hinterlands of urban settlements will be used to assess the implications of the abandonment of an urban center for surrounding rural settlement: does the de-population of the center extend to its territory, or can it have the opposite result, with the formerly urban population re-distributed to other forms of settlement in the territory?

Chapter 6 will explore the changes in the urban fabric of cities in which occupation persisted in the imperial period. Urban contraction, or shifts in the location of habitation or in the functions of space within a settlement, can point to shifting priorities of urban inhabitants rather than "decline." In addition, archaeological evidence for the reuse, adaptation, or change in use of existing structures, or the construction of new buildings, can reflect changes in a city's administrative, economic, and religious roles, the attitudes of inhabitants towards urban infrastructure, and perhaps changes in the ambitions and priorities of the local elite. If accompanied by inscriptions, these projects can also provide evidence for urban patronage relations. One innovation that the structures and institutions of cities across the empire had to accommodate was the imperial cult, and so the chapter will also explore the place of the veneration of emperors in Sicilian urban space, and in intra-urban political and social relations.

Chapter 6 will also examine the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the composition of urban populations. Most of the available evidence for the ethnic and linguistic identities, occupations, family size and composition, and wealth of urban residents comes from funerary contexts; in the realm of epigraphy, funerary epitaphs as well as public inscriptions such as honorific dedications can shed light on the social status and aspirations of urban residents. In cities with more extensive epigraphic records, we can also explore the relations between the various social strata of the city and between cities and imperial authorities. Inscriptions can also provide evidence of elite family histories and ties to certain cities and regions.

Chapter 5: Tracing Urban "Decline" and Abandonment

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I outlined changes in the urban settlement landscape – that is, in the number and location of cities – in the six centuries of Roman rule over Sicily, and I highlighted the key periods of transition for this landscape for the island as a whole and for its various regions. The two main transitional periods, in which the number, size, and monumentality of urban settlements declined significantly in certain parts of the island, occurred in the early and mid-third century BC, and between the first half of the first century BC and the middle of the first century AD. I concluded the chapter with an analysis of these transitions that emphasized the interconnectedness of broad economic changes, such as shifting patterns of exchange in the central Mediterranean, particularly in the direction of Rome, and finite political events, including the First and Second Punic Wars and the transition from the Late Roman Republic to the Principate of Augustus.

In this chapter, I examine more closely the process of "de-urbanization" that took place on a large scale in Sicily in these periods of transition, but which affected various parts of the island to different extents and at varying paces. I examine the processes by which an urban center ceased to be a center of population and of economic, political, and social life by tracing the course that abandonment and contraction of the urban center took in individual Sicilian cities. I also explore the traces that "de-urbanization" leaves in the archaeological record – in other words, the physical criteria by which modern archaeologists and historians have diagnosed "decline" and "abandonment" at urban sites in Sicily. And finally, I discuss the implications of "de-urbanization" both for the physical spaces of cities and for the economic, political, and social status of (current and former) urban populations.

The changes in urban size, location, and architectural pretension that I outlined on a broad scale in chapter 4 and discuss in greater detail in this chapter are not the whole picture of "de-urbanization" in Sicily.[1] The demographic aspects of this process are elusive at the island-wide scale, at which it is difficult to identify criteria by which to trace and compare the populations of Sicilian cities over time (cf. chapter 2), but they are essential to understanding the place of cities in the Sicilian settlement landscape of the Roman period. Where, and how, did the inhabitants of Sicily live after they left destroyed or decaying urban centers? Did they move to other cities, settle in the countryside, emigrate, or simply "die off"? Where possible, therefore, I attempt to determine if the de-population of an urban center implied the loss of population in its territory as a whole, or whether we can detect shifts in the concentration of Sicilian urban populations between cities or between regions over time.[2]

Although in chapter 4, I emphasized the early and mid-third century BC as a key period of settlement transition especially among the urbanized hilltop centers of the western interior, my focus in this chapter is on the cities in which the process of de-urbanization began, or came to fruition, in the second main period of transition, between the mid-first century BC and the mid-first century AD. As I have discussed in previous chapters, this is the key century for the development of a distinctly Roman urbanism, in which the consolidation of the Roman

[1] For the importance of the demographic aspect of ancient urbanization, see e.g. Lo Cascio, "Urbanization as a Proxy."

[2] This is primarily possible through field survey data, which has been collected only in some urban territories.

Mediterranean empire led to a general atmosphere of economic prosperity, increased exchange, and political participation amongst provincial elites, which in turn led to the emergence of new cities (or the renovation and re-shaping of older ones) as centers of political, economic, social, and religious and cultural life in the provinces. The period – and especially the Principate of Augustus – also saw the development of a rhetoric of "restoration" and "renovation" of urban centers, beginning with the Urbs Roma itself and extending out to the cities of the empire, that was adopted by successive emperors, and trickled down the social scale to provincial and local elites.[3]

In this context of actual and rhetorical urban growth and renovation in the empire, the disappearance of ancient urban centers in Sicily both as described in the texts of Strabo and Pliny, and as visible in the archaeological record, is worthy of exploration, not least because it has received so little attention from scholars of the early and high Roman Empire.[4] Although the deterioration of the urban built environment, potentially accompanied by a decrease in population, particularly among the ancient urbanized hilltop centers of the interior, has long been acknowledged in scholarship of the Roman imperial period in Sicily, it is usually taken as an *explanans* for wider changes to the settlement landscape, rather than as an *explanandum*[5] – in other words, there has been little interest in tracing the potentially varying paces and processes by which urban centers ceased to be "urban" in the archaeological record (i.e. to modern scholars), to contemporary Roman observers such as Strabo and Pliny, and in the eyes of their current and former inhabitants.

In an effort to better understand the processes by which urban centers lost their "urban" nature, this chapter revisits several of the themes explored in earlier chapters. In chapter 3, I defined urban centers as *loci* of concentrated economic, political, and social activity, but without specific identifiable spatial forms; in this chapter, I continue to emphasize the potential for the physical fabric of individual cities to change over time along with the cities' roles in the lives of their inhabitants and in broader economic and political systems. In chapters 2 and 4, I pointed to the relationship between an urban center's economic integration and its political prestige in the Roman period, and emphasized the role of a residential urban elite in negotiating this relationship, in part through their investment in urban infrastructure. In this chapter, I continue to stress the role of local elites in maintaining (or allowing the decay of) urban fabric, as well as the relationship between a city's geography and its ability to adapt to the changing economic circumstances of the early Principate.

This chapter consists of a series of case studies of urban settlements in which, on the basis of archaeological as well as historical evidence, scholars have hypothesized abandonment on a

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[3] E. Thomas and C. Witschel, "Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding inscriptions from the Latin West," *PBSR* 60 (1992): 135-77, for the rhetoric of urban restoration.

[4] This stands in contrast to the considerable literature on changing (or "declining" or "transitioning") urban landscapes in Italy and in the (former) Roman provinces in late antiquity; see chapter 3. Alcock's *Graecia Capta* is one of the few works to discuss de-urbanization in the Roman imperial period, in the context of the creation of the provincial landscape of Achaea.

[5] A certain circularity of argument can ensue, in which scholars cite the general "decline of hill towns" in Sicily as a reason for the material impoverishment or disintegration of individual centers. For example, in his thesis on the Tyrrhenian coastal settlement of Caleacte, A. Lindhagen states of the neighboring city of Halaesa, "The decline of the city from the 2nd century AD must however be primarily ascribed to the general phenomenon of depopulation of Sicilian hill towns in this period … which can be documented also at Caronia" ["Caleacte: production and exchange in a north Sicilian town, c. 500 BC – AD 500" (thesis, Lund University, 2006), 162].

settlement-wide scale under the Roman Empire (see Plate 5.1a for a map). The order of the case studies is broadly chronological, beginning with cities where abandonment processes began just before or in the early years of the Roman Empire in Sicily (roughly speaking, the second and third quarters of the first century BC), and ending with those cities in which urban life - or at least life in the urban center – persisted in the high and late imperial periods (i.e. the second century AD and after). In each case study I describe and analyze the pace and extent of settlement abandonment as revealed in the published archaeological record, but with a critical eye towards the interpretation of this record. For each site, it is essential first to interrogate the material and processes that excavators have cited in describing a settlement as "in decline" or "abandoned," such as the destruction or collapse of buildings, the contraction of settlement area, and the diminution of stratified material culture. Are these reliable indicators of urban abandonment, or are other explanations possible? I then outline the processes of abandonment as visible in the built environment: which excavated structures or areas show signs of disuse, collapse, or destruction?[6] When did abandonment processes begin in each settlement, and at what pace did they proceed? Does the pace and nature of abandonment vary within a site, or even within individual structures?

Each case study also examines the *Nachleben* of the site: that is, if there are any signs of resettlement following the primary abandonment, such as the re-appropriation and re-functioning of urban space for economic, religious/burial, and residential activity. Where possible, I also discuss rural settlement patterns within city territories: how did rural settlement change in the period of urban depopulation and abandonment? Each case study concludes with a discussion of the possible causes of abandonment of the urban center that takes into account the broader economic and political processes shaping the urban landscape of Sicily as discussed in chapter 4, as well as each center's unique history and geographical situation.

The eleven urban centers discussed in this chapter share a number of geographical and historical traits. Most could be described as occupying an "elevated" position, whether on promontories, hillsides, or bluffs overlooking the sea; or on mountain ridges and summits in the interior.[7] But since very little of the Sicilian coast is level and mountain ranges dominate most of the interior, this commonality is hardly meaningful. All of the urban centers already had lengthy and eventful histories of settlement by the mid-first century BC, and their location in highly visible but easily defendable places is easily explained by the military, political, and economic

[6] As discussed in chapter 3, processes of destruction and abandonment in the archaeological record can be artifact-rich, or, equally, characterized by artefactual voids. For example, collapse and destruction layers within buildings (e.g. fallen roofs and walls) may seal diagnostic ceramics, coins, and other material culture that can provide a *terminus ad* or *post quem* for the destruction event, but, particularly in cases of abandonment (rather than sudden, "violent" destructions), longer-term processes such as sedimentation that accompany the disuse of a structure can leave little datable material. In addition, the presence or absence of certain diagnostic ceramics– such as Italian and African terra sigillata – is the most common means for excavators to date the occupation or abandonment of a site (and is often the only form of datable evidence available), but, as I try to show in the case studies of this chapter, this method is not without its shortcomings.

[7] Heraclea Minoa, Phintias, Camarina, and Helorus are located on the southern and southeastern coasts, and are situated on low hills above or near river mouths. Soluntum and Calacte are on the northern coast, situated on higher hills, and also overlook harbors. Apollonia is also on a hill overlooking the Tyrrhenian, but is more distant and less accessible from the coast than Soluntum or Calacte. Segesta, Entella, and Ietas are hilltop settlements in the western interior. Morgantina occupies a long ridge in the east-central interior, just southwest of the Plain of Catania.

priorities of their founders.[8] With the possible exception of Soluntum and Helorus, the economic base of each settlement was agricultural, with the urban center serving as a processing, storage, and marketing center for the products of a rural hinterland, and, in the case of the coastal centers, also as a point of embarkation and importation.[9] In many cities, these storage and redistributive activities were accompanied by artisanal activity within or just outside the urban center, most visibly in the form of ceramic production.[10]

However, the differences between the settlements are also considerable, beginning with their basic geography: they are found on the northern and southern coasts, and in the East and West of the island. The origins and culture of the urban centers also varied, with four of definite or probable indigenous origin, and four founded as Greek or Phoenician *apoikiai*. Soluntum, Segesta, Monte Iato, and Entella lay within or at the edges of the Punic *eparchia* established in the late fifth century in the western half of the island, while Morgantina, Camarina, Helorus and Apollonia were long under the control or influence of Syracuse. The cities' early relations with Rome also followed diverse courses: Segesta was one of Rome's oldest allies in Sicily, while Morgantina and Camarina were subject to violent destruction in the course of the two Punic Wars, whereas Apollonia, Helorus, and Calacte played apparently insignificant roles in Rome's conquest and arrangement of the Sicilian *provincia* (at least from the perspective of the center of power).

Despite these differences, as I have stated, all of the cities examined in this chapter underwent processes of abandonment within the period ca. 50 BC – AD 50. In the next section, I trace the various courses that these abandonment processes followed in each city.

Case Studies

Heraclea Minoa

Heraclea Minoa was founded in the mid-sixth century BC as a sub-colony of Selinus on the southern coast in order to check the westward expansion of Akragas (Roman Agrigentum). The ancient city center, located on a hillside above the mouth of the Platani, and its hinterland have been uninhabited since antiquity and have been largely undisturbed except by agricultural activity. Excavations of the city center in the 1950s and 1960s led by E. De Miro uncovered a theatre built into the hillside overlooking the sea, sections of a wall circuit, as well as a series of elongated residential *insulae* on an orthogonal street plan extending south from the theatre, on a slope towards the sea (see Plate 5.1b for a plan of the excavated portions of the ancient city center). More limited campaigns in the 1980s and 1990s focused on further articulating the

[8] Most of the cities emerged in the archaic period, either as Greek or Phoenician colonial centers and sub-colonies (Heraclea Minoa, Camarina, Helorus, and Soluntum), or as fortified, "Hellenized" indigenous urban centers (Segesta, Entella, Monte Iato, and probably Morgantina). Apollonia and Calacte were founded in the fifth century (by Dionysius I of Syracuse and Ducetius, respectively), while Phintias was established by the eponymous tyrant of Akragas for the displaced population of Gela in the 270s BC. By the third century, all (with the possible exception of Calacte and Phintias) possessed a defensive wall circuit. As discussed below, almost all of these centers had experienced at least one abandonment or settlement shift in the centuries preceding the Roman Empire.

[9] Storage facilities from various periods have been excavated at Entella, Morgantina, Camarina, and Calacte, while market structures (*macella*) have been identified at Morgantina and Segesta.

[10] Especially at Morgantina, Camarina, and Calacte.

layout of the residential area first uncovered during De Miro's excavations.[11] De Miro dated the construction of the theatre to the late fourth and early third century BC, and identified several phases of occupation for the residential area, which was laid out in the late fourth century, subsequently cut by the construction of an eastern perimeter wall, and continued to be occupied into the first century BC. In De Miro's view, the fourth and early third centuries – when the city's monumental plan took shape, perhaps under the influence of Timoleon - constituted the period of its greatest prosperity and urban development.

The urban center appears to have undergone at least two phases of destruction and contraction, followed by significant rebuilding, in the early or mid-third century and in the second century, in the context of the servile wars. The construction activities in the earliest excavated strata in the theatre and residential areas are datable by ceramics to no earlier than the late fourth century BC; in this phase, the city seems to have extended along the plain to the east and west of the theatre.[12] De Miro and later excavators observed burnt layers in the orchestra of the theatre and above the earliest occupation stratum of the residential area, which were dated broadly to the third century BC.[13] In the course of the first half of the third century, a new eastern defensive wall was constructed, reusing elements (including an altar and monumental inscriptions) from earlier structures. This wall marked the new, eastern limit of the city, and was built directly over residences from the late fourth/early third century phase.[14] Although this wall implies the contraction of the city's inhabited area, the reasons for its construction are unclear, and its early/mid-third century date can only be inferred from its stratigraphic relation to the residences it superimposed. De Miro attributed its construction to the events of the First Punic War, or as a reaction to the danger of landslides in the eastern plain of the city. Later excavators have hypothesized that the wall could have been constructed in response to the military ventures of the Syracusan Agathocles in the area as early as the late fourth century.[15]

Construction and habitation appears to have continued in the city's residential quarter in the third and early second century BC (Plate 5.2a).[16] However, in the second half of the second century BC, the various quarters of the city appear to have undergone at least two phases of destruction and rebuilding connected to the events of the first and second servile wars, and the

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[11] The main publications of the results of the 1950s-1960s excavations are: E. De Miro, "Heraclea Minoa. Scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955-56-57," *NSc* 12 (1958): 232-87; id., "Heraclea Minoa. Risultati archeologici e storici dei primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," *Kōkalos* 12 (1966): 221-33; and id., "Il teatro di Heraclea Minoa," *RendLinc* 8.21.5-6 (1966): 151-68. For the results of the later, more limited excavation campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s, L. Campagna, "Una nuova abitazione ad Eraclea Minoa. Primi dati," in *Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia: Atti del colloquio, Lecce, 23-24 giugno 1992*, ed. F. D'Andria and K. Mannino (Galatina: Congedo editore, 1996), 111-22; and V. Calì and S.C. Sturiale, "Eraclea Minoa. Saggi archeologici," *QuadA* 1.2 (2000): 41-64.

[12] De Miro, "Scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955-56-57," 254-5, and "Il teatro."

[13] De Miro, "Scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955-56-57," 254 and 264; Calì and Sturiale, "Eraclea Minoa," 48-9.

[14] At least one of the residences ("Casa A") cut by the wall appears to have been occupied into the second century BC: De Miro, "Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 229.

[15] De Miro, **"**Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 229; J.A. de Waele, "Les fouilles d'Héracléa Minoa, 1971. Rapport préliminaire," *MededRom* 36 (1974): 9-18, at 15.

[16] For example, a *lararium* was built in "Casa IIA" in the period between the Second Punic War and the Second Servile War, an indication of the settlement's cultural and social links with the Italian peninsula (De Miro, **"**Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 231).

intervening imposition of a colony of displaced locals by the consul Rupilius in 132/1 BC.[17] In the residential area to the south of the theatre, the houses built in the course of the third century show signs of (at least one) destruction and reconstruction or reuse in the course of the second century.[18] While one house ("Casa B") was destroyed in this period, its neighbor ("Casa A"), which had already been cut by the construction of the eastern perimeter wall and further impacted by the expansion of this wall in the second century, was apparently converted to a military/storage facility.[19] The expansion of the eastern wall circuit in the second century, probably in the context of the servile wars, also obstructed the drainage channel (*euripus*) of the theatre that had previously emptied outside the wall, implying that this monument had fallen into disuse in the second century.[20]

After the period of the servile wars, occupation and activity continued in the city in the first century BC, both in the old residential area south of the theatre and west of the eastern perimeter wall, and, for the first time, in the area surrounding the theatre itself. A series of structures were built upon the ruins of the theatre, while a building of at least four rooms was constructed to the east of the theatre, partly superimposed upon its *analemma* and partly leaning against the old fortification wall.[21] De Miro identified seven houses among these structures, all consisting of a series of rooms organized around a small central courtyard. In the residential area to the south of the theatre, some houses destroyed in the second century were left in ruins, while others were rebuilt or repurposed.[22]

The main feature of the late second and first century BC phase of the city seems to be the reuse of older structures such as the theatre and peristyle houses, but without regard for the orthogonal grid plan of the city and for the space to the immediate south of the theatre which had originally been open, and presumably public (Plate 5.2b). Scattered clusters of small houses and workspaces existed in isolation, confined to the western portion of the plain, and large swathes of the former inhabited area remained unoccupied and in ruins.[23] There also seems to have been a

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[17] Cic. II *Verr*. 2.125 for the Rupilian settlement at Heraclea.

[18] Most of our knowledge of the chronology of the residential area of Heraclea Minoa comes from De Miro's excavation of the adjoining third-century peristyle houses he designated "Casa A" and "Casa B:" "Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 226-33.

[19] E. De Miro, "La casa greca in Sicilia: Testimonianze nella Sicilia centrale dal VI al III sec. a. C.," in *Philias Charin: Miscellanea de studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* vol. 2 (Rome: Bretschneider, 1980), 707-37, at 719-21**.** De Miro dated the destruction of Casa B on the basis of fragments of Dressel 1 amphorae and Campana C wares found in its collapse layers ("Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 228-30; "La casa greca in Sicilia," 720).

[20] Sediment had begun to accumulate on the original floor of the orchestra of the theatre as early as the third century, and continued to accumulate in the first half of the second century BC: De Miro, "Il teatro," 165-8.

[21] De Miro, "Scavi eseguiti negli anni 1955-56-57," 257-60; "Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 221-5.

[22] For example, "Casa A," which remained in use into the third quarter of the first century BC (De Miro, "La casa greca in Sicilia," 721).

[23] De Miro, "La casa greca," 716; G.F. La Torre, "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica a Tindari, Eraclea Minoa e Finziade. Nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca," in *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: Alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente,* ed. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 83-95, at 90.

new emphasis on economic activity in the rebuilt domestic quarters of the urban center: particularly, the production of pottery, and also perhaps stoneworking.[24]

De Miro hypothesized that the city underwent nearly two centuries of slow decline from its early third century BC heyday, perhaps instigated by events such as the Punic and servile wars or natural processes such as coastal erosion that were only mitigated by the rebuilding efforts associated with the Rupilian colony. While other scholars have cast doubt on this image of inexorable urban decline,[25] there is general agreement that the city was disintegrating physically and politically by the mid-first century BC, and that its final phase of occupation ended in the third quarter of the first century BC. The series of small houses and workshops built over the ruins of the theatre and the fortification wall are the last datable structures in the city center. The total absence of Arretine wares, Sicilian "pre-sigillata," and Augustan-era amphorae from these structures led De Miro to conclude that the settlement was abandoned by the beginning of Augustus' reign, perhaps in connection with the upheavals of the Roman civil wars.[26] More recent excavations in other areas of the city center seem to confirm De Miro's conclusion.[27]

Field surveys conducted in the 1980s by R.J.A. Wilson in the hinterland of the city have complemented De Miro's picture of an urban center in decline with evidence for a decrease in the number of farms in the first century BC, with little trace of rural settlement after the last quarter of that century. The few farm sites that remained, however, appear to have increased in size over the course of the Empire, apparently growing into "villas" and centers of large farming estates.[28] Separate excavations in the plain near the old city center in the early 1990s revealed a

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[24] De Miro identified the building superimposed upon the eastern *analemma* of the theatre in the first century BC as a potter's workshop, based on its organization of space and on the quantities of tiles and amphorae found within [*L'antiquarium e la zona archeologica di Eraclea Minoa* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello stato, 1965), 18-19]. De Miro, "La casa greca," 718-9, for the probable adaptation of Casa C into a workspace in the second and first centuries BC. Calì and Sturiale, "Eraclea Minoa," 49 for potential stoneworking activity in Casa E in the period between the two servile wars.

[25] La Torre, for example, hypothesizes a period of "urban renovation" for Heraclea in the decades after the Second Punic War, when the city would have served as an embarkation point for the agricultural produce of its territory ("Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 90). This view is supported by Cicero's Second Verrine Oration, in which the city still appears populous and politically active – Cicero stayed there during his trip to Sicily (5.129), and the city contributed a ship to Verres' anti-pirate campaign (5.86).

[26] As far as I can ascertain, De Miro never published a full analysis of the ceramic material from his excavations of "Abitato I," the series of structures built over and around the ruins of the theatre. He notes that quantities of Campana A and Campana C black gloss were found in the use layers of these rooms and in the strata in contact with the pavement and foundations, suggesting a use period extending from the second half of the second century BC into the first century BC. He also cites the presence of Dressel 1-type amphorae and Dressel 2-type lamps of the first century BC in the use and fill layers. However, given the absence of Arretine ware, "presigillata," and amphorae of the Augustan era, he extends the use of these structures to no later than the third quarter of the first century BC ("Primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato," 224).

[27] Campagna dates the destruction of the courtyard of the residential complex within an insula first excavated in 1990 to the middle of the third quarter of the first century BC, on the basis of the few fragments of Campana A, amphorae of type Dressel 1B and 1C, and red-gloss wares including Sicilian "pre-sigillata" recovered from under the collapse of its roof and walls ("Una nuova abitazione," 117-19).

[28] R.J.A. Wilson and A. Leonard, Jr., "Field Survey at Heraclea Minoa (Agrigento), Sicily," *JFA* 7 (1980): 219-39; R.J.A. Wilson, "The Hinterland of Heraclea Minoa (Sicily) in Classical Antiquity," in *Papers in Italian Archaeology 2* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), 249-60. See also chapter 7 for similar

basilica and cemetery in use in the fourth century AD, and a nearby settlement with evidence of occupation in the late Republican period as well as in the third century AD. The development of this settlement/funerary complex – perhaps the center of an estate – has been linked to the presence of a coastal road connecting the late antique dioceses of Agrigento and Triocala.[29]

Even though our knowledge of the history of the urban center of Heraclea Minoa is fragmentary, and perhaps will never be complete due to ongoing coastal erosion and sedimentation of the Platani, its archaeological record in its present state points to the long, drawn-out form that civic disintegration could take, and to the difficulty of ascribing this process to single causes or events. The construction of the eastern perimeter wall within the city's residential district, the subsequent enhancement of this wall at the expense of earlier public and private buildings, and signs of destruction of residences by fire point to violence as a force shaping the city's topography in the third and second centuries. Although the potential political changes to the urban community that accompanied these military events are even harder to tease out of the archaeological record, it is clear that the community's financial means and political and economic priorities shifted over time, and perhaps most decisively in the decades following the first servile war and the creation of the Rupilian colony, from the maintenance of the integrity of monumental public buildings and spaces such as the theatre, theatre terrace, street network, and wall circuit, to the construction and maintenance of small households, storage facilities, and productive units.

The diminution of settlement in the hinterland of Heraclea Minoa that paralleled the apparent abandonment of the city as early as the mid-first century BC also suggests that economic forces were at work in the city's de-urbanization, as the shift of commercial networks away from the south coast reduced both the potential livelihood of small farmers and the economic base of the urban center itself.[30] The consolidation of rural settlement into larger estates was a seemingly later and gradual process, and these estates seem to have coalesced along the coastal road network rather than around the urban center and harbor of Heraclea. And finally, the persistent threat of coastal erosion and slippage may have reduced the appeal of settlement in the urban center, especially as the community lost the financial and organizational means by which to deal effectively with such environmental challenges.

The case of Heraclea Minoa also speaks to the difficulty of dating the final abandonment of an urban settlement with precision, since the end of any form of residential life and economic activity (let alone political organization) at the site is inferred from the absence of ceramics and other datable materials after the early Augustan period. The lack of such datable, portable material culture as Arretine ware – the dominant fineware of the western Mediterranean of the

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developments (i.e. the emergence of "estate centers" and other sub-urban, economically oriented settlements) elsewhere on the south coast.

[29] G. Fiorentini, "Attività di indagini archeologiche della Soprintendenza beni culturali e ambientali di Agrigento," *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 717-33, esp. 729-33. This road would have largely traced the Roman (and probably earlier) southern coastal route between Agrigentum and Lilybaeum recorded in the *It. Ant.* See chapters 2 and 7 for further discussion of this route, and appendix 1 for the episcopal see of Triocala (probably to be identified with modern Caltabellotta, on or close to the interior route connecting Palermo/Panhormus with Agrigentum and the southern coast.

[30] That is, the urban center would have played a reduced role in both large-scale maritime trade (i.e. export for larger markets, such as Rome) and, perhaps more significantly for small-scale producers, as a stopping-point on *cabotage* journeys. In addition, the probable decline of the population of the urban center would have reduced its pull on its hinterland as a market for agricultural products, also damaging the livelihoods of smaller-scale farmers.

early and mid-Augustan period that is found on many urban sites in Sicily, including some of the case studies below – points more directly to Heraclea's lack of economic integration than to its abandonment. The activities taking place in the urban center in the early first century BC may also be interpreted as symptoms of the settlement's increasing economic isolation (or self-sufficiency?), since the reuse of the existing urban infrastructure seems increasingly geared towards local, household-based economic activity, such as ceramic production, for apparently local consumption.

Phintias (Licata)

Phintias, the eponymous foundation of the Agrigentine tyrant for the displaced residents of Gela in 282 BC, was located on the outskirts of the modern city of Licata on the southern coast, at the mouth of the river Salso (Plate 5.3a). Excavations since the 1980s in and around the city have confirmed the existence both of a large, planned Hellenistic-era settlement on Monte San Angelo, the citadel overlooking the modern port at the eastern extension of Montagna di Licata (Plate 5.3b), as well as a network of smaller settlements in the vicinity dating back to the archaic period, suggesting that the founding of Phintias was essentially a synoecism of Greek and native settlements.[31] Since these excavations are still underway, and their results only partially published, we currently know very little of the extension and layout of the urban center, and the conclusions that have to this point been drawn about the city's history are largely speculative. Nonetheless, Phintias is included here as a case study because it offers a valuable chronological and geographical point of comparison for the abandonment processes observed in the similarly situated Heraclea 80 km up the coast.

Nothing is yet known of the public and religious edifices of Phintias, and besides some limited exploration of structures that appear to be shops to the east of the Castello on the summit and the scant remains of the city's necropolis, excavations have largely focused on sections of a residential quarter laid out on the slopes of Monte San Angelo, on a similar regular urban plan to that at Heraclea Minoa and other Hellenistic Sicilian cities, and with houses of similar size and design to those at Heraclea (Plate 5.4a).[32] The residential area underwent at least three building and rebuilding phases, corresponding to the periods before and immediately after the foundation of the city in the early third century BC, and to the period after the Second Punic War. The articulation of the urban plan and the construction of the houses in its residential quarters have been dated to the late third century BC. The houses show signs of occupation from the second century until the first half of the first century BC; the rich appointment and continued embellishment of their reception rooms point to the settlement's prosperity in this period,

[31] G.F. La Torre, "Dall'Eknomos a Phintias. Considerazioni sulla topografia del territorio di Licata in epoca storica," in Μεγαλαι νησοι. *Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza* vol. 2, ed. R. Gigli (Catania: I.B.A.M., 2005), 91-114; p. 110 for the foundation as synoecism.

[32] The results of the excavations of the residential areas of Phintias, which have proceeded at intervals since the 1980s, are summarized by La Torre, "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 83-90; A. Toscano Raffa and M. Limoncelli, "Una proposta di ricostruzione 3d dei sistemi decorativi della casa 1 di Finziade (Licata – AG)," in *Pittura ellenistica in Italia e in Sicilia. Linguaggi e tradizioni. Atti del Convegno di studi (Messina, 24-25 settembre 2009)*, ed. G.F. La Torre and M. Torelli (Rome: Bretschneider, 2011), 227-40; and A. Toscano Raffa and C. Terranova, "Finziade. Scavi e ricerche," *Forma Urbis* 16.6 (2011): 34-40.

probably related to its control of a rich agricultural hinterland and role as an embarkation point for the produce of this hinterland.[33]

The abandonment and destruction of the residential quarter has been dated from materials found in the collapse layers of the excavated houses. These materials, which include black gloss wares, presigillata, amphorae of type Dressel 1B and 1C, and lamps, date broadly to the first century BC; excavators also noted the absence of Italian sigillata from these layers.[34] The immediate causes of the abandonment and decay or destruction of the residential area are not apparent from the archaeological record, but excavators noted that the houses were subject to spoliation of their building materials in antiquity.[35] Although the city may be mentioned in Pliny's list of Sicilian *civitates stipendiarii* [*HN* 3.14(8)], there is as yet no archaeological evidence for occupation on Monte San Angelo beyond the late Republican and early Augustan periods. One hypothesis is that with the decline of the urban center of Phintias, settlement shifted to the coastal plain below, perhaps to Rocca S. Nicola, which may be the *refugium* of Plintis included in the *It*. *Ant*.'s maritime route along the south coast.[36]

Although Phintias appears to have been abandoned at a similar pace, and within a similar timeframe, as Heraclea Minoa – that is, in the course of the mid-first century BC, culminating in the period of the civil war and the early Principate – the evidence for its abandonment is even less secure than that for Heraclea. The literary sources are ambiguous regarding its existence as an urban center in the early and middle Empire, while the absence of substantial rebuilding after the mid-first century BC in the quarters of the city that have been excavated could be the result of a shift in settlement rather than complete abandonment.

In contrast to Heraclea, the history of Phintias in the post-Punic War period is rather "eventless:" Cicero notes its prosperity and commercial importance in the early first century BC (cf. II *Verr*. 3.192 for its role in *deportatio ad aquam* of grain from the interior), and there is no indication that it suffered particularly in any of the military upheavals of the second and first centuries BC. In addition, the site itself poses no apparent environmental challenges to settlement, in contrast to the danger of coastal slippage at Heraclea. Therefore, we may infer that the causes of its obsolescence – whether this took the form of the complete abandonment of the old urban center, the contraction of settlement, or the shift of settlement to a location closer to the coastline – were primarily economic. These would most likely have been the shift of commerce away from the southern coast and its cities that reached its culmination in the period after the civil wars, coupled with the concentration of administrative, political, and economic

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[33] Materials found contacting the pavement of some rooms, beneath the collapse layers, include Dressel 1B and 1C and Iberian amphorae, lamps, Campana C, and presigillata broadly datable to the end of the second century and first half of the first century BC (La Torre, "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 89). It is difficult to date the stucco adornments of the reception rooms of the excavated houses more precisely than to the chronological horizons of the middle and late Hellenistic period. The decorative scheme of Casa C appears to date to the early years of the house's occupation (i.e. the end of the third century and the early second century BC), but was in use for a long period, and underwent several modifications and restorations to suit the changed tastes and means of its proprietors (Toscano Raffa and Limoncelli, "Una proposta di ricostruzione," 235). See also La Torre, "Dall'Eknomos a Phintias," 113, and id., "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 95, for the prosperity and cultural connectivity of Phintias (and its ruling elite) under the Roman Republic.

[34] Toscano Raffa and Limoncelli, "Una proposta di ricostruzione," 228.

[35] Toscano Raffa and Terranova, "Finziade," 39.

[36] La Torre, "Dall'Eknomos a Phintias," 111-14.

power in the Augustan *municipium* of Agrigentum, located midway along the coast between Heraclea and Phintias.[37]

Helorus

Ancient Helorus is located at the mouth of the river Tellaro (the ancient Helorus), on a bluff just above the sea, about 35 km down the coast from Syracuse. This small Greek foundation was under the influence or control of Syracuse for most of its history, and was primarily military in function, serving as a defensive outpost at the southern edge of Syracuse's territory. The site was first excavated in 1899 and 1927 by P. Orsi, who uncovered its perimeter wall, the remains of a small theatre built into the hillside facing the Tellaro, and parts of the necropoleis (Plate 5.4b).[38] Orsi concluded that the town arose in the seventh or sixth century BC, underwent a gap in occupation in the fifth century, a revival in the fourth century, and was abandoned by the imperial period, with its decline perhaps precipitated by the Second Punic War. However, the substantial quantities of imperial-era ceramics found in the 1927 campaign as well as in later excavations conducted by the Siracusa Soprintendenza cast doubt on Orsi's initial hypothesis, and show the hazard of presuming the abandonment of a settlement from the apparent lack of datable material.[39]

Periodic excavations in the 1950s through the 1970s confirmed the initial settlement of the site in the seventh century BC, the "crisis" of the fifth century BC, and the "revival" of the fourth and third centuries, when the fortifications were reconstructed and the theatre was probably built. The main phase of construction in the urban center appears to date to this early Hellenistic period: a temple was added to the sanctuary of Demeter, and a monumental stoa was constructed just east of the theatre and north of the sanctuary, which remained in use until the first century BC.[40] Some residences uncovered by Orsi as well as what appears to be a small "triangular agora" also appear to date broadly to the Hellenistic period.[41] A series of stamped Rhodian amphorae found in Orsi's excavations, some of which are securely datable to the end of the third century and the first half of the second century BC, are evidence of the settlement's commercial links (probably mediated through Syracuse) with the Eastern Mediterranean.[42]

Although Helorus makes an appearance in Cicero's Second Verrine Oration,[43] there is no evidence of building activity within the urban center after the first century BC, and it is not

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[37] See chapter 6 for Agrigentum in the imperial period.

[38] See E. Militello, M.T. Currò Pisanò, and P. Orsi, "Eloro. 1. Campagna di scavo del 1899. 2. Campagna di scavo del 1927 e rinvenimenti sporadici. 3. Relazione degli scavi del 1958-59. 4. Relazione dei saggi effettuati all'interno dell'area urbana di Eloro, nell'anno 1961," *MonAnt* 47 (1966): 203-340, for Orsi's two excavations as well as later work on the site.

[39] These imperial-era ceramics included African sigillata and Italian lamps: Militello et al., "Eloro," 280, 295-6, and 309-10.

[40] G. Voza in L. Bernabò Brea, "Attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità per la Sicilia orientale," *Kōkalos* 18/19 (1972/3): 161-92, esp. 189; G. Voza, "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale, 1," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 674-93, esp. 685-8. The latest renovations to the stoa appear to be paved floors in *opus signinum*: Militello et al., "Eloro," 309 and 332.

[41] Militello et al, "Eloro," 288; Voza, "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale, 1," 688.

[42] Militello et al, "Eloro," 295-8 and fig. 52.

[43] Cicero includes Helorus among the (implicitly) minor centers that have been ruined by Verres (*Helorinis … nihil omnino relictum*) (II *Verr*. 3.43.103). Cicero also mentions Helorus as a landing point for warships in his discussion of Verres' "pirate wars" (II *Verr*. 5.35.91).

included in Pliny's list of Sicilian cities. Occupation of the site most likely continued in the imperial period on a reduced scale, as ceramic finds attest, with the settlement perhaps functioning as a village or outpost along the road connecting Syracuse to the southern coast. The Hellenistic stoa was destroyed by fire at some point, and probably dismantled in the fifth or sixth century AD, after which a small basilica was built over it, using some of its material.

Like Calacte and Apollonia, to be discussed below, Helorus appears to have been a *polismata* of little political or economic significance whose autonomy was limited for much of its history. Although Helorus' built environment reflects its share in the general prosperity of Eastern Sicily and the kingdom of Syracuse in the early Hellenistic period (broadly, the century and a quarter between the rise of Timoleon and the death of Hieron II), its fortunes also fell with those of the polis on which it was dependent. Its defensive function would have diminished in importance with the fall of Syracuse in the Second Punic War, and the end of Syracuse's autonomy would have been a more severe blow to Helorus than to other cities in the former Syracusan realm, such as Morgantina and Camarina (see further below), since, unlike those centers, Helorus was of little strategic, economic, or political significance to the new Roman administrators of eastern Sicily. Like other urban centers discussed below (cf. especially Morgantina and Camarina), the site of Helorus also possessed limited sources of water, probably making it even less attractive for settlement once it had lost its strategic *raison d'etre*.[44] The mid-fourth century luxury villa in contrada Caddeddi, located approximately 3 km southwest of Helorus on the right bank of the Tellaro, hints at a similar shift in the organization of local agricultural production and elite social and cultural life in the high and late Empire away from old, obsolete urban centers to that seen at Heraclea Minoa and elsewhere in southern and southeastern Sicily (cf. especially Camarina and Morgantina below).[45]

Morgantina

The urban center of Morgantina – a settlement probably of indigenous origin, but Hellenized in material culture and architecture rather early in its urban history under the influence of the Eastern Sicilian *apoikiai* (especially Syracuse) - was spread out along a long, low ridge, Serra Orlando, on the western edge of the plain of Catania. The site was discovered and identified in the late 1950s, and has been the subject of ongoing archaeological research first by Princeton, then by various other American universities, ever since. These extensive (though not yet fully published[46]) excavations have not yet uncovered the full extent of the ancient settlement, but have brought to light public and residential areas situated upon, and in the valleys between, the hillocks that dot the ridge (Plate 5.5). The Roman-era material culture of the site (especially its finewares and coins) has been studied and published more fully than that of most other Sicilian

[44] Militello et al, "Eloro," 236-9.

[45] This villa, though famous for its lavish mosaic floors, has not been extensively published since its discovery and preliminary excavation in the early 1970s; see Voza in Bernabò Brea, "Attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità per la Sicilia orientale," 192, and G. Voza, "Le ville romane del Tellaro e di Patti in Sicilia e il problema dei rapporti con l'Africa," in *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982), 202-9.

[46] The main sources for the results of the excavations at Morgantina are the Preliminary Reports published in the *AJA* semi-annually from 1957 until 1974 (I-XI), and in 1988 (XII); the five *Morgantina Studies* volumes, the most recent of which was published in 1996 (though volumes on the houses and the *macellum* by John Dobbins and Hal Sharpe, respectively, are in preparation); and dissertations of students who worked at the site.

urban centers.[47] For these reasons, Morgantina is one of the most important sites for understanding processes of urban abandonment in early imperial Sicily.

The excavations have indicated that the city on Serra Orlando reached its monumental heyday beginning in the fourth century, and culminating in the second and third quarters of the third century BC, when it was under the hegemony of the Syracusan Hieron II.[48] In this period, the ridge was fortified, and the agora that lay in the level saddle between two hillocks was embellished with numerous monumental buildings, including a theatre, sanctuaries, a *bouleuterion*, the "Great Steps," fountains and fountain houses, shops, granaries, and stoas (Plates 5.6-5.9a).[49] In addition, occupation and productive activity appears to have increased in the city's territory, perhaps reflecting – along with the monumental granaries in the agora – an intensification of grain production in the region to meet the tithe demands of Syracuse.[50]

The agora appears to have entered a new phase of use after the Second Punic War. In 211/210 BC, Morgantina was besieged and taken by force by the Romans, its former population displaced, and the city was subsequently resettled with Spanish mercenaries (*Hispani*) (Livy 26.21.14-17). The cityscape bears signs of extensive destruction at the end of the third century, and subsequently many structures in and around the agora were not reused or rebuilt, and the city's fortifications fell out of use (cf. Plate 5.9b).[51] However, a new *macellum* (probably used primarily as a victuals market, given the large numbers of animal bones found in it) was constructed in the open space of the agora (Plate 5.10a), along with a *temenos* adjoining the theatre, and several older structures – such as the stoas lining the agora – were rebuilt or modified in the course of the second century. The system of public water collection and

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[47] Three of the *Morgantina Studies* volumes are dedicated at least in part to the site's material culture: M. Bell, *Morgantina Studies I. The terracottas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); T.V. Buttrey et al., *Morgantina Studies II. The Coins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); and N. Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III. Fornaci e Officine da Vasaio Tardo-Ellenistiche* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[48] For recent epigraphic evidence of Morgantina's inclusion in Hieron's kingdom (along with Akrai and Camarina), see D.A. Walthall, "Magistrate Stamps on Grain Measures in Early Hellenistic Sicily," *ZPE* 179 (2011): 159-69.

[49] M. Bell, II and R.R. Holloway, "Excavations at Morgantina, 1980-1985: Preliminary Report XII," *AJA* 92.3 (1988): 313-42; Tsakirgis, "Morgantina;" and G. Romano, "Morgantina," *Forma Urbis* 12.12 (2007): 12-20, provide succinct summaries of the *communis opinio* on the chronology of the development of the public spaces of Morgantina.

[50] This hypothesized increase in rural settlement is based on the results of the Morgantina Archaeological Survey, outlined by S.M. Thompson, "A Central Sicilian Landscape: Settlement and Society in the Territory of Ancient Morgantina (5000 BC – AD 50)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1999), 392-431.

[51] For example, the row of shops at the southern end of the agora, below the West Granary, was abandoned not long after the Roman sack; the complete vessels found in some of the rooms appear to have been on sale at the time of the city's capture. Although some rooms show signs of brief reuse in the late third century, by the second century, the ground level of the southern agora had risen, and the shops were no longer in view (Bell and Holloway, "Preliminary Report XII," 326). See also, e.g., R. Stillwell, "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1962: Preliminary Report VII," *AJA* 67.2 (1963): 163-71, at 169-70, for the "thorough and wanton destruction" of the "Priest's House" to the south of the small shrine of Demeter in 211. The recently excavated Hellenistic North Baths also went out of use after 211 and was never reoccupied (R. Souza, pers. comm.).

distribution was also maintained in this period.[52] The city seems to have hosted a prosperous pottery industry, whose workspaces were located in the various structures of the agora (including in a section of the East Granary), parts of the old fortifications, and in private houses (Plate 5.10b, and cf. Plate 5.8b). The Morgantina pottery workshops first produced black gloss wares (mainly Campana C), and then "thin walled wares" and red gloss "pre-sigillata," throughout the second century and into the first century BC.[53] Although according to historical souces, the town was at the center of the two servile wars of the second century (cf. Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.3), the agora and the rest of the city bear few indications of the impact of these events.

The chronology of the development of the town's residential areas appears to parallel that of the agora.[54] These residential areas were laid out on a grid on the hills sloping up immediately to the east and west of the agora, with *insulae* of various sizes divided by *plateiai* and *stenopoi*, and narrow *ambitus* between residences allowing for the disposal of waste and runoff. Large, lavishly decorated houses such as the House of the Doric Capital, the House of the Arched Cistern, and the House of the Official attest to the city's prosperity in the third century, and to the presence of a residential elite (Plate 5.11). However, after the events of 211, some of the residences of the East Hill appear not to have been substantially reoccupied, while many of the large third-century residences on the West Hill were subdivided into smaller, less ornate dwellings in the second and first centuries BC.[55]

The implications of the Roman siege and takeover of Morgantina for settlement in the city's hinterland are more ambiguous because of the difficulty of distinguishing certain "Late Classical/Early Hellenistic" (fourth and third centuries BC) ceramics recovered in field survey from "early Late Hellenistic" (second and early first century BC) vessels.[56] However, the territory of Morgantina does show a significant drop in site numbers and in the numbers and densities of artifacts within sites, pointing to a decrease in rural population that mirrors the likely demographic decline in the urban center itself after the Roman conquest. Furthermore, the concentration of the remaining larger sites along waterways and likely overland transportation

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[52] Bell and Holloway, "Preliminary Report XII," 331-40, for the water system of Morgantina and for second and first-century developments in the agora. See also M. Bell, "La fontana ellenistica di Morgantina," *QuadA* 2 (1986/7): 111-24, for the city's water supply.

[53] Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III*; S.C. Stone III, "Presigillata from Morgantina," *AJA* 91.1 (1987): 85-103; id., "Roman pottery from Morgantina in Sicily" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981); and D. Malifitana, "Economia, territorio ed officine ceramiche nella Sicilia tardo ellenistica," in *Territorio e produzioni ceramiche. Paesaggi, economia e società in età romana: Atti del convegno internazionale, Pisa 20 - 22 ottobre 2005*, ed. S Menchelli and M. Pasquinucci (Pisa: PLUS, 2006), 153-64, at 156-8, for the organization and products of the city's second and first-century BC pottery industry.

[54] B. Tsakirgis, "The domestic architecture of Morgantina in the Hellenistic and Roman periods," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1984), is the most complete account of the city's residential areas.

[55] As discussed below, the chronology of occupation of both residential areas is controversial, and was originally based largely on stylistic as well as stratigraphic evidence. Tsakirgis originally concluded that on the East Hill, the House of Ganymede went out of use shortly after 211, while the House of the Doric Capital was reoccupied until the mid-first century BC ("Domestic architecture of Morgantina," 46-84). On the West Hill, according to Tsakirgis, the House of the Arched Cistern, House of the Double Cistern, Pappalardo House, and the House of the Official were all reoccupied after 211, with the House of the Official functioning partly as a potter's workshop. New dwellings constructed on the West Hill in the second and first centuries include the House of the Gold Hoard, the House of the Palmento, the House of the Mended Pithos, and the House of the Tuscan Capitals (ibid., 120-227).

[56] Thompson, "A Central Sicilian Landscape," 435-54.

routes may indicate that, as economic activity in the urban center shifted towards pottery production, these rural centers took on more significant roles in the collection, processing, and distribution of the region's agricultural produce (still mainly grain, perhaps supplemented by wine and olive oil).

The excavators of Morgantina and the interpreters of its material culture are in broad agreement that the city's post-Hieronian history was punctuated by two distinct and dramatic destructions, which were followed by periods of cleaning, the rebuilding and reuse of existing structures, as well as limited new construction in the urban center. These destructions left distinctive traces in the archaeological record in closed and datable contexts such as fires and structural collapses, as well as cistern fills and dumps of refuse from subsequent cleanup and reconstruction activities. The first destruction came after the Roman siege of 211/210, and was followed in the late third and second centuries by cleanup and rebuilding in the agora and residential quarters. The second, whose nature, extent, and cause(s) are less certain, appears to have fallen in the third quarter of the first century BC. The early Preliminary Reports include scattered notices of the destruction and abandonment of structures across the city dated on the basis of ceramic and numismatic finds broadly to the mid-first century BC.[57] These developments were first considered as a group by S.C. Stone, who based his analysis on the latest datable ceramic and numismatic material from structures with evidence of violent destruction in this period, as well as on the ceramic materials and coins from the unified deposits scattered throughout the city, such as closed domestic cisterns, that were presumably created during later cleanup efforts, when they were filled with materials from the destruction event.[58] Stone dated the destruction of the city evidenced by these materials to around 35 BC, and attributed them to the punitive actions of Octavian against the cities of Sicily in the aftermath of the war with Sextus Pompey.[59]

Whatever its actual nature and extent, this mid-late first century BC "destruction event" was followed a few decades later by modest reconstruction and resettlement in some areas of the urban center, a phase which appears to have continued at least until the second quarter of the first century AD. Some houses in the western residential area were cleared out and reoccupied by the last decade of the first century BC, while there are scattered indications of cultic and commercial activity recommencing in the agora around the same time, especially in the shops built over older structures – including the old *bouleuterion* - in its northwestern corner (cf. Plate 5.7a).[60] The primary datable materials for this final phase of settlement are imported Arretine ware and other forms of Italian sigillata, especially of the late Augustan and Tiberian periods, along with a few

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[57] E.g. E. Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) Preliminary Report II," *AJA* 62.2 (1958): 155-64, at 161 (the "Pappalardo House"); "Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) 1959: Preliminary Report IV," *AJA* 64.2 (1960): 125-35, at 130 (the "Public Granary"); "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1961 Preliminary Report VI," *AJA* 66.2 (1962): 135-43, at 138 (the theatre); and Stillwell, "Preliminary Report VII," 168 (the House of the Arched Cistern).

[58] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," esp. 6-10, and "Presigillata from Morgantina."

[59] S.C. Stone III, "Sextus Pompeius, Octavianus and Sicily," *AJA* 87.1 (1983): 11-22. Tsakirgis accepts Stone's chronology in her analysis of the last phases of the houses of Morgantina ("Domestic architecture of Morgantina," summarized at 419-20 and 438-40).

[60] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 11-14 and 60-65, provides an overview of this phase of settlement. See also Tsakirgis, "Domestic architecture of Morgantina," 17-18, for a summary of activity in the western residential area in this period. For stratigraphically related coins, Buttrey, *Morgantina Studies II*, catalogue nos. 48, 49, 73-76 (pp. 181-3 and 191-9).

Sicilian imitation productions; and Roman imperial bronze coins issued under Augustus and Tiberius.[61]

There are some signs of fire and structural collapse in various areas of the city in the early first century AD,[62] and life appears to have petered out on the site by the mid-first century AD. The absence of activity has been inferred from the absence of datable material culture after the middle Julio-Claudian period. The latest pottery found in context is of Tiberian or Claudian date, while the latest coin is an issue of Claudius found in the agora.[63]

The main challenge that can be posed to this interpretation of the material record of Morgantina is to its tendency to periodize the history of the site into distinct political and cultural phases of development, punctuated by finite destruction and abandonment episodes, that can be matched to historical events: namely, the "Hieronian" phase, which was ended by the Roman siege of 211 BC; the "Roman" phase that followed until the destruction of ca. 35 BC; and finally, the "village" phase of ca. 5 BC until the mid-first century AD. This periodization is natural, since violent events like fire and structural collapse are more visible and more easily datable than long-term, continuous processes such as the occupation of a house, the use of a shop, or the dumping of garbage in a waste heap. However, we may ask if such periodization accurately reflects change through the whole urban space of Morgantina, and especially if the emphasis on destruction and rebuilding in the interpretation of the archaeological record – and particularly on the 211/210 BC and ca. 35 BC "breaks" – actually masks continuities, or different types and paces of change, in the use of urban space.[64]

We can start by interrogating the evidence for such "breaks." For example, we may not be able to assume a period of abandonment from the apparent two or three-decade gap in coin finds and datable ceramics after ca. 35 BC. This gap, which is better characterized as a preponderance of coins from the period 43-36 BC over those from the period ca. 36 – 7 BC, could be explained in other ways: perhaps there was a greater military presence, and hence a greater circulation of coinage, in the city during the civil war than in the period immediately after; or coins issued under the authority of Sextus Pompey may have been casually or deliberately discarded in greater quantities than later imperial issues because they were no longer "legal tender."[65] Also, we should keep in mind that the date ranges for the latest pottery recovered from the site –

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[61] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 213-55 for Arretine, Italian, and Sicilian imitation sigillata at Morgantina.

[62] For example, Bell attributes the collapse of the *aediculum* that topped the now-disused public fountain in the northeastern corner of the agora – and hence the final abandonment of the complex – to an earthquake, perhaps in the first quarter of the first century AD ("La fontana ellenistica," 120-3). See also Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 15, for the destruction of much of the House of the Arched Cistern by fire in the Tiberian period.

[63] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 15-16, 60-65, and 225-6; Tsakirgis, "Morgantina," 143.

[64] For example, as A. Mancini has argued, Tsakirgis' interpretation of the later history of the domestic quarters of Morgantina – in which she attributes the finest phases of domestic architecture to the third century based mainly on stylistic criteria, and associates the sub-division of residences, the reuse of older construction materials in new buildings, and the "poorer quality" of renovations to the post-210 "decline" of the city - risks undervaluing the extent and nature of activity on the site in the second century BC ["Architettura domestica a Morgantina," in *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: Alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente,* ed. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 167-76].

[65] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 10, cites the 204 datable coins recovered from the site that were issued between 43 and 36 BC, compared to the 28 datable to the next three decades.

namely, Arretine and other Italian sigillata – are indications of the period of their production rather than of their primary use and deposition. The absence of later forms of these wares is more directly indicative of the end of the import of common finewares to the site (and hence its economic isolation) than of the precise time of abandonment.

Too much attention to buildings that appear to have been "violently destroyed" risks overlooking the urban structures, activities and institutions for which dramatic ruptures are not apparent, or for which different periodizations are possible. For example, the community of Morgantina was forced to deal with various environmental stresses throughout its history, from scarcity of rainfall to the instability of the terrain on which the city stood.[66] An examination of the components of the town's domestic and public water supply reveals a persistent concern for, and efforts to maintain, this resource throughout the town's history. The main elements of the water supply were natural springs located throughout Serra Orlando, domestic wells and cisterns, and a large (presumably public) reservoir located on "Papa Hill" to the west of the settlement. Water was piped into the public areas and domestic quarters through a network of terracotta and lead pipes. The pipes that supplied the cisterns of Morgantinian houses of the western quarter were aligned with the rectilinear urban plan, and in some instances were maintained as late as the early first century AD.[67] Fountains or basins for drinking water were installed in most parts of the agora, within many public buildings, and in the domestic quarters.[68]

The continual effort to maintain (or renew) the city's water supply is illustrated by the history of the fountain house in the northeastern corner of the agora (Plate 5.8a).[69] Its excavator, M. Bell, identified three phases of use, the first dating to the third century BC, when the fountain house was constructed in front of a spring rising from the East Hill. While a closed, internal basin captured and held water from this spring, as well as runoff from the neighboring East Stoa – water that was perhaps consumed by residents of the East Hill – a separate, wide external basin whose contents were exposed to dust and wind, and therefore probably not potable, provided water for the commercial and industrial activities taking place in the agora. Further modifications followed at least twice in the second century BC, when the intake and outtake conduits of the external basin were adjusted in order to accommodate the reduced flow from the natural spring, but with the result of reducing the basin's capacity.[70] The capacity was further reduced in the early first century BC, when the internal basin was completely filled, and an *aediculum* was constructed above it.[71] This final phase of use lasted until the early first century AD, when the *aediculum* collapsed and the external basin began to be filled with waste.

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[66] For example, R. Stillwell notes the collapse of the walls of the shops of the West Stoa of the agora while they were still under construction, perhaps in the late third century BC, due to the shifting forward of the scarp of the West Hill ("Excavations at Serra Orlando (Morgantina) 1960 Preliminary Report V," *AJA* 65.3 (1961): 277-81, at 278). See more generally D.P. Crouch, "The Hellenistic Water System of Morgantina, Sicily: Contributions to the History of Urbanization," *AJA* 88.3 (1984): 353-65, for the environmental challenges facing the planners of Morgantina throughout its history.

[67] Tsakirgis, "Domestic architecture of Morgantina," 148.

[68] Crouch, "The Hellenistic Water System of Morgantina."

[69] The results of this excavation were published in Bell, "La fontana ellenistica."

[70] Bell, "La fontana ellenistica," 117-9. Water was instead channeled across the agora in a series of pipes from a source in the western sector of the city. The alterations of this period also resulted in the abandonment of the southern part of the fountain complex.

[71] Bell ("La fontana ellenistica") estimates that the original capacity of the basins was over 50,000 liters. The alterations of the second century reduced the capacity of the external basin from 41,000 to 19,500

By keeping in mind the potential continuity of community priorities (if not the continuous existence of the communal or individual means with which to meet them) that the provision of water in the city shows, and by rejecting the frameworks of "rupture" and "decay" for interpreting the material record, we can better evaluate the nature of post-Punic War occupation at Morgantina. It is clear that the second and early first century BC settlement, while smaller in physical extent, remained an active civic (and cultic) entity, with a strong commercial and industrial aspect, as shown by the minting of coins of the HISPANORUM series into the early first century BC, the construction of the theatre *temenos* and the *macellum* in the agora (though these new monuments did not respect the old urban plan, as many scholars have noted), the sub-division of some of the old houses of the western residential quarter into shops and workshops, as well as the construction of large ceramic kilns in former public buildings.[72]

These kilns should not be viewed as "squatter" workshops in the ruins of the third-century city; rather, the potteries in the agora, as well as the "Great Kiln" built into the old city wall, were organized establishments that operated under some degree of civic authority or control, and produced on a large scale in aggregate, even if they operated as individual production units.[73] Despite the geographic and climactic disadvantages of the site of Morgantina for pottery production – namely, the lack of an abundant, regular water supply, as well as of clay deposits in the immediate vicinity of the urban center – the potters were able to gather raw materials from both local and far-flung sources (most likely, clay from the valleys surrounding Serra Orlando, but also volcanic sands from the eastern littoral), and produce construction materials (bricks, roof tiles, pipes) and fashionable tablewares (mainly Campana C vessels).[74]

The pottery industry shows the continued pull of the urban center in the second and first centuries as a place of safety and legal protections, where order was maintained and where labor and raw materials, as well as knowledge of current production techniques, were accessible, if not always easily available. From the city center, ceramic products could be distributed efficiently and profitably to local, and perhaps extra-local, markets: including, perhaps, civic authorities (for roof tiles and construction materials) as well as households.[75] The continual efforts to maintain

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liters. The total capacity of the complex was limited to 19,500 liters by the filling of the internal basin in the early third century.

[72] See Buttrey, *Morgantina Studies II*, 36-9, for the activities of the mint of Morgantina in the second and early first centuries BC. Buttrey notes that although the chronology of their production is patchy, most coins of the HISPANORUM series are found in mid-late second century BC contexts. They appear to have remained in circulation well into the first century BC, and are found in the company of Roman *denarii* datable as late as 46 BC.

[73] Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III*, for these kiln complexes. Of the ten late Hellenistic kilns excavated in the city in the 1950s and 1960s, six belong to potters' workshops, five of which were located in the agora, and the other in the House of the Official. The potteries in the East Granary of the agora and the House of the Official contained three kilns each, while those in the Central Sanctuary, North Stoa, and East Stoa of the agora, and the "Great Kiln" in the city wall, each had one kiln.

[74] The production of Campana C at Morgantina can most firmly be linked to the kilns in the House of the Official and of the East Granary. The potters in these establishments also experimented with the production of thin-walled wares and red-gloss wares ("presigillata"). Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 504-7; id. "Presigillata from Morgantina;" and Malfitana, "Economia, territorio ed officine ceramiche," 156-8.

[75] It is also possible that the production and commercialization of ceramics from Morgantina was facilitated by the city's role in grain production, with ceramics distributed along the same overland routes

the town's public water supply into the early first century BC – and especially the supply of non-potable water from the agora fountain house – could also be connected to the demands of the pottery industry, and more generally to the economic life of the agora, including the selling and butchering of livestock mediated through the *macellum*.

The city center shows fewer signs of industrial activity in its final phase of occupation. All of the urban potteries seem to have been abandoned by the third quarter of the first century BC.[76] Instead, the city's space seems mainly to have been used for commercial and residential purposes, and with little indication of any form of "civic" authority guiding its organization. Instead, (former) public and private structures were built and maintained on an apparently *ad hoc* basis in this period, through individual rather than community initiative. The public supply from the agora fountain house had ceased by the early first century AD, and it is difficult to determine if the pipes that supplied houses in the western residential quarter were maintained through individual or communal effort.[77] The concentration of activity in the areas of the city closest to a nearly year-round source of surface water – namely, the North Stoa and the northwest corner of the agora – may indicate the absence of wide and regular distribution of water throughout the city in this period.[78]

The last period of settlement also saw the dumping of waste in, and the quarrying of building materials from, former public structures such as the theatre, as well as from abandoned houses.[79] New buildings, such as the succession of shops built in the northwest corner of the agora, were generally constructed using material from nearby abandoned or collapsed structures, and alterations to domestic spaces were also largely accomplished with reused construction materials.[80] These are not necessarily signs of "slum conditions" in the latest phases of occupation, since the pilfering of materials from earlier structures and the dumping of waste in disused areas were also a feature of the second century BC rebuilding efforts. However, there is little evidence of the production of new goods and services in the city center alongside these "reclamation" efforts, and there is no sign that they were organized at a higher level than individual initiative. Indeed, it seems that the reclamation of older building materials was deemed a more efficient use of time, labor, and resources by the late inhabitants of Morgantina than the production on-site or importation of such materials, a potential indication of the growing

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(and perhaps as parts of the same cargo) as grain. For a similarly symbiotic relationship between pottery and grain production at Centuripae, see chapter 6.

[76] The "Great Kiln," which produced mainly brick and tiles, was in use until the early first century BC. The others went out of use later in the first century BC, mostly in the years around 35 BC. Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 505-7, and "Presigillata from Morgantina;" Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III*, 182.

[77] Tsakirgis, "Domestic architecture of Morgantina," 149 and 341, for the post-5 BC work on the pipes distributing water to the House of the Arched Cistern. It is similarly difficult to discern if the altar built in the ruins of the theatre *temenos* in the late first century BC or after was the result of individual or communal initiative; for this structure, Stillwell, "Preliminary Report VII," 166, and Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 12-13.

[78] Sjöqvist, "Preliminary Report VI," 136.

[79] Sjöqvist, "Preliminary Report VI," 138, and Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 8, for the use of the theatre as a quarry and dump by the Augustan period. Tsakirgis, "Morgantina," 143, for the plundering of mosaics from the House of Ganymede.

[80] Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina," 60-5 for late structures in the northwest agora; Tsakirgis, "Domestic architecture of Morgantina," 316-17 and 443 for the reuse of older materials in the domestic quarters.

economic isolation of the site, despite the continuing (though significantly reduced) circulation of coins and imported ceramics in the urban center.

To conclude, we can detect shifts in the urban economy of Morgantina in the pre-Roman and Roman periods that reflect the city's degree of integration into prevailing economic and political networks, and its role within these networks. The monumental granaries in the agora trumpeted the dominance of grain storage and marketing in the third century BC (and perhaps even earlier); these structures were undoubtedly linked to the city's possession of a rich agricultural hinterland and its role in converting the produce of this hinterland into the Hieronian grain tithe. The marketing activities that took place in the shops lining the agora continued in the second century BC, though not necessarily in the same physical structures as before; indeed, these activities seem to have been prioritized by civic authorities, as the construction of a specialized market facility (the *macellum*) attests. The conversion or sub-division of some of the larger public structures of the agora, including those previously used for grain storage, into ceramic production facilities reflects the changing role of Morgantina as a local and regional production and marketing center in this period. The influx of ceramic products from Eastern Sicily and the wider Mediterranean, and the creation of imitation wares in Morgantina itself (also partly using materials, such as volcanic sands, transported from a distance), point to the continued integration of the city into regional and extra-regional commercial circuits. In addition, as the construction of new public and religious edifices and the continued occupation and embellishment of the large residences on the western hill show, the urban center continued to house a civically active and culturally "current" elite, though its composition and its relationship to Roman provincial authorities are harder to trace.

By the late first century BC, however, the pottery industry of Morgantina appears to have ceased, and imported wares such as Arretine and other Italian sigillata gradually come to dominate the ceramic assemblage. However, the precise temporal and causal connection of these developments in the archaeological record to events in Sicily in the late Republic and early Principate is not clear, and we can question if they were (only) the result of the "Pompeian" destruction of ca. 35 BC. Even if the city was not thoroughly and deliberately destroyed at some point in the third quarter of the first century BC, the increasing difficulty of obtaining water at the site, as evidenced by the diminished capacity of the agora fountain complex, would have made the occurrence of isolated fires more likely, their impact more devastating, and the production of ceramics in the civic center therefore less appealing. The end of the civil war and the transition to the Principate (and the *pax Romana*) also would have rendered the defensive advantages of a hilltop urban center less compelling for potters. And finally, the growing competition posed by the export of Arretine and other wares from Italy, as well as other centers in Sicily and abroad, would have rendered local ceramic production even less profitable.[81] The large quantities of pottery produced in Morgantina or imported in the early and mid-first century BC, and found discarded in later dumps, show that even finewares were a relatively low-price, easily available commodity to the later inhabitants of the site, who found it more economically viable to import vessels – whether by carrying them to the site themselves or buying them from retailers in Morgantina - rather than reclaiming and curating, or producing, ceramics on-site.

[81] R. Laurence [*Pompeii: Space and Society* (2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 80] has posited a similar development to explain the co-occurrence of locally produced and imported vessels in early imperial Pompeii: that maritime trade in (high-volume) commodities and (lower-volume) luxuries allowed imported ceramics to "ride on the back" of more valuable cargoes, and to compete successfully on the Pompeian market with locally produced ceramics.

By the early Julio-Claudian period, it is clear that the main routes of commerce in the south-central interior had shifted, and along with them, the main locations of production, away from centers such as Morgantina that possessed more ecological disadvantages than advantages for potential occupants. Although little is known of rural settlement patterns in the territory of Morgantina in the early imperial period,[82] the *statio* of Philosophiana, which arose along the internal route between the southern and eastern coasts contemporaneously with the latest phase of life at Morgantina, and the villa and estate center at Piazza Armerina, which grew throughout the high imperial period, were the likely replacement centers for the regional economic activities (if not the entire population) that had previously been concentrated in the urban center of Morgantina.[83]

Camarina

Kamarina/Camarina was a sub-colony of Syracuse established in the early sixth century BC on a coastal promontory, between the rivers Hipparis and Oanis (the modern Ippari and Rifriscolaro), 27 km southeast of Gela and near modern Santa Croce Camerina. Camarina and other ancient settlements of the southeastern corner of Sicily have been the objects of archaeological research since the late nineteenth century campaigns of Orsi and Biagio Pace.[84] The site of ancient Camarina – which, like Heraclea Minoa and Morgantina, was not re-settled after antiquity, and is largely free of later buildings - has been periodically excavated under the auspices of the Siracusa Soprintendenza since 1958 (Plate 5.12a).[85]

These excavations, combined with the historical record, have traced the city's eventful classical and Hellenistic history. After a program of monumentalization corresponding to the city's refoundation by the Gelans in 461, a period of abandonment, probably following the Carthaginian conquest in 405 BC, lasted for much of the subsequent century, until the city's refoundation by Timoleon (ca. 339 BC). This refoundation saw the expansion and monumentalization of the city, and the period of its greatest demographic growth (as also indicated by the expansion of the city's necropoleis). The intramural inhabited area spread west in a series of new insulae whose plan largely corresponded to that of the classical phase of the city. The "double agora" (divided into the so-called "agorà di levante" and "agorà di ponente") also took shape along one side of the main thoroughfare (Plateia B) in the southeastern sector of

[82] The results of the Morgantina Archaeological Survey indicate that the patterns observed in the second and early first century BC – principally, the reorientation of settlement (consisting of both large and small sites, probably engaged primarily in grain production) towards major river valleys – continued in the later first century BC and into the Principate. These sites received considerable quantities of Italian terra sigillata, followed by a limited range of African wares (Thompson, "A Central Sicilian Landscape," 455-8).

[83] See appendix 1 and chapter 7 for the development of Philosophiana in the imperial period.

[84] Orsi's excavations largely focused on the Passo Marinaro necropolis of Camarina. See P. Orsi, *La necropoli di Passo Marinaro a Camarina. Campagne di scavo 1904 – 1909*, ed. M.T. Lanza (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1990); and B. Pace, *Camarina: topografia, storia, archeologia* (Catania: F. Guaitolini, 1927).

[85] For summaries of the results of the 1958 and 1970s-1980s excavations, see especially P. Pelagatti et al., "Sul parco archeologico di Camarina," *BdA* 1/2 (1976): 122-41; and P. Pelagatti, "Ricerche nel quartiere orientale di Naxos e nell'agorà di Camarina," *Kōkalos* 30/1 (1984/5): 679-94.

the city, in the area closest to the sea and to the port/canal at the mouth of the Hipparis (Plate 5.12b).[86]

The city suffered from attacks by the Mamertines in the 270s that prompted repairs and improvements to the perimeter defensive wall. Although the city was taken over and its population dispersed by the Romans after a siege in 258 BC, the excavation of its public and residential areas have confirmed that it continued to be inhabited (and indeed to thrive) thereafter. There are no archaeological indications of a violent destruction, and the period after 258 saw a restructuring of the urban space of the city, with a reorientation of the double agora to commerce and the construction of large houses and workshops – including pottery kilns – in nearby insulae. Plateia B was partly re-directed in the period after 258 in order to accommodate the changing use of space in the agora and the encroachment of houses and workshops onto the previous street surface. Recent excavations in the agora have revealed a series of rectangular buildings – perhaps granaries – built in the open space of the "agorà di ponente" and over the disused North Stoa.[87] These "granaries" follow the new course of Plateia B, and so can be dated to the period after 258, though their precise layout, function, and chronology remain unclear.

Imported items found in the agora, including Rhodian and Dressel 1 wine transport amphorae, attest to the city's continued commercial vitality in the late third and second centuries BC.[88] Most of the coins from the agora excavations are from the third century BC, and with Camarina deprived of its mint after the Roman conquest, the issues of the Syracusan kingdom of Hieron II predominate (92% of the coins datable between 289 and 215 are from Syracuse). In fact, it is difficult to detect any break in the circulation of coinage in the city corresponding to the events of 258 in the agora assemblage.[89]

Camarina also possesses an extensive (for Sicily) epigraphic record related to the organization and activities of the *polis* government in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods.[90] An *asylia* decree issued by the city in 242 BC found on Kos, the city's inclusion in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list of the early second century BC, and a decree in honor of a citizen of the city issued by the Delphic amphiktyony in the second quarter of the third century attest to Camarina's (and its elite's) attempts to maintain its "international" prestige. In addition, a series of inscribed lead contracts of house and land sales, some of which are securely datable to after 258, reveal a well-organized, fertile *chora* that was parceled into small landholdings under the management of a citizenry that was perhaps replenished and reorganized under the auspices of Roman authorities as a check against the power of the kingdom of Syracuse.[91] While these records support the impression given by the Verrine Orations of a countryside dominated by a prosperous, *polis*-based Sicilian class of landholders or owners, they also reveal an urban center

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[86] For a summary of these building phases, see G. Di Stefano, "Aspetti urbanistici e topografici per la storia di Camarina," in *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*, ed. P. Pelagatti, G. Di Stefano, and L. de Lachenal (Ragusa: Centro Studi Feliciano Rossitto, 2006), 157-82.

[87] G. Di Stefano, "L'attività di ricerca della Soprintendenza a Camarina e nella provincia di Ragusa fra il 1996 e il 2000," *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 687-728, esp. 693-4.

[88] Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," 268.

[89] T. Lucchelli, "Monete dall'agorà di Camarina: analisi e contesto," in *Monete dall'agorà di Camarina. Campagne di scavo 1983 – 1995*, ed. T. Lucchelli and G. Di Stefano (Milan: CUEM, 2004), 38-62, esp. 54-7.

[90] See Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," for analysis of these documents and bibliography.

[91] Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," 253-6; Polyb. 1.24.12 for Roman interventions in Camarina after the First Punic War.

full of economic activity based in workshop-residences, and related to the production and processing of pottery, wine, and olive oil.

However, the evidence for the city's economic and political organization and its demographics are less certain after the second century BC, a result in part of the plundering of building materials over the centuries by local peasants from more recent strata of occupation. At the very least, the drop-off in coin finds from the second century BC and after seems to indicate a reduction of commercial activity in public areas like the agora.[92] The latest improvements to the large houses constructed around the agora after 258, such as the "Casa dell'altare," are datable to the first century BC, perhaps pointing to the migration of the social and political elite from the city thereafter.[93] Finds of ceramics such as Campana C (probably produced in Syracuse or Morgantina), presigillata, and Arretine ware attest to activity in the urban center in the first century BC through the Augustan period, and the city is also included among Pliny's Sicilian *oppida*, though its precise juridical status in the late Republic and early Principate is uncertain.[94] The sharp decrease in numismatic and ceramic evidence after the middle of the first century AD may signal an abandonment of the old city center, or a shift of activity away from spaces like the agora that have been the focus of most archaeological investigation thus far.[95] One excavator hypothesizes that economic activity shifted to the area of the port (a view supported by the discovery of a number of Roman imperial-era wrecks in the waters of the bay of Camarina – see further below), and was conducted on a "sub-urban" level.[96] As I show in this chapter and in Chapter 6, such a shift in site to accommodate shifting economic and commercial networks was also a feature of the abandonment processes of certain cities on the northern coast (e.g. Calacte, probably Soluntum, and, later, Halaesa), and therefore can be interpreted as a key process in the transformation of the settlement landscape of Roman imperial Sicily.

Like Morgantina, Helorus, and most other cities of the southeastern corner of the island, Camarina was under the political and economic dominance of Syracuse for much of its classical

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[92] Lucchelli, "Monete dall'agorà," esp. 60-1. Another possibility is that after the Second Punic War, the Roman military presence in the city (the main destination for Sicilian bronze coinage – cf. Apollonia below) decreased.

[93] G. Di Stefano, "Camarina. Pavimenti in cementizio a base fittile di età repubblicana *in situ*," in *Atti del XV Colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. C. Angelelli and C. Salvetti (Tivoli: Mancini, 2010), 543-50, at 546.

[94] Pliny's *oppidum* seems only to indicate a current or former *polis* without municipal or colonial status, as opposed to the *civitates*, taxation units that, as I argued in chapter 2, need not refer to specific urban centers. The other cities Pliny describes as *oppida* (Leontinoi, Megara, Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Himera, Cephaloedium, Haluntium, Agathyrnum, and Mylae; he also describes Messana as an *oppidum civium romanorum*) are all located on or near the coast. Some of them were long-abandoned by Pliny's day (including Himera and Megara), while others – such as Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, and Panhormus – certainly gained municipal or colonial status in the Augustan period, an indication that the information Pliny consulted for his list was out of date.

[95] Lucchelli, "Monete dall'agorà," 43 and 60-2. The latest datable ancient coin from the agora is an issue of Constantine – a sporadic find from the area of the North Stoa (p. 9, cat. no. 14 in T. Lucchelli, "Monete dall'agorà di Camarina (1983-1995)," in *Monete dall'agorà di Camarina. Campagne di scavo 1983 – 1995*, ed. T. Lucchelli and G. Di Stefano (Milan: CUEM, 2004), 8-31; cf. cat. nos. 57, 70-3, and 86 for other Roman imperial coins from the agora excavations).

[96] Di Stefano, "Pavimenti di età repubblicana," 545.

and Hellenistic history.[97] While, as we have seen, Morgantina served as a key node in the collection and storage of tithe grain for Hieronian Syracuse and, later, for the Roman Republic, so the port of Camarina likely served as a center for the embarkation by sea of this grain and of other products of the agricultural hinterland of the southeastern interior. Several scholars have noted parallels in the urban development of Morgantina and Camarina in the Republican period (especially the late third and second centuries BC), as well as in earlier centuries.[98] Most significantly, both cities experienced a shift in the use of public spaces away from political/administrative and towards commercial purposes in the Hieronian and Roman Republican periods. This "commercialization" of agora space was perhaps related to the end of the effective political autonomy of these centers, under the dominance first of Syracuse and then of Rome, and also to their roles in state extractive activities and in the commercial activities (such as the production of pottery) that "piggybacked" on these exactions. In both cities, following violent destruction episodes – in 258 in Camarina, and in 210 in Morgantina - the agora was rebuilt with new productive, storage, and marketing facilities, as were the intramural residential quarters, sometimes with workshops connected to houses with luxurious display rooms; and the civic body was reconstituted, probably under the auspices of Roman authorities.

We can contrast the urban development of Camarina and Morgantina (and, to a lesser extent, Phintias and Heraclea Minoa) after the Roman conquest with that of northern and western cities such as Segesta, Soluntum, and Monte Iato. The urban centers of the North and West developed "political" as well as "commercial" spaces, such as *bouleuteria* and other structures geared towards assembly and administration (such as the "basilica" of Monte Iato and the *odeion* of Soluntum).[99] On the other hand, those of the South and Southeast seem (on current knowledge) to have functioned primarily as "commercial" cities, with their public areas geared towards economic activity.[100] This difference may be attributable to the greater political autonomy of the centers of the northern and western coasts, which largely seem to have had good (or at least neutral) relations with Rome in the second half of the third century, in contrast to Camarina and Morgantina's fraught relations with Syracuse, then Rome. Also, the northern and western cities had long participated in the trade networks operating between North Africa and the Italian peninsula, and so their political and economic fortunes would have been less tied to state exactions in grain than the cities of the South and Southeast.

Camarina also shared with Morgantina and Heraclea Minoa certain environmental challenges to the integrity of its urban space: namely, the scarcity of water at the site and the erosion of the

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[97] Strong evidence for the inclusion of Camarina in Hieron's kingdom comes from the stamped cylindrical ceramic grain measure found in excavations in the agora; similar vessels bearing the name of the same magistrate, Artemidoros, have been found in Morgantina and Akrai. All three appear to be the products of a single workshop, suggesting that they were manufactured and distributed across eastern Sicily in the context of the collection of the Hieronian grain tithe (Walthall, "Magistrate Stamps").

[98] Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," esp. 260-9; Lucchelli, "Monete dall'agorà," esp. 56-60; and Di Stefano, "Aspetti urbanistici." See also M. Bell III, "Rapporti urbanistici fra Camarina e Morgantina," in *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*, ed. P. Pelagatti, G. Di Stefano, and L. de Lachenal (Ragusa: Centro Studi Feliciano Rossitto, 2006), 253-8, for similarities in the fifth-century BC urban plans of the two cities.

[99] Though, of course, a city doesn't require a *bouleuterion* to hold a council meeting, I would argue that the decision to construct a monumental space for civic activities is itself important.

[100] Though it is also significant that in Morgantina and, probably, Camarina, civic cult spaces were maintained and/or new cult centers were built.

coastal promontory on which it was situated.[101] The Timoleonic urban plan was geared towards mitigating the effects of erosion, with the *stenopoi* of the street grid carrying away water in channels to be discharged outside the city walls. A public fountain complex excavated in the agora is similar in chronology and appearance to the fountainhouse in the northeast corner of the Morgantina agora, and seems to have replaced a series of nearby wells. However, civic authorities in the Hellenistic period appear to have been more concerned with protecting the urban center against landslides and erosion than with furnishing a regular, public supply of water: in the period after Timoleon's foundation, water mainly seems to have come from cisterns within residences that collected rainwater, as well as a few scattered wells.

After the apparent end of substantial "urban" settlement on the site of Camarina by the mid-first century AD, we may hypothesize a similar development to that seen at Caronia Marina on the north coast (see below): that is, the survival of a nearby, "sub-urban" maritime port-of-call. Shipwrecks found in the bay of Camarina and along the coast to the southeast attest to the large-scale movement along this stretch of coast of high-value items such as fine marble columns, as well as oil, fish products, and other commodities, that formed part of the commerce between Sicily, Rome, North Africa, and the Iberian peninsula in the high and late Empire.[102] As with other points on the southeastern coast, such as Mesopotamium (probably at the mouth of the Dirillo) and Caucana (probably to be identified with the Byzantine settlement near Punta Secca), the mouth of the Hipparis and the sandy beach below ancient Camarina may have served as a landing point (or *plaga*, in the terminology of the *It. Ant.*) for small-scale commerce in the Principate, and especially in late antiquity (cf. Chapter 7).

There have been no formal field surveys in the territory of Camarina, but the extensive exploration and mapping of ancient settlements on the southeast coast and in the Hyblean plateau have pointed to a shift in coastal settlement away from ancient urban centers – some, like Camarina, in rather precarious hillside locations – to smaller, more easily accessible coastal landings, some of which, like Caucana, grew in size and monumentality in late antiquity.[103] The rural landscape of smallholdings owned and/or managed by Cicero's *aratores* resident in ancient urban centers appears to have ended in the early imperial period, concomitantly with the abandonment of centers like Camarina. After this caesura, rural settlement concentrated in farms,

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[101] S. Collin Bouffier, "La gestion des ressources hydriques de la cité antique de Camarina," in *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*, ed. P. Pelagatti, G. Di Stefano, and L. de Lachenal (Ragusa: Centro Studi Feliciano Rossitto, 2006), 183-96.

[102] A.J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman Provinces* (B.A.R. Int. Ser. 580; Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1992), cat. nos. 163, 164, and 166 (Camarina A, B and D), 398 (Femmina Morta), and 975 (Randello). The famous "relitto delle colonne" (Parker's Camarina A) is a large second or third-century ship carrying complete "giallo antico" columns from Numidia. For this and the Randello wreck, and their implications for understanding commercial routes in the Roman central Mediterranean, see G. Di Stefano, "Marmi africani e garum spagnolo nel Mediterraneo centrale: trace di alcune rotte commerciali di età romana," in *L'Africa romana: lo spazio marittimo del Mediterraneo occidentale, geografia storica ed economia. Atti del XIV Convegno di studio, Sassari, 7-10 dicembre 2000,* ed. M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, and C. Vismara (Rome: Carocci, 2002), 627-41. A first century AD wreck of a ship carrying numerous fine bronze vessels, lamps, and statuettes, probably of Campanian manufacture – and probably an assemblage that belonged to the ship itself or to a wealthy individual onboard, rather than commercial cargo - was discovered in the bay of Camarina in 1999: G. Di Stefano, "Materiali del sito e dal mare di Camarina," *SicA* 101 (2003): 127-42.

[103] The known Roman settlements in the region are summarized in G. Di Stefano and G. Leone, *La regione camarinese in età romana. Appunti per la carta Archeologica* (Modica: B. Leopardi, 1985).

villas, and villages in the high plain with access to land routes that linked them to the urban centers of the eastern Sicilian coast.[104] Excavations of settlements in the territory of Camarina such as the luxury villa at Giarratana and the neighboring *villa rustica* or *vicus* at Margi, and the recently discovered *vicus* at Piombo, all in locations of great agricultural potential, and all of substantial size and architectural pretension, point to the re-focusing of economic activity (and perhaps elite social life) to inland rural centers in the high and late Empire.[105]

Apollonia

Monte Vecchio di San Fratello, a steep hill at the northern edge of the Nebrodi range that overlooks the Tyrrhenian coast between Caronia (ancient Calacte, see below) and Capo d'Orlando (Agathyrnum), has been identified as the site of ancient Apollonia. This city, perhaps founded by Dionysius the Elder as an outpost against the Carthaginians, first enters the historical record in the mid-fourth century BC, when Timoleon freed it from the control of a local tyrant and restored its autonomy.[106] The city was besieged and captured by Agathocles, but appears, at least in the historical record, to be a vital *civitas* in the early first century BC: according to Cicero, it had sufficient means and manpower to provide a ship to a Roman fleet battling piracy (II *Verr*. 5.33.86).[107]

Recent excavations on the summit plateau (690-716m a.s.l.) confirm the site's identification as Apollonia and have revealed parts of a substantial settlement on and around the acropolis, which was surrounded by a wall circuit, with some indications of extramural settlement as well (Plate 5.13a).[108] Though nothing is yet known of the public buildings and areas of ancient Apollonia, houses and other structures excavated within the settlement have presented two distinct phases of occupation: from the late fourth until the first half of the third century BC, and from the first century BC until the early first century AD. Despite the limited extent of research, the excavators are confident enough to propose an outline of the historical development of the city. During and immediately after the time of Timoleon, the city was laid out on the acropolis and surrounding plateau along an orthogonal grid; however, this phase of settlement was short-

[104] G. Di Stefano, "Distribuzione e tipologia degli insediamenti di età repubblicana ed imperiale sull'altopiano Ibleo," in *Le ravitaillement en blé de Rome et des centres urbains des débuts de la république jusqu'au haut empire* (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 11 / Collection de l'école française de Rome 196, 1994), 237-42.

[105] G. Di Stefano, "Scavi e ricerche a Camarina e nella Ragusano," *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1367-1421, esp. 1402-6; id., "Nuovi mosaici dalla villa romana di Giarratana in Sicilia. Notizie preliminari," in *Atti del X colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico: Lecce, 18-21 febbraio 2004*, ed. C. Angelelli (Tivoli and Rome: Scripta manent, 2005), 281-5; and G. Di Stefano and G. Ventura, "Nuovi mosaici e altri pavimenti dalle ville rurali di Giarratana (scavi 2009), Margi e Piombo (scavi 2008), nell'antico territorio di Camarina e dal *Fortilitium* di Ispica (Ragusa, Sicilia)," in *Atti del XVI Colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. C. Angelelli (Tivoli and Rome: Scripta manent, 2011), 207-14.

[106] See C. Bonanno, "Le fonti, gli studi e le indagini," in ead., ed., *Apollonia. Indagini archeologiche sul Monte di San Fratello, Messina, 2003 - 2005* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2008), 13-16, for mentions of Apollonia in Diodorus Siculus and other sources.

[107] Cicero includes Apollonia among the *civitates* that had suffered (*perditae hac iniquitate decumarum*) from Verres' abuse of the tithe system (II *Verr*. 3.43.103). Aristodamus of Apollonia is also mentioned among Verres' extortion victims (II *Verr*. 5.6.14).

[108] See Bonanno, *Apollonia*, for these excavations.

lived, and was probably brought to an end by the siege of Agathocles in the early third century BC, in an apparently sudden and violent destruction and abandonment episode.

After the Second Punic War, the acropolis was resettled on a more restricted scale, within a wall circuit built over older houses. The "urban" status of this second phase of settlement is unclear, since excavations have been limited to the wall circuit and residential structures. The occupation phase of the residences built over the early Hellenistic houses can be broadly dated to the first century BC.[109] Between the late first century BC and early first century AD, the settlement's progressive abandonment, like that of Entella (see below) and other hilltop centers, has been inferred from the collapse of residential structures and the rarity or absence of later datable material culture in and above these strata of collapse.[110] Though apparently never an urban center of great size or political prominence, Apollonia's omission from Pliny's list of *civitates* perhaps implies that it fell within the territory and under the administrative authority of one of the nearby coastal cities with Roman juridical status (most likely Messana, the *municipia* of Halaesa or Haluntium, or the *colonia* of Tyndaris).[111]

Although the excavations on Monte San Fratello are too incomplete to allow a firm understanding of the ancient settlement's chronology, the material culture recovered from domestic contexts can give a sense of the (limited) economic integration even of such a small, difficult-to-access settlement in the Hellenistic and late Republican periods. The relatively high numbers of imported amphorae, including late and transitional Greco-Italic forms, Dressel 1Bs, and Lamboglia 2s, found on the site indicate that, like other northern coastal centers (cf. Calacte below), Apollonia was implicated in the explosion of wine exports from the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts of Italy in the late second and first centuries BC. Amphorae produced in the Brundisium area and probably used for transporting oil have also been found.[112] On the other hand, the Punic-type "tubular" amphorae (first century BC) found on the site, which were probably used for transporting garum, are of probable local or Sicilian manufacture - in any case, petrographic analysis has excluded Tunisian production - indicating a regional coastal production and distribution of fish products.[113]

In addition, the numismatic assemblage points to the possible presence of Roman troops in or near the town, and highlights the role of the Roman military in the Sicilian economy of the Republican period. Of the more than 200 coins found in excavations, large numbers of Sicilian bronze issues have been identified, mostly from Hieronian Syracuse (i.e. second half of the third century BC). A large proportion of the coins also date to the Second Punic War and the following decades. The assemblage from this period is again dominated by Syracusan issues, but also includes issues from nearby coastal centers (Calacte, Halaesa, and Haluntium) and from the cities of the Northeast and the Etna region (Catina, Centuripae, Leontinoi, and Tauromenium).[114]

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[109] G. Perrotta, "L'insediamento ellenistico-romano," in Bonanno, *Apollonia,* 23-34, for the two phases of use/occupation of the excavated residences.

[110] C. Bonanno and G. Perrotta, "I materiali di età ellenistico-romana," in Bonanno, *Apollonia*, 39-54, at 53, for limited finds of Arretine and Italian sigillata in the excavations, and for scattered African finewares from as late as the fourth century AD in surface strata.

[111] C. Bonanno and G. Perrotta, "Cronologia e considerazioni," in Bonanno, *Apollonia*, 81-2.

[112] Bonanno and Perrotta, "I materiali di età ellenistico-romana," 52-3.

[113] Bonanno and Perrotta, "I materiali di età ellenistico-romana," 53; R. Cabella, C. Capelli, and M. Piazza, "Analisi in sezione sottile di ceramiche da S. Fratello," in Bonanno, *Apollonia*, 55-6.

[114] A. Carbè, "Le Monete: il contributo delle monete alla storia della città," in Bonanno, *Apollonia,* 63-73, at 63-6.

Excavators have linked the size and variety of this Roman-era assemblage – and especially the relatively high numbers of issues from the Sicilian *poleis* of the north coast - to the presence of Roman troops in and around the city center, perhaps serving as a garrison. Such a garrison would have been a primary destination for the bronze coins issued by Sicilian cities during and after the Second Punic War, which were perhaps distributed as a supplement to or temporary substitute for military pay, as a means of facilitating everyday transactions as well as exchange with Roman gold and silver issues in the context of Roman procurements.[115] If we can posit a link between the presence of the military within the settlement and its economic integration in the Roman Republican period, the likely end of this presence by the Augustan period may be linked with the end of the site's economic integration and the apparent end of settlement, though excavators have attributed the site's abandonment to the severe economic damage likely inflicted on Apollonia and other small urban centers by the post-civil war indemnity imposed by Octavian.[116]

Monte Iato

Annual fieldwork campaigns conducted since 1971 by the University of Zurich on Monte Iato, a long ridge in the mountainous interior southwest of Palermo, have revealed an extensive hilltop settlement of long duration that has been securely identified as ancient Iaitas/Ietas (Plate 5.13b). These excavations have been published thoroughly and in a timely manner in yearly reports as well as in a series of monographs.[117] The chronology of the settlement's urban development in the fourth and third centuries is controversial,[118] though the city seems to have prospered in the period after the Punic Wars, and underwent extensive improvements to its monumental infrastructure that continued into the second century BC. By the first century BC, Ietas was equipped with a street system, a theatre, and a paved agora (Plate 5.14). This agora was flanked by stoas, temples, and two *bouleuteria* (the larger supplanting the smaller in the late second century BC), and was surrounded by residential and commercial areas (Plate 5.15-5.18a).

However, major public building projects appear to have ceased by the late first century BC or early first century AD, with some work left unfinished, including modifications to the *scaena* building of the theatre that had been in progress since the early first century BC.[119] Many public and private structures, including the *bouleuterion*, the temple of Aphrodite, the theatre, and "peristyle house 1," fell into disuse or were destroyed (perhaps by an earthquake) between the mid-first century BC and the mid-first century AD. However, occupation of the town continued, with buildings in the agora adapted into housing, and material from older collapsed structures

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[115] Ibid., 65-7.

[116] Bonanno and Perrotta, "Cronologia e considerazioni," 82. However, these explanations for the settlement's decline (severe economic damage vs. removal of the military) are not, in principle, mutually exclusive.

[117] Monograph series: *Studia Ietina I - IX* (1976-2006). Yearly excavation reports are published in *Sicilia archeologica* (in Italian) and in *Antike Kunst* (in German), and their results summarized in semi-annual contributions to *Kōkalos* and the *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima*.

[118] Monte Iato (and especially its theatre) is frequently mentioned in the debate over "high" vs. "low" chronologies for the development of Sicilian urban centers in the Hellenistic/Republican period; cf. chapter 1, and H.P. Isler, "L'insediamento a Monte Iato nel IV e III secolo a.C.," in *Krise und Wandel. Süditalien im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. R. Neudecker (*Palilia* 23; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), 147-73, for a recent defense of his "high" dating of the main phase of monumental development.

[119] H.P. Isler, *Monte Iato. Guida archeologica* (2nd ed. Palermo: Sellerio, 2000), 22-4, for a summary of the development of the site in the Roman imperial period and late antiquity.

reused in new residences. Imported ceramics are plentiful – the site is one of the richest in Sicily in Arretine ware, and African terra sigillata proliferated from the late first century AD. It is difficult to ascertain when the site was finally abandoned; though several structures – including the theatre and the portico in the agora that had been reused for housing – collapsed by the mid-fifth century, there are sporadic finds of coins and ceramics from the Byzantine period (sixth – eighth centuries AD).

Monte Iato, whose monumental urban fabric began to decay in the late Republican and early imperial periods, but where occupation and economic activity nonetheless persisted for several centuries, seems implicated in none of the historical "ruptures" that characterize the material record of sites where we have observed similar processes of decay, including Morgantina and, to a lesser extent, Heraclea Minoa. The abandonment of the site was piecemeal: some structures were in disuse by the middle or end of the first century BC, such as the *bouleuterion* and wall circuit,[120] while the abandonment of other structures is datable to the Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods. In some cases, these abandonments may have been the result of destruction by earthquake and/or fire – such as "peristyle house 1" and the structures surrounding it, including the archaic Temple of Aphrodite and "peristyle house 2" (cf. Plates 5.16b - 5.18a). In other structures, such as the theatre and main city street, abandonment seems to be the result of long-term neglect rather than destruction.[121] In the case of the "peristyle house 1," the initial destruction episode was followed soon after by a short-lived period of re-settlement and re-use.[122] Over the course of the early and high imperial periods, the gradual deterioration and collapse of monumental structures in the agora is apparent, including the second *bouleuterion*,

[120] Obsolescence of the wall circuit by the third quarter of the first century BC: H. Bloesch and H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la sesta campagna di scavo," *SicA* 9.32 (1976): 9-24, at 22-3. The disuse of the *bouleuterion* in the first century BC, as indicated by the formation of a layer of sediment on its floor: H.P. Isler, "Iaitas: Scavi della Missione Archeologica Monte Iato dell'Università di Zurigo (1977-1980)," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 997-1008, at 1004.

[121] As mentioned above, construction work on the theatre had ceased by the Augustan period. The *scaena* building of the theatre appears to have had a secondary use phase in the first century AD, and its collapse followed several centuries later. The western wall of the *parodos* collapsed in the mid-Julio Claudian period. After its drainage channel was blocked, the orchestra filled with earth up to the height of its third step, probably beginning in the early imperial period. The main street leading to the agora was overlain by a thick layer of earth dated, on the basis of a coin of Trajan and fragments of African terra sigillata A, to the mid-second century AD, indicating a lack of maintenance, if not disuse, by that period: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato (Palermo) – Scavi 1972-1974," *NSc* 29 (1975): 531-56, at 541-3 and 545-6.

[122] The dating of the destruction of "peristyle house 1" and surrounding structures to the mid-first AD, followed by the partial rebuilding of the house, was first reported by H. Bloesch and H.P. Isler, "Ricerche archeologiche sul monte Iato," *SicA* 4.15 (1971): 9-18, at 16-17, and confirmed in later excavations (cf. Isler, *Guida archeologica*, 23 and 85). For the destruction of "peristyle house 2" by fire in or shortly before the mid-first century AD, H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la ventiquattresima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 27.85-6 (1994): 27-47, at 40, id., "Monte Iato: la venticinquesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 28.87-9 (1995): 19-38, at 34, and id., "Monte Iato: la ventisettesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 30.93-5 (1997): 23-44, at 39. The peristyle houses in the eastern quarter (E1 and E2), though not yet fully excavated, also appear to have been destroyed in or by the mid-first century AD: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la trentaduesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 36.101 (2003): 53-78, at 74; id., "Monte Iato: Scavi 1998-2000," in *Quarte giornate di studi sull'area elima: Erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000* (Pisa: Scuola Normal Superiore, 2003), 827-38, at 832-3; and id., "Monte Iato: la trentatreesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 37.102 (2004): 5-33, at 23.

some of the porticoes, and the podium temple.[123] However, occupation continued in many areas of the city, including parts of the agora and the area around the theatre, until at least the fifth century AD.[124]

And so, amidst the general process of destruction, collapse, and decay of the monumental infrastructure from the late first century BC on, there are also signs of reuse, renovation, and adaptation of existing structures throughout the imperial period and into late antiquity (similar to Segesta: see below). In addition, large amounts of coinage circulated in the city at least until the second quarter of the first century AD, and probably more sporadically thereafter.[125] The large quantities of imported Italian sigillata, as well as recent coinage and transport amphorae from Spain and Italy, found in the destruction layers of "peristyle house 1" attest to the intensity of the site's connection to the outside world - or at least to the ports of the western and northern coasts and, through them, to mainland Italy - in the mid-first century AD, and to the growing dominance of imported ceramics over local productions, as seen also in the latest settlement at

[123] The portico in front of the late second century BC *bouleuterion* collapsed in the late first or early second century AD, long after the structure had fallen out of use: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: Dodicesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 15.49/50 (1982): 7-26, at 11. The destruction of the temple on a podium in the agora is dated to around the mid-second century AD based on the fragments of African sigillata found underlying the collapse of its southern wall: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: diciassettesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 20.65 (1987): 11-24, at 16. The collapse of the East portico of the agora is dated to the second half of the second century AD or later on similar grounds: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la ventunesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 25.78-9 (1992): 7-43, at 25-7, id., "Monte Iato: la trentacinquesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 39.104 (2006): 5-32, at 5, and id., "Monte Iato: scavi 2007-2008," *SicA* 40.105 (2011): 34-56, at 35-7.

[124] Activity in and around the disused structures of the theatre – including the construction of hearths – can be detected from the early imperial period until at least the mid-fifth century AD: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: L'ottava campagna di scavo," *SicA* 11.38 (1978): 7-29, at 10; id., "Monte Iato: La nona campagna di scavo." *SicA* 12.41 (1979): 41-70, at 47; and id., "Iaitas: Scavi (1977-1980)," 1008. In the agora, a residence was built in the western portico in late antiquity whose occupant left a collection of bronze and clay vessels behind: Isler, "Nona campagna (1978)," 48-9; id., *Guida archeologica*, 24 and 42-3. There are scattered indications of late antique structures in other areas of the agora, such as the *bouleuterion*, the peristyle behind the north portico, and the east portico: Isler, "Dodicesima campagna (1982)," 11; id., "La ventunesima campagna (1992)," 18-20; id., "Monte Iato: la ventiduesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 26.81 (1993): 7-30, at 10; id., "Trentacinquesima campagna (2006)," 5.

[125] Sicilian issues, as well as imperial issues of Augustus through Claudius, are plentiful in the destruction layers related to the abandonments of the second quarter of the first century AD. Augustan and Tiberian coins from Panormus dominate, which is hardly surprising, given the proximity of Panormus and its status as the only Sicilian city that was definitely issuing money under Tiberius; Frey-Kupper, "La circolazione monetaria a Monte Iato," esp. 286-90. The coin assemblage of the city has not been published in full, but some later imperial issues have been found in use, abandonment and destruction layers [H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: Tredicesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 16.52/3 (1983): 17-32, at 22], as well as a few Byzantine issues from the seventh and ninth centuries: Isler, "La ventiduesima campagna (1993)," 7. Recently, an issue of the Gallic chieftain Dumnorix (60-50 BC) has been found on site, as well as an issue of a governor of Judea (AD 6-11), though in a medieval context: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: scavi 2004-2006," in *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico: atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima, Erice, 12-16 ottobre 2006* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2009), 661-9, at 665, and id., "Monte Iato: scavi 2007-2008," 47.

Morgantina.[126] However, in contrast to the urban centers of the southern coast and interior examined in this chapter, imports, especially from Africa, continued to reach Monte Iato into late antiquity, though with a possible dip in the fourth century. Plentiful fragments of African lamps and tablewares mark the middle- and late-imperial use and destruction phases of the city's buildings. In addition, a domestic assemblage from the late antique residence in the western portico, buried when the portico collapsed around the mid-fifth century, sheds light on the (not unsubstantial) means of its last ancient residents, as well as the varied connections the settlement may have maintained with its neighborhood as well as with the wider Mediterranean world.[127]

Although Monte Iato was abandoned only gradually and incompletely, with residential and economic activity continuing into late antiquity, we can detect key points of transition in the site's settlement history. While Roman involvement has been speculated in the monumental interventions in the agora in the middle and late second century BC,[128] alterations to the urban fabric after this period seem mainly to be the result of private or small-group efforts, as we saw at Morgantina, rather than of initiatives sponsored and/or coordinated by civic authorities, as we will see below, in the later stages of occupation at Segesta. The abandonment of the *bouleuterion*, the end of construction work on the theatre, and the general lack of maintenance of the city's monumental infrastructure point to the weakening of the financial means of civic authorities, and perhaps to the complete obsolescene of *polis* government;[129] indeed, there is little positive evidence for the persistence of any sort of civic administration after the late first century BC.[130] The most active spaces of the early first century AD appear to be the residences, shops, and workshops surrounding the agora.[131]

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[126] B. Hedinger, *Studia Ietina VIII. Die frühe Terra sigillata vom Monte Iato, Sizilien (Ausgrabungen 1971-1988) und frühkaiserzeitliche Fundkomplexe aus dem Peristylhaus 1* (Lausanne: Payot 1999), for the assemblage from "peristyle house 1."

[127] According to Isler, this assemblage included two bronze sheet vases, transport amphorae (spatheia) from North Africa, African lamps, other locally made vases, a fragment of a glass cup, and an iron grill (*Guida archeologica*, 43).

[128] These interventions, perhaps related to a reorganization of city government in the context of the servile wars and the administrative reforms of Laevinus, included the construction of the west portico, the second *bouleuterion*, and the agora podium temple, as well as the addition of a tribunal platform to the north portico, turning it into a basilica. They have been ascribed to the initiative of Roman administrators (or perhaps Romanized local elites) on the basis of the Latin inscription found near the north portico (see below) and the fact that the tiles from the roof of the west portico are stamped in Latin. See Isler, "L'ottava campagna (1978)," 11; id., "La nona campagna (1979)," 47-9; id., "Iaitas: Scavi (1977-1980)," 1004; id., "Monte Iato: Quattordicesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 17.56 (1984): 5-23, at 11-12; and id., "La ventunesima campagna (1992)," 10-18.

[129] Monumental public epigraphy, while never particularly common at Monte Iato, also appears to end in the first century BC. A fragmentary Latin inscription referring to the *gens* Hostilia (CN HOST) was found in the area of the north portico, in probable association with the construction of the tribunal platform in the portico and transformation of the structure into a basilica, and tentatively dated to the second century: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la diciannnovesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 22.69-70 (1989): 7-24, at 12; id., "La ventunesima campagna (1992)," 10. A fragmentary block of limestone bearing part of a monumental Latin inscription, tentatively dated to the late Republican period, was found recently among the refuse that accumulated in the public cistern: Isler, "Monte Iato: scavi 2007-2008," 49. A fragmentary Latin inscription, probably paleochristian, was found in the agora in a medieval context, so its provenance is uncertain: Isler, "La ventiquattresima campagna (1994)," 30.

[130] A possible exception may be the partial repaving of the agora at some point in the imperial period: H. Bloesch and H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la quarta campagna di scavo," *SicA* 7.26 (1974): 9-22, at 19; Isler,

Whatever their cause(s), the destruction events of the early to mid-first century AD seem to have struck a decisive blow to the urban fabric. As far as is discernable, most productive and commercial activities ceased in the urban center at that point, to be followed thereafter only by scattered occupation of the structures of the agora and the theatre. As in Morgantina, the conspicuous reuse of older builder materials in the renovations to these structures, including architectural décor, monumental inscriptions, and stamped roof tiles produced in the second and first centuries BC (some, apparently, under the auspices of the civic government),[132] further points to the absence of a central authority to oversee both the production of construction materials and the construction activities themselves – indeed, there is no positive evidence for civic administration in either city after the mid-first century BC - as well as to a lack of economically viable productive facilities, such as tile and brick kilns, in the vicinity of the settlement.

In conclusion, we can hypothesize at Monte Iato the gradual disappearance of permanent urban inhabitants of means and with an interest in public and private prestige display – in other words, a "local elite"– and, with them, civic authority, that culminated in the early and mid-first century AD.[133] However, survey work in the area around Monte Iato has indicated that this civic disintegration did not mean a general decline in population levels; to the contrary, rural settlement appears to peak in the mid-first century AD, and level off thereafter.[134] The persistence of settlement at a sub-urban level indicates that the location remained accessible and desirable, probably because of the easy availability of building materials, to a small community whose basis was probably agricultural or pastoral, and whose presence appears transient. As a result of the continued connectivity of the western interior with Palermo and other coastal cities,

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"La ventunesima campagna (1992)," 23-4. Like many other cities in Sicily, Monte Iato also experienced a revival in minting activity in connection with the military activity surrounding Sextus Pompey's occupation of the island.

[131] As noted above, "peristyle house" 1 and 2, as well as the houses of the eastern quarter, remained in occupation, to different extents, until the mid-first century AD. An area of shops and storage spaces, including a possible *thermopolium*, has recently been excavated in the southern zone of the agora. These structures appear to have been in use from the Hellenistic through the early imperial period, and were destroyed by the mid-first century AD: H.P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la trentesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 34.99 (2001): 5-29, at 9-11; id., "Monte Iato: la trentunesima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 35.100 (2002): 5-29, at 10; id., "Monte Iato: la trentaquattresima campagna di scavo," *SicA* 38.103 (2005): 5-38, at 6-7.

[132] The practice of the stamping of roof tiles used in public buildings with the names of magistrates, which began by the third century, appears to have ended in the first century BC: H.P. Isler, "Iaitas: Scavi della Missione Archeologica Monte Iato dell'Università di Zurigo 1973-1976," *Kōkalos* 22/3 (1976/7): 689-94, at 692.

[133] The occupation history of peristyle house 1 may be indicative of this process of local elite migration from, and disinvestment in, the urban community (cf. Hedinger, *Studia Ietina VIII*, and Isler, *Guida archeologica*, 66-85). At the time of its early or mid-first century AD destruction, probably from an earthquake, it appears to have been occupied by a household of around six persons of a certain affluence, as indicated by the presence of imported fine tablewares and objects of bronze and worked bone in its assemblage. Among the latest renovations to the house pre-destruction appears to be the construction of a *lararium* in Room 15, perhaps in the first century BC. Shortly after destruction, the northern rooms of the house were reoccupied, apparently by more than one household. Rooms 11 and 14 were rebuilt partly using architectural elements from the collapsed peristyle. Room 15 was transformed into a kitchen/bath, with a hearth as well as a portable terracotta tub. A hearth was also dug into the pavement of Room 16. This reuse appears to have been brief, and the house was finally destroyed by fire around AD 50.

[134] Perkins, "*Aliud in Sicilia*?," esp. 38-51.

the later inhabitants of Monte Iato had access to imported goods, and could presumably find outlets for their own produce.

Entella

Rocca d'Entella, a mountaintop deep in the western interior nearly midway between the two coasts, was the site of ancient Entella, and has been the focus of archaeological fieldwork by the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa since the early 1980s – a project that was motivated by the (controversial) discovery and publication in the 1970s of eight decrees on bronze tablets issued by the city and by the still-unidentified *polis* of Nakone in the fourth and third centuries BC. The site has not been as extensively excavated as some of the other cities examined in this chapter, and the research published so far has focused on the structures of the late classical and early Hellenistic *polis* that produced the famous decrees. Our knowledge of the ceramics and numismatic material recovered from the site is far more advanced than that of the structures and institutions of the city. Nonetheless, Entella is included as a case study because the surveys of the territory of the modern *comune* of Contessa Entellina that have accompanied the excavations on the Rocca allow for the comparison of diachronic trends in rural settlement with developments in the urban center itself.

Our patchy knowledge of the city's topography can be summarized easily.[135] The earliest of the necropoleis that ring the Rocca was in use by the sixth century, and the settlement itself shows signs of activity in this period, including the construction of a wall circuit and at least one cult complex (Plate 5.18b). The city's period of greatest prosperity appears to have been the late fourth and early third centuries BC, when a large public granary was constructed, and perhaps also a theatre and *bouleuterion*. The granary and fortifications show signs of violent destruction in the mid-third century BC, and it is tempting to associate such evidence with the caesurae in occupation mentioned the Entella tablets. After an apparent gap in occupation for much of the third century BC, the city appears to have undergone a slight revival in the second century, as attested by scattered building in the urban center, and the use of Necropolis A.[136] This second-century "revival" was followed by a gradual abandonment between the first centuries BC and AD, as the inhabited area was reduced to the southern section of the Rocca – a process that was complete by the second century AD.[137]

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[135] See, e.g., C. Michelini and M.C. Parra, "Entella: La Città," in *Da un'antica città di Sicilia. I decreti di Entella e Nakone. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2001), 157-72, for the urban development of Entella.

[136] There appears to be little overlap between the early Hellenistic phase of building at the site and the later Republican and early imperial settlement; whether this indicates a discontinuity in settlement is unclear, since Necropolis A may have been in use consistently from the fourth until the second or first century BC. For the later phase of use of Necropolis A, see G. Nenci et al., "Entella: relazione preliminare della campagna di scavo 1989," *ASNP* 3.22 (1992): 617-759, esp. 717-33; G. Nenci et al., "Entella: relazione preliminare della campagne di scavo 1990-1991," *ASNP* 3.24 (1994): 85-336, esp. 304; U. Fantasia, "Entella: relazioni preliminari delle campagne di scavo 1992, 1995, 1997 e delle ricognizioni 1998," *ASNP* 4.4 (1999): vii – 188, esp. 149-51; C.A. Di Noto and R. Guglielmino, "Entella: Le Necropoli," in *Da un'antica città di Sicilia. I decreti di Entella e Nakone. Catalogo della mostra,* ed. C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2001), 173-85; and C. Ampolo et al., "Relazioni preliminari degli scavi e delle ricognizioni ad Entella (Contessa Entellina, PA; 2000-2004)," *ASNP* 4.7.2 (2002): 431-564, esp. 531.

[137] However, the city appears to have minted coins during the war against Sextus Pompey: G. Nenci et al., "Entella: relazione preliminare della campagna di scavo 1988," *ASNP* 3.20 (1990): 429-552, at 443.

The main indication of abandonment of the settlement in the early imperial period is the diminution of datable material culture. Structures datable to the middle and late Republic and early Empire (ca. second/first century BC – first century AD) have so far been found only in the southern sector of the Rocca, in the area of the medieval castello. Here, excavators have uncovered remains of structures (possibly a residence) in use until the early imperial period, as indicated by the fragments of Italian sigillata recovered from their use and collapse layers. Coins from the first century BC and early first century AD have also been recovered in the area, and the surface strata have produced fragments of early imperial African cookwares. The excavators have inferred from this evidence a reduction in the settled area between the early Hellenistic and Republican phases of occupation, with the last settlement dying out by the early second century AD.[138] Excavations of the northwestern fortifications and the main street leading into the town have traced abandonment layers containing coins and ceramics from the early Julio-Claudian period.[139] There is little sign of use of Necropolis A after the first century BC.[140]

Field survey in the city's territory has detected an increase in the number of rural settlements in the Hellenistic period, in conjunction with the urban development of Entella.[141] A possible decrease or flux in rural settlement that lasted into the first century BC was followed by an upswing in settlement that lasted from the first through the fifth century AD. The presence of African finewares and cookwares on these imperial sites makes them highly visible, in contrast with the scarcity of Arretine wares and their precursors. Settlement sites of the imperial period have been identified both close to and at a distance from the urban center of Entella. The sites tended to be in valleys, with fewer located on heights than in earlier periods. Accessibility to water (as opposed to visibility or defensibility) seems to have been the key factor in choice of site, along with access to transportation routes.

There appears to have been greater differentiation in the extent and articulation of sites in the imperial period than in earlier periods. Although there were numerous small settlements,

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[138] C. Michelini, "Entella fra III sec. a.C. e I sec. d.C. Note preliminari," in *Quarte giornate di studi sull'area elima: Erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2003), 933-72, esp. 943-8; Ampolo et al., "Relazioni preliminari degli scavi ad Entella 2000-2004," 435-48.

[139] M. Gargini and M.A. Vaggioli, "Entella. Le Fortificazioni. Nuove indagini nell'area della Porta di Nord/Ovest (SAS 19; 2005)," *ASNP* 4.9.2 (2004): 473-98; M. Gargini et al., "Nuovi dati sul sistema di fortificazione di Entella," in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico, VIII-III sec. a.C.: arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2006), 327-78, esp. 344-5.

[140] According to excavators, although use of the necropolis probably persisted at a reduced level into the first century BC along with settlement on the Rocca, no object recovered from it can be securely dated to that century or later: Nenci et al., "Entella: relazione preliminare 1990-1991," 304.

[141] The annual results of the surveys are summarized in G. Nenci, "Entella: ricognizioni topografiche e scavi 1987," *ASNP* 3.18 (1988): 1469-1556, esp. 1481-90; M.G. Canzanella, "L'insediamento rurale nella regione di Entella," in *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 19-22 settembre 1991* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1992), 151-72; id., "L'insediamento rurale nella regione di Entella dall'età arcaica al VII sec. d.C. Materiali e contributi," in *Alla ricerca di Entella*, ed. G. Nenci (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1993), 137-338; Fantasia, "Entella: relazioni preliminari 1992, 1995, 1997, 1998," 181-6; A. Corretti and M.A. Vaggioli, "Entella: Il territorio," in *Da un'antica città di Sicilia. I decreti di Entella e Nakone. Catalogo della mostra* ed. C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2001), 187-95; and A. Corretti et al., "Per una carta storico-archeologica del Comune di Contessa Entellina: dati archeologici preliminari (1998-2002)," in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico, VIII-III sec. a.C.: arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della Guerra* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2006), 561-93.

identified as farmsteads, the imperial period also saw an increase in the number of settlements above one hectare in size. Half of the 32 imperial-era sites detected by the survey are less than one hectare, while a quarter are between 1.4 and 2.8 ha, including a possible villa with a thermal complex at Vaccara, at the base of Rocca d'Entella.[142] The rest of the settlements consist of a scattering of sites identified as large villas or small villages, and one substantial village at Miccina that developed in the second and third centuries from a small first-century nucleus.

The results of the field surveys of the territory around Entella, coupled with the Monreale Survey in the area around Monte Iato, indicate that de-population of (or, at least, decreased settlement numbers in) the countryside did not necessarily accompany a reduction of activity in the urban center, as seen in the territory of Heraclea Minoa and in the area around Segesta (see below). Rather, it seems that with the reduction in activity in the urban center on Rocca d'Entella, the activities of agricultural production, processing, and distribution were concentrated in new centers – whether "hamlets," "villages," or "villas" – closer to the main overland and waterborne lines of communication between the interior and the coast.

Calacte (Caronia)

Kale Akte/Calacte (also known as Caleacte), a mid-fifth century BC foundation of the Sikel leader Ducetius, was located on the site of modern Caronia, a hillside town overlooking the sea, almost midway along the Tyrrhenian coast between Palermo and Messina. The structures of the medieval and modern town of Caronia have limited archaeological work in the urban center of Calacte to a few short excavations on terraces around the edges of the city. Archaeological research has instead focused on the harbor settlement at Marina di Caronia, which lies at the foot of the hill of Caronia (Plate 5.19). While Calacte is unique and valuable as a case study because it presents substantial remains of a coastal and a hilltop settlement, our knowledge of the extent and chronology of settlement at both sites is still far from complete.

Occupation of the ancient settlement on the summit and steep slopes of the hill of Caronia seems to date mainly from the late fourth century BC until the first century AD.[143] Inscriptions from and relating to the city – including a recently discovered decree – point to an active civic life in the second and first centuries BC.[144] The hillside settlement appears to have been abandoned in the mid-first century AD, perhaps as the result of earthquake damage. Thereafter, the population perhaps shifted to the already-existing port settlement a few kilometers away at Marina di Caronia, where excavation was prompted by the observation of large quantities of

[142] Nenci et al., "Entella: relazione preliminare 1990-1991," 298-300, for excavation of the Vaccara villa, which appears to have been occupied between the first century BC and sixth century AD. A high percentage of the ceramics found on the site are African cookwares, tablewares, and lamps dating from the first half of the second century AD through the sixth century, while relatively few Italian imported ceramics have been found.

[143] For a summary of excavations in Caronia (called "Area A" by the excavators), see C. Bonanno, "Scavi e ricerche a Caronia e a S. Marco d'Alunzio," *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 953-85, esp. 953-72; and the report of K. Göransson in M.C. Lentini, K. Göransson, A. Lindhagen et al., "Excavations at Sicilian Caronia, ancient Kale Akte, 1999 – 2001," *OpRom* 27 (2002): 79-108, at 87-9.

[144] The *polis* joined with three other cities in honoring the naval commander Caninius Niger, perhaps for victories in the pirate wars, in an early first century BC inscription found in the agora of Halaesa in 1970; G. Scibona, "Epigraphica Halesiana, 1. Schede 1970," *Kōkalos* 17 (1971): 3-20. See G. Manganaro, "Un frammento inscritto erratico dall'area di Caronia (Kaleakté)," *ZPE* 170 (2009): 87-98, and F. Battistoni, "Note al nuovo decreto dall'area di Caronia (ZPE 170)," *ZPE* 174 (2010): 113-7, for recent epigraphic finds related to Hellenistic Calacte.

ancient amphora sherds spread over a wide area. Here, excavators have uncovered the remains of several buildings associated with the port, including a probable warehouse (*horreum*) and shops (Plate 5.20a).[145] These structures, in place since the Hellenistic period, also seem to have been destroyed in the mid-first century, though new structures had been built on their remains by the end of the second century AD. These later structures appear to have been destroyed in the third quarter of the fourth century, perhaps as a result of another earthquake. Nonetheless, ceramics found in the excavations – including numerous transport amphorae – attest to continued commercial activity in the area into the fifth century.[146]

Seismic activity seems to have had a significant impact on the settlement history of the Caronia and Marina sites. Although the destruction of the hilltop site by earthquake is only speculated based on limited excavation, the walls of the possible *horreum* at Marina and surrounding structures were brought down by a strong force or blow coming from the same direction – an event dated by ceramic finds between ca. AD 30 and 70, and linked by excavators to the earthquake(s) in the region recorded by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 2.206). It appears that the later structures on the site were destroyed violently, and the site deserted, in the mid-late fourth century – perhaps in relation to the series of earthquakes that devastated much of the Mediterranean, including the northern coast of Sicily, in the 360s and 370s.[147]

The apparent choice to rebuild on a substantial, organized scale at Marina at least once following such events, in the second and third centuries AD and perhaps also in the late fourth and fifth centuries (though no structures from this phase have been detected), is indicative of the great economic potential, and hence desirability, of easily accessible coastal locales in Roman imperial Sicily, especially on the highly integrated northern coast, and especially compared to more isolated hilltops, whose defensive potential was no longer a significant consideration for inhabitants. The ceramic assemblage from the Marina site, as studied by A. Lindhagen, shows the strong ties that even a small coastal center like Marina di Caronia could have with the outside world, especially if it had a commodity to offer for export - namely, wine. The settlement was engaged in the processing and distribution (including, in certain periods, overseas export) of local surplus wine production from the early third century BC until the late fifth century AD, with special intensity from the first century AD, and with no apparent chronological breaks.[148] The settlement also imported foodstuffs and ceramic cookwares and tablewares from around the

[145] For summaries of the results of excavations at Caronia Marina ("Area B"), see the report of A. Lindhagen in Lentini et al., "Excavations at Sicilian Caronia, 1999 – 2001," 89-94; C. Bonanno and F. Sudano, "*Kale Akte*. L'insediamento in contrada Pantano a Caronia Marina," in *Old pottery in a new century: innovating perspectives on Roman pottery studies*, ed. D. Malfitana, J. Poblome and J. Lund (Rome: Bretschneider, 2006), 435-48; and, for the most recent excavations, C. Bonanno, ed. *Kalè Aktè. Scavi in contrada Pantano di Caronia Marina – Messina 2003-2005* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2009).

[146] The ceramic assemblage from Caronia Marina has been extensively studied, especially by Lindhagen in his University of Lund thesis, cited above.

[147] Lindhagen in Lentini et al., "Excavations at Sicilian Caronia, 1999-2001," for the evidence of seismic activity at Marina.

[148] Lindhagen, "Production and exchange," esp. 103-6. The production of local wine for regional and extra-regional distribution at or near the Marina settlement can be traced by the presence of locally produced amphorae, beginning with small MGS V types in the late fourth/early third century BC, followed by Dressel 2/4s by the first century AD, and so on. See also C. Bonanno and F. Sudano, "I materiali," in Bonanno, ed. *Kalè Aktè*, 29-46, at 33-40.

Mediterranean on a large scale until the fifth century.[149] And finally, at the various periods in its history when such imports were not easily available, the site participated in local and regional commerce in ceramics and staples.[150]

The incompleteness of archaeological research at both Caronia and Marina di Caronia means that its results so far are indicative of possible trends in settlement and exchange, rather than of definite shifts. The history of settlement at the two sites highlights the potential for separating the "political" from the "economic" roles of the city. In the case of Calacte, the former roles seem to have disappeared with the end of settlement at the hilltop site, while the latter continued independently at the Marina site. The apparently synchronic development of the hilltop and harbor site in the Hellenistic period, and the continued economic integration of the harbor site and its productive and distributive facilities into the imperial period, also warns against drawing too strong a distinction between "city" and "countryside" or "urban" and "rural" settlement: while the settlement at Marina di Caronia was never a true *polis*, it shared and eventually took over the economic functions of the hillside urban center.

There has been no significant survey work in the territory around Calacte, and little is known of rural settlement patterns, but we may observe that the geographic and climatic situation of the territory is unlike that of any of the urban centers examined so far. As Lindhagen points out, the hilly territory at the edge of the Nebrodi range, with its low-fertility soil, is better suited to the large-scale production of wine than grain.[151] The *polis* and its harbor site were also well situated for exchange both overseas and by land, since the main coastal route between Messana and Lilybaeum traversed the territory. Therefore, local agricultural producers and processors were in a good position to participate in prevailing Mediterranean commercial trends, such as the late first century BC decline in Italian wine production and the opening up of the Roman wine market for imports in the face of greater provincial competition. In addition, foodstuffs not produced on a significant scale in the area, such as olive oil, could easily be imported from abroad. Therefore, Calacte and its rural territory had a more flexible economy than, for example, Morgantina, which for most of its history served largely as a regional processing and marketing center for grain and other local and regional productions, such as ceramics, and whose settlement vicissitudes were more directly tied to the nature and direction of state exactions.[152]

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[149] Amphorae (and the finewares that accompanied them) attest to imports of wine, olive oil, fish sauce, and other foodstuffs. See Lindhagen, "Production and exchange," esp. 105-29 for chronological trends in the quantity and source of these imports.

[150] The large quantities of tuna bones found on the site may indicate local production of fish products: Bonanno, "Le fonti, gli studi e le ricerche," in ead., ed. *Kalè Aktè*, 11-13, at 13. Bonanno and Sudano ("I materiali," 31) note that a unique form of pitched "presigillata" pitcher used to hold and pour wine found in large quantities at Caronia Marina was probably produced locally. Arretine and South Gallic sigillata are rare at the site, perhaps because local and Sicilian presigillata products met the settlement's needs until the mid-first century AD. However, production of "presigillata" in Sicily seems to have ceased in the mid-first century AD in the face of competition from more sophisticated imported forms (see Stone, "Presigillata from Morgantina," for Sicilian presigillata production in general). Later sigillata from central Italian workshops is more common at Caronia Marina, while African wares from the late first through early third centuries AD dominate the fineware assemblage at Marina (Bonanno and Sudano, "I materiali," 32).

[151] Lindhagen, "Production and exchange," 157.

[152] Lindhagen, "Production and exchange," 137-56, for the role of "free market trade" versus "state-directed trade and taxation" in the economy of Calacte.

And finally, although Calacte was, along with much of the rest of Sicily, subject to strong occasional seismic activity, its inhabitants faced fewer persistent ecological challenges than the residents of some of the cities considered above. The northeastern coast of Sicily receives more consistent rainfall than other areas, and the forests of the Nebrodi range provide a plentiful source of fuel. We may hypothesize that the pottery kilns in the vicinity of the Marina di Caronia settlement could produce amphorae for exporting wine more consistently, securely, and for a longer period of time than, for example, the pottery kilns of Morgantina, where water and fuel supplies were less regular.

Soluntum

The headland of Monte Catalfano east of Palermo and the bay below it in the *comune* of Santa Flavia have long been identified with the ancient Phoenician/Punic settlement of Solous, known to the Romans as Soluntum. Monte Catalfano was first the subject of antiquarian interest and sporadic excavation in the 19th century, as scholars sought evidence for the classical city mentioned by Thucydides. Systematic excavation in the second half of the twentieth century revealed that Thucydides' Punic *emporion* was situated on the coast, around the harbor of Solanto and in the area of the village of Santa Flavia (Plate 5.20b), but that settlement shifted in the mid- or late fourth century BC a few kilometers west, up to the summit and eastern slope of Monte Catalfano (Plate 5.21a). The public and residential areas of the Hellenistic city on Monte Catalfano have been systematically excavated since the 1950s, though the results have not been published in full.[153]

The main question that has dominated discussion of the city has been the date of its orthogonal, "Hippodamian" urban plan and of the major public monuments (agora, theatre, *odeion*/*bouleuterion*, gymnasium, and temples) built on a series of terraces on the hillside– that is, whether they pre- or post-date the Roman conquest of the mid-third century BC (Plates 5.21b and 5.22a). Although debate on this issue continues (as it does for the urban plans of Segesta and Monte Iato), scholarly opinion seems to have shifted in favor of a later date, in the second century BC, for the construction of these public buildings and of the city's elite residences.[154] M. Wolf has recently hypothesized three main construction phases in the civic center, with the construction of the earliest public buildings – such as the theatre and the *odeion* – dating to the third or early second century BC. He dates the main phase of monumental construction, which saw the erection of the monumental U-shaped stoa and an adjoining public cistern in the agora, as well as the renovation of the *odeion*, to the first half of the second century BC, though other scholars have placed this phase later in the same century.[155]

The early imperial city is less well known and has been the focus of little research, although it is clear that building activity and occupation continued in the first and second centuries AD. A bath building near the entrance to the city, on the road leading up to the agora, has been dated to

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[153] See A. Cutroni Tusa, A. Italia, and D. Lima, *Solunto* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1994), 13-15, for the history of excavations at Soluntum.

[154] E.C. Portale, "Problemi dell'archeologia della Sicilia ellenistico-romana. Il caso di Solunto," *ArchCl* 57 (2006): 49-114. See also chapter 1 for a discussion of, and bibliography for, the "high" and "low" chronology debates among scholars of Hellenistic/Roman Republican Sicily.

[155] M. Wolf, "Nuove ricerche nell'*agora* di Solunto," in Agora *greca e* agorai *di Sicilia*, ed. C. Ampolo (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2012), 223-8. I have not yet seen id., *Die Agora von Solunt. Öffentliche Gebäude und öffentliche Räume des Hellenismus im griechischen Westen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), which is the first work to specifically address the development of the main public space of Soluntum.

the first century AD, while there is evidence in several elite houses of continuing renovations in the early imperial period.[156] The "Punic" sacrificial area with three altars, located on the main street leading into the agora, was also in use at least until the second century AD (Plate 5.22b).[157] The space in and around the theatre, which no longer served its original purpose after the late first century BC, was appropriated for housing and other buildings in the imperial period (perhaps in the mid-first century AD) – structures that partly reused construction materials from the theatre.[158] Excavations have also turned up large amounts of Italian and African terra sigillata from the first and early second centuries AD.[159]

The abandonment of the city – probably voluntarily – has been inferred from the lack of material culture or any sign of significant building work later than the third century AD. The only Latin inscription from the city, a dedication by the *res publica Soluntinorum* to the wife of Caracalla (*CIL* X.7336 = *ILS* 455 = *ILLPal* 48), dates to the first decade of the third century, and is the latest evidence of occupation of the site. However, the city is mentioned in the *It. Ant*. and in an imperial edict of 440 AD, prompting the hypothesis that settlement again shifted to the bay below. The discovery of third century African transport amphorae and other ceramics datable to the fourth through sixth centuries in the area of Solanto lends support to this hypothesis.[160]

The pace of abandonment of the settlement is not clear, though it seems to have been gradual, and not precipitated by a single event. There are signs of a lack of maintenance of public structures at least by the Augustan era, and, on the basis of the current evidence, the abandonment of the site was in progress by the mid-first century AD, and complete by the early or mid-third century AD. Some of the structures of the Hellenistic urban plan, such as the theatre, seem to have had a short operational life in which they were maintained by civic authorities for their original purpose (in the case of the theatre, perhaps only for a single century). On the other hand, in other structures, such as the elite residences, the sacred building with three altars, and the baths, multiple phases of use extending into the first and second centuries AD can be detected. A statue of Agrippina the Elder found in 1954 in the vicinity of the agora, which was later broken up and reused as building material (Plate 5.23a), points to the continuing use of the agora as public, political space – and to the integration of the city (and its

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[156] Bath building: Cutroni Tusa et al., *Solunto*, 15, and C. Greco, *Solunto: Guida breve* (Palermo: BCA, 2005), 40. Renovations to houses (e.g. House of Leda): M. de Vos, "Pitture e mosaico a Solunto," *BABesch* 50 (1975): 195-224; Cutroni Tusa et al., *Solunto*, esp. 63-98; M. Wolf, *Die Häuser von Solunt* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 2003); C. Greco, "Pavimenti in opus signinum e tessellati geometrici da Solunto. Una messa a punto," in *Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Palermo 9 - 13 dicembre 1996*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and F. Guidobaldi (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole), 1997, 39-63; ead., *Guida breve*, 31-8, and "I sistemi decorativi di Solunto: appunti e riflessioni," in *Pittura ellenistica in Italia e in Sicilia. Linguaggi e tradizioni. Atti del Convegno di studi (Messina, 24-25 settembre 2009)*, ed. G.F. La Torre and M. Torelli (Rome: Bretschneider, 2011), 279-316.

[157] V. Tusa, "Aree sacrificali a Selinunte e a Solunto," in *Mozia rapporto preliminare II* (*Studi semitici* 19; Rome: Centro di studi semitici, 1966), 143-53, esp. 149-51; M.L. Famà, "L'area sacra con altare 'a tre betili' di Solunto," *SicA* 13.42 (1980): 7-42.

[158] V. Tusa, "Il teatro di Solunto," *SicA* 1.3 (1968): 5-11; A. Adriani, P.E. Arias, and E. Manni, *Odeon ed altri monumenti archeologici* (Palermo: Banco di Sicilia, 1971), 91 and 109. At some later point, possibly during a late antique reoccupation of a limited sector of the site after its third century abandonment, kilns were constructed in its upper *cavea*: Tusa, "Il teatro," 10, and Greco, "I sistemi decorativi," 300.

[159] E.g. on the floors and in a collection tub in the sanctuary with three altars: Famà, "L'area sacra," 35-6.

[160] P. Lo Cascio, "Solanto: Nuove scoperte archeologiche," *SicA* 23.73 (1990): 33-9.

elite) into the Roman imperial political order – in the Julio-Claudian period.[161] However, by the third century AD, when parts of the stoa were collapsing, the ceilings of some of its rooms were propped up on makeshift pilasters assembled from materials spoliated from other structures, such as a seat from the *odeion*. As Wolf notes, by this stage, "I monumenti pubblici di quello che era una volta il centro politico della città sono dunque diventati una cava di materiale da costruzione."[162]

There is little positive evidence for the abandonment of the site; indeed, since it shows no signs of violent destruction, and was probably abandoned gradually, it is likely that its last inhabitants would have taken their possessions with them, presumably leaving behind only broken or old and valueless items not worth carrying. Nonetheless, the gradual shrinkage of the urban settlement and its population, the weakening of civic authority in the urban center, and the disinvestment of the local elite in urban infrastructure in the imperial period – in contrast to the growth and prosperity the city experienced under the Republic – can be hypothesized from such evidence as the disuse and spoliation of the theatre and other public buildings, as well as the history of occupation of the elite residences lining the main city street and the side streets sloping up the hillside, many of which appear to have first been constructed in the second century BC, in conjunction with the main monumental phase of the city. The latest decorative "facades" of many of these houses can be dated to the Augustan period or slightly later, after which, though some continued in occupation, few changes or renovations to their décor and layout are apparent.[163]

On the other hand, the continued use of the sanctuary with three altars at the edge of the agora – a sanctuary originally built in the pre-Roman period, in the late fourth or third century BC – in the second century AD points to the continuity of formal, organized cult activity (perhaps still of a "Punic" nature) within the urban center.[164] In addition, the singular and enigmatic dedication in Latin of the *res publica Soluntinorum* to Fulvia Plautilla, dated between 202 and 205, hints at the persistence of a city government, at least nominally, beyond substantial occupation at the site itself.

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[161] Greco, *Guida breve*, 44, and "I sistemi decorativi," 300, for this statue. See below for the occupation and renovation of the elite residences of Soluntum in the Augustan period.

[162] "Nuove ricerche nell'*agora* di Solunto," 226.

[163] The dating of the pavements and wall paintings in Soluntum houses is largely based on comparison based on stylistic criteria with decorations from other areas of the Mediterranean, such as Pompeian wall paintings, making it the subject of much scholarly controversy. For example, the last renovations to the wall paintings of the "Casa di Leda" have been dated by to the Julio-Claudian period (de Vos, "Pitture e mosaico," 201-2), the late first century AD (Cutroni Tusa et al., *Solunto*, 63), and to the late first century BC (Greco, "Pavimenti in opus signinum, 51). The latest decorative scheme in the "Casa delle ghirlande" appears to date to the Augustan period, while that of the "Casa del cerchio in mosaico" has been dated to the early first century AD (Cutroni Tusa et al., *Solunto*, 81 and 97-8; Greco, *Guida breve*, 38). The mosaics in the "Casa di via Bagnera" also appear to be Augustan (Greco, "Pavimenti in opus signinum," 52). In the residence originally called the "Gymnasium," the last phase of decoration appears to fall in the early imperial period (i.e. the end of the first century BC), though a few subsequent structural changes can be attributed to a phase of occupation shortly before the end of the settlement in the third century AD (Wolf, *Haüser*, 52).

[164] Famà observes that the sanctuary complex seems to have included accommodation for cult personnel, storage rooms, and stabling space for animals, in addition to spaces dedicated to sacrificial activities ("L'area sacra," 30).

The abandonment of Soluntum appears to have been an act of individual or collective choice, over an extended period of time, rather than a sudden, site-wide event precipitated by "crisis." One potential reason for this individual or collective decision may have been the attractive pull of other urban centers, such as the coastal colonies of Thermae Himeraeae and Panhormus, located directly to the west and east, respectively, of Soluntum. These two cities quickly emerged among the main economic and political centers of Sicily in the imperial period, as I will discuss in the next chapter, and may have attracted the urban residential elite, their economic and political activities, and their wealth, away from Soluntum. The site of Soluntum also possessed the disadvantage of the lack of a regular ground water supply, and the community had relied throughout its history on the collection of rainwater, as the enormous public cistern at the northern edge of its agora illustrates (Plate 5.23b). Although we may hypothesize the shift of economic activity to the harbor at the bay of Solanto below contemporaneously with or shortly after the end of the urban community at Soluntum, similar to the shift observed in an earlier period at Calacte, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions based on the evidence as it currently stands.[165]

Segesta

The Elymian city of Segesta, which occupied the summit and surrounding slopes and valleys of Monte Barbaro in the northwestern interior, is famous for its splendid fifth century BC Doric temple and its well-preserved Hellenistic theatre, as well as for its role in prompting the Athenian expedition to Sicily during the Peloponnesian War. However, the site has only been the subject of systematic archaeological research since 1987, when the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa began a campaign of excavation and field survey that continues to this day. The excavations have focused on the summit and slopes of Monte Barbaro, which preserve remains of the ancient city's main public and residential areas as well as two wall circuits (Plate 5.24a). These extensive and well-published excavations of the urban center (which contains no modern settlement to obscure its ancient and medieval structures), coupled with the field surveys in its territory, mean that Segesta is the Sicilian city in which changes in the use of urban space and processes of abandonment in the Roman period are most clearly visible, and can best be related to patterns of rural settlement.

The Pisa excavations have revealed a wealthy and large settlement whose greatest expansion and monumentalization came in the century and a half after the Roman conquest of the region in the First Punic War, and was perhaps linked with the city's favored status as a (tax exempt?) *civitas immunis ac libera*.[166] During this period (i.e. from the late third into the second century BC), the main public and residential areas took shape not on an orthogonal grid plan, as at Soluntum, Heraclea Minoa, and Morgantina, but on a series of terraces that followed the contours of Monte Barbaro and were centered on a northern and a southern acropolis (Plate

[165] Wolf ("Nuove ricerche nell'*agora* di Solunto," 226-7) notes the construction of a *Spolienbau* below the agora that utilized some of the architectural members of its buildings, as well as the closing off of the main street into the agora, and hypothesizes that in its last phase of occupation (which he does not date), the agora served as a farm with stables or stalls rather than as a center for political activity.

[166] Cic. II *Verr*. 3.6.13: "quinque [civitates] praeterea sine foedere immunes civitates ac liberae, Centuripina, Halaesina, Segestana, Halicyensis, Panhormitana;" see also 3.40.92-3. This status probably implied exemption from the grain tithe for individual citizens of Segesta, rather than for the community (and its lands) as a whole – e.g. *incolae* owning or renting land within the city's territory.

5.24b).[167] A theatre was built into the slope of the north acropolis, while public structures – including a *bouleuterion* and an agora surrounded by stoas– were constructed on the north acropolis and in the saddle separating it from the south acropolis (Plate 5.25). Monumental Greek dedicatory inscriptions attest to the role of local elites in financing the construction and maintenance of these structures, and to the role of architects and skilled craftsmen from the Hellenistic cultural *koinon* in executing them.[168]

The southern acropolis and the northern and western sides of the northern acropolis appear to have been primarily residential areas. The finest houses in these areas, such as the "Casa del Navarca," were built contemporaneously with the main public areas, in the late third and second centuries BC.[169] The main wall circuit and gate (the "Porta di Valle" system, Plate 5.26a) appears to have fallen out of use in the second half of the third century, with a more limited system of defenses located higher up the slopes of Monte Barbaro taking its place, perhaps an indication that defense was no longer at the top of the civic agenda after the Roman conquest.[170]

The ceramics recovered from the excavations indicate that Hellenistic Segesta was enmeshed in Mediterranean commercial networks and played a role in the local and regional distribution of products such as oil and wine. The assemblage includes numerous Rhodian stamped amphorae, particularly from the first half of the second century BC, but is dominated by Punic and Greco-Italic forms, indicating that the site was implicated in the commerce in Italian wine and African oil, particularly after the First Punic War and the integration of the western half of Sicily into Rome's overseas empire.[171] Some of the Punic amphorae appear to be made of western Sicilian

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[167] R. Camerata Scovazzo, "Note di topografia segestana," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 205-26, for the "scenographic" layout of the public areas of Segesta, and its resemblance to the plans of Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor.

[168] See, e.g., G. Nenci, "Novità epigrafiche dall'area elima," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 1187-1202, at 1193; id., "*Varia Elyma*: novità epigrafiche, numismatiche, toponomastiche e cultuali all area elima," in *Terze giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, Erice, Contessa Entellina, 23-26 ottobre 1997* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2000), 809-21, esp. 810; M. de Cesare and M.C. Parra, "Segesta. Area del *bouleuterion* (SAS 3; 1995, 1997)," *ASNP* 4.6.2 (2001): 417-29**,** at 417-8; and S. De Vido, "Genealogie Segestane," in *Quarte giornate di studi sull'area elima: Erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2003), 367-402, for the Hellenistic Greek public inscriptions found in excavations at Segesta.

[169] Camerata Scovazzo, "Note di topografia segestana," 217; B. Bechtold, "Una villa ellenistico-romana sull'acropoli sud di Segesta," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 85-110.

[170] Or perhaps even earlier (i.e. post-Pyrrhus): A. Favaro, "La sequenza stratigrafica della Porta Nord di Segesta (campagne di scavo 1990-91-92-93)," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994 (*Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997*),* 685-92, esp. 691; and R. Camerata Scovazzo, ed., *Segesta III. Il sistema difensivo di Porta di Valle (scavi 1990-1993)* (Mantova: SAP, 2008), 65-7.

[171] B. Garozzo, "Segesta. Bolli su anfore e laterizi rinvenuti nelle campagne 1995-1997 (con aggiornamento per gli anni 1990-1993)," *ASNP* 4.6.2 (2001): 502-10; although the Rhodian stamps range in date from the end of the third century until the third quarter of the second century BC, Garozzo (504-6) calculates that 86.6% date from "Period III" (205/192 to 162/134 BC). M. Denaro, "Segesta. SAS 5. Tipologia delle anfore," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 537-48; Bechtold, "Rapporti fra Cartagine, la Sicilia occidentale e la Campania (IV – metà del II sec. a.C.)."

fabrics, however, indicating that they were produced locally to circulate local goods (probably mainly oil) for internal consumption, and perhaps also for export.[172]

The field surveys conducted in the territory surrounding the urban center on Monte Barbaro have indicated dense rural settlement from the late fourth century until the second century BC, with a high concentration in the "suburban zone" around Segesta.[173] The sites of settlement appear to have been mostly single-family homesteads, perhaps indicating an agricultural system based on small and medium farms. However, in the territory more distant from Segesta, larger agricultural/pastoral villages have been detected especially along the main riverine transport routes. As with the ceramic assemblage from the urban center, the numerous Punic amphorae found at rural sites attest to commercial exchange, and especially the importation of African oil, in the urban hinterland, while the large numbers of Greco-Italic amphorae attest to the wide diffusion of Italian wine as well as local productions.

After its prosperous years under the Roman Republic, Segesta emerged largely unscathed from the Roman civil wars, though the partial reuse of the "Porta di Valle" wall circuit and the construction of a new wall circuit higher up the slopes of Monte Barbaro – the "cinta muraria superiore" (Plate 5.26b) – may be related to military activities in the vicinity of the city in the first century BC.[174] After the civil wars, the city's taxation and administrative status changed, probably with the Augustan reorganization of the province.[175] Although the first century BC and first century AD phases of occupation of the forum area are difficult to untangle due to extensive late antique and medieval spoliation and rebuilding, it appears that building and renovation work continued in the city's main public area until the early second century AD.[176] One of the most important recent discoveries is of a separate, "triangular" forum area to the southwest of the Hellenistic agora that was created in the late first century BC or early first century AD by the paving of the area in front of a late second century BC stoa and the construction of a *tholos* in the middle of the resulting plaza (Plate 5.27a). This portico-*tholos* complex probably functioned as a *macellum*, and was perhaps related to the presence of Roman or Italian merchants in the town.[177]

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[172] Denaro, "Tipologia delle anfore," 539.

[173] S. Bernardini, F. Cambi, A. Molinari et al. "Il territorio di Segesta fra l'età arcaica e il medioevo. Nuovi dati dalla carta archeologica di Calatafimi," in *Terze giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, Erice, Contessa Entellina, 23-26 ottobre 1997* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2000), 91-133.

[174] Camerata Scovazzo, *Segesta III*, 20-1 and 68.

[175] Segesta is included among the *civitates latinae condicionis* in Pliny's list [3.14(8)], along with Netum and Centuripe, which meant that its citizens had access to Roman citizenship, but were probably no longer tax-exempt. The civic body of the first century AD referred to itself as a *municipium* (*AE* 1945, 64).

[176] See M.C. Parra, "Note di architettura ellenistica a Segesta, intorno all'agorà," in *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica: Alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'Occidente,* ed. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 107-22, esp. 114-20, for a summary of late Republican/early imperial alterations to the agora/forum of Segesta.

[177] The construction of this complex would seem to accord with E. Mayer's recent characterization of the first century BC as an era of "commercialization" of the Mediterranean city [*The Ancient Middle Classes*: *Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire*, *100 BCE–250 CE* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. 16-19]. For its excavation, see C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra, "Segesta. Scavi nell'area dell'*agora* (2002-2005, campagna primaverile): risultati e prospettive di ricerca," *ASNP* 4.8.1/2 (2003): 391-402, esp. 394-7; A. Facella and R. Olivito, "Segesta. Aree del *bouleuterion* e della *stoa* meridionale dell'*agora* (SAS 3; 2002-2005)," *ASNP* 4.8.1/2

In the agora/forum itself, late Republican or early imperial alterations have been detected on the western side, in the area of the "cryptoporticus" and the porticus with square pilasters adjoining it. Here, the spaces between the pilasters of the porticus were blocked off and a small "middle Italic"-style temple on a low podium was constructed in front of the "cryptoporticus."[178] The discovery of numerous fragments of honorific statues and bases in the area of the agora confirms that it remained the primary location for the commemoration of public acts of beneficence by the local elite.[179]

The settlement also remained highly integrated into Mediterranean, regional, and local exchange networks in the late Republican and early imperial periods. Excavations of the early and mid-imperial use layers of the forum have unearthed large quantities of imported ceramics - particularly Italian transport amphorae and terra sigillata, with some Eastern and early African sigillata mixed in - of the first and second centuries AD.[180] Kilns in or near the urban center also continued to produce imitations of popular imported cookwares and kitchenwares from Campania, Pantelleria, northeastern Sicily, and Africa in the first centuries BC and AD.[181]

However, there are signs of a progressive contraction in settlement beginning by the mid-first century BC, when the upper perimeter wall was constructed over a Hellenistic residential area. The lower perimeter wall (the "Porta di Valle" system) fell into disuse in the later first century AD, when its main gate – now *extra moenia* - was transformed into an olive processing facility.[182] The fine houses of the Hellenistic residential quarters also show signs of abandonment

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(2003): 403-16, esp. 413-4; C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra, "Segesta. Scavi nell'area dell'*agora* (2005-2006): risultati e prospettive di ricerca," *ASNP* 4.8.2 (2004): 405-13, esp. 406-8; A. Facella and R. Olivito, "Segesta. Area della *stoa* sud *dell'agora* (SAS 3; 2005-2006)," *ASNP* 4.8.2 (2004): 414-28, esp. 415-20; and, most recently, A. Facella, R. Olivito, "Segesta. Area della strada e della piazza triangolare (SAS 3; 2007-08)," *ASNP* 5.2.2 suppl. (2010): 6-19.

[178] For the excavation of this area, see C. Michelini, "Reimpiego di iscrizioni a Segesta," in *Sicilia Epigraphica: Atti del convegno internazionale Erice, 15-18 Ottobre 1998*, ed. M.I. Gulletta (*ASNP* Serie IV, Quaderni 2; Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore,1999), 439-48, at 441-3; ead., "Segesta. Settori occidentale e settentrionale dell*'agora* (SAS 4; 1995, 1997)," *ASNP* 4.6.2 (2001): 430-46, esp. 441-4; Ampolo and Parra, "Scavi nell'area dell'*agora* (2002-2005)," 400; Ampolo and Parra, "Scavi nell'area dell'*agora* (2005-2006)," 407; C. Ampolo and M.C. Parra, "*L'agora* di Segesta: uno sguardo d'assieme tra iscrizioni e monumenti," in Agora *greca e* agorai *di Sicilia*, ed. C. Ampolo (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2012), 271-85, at 275-6; and below.

[179] I will discuss these inscriptions in my analysis of the role of the local elite in shaping the topography of early imperial Segesta below.

[180] The settlement continued to import Italian wine in Dressel 2/4 amphorae and fruit products in Dressel 21/22s, perhaps supplemented by Sicilian fruits carried in the same vessels (Denaro, "Tipologia delle anfore," 541). Finds of Italian sigillata and Dressel 21/22 amphora sherds were among the ceramic materials used to date the construction of the *macellum* complex: Facella and Olivito, "Aree del *bouleuterion* e della *stoa* meridionale dell'*agora* (SAS 3; 2002-2005)," 413. Eastern sigillata A from the use phase of the agora: Michelini, "Settori occidentale e settentrionale dell*'agora* (SAS 4; 1995, 1997)," 439. For a summary of African wares found in use and abandonment contexts in the agora, Gagliardi and Parra, "Ceramiche africane dal Foro."

[181] See R.M. Bonacasa Carra, "Segesta. SAS 5. Aspetti della ceramica da fuoco e della ceramica da cucina," in *Seconde Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima: Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 173-81, for mineralogical analysis of the cookwares and kitchenwares found in the early Pisa excavations at Segesta.

[182] Favaro, "La sequenza stratigrafica della Porta Nord;" Camerata Scovazzo, *Segesta III*, 20-22 and 65-72.

in the early imperial period.[183] In the agora/forum itself, the collapse of the stoas and the covering up of the paved surface with detritus from lack of maintenance can be dated to the early third century AD on the basis of ceramic and coin finds in and under the layers of collapse and in the layers of sediment accumulation.[184] Soon after, frequentation of the area appears to cease, since datable imported ceramics become rare, and no coins have been found later than the mid-third century AD.[185] All of this evidence points to the abandonment of the main public and residential areas on Monte Barbaro (if not of the entire settlement) by the middle decades of the third century.

Field survey in the territory of Segesta has indicated a reduction in the number of small, dispersed rural settlements beginning in the late Republican period (first century BC) and continuing into the early imperial period.[186] This more likely reflects a change in the organization of landholding and agricultural production – perhaps a concentration of land into fewer hands – rather than a demographic decline. While fewer sites remained in occupation at the periphery of the territory of Segesta in the Late Republic, the "suburban zone" around the city was also largely abandoned by the first century AD, perhaps indicating that the urban core exercised only a limited pull as a processing and marketing center and as a place of residence for agriculturalists by this period. As the number of scattered small rural sites continued to decline in the second and third centuries and the number of medium-sized farmsteads and hamlets remained relatively stable, there was a concomitant agglomeration of settlement into larger villages. These villages tended to be open and easily accessible, located in river valleys and near transport routes rather than on hilltops. The most archaeologically prominent is Aquae Segestanae, a settlement of ca. 3 ha. that seems to have arisen in the first century AD, developed more substantially in the middle Principate, and reached its greatest extension in the fifth and sixth centuries. Imported African table and kitchenwares are conspicuous on the rural sites of the high Empire, though African, Spanish, and Eastern Mediterranean transport amphorae are rare, indicating that African household ceramics flooded the market here as elsewhere in Sicily, but that the settlements did not import staples such as olive oil, wine, grain, and fruit and fish products, perhaps because they were self-sufficient, could access local or regional sources, or even exported some of these products.[187]

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[183] E.g. the "Casa del Navarca": Camerata Scovazzo, "Note di topografia segestana," 217, and Bechtold, "Una villa ellenistico-romana," 104.

[184] Gagliardi and Parra, "Ceramiche africane dal Foro," for the collapse of structures in the forum, whose date in the late second/early third century has been further confirmed by the most recent excavations: A.C. Infarinato, "Segesta. Ala Ovest della stoa Nord (2007-08)," *ASNP* 5.2.2 suppl. (2010): 29-33, at 30-1, and A. Abate and N. Giaccone, "Segesta. Angolo NordOvest della *stoa* Nord (2007-08)," *ASNP* 5.2.2 suppl. (2010): 34-40. See also Facella and Olivito, "Area della strada e della piazza triangolare (SAS 3; 2007-08)," 15-16 for the abandonment of the triangular plaza in the early third century AD.

[185] The site is notably lacking in third-century forms of African sigillata (especially TSA C), and no coins have been found from between AD 238 and 346: A. Facella, "Segesta tardoantica: topografia, cronologia e tipologia dell'insediamento," in *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico: atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima, Erice, 12-16 ottobre 2006* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2009), 589-607, at 591-2; and Gagliardi and Parra, "Ceramiche africane dal Foro," 1626.

[186] The results of these surveys are summarized in Bernardini et al., "Il territorio di Segesta fra l'età arcaica e il medioevo," 104-14; and Cambi, "Segesta. I villaggi di età imperiale."

[187] Malfitana, "Roman Sicily Project," 152.

After the gap in evidence for occupation in the urban center of Segesta that extends from the mid-third century to the mid-fourth century, there are signs of resettlement of the area in the fifth century.[188] The remains of the buildings of the Hellenistic and Roman city were used for new structures and for burials. Although the extent of settlement in late antiquity has not yet been determined, it seems that the inhabitants had a fairly high standard of living. The site has produced coins and imported ceramics from the fifth through seventh centuries, while a funerary inscription in Latin dated by consular year to AD 524 is an indication not only of the spread of the common use of this language to the western corner of the island, but also of the existence of a literate social stratum within the settlement.[189]

The settlement history of Segesta from the late Republic until the high Empire presents some parallels with the other Western Sicilian case studies. As with Monte Iato, the material cultural assemblage of Segesta provides evidence for the continued integration of the settlement into Mediterranean commercial circuits in the first and second centuries AD, even as the public infrastructure decayed and collapsed. In Segesta, late second century and early third century African cooking and finewares are present in the last use strata as well as the collapse layers of public buildings. And as with Soluntum, there are no indications of a sudden abandonment of the settlement in the late Republican or early imperial period precipitated by violent destruction. Instead, abandonment (at least for a century or so) has been inferred from the diminution of material culture after the collapse and abandonment of the main public and residential areas of the urban center.

However, at Segesta, thanks to the discovery of several fragments of monumental public inscriptions in the course of excavation of the summit of Monte Barbaro, we can trace the presence of the local elite and their impact on the urban fabric in the late Republic and early Empire to a greater extent than in any of the cities examined so far. The image that these inscriptions, and their relation to the monumental topography of Segesta, present is of a local elite, some of whom were likely of Hellenized Elymian origins, with deep roots in Segesta, but with strong cultural and political, and probably also familial, ties to Rome and the Italian mainland. In the late Republic and under Augustus, these elite families continued the Hellenistic tradition of euergetism in their home city, modifying the civic center to incorporate new, "Romanized" monuments, and using hybrid Greek and Roman epigraphic means of self-presentation. However, owing to the economic and political changes that Sicily underwent in the late Republic and early Empire – from whose direst effects Segesta was insulated, though not completely immune – these families were of increasingly reduced means, and socially, politically, and economically isolated. By the early second century, they seem increasingly unable to maintain the existing monumental infrastructure of the urban center.

Families of beneficent local notables are traceable in the Greek epigraphic record of Segesta from the Hellenistic period into the first century BC. Of the twenty or so names in the onomastic corpus of the city, most are common, well-attested Greek names (Dionysios, Herakleios, Diodoros, etc.); a few appear to originate in mainland Italy (Dekios/Dekkios), while several are attested only in the Elymian cities of Sicily (Apellichos, Aleidas, Bibakos, Dossis, Minyra), and one, Tittelos, is found only at Segesta. These individuals - mostly male, but with a few female

[188] See especially Facella, "Segesta tardoantica: topografia," and V. Gagliardi, "Segesta tardoantica: ceramiche di importazione e circolazione di merci," in *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico: atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima, Erice, 12-16 ottobre 2006 (*Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2009), 609-21, for this phase of settlement.
[189] G. Nenci, "Un'iscrizione latina cristiana da Segesta," *NumAntCl* 20 (1991): 253-5.

relatives of benefactors and one female priestess - hold a range of Doric-inflected magistracies and other civic and sacred offices that are widely attested in the Hellenistic Greek world, such as gymnasiarch, *agoranomos*, *hierothytas* (probably the eponymous magistrate), *hieromnamon*, and *hierophylax*; inscriptions also attest to a body of *presbeis*.[190] In the first century BC, families of Roman citizens appear among the civic benefactors.[191] At least one of these Roman citizens, Lucius Caecilius Auli filius, took a double cognomen: the first, Martiales, is widespread in the Roman world, and the second, Apetaius, apparently Latinizes the Greek "Aretaios."[192]

The transition to the (apparently exclusive) use of Latin in public inscriptions was relatively early in Segesta, occurring by the early Augustan period.[193] Romanized magistracies – including those typically found in Italian and provincial *municipia* - reflect the evolving civic government of the city.[194] The inscriptions show an imperfect knowledge of the Latin language and Roman epigraphic culture, and perhaps reflect efforts to adapt them to the familiar language of Hellenistic civic euergetism. [195] For example, an inscription datable to no later than the Flavian period found on a slab of sandstone reused in a medieval context[196] reads:

L(ucio) Iulio C(aii) f(ilio) Agrippae / euergetae / hic plateam a Sosia / usque ad fanum

The individual commemorated, Lucius Iulius C. f. Agrippa, is clearly a Roman citizen, with the grant made in the triumviral or Augustan era. He is honored as a *euergeta* – a transliteration of the Greek *euergetes* – for his sponsorship of the paving of a street (the scarcely attested Latin *platea*, from the Greek *plateia*) from an unknown quarter of the city perhaps related to the cult of Apollo Sosianus (*a Sosia*) to an extramural sanctuary (*ad fanum*). The composition and execution of the dedication show an uncertain knowledge of Latin: the *hic* is redundant, and the stone carver almost ran out of space on the third line.

The nature and extent of the activities of these members of the early imperial local elite can be traced, in most cases, only through epigraphic evidence, since most inscriptions from the site were discovered far from their original context, though a few have been found *in situ* in the forum. In addition, because of the frequent reuse of inscriptions in later contexts and the singularity of their language and workmanship, it is difficult to date most of them (and the monuments they refer to) more specifically than between the early first century BC and the late first century AD, and thus to link the changes in the urban fabric to which they attest to specific

[190] De Vido, "Genealogie Segestane;" see also Ampolo and Parra, "L'*agora* di Segesta," 278-80.
[191] The *gentes* attested at Segesta include Iulia, Iunia, Sempronia, and Caecilia.
[192] Nenci, "*Varia Elyma*," 811-12**.**
[193] In this respect, the epigraphic record of Segesta is similar to the Augustan colonies; see Korhonen, "Language and Identity," for the dominance of Latin in the official epigraphy of these cities by the Augustan period.
[194] The magistracies and offices attested in the Latin epigraphic corpus of Segesta include *duumvir*, *triumvir*, and *praefectus*.
[195] See O. Tribulato, "*Siculi bilingues*? Latin in the inscriptions of early Roman Sicily," in *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, ed. O. Tribulato (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 291-325, at 314-16 for linguistic analysis of the early imperial inscriptions of Segesta.
[196] Nenci, "Novità epigrafiche," 1192-6, for this inscription.

events, such as the civil wars and the Augustan settlement of Sicily or the supposed deduction of a colony of veterans in the territory of Segesta in the Flavian period.[197]

The paved "triangular forum" to the southwest of the Hellenistic agora, and perhaps also the *macellum* complex of the late first century BC or early first century AD, was the work of two Romanized local elites, Marcus Onasus and Marcus Sopolis, whose sponsorship was commemorated on a series of paving stones inscribed in Latin and positioned in the center of the plaza, stretching across most of its length, which would have been legible to anyone approaching from the west (Plate 5.27b).[198] These men had deep ancestral links to Segesta and possessed considerable wealth and social connections: while a Sopolis is mentioned in an earlier Greek inscription commemorating renovations to the theatre, an Onasus makes an appearance in Cicero's Second Verrine Oration (5.45.120: "Onasus Segestanus"), and the family owned tile kilns near Parthenicum on the northwestern coast.[199] The Roman/Italian roots of the architectural form of the *macellum* complex have been frequently noted, and its construction at Segesta has been linked to the presence of Roman and Italian merchants in the city. Its construction also points, however, to the separation and articulation of a "commercial" public space, apart from the "civic"/"cultic" space of the main agora/forum, as seen also in the second-century rebuilding of the agora of Morgantina and in the Roman Republican phases of occupation of the agora of Camarina.

An inscription found *in situ* on the highest step of the early imperial podium temple in the forum[200] reads:

L Caecilius A • F • Martiales / Apetaius • praefectus / deos • forenses • reposuit • templum / que • eis • sua • pequnia • adornavit

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[197] *Liber Coloniarum* 2.11: *Territorium Panormitanorum imp. Vespasianus adsignavit militibus veteranis et familiae suae… Item Segestanorum ut supra*. Text: B. Campbell, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (*JRS* Monograph 9; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2000). There is no other mention of this grant in historical sources and little evidence of the presence of veteran soldiers in the territory or in the urban center of Segesta, in contrast to the dominance of veterans in the epigraphic record of Augustan colonies like Thermae Himeraeae (see next chapter).

[198] Only one inscribed paving slab, reading ASUS ET SO, remained *in situ*. Others have been found in the vicinity in surface layers, or in late antique and medieval reuse contexts elsewhere in the forum. Ampolo and Parra, "Scavi nell'area dell'*agora* (2005-2006)," 407-8; Facella and Olivito, "Area della *stoa* sud *dell'agora* (SAS 3; 2005-2006)," 417; Facella and Olivito, "Area della strada e della piazza triangolare (SAS 3; 2007-08)," 12. The most substantial section of the inscription, reading …]E FORUM S P STE[…, was found in a late antique tomb: A. Serra, "Segesta. Area del criptoportico e sepolture tardoantiche (SAS 3 e 4; 2007-08)," *ASNP* 5.2.2 suppl. (2010): 20-4, at 22. A monumental Latin inscription, as yet unpublished, was also found near the slabs covering the drainage channel of the triangular forum, and was dated to the late Republican period or later: Facella and Olivito, "Area della strada e della piazza triangolare (SAS 3; 2007-08)," 10.

[199] De Vido, "Genealogie Segestane," 378, for the earlier Sopolis. Ampolo and Parra, "L'*agora* di Segesta," 274-5, for the kilns of the Onasii near Parthenicum (which would have lain within the extensive territory of Segesta); tiles from these kilns were used to roof some of the buildings in the agora, including the western wing of the north stoa. Ampolo and Parra also suggest that Sopolis and Onasus could have been father and son, with the son Sopolis completing the work begun by his father, the "Onasus Segestanus" of Cicero.

[200] Michelini, "Reimpiego di iscrizioni" for the discovery of this inscription in 1995, and its significance for the topography of Segesta.

However, the exact temporal relation of the inscription to the building phases of this area of the forum is unclear.[201] The dedication, which, like the Sosia inscription, shows an imperfect knowledge of Latin, indicates that the benefactor Martiales restored a sanctuary of the *dei forenses* (Castor and Pollux) – perhaps the podium temple in the forum – presumably after some sort of destruction or damage.[202] However, since the stone carrying the inscription, along with the others used in the steps, was reused from an earlier, unidentified structure, its dating and original context are uncertain. It could refer to the original construction of the temple, probably in the second half of the first century BC, in the context of the "forumization" of the agora; in this case, it would have been moved to its current context in the course of the later renovations to the temple-cryptoporticus complex.[203] Or the inscription could be in its original context, and significantly later in date – perhaps from the late first century or early second century AD – and could refer to secondary renovations to the complex. But regardless of these uncertainties, the inscription and the work on the area around it provide tentative evidence of a late building project in the forum, which apparently attempted to restore the integrity of some of its monuments, partly with reused materials from earlier structures.[204]

Other late Republican or earlier imperial building projects at Segesta are known only from inscriptions. These include L. Julius Agrippa's paving of the street from the *Sosia* to the extramural *fanum*, and repairs to the theatre sponsored by his brother(?) C. Julius Longus, a *duumvir* (Inv. SG 2005). However, from these scattered indications of public beneficence, we can draw some general conclusions about the impact of the local elite on the development of the late Republican and early imperial urban topography of Segesta. First, there appears to have been an effort to "update" the space of the agora, and to re-characterize it in "forum terms," perhaps beginning as early as the mid-first century BC, through such efforts as the construction of the paved triangular forum and *macellum* complex, and the addition of the podium temple to the agora. This appears to have been followed in the late first century and early second century AD by limited, somewhat improvisational efforts to restore some of the monuments of the forum and to shore up its substructure, using building materials stripped from earlier, presumably disused structures, as well as statue bases and monumental inscriptions even from the late first century BC and Augustan period– an indication that perhaps, faced with limited means and materials, the civic authorities of Segesta prioritized maintaining the spatial and structural integrity of the forum itself over preserving memories of the city's past institutions and structures.[205]

There is also little indication of the involvement of social and political strata above the local elite in shaping the urban landscape of Segesta. Although the monuments of the late Republic and early Empire may have drawn inspiration from Roman and/or imperial models, and there is evidence of the imperial cult in the city in the Julio-Claudian period,[206] the projects attested in inscriptions are local in scope (i.e. limited to the urban center of Segesta), apparently intended

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[201] Ampolo and Parra ("L'*agora* di Segesta, 276) suggest that the inscription is several decades earlier than the construction of the temple.
[202] Nenci, "*Varia Elyma*," 813, for the possibility that the temple had been destroyed by an earthquake.
[203] Another possibility is that the inscription refers to the "restoration" to the forum of cult statues plundered by Verres a few decades earlier: C. Ampolo, pers. comm.
[204] Michelini, "Settori occidentale e settentrionale dell*'agora* (SAS 4; 1995, 1997)," 441-4.
[205] Michelini, "Reimpiego di iscrizioni," esp. 445.
[206] *ILLPal* 43 = *CIL* X 7263 is a dedication to *deivi filio deivo* (Augustus) by an L. Sem(pronius?). Inv. SG 27 is a fragment of a marble slab bearing an inscription related to a public work, with the name of an emperor (*Caesar*) in the nominative.

for a local audience, and executed by a purely local elite. For example, the street-paving project of L. Julius Agrippa is described solely in terms of the city's topography; the location and identity of the *Sosia* and *fanum* that mark the origin and destination of the street would presumably have been familiar to locals but perhaps as mysterious to outsiders as they are to modern scholars. In this respect, Segesta contrasts with cities such as Lilybaeum and Thermae Himeraeae, where – as I discuss in the next chapter - inscriptions attest to a similar range of euergetistic activities (paving of streets, restoration of temples, etc.), but also to the introduction of new, imperial monuments to the urban landscape (e.g. aqueducts and amphitheatres). In these cities, a fully-fledged Latin epigraphic culture developed over the course of the high Empire, and we can trace the presence of a broader "provincial" elite as well as the occasional beneficence of the imperial family. This contrast points to the nexus between a city and its elite's economic integration, political, and social prestige, and the development of the urban fabric in the Roman imperial period – connections that I discuss further in the next section and in chapter 6.

Analysis

The causes and consequences of de-urbanization

The prolonged and ambiguous course of de-urbanization in all of the cities examined in this chapter points to the importance of long-term processes of political, economic, and social change, in addition to specific events such as fires, sieges, and earthquakes, in bringing about the "weakening of material forms" in the city, although such events could act as "triggers" to abandonment episodes. The most significant process at work in Sicilian urban centers in the late Republic and early Empire appears to be the decline of civic authority: that is, the decline in the efficacy of formal city government. The symptoms of this decline that are visible in the archaeological record of cities include weakened control over the organization of social and economic life, over the shape and integrity of public spaces, and of community resources such as water and building materials. It is this decline that I will now attempt to trace and explain.

In Roman Republican Sicily, the ancient nexus between *polis* citizenship and the ownership of land in the *chora* as well as a residence in the urban center persisted, and was a driving factor behind the development of many of the cities examined in this chapter.[207] In Soluntum, Segesta, and Monte Iato, and to a lesser extent in Camarina, Apollonia and Phintias, the topography was transformed mainly through the efforts of local elites, with the occasional intervention of Roman authorities. As recent scholarship has emphasized, the sponsorship of monumental public buildings and the construction of houses with luxurious reception rooms were elements of the "self-representation" (*autorappresentazione*) of local notables who thrived under the economic regime of the Roman *provincia*, and who aimed to gain individual and community prestige and privileges through their participation in city government and their interactions with Roman authorities.[208] Such activities are absent or less apparent in Heraclea Minoa, perhaps as a result of the devastation of the urban center in warfare and the site's environmental degradation; in

[207] The tablets recording land sales and other transactions from Camarina and lists of civic resources from Halaesa, Akrai and Tauromenium provide evidence for these *poleis'* role in the organization of their agricultural hinterland in the Hellenistic and Republican periods (Mattioli, "Camarina in età ellenistico-romana," 231). Cicero's Second Verrine Oration refers to Sicilian *aratores* whose holdings were based in their home polis, as well as some Sicilians who were owners of sometimes quite extensive tracts of land in other *poleis*, in addition to outsiders (i.e. Romans and Italians) who owned land on the island.

[208] See especially Osanna and Torelli, ed., *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, and Campagna, "Exploring social and cultural changes."

Entella, where little is known of the Roman phases of urban settlement; and Helorus, where the end of Syracusan hegemony after the Second Punic War seems to have struck a decisive blow. Even in Morgantina, a city upended by warfare and population displacement at the end of the third century, there are signs of rebuilding and a renewed prosperity under the new regime in the second century.[209]

The case studies in this chapter have illustrated the impact on the urban fabric of the political, economic, and social changes of the end of the Republic and the first decades of the Principate (ca. 50 BC – AD 50). Even before this period, some cities – especially those on the south and southeastern coast (Heraclea Minoa, Phintias, Camarina) experienced a reduction in activity that I ascribed in chapter 4 primarily to the realignment of Mediterranean trade networks towards Rome and its Italian hinterland, and away from Carthage and its African hinterland, after the fall of Carthage in 146 BC. This realignment was completed with the incorporation of the North African Mediterranean littoral and its agricultural hinterland into Rome's empire after the civil wars. Parker's map of shipwrecks off the coasts of Sicily is illustrative of the consequences for maritime commerce of this realignment, showing a gap in Roman-era wrecks along the 100+ km of coastline between modern Sciacca and Licata, in contrast to the dozens of Republican and imperial wrecks found off the northwestern coast, Aeolian islands, and eastern coast. This apparent diminishment of activity along the south coast also contrasts with the general rise in the number of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean in the late Republic and early Principate.[210]

In the century that followed, the civil war between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompey and its violent aftermath; the political, economic, and social transformations brought by the transition to the Principate; and seismic activity in parts of Sicily all contributed to the permanent abandonment of some urban centers and a significant reduction in activity (political, commercial, residential, etc.) in others. As I discussed in chapter 1, the early reign of Augustus saw the "de-militarization" of Sicily and its urban centers, punitive redistributions of civic land, the displacement of urban populations, and the beginning of imperial as well as senatorial landholding. Though significant in altering the political, economic, and social landscape of Sicily, none of these measures led directly to "de-urbanization" on its own. In fact, some of the cities that suffered most in the aftermath to the civil war, such as Tauromenium and Lilybaeum, actually thrived under the Roman Empire (cf. Chapter 6).

The *pax Romana* imposed by Octavian/Augustus across the Mediterranean in the years after his victory in the civil war also does not appear to be a significant direct cause - or at least, the single most significant cause - of urban abandonment. As the case studies have shown, relatively low-lying coastal settlements as well as hilltop centers originally founded for defensive purposes were abandoned in the early imperial period; and two of the hilltop centers, Monte Iato and Segesta, persisted in occupation well into the Principate. Defensive considerations were not

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[209] Mancini, "Architettura domestica a Morgantina."

[210] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, map 11 (shipwrecks off the coasts of Sicily) and fig. 3 (chart of Mediterranean wrecks by century). See also id., "Artifact Distributions and Wreck Locations: The Archaeology of Roman Commerce," in *The Maritime World of Ancient Rome*, ed. R.L. Hohlfelder (*MAAR* suppl. 6; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 177-96, which reiterates the findings of the author's 1992 volume and addresses doubts about the alleged upswing in Mediterranean commerce in the late Republic and early Empire. And more recently on the interpretation of shipwrecks, A. Wilson, "Approaches to Quantifying Roman Trade," in *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems,* ed. A. Bowman and A. Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 213-49, at 219-29, with response by W. Harris, pp. 259-65.

totally irrelevant in this period; in spite of imperial rhetoric, Sicilians of the early first century AD could not be certain that they were living in an era of unending peace and prosperity, particularly given their island's history of piracy and brigandage. Nor did hilltop locations immediately become economically disadvantageous with the transition to the Principate: after all, following the wide-scale abandonment of the mid-third century BC, many hilltop settlements across the island had remained vital political and economic centers in the earlier prolonged periods of peace under the Romans.[211]

More significantly for the urban landscape, the early reign of Augustus saw the transformation of the system by which Sicilian cities and their ruling elites acquired and maintained political and social prestige. Under the Republic, *polis* governments remained responsible for the administration of their territory - apart from the contracting and collection of tax owed to Rome - as well as the regulation of political and economic activity and the maintenance of order in the urban center.[212] The status and privileges of a city were negotiated with Roman military and provincial authorities by its ruling class, and were often maintained through social links between individual Sicilian notables (both with and without Roman citizenship) and members of the Roman senatorial class.[213] Some cities negotiated favorable relationships with Rome – in the case of Segesta, the status of *civitas immunis ac libera* - as early as the First Punic War, and before the island's "provincialization;" while others, such as Messana, seem to have been accorded special privileges because of their large resident population of Roman citizens (Cic. II *Verr.* 3.6).

In this somewhat "ad hoc" system, statuses were revocable and changeable, based partly on the perceived strategic needs of the Roman administration and partly on the efforts of Sicilian civic elites, and it is difficult to link the proclaimed status of individual cities to a defined and consistent set of obligations and privileges.[214] In the majority of cities that were without special political and taxation status in the Republican period (i.e. the *civitates decumanae* of Cicero), individuals and groups could still negotiate directly with Roman authorities for personal and community privileges such as Roman citizenship, a reduced tax burden, or the return of plundered property.[215] This system of provincial administration fostered links between Sicilian notables and the Roman senatorial elite and left room for some autonomy and independent action among Sicilian cities. It worked well for both ruler and ruled in the slave and pirate conflicts of the second and early first centuries, when Sicilian cities acted in collaboration with Roman

[211] Including Segesta, Monte Iato, Apollonia, and the hilltop site of Calacte (Caronia).

[212] Though tax collection was largely in the hands of Sicilians who contracted with Roman authorities. The operation of civic mints in many cities in the period between the Second Punic War and the reign of Augustus is one indication of the important local and regional political and economic roles of Sicilian *poleis* under the Roman Republic.

[213] Here again, the case of Sthenius of Thermae is instructive: Cic. II *Verr*. 2.34-6.

[214] The confusion created by Julius Caesar's block grant of *ius Latii* to Sicily, which was probably carried out by Antony and rescinded by Octavian/Augustus, for Sicilian cities as well as for modern scholars, is illustrative of the fluidity and "ad hoc" nature of the Republican system; cf. Wilson, *Sicily*, 35 for this grant. See also Cic. II *Verr*. 5.19 and 22 on the treaty rights of Tauromenium, Netum, and Messana, whose origins and specific provisions are similarly obscure.

[215] For example, Cicero claims that Sthenius' persistent demand that Verres return the statues he stole from the city of Thermae was at the root of the governor's ill treatment of that Sicilian notable.

authorities, but not in the civil war, when many cities supported (or, at least, acquiesced in the rule of) the losing Roman side.[216]

The Augustan reforms of the post-civil war decades, though their specifics are still not completely understood, ended the potential for the individual and collective action of Sicilian cities against the Roman state by shifting to a system of political privilege based on the limited bestowal of municipal and colonial status. This shift began with the establishment of Roman *coloniae* in a half-dozen coastal cities populated by a landholding ruling class of Roman citizens; this privileged group of cities was consolidated, with only limited expansion, over the course of the Principate. As has frequently been noted,[217] in this system, a city's strategic importance and economic potential – and especially, its potential to export goods from its agricultural hinterland - mattered far more than its earlier relations with Rome, as the concentration of cities with Roman status on the western, northern, and eastern coasts attests. For cities like Lilybaeum and Agrigentum, the bestowal of municipal status seems to have been a confirmation of their economic vitality and strategic importance, and perhaps a concession to a Roman or Romanized elite class, rather than a reward for services rendered to Rome (cf. Chapter 6).

This shift was accompanied by the removal of meaningful political authority from most urban centers – including those examined in this chapter - implicitly to be concentrated in the urban centers that were most integrated into the Roman political system, whose development I will discuss in the next chapter. With this removal of political authority came the loss of elite beneficence and the obsolescence of civic governance and cohesion, seen in the lack of maintenance of public spaces and the gradual deterioration and dismantling of public buildings. At Monte Iato and Segesta in particular, we can trace the obsolescence of monumental structures originally dedicated to public, political life over the course of the early Principate. Amidst the general deterioration of the agora of Monte Iato, the larger *bouleuterion* that had been constructed in the second half of the second century BC fell into disrepair after only a century of use, and was thereafter partly dismantled, with its entrance sealed before the portico in front of it collapsed in the late first or early second century AD.[218] The collapse of most of the structures of the agora of Segesta has been dated to the early third century AD, and while the collapse of the late second century BC *bouleuterion* just north of the agora cannot be dated with certainty, it seems that strata of sediment formed gradually in its interior after its abandonment and before the spoliation of its materials in the medieval period.[219]

This decline of civic authority also meant the disappearance of cities from history. When a city lost its role as a center for social, political, and cultural display and promotion, it also no longer functioned as a space for the public commemoration of collective or individual acts, such as the passage of a decree or the construction of a building. Hence there remained no further impetus for the "epigraphic habit." Segesta and perhaps Soluntum and Monte Iato appear to be the only cities examined in this chapter to have transitioned to the practice of inscribing public documents and dedications in Latin, though only briefly and to a limited extent, in contrast to the relatively rich Latin epigraphic records of cities including Syracuse, Catania, Thermae, and Lilybaeum in the early and mid-imperial period (cf. Chapter 6). The decline of effective city

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[216] This collaboration can be seen in the early first century BC dedication from Halaesa in which a group of cities, including Calacte, honored a Roman naval commander (cited above). See also Prag, "*Auxilia* and *Gymnasia*."

[217] E.g. by Wilson, *Sicily*, 44.

[218] Isler, "Dodicesima campagna (1982)," 11, and above.

[219] De Cesare and Parra, "Area del *bouleuterion*," 426-8, and above.

government also meant the end of a community's relations with the center of power, and its appearance in Roman annals. It is telling that of the cities examined in this chapter, the last to be mentioned in the Roman historical record is Segesta, which appears in Tacitus' *Annales* in AD 25, when it sent a delegation to Tiberius to ask for the emperor's assistance with repairs to the nearby sanctuary of Venus at Eryx.[220]

The movement of individual members of the elite is difficult to trace, but the relinquishment of urban centers by citizens of means can be inferred from the abandonment of the largest and most luxurious houses and by the cessation of new domestic construction.[221] These processes are visible in the residential areas of several cities, including Heraclea Minoa in the early first century BC, Morgantina after the ca. 35 BC destruction, Monte Iato after the early first century AD destruction, and Segesta and Soluntum in the first century of the Principate. For example, at Monte Iato, the early first century AD catastrophe (earthquake?) marked the end of occupation of most of the peristyle houses. Only one, "peristyle house 1," shows signs of limited, temporary reoccupation.

Political obsolescence and the disappearance of the local elite did not necessarily imply the end of all economic activity within urban centers, as is apparent especially in early imperial Segesta, Monte Iato, and Soluntum, and in post-35 BC Morgantina, where imported ceramics and other items of material culture, including coins, continued to circulate long after the cessation of significant building activity. However, high-level economic activity does appear to have ended, along with the role of the *polis* in organizing it. Along with the cessation of significant building activity, the public provision of resources such as water, and the maintenance of public spaces – and the marshaling of labor that these implied – the production and acquisition of stone and ceramic building materials by civic authorities came to an end. The production of pottery was not resumed in post-35 BC Morgantina, and building materials were mostly quarried from earlier structures. Also at Monte Iato, older construction materials, such as the roof tiles bearing the initials of Hellenistic magistrates that originally covered the theatre scaena and the stoas of the agora, were used in the later imperial structures that dotted the urban center. At Segesta, the latest building works apparently sanctioned by civic authorities – such as renovations to the agora – were also carried out partly with reused materials from delapidated public buildings. These developments stand in contrast to the Roman Republican phases of Camarina and Morgantina, and even to the late Republican/early imperial phase of Segesta, where civic authorities were fully engaged in monumentalizing economic activity in the urban center in the form of new granaries and *macella*.

After the collapse of civic authority – that is, of the *polis* and its political, social, and economic institutions – it is difficult to see where authority was located in "declining" or "abandoned" urban centers like Segesta, Morgantina, and Monte Iato that show signs of later occupation or re-occupation. Individuals or small groups seem to have been responsible for the continued activity on these sites, including the construction of residences and low-scale economic activity. At Monte Iato, activity after the mid-first century BC seems to be concentrated in the residential areas – including the re-occupation of "peristyle house 1" after its initial destruction, perhaps by more than one household, and the construction of small shops,

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[220] *Ann.* 4.43. Suetonius records that Claudius also sponsored the restoration of the temple at Eryx, though he does not mention Segesta (*Div. Claud.* 25.5).

[221] The few privileged (i.e. non-tributary) urban centers discussed in chapter 6, I would argue, would have been more attractive to those Sicilians with the ability to "vote with their feet" and move to them – namely, elites – than their home cities.

workshops, and residences in the surrounding area. Spaces in and around the theatre were also transformed into small residences in this period, while part of one of the porticoes of the agora was adapted into a three-room dwelling in later centuries. At Segesta, the rooms of one of the gates of the old lower wall circuit were transformed into a small olive oil pressing facility in the late first century or early second century AD, after the gate and wall had lost their original defensive function. The apparent lack of control over the organization of settlement in the last phases of life of Morgantina and Monte Iato, and of any indication of a hierarchy of residents, may hint that the reoccupation of these sites was voluntary, and not forced or overseen by an authority such as a landowner. Although it is almost impossible to determine from the material record, the later occupation of these sites may have been temporary or seasonal in nature, perhaps by pastoralists or other transient groups of rural laborers attracted by the plentiful supplies of building materials and the numerous structures still standing.

The late antique "village" built in the ruins of Segesta appears to have been based around small residential nuclei, each with its own burial area, though with some indications of a higher degree of organization. The settlement likely was centered on a small church and was equipped with some defensive structures, while the discovery of a sixth-century tombstone with a Latin epitaph implies the existence of a literate social stratum.[222] Excavators have hypothesized that the settlement was a fortified farm or *oppidum* within a larger *latifundium*. The site of ancient Segesta was perhaps chosen for its defensive potential, as well as the plentiful supply of building materials. While the presence of late antique burials in some structures of the forum indicate that they were completely covered with earth by this period, the last ancient residents of the site cleared and built roofs over other structures whose walls were still intact.

Regional and micro-regional differences in the chronology and extent of de-urbanization

The significantly earlier full-scale abandonment of Heraclea Minoa, Phintias, and Camarina, all located on the south coast, than that of Segesta, Soluntum, Monte Iato, and other northern and western urban centers, points to the importance of regional and micro-regional differences in the pace and extent of the de-urbanization of Sicily under the Roman Empire – a point I emphasized in chapter 4. But these differences were not limited to geographical location or situation (i.e. coastal vs. inland, south coast vs. north coast, or hilltop vs. valley); an urban site's access to water, and the productive potential and adaptability of its rural hinterland were also significant factors in its development under the Roman Empire. The end of intensive production and commerce at Morgantina by the early imperial period, in contrast to the continued economic vitality of the Caronia Marina site of Calacte as late as the Byzantine period, points to the importance of the availability of natural resources (especially water) in determining the economic connectivity of a settlement. Similarly, settlement and economic activity along the south coast may have shifted gradually from the environmentally disadvantageous older coastal centers such as Heraclea Minoa and Camarina, which required considerable financial and human resources for their maintenance, to smaller, less monumental, and hence less archaeologically visible landing points along the shore that also functioned as *stationes* on land transportation routes. These small centers gained prominence in the historical and archaeological record particularly as commerce between Sicily and North Africa increased in late antiquity.[223]

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[222] Facella, "Segesta tardoantica."

[223] Hence the presence of such southern coastal *stationes*/*plagae* as Mesopotamium, Cymbe, Hereum, and Apolline in the *It. Ant.* (Di Stefano and Leone, *La regione camarinese in età romana*). The only one of these new port settlements along the southern coast that has produced significant archaeological evidence

Though themselves linked to the geographical and economic diversity of the island, the political histories of individual Sicilian cities – and particularly their histories of relations with Rome - also had an impact on their development under the Roman Empire. Segesta stands out among the case studies as the only city with significant evidence of public building activity in the century under consideration (ca. 50 BC – AD 50). I have already noted the continued economic integration of Segesta in the early and middle imperial period, but this was not in itself sufficient for the maintenance of the urban fabric, as the example of Monte Iato shows, since the monumental infrastructure of that city decayed even as it continued to receive goods from across the Mediterranean.

In contrast to Monte Iato, however, the epigraphic and historical record of Segesta reveals considerable continuity in the identity and priorities of the local elite. The families of men such as Marcus Onasus and Marcus Sopolis, who were among the last "Romanized" benefactors to the town, can be traced back at least to the Roman Republican period. The identity and concerns of the civic body of Segesta also appear largely consistent over time, though adaptable to the various political situations the city faced in its long history. Most telling in this regard is the city's concern for the Temple of Astarte/Aphrodite/Venus at Eryx, which can be traced from the Athenian Expedition of the late fifth century BC until the Julio-Claudian period. Over the centuries, the Elymian ruling elite of Segesta proved adept at using its control over this sanctuary to its advantage in negotiations with imperial authorities – and especially with the Romans, with whom they claimed kinship through the goddess and her son Aeneas.[224]

As a result of this particular facility with dealing with imperial powers, Segesta was the only city considered in this chapter with definite juridical status throughout the period of Roman hegemony. As noted above, the Segestans seem to have quickly parlayed their status as a *civitas immunis ac libera*, bestowed (claims Cicero) because of the city's loyalty and its ancestral links with Rome, into municipal status under the new Augustan regime. However, this status did not serve as a catalyst for urban development by attracting consistent new resources and attention to the urban center from proud and politically engaged local elites, but seems rather to have served as a temporary "break" on the process of de-urbanization already at work.[225] Some of the latest monumental building projects in the city – such as the construction of the upper wall circuit and the "restoration" of the *dei forenses* temple – also can be interpreted as signs of civic distress, or at least as stresses on the diminishing resources of the city government.

The local elite of early imperial Segesta were working against the main forces shaping the urban landscape of Sicily: namely, the concentration of political and economic power in coastal centers of Roman status (mainly the Augustan *coloniae*), or in coastal centers with significant political and economic advantages, such as Lilybaeum, a major port and center of Roman administration, and Agrigentum, also a major port and a center of sulfur production. However, the complete abandonment of the urban center that eventually occurred at Segesta was not the inevitable result of this process of concentration. A tenacious local elite can also be detected at

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is Punta Secca/Kaukana (perhaps the same as the Cymbe in the *It. Ant.*), for which see chapter 7 and appendix 1.

[224] These political relationships and their impact on the religious landscape of the region were the subject of my 2007 MA thesis, "Religion and Empire in Western Sicily."

[225] One way in which it may have served as a temporary "break" on the contraction and disintegration of the urban center was by attracting veteran settlement, potentially accompanied by the redistribution of civic land, in the Flavian period, though this deduction and its relation to the development of the urban fabric remains obscure and largely untraceable in the urban and rural archaeological record (see above).

Halaesa, a city on the north coast with a similar history of cordial relations with Rome, and with similar geographical disadvantages (i.e. a hilltop location). There is some scholarly controversy about its development in the imperial period, but recent excavations have indicated that occupation at an urban level persisted significantly longer than at Segesta – a development I discuss in the next chapter.

The singularity of Segesta among the case studies also points to the different extents to which the various cities considered in this chapter "Romanized" – that is, the extent to which they embraced Roman political forms and language, architecture, material culture, etc. As has frequently been noted, particularly in recent scholarship, it is difficult to separate "Roman" from "Italic" cultural forms in the middle Republican period, since the channels of influence between Rome, Italy, and other regions of the Mediterranean were mutual and complex.[226] All the same, traces of Roman/Italian influence have been detected in the late third and second century urban landscape of Monte Iato and Heraclea Minoa, Morgantina, and perhaps Camarina that have been linked to direct, though limited, interventions by Roman authorities after the servile wars, the Second Punic War, and the First Punic War, respectively.

The limited influence of Roman and Italian material culture, architecture, and decorative arts can also be seen in several of the cities considered in this chapter, though this influence probably came indirectly from commercial contacts. Most cities – including those in the interior (Segesta, Entella) as well as on the northern (Apollonia, Calacte) and southern coasts (Phintias, Heraclea Minoa) – imported Italian wine in the Republican period, or at least consumed local imitations of it, as shown by the presence of Greco-Italic and Dressel 1 amphorae in the material cultural assemblage. The paintings that adorned the walls of fashionable houses of Soluntum in the second and first centuries BC were executed in similar styles to those in the houses of Pompeii and other central and southern Italian cities, and an Italic influence may be detectable in the later phases of the residential quarters of Morgantina.[227]

Segesta is the city with the greatest body of evidence for "Romanization" in the late Republic and early Empire. During this period, its agora was restructured in "forum terms" with the addition of the triangular forum and *macellum* and the construction of the small Italic podium temple in the main square. It is also the only city to produce a significant number of Latin public inscriptions, a marker of the political and cultural integration of its elite. The development of the topography and the material cultural assemblage of Segesta and, to a lesser extent, of Monte Iato and Soluntum, may have been influenced by these cities' links with larger coastal centers like Thermae, Panhormus, and Lilybaeum in the early imperial period – cities that were more fully integrated into Roman economic, political, and cultural currents.[228] But in contrast to this latter group of cities, there is little sign of any impetus from the imperial center, Roman administrators, or from the emerging class of provincial elites towards further urban development in any of the cities examined in this chapter, including Segesta. With the exception of a few dedications to the imperial cult, the epigraphy of Segesta records changes to the urban fabric that were initiated by

[226] E.g. N. Terrenato, "The Romanization of Italy: global acculturation or cultural bricolage?," in *TRAC 97*, ed. C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, and R. Witcher (Oxford: Oxbow, 1998), 20-7.
[227] See above for the domestic décor of Soluntum, and Mancini, "Architettura domestica a Morgantina," for second-century Morgantina.
[228] The predominance of issues from Panhormus in the early imperial numismatic assemblage of Monte Iato points to the former city's political and economic influence on the settlements of the northwestern interior (Frey-Kupper, "La circolazione monetaria a Monte Iato").

locals, were local in scope, and framed in local language, giving little indication of links between the city's elite and the wider social and political world of the province and the empire at large.

Though they lack other evidence of political or cultural "Romanization," most of the centers that continued in occupation in the early imperial period do contain high quantities of "Roman" material culture, such as Italian finewares (Arretine and other Italic sigillata) and coins issued by imperial mints – indeed, this is the main body of evidence used to date the latest phases of life at Morgantina, Entella, the Caronia site of Calacte, and Apollonia. However, the presence of such material in urban contexts is more reflective of changing commercial currents than of changing tastes, or of cultural "Romanization." Almost all of the cities had imported, or produced for themselves, black and red-glazed dining and service vessels for much of the classical and Hellenistic periods.[229] However, the large-scale production and export of finewares from Arezzo, followed by other Italian production centers, in the early years of the Principate seems to have squeezed out the other black- and red-gloss forms produced in southern Italy and Sicily. In the workshops at Morgantina, for example, potters experimented with new forms of red-gloss wares ("presigillata"), but these experiments seem to have ceased with the destruction of ca. 35 BC, after which Italian wares dominate the ceramic assemblage. Similarly, while Lindhagen estimates that 80% of the Hellenistic fineware found at the Marina site of Calacte was of Sicilian origin, Italian finewares dominated the assemblage to a similar extent between ca. 30 BC and the end of the first century AD.[230]

De-urbanization and rural settlement

In the cities for which survey of the hinterland has accompanied excavation in the urban center, no one pattern of distribution or chronological development of rural settlement is visible. In some areas, rural settlement does appear to contract along with urban settlement in the late Republic and early Empire. Surveys in the area around Heraclea Minoa indicate a rise in rural settlement coinciding with the contraction of the urban center in the third century BC, but an apparent diminution in rural settlement followed in the first century BC, when many earlier sites were abandoned, and continued into the early imperial period. There is no indication of the development of villas in the early imperial period, or of the emergence of other forms of new settlement, though a few larger sites – perhaps villas or large farming establishments – grew out of older Hellenistic settlements in the middle and late Empire. From these results, we can hypothesize that rural settlement in the vicinity of Heraclea Minoa suffered along with the urban center from the shift of commerce away from the south coast by the late Republic, and did not resume until new, revived patterns of exchange implicated the area in late antiquity. Survey in the hinterland of Morgantina has similarly suggested a substantial decline in the number of rural sites, their size, and their artifact densities that probably reflects both a decline in rural population numbers and a divestment in agricultural production following the Roman siege and takeover of the urban center – a decline from which the region appears never to have fully recovered.

Though the Heraclea Minoa and Morgantina surveys show that the abandonment of the urban center could be accompanied by a diminution of rural sites in the territory, the opposite

[229] For example, Campana A and C, originally produced in southern Italy, but also in Sicily. This consumption history contrasts with that of Gaul, Britain, and other western provinces, where such vessels (and the consumption activities that were associated with them) were novelties of the early imperial period.

[230] Stone, "Roman Pottery from Morgantina;" Lindhagen, "Production and exchange," 117-8.

development seems to have occurred in other areas of Sicily. For example, in the territory around Rocca d'Entella, rural settlement expanded in the third century BC after the re-foundation of Entella, primarily in the form of scattered sites that were probably dependent on the urban center. A caesura or flux in rural settlement occurred in the first century BC, with a sharp reduction in evidence for the occupation of sites (namely, Arretine ware), but the number of sites begins to increase again by the first century AD. The high imperial period (second through fifth centuries AD) saw the development of larger settlements and villas, especially on fertile, well-watered and accessible sites in the area around the former urban center, that perhaps served as new centers of economic activity after the abandonment of Entella. Also in the territory around Monte Iato, the rise in rural settlement numbers culminates in the mid-first century AD, the same period as the disintegration of the urban center. These sites, like those in Entella's territory, appear fully integrated into prevailing Mediterranean exchange networks: in particular, as the finds of plentiful Campanian wine amphorae hint, in the exchange of Italian wine for Sicilian grain.

The territory of Segesta, like that of Heraclea Minoa and Entella, shows a high density of settlement in the Hellenistic period. This was followed by a progressive contraction in the course of the Republic (second and first centuries BC), especially of small and medium-sized surface sites, perhaps indicating a change in the organization of the countryside that favored the concentration of properties rather than an actual demographic decline.[231] In the first century AD, the diminution of rural sites continued, especially in the area around the urban center. In the high Empire, settlement gradually concentrated in villages and large farms located at a distance from the former city center, in well-watered valleys that were accessible to transport routes – a development also observed in the territory of Morgantina in the second century BC and into the Principate. Although the specific pattern and chronology of rural settlement around Segesta differed from settlement in the vicinity of Morgantina, Entella, and Monte Iato, in all four territories we can see a gradual shift away from the urban center as the main pole of economic activity and the weakening of links between urban and rural settlement, coupled with the emergence of new patterns of rural settlement based around new, non-urban centers of processing and distribution.

These developments are mirrored even in regions where field surveys haven't been conducted, but where something is known of rural settlement patterns, such as the south coast and southeastern interior. Many areas show caesuras in settlement in the late Republic and early Empire, followed by a gradual shift in the middle and late Empire to new centers of processing and distribution, both on the coast (as at the Marina site of Calacte, and probably along the southern coast around Camarina), and along interior land routes (as in the areas of Morgantina, Helorus, and in the hinterland of Camarina). Generally, these new centers took the form of villas or other agglomerations (villages, *vici*) in fertile parts of the interior that were well-connected to each other and to the urban centers of the eastern, northern, or western coasts via land routes and water courses. In addition, smaller landing points developed along the coast that also served as *stationes* on the land routes that connected the urban centers of the coast with each other and with the agricultural hinterland of the interior.

[231] Though drawing inferences about the size of properties from the size of surface sites is problematic: for example, small and medium-sized sites could represent the dwellings of tenants on a large estate rather than the dwellings of the farmers of small- and medium-sized properties.

Conclusion

The case studies of this chapter reinforce the conception of the city as a fluid and dynamic settlement form that I put forward in chapter 3. Sicilian urbanism was a political and economic phenomenon whose parameters changed (once again) with the incorporation of the island into the Roman Empire of Augustus. In many parts of Sicily, the monumental urban center whose institutions had evolved in the classical and Hellenistic periods, in some cases enduring violence and dislocation, and had continued to function under the Roman Republic, no longer played an active role in political, social, cultural, and economic life under the Principate, a change that had significant consequences for the island's settlement landscape. And, as will be apparent from the case studies in the next chapter, even in areas where the city remained an integral part of the settlement landscape, its roles in local, regional, and extra-regional social, economic, and political networks continued to evolve under the Principate.

Although "de-urbanization" was a reality for Sicily under the Roman Empire, we should be wary of interpreting it through the prism of the contemporary accounts of Strabo, whose landscape of abandoned cities is coupled with a lawless and deserted countryside largely given over to pastoralism and plantation agriculture; and of Pliny, whose list of *urbes* and *civitates* gives the impression of an ossified settlement hierarchy established by Rome that rigidly distinguished between coastal and interior settlements. In contrast to the impression given by Strabo's account, this chapter has shown that "de-urbanization" was not always (or even often) associated with the abatement of intensive production in the Sicilian countryside. Although the organization of rural settlement in many regions may have changed in the later years of the Republic and the early years of the Principate, there are few signs that rural Sicily was poorer, less populous, or less economically integrated than it had been in previous centuries; indeed, rural settlement seems to have revived and thrived in many regions over the course of the high and late Empire. The distribution of rural settlements and their material cultural assemblages point to their continued integration into local, regional, and Mediterranean exchange networks, and provide evidence in some regions for a mixed rural economy in which some agricultural production (especially grain and wine) was aimed for export, other products were circulated and consumed locally (e.g. wine, fish sauce, and oil), and some goods (especially finewares) were imported from outside the island. Although the concentration of rural settlement and the development of new centers of economic activity away from older urban centers seems to have occurred across Sicily, there is not evidence in all areas of a strong social stratification of rural settlement – i.e. the development of luxury villas in control of extensive territories – immediately in the early Empire, or at all.

In contrast to the accounts of Strabo and Pliny, the Sicilian settlement landscape seems to have developed gradually in the centuries of the Principate, and with greater variety than those sources acknowledge. The case studies in this chapter have pointed to the diversity in size, cohesion, monumentality, and economy of the settlements visible in the archaeological record of Roman imperial Sicily. Some of these settlements – such as the Caronia Marina site of Calacte – it is difficult strictly to characterize as "rural" or "urban" at any point in their development. There is also considerable distance between Pliny's list and the archaeological record, and with the possible exception of Segesta, it is difficult to correlate the statuses Pliny ascribes to the cities with their development as outlined in this chapter.[232]

[232] Segesta is one of the three cities with *ius Latii*, while Camarina and Soluntum (Soluus in Pliny) are among the coastal *oppida*. Morgantina, Entella, Ietas, probably Calacte (Pliny's Galacteni), and less

This difficulty reinforces the argument I outlined in chapter 2 that the development of the urban landscape of Sicily should not be understood solely from the perspective of the center of power at Rome. Though I have argued that the post-civil war "settlement" of Sicily established new power relations between Sicilian cities and Roman administrators, and hence potentially altered the relationships between individual urban centers and their local elites, this settlement occurred in the context of changing patterns of Mediterranean connectivity that impacted different parts of the island (and their cities) in different ways. The impact of this political settlement, and of broader changes in Mediterranean exchange networks, on individual cities was further conditioned by geographic factors such as the availability of water and access to land and maritime routes, as well as by cities' previous histories with Rome. And as the contrasting developments of Segesta and Halaesa indicate, the Augustan "settlement" didn't inevitably lead to the "failure" of some urban centers and to the "success" of others. In the next chapter, I will examine some of the cities where occupation and urban life continued for most, if not all, of the Principate. I will explore the consequences of the new power relations established by the Augustan settlement, as well as the shifting economic currents of empire, on the development of these urban centers, as conditioned by more "local" geographical and historical factors.

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certainly Phintias (Pliny's Gelani?) are among the *stipendiarii* of the interior, and Apollonia, Helorus, and Heraclea are not mentioned as *civitates*.

Chapter 6: The New Urban Landscape

Introduction

In the last chapter, I characterized de-urbanization as a significant, though complex phenomenon in early Roman imperial Sicily, in which the classical *polis* ceased to be a significant form of settlement in many regions, but especially along the southern coast and in the more isolated sections of the mountainous interior. However, as I showed in chapter 4, in other parts of Sicily (namely on the western, northern, and eastern coasts, and along key transportation and communication routes in the interior), cities remained a vital part of the settlement landscape in the imperial period. In this chapter, I will examine the topographical, institutional, and demographic development of several of these cities, beginning in the Roman Republic and continuing into late antiquity, with a particular focus on their place in the new settlement landscape of the early Principate. Some of the key questions I will consider, based on archaeological and documentary evidence, include: who lived in urban centers, and what political, social, economic, and religious functions did these centers perform for their inhabitants? And relatedly, what roles did cities play in the economic, social, political, and religious/cultural life of their territories and within the wider *provincia* of Sicily?

A reminder of the general roles of urban centers in the ancient world and of the specific roles they played under the Roman Empire will be helpful in assessing the development of Sicilian cities over the centuries of Roman rule.[1] In the Greco-Roman Mediterranean from the archaic period until late antiquity, the urban core of an individual *polis* or *civitas* served as a center of government and administration both for itself and for an agricultural territory, and also as a center for the processing and marketing of the agricultural products of this territory. Both independent political entities (such as the classical Greek *poleis*) and cities that were subordinate to larger imperial systems also served as collection points for tribute and tax – a role that could be facilitated by the minting of coinage in the urban center, whether in the name of the *polis*/*civitas* itself or of the larger imperial entity.

Ancient urban centers were the main place of residence of an elite class of *rentiers* whose wealth was based in agriculture (that is, the ownership, and perhaps also leasing, of agricultural land), but who were engaged in administrative, economic, cultural, religious, and political activities based in the urban center (e.g. service in magistracies and priesthoods) – vocations to which considerable social prestige was attached, and that are therefore highly visible to modern scholars, particularly in monumental epigraphy and other acts of self-promotion and commemoration in urban space.[2] Besides this elite class, ancient cities had substantial populations of various legal statuses (i.e. freeborn, freed, or enslaved; and citizen or resident non-citizen) whose livelihoods were not directly related to agriculture, and who were instead engaged in occupations related to government (e.g. public slaves), the provision of services (innkeepers, builders, fullers, etc.), and the processing and marketing of the raw goods produced in the city's rural hinterland (bakers, potters, weavers, merchants).[3] This non-agricultural

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[1] See chapters 2 and 3 for a full discussion of these roles.

[2] In contrast, as many scholars have noted, the evidence for elite participation in commerce is more elusive.

[3] Mayer, *Ancient Middle Classes,* has recently emphasized the integral role that these non-elite urban "commercial" classes played in Roman urbanism, economic systems, and culture. As I discuss below and in the Conclusion, though I concur with Mayer's assertion of the importance of such non-leisured elite

population had to be sustained by the surplus alimentary resources of the city's territory, or by the importation of such resources - especially in "mega-cities" such as imperial Rome and classical Athens.

Under the Roman Empire – a political entity that stretched across and beyond the Mediterranean basin, in which all forms of the central state's authority were concentrated in the figure of the emperor but maintained in most regions by a skeletal staff of administrators – cities were also the main places from which information, policy, and "propaganda" originating in the imperial center were disseminated to subjects. This dissemination could occur through formal, regular channels, such as imperial decrees, communications between local governments and imperial officials (e.g. letters or embassies), visits of emperors and provincial administrators to individual cities (e.g. on the "assize" circuit), and the circulation of images produced or inspired in the imperial center of Rome, such as coins and statuary. It could also occur less formally, through the social networks that developed among urban populations, spreading downward from elite to non-elite social levels, laterally from public to private contexts, and outward from urban to rural settings.

In this chapter, I explore how, and to what extent, Sicilian cities fulfilled these general roles, and if a particularly "Sicilian" form of Roman urbanism can be distinguished. As I discussed in the previous two chapters, while the specifics of the economic changes of the late Republic and early Principate (including the potential change in the taxation system) are elusive, the body of archaeological evidence for urban and rural settlement points to no island-wide economic "crisis" that had an adverse affect on urban life in general. Rather, I have argued that the social and political change brought by the transition to the Principate that had the greatest impact on urban life in Sicily, and that was linked to changing patterns of land tenure,[4] was the replacement of the system of economic, political, and social relationships between local urban elites and Roman noble families founded on *amicitia*, *hospitium*, and *clientelia*. These relationships can be seen most clearly in Cicero's Second Verrine Oration, and through them a patchwork of urban statuses and privileges were negotiated under the Republic. Under Augustus, these "ad hoc" relationshops were replaced with a regularized system of provincial administration that was based on the formalization of the juridical status of Sicilian communities as *coloniae*, *municipia*, or *stipendiarii*. The emperor, rather than the Roman senatorial class and its leaders, was at the top of this system and was the ultimate source of authority and prestige in the empire.

I showed in the last chapter how some previously integrated and thriving urban centers failed, for various reasons, to find an enduring place in this new and evolving imperial system – a failure at the root of the de-urbanization seen in certain regions. However, as I will show in this chapter, the spread of citizenship and the redistributions of land that accompanied grants of municipal and colonial status, coupled with the explosion in Mediterranean commerce under the early Principate, fostered the creation in other regions of powerful elites (and their *familiae* and *clientelae*) with origins in or strong links to Sicily, as well as to other parts of the Mediterranean imperial core. Archaeological evidence, coupled with the testimony of Cicero, show that this process of connection between Sicily, Rome, and the other parts of the empire (particularly central/southern Italy and North Africa) was underway even in the middle and late Republic, with the rise of wealthy "entrepreneurial" classes in many cities whose members had economic,

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populations in shaping urban life and topography in the Roman Empire (including the cities of Roman Sicily), I would stop short of characterizing these urban populations as a defined "middle class."

[4] Namely, the accrual of land previously owned and exploited by cities and their individual citizens into Roman senatorial and imperial hands.

political, and social connections beyond their cities of origin, and even beyond Sicily itself.[5] However, with the Principate came the opportunity for local elites to expand their spheres of influence, and to become part of the wider ruling social, political, and economic order of the empire as fully-fledged Romans. In this chapter, I will argue that as the Ciceronian distinction between "Roman" and "Sicilian" became less acute over the course of the Principate, the relationship of Sicilian elites with their native communities changed with their rising social and political ambitions – a change that had a profound effect on the urban landscape of the island.

Case studies

In the eight case studies that follow, I will continue to argue for the early Principate as a transformative period for the urban landscape of Sicily, but I will also emphasize the diversity of historical, geographical, economic, and political situations found across the island. Nonetheless, the cities discussed in this chapter – Lilybaeum (modern Marsala), Agrigentum (Agrigento). Halaesa, Tyndaris, Centuripae (Centuripe), Tauromenium (Taormina), Catina (Catania), and Syracuse - exhibit several common features, especially regarding the nature of their archaeological records (map: Plate 6.1a). One common feature is the persistence of occupation in modern times, making full-scale excavation in the urban center impossible. In contrast to the cities examined in the last chapter, most of which were completely abandoned in antiquity and not resettled thereafter, many of the settlements discussed in this chapter remain major urban centers (especially Lilybaeum/Marsala, Catina/Catania, Tauromenium/Taormina, Syracuse, and Agrigentum/Agrigento). In these cities, modern buildings obscure ancient levels of occupation, and ancient materials (including inscriptions) were frequently reused as building materials in post-antique structures. The complicated stratigraphy resulting from centuries of occupation, combined with the depredations of time (such as the pilfering of building materials), makes it difficult to date even the most prominent standing ancient structures, such as the theatre of Catania and the amphitheatre of Syracuse. Even in centers like Halaesa and Tyndaris, which were abandoned after antiquity and have been subject to extensive modern archaeological research, long traditions of antiquarian exploration have resulted in muddled archaeological and epigraphic records, in which important items of material culture have been lost (such as the Tabula Halaesina) or lack clear provenance (as is the case with much of the sculpture from the site of Tyndaris). An additional challenge for many cities is the lack of a fully published archaeological record, especially for excavations that took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This set of challenges is practically insurmountable in Panhormus/Palermo, Messana/Messina, and Thermae Himeraeae/Termini Imerese – cities to which the historical sources assign a primary place in the urban landscape of Roman Sicily and that possess considerable epigraphic corpora and other material indications of prosperity in the imperial period, but whose topographical development remains obscure. Therefore, while material from these cities is included in my broader analysis at the end of the chapter, the cities themselves are not included among the case studies. The cities that I have chosen as case studies are distinguished not only by persistent occupation throughout the Roman period, but also by a well-published archaeological record from excavations conducted throughout the ancient urban center, or in substantial sections of it; and/or relatively extensive standing monuments of the

[5] More broadly, Mayer (*Ancient Middle Classes*, 7) asserts that such "commercial middle classes" were a dominant force in Roman urbanism and in the Roman economy from the late first century BC into the mid-imperial period.

Roman period. In the sections that follow, I first provide an overview of the topographical, demographic, and institutional development of each city in the Roman period. I then consider what light the case studies can, as a group, shed on the changing urban landscape of Roman imperial Sicily.

Lilybaeum (Marsala)

Geography and history: the pre- and early Roman period

Located at the western tip of Sicily, Lilybaeum was settled by the displaced former residents of the Phoenician island colony of Motya (destroyed by Dionysius the Elder in 397 BC), probably in the second quarter of the fourth century BC, under the auspices of Carthage.[6] The motivations behind its foundation were primarily strategic – namely, to provide the Carthaginians with a naval stronghold from which to maintain their political and economic dominance over the western half of the island – and the strategic importance of the site was reflected in the extensive defenses constructed around the urban center in the Punic period. These defenses consisted of a wall circuit and ditch, as well as a series of tunnels. The city also possessed at least three port complexes.[7] In addition, the availability of spring water at the site was probably an important consideration in the original urban foundation.[8]

Although the modern city of Marsala overlies much of the ancient urban center of Lilybaeum, the southwestern sector of the city closest to the harbor (Capo Boeo) remained un-urbanized (Plate 6.1b). During its phase of use as a vineyard and wine storage complex (Baglio Anselmi, today the home of the regional archaeological museum), Capo Boeo was the site of chance finds of inscriptions and other archaeological material in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and of more systematic research by the early twentieth century. Scattered rescue excavations in the modern urban center to the north and east of Capo Boeo have also yielded traces of ancient occupation. Little physical evidence of the original fourth century BC settlement remains, however, besides the fortifications and some traces of houses underneath later residential structures.[9] Little is known of the city's rural territory in this period, though the foundation of Lilybaeum does seem to have coincided with an upswing in commerce and settlement in the countryside in the fourth century BC, perhaps indicating greater Carthaginian involvement in the rural hinterland of its Sicilian domain.[10]

In the century following the First Punic War, when the city came firmly under Roman control, Lilybaeum developed a hybrid role as a Roman administrative center and military stronghold; as a key node in the expanding commercial route between Italy and North Africa, with strong economic ties to central and southern Italy as well as to Carthage, and hosting a substantial population of merchants from across the Mediterranean; and as an autonomous Hellenistic Greek *polis* with a Greek (or Hellenized) ruling elite. Ancient literary sources are

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[6] Diod. Sic. Books 13, 14, and 22 for the destruction of Motya and foundation of Lilybaeum.

[7] See especially *Lilibeo. Testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a.C. al V sec. d.C. Marsala, dal 3 dicembre 1984* (Palermo: Pegaso, 1984) for the archaeology of the fourth century BC settlement.

[8] One still-active spring lies underneath the church of San Giovanni at Capo Boeo.

[9] E.g. the houses excavated in the 1980s in Via delle Ninfe and Via Sibilla: *Lilibeo 1984*, 104-6; and the structures more recently excavated in Via del Quarto: R. Giglio, "Lilibeo (Marsala). Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici in via Quarto," in *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2003), 727-36.

[10] E. Blake and R. Schon, "The Marsala hinterland survey. Preliminary report," *EtrSt* 13 (2010): 49-66, at 56-8.

most vocal about the city's military/administrative role, particularly in the context of Rome's wars with Carthage and imperial expansion across the Mediterranean: in addition to being a base for the Roman fleet, the town also served as the permanent seat of one of the quaestors of the *provincia* by the end of the third century, and export taxes (*portoria*) were collected from its port.[11] Lilybaeum's primary role in the development and maintenance of the Roman *provincia* is also reflected in the creation (or continuation) of a mint based in the city after the First Punic War.[12]

Evidence of the city's role as an emporium on the main Mediterranean commercial routes of the Roman Republican period include the stamped amphorae found in urban excavations and in the waters surrounding the city, which attest to the importation of wine from southern and central Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean as well as oil from North Africa.[13] However, the most vivid illustration of the city's prominence on a Mediterranean scale is the Greek epitaph of Poseidermos, a citizen of Massilia (Marseilles) and perhaps a merchant, who died and was buried in Lilybaeum probably in the mid-second century BC.[14]

In addition to these extra-local roles as a Roman administrative center and Mediterranean emporium, Lilybaeum also functioned as an autonomous *polis* on the classical/Hellenistic Greek model and possessed an extensive, fertile rural territory. The institutions of government of Roman Republican Lilybaeum must mainly be inferred from Greek and Latin public epigraphy from the first century BC and later. The few public inscriptions from the second and early first centuries BC commemorate members of a Greek or Hellenized local elite who performed acts of euergetism towards the community, and hint at a government that largely followed the model of other Hellenistic *poleis*, with a *demos* probably represented by a council (*boule*), and the division of the citizen body into tribes.[15] More private forms of epigraphy – mainly funerary epitaphs, but also lead curse tablets found in the necropolis, as well as a distinctive carved bone *tessera hospitalis* – point to a mixed Greek, Italic, and Punic urban population.[16] Limited field survey in

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[11] Cic. II *Verr*. 2.75 for the collection of *portoria* at Lilybaeum.

[12] *Lilibeo 1984*, 131.

[13] A large number of stamped Rhodian wine amphorae have been found in excavations of the Via del Fante necropolis, dating from the late third century until the mid-second century BC, along with Naxian and Coan wine amphorae and Greco-Italic and Apulian forms (*Lilibeo 1984*, 126-30).

[14] M.T. Manni Piraino, "Due iscrizioni inedite di Marsala," *Kōkalos* 9 (1963): 157-62.

[15] Manni Piraino, "Due iscrizioni," for the dedication of the *demos* to the *euergetes* Diognetos Megas; F. Sartori, "Le dodici tribù di Lilibeo," *Kōkalos* 3 (1957): 38-60, for the hypothesis that the twelve tribes mentioned in imperial inscriptions are a remnant of the Hellenistic civic organization.

[16] The first century BC *tessera hospitalis,* inscribed in Greek, marks the *xenia* between Imulch Inibalos Chloros, son of Imilchon and Lyson, son of Diognetos - a citizen of Lilybaeum also mentioned by Cicero (*Lilibeo 1984*, 124). The lead curse tablets, which range in date across the Roman Republican period, are inscribed in Greek and record names such as Allia Prima, Gaius Vibius, and Agbor Bouki (*Lilibeo 1984*, 159-64); Apithambal, Numerius, and Zopyrion son of Mymbyr [A. Brugnone and B. Bechtold, "Novità epigrafiche da Lilibeo. La tomba 186 della via Berta," in *Seconde giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 111-40], though care should be exercised in linking onomastics and linguistic choice with ethnic identity. See recently Tribulato, "*Siculi bilingues*?," 305-8 for linguistic analysis of the *defixiones*. In addition, graffiti in Greek, Punic, and Latin by at least two hands, probably from different periods, has recently been found in a burial chamber in the former Stabilimento Mirabella, but has yet to be fully published [R. Giglio, "Capo Boeo. Traffici, naviganti e divinità alla luce delle ultime ricerche nel Parco archeologico di Marsala," in *La devozione dei naviganti.*

the southeastern sector of the city's hinterland has revealed probable traces of centuriation that were perhaps connected to the consul Laevinus' reforms after the Second Punic War, and may have been associated with the influx of new populations of Italian and Roman landholders to the city.[17]

Some scholars have hypothesized that after the fall of Carthage, Lilybaeum, like the cities of the southern coast, experienced an economic downturn that continued into the first century BC.[18] While Lilybaeum does not show the same explosive urban development in this period as the cities of the Tyrrhenian coast and northwestern interior (Soluntum, Halaesa, Segesta, etc.), the positive evidence for economic decline is tenuous: namely, the relative poverty of the assemblages from burials from the second half of the second century BC. Evidence against this hypothesis of economic decline includes the development of several residential areas in the urban center in the second century BC.[19] Though the layout and décor of Republican-era residences are often partly obscured by later renovations, the large Italic tetrastyle atrium featured in the second-century house excavated in the Via Sibilla reflects not only the wealth of some residents, but also the city's cultural ties to the Italian mainland.

Little is known of the public monuments of the urban center before the late first century BC, though it appears that the first monumental phase of the city's orthogonal street plan dates to the second century BC, along with the construction of the first luxurious residences in the *insulae* that lay within this grid. The areas of the ancient city for which the greatest amount of archaeological evidence remains – the defensive system and the extramural necropoleis – lay outside the modern urban core, in areas that until recently were not densely developed. The Punic defensive system was maintained, with some modifications, throughout the Republican period. The Punic and Republican-era necropoleis, which occupy an extensive area to the east and northeast of the ancient urban center,[20] provide further information on the composition and culture of the hybrid population of Lilybaeum. The hundreds of excavated burials in these areas, which range in date from the mid-fourth century BC to the mid-fourth century AD, show, as a group, both continuities and changes over time. While the locations of burial remain consistent from the Punic into the Roman Republican period, with Roman-era graves next to or overlying Punic burials, the types and forms of burial change dramatically with the transition from Punic to Roman control.[21] After the mid-third century BC, inhumations in chambers (*hypogea*) or trenches carved deep into bedrock gave way to cremation (*kausis*) burials with monumental superstructures (Plate 6.2).[22] The monumentality of the necropoleis seems to have increased in

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Il culto di Afrodite ericina nel Mediterraneo. Atti del convegno di Erice, 27-28 novembre 2009, ed. E. Acquaro, A. Filippi, and S. Medas (Lugano: Lumières internationales, 2010), 71-87, at 83-4].

[17] I. Valenti, D. Kennet, and E. Fentress, "A Sicilian villa and its landscape (contrada Mirabile, Mazara del Vallo, 1988)," *Opus* 5 (1986)[1990]: 75-90, at 83.

[18] B. Bechtold, S. Frey-Kupper, M. Madella et al., *La necropoli di Lilybaeum* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1999), 261-2.

[19] The first completely visible residences in the *insulae* excavated in the Via Sibilla and Via delle Ninfe area date to the second century BC (*Lilibeo 1984*, 104-7).

[20] The greatest concentration of excavated burials is in the area between the modern Via del Fante and Piazza Borsellino.

[21] See *Lilibeo 1984*, 38-77 and 151-90; and Bechtold et al., *La necropoli di Lilybaeum*, for the excavation of the Punic and Roman-era necropolis.

[22] See *Lilibeo 1984*, 151-5 and I. Valente and B. Bechtold, "Recenti scavi nella necropoli punica di Lilibeo. Problemi e considerazioni," in *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1992), 687-701, for changes in burial practice.

the second century BC, when structures ranging from painted tufa *epitymbia* to elaborate mausolea and, in one case, a *tholos* building on a podium marked the locations of individual or family tombs.[23] The *epitymbion* burials at Lilybaeum are most closely paralleled in cemeteries in the territory of Carthage beginning in the second century BC, and the form appears to have spread through the African provinces and throughout the Roman world thereafter.[24]

Development under the late Republic and early Roman Empire

Although Lilybaeum gained no special juridical privileges under the Roman Republic, the longstanding Roman/Italian presence amidst its hybrid population, especially in the spheres of government and commerce, led to the development by the first century BC of strong ties of patronage with powerful Romans, and, in some cases, to grants of Roman citizenship to individual citizens of the town. Cicero, in his Second Verrine Oration, refers to a community of *negotiatores* at Lilybaeum (2.62), as well as to a *conventus civium Romanorum* (5.4, 54); and among the victims of Verres' abuses are numerous citizens or residents of Lilybaeum with Roman citizenship and/or links of patronage with Roman nobles (including with Cicero himself).[25] Inscriptions also attest to the spread of Roman citizenship in the late Republic and early Principate amongst the local elite: most clearly, in the case of Diognetos Megas son of Demetrios, a *euergetes* commemorated in a Greek honorific inscription whose son, M. Valerius Megas Chorton, was in turn honored in Greek and Latin inscriptions as *patronus* of the early imperial *civitas* of Lilybaeum.[26] The spread of the Roman citizenship "organically" amongst the elite of the town, by means of immigration and individual grants, is borne out epigraphically by the presence of at least eight Roman tribes in Lilybaeum by the middle Empire, compared to the two tribes attested at Thermae Himeraeae – a difference attributable to the establishment of an Augustan veteran colony at Thermae.[27]

In the last years of the Republic, Lilybaeum's strategic importance made it a center of the conflict between the Second Triumvirate and Sextus Pompey. A monumental Latin inscription found at Capo Boeo attests to the presence of a Pompeian force under the command of L. Plinius Rufus and commemorates its efforts to repair and improve the town's defenses.[28] The impact of the Augustan "settlement" of 21 BC on the administrative status of Lilybaeum is unclear, though

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[23] The famous painted funerary *aedicula* found by Salinas in the 1890s, though they lack clear provenance, probably served as *epitymbia* in the Hellenistic-Roman necropolis of Lilybaeum, and themselves reflect hybrid Punic and Hellenistic Greek artistic and funerary traditions: see *Lilibeo 1984*, 167 ff. for a catalogue.

[24] *Lilibeo 1984*, 154.

[25] These individuals include Pamphilus of Lilybaeum, a "friend and host" of Cicero, and his son-in-law, the Roman citizen Diocles Popilius; Marcus Coelius, a young *eques* at Lilybaeum; Lyso, a leading citizen of Lilybaeum who had hosted Verres; a young member of the Heius family of Messana and a ward of G. Marcellus, whose property at Lilybaeum was stolen; and Diodorus of Melita, a resident of Lilybaeum who fled to his *patroni* and *hospites* in Rome after being hounded by Verres (2.4.14-18).

[26] Manni Piraino, "Due iscrizioni," for the inscription in honor of Diognetos; *IG* XIV 273 and 277 and *CIL* X 7240 in honor of M. Valerius Megas.

[27] S. Calderone, "Lilybaeum," in *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane di Ettore de Ruggiero* v. 4.67, ed. G. Cardinali (Rome: Signorelli, 1959), 1069-73.

[28] This is also the first firmly dated Latin inscription from the town. Another Latin inscription perhaps from the early first century BC has recently been found, but remains unpublished (Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 72).

there is general agreement that the town was not the site of a colony.[29] The town does appear to have become a *municipium* at some point in the Augustan era; the full range of municipal institutions and offices (the *ordo* of *decuriones*; *quaestor*, aedile, *duovir*) are attested in inscriptions from the early and middle imperial periods, as are dedications to the *genius* of the *municipium*.[30] Inscriptions also attest to the presence of the imperial cult in the city by the first century AD.[31]

The public epigraphy of Lilybaeum reflects the cultural as well as the institutional changes that the town underwent in the transition to the Principate. Although it never completely disappeared from use, and indeed was revived in public inscriptions in later centuries, Greek ceded to Latin as the dominant epigraphic language as the town became a Roman *municipium* and as its elites – such as M. Valerius, son of Diognetos – gained the Roman citizenship.[32] This transition occurred amidst a spread of Latin in the city outside public contexts and at lower social levels, perhaps encouraged by the long presence of Romans and Italians as resident administrators and merchants (as well as the more recent presence of Roman soldiers in the civil war). This new "bilingualism" has been hinted at by the discovery of Latin and mixed Latin and Greek graffiti in private contexts.[33]

The changes to the urban fabric of Lilybaeum under the late Republic and early Empire mainly consisted of the improvement and renovation of existing infrastructure rather than dramatic alterations to the urban plan. The main excavated residential areas continued in occupation, with some renovations, in this period. Recent excavations in Capo Boeo have revealed traces of the city's *decumanus maximus*, which was paved in the early imperial period at the initiative of a *praetor designatus* whose name was inscribed in the white marble paving stones (Plate 6.3).[34] The Punic/Republican-era fortifications were also probably abandoned between the end of the Republic and the early Principate, and residences were eventually built in the space they once occupied.[35] There is also epigraphic evidence of imperial intervention in the topography of first century Lilybaeum – namely, the restoration and improvement of an aqueduct sponsored by Domitian in AD 84 (*CIL* X 7227) – a rare case of imperial benefaction in Sicily that was probably linked to the city's continued role in provincial administration and its substantial population of Roman citizens.

Lilybaeum administered a rural territory in the early Empire whose considerable size is hinted at by an inscription recording a dispute with Agrigentum, a city 85 miles down the south coast, that was resolved by a Roman official during the reign of Nero (*CIL* X 7192, and see further below). Survey in the hinterland of Marsala has pointed to a diverse rural landscape, with settlements that can be characterized neither as *latifundia* nor as smallholdings, where a combination of cerealiculture and arboriculture was probably practiced. Both large- and small-scale surveys have indicated a general continuity of occupation of rural sites from the Republic

[29] Calderone, "Lilybaeum;" *Lilibeo 1984*, 145.
[30] See Calderone, "Lilybaeum," and *Lilibeo 1984*, 144-7 for epigraphic evidence for the institutions and cults of the *municipium*.
[31] *CIL* X 7212 refers to a *flamen* of divus Augustus; *CIL* X 7224 is a dedication to Mercurius Augustus.
[32] Indeed, one of the dedications to M. Valerius Megas is inscribed in both languages (*IG* XIV 273 = *CIL* X 7240).
[33] See *Lilibeo 1984*, 140-2 for four examples of Latin or bilingual graffiti incised into wall plaster.
[34] Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 72; a monumental arch may have been constructed at the end of the *decumanus*, facing the sea.
[35] Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 77.

to the early Empire, although a gradual consolidation of landholdings seems to have occurred in the first and second centuries AD, with the disappearance of some sites and the growth of others into villas or agricultural villages.[36]

Lilybaeum in the high and late Empire

The second through fourth centuries[37] saw the most extensive urban development of Lilybaeum. This period of prosperity was undoubtedly linked to the economic rise of the African provinces and the increased commerce between Rome and North Africa, much of which would have passed through the port of Lilybaeum, to the advantage of its resident merchants and landowners.

The bulk of public inscriptions from the city date to the middle and late Empire, and reveal a fully developed urban social hierarchy based largely on Roman legal statuses. They also show the impact of individuals of diverse ranks – ranging from slaves and freedmen to imperial administrators and the emperor himself – on the topography of the city. The public process of negotiation for individual and communal status and privileges between local, provincial, and imperial levels of authority is seen most clearly in the inscription recording the paving of the *platea* of the Cereres,[38] dated to ca. AD 170 – a benefaction of a type seen in cities throughout the empire, intended both to improve the town's infrastructure and to enhance the reputation of the benefactor. The inscription begins with a dedication in honor of the victorious return of Marcus Aurelius, and an invocation for the emperor's health. The dedicator, L. Annius L. f. Tertius, is a member of a tribe, Lemonia, not otherwise attested outside Italy, hinting at peninsular origins for him or his ancestors. The inscription gives the municipal cursus of Tertius in descending order, from *duumvir* down to *curator muneris publici gladiatorii* (an indication, incidentally, that the city hosted gladiatorial games – perhaps in an as-yet undiscovered theatre). According to the inscription, Tertius had promised 25,000 sesterces on the occasion of his appointment as aedile (*summa honoraria*) - but had apparently paid only upon his assumption of the duovirate - for work to be overseen by the Roman quaestor stationed at Lilybaeum, Valerius Seponianus, who was deceased by the time of the actual dedication. This work consisted of the paving of the *platea* (probably a plaza or monumental street) of the Cereres, to which 13,000 sesterces was devoted, with the remainder going as a gift to the *decuriones*.[39] The very existence of the dedication suggests that Tertius in turn received some honor or benefit from Marcus Aurelius.

Through the epigraphic record of the city, it is also possible to trace the rise of wealthy local families into the ranks of the Roman equestrian and senatorial elite beginning in the early second century and culminating during and after the Severan period. The most explicit evidence for the promotion of local families is the public commemoration of the patronage of local notables who

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[36] Valenti et al., "A Sicilian Villa," 84-5; Blake and Schon, "Marsala Hinterland Survey," 59-61.

[37] Or, more specifically, from the Antonines until the period of the successors of Constantine, perhaps ending with the earthquake of 365 AD.

[38] First fully published by G. Barbieri, "Nuove iscrizioni di Marsala," *Kōkalos* 7 (1961): 15-52, the inscription was found in a later reuse context as paving for street.

[39] As Mayer points out, the monumental colonnaded avenues called *plateiai* that were constructed in Eastern Mediterranean cities in the imperial period served a prime commercial function as the locations of dozens of *tabernae* (*Ancient Middle Classes,* 79-81). Although nothing is known of the location or appearance of the Lilybaeum Cereres complex, the cult's association with grain may hint at a commercial purpose for the associated *platea*.

went on to hold imperial offices. One inscription in honor of M. Marcius Bietis Glaucus records his adlection into the senate, probably by Commodus; his son was also a senator (*CIL* X 7237). Two members of another local family, C. Bultius Geminius Titianus, proconsul of Sicily in the late second or third century, and his son, C. Bultius Geminius Marcellus, were honored as patrons by the town's twelve tribes (*CIL* X 7206 and 7233). Later inscriptions honor a senator who returned to serve as *curator rei publicae* of his *patria*, L. Cassius Manilianus, probably in the third century; as well as two fourth century *consulares*, Alpinius Magnus Eumenius and Iulius Claudius Peristerius Pompeianus, who were likely also citizens of Lilybaeum.[40]

As members of the local elite began to participate more actively in the Roman imperial social, political, and religious order, lower down the social order, members of their *familiae* and *clientelae* become visible in the epigraphic record engaging in similar acts of self-commemoration. For example, a *sevir* dedicated a statue in honor of a son of Marcus Aurelius in honor of his assumption of office (*AE* 1906.75a). An inscription recovered recently during excavations of the *decumanus maximus* records the donation of funds for the paving of the *platea Aelia*, a street named after Hadrian (perhaps the *decumanus maximus* itself), by a probable freedman, P. Stertinius Threptus, who belonged to the Stertinii, a senatorial *gens* of African or Spanish origins with extensive Sicilian links that reached the consulship under Trajan.[41]

Lilybaeum's cosmopolitan urban culture, derived from its continued role as a major central Mediterranean port, was reflected in the diversity of its religious landscape in the high Empire. Excavation, coupled with epigraphy and numismatics, has brought to light a civic pantheon that included traditional Greco-Roman cults– such as Apollo (whose head adorned the Augustan bronze coinage of the city), Hercules (whose *fanum* is mentioned in a yet-to-be-published Latin inscription), and numerous manifestations of the imperial cult – but that was much wider. A large sanctuary was discovered in recent excavations in Insula II of Capo Boeo that was devoted to Isis, a cult of Egyptian origins that spread across the Mediterranean, mainly through maritime commerce, and is found in most of the important ports of the Roman Empire. The sanctuary was probably established in the second century BC but rebuilt in the second century AD.[42] Under the medieval church of San Giovanni in Capo Boeo, a long-lived cult complex centered on a spring has also recently been excavated.[43] This complex appears to have been used in the second and third centuries AD as a semi-private space for rites connected to water from the spring. The discovery of a well-crafted marble statue of Venus and a Latin dedication to the goddess by an anonymous Roman official point to the identity of the recipient of these rites. The mosaics in this complex are most closely comparable to African examples of the second and third centuries AD.[44] In addition to these archaeologically attested cult complexes, there is the inscription

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[40] L. Cassius Manilianus: L. Bivona, "Un nuovo quaestor p(rovinciae) S(iciliae) e curator r.p. di Lilibeo. L. Cassius Manilianus," *Kōkalos* 33 (1987:) 11-23; Alpinius Magnus: G. Barbieri, "Due cippi di Marsala del IV sec. d.C.," *Kōkalos* 9 (1963): 225-52; Iulius Claudius Peristerius Pompeianus: *AE* 1906.75b.

[41] M. Silvestrini, "Colonia septimia Augusta Agrigentinorum," in *Scritti di storia per Mario Pani* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2011), 455-68.

[42] Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 77-9.

[43] R. Giglio, "Lilibeo 2004 - 2005. La ricerca archeologica nell'area di capo Boeo," in *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e di alter isole del Mediterraneo antico: atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima, Erice, 12-16 ottobre 2006* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2009), 561-71, at 565-7, and "Capo Boeo," 75-6.

[44] R. Giglio, "Rassegna dei mosaici di Lilibeo e rinvenimenti recenti," in *Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and F. Guidobaldi (Ravenna: Girasole, 1997), 123-36, at 124.

discussed earlier in this section that mentions a *platea* of the Cereres – a name used to designate Ceres and Proserpina that is otherwise attested almost exclusively in North Africa.[45]

Lilybaeum's economic prosperity and participation in Mediterranean-wide cultural currents are also reflected in the domestic architecture of the middle and late Empire. Beginning in the early third century, a revival of building activity can be documented throughout the excavated residential areas of the city that included the addition of thermal complexes to residences and the installation of fine mosaic floors. The most conspicuous urban residence of this period was excavated in the 1930s in Capo Boeo. In the late second or early third century, a residence occupying an entire insula was built over residential structures from the second or first century BC – probably two separate houses, one with a tetrastyle atrium or peristyle.[46] This new luxury residence, whose plan resembles the mid- and late imperial *domus* in Ostia and North African coastal cities, included spacious rooms with elaborate polychrome mosaic floors and marble wall facings, distributed around a tetrastyle atrium and a large peristyle courtyard. It was also equipped with a thermal complex and service rooms in its eastern section. Similar residences have been found (though not fully excavated) nearby, in the insula just to the south, and in Piazza Vittoria at the edge of the Capo Boeo archaeological zone, where three mosaic floors from the late second century were discovered in the 1950s.[47]

The most significant political development of this period was the grant of colonial status under Septimius Severus (or, less likely, under his predecessor Pertinax), which is attributable to - and probably, in turn, contributed to the furtherance of - Lilybaeum's economic prosperity and connection with North Africa, its links of patronage with Roman administrators, and the social promotion of its leading families.[48] This grant also occurred in the context of the wider favor and attention shown by Severus and members of his dynasty to Sicily and its cities – and particularly to the western corner of the island – that probably had its roots in the links of patronage that arose during the emperor's time as governor of the island, as well as in the emperor's more general efforts to build, and reward, loyalty in the economic and political core of the empire.[49]

Although there are no visible remains of public structures from this period, it is clear that the grant of colonial status marked an important caesura in the urban landscape of the city, as well as in its institutional history. An inscription attests to the presence of a *septizodium* in the city: a monument taking its name from the fountain complex built by Severus in the heart of Rome and replicated in other parts of the empire – especially those favored by the dynasty's benefactions (mainly North Africa and Asia Minor). In addition, further re-pavings of the city's streets seem to have taken place in the third and fourth centuries – including the streets surrounding the Capo Boeo luxury residence. The reuse of older public inscriptions in these paving projects may hint that the transition from *municipium* to *colonia* represented a new phase of history in the eyes of

[45] Barbieri, "Nuove iscrizioni," for the Cereres inscription.
[46] For the layout, development, and decor of the Capo Boeo residence: *Lilibeo 1984*, 134-5 and 139-43; Giglio, "Mosaici di Lilibeo," 127; and C.A. Di Stefano, "Lilibeo. Contributo alla rilettura dell'insula I," in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII - III sec. a.C.): arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2006), 545-53, esp. 547-9.
[47] Giglio, "Mosaici di Lilibeo," 127-8.
[48] The epigraphic evidence for the grant of colonial status is collected in Calderone, "Lilybaeum," and also discussed in *Lilibeo 1984*.
[49] Silvestrini, "Colonia septimia Augusta Agrigentinorum," for epigraphic evidence of Severan patronage of the cities of western Sicily.

the town's ruling class, whose members appear fully "Romanized" and were perhaps eager to break with the town's less illustrious institutional past.[50]

The full "Romanization" of the town's government and institutions is not, however, reflected in mid-imperial burial practices. The town's population did not break from the burial traditions or places employed in past centuries. The transition from cremation back to inhumation appears to have been completed in the second century AD, when burials in the monumentalized sections of the Roman Republican necropoleis petered out. Thereafter, the burial chambers of the Punic period were increasingly reused as individual and family tombs, continuing into the Christian period, when the catacomb complexes employed by the community expanded beyond the pagan burial areas.[51] The best-known mid-imperial tomb is an underground chamber in the heart of the Hellenistic necropolis, originally carved out in the Punic period, that was reused beginning in the second century, consisting of two arcosoli, four rectangular niches, and four cavities in the floor, and containing six burials, as well as an altar in the center of the chamber.[52] One second-century tomb was marked by the Latin epitaph of Crispia Salvia, aged 45, placed by her husband, Julius Demetrius. The walls of this chamber were adorned with rich polychrome paintings probably executed by a local workshop, attesting to the elevated economic status of the family – paintings whose colors and motifs are reminiscent of the painted funerary *aedicula* (*epitymbia*?) of previous centuries, and more generally comparable to wall paintings found in late Roman tombs in Africa Proconsularis and Tripolitania. Subsequent burials in the chamber and successive phases of decoration can be dated as late as the fourth century.

Late and post-Roman Lilybaeum

Lilybaeum appears to have remained a prosperous settlement that was fully integrated into the Roman political, economic, and social order through the mid-fourth century AD. The city continued to attract the patronage of provincial elites (some of whom probably had family ties to the town), and building and renovation works continued on the city's public infrastructure (e.g. its street system) and in domestic contexts (e.g. fourth-century renovations to the bath complex of the Capo Boeo luxury residence).[53] However, in the late fourth century and after, the Roman imperial urban fabric progressively weakened, probably partly as a consequence of the devastating earthquakes felt around the Mediterranean in the 360s and the Vandal incursions of the 440s, though recent excavations in Capo Boeo have highlighted the gradual nature of the process of urban transformation.

The traditional interpretation of the archaeological record of late Roman Lilybaeum holds that the fourth-century destruction layers visible in many residential areas are connected to the

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[50] Examples of inscriptions found in paving include those collected in Barbieri, "Nuove iscrizioni" (all dated to the third century or earlier); the Greek inscription honoring Diognetos Megas (Di Stefano, "Rilettura dell'insula I," 547); and inscriptions found more recently, including a Latin inscription commemorating the construction of a *fanum hercoleum* (Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 72).

[51] Bechtold et al., *La necropoli di Lilybaeum*.

[52] R. Giglio, "Nuovi dati da Lilibeo (Marsala). Mosaici e decorazioni pittoriche tra Africa e Roma," in *L'Africa romana: mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano. Atti del XVI Convegno di studio, Rabat, 15-19 dicembre*, ed. A. Akerraz (Rome: Carocci, 2008), 1527-48, esp. 1535-45.

[53] A recently discovered inscription from the mid-fourth century also confirms that the town was included as a *statio* on the *cursus publicus*, warranting the visit of an imperial official (*ducenarius*): Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 74.

earthquake of AD 365. This destruction was followed by some rebuilding, as seen in the latest phases of renovation of the bath complex of the Capo Boeo luxury residence, but the Vandal incursions of the fifth century represented the final blow to the urban fabric of the city, and was followed by abandonment and demographic contraction.[54] Recent excavations in the Capo Boeo archaeological zone have refined this image of late and post-Roman Lilybaeum. These excavations have indicated the spread of burial areas within the ancient urban center and onto the remains of former public and residential structures beginning in the late fourth century, though some older Roman imperial structures, such as the cult complex of Isis, appear to have remained in use into the fifth century.[55] This slow and uneven expansion of burial areas into the ruined urban fabric of the Roman imperial city is most visible in the excavated areas in and around the *decumanus maximus*.[56] This road was in use, and its pavement maintained, at least until the fourth century AD, but it declined in use in the fifth century, when the paving stones were covered by a series of beaten earth surfaces. Tombs were placed above the paved road surface in the late sixth or early seventh century (Plate 6.4a), into the leveled, ceramic-rich strata of destruction and burial of Roman-era structures. In 2004, a possible apsidal basilica was discovered in the vicinity of the *decumanus maximus* and following its orientation, around which these burials may have gravitated. A further indication of the primarily Christian orientation of the Capo Boeo area is the transformation of the grotto complex beneath the medieval church of San Giovanni from a pagan into a Christian cult center, along with the installation of a new mosaic floor in one of its rooms in the late fourth or fifth century.[57]

The epigraphic and historical record indicates that Lilybaeum remained an important political and religious center in the post-Roman period. The city was in the border zone between the Gothic and Vandal successor kingdoms to the Roman Empire in Italy and Africa, respectively. According to Procopius, Theodoric the Great gave the city to his sister upon her marriage to the Vandal king Thrasamund at the end of the fifth century and an inscription, now lost, from the environs of the city marked the boundary between Vandal and Gothic territory (*CIL* X 7232).[58] The dense, extensive cemeteries and catacomb network on the outskirts of the city were utilized by a large Christian community that was established by the late fourth century, and a letter of Pope Leo of AD 447 mentions a bishop of Lilybaeum, Pascasinus; the diocese had been instituted in the early fifth century, in the time of Pope Zosimus.[59]

The rural hinterland of Lilybaeum also shows less disruption than might be expected from the natural disasters and political changes of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Timpone Rasta villa in Contrada Mirabile, in the territory of Mazara, continued in occupation until the end of the sixth century, and field survey in the surrounding area revealed a consistent occupation of rural sites from the first century AD through the mid-fifth century AD, with some sites occupied as late as the seventh century.[60] These rural sites produced large quantities of African sigillata and late Roman amphorae, pointing to the continuity of trade with North Africa even after the Vandal conquest. The surveys and excavations conducted by the Marsala Hinterland Survey have similarly found little evidence of abandonment of the countryside in the late and post-Roman

[54] *Lilibeo 1984*, 134; Giglio, "Lilibeo 2004-2005," 561-2; and "Capo Boeo," 74.
[55] Giglio, "Capo Boeo," 79.
[56] See especially Giglio, "Lilibeo 2004-2005," 561-3 for these excavations.
[57] Giglio, "Lilibeo 2004-2005," 565-7.
[58] *Lilibeo 1984*, 147.
[59] *Lilibeo 1984*, 191.
[60] Valenti et al., "A Sicilian Villa," 79.

period. Rather, the Roman villa site at Genna, for example, appears to have continued in use until the sixth century, and possibly as late as the ninth century.[61]

Conclusion

This overview has traced the development of Lilybaeum from a Carthaginian military stronghold into one of the main centers of economic and political power – and one of the main poles of elite activity – in western Sicily under the Roman Empire. One indication of Lilybaeum's economic dominance in the western corner of Sicily is the size of its territory, which apparently extended for several miles down the southern coast and included smaller, dependent (though economically prosperous) urban centers such as Mazara. Lilybaeum shared this dominance in western Sicily with two other large urban centers, Panhormus and Thermae Himeraeae, forming what has been described as a "triangle" of political, economic, and social prestige and influence. Although less is known of the topographical development of the latter two cities, their epigraphic records highlight the extensive ties between the three corners of the triangle – and particularly among their leading families – a theme I will return to at the end of this chapter.

The traces of centuriation revealed by field survey hint that some of the rural territory of Lilybaeum became *ager publicus* held and leased by the Roman state rather than by the city itself under the Republic. There is also some epigraphic evidence of senatorial landholding in the region.[62] After the transitional period of the late Republic and early Empire, the continuity of occupation evidenced by imported pottery in excavated rural sites such as Timpone Rasta and Genna points to the continued fertility, diverse agricultural potential, and economic integration of the region, which made farming profitable and land in the territory of Lilybaeum desirable to both absentee and resident owners and tenants. This stability of the rural landscape would have contributed to, and would also have been reinforced by, the continued vitality of the urban center of Lilybaeum, as the agricultural products of the territory continued to require a local marketing and embarkation center.

The development of the urban center of Lilybaeum itself shows the importance of varied and diverse urban roles and the presence of a heterogeneous population (in terms of occupation, wealth, and cultural orientation) as the basis for sustaining urban life and infrastructure in the Roman Empire. In contrast with the cities discussed in the last chapter, the richness of Lilybaeum's social, economic, and political connections with other parts of Sicily and with the wider Roman world were also key to its survival as an urban center in the imperial period – a connectivity that it shared with the other cities I discuss in this chapter.

Halaesa

The urban center of ancient Halaesa is situated on the eastern slope of Santa Maria delle Palate, a foothill of the Nebrodi range that rises steeply above the Tyrrhenian coast between the mouths of the Tusa river and the seasonal Cicera torrent, almost 60 miles east of Palermo. Although the site was known to antiquarians in the 16th and 17th centuries and was subject to spoliation from antiquity into the modern period, extensive excavation in the urban center only began in the 1940s and continued, with intervals, into the last decade, led most recently by Giacomo Scibona and teams from Messina. These excavations have focused on a limited part of

[61] Blake and Schon, "Marsala Hinterland Survey," 62.

[62] *IG* XIV 243 and 284: two stone *cippi* from Valderice dedicated to a mid-third century senator of consular rank, G. Asinnius Rufus Nicomachus Iulianus, by two *epitropoi*.

the site – mainly the agora/forum and the surrounding area (Plate 6.4b) – but with the result that many inscriptions, statuary, and architectural pieces have been found in or close to their original context. Survey in the territory around the hilltop has accompanied excavation in the urban center. As I detail below, the case of Halaesa highlights the difference that careful, thorough excavation can make to our understanding of the development of the topography of a site - and in particular, to challenging notions of decline in the imperial period - especially when the historical sources are silent.

Development under the Roman Republic and the early Empire

Halaesa lay within so-called Sicul territory, and was founded in 403 BC by Archonides of Herbita and settled with part of the population of that town. In the Timoleonic period, the town began minting coins on behalf of a *symmachikon* that bore its name, probably consisting of nearby Sicul centers on the coast and in the interior (including the mother city of Herbita). The city stopped minting coins, however, after it fell under Carthaginian dominion.[63] Little else is known of the early history or topography of Halaesa, though it appears that its wall circuit was constructed in the fourth century BC, with subsequent re-buildings over the centuries.[64]

The city next appears in historical sources in the context of the campaign of Hieron against the Mamertines. Early in the First Punic War, it was the first city in Sicily to go over to the Romans, according to Diodorus Siculus (23.4.1), and it was rewarded with the status of *civitas immunis ac libera* – a status that, coupled with the city's role as a major port along the Tyrrhenian coast and as a center for Italian merchants, helps to explain its rapid development and its close links of patronage with members of the Roman elite in the following centuries (discussed further below). Almost all of the visible urban fabric dates, in its original form, to the period after the Second Punic War. Like other urban centers on or near the northern coast, including Soluntum, Segesta, and Monte Iato, the main phase of monumentalization of Halaesa appears to follow the city's incorporation into the Roman Empire, and as with other cities, it was probably motivated by the growing economic power, social connections, and political ambitions of the town's elite, rather than being initiated directly by Roman authorities.

The urban center was laid out in an extensive but defined space inside the wall circuit, beginning at approximately 160 meters above sea level and sloping upward to the acropolis (240m a.s.l.), within a grid plan. This urban street grid was paved in local stone and consisted of long *cardines* running south to north, parallel to the ridge, with the main *cardo* originating at the south gate (the main entrance to the city); and perpendicular *decumani* mostly laid out on terraces, due to the slope of the hill. As with other hilltop and hillside centers, such as Hellenistic Morgantina, the street network of Halaesa was built to accommodate the steep slope of the site and to mitigate the forces of erosion, with a sophisticated and extensive drainage system of pipes installed below the paved surface (Plate 6.5a).[65]

The agora was located on two terraces above and below the *cardo maximus*, in the highest, easternmost part of the urban center, though only the upper terrace has been excavated (Plate 6.5b). The upper agora was paved in terracotta tiles bearing monogrammed stamps, indicating

[63] A. Carbè, "The Coinage," in G. Scibona and G. Tigano, ed., *Alesa Archonidea: guide to the antiquarium* (Palermo: regione siciliana, 2008), 58-61, at 58-9. See G. Scibona, "Story of the City: the Sources," 13-16 in the same volume, for a summary of the city's early history.
[64] G. Tigano, "The Archaeological Site," in Scibona and Tigano, *Guide to the antiquarium,* 70-90, at 73.
[65] See Tigano, "The Archaeological Site," for a summary of the urban plan.

that they were probably made specifically for this purpose by public workshops.[66] At the end of the second century BC, a monumental *pi*-shaped stoa was built along the western side of the agora, partly into the slope of the hillside (Plate 6.6a).[67] This stoa was reached from the paved open space of the agora by two steps, and consisted of a portico faced by an external colonnade of twenty plaster-faced brick columns on its long side and eight columns on the shorter sides. This portico was divided into two naves by a smaller internal colonnade, with twelve columns on the long side, and six on each short side (Plate 6.6b and 6.7a). Behind this portico were a series of rectangular rooms with wide thresholds, called *tabernae* or *sacella* by the excavators, some of which were built into the side of the hill and may have had a second floor. In addition to the monumentalization of the agora, in the second century BC the Temple of Apollo on the acropolis, the main civic temple of the city, was built or re-built and a large peristyle house was constructed on terraces below the agora, along the *cardo maximus*.[68]

The agora, and particularly the western stoa, was clearly the civic center of the town and a primary space for elite display: most of the public inscriptions from the site, all of which are datable to the third or second century BC and later, were found in or near the stoa.[69] These half-dozen or so inscriptions attest to an active local elite that held a typical range of Hellenistic Greek magistracies (*agoranomos*, etc.) and performed acts of euergetism toward their native city. For example, members of the Lapiron/Laphiro family are honored as benefactors in at least two Greek inscriptions of the second and first centuries BC (*IG* XIV 353 = *IGLPal* 127; Scibona 1971, no. 2). Local elite families were also active in the religious life of the community, and in particular in the main civic cult of Apollo, as bronze tablets bearing a Greek honorific inscription to a local benefactor of the cult found in a house near the agora attest.[70]

Inscriptions and historical sources also indicate a substantial, early Italian/Roman presence in the city: individuals and families probably attracted as much by commercial opportunities in the urban center itself as by the opportunity to possess or lease fertile agricultural and pastoral land in its hinterland. The main evidence for the Italian/Roman element of the population of Halaesa is epigraphic - in particular, a third century BC tufa block now housed in Palermo but most likely from Halaesa bearing a dedication to Apollo by a Lucius Carnius, son of Caius – probably a Roman citizen of Etruscan origins (*CIL* X 7265). An early second century BC inscription from the city, now lost, recorded a dedication to the praetor L. Cornelius Scipio, the future Asiaticus, by *Italicei* (*CIL* X 7459) – perhaps *negotiatores* or *aratores* resident in Halaesa. In addition, the names of some Halaesans recorded in inscriptions and historical sources bear traces of Italian origins: for example, the M. Aemilius who served as *agoranomos* and made a dedication in Greek in the agora in the late Republican or early imperial period, whose father, Kipos, bears an

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[66] G. Scibona and G. Tigano, ed., *Alaisa-Halaesa. Scavi e ricerche (1970 - 2007*) (Messina: Sicania, 2009), 32.

[67] See especially Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 13-43, for a description of this structure and its excavation.

[68] A. Facella, *Alesa Archonidea: ricerche su un'antica città della Sicilia tirrenica* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006)*,* 198-9.

[69] Many of these inscriptions were first published by G. Scibona ["Epigraphica Halesiana, 1. Schede 1970," *Kōkalos* 17 (1971): 3-20], so I use his numbering in the discussion that follows.

[70] See G. Scibona, "Decreto Sacerdotale per il Conferimento della *Euerghesia a Nemenios* in *Halaesa*," in Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 97-112, for this inscription, found in the collapse layers of the "Casa dei Dolii," and its implications for our understanding of the religious life and topographical development of the town in the second/first century BC.

Oscan name (Scibona 1971, no. 3). One of the Halaesans mentioned by Cicero is named Aeneas (II *Verr*. 3.73), and the hero Halaesus, who appears in Books 7 and 10 of the *Aeneid*, leads troops from northern Campania - further hints of the economic and demographic links between Halaesa and central Italy.[71]

Halaesa's privileged Roman status, its favorable geographic position for participation in central Mediterranean commerce, the agricultural potential of its territory, and its early resident population of Romans and Italians all probably contributed to the links of patronage that developed between the city's ruling elite and the Roman senatorial class (particularly those who had served administrative roles in Sicily) – links that led to grants of citizenship and other benefits. For example, the family recorded in honorific inscriptions from the agora, the Lap(h)irones, is mentioned in Cicero's Second Verrine Oration in the context of Verres' abuse of a member, Quintus Caecilius Dio, who had received the Roman citizenship from Quintus Metellus and had ties of guest-friendship to Marcus Lucullus (II *Verr*. 2.7-8). And in a letter of 46/5 BC, Cicero recommends to the proconsul of Sicily two Halaesans, M. Clodius Arcagathus and C. Clodius Philo, as his *familiares* and *hospites* - relationships probably established during his quaestorship in 75 BC or his subsequent visits to the island (*Ad fam*. 13.32). These men were attached to the *gens* Claudia and were probably Roman citizens of long standing, whose citizenship was bestowed perhaps by C. Claudius Metellus during his governorship of 79 BC. On the other side, Roman elite *gentes* could have enduring links of patronage and service to, as well as economic interests in, Halaesa and other northern cities. For example, though nothing else is known of the Caninius Niger who led a contingent of ships from Halaesa and surrounding towns and who was honored in an early first century BC Greek inscription in the agora (Scibona 1971, no. 3), he belonged to a *gens*, one of whose members served as praetor of Sicily in 171 BC (C. Caninius Rebilus), that is attested in inscriptions and coins from Thermae Himeraeae, Cephaloedium, and other northern Sicilian cities into the early imperial period.[72]

One probable result of the city's ties to Rome, as well as of its increasingly heterogeneous ruling elite, was that the city turned to the Roman senate in 95 BC to reorganize its government – an event described by Cicero a few decades later (II *Verr*. 2.49). As Cicero recounts, because of an internal dispute regarding filling vacancies on the local council – perhaps prompted by the desire of the new Italian/Roman population for inclusion in civic government – the praetor G. Claudius Pulcher, with help from the Metelli (longstanding patrons of Sicily), provided new regulations on the age of candidates, their occupations, and their property qualifications. Further reflections of the hybridity of the population and culture of the Roman Republican city can be found in its built environment. While the overall plan of the monumental public areas of the city, with its "scaenographic" arrangement on terraces and sweeping views over the surrounding countryside, is reminiscent of the plans of other Hellenistic Sicilian cities and the cities of Hellenistic Asia Minor, there is also a detectable Roman/Italian influence on the building techniques employed in the urban infrastructure: for example, in the so-called "counterforts" at the northern edge of the urban center (probably actually the substructure for the *cardo maximus* as it climbed to the acropolis; Plate 6.7b).[73]

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[71] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 209.

[72] See also, especially, Facella, *Alesa* Archonidea, 246-51, for the northern Sicilian "Pompeian connection" – including links between individual towns like Halaesa and Pompeian partisans, such as C. Vergilius Balbus (*IG* XIV 356).

[73] Tigano, "The Archaeological Site," 89-90.

In addition to, and partly overlapping with, Halaesa's links to Rome and Italy under the Republic were its enduring economic, social, and political links with nearby cities of the coast and interior. Although it could no longer function as an autonomous entity under the Romans, the defensive considerations that were behind the formation of the Sicul "symmachia" in the classical period were carried on in the collective military role that the group exercised, along with other cities, within the *provincia* of Sicily. In addition to the Caninius Niger inscription, which commemorates an otherwise unknown victory of a fleet composed of ships from Halaesa, Kale Akte, Amestratos, and Herbita, perhaps against pirates, a *cippus* from the Halaesa agora (*IG* XIV 355) contains a dedication by soldiers from Halaesa to Heraclios, son of Aristodoros, the commander (*chiliarch*) of the military garrison at Eryx – another defensive effort undertaken collectively by the cities of northern and western Sicily under the auspices of Rome.

However, Halaesa increasingly exercised a hegemonic role in its region – certainly eclipsing its mother city, Herbita, by the Republican period – that was linked to the political and economic advantages it gained under Rome. In addition to its tax-exempt status, according to Cicero, Halaesa was one of the chief ports of the north coast for the *deportatio ad aquam* of grain produced in the Sicilian interior and a point of collection for export taxes (*portoria*) (II *Verr*. 2.75). Indeed, Cicero implies that the city's economic strength made it a particular target of Verres' abuses. In support of such historical attestations of the city's economic integration throughout the first century BC, particularly with peninsular Italy, excavations in the city center have produced large quantities of Italian imports, including early terra sigillata, lamps, and transport amphorae.[74]

Coins minted by the city celebrated its municipal status – probably bestowed as a block grant to the cities of Sicily – around 44 BC, though Pliny includes Halaesa among the *stipendiarii* of the province, indicating that this status (along with its tax exemption) was revoked in the early Augustan period, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey (ca. 36 – 21 BC). Nonetheless, the city ended up a "winner" in the provincial reordering of Augustus, at least in terms of landholdings and political privileges. Inscriptions such as *CIL* X 7458, a dedication of the *municipium* of Halaesa to Augustus, dated between 12 BC and AD 14, and coins indicate that the city regained its status under Augustus, likely because of its economic hegemony in the region and its economic, political, and demographic connections with Rome. As a result, perhaps, the city was one of the earliest adopters of the imperial cult in Sicily, with numismatic evidence for the veneration of Augustus even during his lifetime.[75]

Ceramics found in excavations in the urban center, including Italian sigillata and lamps, point to the city's continuing economic links with Italy in the early Empire.[76] In addition, Italian elements of the population, some probably of long duration, can be detected in early and mid-imperial inscriptions from the town. For example, the gentilician and tribal affiliation of the M. Limbricius M.f. Rufus, of the tribe Falerna, commemorated in a funerary inscription, suggests origins in Campania, probably in a *gens* from Puteoli active in overseas commerce (*CIL* X 7460). His wife, Helvia Arura, also bears a family name common in Campania and elsewhere (including Sardinia), but not otherwise attested in Sicily. In the public sphere, the L. Naevius Firminus Manilianus honored in a high imperial Latin inscription found in the agora (Scibona 1971, no. 8) belonged to a *gens* (Naevius) that is widespread in the late Republic in Campania and Delos but

[74] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 278.
[75] Namely, four series of coins issued by the *flamen aug* and *duovir* M. Paccius Maximus (Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 273-4).
[76] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 285; the city also received imports of Africana A in this period.

not in Sicily, suggesting Italian origins (perhaps distant) for this individual – origins also suggested by his membership of the Romilia tribe.

Under the early Empire, Halaesa continued to exercise a hegemonic urban role in its region, particularly politically and economically, and especially as centers such as Herbita, Caleacte, and Amestratus – the cities that had supplied ships to the force of Caninius Niger in the early first century BC – faded into obscurity in the transition to the Principate. One indication of the regional economic power of Halaesa in the Republican and early imperial period comes from the coin assemblage from excavations of the city. Halaesa was the only one of the cities in its immediate vicinity to continue to mint coins under Augustus, probably in order to facilitate daily commerce within the region.[77] In fact, of the 198 coins datable from the Second Punic War until the reign of Tiberius (when municipal issues ceased) found in excavations, 45% came from the mint of Halaesa itself – an indication of the town's economic strength and monetary independence.[78]

Halaesa in the imperial period

The public building projects attested epigraphically and archaeologically in Halaesa in the early and high imperial period largely consisted of the adaptation of existing public spaces rather than the creation of new ones: primarily, the transformation of the Hellenistic agora into a Roman forum. Waste dumps containing ashes and archaeological materials no later than the Julio-Claudian period were excavated around the southern walls and southeastern gate, indicating a large-scale fire in the urban center in this period, perhaps connected with the earthquake of AD 17. The main changes to the urban fabric – namely, modifications to the western stoa and to the open space of the agora – date broadly to after this period, until the mid-third century AD. The variation in the layout and decoration of the *tabernae* and *sacella* of the western stoa, coupled with the inscriptions associated with these rooms, indicate that they were modified at various times, and for different purposes, at the initiative of different sectors of the community.

The general trend in the development of the western stoa and agora complex in the imperial period is the growing monumental distinction between cultic / honorific space and commercial space, similar in some ways to the "forumization" of the agora of Segesta in the early first century AD.[79] The rooms designated *tabernae* I and VIII, for example, appear to have functioned as shops: *taberna* I, located behind the north wing of the portico, was part of the original plan of the stoa complex, though the late Republican/early imperial inscription of Marcus Aemilius, son of Kipos, found on its back wall records an act of euergetism – perhaps a renovation of the room – during his tenure as *agoranomos*. *Taberna* VIII, on the other hand, was added onto the stoa in the imperial period, in the corner formed by the western and southern walls.

On the other hand, the more lavishly decorated rooms designated as *sacella* or *aedicula* by excavators appear to have been intended for honorific/display or cultic purposes: all have paved floors (most in marble) and contain altars, niches, and/or bases for cult or honorific statues. The most distinctive is *sacellum*/*aediculum* III, the third room from the northern end of the stoa (Plate 6.8).[80] Its walls are faced with large slabs of white and grey marble and its floor is paved in

[77] A. Carbè, "The Coinage," in Scibona and Tigano, *Guide to the antiquarium,* 58-61.
[78] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 281.
[79] Cf. Mayer, *Ancient Middle Classes*, esp. pp. 66-85, for the addition of *tabernae* to cityscapes as one of the key features of Roman urbanism from the first century BC into the Principate.
[80] Sacellum III: Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 33-4; *Guide to the Antiquarium*, 81.

colored marbles imported from Italy, Africa, and Asia Minor; in front of the back, western wall is a rectangular masonry base, partly faced in marble, intended for a statue. The space in front of the *sacellum* is distinguished from the rest of the portico by a pavement in white marble slabs trimmed with grey marble. Between *sacella* III and IV, in the area paved in marble and probably from the same phase, is a pedestal base faced in marble, likely intended for a statue. It has been hypothesized based on the inscriptions found in the vicinity and the lavishness of the décor that *sacellum* III was dedicated to the imperial cult.

In conjunction with the conversion of the rooms behind the portico into cult and display spaces, the paved open space of the agora, particularly in front of the stoa, became cluttered with statue bases, fountains, and exedrae (Plate 6.9a).[81] The most prominent of these is a large base in *opus reticulatum*, originally faced in white marble and with a white marble cornice, placed outside the northwestern corner of the portico in alignment with *sacellum* III: perhaps a tribunal for orators or the base of an equestrian statue or a statue group, and dated to the second century AD (or ca. AD 70 – 140, according to R.J.A. Wilson). Immediately to the south of this podium is a line of four statue bases of various dimensions, in alignment with the *sacella* of the western stoa and built directly onto the pavement; another five bases were placed elsewhere in the agora plaza.

Excavations particularly in the area of the western stoa that was converted into a lime kiln in late antiquity have uncovered some of the statues that adorned the *sacella* and the open space of the agora.[82] Two statues, probably from neighboring *sacella*, appear to be cult images of Ceres; the base of one, probably from the late Antonine period, is inscribed with the name of its dedicator, a *sevir* (Plate 6.9b), while the other is probably slightly older, from the time of Hadrian or the early Antonines. These images of Ceres evoke both the fertility of the hinterland of Halaesa and the beneficence brought by the imperial order. A damaged male portrait head was also found in the agora, originally belonging to a togate figure but re-carved in the fourth century AD; this image supplements the more complete portrait statue of a magistrate of the early Antonine period (mid-2nd century AD) – the so-called "Claudius Pulcher" – taken from the site in an earlier century by antiquarians. The subject of this statue, which was perhaps imported from Asia Minor, is a Roman citizen of senatorial rank who holds symbols of his cultural and political attainment and wears the beard of an intellectual: a good citizen, possessed of *paideia*, who has embarked on a public career as a member of the imperial elite; a Roman, but also a cultivated man of the *polis*.

The agora of the imperial period was not only commemorative and cultic space, however, but also a center of everyday life. Plentiful coins and ceramics from the early and middle imperial period have been found in excavations. In addition, though there is no clear evidence that any of the structures excavated in the agora/forum was used for government functions, a fragmentary honorific inscription found near one of the *sacella* refers to a *basilica*: perhaps the western stoa itself, transformed at least partly into administrative space for the *municipium*, in addition to its cult and honorific functions, in the imperial period (Scibona 1970, no. 5).

To summarize, the agora/forum continued to be a space for civic commemoration and elite self-display in the imperial period, but even more conspicuously than it had been under the Republic. With Halaesa's full incorporation into the Roman imperial order, granted by Augustus in the form of its municipal status, the community had need of spaces in which to celebrate this

[81] Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa,* 38-9.

[82] See E.C. Portale, "Le Sculture da Alesa," in Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 67-92, for an overview of sculpture from Halaesa.

incorporation (and the benefits it brought to the city) and to show its loyalty to the ruling power (namely, the emperor). The continued wealth and connectivity of Halaesa found expression in the range of building materials - such as colored marbles - and techniques – like *opus reticulatum* - that both individuals and the community as a whole could deploy to fulfill this need for self-promotion and civic benefaction, and for reciprocal expressions of loyalty and gratitude.[83]

Similar efforts at individual and family self-promotion can be seen in the monumental tombs built in the southern necropolis in the high imperial period: most conspicuously, the columbarium found in 1898 near the southeastern gate, and the complex of tombs surrounding it that have been excavated more recently (Plate 6.10a).[84] This columbarium – a square monument in *opus reticulatum*, with a single entrance and niches inside to hold ash containers - was constructed around the mid-second century AD, probably for the use of a *paterfamilias* and his immediate family. Surrounding this structure were at least 16 tombs of various types (including casket tombs), probably of members of the same family, ranging in date from the second to the fourth century AD. The columbarium is a *unicum* in Halaesa and has few parallels in the rest of western Sicily, though similar structures have been found further east, including at Tyndaris, Tauromenium, and Catina. However, the form is quite common in central Italy, with numerous examples at Rome, Portus, and Ostia – a further indication of the continued Italian/Roman cultural influence on the city and its residents.

Inscriptions from the agora show that self-promotion and participation in the shaping of the urban fabric were not limited to the local elite. Instead, a heterogeneous, connected urban population, ranging from freedmen to members of the equestrian and senatorial classes, was behind the main change to the monumental topography of Halaesa in the imperial period: the transformation of the agora and western stoa into spaces that celebrated the Roman imperial order. At least three inscriptions found in the portico of the west stoa, in the vicinity of the *sacella*, commemorate wealthy freedmen who belonged to the Augustales and held that group's highest office, the sevirate. Two of these inscriptions, dated approximately to the late first or early second century, appear to be from statue bases: the base of a sandstone monument dedicated by Q. Caecilius Q. l. Hime[rius], *sevir*; and a white marble base dedicated to Concordia Augusta, perhaps belonging to a headless female statue found in the vicinity, by a *sevir* whose name has been restored as A. Mevius Zethus (Scibona 1971, nos. 6 and 7). Q. Caecilius Himerius was a member of a *gens*, the Caecilii, attested on municipal issues of Halaesa as well as elsewhere in Sicily. The name of A. Mevius Zethus has been restored on the basis of an inscription found at a villa near Halaesa, and the same individual may also be named in a tombstone from Agrigentum. The *gens* Mevia had its origins in Campania and Latium and is attested among the *negotiatores* at Delos and other Eastern Mediterranean ports in the Republic.[85] Another *sevir*, Iulius Acilius Hermes, dedicated a statue of Ceres (on the base of which his name is inscribed: Scibona 1971, no. 9) "pro honore seviratus," probably under the Antonines, in the northern area of the portico. His gentilician is also widely attested in Sicily,

[83] This can also be seen in the epigraphic record, in the switch from the use of local stone to marble for public inscriptions.
[84] See G. Tigano, "La Necropoli Urbana Meridionale: Dati archeologici e prime considerazioni," in Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 114-32, for recent archaeological and architectural research on the columbarium and the southern necropolis.
[85] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 289.

especially in the North and West, and in another, earlier inscription from Halaesa (Scibona 1971, no. 4).[86]

In addition to the *seviri*, members of the freeborn local elite also played a role in monumentalizing the agora in the imperial period. The fragmentary inscription referring to the basilica may commemorate an *eques*, possibly a member of the *gens Caninia* attested at Halaesa in the late Republic, who restored it (Scibona 1971, no. 5). The wealth of this elite extended beyond its base in the agricultural hinterland of Halaesa into related industries such as ceramic production as well as into commerce, especially with Italy. The leading *gentes* of the city accordingly had economic and social connections beyond Halaesa itself. For example, the Naevii, a family of probable Italian origins attested in Halaesa in the high Empire in an inscription honoring L. Naevius Firmius Manilianus, was also involved in the ceramics industry, as tile stamps probably from workshops located on the family's lands attest. The family is also mentioned in imperial-era inscriptions from Africa, hinting at ownership of land in that region.[87]

Rural settlement under the Republic and Empire

The rural landscape of the area surrounding Halaesa has long received considerable attention from scholars because of the Tabula Halaesina, a large marble slab with a Greek inscription in two columns found near the church of Santa Maria but lost in the seventeenth century, though its text was preserved in two transcriptions. Due to the loss of the stone itself, the Tabula can only broadly be dated to the Roman Republican period: that is, no earlier than the mid-third century BC and no later than the first century BC.[88] The document concerns the leasing of land by an unnamed entity (probably the *polis* of Halaesa, or perhaps the main civic cult of Apollo, which had an administrative structure similar to that of the *polis*), in dozens of small parcels (*klaroi* or *daithmoi*) separated by natural and man-made features (streams, hedges, fences, canals, roads, etc.); its closest Sicilian parallel is the financial registers from Hellenistic Tauromenium, which also concern the leasing of civic land (see below). The document lists the plots of land by serial number along with the district of the city in which they are located, and provides a short description of each.[89] Little can be gleaned for certain from the document about the organization of the territory of Halaesa – i.e., the proportion of land under civic, private, or sacred administration; or the proportion of land in the hands of smallholders – or about the circumstances that prompted its creation, though hypotheses abound. Nonetheless, the descriptions of lots hint at a well-organized, fertile landscape in which mixed farming was practiced, with the potential for forestry and pastoralism in some areas: the document refers, for example, to rows of olive trees dividing fields used for the cultivation of wheat and barley, orchards, an olive press (*eliaokomion*) in one property in which activities including tanning were prohibited, and "a large forest of cork oaks" on the borders of some plots. There are also numerous references to an aqueduct (*ocheton*), canals or ditches (*skaphiai*), troughs (*pyaloi*), springs, and even a bath-house, indicating that the use and distribution of water was highly controlled, probably primarily for irrigation and for livestock-raising.

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[86] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 293.

[87] Scibona, "Epigraphica Halesiana," 17-18.

[88] Facella (*Alesa Archonidea*, 187-91) favors a date in the second half of the third century BC, and provides a summary of the other dates proposed by scholars.

[89] For the organization and content of the Tabula, see G. Manganaro, "La Tabula," in Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 202-8; and A. Burgio, *Il paesaggio agrario nella Sicilia ellenistico-romana. Alesa e il suo territorio* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2008), 1-52.

A project of field survey of the territory surrounding the ancient city center was undertaken especially to determine if the descriptions of plots in the Tabula Halaesina corresponded to the archaeological landscape of rural settlement. The results of these surveys, conducted in conjunction with the excavations in the city center in the 2000s, confirm the diverse rural landscape of the Hellenistic/Roman Republican period portrayed in the Tabula.[90] The densest areas of settlement appear to be those closest to the city and to the course of the river Tusa (cf. Plate 6.10b); these areas were probably divided into small, highly productive properties, where mixed farming (of olives, grapes, other fruits, and cereals) was practiced. In areas more distant from the city, settlement is less dense (though not sparse), and is more closely concentrated around water sources and transportation routes; in these areas, a mixed agro-silvo-pastoral economy probably existed, where forestry (especially of the oaks whose tannin was used in tanning processes) could be practiced alongside stockraising. The survey has also shown that the territory of Halaesa was integrated into the commercial networks of the central Mediterranean: Punic-type amphorae originally holding fish products have been found on many sites, along with Dressel 1 amphorae used for the export of Italian wine.

This rural landscape appears to change in the Augustan period and especially in the late first century AD, with the steady and then dramatic decrease in the number of rural sites in occupation, though the territory continued to be densely settled. The survey has indicated that the 68 settlements in occupation the Hellenistic period were reduced to 39 in the Augustan period, with the occupation of only a few new sites. From the end of the first century until the third century, half of the remaining sites went out of occupation, and only two sites were newly settled. However, settlement was more stable in the most geographically and economically favorable areas, such as the slopes and valley between the city center and the course of the Tusa (cf. Plate 6.11a). And there are indications that the rural population was increasingly concentrated in larger, stable settlement sites that were equipped with spaces for the processing and storage of products, that served as centers of medium or large properties, and that were located in a wider territory than in earlier centuries: for example, a villa site active for all of the imperial period was found in Piano Fontane, an area far from the city center.

These results should be accepted with caution, however, since the diminution of settlement numbers in the imperial period has largely been inferred from the absence of Italian sigillata, then African sigillata, from rural sites. There is a risk in associating the absence of such finewares with the abandonment of a site; it may instead (or in addition) suggest changing patterns of economic production and connectivity – for example, the self-sufficiency (or isolation) of rural sites, and their failure to participate in the import and export of commodities such as oil and wine that was often accompanied by products like finewares. Indeed, the directors of the survey have suggested that the limited presence of transport amphorae on rural sites of the imperial period may be an indication of their self-sufficiency in the production of wine and olive oil – and, perhaps, their lack of integration into prevailing Mediterranean commercial networks: especially those centered on North Africa in the second and third centuries AD.

We can, however, take away much about the rural landscape of Halaesa and its relation to the city center from the Tabula Halaesina and the results of field survey. First, there is the connection between the integrity of the city center (in terms both of its physical fabric and of its administrative structures) and the organization of the countryside: in addition to the parceling and leasing of lots, the city government was responsible for the creation and maintenance of the

[90] The results of these surveys are published in Burgio, *Alesa e il suo territorio*.

structures that organized and facilitated rural life, such as the roads that connected the city to its hinterland and the aqueduct that passed through the countryside on its way to the city, whose water was channeled via terracotta conduits to rural properties probably for use in irrigation.

The Tabula and field survey also show the importance of waterways – and especially the Tusa – to rural organization and production. In contrast to more water-deprived regions, these watercourses provided valuable resources for agriculture and aided in communications and transportation between rural sites and between the urban center and its hinterland. And finally, the body of evidence for rural settlement in the territory of Halaesa lends support to Cicero's emphasis on the city's role in *deportatio ad aquam* of grain from the interior, and points to the importance of this role for the city's economy. Twelve rural sites were found in the vicinity of the interior route connecting Halaesa with Enna, which ran along the western bank of the Tusa. All of these sites were in occupation from the earliest period of the city's history until late antiquity. The location of the city along such important transportation routes, its role as a port, and its possession of a large, fertile, well-watered rural hinterland with a wide range of productive opportunities – in other words, the diversity and connectivity of the urban and rural economies - all help to explain the continued prosperity of the urban center and the continued occupation of the hinterland throughout its ancient history, in spite of the political setbacks, economic shifts, and natural disasters that affected the region as well as the island as a whole.

The late and post-Roman period

In past decades, scholars have assumed that Halaesa experienced a precipitous decline in activity after the second century, when monumental building activity appears to have ceased in the urban center.[91] However, the recent excavations in the agora/forum and necropolis areas have shed light on the late and post-Roman history of the site and have provided evidence for almost-continuous occupation of the urban center at least until the tenth century, necessitating a modification or nuancing of earlier assessments of urban decline.

Though building work continued in other parts of the city, including the Temple of Apollo, the agora/forum does appear to have declined as a monumental civic space from the late second century AD onwards, with few signs of new building or renovation in the area, though the west stoa and agora plaza were definitely in use until the era of Constantine. A fragmentary Latin inscription on marble in honor of a *proconsul* and *c.v.*, dated to the mid-third century or later on paleographic grounds, is the latest inscription yet found in the area (Scibona 1971, no. 10). Some parts of the external colonnade were filled in with architectural materials from other parts of the stoa and agora at a late phase in its use, perhaps in the fourth century (Plate 6.11b);[92] the re-working of the head found in the stoa originally belonging to an early imperial togate statue also dates to this period. The portico collapsed shortly thereafter, probably due to an earthquake, and was not subsequently rebuilt.

Materials and structures datable to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries indicate that occupation continued in the urban center, but in a less organized fashion.[93] Houses were often built with reused materials from earlier structures and impinged on streets and other formerly open spaces.[94] The existence of a large necropolis, and perhaps other structures, on the slopes to

[91] E.g. Wilson, *Sicily*, 150.
[92] Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 37.
[93] For example, numismatic finds from the site chart a continuity of occupation from the time of Severus Alexander through the successors of Constantine, until the fifth century AD.
[94] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 298-9.

the north of the urban center, extending towards the coast, have led excavators to hypothesize that the main area of settlement moved or extended down from the hill in the fourth and fifth centuries, closer to the port and to the *via Valeria*, the main east-west coastal road connecting Messana to Panhormus and Lilybaeum (cf. Plate 6.12a).[95] The typologies of the transport amphorae used in many of the child burials in the necropolis indicate that the settlement continued to receive imports, mainly from Africa but also from the Iberian peninsula, and also participated in the regional commerce in staples like wine, as shown by the proliferation of the small amphorae produced along the Tyrrhenian coast of Sicily. In addition, an epitaph from one of these late burials, in which a certain Botis, a Christian and probably a merchant of Gallic or Pannonian origins, honors his wife Eirena, perhaps of Jewish ancestry, in Greek and partly in verse, points to the continued diversity of the population of Halaesa thanks to its maritime links and role in overseas commerce.[96]

Excavations have also shown that occupation in the ancient urban center persisted into the Byzantine period, though probably within a smaller area and at a sub-urban level. The site of Halaesa was definitively abandoned for the higher, fortified site of modern Tusa only with the Arab conquest of the tenth century. There are signs of scattered nuclei of religious, residential, and economic activities in the urban center in the sixth and seventh centuries, though these activities seem to have been organized on an *ad hoc* basis, without the oversight of civic authority. Scatters of tiles over the foundations of some of the structures of the agora indicate the presence of houses – even if only simple structures – in the Byzantine era.[97] After the collapse of the portico, its architectural elements, inscriptions, and sculpture were subject to spoliation, and some were collected in an area that appears to have been used as a lime kiln.[98]

The last ancient phase of use of the area of the agora/forum was as a cemetery in the sixth and seventh centuries (Plate 6.12b).[99] Almost 50 burials have been found in and around the agora, clustered especially in the area once occupied by the portico and *sacella* of the west stoa. The layers of use of this cemetery cover and cut into the layers of the collapse of the stoa, down to the pavement of the plaza. The chamber tombs, probably of Christians, are all oriented to the East but otherwise show no signs of organization. They were often constructed of reused materials, such as tiles and stone slabs, with no *tituli*, and they contain few grave goods. Contemporary with the cemetery are two parallel, curving walls built of small fragments of tile and stone on top of the destruction layer of the ancient buildings of the agora; the purpose of these walls is uncertain.

Conclusion

Halaesa, despite the municipal status it regained in the Augustan era, appears to have lacked the close connection to Roman administrators and provincial elites of cities like Lilybaeum, and its own local elite shows only limited social mobility – though this may be a result of the relative dearth of inscriptions from the city in the imperial period. Its economy and the social connections of its leading families were also more strongly oriented towards Italy than Africa, in contrast

[95] G. Tigano, "La Necropoli Settentrionale: Scavi in Proprietà Purpura (1990-1993; 2007)," in Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 153-84, for the excavation of this necropolis.
[96] G. Manganaro, "Epigrafe in greco di VI sec. d.C. di Alesa (Sicilia) in versi e prosa, per la morte di Eirena Philandros, 'carissima a Botis boio-celtico,'" *ZPE* 158 (2006): 89-92.
[97] Facella, *Alesa Archonidea*, 302.
[98] Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa,* 19.
[99] Scibona and Tigano, *Alaisa-Halaesa*, 15-18 and 44-60.

with Lilybaeum. The fact that Halaesa does not show the same economic and political vitality throughout the imperial period as Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Syracuse, Catina, and other cities not so closely linked with Italy and with more extensive links to Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean may point to the potential impact on the prosperity of Halaesa of the decline of the role of Italy in the imperial economy in the early and middle Principate. Nonetheless, the diversity of the roles that the urban center played - including in the administration of a fertile rural hinterland and in maritime commerce - and the socially and ethnically heterogeneous population that came about as a result of these roles and that contributed to the improvement and upkeep of the urban infrastructure were the key to Halaesa's continued survival through most, if not all, of the Roman imperial period.

The adaptation of the existing monumental infrastructure, instead of the construction of new monuments, in the urban center in the imperial period should not be interpreted as a symptom of economic, political, and social "decline," but rather as a strategic deployment of communal and individual resources, geared mainly towards expressions of loyalty to, and solidarity with, the Roman imperial order created by Augustus. And even if the economic and political prominence of the city in the province and in central Mediterranean networks declined over the course of the high Empire, its urban core remained vital into late antiquity. A collapse of civic authority can only be detected in the late Roman and Byzantine periods, but Halaesa and the area immediately surrounding it continued to be a center of population and religious and economic activity until the end of antiquity.

Centuripae (Centuripe)

Geography and pre-Roman history

Permanent urban settlement began on the site of Centuripae by the eighth century, as part of the process of agglomeration or synoikism of native settlements of the interior in strategic locations in response to the Greek colonization of the Ionian coast. The site of the ancient settlement – now occupied by the modern town of Centuripe – is a hilltop 733m a.s.l. that stretches across five ridges, roughly in the shape of a cockspur (Plate 6.13a). The site, though difficult to access (and easy to defend) thanks to the steep slopes of the hill, is in a key strategic position in the fertile eastern interior, between the slopes of Etna to the northeast, the plain of Catania to the south, and the hills of the Enna province to the west (cf. Plate 6.13b). The town looks out over and, in antiquity, could control key overland and riverine communications and transportation routes, such as the Salso (Chrysas), Simeto, and Dittaino (Kyamosoros) rivers, and the road following the Simeto valley northwest from Catania through the interior to the north coast at Thermae Himeraeae. The town's immediate hinterland is fertile agricultural land, with plentiful water sources (springs, in addition to multiple rivers) and some mineral resources.

Kentoripai/Centuripae had a long history of economic and cultural contacts with the Greek cities of the coast, and particularly with Katane (Catania), but it came firmly under the Syracusan sphere of influence in the time of Timoleon.[100] In 339/8, Timoleon oversaw the deportation of the town's native Sicul population to Syracuse and its replacement with new colonists. However, Kentoripai's ties to Syracuse were not always to its detriment: for example, Hieron II granted to it part of the territory of the neighboring fortified center of Ameselon after his destruction of that town in 269 BC (Diod. Sic. 22.13.1). Though little is known of the topographical development of

[100] See R.P.A. Patanè, "Centuripe ellenistica. Nuovi dati dalla città," in *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, ed. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Pisa: Ateneo, 2006), 201-10, for a summary of the early history of Centuripae.

the ancient urban center before the third century, the ceramic industry for which it would become famous in later centuries seems to have been in operation in workshops on the outskirts of the town, in areas also occupied by necropoleis, by the fourth century BC.[101]

Development under the Roman Republic

Centuripae submitted to Rome early in the First Punic War (263 BC), and, like other cities that made the same move (including Halaesa and Segesta), was awarded the status of *civitas libera ac immunis*: a status that exempted the city from regular, formal tributary obligations to Rome (obligations that became the *decuma* after the Second Punic War), and that probably left it with a greater degree of autonomy. The town's place in the geopolitics of Sicily between the First and Second Punic Wars is unclear, since it lay outside the territory in eastern Sicily directly administered by Hieron II of Syracuse. It does seem that the town remained active within the commercial circuit centered on Syracuse in which other towns of the eastern interior, such as Morgantina, participated – a commercial circuit geared towards the production and export of grain, accompanied by mass-produced, low-value items like ceramics. Excavations of the kiln complexes that formed a ring around the city center, on the slopes and in the valleys below its five ridges, reveal the explosion of the ceramic industry of Centuripae in the third century, with production continuing into the early Empire in some workshops.[102] These kilns produced terracotta objects used in cult and domestic contexts, such as busts and figurines of deities, and theatrical masks; as well as finewares, such as the Campana C produced in other eastern Sicilian centers, including Syracuse and Morgantina. The growth of the Centuripae ceramics industry was probably due in part to the city's location along key transportation routes as well as to its favorable political and economic status after the First Punic War, especially compared to previous centers of ceramic production, such as Lipari, that had suffered damage or destruction in that war.

In the period following the Second Punic War, as the entire island was incorporated into the Roman *provincia*, the elite of Centuripae gained advantageous positions in agriculture and commerce thanks to the city's strategic and economic importance and to its strong, enduring links with Rome and other cities of central and southern Italy. The immunity of the community's lands from Roman taxation meant that a greater share of its surplus production could go to the community itself and to its individual cultivators. The wealth generated from this production could in turn be invested in the monumentalization of the urban fabric (as seen also at Segesta in the second century BC) or, as can be seen more clearly at Centuripae, in land in the territories of other Sicilian cities: including lands that had become Roman *ager publicus*. After the Second Punic War, the city and its residents continued to expand their landholdings at the expense of other, less favored cities. For example, after the destruction of Leontinoi in 214 BC, *aratores* from Centuripae acquired much of the former territory of that city, now Roman *ager publicus*

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[101] E.g. the Piano Capitano workshop, in operation from the fourth century BC until the first century AD: M. Frasca, "Centuripe ellenistica. Il quadro generale," in *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, ed. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Pisa: Ateneo, 2006), 193-9, at 195.

[102] For details on these kiln complexes, see G. Rizza, "Scavi e scoperte a Centuripe nell'ultimo cinquantennio," in *Scavi e ricerche a Centuripe,* ed. G. Rizza (Catania: CNR, 2002), 9-40, at 29-36; R.P.A. Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica: i rapporti con Roma," in Rizza, *Scavi e ricerche*, 127-67, at 153-4; and R.P.A. Patanè, "Ceramiche e reti commerciali nella Sicilia repubblicana. Il caso di Centuripe," in *Old Pottery in a New Century*, ed. D. Malfitana, J. Poblome, and J. Lund (Catania: CNR, 2006), 477-86.

(Cic. II *Verr.* 3.48). Indeed, Cicero calls Centuripae the wealthiest of Sicilian cities (4.23: *in civitate totius Siciliae multo maxima et locupletissima*), and proclaims that the *aratores Centuripini* are the tenants of land in the territories of many Sicilian cities, including much of the fertile territory of nearby Aetna (3.44) – alongside, and in competition with, entrepreneurial members of the Roman equestrian class who also leased the most fertile Sicilian land.[103]

The incidents that Cicero recounts as evidence of Verres' abuse of these *aratores* provide valuable insight into the activities, background, social connections, and priorities of the landed elite of Centuripae in the early first century BC. For example, he cites the case of Nympho, an *arator* with a leasehold on a large farm, who had invested a large sum in equipment but who was forced to abandon his farm and Sicily for Rome as a result of Verres' harassment (II *Verr*. 3.21). He also describes the abuse of the brothers Sostratus, Numenius, and Nymphodorus, who were forced to flee the land they worked in partnership (3.23). Cicero mentions that Verres' thugs seized the brothers' equipment, slaves, and livestock (*pecus*), indicating that the brothers used their land for both cultivation and ranching.

Most, if not all, of the Centuripean *aratores* that Cicero mentions appear to be of Greek origins and to lack Roman citizenship, though, as the case of Nympho suggests, they did possess social connections with members of the Roman elite.[104] These connections, and the mobility of the Centuripean elite, are also reflected in the fact that the city could send *legati* to Rome to present evidence against Verres (2.49, 64). However, the most substantial and important evidence not only of Centuripae's links with Rome and mainland Italy, but also for the presence of Centuripeans in Italy in the Republic, comes from a Greek inscription found in the vicinity of what was probably the main public area of Centuripae that records an embassy of three men sent by Centuripae to Rome and Lanuvium, a city in Latium, perhaps in the second or early first century BC (or, less likely, at the end of the first century BC).[105] The main result of this mission, as recorded in the inscription, was a "*senatus consultum*" of Lanuvium affirming the *syngheneia* or *cognatio* between the two towns - a relationship based on the legendary Lanoios, a Centuripean who followed Aeneas to Latium and founded Lanuvium (making Lanuvium, in a sense, an *apoikia* of Centuripae).

Such *syngheneia* carried great symbolic force, linking Centuripae to the origin story of Rome through Lanuvium, an ancient city in Rome's Latian heartland. It also reinforced Centuripae's long history of loyalty to Rome, while also affirming Centuripae's significance and autonomy, at least in the sphere of peaceful inter-urban relations. Such a connection could also have had practical benefits, giving members of the Centuripean elite a foothold in Italy from which to travel to Rome itself, where public lands in the provinces (*agri publici*) were leased - a practice that usually favored Roman entrepreneurs. And, as I discuss below, the social mobility of the Centuripean elite that derived in part from its connections to Rome and mainland Italy would have important consequences for the urban fabric of the town under the Principate.

Beyond these links with Rome and mainland Italy, there is evidence for the participation of Centuripae's citizens in Mediterranean-wide commercial and social networks: for example, a

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[103] For example, Q. Lollius, an *eques* and *arator* in the territory of Aetna (II *Verr*. 3.25).

[104] Other citizens of Centuripae whom Cicero mentions by name include Heraclios (2.27), Artemo(n) and Andro(n), the town's representatives to Verres and to the Roman Senate (2.64, 3.44); Eubulidas Grospus (3.23), Diocles (3.56), Phylarchus (4.12, 23), and Phalacrus, captain of the ship that the city contributed to Verres' "pirate wars" (Book 5, *passim*).

[105] G. Manganaro has published several articles on this inscription, beginning with "Un senatus consultum in greco dei Lanuvini e il rinnovo della cognatio con i Centuripini," *RendNap* 38 (1963): 23-44.

second or first century BC inscription from the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos in Boeotia (*IG* VII 420) that lists Emmenidas of Centuripae as one of the victors in the Amphiaria games. Coins of Roman Republican Centuripae have been found as far afield as Albania. The movement of people and goods from across the Mediterranean into Centuripae can also be attested archaeologically. Large amounts of Rhodian wine amphorae have been found in the city, though wines of Tyrrhenian Italy transported in Dressel 1 amphorae supplanted these imports after Rhodes lost its importance as a Mediterranean commercial depot after 167 BC. Egyptian cults are attested at Centuripae from the Hellenistic period through the early Principate (*IG* XIV 576), while there is some evidence for the circulation of Ptolemaic coins in the city.[106]

This body of evidence helps to paint a picture of Roman Republican Centuripae not only as the home of an elite whose wealth was based in landholding, agriculture, and livestock, but also as a city strongly connected to other regions of the Mediterranean. Since the city is located relatively deep in the interior, this connection was probably mediated through one of the ports of the eastern coast, such as Catania (about 40 km away) or Syracuse (ca. 100 km to the southeast). Nonetheless, the active participation of Centuripae in maritime commerce is suggested by the presence in the town of the cult of Zeus Ourios, the patron of sailors (*IG* XIV 574). And, as Cicero attests, the city was able to provide a quadrireme with crew and captain to Verres' ill-fated expedition against the pirates in the early first century BC (II *Verr*. 5, *passim*).

Although the presence of the modern town of Centuripe has prevented extensive archaeological exploration of the ancient urban center, the excavations that have been possible, especially on the outskirts of the town, have hinted at the expansion of Centuripae especially in the third century BC, when areas once occupied by necropoleis were built over with residences and industrial establishments, such as potteries.[107] And while little also remains archaeologically of the public buildings of the Republican period, the literary and epigraphic record hints that Centuripae possessed all of the buildings a self-respecting Sicilian city would require, including a gymnasium and an agora with spaces for elite self-promotion and for meetings of the local council and assembly.[108]

However, excavations around the urban center have revealed evidence of damage and destruction to many residential and industrial areas in the late first century BC, resulting in their permanent abandonment and in a contraction in the settled area.[109] This destruction and contraction may have occurred in the context of the civil war with Sextus Pompey: the fact that Strabo singles out the city as the object of Augustus' restoration efforts suggests that it had suffered in this conflict, but subsequently gained the attention of the *princeps* because of its long history of loyalty to Rome.[110] Although the early Augustan period may have been one of

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[106] Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," 140-1.

[107] Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," 142-55; Frasca, "Centuripe ellenistica: quadro generale;" and Patanè, "Centuripe ellenistica: nuovi dati," for archaeological evidence for the expansion and monumentalization of Centuripae in the third through first centuries BC.

[108] A gymnasiarch is mentioned in a fragmentary Greek inscription from the third or second century BC (Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," 130); Cicero relates that the government of the city attempted to take down statues of Verres and his son, implying an open public space for the display of such statues (II *Verr*. 2.67-8). The Lanuvium inscription also contains a provision for it to be displayed in a public building in Centuripae.

[109] Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," esp. 147-52; "Centuripe ellenistica: nuovi dati," 209-10.

[110] Strabo claims that Centuripae "contributed much to the overthrow of Pompeius," but, typically, does not elaborate (*Geog.* 6.2.4).

transition for the urban fabric of the town (for which little archaeological evidence remains), there was evidently no change in Centuripae's juridical status, since Pliny includes it among the cities of Latin status in the interior of Sicily, along with Segesta and Netum (*HN* 3.14: *intus autem latinae condicionis Centuripini…*).

Centuripae under the Roman Empire

There is little further evidence for the town's status and government structure under the Empire, though public epigraphy attests to the typical range of institutions and magistracies possessed by towns of Roman juridical status (*municipia* and *coloniae*).[111] It is clear, moreover, that the advantageous position of the wealthiest citizens of Centuripae in agriculture and commerce in Sicily and beyond continued into the Principate, and that because of these social and economic advantages, members of the local elite were eventually able to join the ruling classes of the province and of the empire as a whole.

The roots of the social mobility of the Centuripean elite lay in their connections to Rome and mainland Italy, which can be seen already in the early first century BC. The paths of some local families can be traced somewhat tentatively from the late Republic into the early Empire. For example, Pompeius Grosfus, a wealthy owner of land and herds in Sicily who resided in Rome and was a member of the circle of Horace, was probably a descendant of the Eubulidas Grosphus (Grosphos) mentioned by Cicero among the *aratores* of Centuripae. The cognomen Grosphus is of Siceliot origin, and has also been documented at Pompeii and in Samothrace – perhaps a further indication of the participation of wealthy Centuripeans in overseas commerce.[112] A member of the family had probably been granted Roman citizenship by Pompey the Great, a leading Roman patron of wealthy Sicilian families dating from his service in Sicily in the Marian wars.[113] As with the three brothers from Centuripae mentioned by Cicero, the wealth of the Grosphi was probably based both in agriculture and the raising of livestock: lead weights found in the territory of Centuripae that appear to be inscribed with the name and monogram of Eubulidas Grosphos point to the production of wool on the family's estates.[114]

As they rose through the ranks of the provincial and imperial elite, establishing and exploiting social links with other powerful families in Sicily and beyond, the leading families of Centuripae also left their mark on the urban fabric of their home city. The most conspicuous example of the impact of the socially mobile local elite on Centuripae's monumental topography is the cycle of honorific statues, with identifying inscriptions, dedicated by a certain Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus in the town's forum in the second century AD. Several scholars have attempted to trace the career and social connections of this man, his ancestors, and his descendants in detail, across several generations and locations, on the basis of this cycle of statues and other epigraphic and historical evidence.[115] Here it will suffice to note only that Priscus, who achieved the

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[111] E.g. *CIL* X 7004, a second-century AD dedication by a father and son who had achieved the duovirate.
[112] Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," 133.
[113] E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae (264 – 70 BC)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 270-84.
[114] G. Biondi, "Per una carta archeologica del territorio di Centuripe," in Rizza, *Scavi e ricerche*, 41-81, at 60; Patanè, "Centuripe in età ellenistica," 132; R.J.A. Patanè, *Impero di Roma e passato troiano nella società del II secolo. Il punto di vista di una famiglia di Centuripe* (Rome: Aracne, 2011), 82-3.
[115] The prosopographies pieced together by W. Eck ["Senatorische Familien der Kaiserzeit in der Provinz Sizilien," *ZPE* 113 (1996): 109-28; and "Senatoren und senatorischer grundbesitz auf Sizilien," in B. Gentili, *Catania antica. Atti del convegno della Società italiana per lo studio dell'antichità classica, Catania 23 - 24 maggio 1992* (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1996), 232-56] and

consulship in 149 AD, came from a family with extensive social connections through adoption and marriage to the leading families of Sicily, Italy, and Africa, and that probably possessed extensive lands in those areas.[116] The family appears to have joined the ranks of the imperial elite in the Flavian period, and to have reached its social apogee under Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines, when its most prominent members achieved the consulship and were even the intimates of emperors.[117] The precise geographic roots of the family are obscure, though it is probable that at least some of the ascendants of Priscus were members of the local elite of early imperial Centuripae;[118] but whatever its origins, as the portrait statues dedicated by Priscus make clear, the family retained close social and economic ties to Centuripae over the decades of the high Empire.

The statue cycle was dedicated in the forum of Centuripae, only a small section of which – the "ex Mulino Barbagallo" complex - has been excavated, intermittently, since the 1920s (Plate 6.14a).[119] Located on a northeast-facing slope just below the summit, with a panorama of Etna and the valley of the Simeto, the principal phases of construction of this complex appear to date to the second century, roughly to the period of Hadrian and the Antonines. The portion of the complex excavated to date consists of three structures looking onto a paved street or plaza. This street or plaza is bordered on the east by a row of columns running north; its pavement contains spaces for the bases of statues (Plate 6.14b).

An elevated rectangular structure overlooking this paved street or plaza has been identified as a temple, though it more likely served as a meeting space, perhaps for the Augustales attested in inscriptions from the area (see further below). South of this structure is another room opening onto the plaza, with a façade of two columns and a floor paved in brick and colored marble. On the southwestern edge of the plaza is a building with a different alignment, perhaps from a different phase of construction than the buildings to its north, with fine mosaic floors. While the precise function of these buildings cannot be determined, their lavish decoration suggests that they were of some public importance. In addition, the area was littered with statues of Augustus, Julio-Claudian emperors and members of the imperial family, and a colossal head of Hadrian

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Patanè (*Impero*) agree in most respects on the composition of the family tree in the late first and second century AD, though not completely on the origins and social connections of the family.

[116] The grandmother of Priscus, Clodia Falconilla, who was commemorated in the cycle, was a member of a wealthy family based in Africa, while his daughter, Pompeia Sosia Falconilla, also possessed family land in Africa, probably around Cirta. The family also had links of adoption and marriage with the Roscii, another prominent *gens* in Sicily with probable roots in Italy (including a presence in Lanuvium). Fronto mentions the family's estates in the Alban hills, near Lanuvium, in a letter to Marcus Aurelius from the 140s (2.6).

[117] Q. Pompeius Falco, suffect consul in 108 and father of Priscus, was a *novus homo* in Rome who began his senatorial career under Domitian as a military tribune with the Rhine legions. He was a correspondent of Pliny the Younger, and seems to have married into an Italian family of consular rank. The son of Priscus, Q. Pompeius Senecio Sosius Priscus, was consul in 169.

[118] The ties of Priscus to Centuripae probably came through his grandfather, Sextus Pompeius Priscus, husband of Clodia Falconilla, about whom little else is known, but who was probably Sicilian, and whose family probably gained the Roman citizenship from Pompey the Great. The inclusion of these grandparents in the statue cycle may indicate that Priscus traced the family's rise in prestige and prominence to their marriage.

[119] For details of the excavation of this complex, and the somewhat controversial identification of its structures, see Patanè, *Impero*, 33-47.

was also found nearby (Plate 6.15a), perhaps hinting at the motivation for the dedication of Priscus: namely, Hadrian's visit to Sicily, and perhaps to Centuripae, in AD 128.[120]

Even if its exact composition cannot be reconstructed with certainty,[121] the statue cycle dedicated by Priscus (Plates 6.15b and 6.16a) was clearly intended to celebrate his family and the community of Centuripae, and their prominent place in the Roman imperial order created by Augustus and strengthened by Hadrian. Above-life-size statues of the Pompeii would have been surrounded by images of emperors and members of the imperial family, in the middle of the civic space of Centuripae that the Pompeii had helped to monumentalize.[122] The statue cycle may even have celebrated the legendary links between Centuripae, Lanuvium, and Rome, with the Pompeii perhaps joined by their mythical ancestor Lanoios.[123] While it celebrates the family's arrival to the ranks of the imperial elite, the choice of this type of monument is perhaps reflective of the family's experience in and knowledge of the culture of the wider empire: Patanè suggests that the project was inspired by Pompeius Falco's proconsulship in Asia Minor (AD 123-4), where he would have seen similar statue cycles in cities like Perge, though there are a few roughly contemporary Sicilian parallels for such an endeavor.[124]

Monuments and buildings beyond the forum attest to the embellishment of other areas of the city especially in the Hadrianic period and after. There are traces of at least two bath complexes in the city center, one located only 100m from the forum.[125] A large brick vaulted structure in contrada Bagni, just outside the town, probably served as a nymphaeum or, more likely, as a bath complex, and dates to the second half of the second or first half of the third century AD.[126] Further epigraphic evidence of the local elite's embellishment of the urban center in the high Empire includes the dedication of a *sphaeristerium* – probably an exercise area attached to a bath complex – by a father and son "*pro honore IIviratus*" (*CIL* X 7004); and a funerary epitaph commemorating a craftsman, Nonios, who was killed by a falling column, perhaps as he worked on one of the monumental public building projects in the city center.[127]

The monumental tombs (mausolea) located at conspicuous points on the outskirts of the city center are another indication of the wealth and prominence (as well as the Italian cultural

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[120] Patanè hypothesizes that the statue cycle dates to the period between Hadrian's visit and Priscus' consulship in 149 (*Impero*, 28). While there is no evidence that the emperor was in Centuripae itself, he certainly was in its vicinity, since he visited Mt. Etna.

[121] See Patanè, *Impero*, 49-91 for an attempt to reconstruct the cycle dedicated by Priscus, though Patanè's reconstruction is based partly on relatively tenuous identifications and includes sculpture whose provenance is uncertain.

[122] A fragmentary inscription on sandstone containing the letters MPEI (Pompeius?) was found in the area of the portico, suggesting that Priscus or a member of his family had a role in the monumentalization of the forum complex: Patanè, *Impero*, 47.

[123] The inclusion of Lanoios is based on Patanè's re-identification of a portrait head previously thought to depict Nero, on the basis only of its "heroic" appearance (*Impero*, 59-60).

[124] Patanè, *Impero*, 84; similar, though less complete groups of cult and honorific statues commemorating local elites, members of the imperial family, and their connection to deities emblematic of the imperial order (Concordia, Ceres, Mars Ultor, etc.) have been found in Halaesa (see above) and Tyndaris (see below).

[125] Patanè, *Impero*, 97-9.

[126] G. Biondi, "Centuripe (EN). Nuovi dati sull'edificio romano di contrada Vagni," in *SOMA 2005. Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24- 26 February 2005* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 487-93; Patanè, *Impero*, 99-100.

[127] Patanè, *Impero*, 95 and 101 for these inscriptions.

connections) of the elite of Centuripae (Plate 6.16b). The so-called "Castello di Corradino," a rectangular brick mausoleum on a high platform, is in a particularly visible location, at the furthest point of the ridge extending east from the summit of the hill, looking out over the surrounding countryside towards Etna and the plain of Catania. A relatively large number of fine marble ash urns fashioned at Rome and imported into Sicily have been found in Centuripae and its territory, often in the vicinity of these monumental tombs.[128] These marble urns, some of which are inscribed (cf. Plate 6.17a), probably contained the ashes of wealthy freedmen, slaves, and other social dependents, perhaps clustered as "entourages" around the monumental tombs of elite families.[129]

The commemoration, in different forms, of members of multiple social levels in the funerary realm of Centuripae is mirrored in the public sphere where, as in Halaesa, the social ranks below the provincial and local elite also participated in shaping the urban topography, often as a means of asserting their status in the community and in the Roman imperial social, political, and religious order. The Augustales are attested in inscriptions from the second-century forum complex, where they probably had their seat.[130] Inscriptions recording embellishments to the forum by members of the Centuripaean community also speak to the connections between local elite families, and between local elites and freedmen; the monuments sponsored by the Pompeii, the town's leading family, perhaps served as a focus for advertising these connections. For example, the Coelius Lupus who sponsored the mosaic pavement of one of the buildings in the forum complex was a relation of Q. Pompeius Falco, the father of Priscus.[131] Another relative of the Pompeii, through the Roscii, was M. Roscius Cironnus, who dedicated a statue of his deceased wife Manlia in the forum.[132] And the freedman L. Calpurnius Apthonetus, an Augustalis who made a dedication in the forum, was a member of a *gens* attested at Centuripae and elsewhere in Sicily whose *patronus* probably had business interests in Centuripae.[133]

Rural settlement

Extensive, though not intensive, surface survey was undertaken in the territory of Centuripae in the 1990s.[134] The hilltop on which the ancient (and modern) settlement sits was ringed in antiquity by necropoleis spreading out onto its slopes and into its valleys, interspersed with kiln complexes, especially near the transportation routes radiating from the town. On the plains and lower hills surrounding the high hill of Centuripae, researchers have found evidence of extensive rural settlement, especially from the Hellenistic period (late fourth century BC) until the late

[128] For example, the marble ash urn bearing the ashes of Laetus, a young slave, dedicated by his parents probably in the mid-second century AD was found near the monumental "Castellaccio" tomb in the area of the Roman imperial necropolis (*CIL* X 7005; Patanè, *Impero*, 107-8).
[129] Patanè, *Impero*, 110 for this suggestion.
[130] For example, a dedication to the *lares Augusti* by L. Calpurnius Apthonetus, *IIIIvir Augustalis* (*AE* 1955.193).
[131] His complete nomenclature was Quintus Roscius Sexti filius Quirina tribu Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullus Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco, attesting to his extensive links (including by adoption) to other notable Sicilian and Italian families.
[132] Patanè, *Impero*, 73.
[133] Patanè, *Impero*, 73-4.
[134] For the results of these surveys, see Biondi, "Per una carta archeologica," and **"**Centuripe (EN). Indagini su un territorio della Sicilia centro-orientale," in *Il dialogo dei saperi. Metodologie integrate per i Beni culturali*, ed. F. D'Andria (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2010), 79-94.

Empire, geared around agriculture, ranching, quarrying, and the exploitation of the mineral resources – including sulfur and gypsum[135] – of the territory.

The Hellenistic and Roman Republican era appears to be the period of densest rural settlement, on a model of numerous, close-together, small farms spread throughout the territory, along with a few larger hamlets (such as the former hilltop center of Monte Ficarazza). The first and second centuries AD perhaps saw a reduction in settlement numbers, but no definite, major change in settlement patterns is detectable overall, though the modern toponyms of Pumpianu and Sistu hark back to the Roman-era organization of landholdings.[136] The third century AD saw a sharper reduction in the number of farms, perhaps due to the agglomeration of landholdings, with these few farms continuing in occupation into the fourth and fifth centuries. The three rural sites identified in the survey as occupied continuously from the Hellenistic period into late antiquity share desirable features such as locations in fertile territory, close to transportation routes; and proximity to mineral resources, such as sulfur and gypsum deposits.[137]

Conclusion

Centuripae is distinguished from the urban centers discussed so far in this chapter and chapter five – and particularly from the urban centers of the interior – by its "winning" combination of a strategic position along key communications routes; possession of a fertile, well-watered hinterland, in which pastoralism and exploitation of mineral resources was also possible; political shrewdness, as seen especially in its relations with Rome; and an ambitious local elite whose wealth was based in landholdings beyond the territory of the town itself – an elite whose members were able to join the provincial and imperial ruling classes in the Principate by exploiting their social and economic connections beyond Sicily. The members of this local elite became full participants in the maintenance of the imperial order of Rome, imbued in imperial ideology through service in Rome and in the empire and through links of patronage to their hometown.

In Centuripae, we can see most clearly the connection between landholding – not just (and probably not primarily) within the boundaries of the home city – and social mobility, beginning in the last century of the Republic and continuing into the imperial period. The case of Centuripae contrasts with that of Segesta especially, where no persistent, landholding local elite can be detected as active in shaping the urban fabric after the early years of the Principate. Segesta, unlike Centuripae, was a city largely ignored by the provincial elite: families active instead in western Sicilian centers like Lilybaeum, Panhormus, and Thermae. Although leading families such as the Pompeii remained patrons of Centuripae, their connections extended beyond the town, obscuring their origins in or early links with it; families like the Pompeii became more "Roman" and "imperial" than "Sicilian." The urban development of Centuripae thus shows that the question of the "Sicilianness" of the province's urban upper class under the Roman Empire is somewhat irrelevant: the families who shaped the urban fabric of Centuripae were deeply

[135] For the uses of sulfur in antiquity, see the section on the economy of Agrigentum below. Gypsum had a wide range of uses in antiquity, including as a preservative for food and wine and as an ingredient in plaster and other building materials [C. Hünemörder, "Gypsum," *Brill's New Pauly* (Brill Online, 2013)].
[136] According to Biondi ("Per una carta archeologica," 78), Pumpianu refers to the *gens* Pompeia, a socially prominent family who, as already seen, rose through the ranks of the Roman imperial elite and also made a significant mark on the urban fabric of Centuripae in the second century; Sistu refers to a Roman milestone.
[137] Biondi, "Per una carta archeologica," 79.

interconnected with each other and with other prominent families in the provinces and in Italy, with landholdings (and ties of patronage to cities) in multiple provinces – making them members of a truly "imperial" elite.

Tyndaris

Geography and pre-Roman history

The ancient city of Tyndaris was located on a high, rocky coastal promontory approximately 60 km west of Messina (ancient Messana), overlooking the gulf of Patti to the west and the bay of Oliveri to the east, with the latter the probable location of the ancient city's harbor.[138] The city lay in an easily defendable location, accessible only from the southwest with difficulty (cf. Plate 6.17b). However, it is also located in one of the most seismically active areas of Sicily; in fact, it gives its name to a system of faults that run north/northwest between the central Aeolian islands and the Ionian coast of Sicily, northeast of Etna (the Tindari Fault).[139]

Tyndaris has been described as the last Greek colony of Sicily: it was founded in 396 BC by Dionysius I of Syracuse as a new home for his Messenian mercenaries (and as a strategic outpost on the northern coast) in territory taken from the interior hilltop city of Abakainon.[140] For the rest of its pre-Roman history, the city lay firmly in the political orbit of Syracuse, and turned to that city especially for help against the Mamertines of Messana. In the First Punic War, Tyndaris fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, who used it as a naval base and deported most of its leading citizens to Lilybaeum when it tried to go over to the Romans (Diod. Sic. 23.5). After the fall of Panhormus, Tyndaris was finally able to turn itself over to the Romans, along with Soluntum and Ietas (among other cities) in 254 BC (Diod. Sic. 23.18.5).

The site of Tyndaris was the object of antiquarian exploration by the eighteenth century, when the Prince of Biscari undertook excavations at the site. Periodic excavations by antiquarians and amateur archaeologists continued in the nineteenth century and resulted in the dispersal of many of the city's ancient inscriptions and sculpture to museums across Sicily, often with little indication of their provenance. Systematic excavation began after World War II, under the guidance of Bernabò Brea and Lamboglia, and continued in the 1960s, under Cavalier. The most recent excavations in the urban center took place in the 1990s and 2000s, under the auspices of the Messina Soprintendenza and led by Umberto Spigo.

The main excavated section of the urban center is located on the plain between the two summits of the promontory (Plate 6.18a). This plain slopes gently north, towards cliffs that drop to the sea (the result of periodic landslides). By the Roman imperial period, the city occupied more than 27 hectares and was surrounded by a 3-kilometer perimeter wall. However, it is likely that the original Messenian settlement occupied a smaller area in the southeastern section of the promontory and expanded gradually to the north and west.[141]

The development of the city from its foundation in 396 BC until the second century BC is not well documented archaeologically, leading to scholarly controversies over the dating of its urban plan and of the main urban monuments that arose in this period. The mid-twentieth century excavators believed that Tyndaris' original urban plan, which was based on an orthogonal grid,

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[138] C. Bottari, M. D'Amico, M. Maugeri et al., "Location of the ancient Tindari harbour from geoarchaeological investigations (NE Sicily)," *Environmental archaeology* 14 (2009): 37-49, at 47-8.
[139] Bottari et al., "Tindari harbour," 42.
[140] G.F. La Torre, "Il processo di romanizzazione della Sicilia. Il caso di Tindari," *SicAnt* 1 (2004): 111-46, at 116.
[141] U. Spigo, ed. *Tindari. L'area archeologica e l'antiquarium* (Milazzo: Rebus, 2005), 30.

dates to the Timoleonic period; more recent excavators and researchers have, however, suggested disparate dates for this plan, ranging from the Dionysian foundation to the post-Punic War years.[142] The dates of construction of the theatre and wall circuit are also uncertain, although it is clear that both structures underwent several subsequent phases of renovation or reconstruction (cf. Plates 6.18b and 6.19a).[143] These dating controversies tie into the wider scholarly debate over "high" (Timoleonic / Hieronian, pre-First Punic War) versus "low" (post-First or Second Punic War) chronologies for the development of Sicilian urban centers, especially in the West and along the Tyrrhenian coast; they are not, however, directly pertinent to my analysis. What is at stake is whether the early Roman period (i.e. the half-century after 254 BC) was a time of significant new urban development in Tyndaris, or if it merely saw the renovation of existing monuments and infrastructure.

Tyndaris under the Roman Republic

Cicero's Second Verrine Oration supplies most of our knowledge of the juridical status and obligations of Tyndaris under the Roman Republic. According to Cicero, the city was among the *civitates decumanae*.[144] It had been treated as a *socius*, contributing ships to Roman military expeditions, and after the fall of Carthage, Scipio rewarded it for its loyal service with the statue of Mercury that would become a point of contention with Verres.[145] Cicero also includes Tyndaris among the "seventeen loyal cities" of Sicily – an honor that also probably came with further obligations to contribute to the defense of the island.[146] Although the city had (regular) tax and (occasional) military obligations to Rome, with these obligations perhaps came greater local autonomy as well as the opportunity to gain booty – such as the statue of Mercury – in Rome's wars of expansion. The city's continued strategic importance is reflected in the activities of its mint, particularly in the period during and immediately after the Second Punic War, when it issued coins that followed Roman standards – an indication that Roman troops were based in the area.[147]

Most of what remains of the urban fabric of Tyndaris, besides the theatre and wall circuit, dates to the imperial period. However, it is possible to glean from the archaeological and historical record several indications of an economically prosperous, politically vital urban center, particularly in the second and first centuries BC. The location of the main public area(s) (the agora / forum) of Tyndaris is unknown: the most probable locations are in, or near, the highest part of the urban center, either just below the theatre or to its southeast, in the vicinity of the so-

[142] Spigo, *L'area archeologica,* 33 for a summary of the debate.
[143] La Torre, "Il caso di Tindari," 130-3 for the debate over the chronology of the theatre.
[144] Although Cicero never states this explicitly, he does not include the city among the privileged *civitates immunes ac liberae*.
[145] II *Verr*. 4.39 for the statue of Mercury as a reward for loyalty in the Third Punic War. The city contributed a ship to Verres' ill-fated fleet sent against the pirates (5.33). Another indication of the city's participation in naval conflicts in the Republican period is the limestone and sandstone rostra in the shape of prows now in the Tyndaris antiquarium. The original context of these sculptures is unknown, but they were probably from a monument commemorating a naval victory (Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 73-4). Similar objects were found in the "Casa della Navarca" at Segesta.
[146] II *Verr*. 5.47. These obligations probably included furnishing troops for the garrison at Eryx.
[147] For these issues, see A. Crisà, "La monetazione di Tindari romana con segni di valore e legende in lingua latina," *RItNum* 109 (2008): 235-68, especially 240-4.

called "basilica" (see the next section for this structure).[148] Nonetheless, the account of Cicero provides valuable evidence of the structures located in the city's public area(s) and of the activities that took place in them. In particular, Cicero recounts Verres' attempt to seize the statue of Mercury that Scipio had bestowed upon the people of Tyndaris, and for which the city held an annual festival (II *Verr*. 4.39-42). After the local council and its president (*proagorus*) Sopater refused Verres' request for the statue, the governor had Sopater flung from the *porticus* where he was presiding into the open space of the forum below, where he was flogged. Verres then ordered that the unfortunate Sopater be put astride and bound to the equestrian statue of Gaius Marcellus that was on display in the forum, along with statues of other Marcelli. When the council gave in and turned over the statue of Mercury, Verres (according to Cicero) ordered that an equestrian statue of himself should be put up on a higher pedestal, near the statues of the Marcelli – a statue that the Tyndaritans mutilated and took down after Verres left the province (4.41 and 2.66).

From this dramatic (and probably exaggerated) account we can glean that the city's government was in the hands of a council (*senatus*, or *boulē*) led by a *proagorus*, and that this council was not afraid to stand up to, and even legislate against, a Roman governor.[149] The city possessed at least one open public area (*forum*), framed by one or more porticoes that could be used as meeting places, since this is where Sopater encountered Verres. The open space of this forum was filled with honorific statues by the early first century BC, including those of the town's Roman patrons, the Marcelli. But the statue of Mercury itself appears to have been displayed in or near the town's *gymnasium*, since Cicero notes that the *gymnasiarchus*, Demetrius, was responsible for its removal on behalf of the governor (4.42).

The magistrates and other citizens involved in the Mercury incident, as well as the wealthy townspeople who were the victims of Verres' other thefts, mostly appear to be of Greek origins.[150] However, by the time of Cicero, many members of this local ruling class had forged social and political links with members of the Roman senatorial elite, as the statues of the Marcelli in the forum hint. For example, Cicero includes among Verres' victims a certain Gnaeus Pompeius, "formerly known as Philo" (*Philo qui fuit*), who gave a dinner for Verres at his villa outside Tyndaris (*apud villam in Tyndaritano*) (4.22). As his new name indicates, this man probably received the Roman citizenship from Pompey the Great, perhaps not long before Verres' governorship. Verres had further social ties to Tyndaris: Cicero claims that Dexo, the father of Aristeus, the captain of the ship that the city contributed to Verres' pirate campaign, was a *hospes* of the governor (5.42).

What is known of the residential areas of Tyndaris in the Republican period seems to mesh with the image Cicero presents of a wealthy local elite with social connections to influential Romans, cosmopolitan tastes, and a corresponding interest in *luxuria* that made its members targets of Verres' predations. The most extensively excavated and best-known (though not fully published) residences in the city are Casa B and Casa C, two neighboring *domus* that were built in the late second or early first century BC on lots that each correspond to roughly one-third of

[148] For the debate over the location of the agora / forum, see La Torre, "Il caso di Tindari," 121; and Spigo, *L'area archeologica,* 34.

[149] Cicero notes that the council, in response to Verres' original request for the statue of Mercury, had declared it "a capital offense to touch the statue without orders" from the council (4.39).

[150] Besides Sopater and Demetrius, other local notables involved in the Mercury incident (whom Cicero calls as witnesses) included Poleas, Zosippus and Ismenias. The Tyndaritan victims of Verres' thefts include Cratippus (4.12), Aeschylus, and Thraso (4.22).

an insula situated between the city's central and upper *decumani* (cf. Plates 6.19b and 6.20a).[151] Because of the downward slope of the promontory, the houses were laid out on a series of terraces in an area previously occupied by several smaller residences.

The larger of the two houses, Casa B, occupied an area of ca. 900m^2 above a series of shops flanking the city's central *decumanus*. The main residential area was articulated around a large peristyle on the western side of the house: a peristyle that was the size, in fact, of one of the previous residences in the insula. This peristyle was flanked by two large rooms (*oeci*) to the north and south, both adorned with wall paintings. The house was accessed from the *stenopos* to the west of the insula, originally through an atrium. The adjacent Casa C was slightly smaller, accessible from the eastern *stenopos,* and followed a completely different (and more traditionally Hellenistic) plan, with a peristyle at its center around which all the rooms gravitated – including a large *exedra* and *andron*. Casa C also possessed a second floor.

As La Torre has pointed out, these two large *domus* are products of the *luxuria asiatica* embraced by the elites of Rome, central and southern Italy, and many Sicilian cities between the mid-second and mid-first century BC: houses with spaces dedicated to entertainment and to the display of fine objects and décor, in the form of large peristyles, colonnaded *exedra*, *oeci*, and spacious *androne*s. These rooms had pavements in polychrome mosaics, stuccoed and painted décor in the First and Second Pompeian styles, Corinthian columns and (we can infer from the *Verrines*) precious metal adornments and fine textiles. The fully realized, high-status residences of late second/early first century BC Tyndaris contrast with the excavated houses of Phintias and Heraclea Minoa, where there are signs only of the nascence of such preferences for residential spaces devoted to display and self-promotion, since any attempts at the transformation and renovation of domestic spaces seem to have been abandoned or curtailed by the mid-first century BC. In the domestic spaces of Tyndaris, as La Torre emphasizes, we see not only the birth but also the consolidation and economic rise of a local aristocracy that acquired surplus and required new means of displaying its status and ambition.[152]

There has been no systematic field survey of the hinterland of Tyndaris, so little is known of rural settlement or agriculture in the Roman Republican period. Cicero indicates that local notables such as Gnaeus Pompeius (formerly known as Philo) owned *villae* in the city's territory – residences that were large and fashionable enough to receive the governor (4.21). A further indication of the presence of a wealthy rural elite in the hinterland is the villa excavated at Castroreale Bagni (contrada S. Biagio) in the interior, about 25 km southeast of Tyndaris. The first phase of this villa, which was centered on a large peristyle and equipped with a bath complex, dates to the first half of the first century BC.[153]

Little else is known about the urban economy of Tyndaris. There is some evidence of ceramic production in the city center or in its territory, in the form of black- and grey-glaze wares that resemble Syracusan Campana C but are more likely of local manufacture: an indication of the city's participation in the Mediterranean-wide phenomenon of the diffusion of this type of fineware from regional production centers. The city also hosted a significant

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[151] For the layout and décor of these houses in the Republican period, and for the residences that preceded them, see La Torre, "Il caso di Tindari," 135-40, and "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 91-2; and Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 42-5.

[152] La Torre, "Urbanistica e architettura ellenistica," 91-2.

[153] Preliminary excavation reports were published by G.V. Gentili in *FA* 6 (1951), no. 4589 (pp. 348-9); *FA* 7 (1952), no. 3693 (pp. 284-5); and *FA* 11 (1958), no. 4667 (p. 290).

workshop producing Megarian bowls, and it imported the typical range of ceramics of the late Republican era, including Eastern sigillata and "pre-sigillata."[154]

Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum in the imperial period

Tyndaris became a center of strategic importance once again during Sextus Pompey's occupation of the island and his war with the triumvirs as one of the main defendable ports of the northeastern Tyrrhenian coast. In addition, as indicated by Cicero, some members of the community had links of patronage to the family of Pompey by the early and mid-first century BC. Tyndaris may have issued coins in the period of the Pompeian occupation as a *municipium* (a status granted to the cities of Sicily by Caesar in 44 BC), though these coins bore the same traditional civic symbols (e.g. the heads and attributes of the Dioscuri, the main civic cult) found on earlier issues.[155] Tyndaris was conquered with difficulty in 36 BC by Agrippa, who then used it as a base from which to take Messana (Cassius Dio 49.7). There is general agreement that Tyndaris became a colony under Augustus, and though there is no firm evidence of the exact year in which this grant was made, most scholars favor 21 BC.[156] The main evidence for the city's colonial status are the so-called "foundation" issues minted by the colony in the name of Augustus, the proconsul of Sicily, and the duovirs in the years after the deduction; and, more securely, later Latin inscriptions recording the deeds of the *colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*.[157]

Due in part to the uncertainty regarding the date of the deduction of the colony, and in part to the multiple imperial-era layers of occupation, destruction, and rebuilding in many sectors of the city, the impact of the deduction of the colony on the urban plan is unclear. A monumental structure recently excavated at the western end of the city, which was connected to the central *decumanus* by a series of steps, seems to date to the early imperial period and may have formed part of a "second forum" associated with the western entrance to the city (Plate 6.20b).[158] The street grid may also have been renovated in the early imperial period, perhaps in association with the foundation of the colony, with the streets paved in blocks of local limestone and a more extensive and complex system of underground drainage channels put into place (Plate 6.21a).[159]

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[154] G. Pavia and G. Zavettieri, "La ceramica ed altre attestazioni dell'artigianato e della vita quotidiana a *Tyndaris,*" in Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 84-8.

[155] For these coins, and their somewhat tentative attribution to the civic mint of Tyndaris, see, A. Crisà, "La monetazione," 244-53.

[156] The other possibility is that the colony was established just after the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BC. G. Manganaro's opinion that the colonial deduction was made shortly before the reign of Vespasian is not widely accepted (Crisà, "La monetazione," 255).

[157] See, most recently, Crisà, "La monetazione," 253-9 for these foundation issues, whose attribution to Tyndaris has not been universally accepted. *CIL* X 7474-6, 7478, and 7480 all refer to the *colonia*.

[158] This is the conclusion of U. Spigo ["Le campagne di scavo 1993-2004: contributi conoscitivi al quadro storico e culturale di *Tyndaris* e della *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*," in R. Leone, M. Viara, U. Spigo et al., *Tyndaris, 1. Ricerche nel settore occidentale. Campagne di scavo 1993 - 2004.* (Palermo: Regione siciliana, 2008), 101-11, at 107]. R. Leone ("Indagini in contrada Cercadenari: considerazioni conclusivi," in the same volume, 57-62, at 58-9) suggests that the monumental structure was the seat of a *societas* or a cult building (perhaps related to the imperial cult), rather than a building of a more public nature, such as a *curia* or *gymnasium*.

[159] U. Spigo, "Tindari. Considerazioni sull'impianto urbano e notizie preliminari sulle recenti campagne di scavo nel settore occidentale," in Osanna and Torelli, *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, 97-105, at 101-3. The central *decumanus* also had raised sidewalks flanking the pavement.

Similarly unclear is the impact of an earthquake that occurred in the early first century AD and, according to Pliny, resulted in the destruction of half the city from landslides (*NH* 2.206), since none of the buildings or elements of the city's infrastructure excavated so far appear to have been affected by such a destructive event. The major changes visible in the urban fabric seem to date instead to the mid-first century AD or later. For example, Casa B underwent a major restructuring in the Neronian or Flavian period (mid-late first century AD), when the original floors were replaced with black and white mosaics; the main reception rooms were also redecorated with marble facings and new wall paintings. A *domus* recently excavated along the central *decumanus* also appears to have been restructured around 50 years after its original construction in the late Republican or Augustan period; in this second phase of construction, the house's *triclinium* received a new mosaic pavement and polychrome wall paintings (cf. Plate 6.21b).[160]

The other early and mid-imperial changes to the urban fabric detected so far by excavators seem mainly to have consisted of alterations to existing buildings and monuments. The theatre was transformed into a space for gladiatorial games and *venationes* in the Flavian or Hadrianic/Antonine period (cf. Plate 6.22a): the orchestra was converted into a small arena of irregular dimensions by the removal of the first four rows of seats and the construction of a high railing to protect the spectators in the lower rows, a wall extending to the *scaena* building, and service rooms at the base of the *cavea*. These alterations in part utilized older architectural elements from the *proskenion* and *logeion*.[161] Also in the late second or early third century, the *domus* occupying the third, highest (southernmost) lot in Insula IV next to the two larger *domus* was transformed into a public bath complex, with the peristyle of the house becoming the palaestra of the baths and the service corridor that adjoined the main thermal rooms built in part onto the upper *decumanus* (Plate 6.22b).

Some scholars have interpreted these and other developments in the second and early third centuries as signs of stress on the city's finances, since it was apparently not able to construct new public buildings (such as an amphitheatre) or maintain the existing civic infrastructure to as high a standard as before.[162] They cite as further evidence of financial disarray the presence in the Antonine period of a *curator reipublicae*, M. Valerius Vitalis.[163] However, such developments have parallels in other cities that seem to have flourished in the high imperial period, such as Tauromenium (Taormina), Lilybaeum, Panhormus (Palermo), and Catina (Catania). Both the adaptation of existing infrastructure to serve new purposes – such as the conversion of a theatre into an amphitheatre-like space – and the presence of a designated magistrate with financial oversight here and in other Sicilian towns may instead be interpreted in a more neutral light, as symptoms of a community's desire to participate more fully in prevailing imperial cultural and social trends while staying within its financial means – a desire supported by imperial and provincial authorities, who could be called upon to help the community prioritize its building projects, or to resolve tensions within the community over expenditures.

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[160] Leone, "Indagini in contrada Cercadenari," 59-62.

[161] La Torre, "Il caso di Tindari," 130; Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 64; L. Fuduli, "Nobilissima civitas Tyndaris e la ricerca archeologica," *FormaUrbis* 16.6 (2011): 27-33, at 29.

[162] Spigo speculates, for example, that the less-frequent maintenance of the drainage system indicated by the presence of second and third-century ceramics in the sub-surface channels may be connected to fluctuations in the economic fortunes of the city ("Le campagne di scavo 1993-2004," 110).

[163] This is the interpretation of Spigo and of L. Zambito, "Intervento statale e attività urbanistica. Sul ruolo dei curatores reipublicae in due epigrafi da Tindari," *MinEpigrP* 12 (2007): 103-110, at 108.

Most of our evidence for the public life of the Tyndaris *colonia* in the high Empire comes from monumental inscriptions and sculpture, most of whose original locations within the urban center are, however, unknown. The monumental sculpture from the site includes two *togati* (probably honorific statues of magistrates of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian *colonia*), a colossal head of Augustus, a portrait-statue of Claudius in the guise of Jove, three portraits of other members of the Julio-Claudian family (including Drusus Minor and Antonia Minor), and a cuirassed torso, probably of Trajan (Plates 6.23 and 6.24a).[164] These portraits of emperors and members of the imperial family perhaps formed - along with the togate portraits of magistrates and various statues of deities and personifications - a group originally dedicated to the *gens Augusta* not many decades after the foundation of the colony. This group may have been set up in the forum or in one of the surrounding buildings and added onto over time, as was the case with the statuary groups around the forum of Centuripae.[165]

Latin inscriptions from the high Empire attest explicitly, moreover, to the integral role of the imperial cult in the public religious life of the *colonia* and to the active role of the civic government in paying homage to emperors and their families. As with the three cities discussed so far in this chapter, the activities of the Augustales in Tyndaris are visible in the epigraphic record.[166] The *res publica* itself was also active in promoting the imperial cult and in honoring living emperors, particularly in the second century (i.e. the reigns of Trajan through the Severans) – displays of loyalty and civic self-promotion probably related, along with the presence of a *curator rei publicae*, to imperial sponsorship and/or oversight of building activities in the town.[167]

Although most of the (Latin) epigraphic and sculptural evidence for the religious life of the *colonia* relates to the veneration of the emperors and the deities of the Roman pantheon associated with them, there are some hints that local (Greek) cults and religious traditions continued alongside these new practices. The private dedications of individuals made in Greek attest to the presence of the cults of Artemis Eupraxia and Hekate in the early and high Empire.[168] Moreover, the inclusion of mosaics depicting the Dioskouroi and the Sicilian Triskeles among the decorations of the mid-imperial public baths in Insula IV hints at the continued power and popularity of traditional symbols of local identity.[169]

It appears from the limited evidence available that Tyndaris continued to participate in prevailing Mediterranean economic circuits in the high Empire. Large numbers of coins have been found on the site – leading to the naming of one area "contrada Cercadenari" – and the issues of imperial mints appear to have supplanted the civic mint by the Augustan period, with numerous series of sesterces and asses circulating in the city center until numbers dropped off in

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[164] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 21-22 and 74 for the sculpture found in nineteenth and twentieth century excavations at Tyndaris.

[165] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 81-3.

[166] For example, in *AE* 1989.338i, a dedication in honor of the *quaestor* and patron of the Augustales.

[167] For example, the *colonia* made dedications to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus during the tenure of Vitalis that make explicit mention of his role (*CIL* X 7474-5 = *ILLPal* 66-7).

[168] Protos and Menippē dedicated a marble relief depicting an offering to Artemis Eupraxia (*IG* XIV 375). A fragment of a marble inscription mentions Kornelios Magoulnianos, *hierophant* of Hekate Sotera (*SEG* 34.89).

[169] The name Tyndaris probably derives from the Messenian cult of the Tindaridi (the Dioskouroi and Helen, daughter of Leda and Tyndareos); and, as mentioned above, the Dioskouroi were depicted on the issues of the civic mint of Tyndaris throughout its history: Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 15.

the fourth and fifth centuries.[170] The city received lamps and other ceramics from Africa in the second century as well as goods of more limited, regional circulation, such as the Proclos Agyrios lamps (almost certainly produced in Sicily, perhaps in Agyrium) and terracottas from Catania.[171]

Little more is known of rural settlement around Tyndaris in the imperial period than in the Republican period. The two residential villas in its territory that have been systematically excavated – at Castroreale San Biagio in the interior to the southeast, and at Patti, to the west along the coast – were constructed or underwent substantial renovations in this period, pointing to the continued existence of a wealthy rural elite perhaps based in Tyndaris itself. The late Republican villa at Castroreale underwent considerable renovations in the imperial period, with the repaving of floors in the thermal complex and main residence in black-and-white mosaics under the Julio-Claudians, and the addition of a *pars rustica* in the mid-imperial period.[172] The Patti *villa maritima*, located only 10 km from Tyndaris, may have been the country retreat of a wealthy citizen of that city in its obscure first phase, dated broadly to the second and third centuries AD.[173]

Late and post-Roman Tyndaris

The deterioration of the urban fabric of Tyndaris had perhaps begun by the early third century AD, when some of the structures on the western edge of the urban center in contrada Cercadenari were abandoned or destroyed.[174] The necropolis also began to spread within the walls of the settlement, with monumental late Roman tombs built on the lower (northern) terraces of the western edge of the town (Plate 6.24b).[175] More certain (and visible), however, is the impact of the earthquake of AD 365. This event did extensive damage to the urban fabric and to the cohesion of the urban center, and helped to usher in the post-Roman phase of settlement.

The most visible effect of this earthquake is the scattered upheavals in the paving of the town's streets, and in particular in the central *decumanus*.[176] The earthquake also probably caused the destruction of some houses, such as the large *domus* in Insula IV, along with the bath building; and it may have brought about landslides that covered already-abandoned structures, such as the monumental building along the central *decumanus*.[177] Although many structures were abandoned after this event, smaller residences were built over the remains of the bath building in Insula IV and rebuilding and restoration commenced in other residential areas of the city as well, often using materials (and even inscriptions) from older structures.[178] The so-called "basilica" – a mysterious stone structure flanking the southeast end of the central decumanus that probably

[170] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 25-7.
[171] Pavia and Zavettieri, "La ceramica," 86-7.
[172] Gentili 1951, 1952, and 1958.
[173] G. Voza, "L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicila orientale Parte I," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 674-93, at 693.
[174] For example, the monumental public(?) building facing onto the central *decumanus* and the nearby *domus* were both abandoned in the early third century (Leone, "Indagini in contrada Cercadenari," 57 and 62).
[175] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 30; and "Considerazioni sull'impianto urbano," 101.
[176] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 68; and "Considerazioni sull'impianto urbano," 103.
[177] Leone, "Indagini in contrada Cercadenari," 57.
[178] U. Spigo and V. Pratolongo, "Il saggio lungo la prosecuzione Nord del *cardo* N," in Leone et al., *Tyndaris 1,* 69-85, at 74, for post-earthquake abandonment layers; Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 50, 67, and 73 for late imperial building in various areas of the city.

served in part as a propylon – may also have been constructed after this earthquake, over the remains of an earlier residential insula (Plate 6.25a).[179] In the city's territory, this earthquake seems to have been responsible for the collapse of the villa at Patti – a residence that had perhaps been abandoned shortly before for unknown reasons, though only a few decades previously it had undergone extensive reconstruction and expansion to become a palatial luxury retreat approaching the scale of the Piazza Armerina villa (cf. Plate 6.25b).[180]

The nearly five centuries between the earthquake and the Arab conquest saw continued, though probably smaller-scale and sub-urban, occupation of the site of Tyndaris. Although Tyndaris became the seat of a bishop,[181] no Christian structures (or burials) have yet been found in or around the site. Rather, the emphasis of the late Roman / Byzantine phase of occupation seems to have been on defense and on the delineation and protection of property, with settlement in scattered nuclei across the former urban center – a phenomenon seen in other Sicilian urban centers in their late or post-Roman phases.[182] In this period, a large structure was built outside the city walls, partly with reused material (including part of a Greek inscription) – probably a monumental entrance (*propylon*) (Plate 6.26a); parts of the wall circuit itself also underwent renovations.[183] Within the urban center, the remains of long walls have been found .3-.4m above the former central *decumanus*, on a different alignment and mostly built with reused materials; these were perhaps intended to delimit and protect different properties within a smaller, differently organized, more "rural" settlement.[184] The villa at Patti also show signs of occupation in the Byzantine period, with materials from the ruins of the villa reused for settlement structures on and around the site.[185]

Conclusion

Despite its abandonment by the early Middle Ages and lack of subsequent reoccupation, Tyndaris is the least-prominent settlement discussed so far in this chapter in the historical, epigraphic, and archaeological record – in part a result of the non-systematic antiquarian research conducted in centuries past, which led to the loss of information about (and loss outright of) much of the material from the site. However, Tyndaris was also the least politically prominent, economically prosperous of the Augustan-era colonies (Syracuse, Catina, Thermae Himeraeae, Tauromenium, and probably Panhormus), and it didn't experience the imperial-era growth seen in Lilybaeum and Agrigentum that probably contributed to the grant of municipal, then colonial status to those cities.

Apart from its colonial status, Tyndaris shares many features with the settlements discussed in chapter 5, and these shared features may have led to its (relative) lack of success as an urban settlement in the imperial period. Like Heraclea Minoa and Camarina, the settlement was located in a raised and somewhat unstable coastal location; unlike those two cities (but like Calacte),

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[179] R.J.A. Wilson, pers. comm., based on the unpublished excavations of Adamesteanu. La Torre, however, hypothesizes that it was built shortly after the foundation of the colony and rebuilt or restored after the mid-fourth century earthquake, and his dating appears to have found general acceptance in Italian scholarship (Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 57-8; Fuduli, "Nobilissima civitas," 30-2).
[180] Voza, "L'attività della Soprintendenza," 690-3.
[181] La Torre, "Il caso di Tindari," 119.
[182] E.g. Segesta and perhaps Halaesa.
[183] Spigo, *L'area archeologica*, 40-1; and "Considerazioni sull'impianto urbano," 101.
[184] Spigo, *L'area archeologica,* 66; and "Considerazioni sull'impianto urbano," 103.
[185] Voza, "L'attività della Soprintendenza," 690.

Tyndaris was also in a region prone to seismic activity. The city had long held strategic importance in the pre-Roman geopolitical system of northeastern Sicily, as a strategic outpost of Syracuse along the Tyrrhenian coast; and it again played a key strategic role in the late Republican period, in the war between Sextus Pompey and the triumvirs. While the establishment of a Roman colony in the city had a clear punitive and strategic purpose (i.e. to displace members of the local elite who supported the Pompeian faction and to maintain the peace along the northeastern Tyrrhenian coast), with the Mediterranean *pax Romana* of Augustus, it may have outlived its strategic and political relevance. The city was also relatively distant from the Rome-Africa commercial routes that fed the growth of Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, and other western coastal centers; and from the routes from the Eastern Mediterranean and Tripolitania through the Straits of Messina to the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy - routes on which eastern coastal centers such as Tauromenium, Catina, and Syracuse served as stopping points. The territory of Tyndaris was also not especially fertile or rich in non-agricultural resources (unlike the territories of Centuripae and, as we will see, Agrigentum). For all of these reasons, the urban center did not attract the activity or patronage of provincial and imperial elites and Roman authorities to the same extent as, for example, Lilybaeum and Centuripae.[186]

While there are some indications of stress on civic resources and of the weakening of the material forms of the city perhaps as early as the mid-second century – but certainly in the decades surrounding the earthquake of 365 AD – Tyndaris remained in occupation as an urban center for almost all of the Roman period, and at a sub-urban level for several centuries thereafter. This continuity of settlement, like that seen at Halaesa, was probably due to Tyndaris' location on the major maritime and land routes of the Northeast. In addition, as a colony, Tyndaris would have played a primary political, social, and economic role in its region, and would have possessed an extensive *territorium* that probably included the lands of now-dependent former urban centers like Abacaenum. Therefore, along with Halaesa and, perhaps, Centuripae, Tyndaris should be seen as occupying a middle rung in the hierarchy of urban settlement in Roman imperial Sicily, as a substantial urban center with important regional economic and political roles and, for most periods, with an elite resident in the city or in its hinterland that fulfilled these roles; but a city of minor importance on the provincial economic, social, and political scale.

Agrigentum (Agrigento)

Akragas/Agrigentum, on the southwestern coast, is one of the most famous and archaeologically well-known ancient cities of Sicily. The site has long been the subject of antiquarian and scholarly interest and, since the mid-twentieth century, of regular, systematic excavation – research motivated initially by the fame and prominence of the city's monumental archaic and classical Greek temples, which are situated on a long ridge with views south towards the sea and north towards the medieval city of Agrigento (Girgenti). Although the city's most famous monuments date to the classical Greek period, there is also substantial archaeological, historical, and epigraphic evidence for many aspects of urban life in Roman Agrigentum, from government, public life, the urban economy, and urban-rural relations to domestic life, religion, and funerary culture.

The main residential and public areas of the ancient city were located on an extensive (though probably never fully utilized) site on the south-facing slopes of the hill of

[186] From what we can tell from the epigraphic record, the honors paid by the community to the imperial center were not reciprocated with benefactions.

medieval/modern Agrigento (probably the acropolis of the Greek *apoikia*) and in the valley extending to the Collina dei Templi (Plate 6.26b). The urban area is delimited to the east by the river Akragas (the modern San Biagio) and to the west by the rocky gully of the Hypsas (Drago) and was further demarcated in antiquity by a wall circuit with several gates on each side of the settlement. Greek colonists from Gela settled the area in the early sixth century, and an urban plan had begun to take shape within a century of foundation, as residences and sacred and public buildings were built on the terraces that had been the agricultural plots of the early colonists.[187] The first half of the fifth century was an era of monumental public works at the initiative of the tyrant Theron, which included the construction of the famous temples on the southern edge of the city and the creation of a regular street grid of long *plateiai* intersected by *stenopoi*. The lack of quarries of hard stone in the territory of the ancient city meant that its streets had surfaces of beaten earth in all periods of antiquity.[188]

The early Roman period

While little is known of the decades of Carthaginian occupation of Akragas that began at the end of the fifth century, excavators have distinguished two main phases in the city's topographical development between the mid-fourth century BC and the transition to the Principate: the "Timoleonic/Agathoclean" phase, from 338 BC until the early third century BC, and the "late Hellenistic/'Romanization'" phase, in the second and first centuries BC.[189] The decades after the city was freed from Carthaginian control in 338 saw the further development of the public and sacred areas of the city under the influence of Syracuse. Several of the sacred areas on the southern edge of town – including the extramural Asklepeion, a small sacred complex to the south of the Temple of Zeus, and the chthonic sanctuary complex – were built or revived in this period. The "lower agora," situated in the valley just north of the Temple of Heracles and consisting of an open plaza bordered on the north by two public buildings (stoas or meeting halls) and to the east by another building (probably the *prytaneion*), underwent a phase of redevelopment. In addition, an *ekklesiasterion* and *bouleuterion* were constructed, probably in celebration of the restoration of the city's autonomy, in the "upper agora" - an area previously occupied by sacred buildings and located on a hillock (San Nicola) between the acropolis and Collina dei Templi (Plate 6.27a).

This phase was followed by a period of inactivity and decline coinciding with the First and Second Punic Wars that lasted until the mid-second century BC. During these wars, the city changed hands several times between the Carthaginians and Romans, and probably experienced considerable demographic upheaval and loss of wealth: hoards of coins and other valuables from this period have been found in excavations throughout the city.[190] There was little new building

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[187] See E. De Miro and G. Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana. Gli edifici pubblici civili* (Pisa: Serra, 2011), 97-8, for a summary of the early urban development of Akragas.

[188] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 100.

[189] E. De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica. Aspetti di architettura," in Osanna and Torelli, *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, 69-81, at 69-76.

[190] In 264 BC, the city was in the hands of the Carthaginians, who used it as a base against the Romans. In 262, the Romans besieged the city and forced the Carthaginians to abandon it, after which its inhabitants were sold into slavery. In 254, the city was attacked by the Carthaginians, and in 250 it was sacked by Gallic mercenaries. In 213 BC, the city was reconquered by the Carthaginian fleet and remained in Carthaginian hands even after the fall of Syracuse. See De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 77, for a summary of Agrigentum's third-century history.

activity in the city center, while some extraurban sanctuaries went out of use and the residential areas show signs of abandonment and spoliation.[191] The civic government remained in operation in the decades between and after the wars. However, a decree of the *synkletos* (the *boulē* of Akragas) probably dating to the third century that grants *proxenia* to the Syracusan Demetrios son of Deodotos for services rendered at Rome, where he resided, reflects the city's reliance on outside help in the tumultuous early decades of Roman control over Sicily (*IG* XIV 952-3).[192]

The city's absence from the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (ca. 200 – 198 BC) indicates that its population and infrastructure took several decades to recover from the upheavals of the Punic Wars. The intramural occupied area may have receded permanently northwards, gravitating around the main public area of the upper agora.[193] However, the city seems to have undergone a revival during the first half of the second century BC, perhaps following the reorganization of the city in 197-3 BC by the praetor T. Manlius Vulso, who restored the city's autonomy and augmented its population with settlers from other Sicilian towns. Vulso's successor Scipio Asiaticus continued this effort, reworking the city's laws for council membership in order to accommodate this new class of citizens (Cic. II *Verr.* 2.50).[194] Around the same time, Agrigentum joined the more than 30 Sicilian cities with active mints, issuing a series of bronzes depicting the head of Zeus. It also participated in the main Mediterranean commercial circuits of the period, importing Rhodian and Italian wine.[195]

Beginning in the second half of the second century BC, the city underwent a new monumental phase characterized especially by construction in areas of the urban center not previously built up. For example, the first phase of the gymnasium complex, located in a previously empty space between the upper and lower agoras, dates to this era (cf. Plate 6.27b). This period also brought a shift in the levels and types of activity taking place in the existing public areas. The "lower agora" saw a reduction in activity between the third and second centuries as its "political" functions were transferred to the upper agora, though it remained in use perhaps as a "commercial" agora due to its position near one of the main city gates.[196]

In the upper agora, the *ekklesiasterion* fell into disuse - perhaps a reflection of changes to the city's government structure in the early decades of "provincialization" – and along with it, the thesmophoric temple of Demeter "*en astei*" at the summit of the hillock of S. Nicola.[197] A new plaza centered on a small Italic temple (the so-called "Oratory of Phalaris") was built over the

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[191] Eg the chthonic deities sanctuary: De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 79; and *Agrigento, 4. L'abitato antico. Il quartiere ellenistico-romano* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009), 406. A part of the intramural area between the Temples of Concord and Heracles on the Collina dei Templi that had been occupied by residential and industrial structures in the Hellenistic period was abandoned during the Second Punic War and was frequented only sporadically thereafter, until late antiquity [R.M. Bonacasa Carra, V. Caminneci, and F. Ardizzone, *Agrigento. La necropoli paleocristiana sub divo* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1995), 38].

[192] D. Asheri ["Nota sul senato in Agrigento," *RFil* 97 (1969): 268-72] dates it to ca. 220-218 BC, before the Second Punic War and Scipio's subsequent rewriting of the policy for cooptation into the council.

[193] For example, the former residential/industrial area just north of the Temples of Heracles and Concord was not systematically reoccupied after the Second Punic War, and was frequented only sporadically until the development of a necropolis in late antiquity (Bonacasa Carra et al., *La necropoli paleocristiana,* 38).

[194] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 77-8, for the history of the city during and immediately after the Punic Wars.

[195] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 25.

[196] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 99.

[197] E. De Miro, *Agrigento I. I santuari urbani. L'area sacra tra il tempio di Zeus e Porta V* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2000), 95.

cavea of the *ekklesiasterion* in the second and early first centuries BC, creating a "Hellenistic" open agora (Plate 6.28a). A Latin inscription recording a dedication of an anonymous Roman citizen of the tribe Teretina to *matrem suam,* found near this temple during excavations in the 1920s, hints at the possibility that the temple was created or enhanced at the private initiative of a resident Roman (or members of the Roman community), and that it was dedicated to Kybele/Magna Mater, a deity with associations with the cult of Demeter/Ceres.[198] An altar was built in front of the temple and a semicircular exedra and bases for honorific statues also filled the open space of the plaza. A series of shops was built over the abandoned *sacellum* of Demeter on the northern side of the plaza.[199] To the north of this new plaza, the *bouleuterion* also underwent expansion and renovation, perhaps in association with the expansion of the citizenry after 193 BC.[200]

The "Hellenistic-Roman" quarter just east of the upper agora also saw a revival of activity, with the creation of new residential lots and new or renovated houses, in whose construction layers Dressel 1B wine amphorae from Italy have been found.[201] The largest houses appear to have been concentrated in the western sector, in the vicinity of the "upper agora," with lot sizes diminishing in the eastern sector.[202] Most of the townhouses follow the peristyle or atrium-peristyle plans characteristic of the late Hellenistic central Mediterranean (cf. Plate 6.28b): for example, the two atrium houses and the house with a large peristyle contained within Insula I.[203] However, in the "House of the Aphrodites," a distinctive suite of rooms accessible from a peristyle on one side and the street on the other appears, based on the presence of a slotted screen wall and a bank of basins, to have been used for the secure collection of cash or other valuables from members of the public.[204] This suite of rooms, similar examples of which have been found in Soluntum (in the House of Leda) and in Morgantina (the third-century BC "Public Office" in the agora), perhaps functioned as a private bank or as the office of the local representative of a *societas publicanorum*, and points to one of the potential sources of wealth for the urban elite of the Republican period.

As with the other towns discussed in this chapter, much of our evidence for Agrigentine government and society in the Roman Republican period comes from Cicero's Second Verrine Oration. According to Cicero, Agrigentum was a *civitas decumana* and, like Tyndaris, was treated as a *socius*. The city served loyally in the Third Punic War, perhaps as a Roman naval base, for which Scipio rewarded it with a statue of Apollo by Myron that was housed in the Temple of Asclepius as a *testimonium societatis* (4.43). Cicero ranks the city among the largest in Sicily, with an important port and a role in Roman administration as one of the stops on the governor's assize circuit (2.75, 4.12). He also ascribes to it a considerable population of Roman

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[198] De Miro, *I santuari urbani*, 95-6; P. Marconi, "Girgenti. Ricerche ed esplorazioni," *NSc* 6.2 (1926): 93-148, at 111, for excavation of the Oratory of Phalaris and the discovery of the Latin inscription.
[199] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 70.
[200] The upper *cavea* was expanded through the addition of three rows of seating (De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 78).
[201] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 80; *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 407.
[202] De Miro, *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 416.
[203] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 79-80; for the original publication of these houses, E. Gabrici, "Girgenti. Scavi e scoperte archeologiche dal 1916 al 1924," *NSc* 6.1 (1925): 420-61, at 425-37.
[204] See M. Bell III, "Bankers' houses in Soluntum and Agrigentum," in *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*, ed. S.T.A.M. Mols and E.M. Moorman (Naples: Electa, 2005), 92-9, for this suite of rooms and its interpretation as a private bank or tax collection office.

citizens who lived harmoniously with the Greek population, and whose business activities were probably connected to the city's port (2.62, 4.43). The leading members of both groups – *negotiatores* and *aratores* - are among the victims of Verres' thefts and abuses.[205] The Greek ruling class of Agrigentum, like the elites of the other cities discussed in this chapter, had social connections to Roman senatorial notables and played a leading role in denouncing Verres.[206]

The few public inscriptions from Agrigentum dated to the Republican period reveal a civic government structured along similar lines to other Hellenistic Greek cities, with a *demos* represented by a *boulē* and perhaps still dependent on wealthy benefactors in times of economic difficulty.[207] According to Cicero, the governing council of the city was composed of both "old" and "new" citizens, with the "old" citizens holding a majority of seats, in accordance with the arrangements made by Scipio in 193 BC – an indication that the citizenry was still divided according to family origins several generations after the augmentation of the city's population.[208] In addition to this council, Cicero, in his narration of an incident in which Verres sought to steal some of the city's public statuary, alludes to magistrates responsible for the management of sacred buildings and probably other parts of the city's infrastructure (II *Verr*. 4.43).

By the time of Cicero, there are archaeological indications that building and cult activity had resumed in some of the town's ancient sacred areas – such as the Temple of Demeter in the sanctuary of the chthonic deities on the southwest edge of town, and the cult complex just east of Porta V and below the long-abandoned Temple of Zeus[209] – that had been abandoned in the third century. The general trend in the development of the town's religious landscape appears, however, to be the movement of cult activity away from the archaic and classical sanctuaries of the Collina dei Templi and other older sanctuaries in the town, such as the Temple of Demeter on S. Nicola hill, and into new structures in the public area of the upper agora, such as the Italic podium temple at the center of the new public plaza.[210] Cicero provides further evidence of the religious life of the city, particularly in his narration of Verres' attempt to steal some of the city's most prized cult statues: the Apollo of Myron gifted by Scipio Africanus and housed in the Temple of Asclepius, and the bronze cult image from the Temple of Heracles (2.43). Cicero's account, in which the townspeople actively work to protect these temples from Verres' predations, speaks to the continued relevance of these ancient civic cults to community identity in a century that followed the considerable demographic upheavals of the Punic Wars and that saw the rising prominence of Roman and Italian entrepreneurs in the city's ruling class.

The transition to the Principate and the imperial period in Agrigentum

By the late Republican period, the archaeological, historical, and epigraphical evidence points to a prosperous, mixed Greek and Roman urban population at Agrigentum. The town's economic and cultural connections to the Italian mainland were mediated through its port, which

[205] The Agrigentine victims of Verres whom Cicero cites by name include Nymphodorus (4.22) and L. Titius, a Roman citizen and *paterfamilias* (4.26).
[206] Cicero claims that Sosippus of Agrigentum delivered a speech before the consul Gnaeus Pompeius on behalf of the entire province detailing the distress of the *aratores* (3.88).
[207] See S. Calderone, "Frammento di decreto onorifico agrigentino," *QuadA* 1 (1985/6): 13-18, for a fragmentary honorific inscription dedicated by the *demos* in honor of an anonymous benefactor, found near the *bouleuterion* and dated to the second or first century BC.
[208] Asheri, "Nota sul senato."
[209] De Miro, *I santuari urbani*, 89.
[210] De Miro, *I santuari urbani*, 90.

served as one of the major export points for tax grain and other goods produced along the southern coast and in the interior. This connection to the Italian mainland is reflected in the city's topography, in monuments such as the Italic temple in the upper agora plaza, and in the plans of houses, some of which adopted Italic atria. The city also received substantial imports of Italian terra sigillata in the early years of its production, beginning ca. 40 BC.[211]

The city seems not to have suffered extensive or lasting damage in the civil war, nor did it receive any special rewards (or punishments) from Octavian/Augustus in the early decades of his rule. Pliny describes it as an *oppidum* – that is, a major coastal urban settlement without special Roman juridical status. However, there is considerable numismatic and epigraphic evidence that Agrigentum became a *municipium* probably under Augustus, but certainly in the early imperial period.[212] In any case, the early decades of the Principate brought considerable changes to the built environment that speak, if not to a change in the city's juridical status, then at least to its continued prosperity and close cultural and social connections to Italy.

The plan of the classical Greek city continued to be respected in the early imperial period, though the "nodal points" in the urban system shifted considerably, as they had with the renewed building efforts of the second and first centuries BC. On a terrace to the north of the *bouleuterion* in the upper agora, a new, closed, more "Roman" complex consisting of a plaza defined by three connected porticoes, with a podium temple and associated altar in the center – described by excavators as a forum - was built in the Augustan or Tiberian period (Plate 6.29a). The porticoes to the east and west of the temple were lined with sandstone bases, probably for marble statues.[213] The *bouleuterion* itself was enlarged and refurbished in the late first century BC, perhaps to serve as the *curia* of the new *municipium*.[214] Below the upper agora, the *gymnasium* was also renovated in the Augustan period, with a new water system, platforms, and seats for spectators – alterations that emphasized the spectacle aspect of the athletics and other activities taking place in the complex (cf. Plate 6.27b).[215] A highly fragmentary Greek dedicatory inscription to Heracles and Hermes that runs across the backs of the seats suggests that these renovations were undertaken at the expense of at least two members of the local elite who were Roman citizens and who served as gymnasiarchs (Plate 6.29b).[216] In the "Hellenistic-Roman" residential quarter, the end of the first century BC saw widespread redecoration – for example, the embellishment of atria or the renovation of paved floors and wall paintings in reception rooms - rather than the construction of new residences or the radical alteration of existing houses.[217]

At least two temples – the prostyle podium temple on the west side of the second/first century BC upper agora complex, and the (probably tetrastyle) podium temple in the early first

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[211] A. Polito, *La terra sigillata italica liscia dal quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009), 29.

[212] Wilson, *Sicily*, 42 summarizes the numismatic evidence for the Augustan grant of municipal status, which would probably date between 14/12 BC and AD 14. In addition, Latin and Greek inscriptions from the city dated broadly to the imperial period attest to the typical range of magistracies found in towns of Roman status, including the duovirate (see further below).

[213] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 45-56.

[214] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 39.

[215] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 100.

[216] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 78; Tribulato, "*Siculi bilingues*?" 313, for linguistic analysis of this inscription.

[217] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 80; *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 407.

century AD "forum" complex – were built in the late Roman Republican and early imperial periods, though the cults associated with each structure cannot be determined with certainty. The temple in the early imperial forum has been attributed tentatively to Isis on the basis of the fragments of statuary and other objects (such as a sun dial) found in its vicinity, and its resemblance to the roughly contemporary cult complexes of Isis in Pompeii and Rome.[218] The creation of this temple began the final stage in the re-focusing of the religious landscape of the city onto the central, public urban space of the upper agora, while the obliteration of the old sanctuary of Demeter at the edge of the Collina dei Templi, in conjunction with work on the urban street grid in the second and third centuries AD, perhaps marks the final abandonment of the religious culture of the classical Greek city.[219]

In addition, evidence for the imperial cult and, perhaps, the activity of the Augustales at Agrigentum has recently been found near the "forum" complex - namely, an inscribed marble base, probably for a stele or portrait bust, containing two votive inscriptions: one to Augustus, and the other to his grandson, Gaius Caesar.[220] The dedicators of this base were two brothers, Publius and Marcus Annius, who were probably members of the urban "middle class" of Agrigentum in the early imperial period, since freedmen of the *gens* Annia are attested among the proprietors of sulfur *praedia* in the territory of the city (see further below). The brothers may have made their dedication as members of the Augustales following the death of the first *princeps*.

After the major building projects of the early Principate, most of the changes to the urban fabric datable to the mid-first, second, and early third centuries AD consist of renovations to existing structures. For example, the addition of access ramps along the sides of the temple in the Roman "forum" has been dated to the second century AD from finds of African terra sigillata in the foundations.[221] Minor renovations were also made to the gymnasium complex at the end of the first century AD.[222] In the "Hellenistic-Roman" quarter, most changes were aimed at the further definition and demarcation of elite residences, as some houses from previous phases – such as Casa B1 and B2, both with atria, in Insula I - were combined to form new and larger single residences, and as fine mosaic pavements became more common in reception rooms.[223]

The most significant political change for the city in the high Empire was the elevation from *municipium* to *colonia* under Septimius Severus, but this grant had very little discernible impact on the urban fabric of the city: so little, in fact, that few scholars suspected that the city achieved this status until the recent discovery at Marsala (Lilybaeum) of an inscription confirming the existence of a *colonia Septima Augusta Agrigentorum*.[224] Even though this grant was probably made at a similar time and for similar reasons (i.e. as a reward for loyalty and as a recognition of

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[218] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 57-63.
[219] De Miro, *I santuari urbani*, 90.
[220] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 69-70 for this inscription.
[221] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 54. R.J.A. Wilson ["*Agorai* and *fora* in Hellenistic and Roman Sicily: an overview of the current *status quaestionis*," in Agorai *greca e* agorai *di Sicilia*, ed. C. Ampolo (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2012), 245-67, at 247] draws parallels between these side staircases and those of the temples of Castor and Pollux and of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, and of Roma and Augustus in Leptis Magna, and hypothesizes that the (vertical) front of the temple served as a rostrum.
[222] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 83.
[223] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 80; *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 407.
[224] Silvestrini, "Colonia septimia Augusta Agrigentinorum," is the initial publication of this inscription.

economic importance) as the grant to Lilybaeum, it does not appear to have been commemorated with new monuments in the urban center, in contrast to Lilybaeum. The only development in the public areas of the city dated roughly to this period is the destruction and abandonment of the *gymnasium* complex between the end of the second century and the first half of the third century AD.[225] This lack of a clear impact on the public spaces of the city may be attributable to the largely symbolic nature of the grant, which, unlike the *coloniae* created under Augustus, would have brought few significant changes to the structure of civic government or to the consistency of the urban population.

It is also not surprising that the evidence for the grant of colonial status to Agrigentum comes from Lilybaeum, a city with a richer epigraphic record that is partly attributable to its greater proximity to sources of hard stone, such as the white Trapani stone used to pave its streets. Most of the relatively few Roman imperial inscriptions from Agrigentum come from funerary contexts. These inscriptions, in both Greek and Latin, are chronologically diffuse, ranging from the first or second century AD until the Christian period, and reflect the socio-economic and ethnic diversity of the urban population: one epitaph, in Latin, from the middle Empire commemorates a man, probably from a family with Roman or Italian origins, who had held the range of municipal offices in the town (*qui omnibus municipalibus honoribus functus*) (*AE* 1966.168). Another Latin inscription commemorates Aulus Mevius Zethus as *patronus* - probably a relative of (if not the same man as) the A. Mevius Zethus who served as *sevir* at Halaesa (*AE* 1989.345f, 1).

The urban economy and rural settlement

Agrigentum is also unique in Sicily in the amount of evidence that remains for non-agricultural production in its territory: namely, the mining, processing, and export of sulfur in the high Empire. Sulfur had a wide range of uses in the Roman world – including as a preservative for wine, an ingredient in salves, a fabric brightener, and as a pesticide[226] - and regular, reliable sources of the mineral would have been highly valued. The evidence for the organization and operation of the sulfur "industry" of Agrigentum consists primarily of sites excavated in the city's territory that appear to have been mines or workshops, and of the locally produced ceramic tiles – or *tegulae* – that were inscribed with a series of names or monograms and affixed to the finished batches of processed sulfur for transportation and export, many of which have been found in and around the city (Plate 6.30a). Although it is impossible to glean with certainty the organizational structure of sulfur mining from the mostly fragmentary *tegulae*, it appears that all social levels were involved: from the families of freedmen (including the Annii) who managed the mines and the workshops (*officinae*) that processed the sulfur and who arranged for the warehousing and marketing of the processed sulfur (*mancipes* and *conductores*); to the families of senatorial rank – such as the *gens Cassia, Annia*, and *Porcia* - who owned the land on which the mines and *officinae* were located; and the emperors themselves, who had acquired many of the properties (*praedia*) containing sulfur mines by the Tetrarchic period, perhaps taking them over completely from private ownership, although their management remained in local hands.[227] The discovery of many of these *tegulae* in the "Hellenistic-Roman" residential quarter of Agrigentum – and especially in Casa F (the "Casa delle vaschette"), which seems to have been

[225] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 83-5.
[226] C. Hünemörder, "Sulphur," *Brill's New Pauly* (Brill Online, 2013).
[227] See P. Griffo, "Contributi epigrafici agrigentini," *Kōkalos* 9 (1963): 163-84; and De Miro, "Città e contado," for the organization and operation of the sulfur industry.

divided into distinct residential and workshop spaces – suggests that the processing and marketing activities connected with the sulfur industry were not confined to the outskirts of the city, but took place in the city center, with the involvement of prosperous urban residents.[228]

Although little is known of Agrigentum's ancient port because of the southern progression of the coastline over the centuries, the activity of the sulfur industry – and finds of numerous imports in the city itself – suggests that it remained a vital shipping center in the imperial era.[229] Though the southwestern coast of Sicily was not directly on the main Africa-Italy *annona* route (cf. Plate 4.8a), which likely passed to the west of the island, the continued integration of the port and urban market of Agrigentum into other central Mediterranean networks of exchange is reflected in the import of Italian sigillata finewares. These were mainly produced in the workshops of Etruria, and probably exported from the ports of Ostia and Pisa at the mouths of the Tiber and Arno, respectively, into the urban center and its territory from the earliest years of production until African wares supersed Italian products in the third quarter of the first century AD.[230]

The change in direction of the large-scale exportation of finewares away from the production centers and ports of Tyrrhenian Italy to those of the northern African coast (and especially the area around Carthage) is visible also in the ceramic assemblage of Agrigentum. The city was a precocious importer of African terra sigillata, beginning with the earliest forms produced in the Flavian period, reflecting its proximity to the African coast and to the trade routes emanating from it. These routes were increasingly dominated by the export of cereals and olive oil, to which batches of finewares were probably attached as secondary cargoes, and thereby made their way to Agrigentum and most other coastal urban centers of the central Mediterranean.

With the obsolescence of Heraclea Minoa, and probably Licata, by the early Augustan period, Agrigentum was left as the dominant urban center of the southern coast, apart from the *stationes*, such as Thermae Selinuntinae (Sciacca), that emerged along the coastal land route in the imperial period (cf. appendix 2). It can therefore be inferred that the city administered a sizeable *territorium* stretching along the coast to its east and west and into the interior to the north. A Latin inscription found in antiquarian explorations of the well-preserved temple known (erroneously) thereafter as the "Temple of Concord" on the Collina dei Templi lends support to this inference (*CIL* X 7192). The inscription, dated to the mid-first century AD, commemorates the *concordia* between the Agrigentines and the *res publica Lilybitanorum*, and was dedicated by the proconsul M. Haterius Candidus and the quaestor L. Cornelius Marcellus. Although the inscription provides little further information, the fact that a dispute arose between cities located almost 140 km apart, perhaps over boundaries or another administrative issue, suggests that the *territorium* of Agrigentum stretched for a considerable distance to the northwest, perhaps as far as modern Sciacca (60 km NW), and presumably even farther to the southeast.

Like Tyndaris, no systematic survey has yet been undertaken in the rural hinterland of Agrigentum, but the scattered settlements excavated in its territory include a *villa maritima* at Durrueli and a long-lived rural villa in contrada Saraceno. The villa at Durrueli (or Realmonte) is

[228] Griffo, "Contributi epigrafici," 169-70; cf. Gabrici, "Girgenti," 434-5.

[229] Although little is known of the export of sulfur from Agrigentum specifically, we can imagine that the mineral would have been highly desired in most urban centers, as well as in regions where wine was produced and exported. A few shipwrecks carrying sulfur ingots ("loaves") have also been found, such as the Capo Granitola B wreck of the third to mid-second century BC, located not far from Agrigentum on the southwestern coast (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 230, and cf. cat. no. 780 and 906).

[230] Polito, *La terra sigillata.*

located just beyond the shoreline ca. 10 km west of Agrigento, and was discovered in the early twentieth century. Although there has been only one full season of excavation since its initial discovery, the villa complex appears to have consisted of a residence centered on a peristyle that held a garden and was surrounded by a roofed *ambulacrum* (Plate 6.30b). Most of the rooms around this peristyle – including smaller *cubicula* as well as larger display rooms, such as the *tablinum* – had floors paved in tesserae or in polychrome marble pieces, some of which were imported from Africa. The residential complex has been dated, on the basis of its mosaic floors and other finds (including Roman lamps), to between the end of the first century AD and the first half of the second century AD. A bath complex, also with fine mosaic floors – many depicting nautical scenes – was added onto the western part of the residence perhaps a half-century later (Plate 6.31a). Although much of the villa itself and the area around it have not been subject to excavation, the apparent lack of a *pars rustica* has led excavators to hypothesize that the residence served as a luxury retreat for a member of the Agrigentine elite of the high Empire.

The other large excavated villa is in contrada Saraceno, on the outskirts of modern Favara.[231] This farm-villa complex, excavated in the 1980s, was conveniently situated less than 10 miles from Agrigentum and close to the southern coastal road, on the slopes of Monte Saraceno, in an area with fertile soil and plentiful water. The villa was constructed around the mid-second century AD (based on plentiful finds of African terra sigillata in the construction and occupation levels) out of blocks of local tufa. It consisted of a small bath complex, residential rooms, and agricultural "service" rooms or workspaces (some with *dolia*), all oriented around a central courtyard, as well as water tanks in what was probably a garden. Agricultural activity seems to have played an important, though secondary, role in the villa's first phase of life. Given its proximity to Agrigentum, the complex may have served primarily as the country residence of a member of the local elite of that city.

The late and post-Roman period

Agrigentum and its hinterland appear, for the most part, to have experienced continued economic prosperity in the mid-third through mid-fourth century AD, reflecting the town's continued integration into central Mediterranean commercial networks. While the extent and pace of new public building continued to be modest compared to the monumental program that the city had undertaken in the early Principate, the building that did take place considerably altered the nature of the public spaces of the city. Most of the public and cult structures in the upper agora were used and maintained (the portico of the "forum," for example, was partly re-roofed under Constantine),[232] and the *bouleuterion* was renovated again in the second half of the third century or early fourth century, with the addition of new mosaic floors to its orchestra and perhaps a partial roof over the seats, thereby transforming into an *odeum*. This transformation in usage may reflect the changing nature of public life in the city, in which a more limited circle of participants required a monumental space for the public display of their *paideia*, such as philosophical discussions or declamations.[233]

In the area once occupied by the *gymnasium*, which had been abandoned for almost a century, a new complex arose in the era of Constantine that consisted of a large circular building with an interior colonnade flanked by large rectangular buildings looking onto a paved

[231] G. Castellana and B.E. McConnell, "A rural settlement of imperial Roman and Byzantine date in contrada Saraceno near Agrigento, Sicily," *AJA* 94 (1990): 25-44.
[232] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 50.
[233] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 40-3.

rectangular plaza, and a fourth, much smaller building (cf. Plate 6.27b).[234] The function of these buildings, whose foundations cut into the abandonment strata above the gymnasium, and which were partly built of reused materials, is unclear. Excavators have hypothesized that they formed a commercial complex (a *macellum* or "covered market") or a new center for athletic and sporting activities. In any case, the complex was short-lived, constructed in the second quarter of the fourth century only to be abandoned in the 360s.

The public street grid appears to have been maintained in the "Hellenistic-Roman" residential quarter in late antiquity, with structural changes largely taking place within individual houses and lots – such as the fusion in Insula I of Casa B, itself a fusion of two smaller late Hellenistic atrium houses, with the neighboring peristyle Casa A – to create a larger *domus*.[235] This development stands in contrast with, for example, the late antique *domus* of Ostia, many of which infringed on the urban street grid as they expanded.[236] However, the later Roman period did see the spread of burial areas within the city walls, into previously unoccupied spaces around the Collina dei Templi and into areas that had been abandoned centuries earlier: for example, the *sub divo* ("open air") necropolis that developed in the second half of the third century on the northern slope of the Collina dei Templi, between the Temples of Heracles and Concord (Plate 6.31b), partly overlaying a Hellenistic residential and industrial neighborhood that had been abandoned after the Second Punic War.[237]

The sulfur industry appears to have continued to play an important, though perhaps diminishing, role in the economy of Agrigentum's *territorium*, as the lands and infrastructure involved in the mineral's extraction and processing came increasingly under imperial control by the Tetrarchic period. Agriculture also continued to play an important role in the rural economy, as indicated by the continued occupation of the Saraceno villa, which underwent a new phase of renovation around the second quarter of the fourth century AD with the addition of a new water tank and the enlargement and paving of the courtyard.[238] The site also continued to receive considerable quantities of African sigillata, particularly forms produced in the workshops of northern Tunisia.[239]

However, in the century after the reign of Constantine, Agrigentum was impacted to a greater extent than any of the cities examined so far by the devastating Mediterranean earthquake(s) of the 360s and the Vandal incursions from Africa, and eventual takeover of Sicily, in the 440s. These events damaged the urban infrastructure and economy of Agrigentum and helped to bring about the end of the ancient phase of urban settlement. In the urban center itself, the collapse and abandonment of the main public buildings – including the portico of the Roman forum[240] and the Constantinian complex overlying the old gymnasium[241] – have been linked to the earthquake of 365.

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[234] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 85-93 for this complex.
[235] De Miro, "Agrigento in età ellenistica," 80.
[236] De Miro, *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 411.
[237] Bonacasa Carra et al., *La necropoli paleocristiana*.
[238] Castellana and McConnell, "Contrada Saraceno," 32.
[239] G. Castellana, "La sigillata africana dell'insediamento di età imperiale romana e bizantina del Saraceno di Favara presso Agrigento," *SicA* 25.78/9 (1992): 45-70, at 47-8, for the forms of TSA D found in excavations.
[240] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana,* 47-50 and 56.
[241] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana,* 93-4.

The Vandal invasions had an even more profound affect, causing physical damage to the urban center directly and bringing about shifts in Mediterranean commerce and geopolitics that impacted the economy of Agrigentum and its territory. The Vandal incursions may have caused considerable damage and demographic disruption to the urban community, as indicated by the destruction by fire and abandonment in the mid-fifth century of the necropolis that had been utilized by Agrigentum's fledgling Christian community since the second half of the third century.[242] Moreover, the Vandal takeover of North Africa, and then Sicily, served to sever these regions from the Roman Empire in Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean: this break would have had an adverse affect on the sulfur industry, which had previously been almost entirely under Roman imperial control, and which ceased to operate completely in this period, if not even earlier, after the earthquake of 365.[243] The sulfur industry had been a vital part of the urban economy in the high imperial period, and its decline would have contributed to the flight of the urban elite – a development indicated by the disaggregation and decay of the *domus* of the Hellenistic-Roman residential quarter in the fourth through sixth centuries.[244]

However, the earthquake and Vandal invasions do not appear to have had an adverse affect on the agricultural production of Agrigentum's territory, at least as far as the rural settlement at Saraceno is concerned. Although the villa complex that had been renovated only a few decades earlier was destroyed, probably by the earthquakes of the 360s, the site was reoccupied a half-century later, though the nature of settlement changed considerably. Nine large *pithoi* were added to the rooms of the *pars rustica*, perhaps for grain storage, and a new ground level was created by the spreading of terracotta tiles.[245] About a century later, new structures were built to the west of the older villa site, consisting of a series of rooms that, based on the materials found within them (including amphorae, plow parts, and a bronze cauldron), were devoted mainly to agricultural processing and storage. Throughout its Vandal and Byzantine phases (fifth through seventh centuries AD), the former villa site – now more likely a farm complex, perhaps without residential quarters – continued to receive imports of African finewares, pointing to the continued, strong connection between the south coast of Sicily and Africa in late antiquity, despite the political changes of the period.[246]

In the urban center of Agrigentum, the decades after the Vandal incursions saw efforts to clean up and reorganize public spaces especially in the area of the former Roman forum, but no real attempt to rebuild the urban infrastructure, such as streets and public buildings, that had developed in the Roman Republican and imperial periods.[247] The Byzantine period (sixth through eighth centuries) was characterized by scattered settlement in the urban center, often involving the spoliation of materials from older structures for use in new, less elaborate residences and workspaces.[248] Settlement was no longer concentrated around the nodal points of the classical Greek and Roman city but, probably, around new Christian sites on the edges of the

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[242] Bonacasa Carra et al., *La necropoli paleocristiana*, 33.

[243] The latest stamped *tegula sulfuris* bears the name of Constantine I, and the evidence for the industry in general begins to peter out in the early fourth century AD (De Miro, "Città e contado," 320-4).

[244] De Miro, "Città e contado," 320; *Il quartiere ellenistico-romano*, 407.

[245] Castellana and McConnell, "Contrada Saraceno," 33-43 for the late phases of occupation.

[246] Castellana, "La sigillata africana," esp. 45 and 47.

[247] E. De Miro, "Agrigento. Tempio romano di età imperiale nell'area del foro. Note di urbanistica e di architettura," in Mols and Moorman, *Omni pede stare*, 168-76, at 174; De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 56-7.

[248] De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*, 94-5.

old urban center: including, eventually, the church that was created within the shell of the "Temple of Concord" – a transformation that enabled the ancient monument's extraordinary level of preservation down the centuries (Plate 6.32a).

Conclusion

By the early first century AD, in spite of the physical destruction and demographic upheaval it had suffered in the Punic Wars, Agrigentum was the only substantial urban center on the southern coast of Sicily. The city's resilience in the second century BC, its development in the Augustan period, and its continued prosperity into the high and late Empire were all closely linked to its economic importance as a major port and to the flexibility and diversity of its urban and rural economy. Agrigentum's proximity to the North Africa/Tyrrhenian Italy shipping route, the fertility of its agricultural hinterland, and its possession of mineral resources (chiefly sulfur) made it an attractive place to own land and enabled the growth of a considerable urban, non-agricultural population engaged in activities such as tax collection and the processing, marketing, and export of the resources of the *territorium*.

The spectacular sanctuaries on the Collina dei Templi celebrated the fabulous wealth and political influence of archaic and classical Akragas and its rulers – first its dynasties of tyrants and later Timoleon - who also oversaw the precocious monumental development of the urban center. However, by the time the town firmly entered into the political sphere of Rome at the end of the third century, it was physically and demographically devastated by a half-century of warfare. The changes to the urban fabric in the second century BC and then in the transition from Republic to Principate reflect the town's changing political condition, demography, and economic and social connections to the wider Roman Empire of which it was now a member. The transformations in the upper agora – namely, the construction of an open plaza centered on an Italic podium temple over the remains of the abandoned classical-era *ekklesiasterion* and Temple of Demeter, and the expansion of the *bouleuterion* – reflect the new political order brought by Rome, which relied on the individual and collective power of the town's wealthy citizens to maintain political and economic order; the city's continued integration into prevailing Mediterranean cultural currents; and, perhaps, the rising influence of a new class of resident Roman citizens. The inclusion of what appears to be an office for the collection of cash from members of the public – perhaps a private bank or the quarters of a tax collector – in a private house in the wealthy residential area adjoining the upper agora points to a potential source of prosperity for the city's urban elite under the Roman Republic.

The changes to the urban fabric of the early and middle imperial periods appear, like those of the other towns examined so far in this chapter, largely geared towards the celebration of the Roman imperial order (and Agrigentum's role in it). They also place an increased emphasis on spectacle and performance – rather than governance - as elements of public life. The Roman "forum" provided a new economic, cultural, and religious focal point for the upper agora reminiscent of the public spaces of mainland Italian cities and of Rome itself, while the *bouleuterion* – now the "curia" of the *municipium* and, subsequently, the *colonia* – eventually came to function as a performance space for the elite of the city rather than as a vital center of government. The renovations of the Hellenistic *gymnasium* of the early and middle imperial periods also emphasized the spectacular aspects of its activities, before the complex fell into disuse in the late third century.

The changes in the religious landscape of the city – beginning with the abandonment of many of the sanctuaries of the Collina dei Templi in the decades around the Punic Wars – can also be

seen as reflections of changes in the demography, economy, and political situation of the town. The movement away from the older Greek civic cults on the urban periphery and towards new cult complexes in the political and economic center of the city – cult complexes perhaps devoted to syncretistic deities new to the town's cultic life - reflected the increasingly diverse ethnic and geographical origins of its population (including new elements from the Italian peninsula), and a changing urban economy that was less dependent on the agricultural products of the *territorium* for its prosperity. Under the Empire, this *territorium* was probably wider than at any previous period in the city's history, with maritime links across the central Mediterranean and directly to the center of power in Rome. The city's persistent economic and cultural links with Africa even in times of political unrest in late antiquity also contributed to the development of a precocious Christian community that endured and gradually developed its own *loci* of religious, social, and productive activities, even after the abandonment of the classical urban center.

Tauromenium (Taormina)

Tauromenion/Tauromenium was founded in 358/7 BC on a series of natural terraces extending down from Monte Tauro, a promontory jutting out into the Ionian Sea approximately midway between Messina (ancient Messana) and Catania (Catina) (Plate 6.32b). The city is in a transition zone between the volcanic foothills of Etna to the south and the Peloritani mountain range that extends to the north and west. The terraces of Monte Tauro overlook, to the south, the bay and promontory of modern Giardini Naxos: the site of the archaic Greek *apoikia* of Naxos, which had been destroyed by Dionysius several decades before the foundation of Tauromenion (cf. chapter 7). Although the modern city of Taormina overlies the ancient urban center, systematic excavation has been possible in some areas especially in recent decades. Moreover, the institutional history of Tauromenion is much better known than any of the other cities examined in this chapter, due to the extensive epigraphic record produced by the *polis* mainly in the third through first centuries BC. However, like most other cities of Sicily, this institutional history grows much more opaque in the middle and late first century BC and, as I will discuss further below, it remains difficult to reconstruct the transition from *polis* to *municipium* to Roman *colonia*.

Tauromenion under the Roman Republic

Tauromenion was founded by a Syracusan tyrant, but it fell under the influence of Tyndaris until the fall of that city's tyranny in 270 BC. Thereafter, it remained under the political influence of Syracuse for the rest of the third century BC, as Hieron II extended his city's power and influence over much of eastern Sicily.[249] Little is known of the city's early development, but it is clear that it underwent a major phase of development in the mid- to late third century under the influence of Hieron. The first phase of the city's famous theatre, which was built into a slope looking out to the bay of Naxos and Mt. Etna and was the second largest in Sicily after the theatre of Syracuse, probably dates to this period (Plate 6.33a). The main public areas probably

[249] Debate continues over whether Tauromenion formed part of Hieron's "kingdom." M. Bell, "Centro e periferia nel regno siracusano di Ierone II," in *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale. Actes de la rencontre scientifique, Rome - Naples 15 - 18 novembre 1995* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1999), 257-77, accepts the testimony of Diod. Sic. 23.4 that it fell within Hieron's kingdom (p. 258); for doubts, see L. Campagna, "Architettura e ideologia della basileia a Siracusa nell'età di Ierone II," in *Nuove prospettive della ricerca sulla Sicilia del III a.C.: Archeologia, numismatica, storia*, ed. M. Caccamo Caltabiano, L. Campagna, and A. Pinzone (Messina: D.Sc.A.M., 2004), 151-89, at 153-6.

took shape on a series of terraces on the slopes to the west of the theatre; these areas, in turn, were connected by two principal roads, one running NW-SE between the probable agora (the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II), and the other running SW-NE and corresponding to the modern Corso Umberto I (Plate 6.33b). Little is known of the main agora in this period, though the temple on its eastern side probably dates to the third century). However, it is likely that the area just off the SW-NE street axis that was occupied by the "Naumachia" in the imperial period was the site of a public plaza fronted by a stoa built in the second half of the third century or the second century BC – perhaps a second agora.[250]

Although its status following the First Punic War is debated,[251] it is clear that Tauromenium became a *civitas foederata* probably in 210 BC, after the fall of the Syracusan kingdom in the Second Punic War, having negotiated a special treaty with Rome that left it exempt from the grain tithe (Cic. II *Verr*. 3.6) and from other tributary obligations, such as providing a ship to the Roman fleet (5.19). Most of the Greek public inscriptions from the city probably date to its two centuries under the Roman Republic, and they shed a great deal of light on the city's government and financial institutions in this period of semi-autonomy. Probably the earliest of these inscriptions is a *cippus* listing the two *strategoi* who were the city's chief magistrates, with each pair listed under the heading of an eponymous magistrate (*IG* XIV 421).[252] The list stretches over more than a hundred years into the second century BC, demonstrating the consistency of the city's form of government even after changes in its status in relation to Rome (i.e. as a *civitas foederata*). Of a similar mid-third century date is a stele that lists the city's two annually elected gymnasiarchs (*IG* XIV 422) – men possibly in charge of the library-*gymnasium* complex discovered in the 1960s (see below) – and provides a brief account of the *gymnasium*'s yearly activities and finances.

Most valuable for the institutional and economic history of Tauromenion/Tauromenium under the Republic are a series of inscribed financial accounts probably dating to the second and first centuries BC (*IG* XIV 423-30) that illustrate the economic prosperity and diversity of the city in its first centuries under Roman rule.[253] These list the monthly deposits, withdrawals, and remaining balances of the city's magistrates, beginning with the *hieromnamones* (officials in charge of the revenues derived from the properties of sanctuaries), followed by the *tamiai* (the civic treasurers, in charge of public accounts), the *sitophylakoi* (in charge of accounts related to cereals and other commodities), the *agertai* (answerable to the *sitophylakoi*, and responsible for the collection of tithes from lessees of lands in the public domain, probably in kind), and *sitōnai* (responsible for the acquisition on the market and the storage of cereals). Besides agricultural

[250] L. Campagna and G.F. La Torre, "Ricerche sui monumenti e sulla topografia di Tauromenion. Una stoà ellenistica nell'area della Naumachia," *SicAnt* 5 (2008): 115-46. Wilson ("*Agorai* and *fora*," 248) believes that this, rather than the area of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, was the site of the city's main Hellenistic agora.

[251] G. Manganaro, "Tauromenitana," *ArchCl* 15 (1963): 13-31, at 21-5 for the suggestion that it was a *civitas libera* outside the kingdom of Syracuse in the period between the First and Second Punic Wars (241-210 BC).

[252] See L. Del Monaco, **"**Le istituzioni di Tauromenio ellenistico-romana," in *L'Italia centro meridionale tra Repubblica e Primo Impero. Alcuni aspetti culturali e istituzionali. Giornata di studio, Roma 13 dicembre 2002*, ed. M.L. Lazzarini and P. Lombardi (Rome: Quasar, 2003), 33-48, at 34-5, for the debate over the beginning date of this list, with Manganaro favoring 241 BC (the end of the First Punic War), Del Monaco and Sartori favoring 270 BC, and other scholars proposing mid-third century dates.

[253] See Del Monaco, "Le istituzioni," and Manganaro, "Tauromenitana" and "Iscrizioni latine e greche dal nuovo edificio termale di Taormina," *CronA* 3 (1964): 38-68**,** for the interpretation of these lists.

products such as grains and broad beans, these accounts also mention among the city's revenues high-quality worked stone from local quarries and wood from forests in the city's *chora*, both resources probably intended for export.[254] The inscribed accounts reflect a highly monetized urban economy, in which officials were responsible for the leasing of public houses and lands, for the collection of tithes (probably in kind), for the acquisition of some commodities using civic funds, and for the sale of others on the market, for cash.[255]

The other Greek inscriptions from Roman Republican Tauromenion include several statue bases containing honorific decrees of the *damos tōn Tauromenitōn* from the second half of the second century BC. Two of these – one in honor of the benefactor Nymphodoros son of Eukleidas, the other in honor of Nymphodoros son of Philistion – were found in excavations in the area of the Caserma dei Carabinieri on the northern side of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, the probable site of the city's main agora. The bases were inserted into a paved area that appears to have been a courtyard or peristyle, onto which opened a vestibule leading to a large room or hall: perhaps the *bouleuterion* of the Roman Republican city.[256] Excavations in the area also turned up fragments of financial accounts[257], and two statue bases found in 1770 came from the same area: one dedicated to Olympios son of Olympios, a victor in the Pythian games (*IG* XIV 434), and the other to a certain Gaius Claudius Marcellus (*IG* XIV 435), perhaps the proconsul of 79/8 BC, who was certainly a member of the Roman senatorial *gens* that were notable patrons of Sicily. Cicero provides further evidence of the inclusion of leading Romans among the notables honored by the *damos* in public spaces in the Republican era, noting that the people of Tauromenium tore down a statue of Verres in the forum but kept its pedestal as a reminder of the abuses of his governorship (II *Verr*. 2.66).

Besides the public building (*bouleuterion*?) in the agora, few other structures dating to the Roman Republican period are known in Tauromenium. The most notable is the probable library-gymnasium found in 1969 in the garden of a hotel on the southern slopes of the theatre hill. This complex was built in the last quarter of the third century BC and renovated around the end of the second century BC.[258] It consisted of two nuclei: on a lower terrace, a wide courtyard surrounded by a peristyle flanked by rooms on at least three sides; and on a higher terrace, a second group of rooms. The most notable finds from this complex are fragments of plaster containing short Greek inscriptions listing names of authors followed by summaries of their work: the remains of a catalogue of the authors that could be found in the library in the *gymnasium*, probably held in one of the larger rooms of the higher part of the complex. It is unclear whether this complex was a true civic *gymnasium*, or if it formed part of a private residence.[259] In addition, the Temple of Serapis and Isis on the northern edge of town probably dates to the late third or early second

[254] Manganaro, "Iscrizioni latine e greche," 51.
[255] *IG* XIV 426, col. I, ll. 10-15, for sums taken from sales on the market (*agoran dia pōlēmatōn*).
[256] G.M. Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina negli anni 1977 – 1980," *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 737-48, at 739-41, for excavation of this complex; Wilson, "*Agorai* and *fora*," 248, questions its identification as the *bouleuterion*.
[257] Manganaro, "Iscrizioni latine e greche."
[258] P. Pelagatti, "Il ginnasio di Tauromenion. Ripresa delle ricerche," *PP* 52 (1997): 256-61.
[259] L. Campagna, "Urbanistica dei centri siciliani d'altura in età ellenistica. Il caso di Tauromenion," in Εις ακρα. *Insediamenti d'altura in Sicilia dalla preistoria al III sec. a.C. Atti del V convegno di studi*, ed. M. Congiu (Caltanissetta: Sciascia, 2009), 205-26, at 210.

century BC[260] (cf. Plate 6.34a); the presence of this Egyptian cult is a reflection of the city's integration into the prevailing commercial and cultural routes of the era - particularly ones connecting Tyrrhenian Italy to the Eastern Mediterranean.

The late Republic and the transition to the Principate

The epigraphic record of Tauromenion in the second and first centuries BC – i.e. the period between the Second Punic War and the defeat of Sextus Pompey – reflects a prosperous, effectively autonomous community, though one increasingly influenced by Roman institutions. The continuity of its institutions was matched by the consistency of its local elite: for example, the Aristomenes son of Aristokrates and Theokritos son of Olympis, who are among the last *strategoi* listed in *IG* XIV 421, are also mentioned as *duo androi* (*duoviri*) in one of the latest financial accounts, probably in the brief period following the death of Caesar in which the *polis* became a *municipium*.[261] And like the cities discussed so far in this chapter, by the end of the Republic, Tauromenium would have had a considerable population of resident foreigners, including Roman citizens, who were attracted by the business opportunities of the town and the fertility of its hinterland. Cicero mentions two Roman citizens, M. and P. Gottius, "*ex agro Tauromenitano*" (5.64), while one of the later financial accounts records the leasing of houses and lands to *xenoi*, who Manganaro hypothesized were Eastern Greek or Italian supporters of Sextus Pompey who had followed him to Sicily.[262]

The last years of the Republic and the early years of the Principate brought considerable changes to the city, including a complete political (and probably demographic) reorganization, although the chronology and nature of these changes remain controversial. Our main source for the history of Tauromenium between 44 BC (the death of Julius Caesar) and 21 BC (Augustus' "settlement" of Sicily) is Book 5 of Appian's *Civil Wars*. From Appian, we learn that Tauromenium, which had been a Pompeian stronghold and in whose vicinity many of the key naval and land battles in Sicily had been fought (cf. *BC* 5.105 and 109), was punished by Octavian/Augustus after the war with the expulsion of its citizenry and, along with the other recalcitrant cities of Sicily, with the imposition of an indemnity of 1600 talents (5.129). Diodorus Siculus records that Octavian/Augustus expelled the inhabitants of Tauromenium and installed a colony of Roman citizens, but gives no indication of the date of this event (16.7.1). The main debate among scholars concerns whether the colony at Tauromenium dates to the immediate aftermath of the civil war (36-35 BC) since, along with the deportation of the city's population, it was intended as a punitive measure against the partisans of Pompey; or if it dates to the Augustan "settlement" of Sicily fifteen years later (cf. Cassius Dio 54.7.1). Most scholars now favor the later date, with Wilson, for example, arguing that Octavian only expelled the city's leading citizens after the conclusion of the war, since it is implausible (and there is no archaeological indication) that the town lay deserted for 15 years.[263]

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[260] M.C. Lentini, "Tauromenion," in *Lo stretto di Messina nell'antichità*, ed. F. Ghedini (Rome: Quasar, 2005), 313-31, at 327.

[261] Del Monaco, "Le istituzioni," 39.

[262] "Tauromenitana," 20.

[263] Wilson, *Sicily*, 33-4. Mommsen was the first to propose the 21 BC date for the colony at Tauromenium, though later scholars, such as Manganaro ("Tauromenitana," 16-18), challenged his dating. More recently, Lentini ("Tauromenion," 314) and Del Monaco ("Le istituzioni," 39) have concurred with Wilson in dating the Augustan colony to 21 BC.

Whatever the exact date of the colony, it is clear that its creation marked a new phase in the political life of the city and initiated a new program of monumental construction that incorporated types of buildings and monuments common in towns of Roman status (*coloniae* and *municipia*) across the empire. The probable agora of the Greek *polis* – the area now covered by the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele II and the modern buildings surrounding it – underwent a complete restructuring and rebuilding. The archaeological remnants of the renovation of the agora itself – now the forum – include terracing walls on the eastern and northern sides, as well as a number of large paving stones and architectural décor including granite columns and a large marble basin.[264] The entrance to the eastern end of the forum may also have been the site of an arch.[265] The *bouleuterion* on the northern side also underwent renovations in the Augustan period, including the paving of the portico that surrounded its courtyard – a project that also perhaps intentionally covered up the bases of the honorific statues dedicated by the free *damos*.[266] These renovations may have been connected to the transformation of the *bouleuterion* into the *curia* of the Roman colony.

Further indications of the impact of the deduction of the colony on the public life of the town are the fragments of a calendar and *fasti consulares* found in excavations in the forum area: documents rarely found outside the *municipia* and *coloniae* of peninsular Italy, but not so surprising in a community now comprised of Roman citizens who probably came from Rome itself. The calendar, of which only the months of September and October are preserved, was inscribed in Latin on a slab of Luna marble and appears to date between the foundation of the colony and 19 BC based on the months and the festivals included in it, though it may have been inscribed later in the Augustan period or under Tiberius. The two fragments of the *fasti consulares* preserve the years 39-36 and 31-30 BC.[267] The theatre may also have been renovated or redecorated under Augustus. Although few of the architectural elements of the theatre can be dated to this era, a statue group that included Niobe and Artemis probably set up in the *scaena* does appear to be Augustan, as do some heads from portraits of magistrates, as well as a portrait head of Augustus himself.[268]

The public life of Tauromenium becomes more obscure after the Augustan period due to the sparse epigraphic record: unsurprisingly for a *colonia*, the few fragmentary non-funerary Latin inscriptions appear mostly to be dedications to emperors.[269] Likewise, the imperial-era changes to the city's topography are difficult to date with precision due to the absence of ancient stratigraphy around still-standing monuments like the theatre. Some older structures – such as the *gymnasium*-library complex on the slope below the theatre[270] – remained in use until the mid-imperial period. And it appears that most alterations to the urban fabric after the Augustan period consisted of renovations, refurbishments, and adaptations of existing structures, with a few new buildings of Roman type added, many of which were geared towards spectacle and the improvement of residents' quality of life.

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[264] Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina," 738.
[265] Campagna and La Torre, "Una stoà ellenistica," 135.
[266] Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina," 741-2.
[267] Manganaro, "Tauromenitana" and "Iscrizioni latine e greche."
[268] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 321.
[269] *CIL* X 6991-3 and *AE* 1989.339b; *CIL* X 6994-5, two fragments of an inscription perhaps from a statue base, found in the theatre, commemorate the *pontifex* and *duovir* C. Mevius.
[270] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 324.

The *bouleuterion*'s phase of life as the *curia* of the new *colonia* was short-lived; in the late first century AD or, more likely, in the second century, an Augustan-era bath building to the north of the forum was expanded, covering over the *bouleuterion*/*curia*. The excavated part of this structure consists of three large rooms (*calidaria*) apparently dating to the Antonine period.[271] On the eastern side of the forum, an *odeion* was built onto the back of the Hellenistic peripteral temple now covered by the church of Santa Caterina, using the Doric colonnade of the older temple as a sort of *scaena frons*, and with the *cavea* partly cutting into the slope of Monte Tauro (Plate 6.34b).[272] The design of this structure – part of whose *cavea* is still standing – is unique, and there is no close comparandum anywhere else in the empire for an *odeion*-temple complex (in contrast to the temple-theatre complexes found in cities across Italy and elsewhere in Sicily and the Mediterranean).[273] It is also difficult to date due to a lack of stratigraphy, and scholars have instead relied on the materials and building techniques used (such as *opus caementicium* and *opus testaceum*), particularly compared to those used in the theatre, in order to determine its chronology. Hypotheses on its date range from the Augustan period to the era of the Antonines; ceramics – including early African sigillata - found in limited excavations around the *odeion* suggest a phase of use in the middle imperial period.[274]

Other major building projects of the middle Empire were located away from the forum, but also emphasize urban splendor and quality of life. The city was equipped with two aqueducts that furnished public and private supplies of water: the first, constructed in the first century AD, fed into large reservoirs in the city center. The second, constructed in the second century AD, supplied the public baths as well as, probably, other reservoirs in the city center, including the one associated with the "Naumachia" structure. These reservoirs in turn fed smaller private cisterns, some dating back to the Hellenistic period.[275]

In keeping with the emphasis on public splendor and luxury seen in the expansion of the public baths in the forum and the addition of another aqueduct to increase the city's water supply, this era also saw the transformation of the public area once occupied by a Hellenistic stoa and paved plaza into the complex known as the "Naumachia:" a mysterious elongated rectangular building, much of which remains standing, with a brick façade consisting of 18 large semicircular apses (Plate 6.35a). This structure was connected with the distribution of water in the city, probably functioning as the monumental façade of a reservoir or as a nymphaeum. Like the *odeion*, the form of this building – an isolated monumental façade with wide apses – is uncommon, and its closest parallel is perhaps the mysterious Bagni building (probably public baths or a nymphaeum) on the outskirts of Centuripae.[276] Its brick architecture suggests an earlier date than the other major Roman monuments of the city, perhaps between the deduction of the colony and the Flavian period. Many of the bricks bear the stamp TAUROMENITAN in Greek, indicating that a special commission of bricks from a large workshop (perhaps public) was made for the construction of the monument.[277] The façade of semicircular apses alternating with

[271] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 322-3; P. Pelagatti, "Scoperta di un edificio termale a Taormina," *CronA* 3 (1964): 25-37.
[272] L. Scafidi, "L'odeon di Taormina. Un caso particolare nella classe degli odea," *Agoge* 4-5 (2007-8): 295-304, at 295-6.
[273] Scafidi, "L'odeon," 296.
[274] Scafidi, "L'odeon," 297-9.
[275] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 315-6.
[276] Campagna and La Torre, "Una stoà ellenistica," 140-1.
[277] Campagna and La Torre, "Una stoà ellenistica," 142-3.

smaller rectangular niches could have held statues (including, perhaps, the torso of Apollo in Parian marble found nearby), and the complex may have been associated with the imperial cult, harnessing the ideological power of water in a manner presaging later imperial monuments such as the Severan *septizodia* found in Rome, Sicily (in Lilybaeum), and North Africa.[278]

The late Trajanic and early Hadrianic period saw the most conspicuous change to the urban fabric of the Roman imperial period: a major renovation and expansion of its spectacular Hellenistic theatre into the completely brick structure now visible today - a testament to the city's wealth and prestige in this period.[279] A further transformation of the theatre into an arena for *venationes* and gladiatorial combats followed, probably in the Severan period (early third century AD) – an alteration that reflects the increased popularity of Roman-style games in the provinces. Similar modifications to theatres were made around the same time in Tyndaris, as we have seen, and in other cities in the empire: especially in Greece and in cities of Greek origin in southern Italy, Asia Minor, and Cyrenaica. Most of these cities had centuries-old theatre buildings whose adaptation into arenas was more cost- and space-efficient than the construction of purpose-built amphitheatres.[280] In Tauromenium, this transformation was accomplished by the removal of the stage and the lowest rows of seats (thereby lowering the level of the orchestra) and the construction of a curved, vaulted corridor around the new arena space, plus the addition of a series of rooms underneath the arena floor.[281]

Little else is known of the urban fabric of the imperial period apart from these major building projects. No new structures relating to the city's religious life have been identified, though the Hellenistic temple of Isis and Serapis on the northern edge of town remained in use at least until the middle imperial period. A small quadrangular marble base with a Latin inscription recording a dedication to Serapis and Isis by C. Ennius Secundus (*ILLPal* 49 = *CIL* X 6989) was found in the vicinity of the temple, as was a late second century AD statue of a young priestess carved in marble perhaps imported from the Aegean islands.[282] Little can also be said about the domestic architecture of the imperial city since excavation of residential areas has been limited. However, the structures that have been excavated suggest that the city's elite maintained a high standard of living under the Empire. For example, a vast and long-lived *domus* built on two terraces, with one level centered around a large peristyle and some rooms on the eastern and western sides of this peristyle paved with mosaics, was discovered in the northern sector of the city near the Serapis and Isis sanctuary.[283]

The burial spaces and practices in the city in the imperial period reflect strong Roman influence and the probable presence of families of Roman or Italian origin among the colony's elite. On the northern and northwestern slopes are twelve chamber tombs ("house tombs") built using concrete, some with brickwork, mostly dating to the second century AD, with the earliest perhaps from the late first century.[284] All are rectangular in plan, on a high podium, and covered

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[278] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 316; Campagna and La Torre, "Una stoà ellenistica," 143.
[279] F. Sear, "The theatre at Taormina. A new chronology," *BSR* 64 (1996): 41-79; Lentini, "Tauromenion," 318-9.
[280] Sear, "Theatre," 73-7.
[281] Sear, "Theatre," 48 and 52-3; Lentini, "Tauromenion," 321.
[282] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 327-8.
[283] Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina," 744; Lentini, "Tauromenion," 317.
[284] R.J.A. Wilson, "A group of Roman house-tombs at Tauromenium (Taormina)," in *Studi classici in onore di Luigi Bernabo Brea*, ed. G.M. Bacci and M.C. Martinelli (Palermo: Regione siciliana, 2003), 247-74; Lentini, "Tauromenion," 328-9.

by a vault. The architectural styles and building techniques used in these tombs are undoubtedly central Italian in origin and reflect the *Romanitas* of the city's elite in the high Empire. Their closest parallels are found in Rome, Ostia, Portus, and elsewhere in Campania and in other Sicilian cities with similarly strong Roman social elements, such as Halaesa. Like the "columbarium" of Halaesa, these tombs were probably used for the burial of the leading families of the city and their associates: the interior of the "La Guardiola" tomb, for example, contains niches for ash urns (including, apparently, one made of glass and another of alabaster), and in its vicinity are 15 sarcophagus tombs of the first and second centuries AD.[285] A marble child's sarcophagus dating to the second century AD that was found in the eighteenth century is a further testament to the prosperity of the city's elite and to the city's cultural and economic connection to the Italian mainland.[286] Latin epitaphs are fairly common in funerary epigraphy, even among individuals of apparently Sicilian Greek origins.[287]

Some scholars have interpreted the location of the Roman imperial burial areas as an indication that the inhabited urban area had contracted by the second and third centuries AD.[288] Relatively little is known about the later Roman phases of the city. At some point after the theatre's conversion into an arena, a *porticus post scaenam* was added and the underground chamber beneath the arena floor was enlarged.[289] The bath building near the forum also underwent a second phase of use whose nature is obscure after the thermal apparatus was no longer functioning.[290] The street skirting the *odeion*-temple complex on the eastern edge of the agora was also in use in the fourth and fifth centuries.[291] A cistern was carved into the bedrock on the eastern side of the forum in the fifth century and subsequently filled with fragments of Hellenistic sculpture, including a male torso and a female bust in marble.[292] The ancient urban fabric appears to have maintained its integrity as late as the Byzantine era (seventh and eighth centuries), when the public area of the forum was abandoned and converted into a burial area.[293]

The economy of Roman Tauromenium

Although there has been no field survey or other archaeological research in the rural territory of Tauromenium, there are scattered indications – mostly literary and epigraphic – of the strength and diversity of the city's Roman-era economy. The financial accounts of the second and first centuries BC indicate that the city gained revenues from the export of colored marble from the quarries in its hinterland and timber from the extensive forests on the slopes and foothills of Etna. And the full range of entertainment facilities found in the city suggest that during the imperial period, it came to be something of a tourist center, serving as a retreat for the elite of peninsular Italy and Sicily, as it would be for wealthy Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[294]

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[285] Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina," 745-6.
[286] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 330.
[287] E.g. *CIL* X 6997-8 and *AE* 1975.452 (= *ILLPal* 50-2).
[288] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 314.
[289] Sear, "Theatre," 78; Lentini, "Tauromenion," 321.
[290] Pelagatti, "Edificio termale," 34.
[291] Scafidi, "L'odeon," 297.
[292] Bacci, "Ricerche a Taormina," 738.
[293] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 321; L. Campagna, "Tauromenion. Nuove ricerche sull'urbanistica e sull'architettura della città ellenistica," *FormaUrbis* 16.6 (2011): 15-21, at 17.
[294] Lentini, "Tauromenion," 317.

However, the most important component of the economy of the city and its territory throughout its ancient history was wine. Northeastern Sicily had been renowned for wine production as early as the sixth century BC, when the colony of Naxos was one of the key centers of the wine-producing region stretching through the slopes and foothills of Etna, from the Bay of Naxos down the eastern coast of Sicily to Catania. Like the Bay of Naples, this area was blessed with fertile volcanic soil, and the cultivation of vines was possible on the exposed terraces extending from the sea, as high up as 1000m on the slopes of Etna.[295] Although little is known of its infrastructure (e.g. the locations of farms, pressing facilities, or amphora production sites[296]), the iconography of wine production – such as the head of Dionysos and grape clusters – appeared on the coins of Naxos throughout the fifth century and on the coins of its successor city, Hellenistic Tauromenion. The wine industry continued to be a key component of the city's economy in the imperial period, when it even penetrated the Italian and Roman market: Pliny notes that the city produced an important export wine bottled in small amphorae (*lagoenae*).[297] There is also some evidence – including *tituli picti* from amphorae found in Pompeii and Herculaneum and tablets from the Murecine archive – that this wine was distributed, probably through the port of Puteoli, to the urban markets of the Vesuvian region.[298]

Most of the warehousing and ancillary activities associated with the export of this wine and other commodities probably took place in the vicinity of the Bay of Naxos below the city of Tauromenium, as indicated in part by the remains of the Roman and late antique settlement at Naxos, discussed in chapter 7. The city and its territory's integration into prevailing Mediterranean trade currents – especially between Tyrrhenian Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean – is further indicated by the imperial-era shipwrecks found off Capo Taormina and in the bay below the city.[299] One wreck off Capo Taormina was carrying a cargo of 37 columns and two blocks of green stone of unknown origin, but probably destined for the Roman or Italian market, weighing 90-100 tons and dating to the imperial period (perhaps to the reign of Hadrian). Another wreck located 500m to the south in the bay of Giardini Naxos contained a single cargo of 24 columns of Cipollino marble from Carystos in Euboea and 13 rectangular blocks of white Aegean marble, weighing around 95 tons and dating to the third century AD, based on ceramics from the wreck.

Conclusion

Tauromenium offers a contrast to the cities already examined in this chapter in the severity of the political, cultural, and demographic change it underwent in the transition from the Republic to Empire. The imposition of the *colonia*, whether in 36/35 BC or 21 BC, marked a clear break in the institutional and cultural history of the city, as evidenced by the efforts to obliterate the monuments of the independent *polis* and to introduce a new political culture centered on Rome, as seen in the inscribed *fasti* that were probably set up in the main public area of the city. With this break, the urban fabric – and particularly the main centers of public activity – began to

[295] See chapter 7 for settlement at Naxos and Vandermersch, *Vins*, esp. 25-50, for wine production in the region in the archaic and classical periods.
[296] But see Vandermersch, *Vins,* esp. 25-50, for accounts of ancient wine production in the area of Naxos/Tauromenium by Greek and Roman authors.
[297] *HN* 14.66: *est in eadem Sicilia et Tauromenitanis honos lagonis pro Mamertino plerumque subditis*.
[298] J.T. Peña, "Two groups of *tituli picti* from Pompeii and environs: Sicilian wine, not flour and hand-picked olives," *JRA* 20.1 (2007): 233-54.
[299] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 256 (Capo Taormina) and 443 (Giardini).

assume a new character, with the spread of Roman and "imperial" building types (public baths, *odeum*, *nymphaeum*, and arena) and construction techniques (in particular, the use of concrete and brick). In this respect, Tauromenium differs from cities such as Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, and Halaesa, where the transition from Greek *polis* to Roman *civitas* (and eventually *municipium* and *colonia*) was more "organic" and gradual, beginning as early as the first century BC, probably at the initiative or under the influence of resident Romans and Italians who had business interests in those communities and local elites who possessed social and economic connections to Rome, and perhaps even Roman citizenship.

However, like many of the cities already discussed in this chapter, the diversity of Tauromenium's economy and the strength of its connections with the wider Roman Mediterranean were key to its success as an urban center in the imperial period. As one of the key ports on the eastern coast of Sicily, with access to the markets of Tyrrhenian Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean, Tauromenium continued to be a major center for the production and export of the wine produced from grapes grown on the fertile slopes of Etna. The city experienced continuity in this respect from the Hellenistic/Roman Republican period, when civic financial accounts attest to the revenues the government derived from the sale and export of the commodities produced (or naturally occurring) in its territory.

Catina (Catania)

Ancient Katane/Catina was situated on two coastal terraces at the mouths of the rivers Longane and Amemano, whose courses are now almost completely covered by the modern city of Catania, just south of Mt. Etna and almost midway along the Ionian coast between Taormina (Tauromenium) and Siracusa (Syracuse). Periodic eruptions of Mt. Etna and associated seismic events have had devastating effects on the pre-modern and modern city. The eruption of 1669 was particularly destructive, producing a lava flow that covered much of the existing city (including several surviving ancient structures), causing the movement of the coastline forward by 600m and raising the level of the modern city. As a result, the phases of development of the ancient city are difficult to trace in detail, and we are reliant mostly on the standing remains of ancient buildings scattered throughout the modern city for our knowledge of Roman Catina's topography. However, this knowledge is slowly improving through excavations in the city center, and especially on the upper coastal terrace – known as the Montevergine hill - in the area of the Università degli Studi di Catania.[300]

Pre- and early Roman history

According to Thucydides (6.3), Katane was founded by Chalcidians from Naxos in 729/8 BC, shortly after they founded Leontinoi in the interior to the southwest. The archaic and classical history of the Greek *apoikia* was dominated by its geography: namely, its role as the Mediterranean port for a fertile territory that extended north to the southern slopes of Etna, west into the valley of the Simeto, and south into the fertile plain of Catania; but also its vulnerability to volcanic eruptions due to its proximity to Etna, which in turn led to demographic and political instability. The city's position by the sea gave it an economic, strategic, and political advantage over the indigenous Sicul centers of the interior (especially Aitna/Inessa) and made it a potential political and economic rival of Naxos to the north and Syracuse to the south. However, the eruptions of Etna were one cause of the persistent demographic disruptions and political

[300] See below for details of the excavations in this area (especially the Monastero dei Benedettini, Reclusorio della Purità, and Via dei Crociferi).

upheavals that the city experienced in the fifth and fourth centuries, especially at the hands of Syracuse. Most significantly, the eruption of 475 BC prompted the tyrant Hieron's movement of the remaining population of Katane to Leontinoi, beginning a pattern of Syracusan intervention in the city and the Etna region that would persist until the First Punic War.[301]

After the earliest phase of settlement (eighth and seventh centuries BC), of which a few walls and other structures have been excavated, little is known of the urban plan or monuments of Katane/Catina before the Roman imperial period: earlier building phases were obscured first by Roman-era construction, later by lava flows from volcanic eruptions, and finally by the construction of the modern city. Recent excavations in the Monastero dei Benedettini have revealed traces of urban organization beginning in the mid-sixth century BC.[302] Strata of destruction datable to the first quarter of the fifth century BC may be related to the Hieronian conquest and re-foundation of the city (as Aitna) in 476 BC. A second phase of development began with the rebuilding of the city under Dionysius I (ca. 403) on a new plan. There was apparently little change in the urban plan between 263 BC and the first century AD, with the Dionysian street grid remaining in use.

After its early surrender in 263 BC the city enjoyed stable relations with Rome, remaining loyal during the Second Punic War, though it received no special privileges and remained a *civitas decumana* throughout the Republican period. However, a series of volcanic eruptions in the second half of the second century caused considerable damage to the economy of Catina and its territory, prompting the Roman Senate to grant the city a ten-year exemption from the grain tithe.[303] Excavations in the former Reclusorio della Purità, in the same neighborhood as the Monastero dei Benedettini, have found a thick layer of volcanic sand apparently corresponding to the last of these eruptions covering strata of the first half of the second century BC and covered by strata related to dumping and leveling activities.[304]

However, there is considerable historical and epigraphic evidence for the city's economic revival in the early first century BC, when it served as one of the major ports of eastern Sicily, attracting Roman and Italian merchants, administrators, and tax collectors and sending its own citizens across the Mediterranean. Coins of the city have been found at Delos, presumably carried there by merchants or sailors. A Catanian was among the victors in the games at Oropos, and a certain Apollōnos Poplios Katanaios is attested in an inscription from Smyrna. In Catina itself, as in Tauromenion, Egyptian cults had a precocious presence and even became part of the civic pantheon, with their iconography used on coins of the first century BC.[305]

Cicero affirms that the prosperous city of Catina (II *Verr*. 4.23: *oppidum locuples, honestum, copiosum*) was one of the main ports for the export of tithe grain and other goods (2.75, 3.83), making it a target for Verres' abuses, and he notes that the city's representatives joined in

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[301] See G. Manganaro, "Per una storia della *chora Katanaia,*" in Gentili, *Catania antica,* 19-59, for the early history of Katane and its territory.

[302] F. Tomasello, "Per un'immagine di Catania in età romano-imperiale," *RTopAnt* 17 (2007): 127-58, at 152 for a summary of the phases of building detected in these excavations.

[303] According to Orosius, these eruptions occurred in 141, 135 or 133, and 123 BC (Manganaro, "*Chora Katanaia*," 49).

[304] M.G. Branciforti, "Gli scavi archeologici nell'ex reclusorio della Purità di Catania," in Μεγαλαι νησοι. *Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, ed. R. Gigli (Catania: CNR, 2005) vol. 2, 47-77, at 52-4; C. Molè, "L'età antica," in *Catania. Storia, cultura, economia*, ed. F. Mazza (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2008), 23-75, at 42.

[305] Manganaro, "*Chora Katanaia*," 50.

denouncing the former governor (2.49, 65; 3.43, 4.51). He also provides some of the only evidence of the town's religious life and political institutions in this period, in his narration of one of the crimes of Verres (4.45). Cicero claims that Verres ordered the theft of the ancient statue of Demeter/Ceres, usually only viewable by women and girls, from the shrine (*sacrarium*) in the city. When the priestesses and wealthy local women in charge of the shrine reported the crime, Verres shifted the blame to a slave, who was then tried in accordance with city law before the council of Catina and acquitted only because of the testimony of the priestesses. A third or second century BC dedication to Demeter and Kore in the Doric dialect, accompanied by a marble relief of the two goddesses – a product of a fifth century Attic workshop – may be related to this cult, whose presence in the port city of one of the major grain-producing regions of Sicily is hardly surprising.[306]

The transition to the Principate and the Roman imperial period

The third quarter of the first century BC was one of considerable political and demographic upheaval for Catina, due as much to the multiple eruptions of Etna (in 49, 44, 36, and 32 BC) as to the Roman civil wars.[307] From the account of Strabo, it seems that this combination of natural and man-made catastrophe brought about considerable demographic decline, abandonment of land, and instability in Catina and its territory – a symptom of which may have been the activities of Selurus and other bandits in the area of Etna (*Geog*. 6.2.6). These difficulties in turn prompted Augustus' "restoration" of the city through the foundation of a Roman colony in 21 BC (6.2.4; cf. Pliny *HN* 3.14). Little is known about the demographic composition of this colony or of the relations between colonists and native inhabitants;[308] the assignment of lots to the colonists in the territory of the city would also have been challenging, since much of the land would have been unusable or in poor condition because of the eruptions of Etna (see below). However, the establishment of the colony does seem to have prompted changes to the urban fabric of Catina itself: the construction of new residences (*domus*) in the area of the Reclusorio della Purità around the end of the first century BC and alterations to the residences excavated in the Monastero dei Benedettini may reflect the need to accommodate the new colonists in a manner befitting their social status.[309] Some of the streets excavated in the Monastero dei Benedettini were also repaved with polygonal basalt blocks in the Augustan era (Plate 6.35b).[310] Although the location of the forum of Catina cannot be identified with certainty,[311] other structures - such as the theatre, aqueduct, and the probable commercial complex consisting of rows of shops and tabernae (perhaps part of a *macellum* or *horrea*) excavated in the Cortile San Pantaleone – may also date to the Augustan colony, at least in their earliest phases.[312]

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[306] Molè, "L'età antica," 41.
[307] Manganaro, "*Chora Katanaia*," 52.
[308] See generally Molè, "Dinamiche di acculturazione," for the difficulty in interpreting the Augustan era in Catania.
[309] Branciforti, "Scavi archeologici nell'ex reclusorio della Purità," 58-9; Molè, "L'età antica," 45.
[310] Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 152; Molè, "L'età antica," 47.
[311] Wilson, "*Agorai* and *fora*," 258, along with E. Tortorici ["Osservazioni e ipotesi sulla topografia di Catania antica," in *Edilizia pubblica e privata nelle città romane* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2008), 91-124, at 109-110], doubts the traditional identification of the complex excavated within the Cortile San Pantaleone as the Roman forum.
[312] See R.J.A. Wilson, "La topografia della Catania romana. Problemi e prospettive," in Gentili, *Catania antica*, 149-73, at 155 and 159-60, for the possibility that the theatre underwent renovations in the

The tenuous traces of the Augustan colony in the urban landscape of Catina are a symptom of the larger difficulties in understanding the development of the city under the Roman Empire: although the city is perhaps the best-endowed in Sicily in standing remains of Roman-era monuments, these monuments are difficult to date due to a lack of stratigraphy and frequent spoliation. The position of these monuments within the modern urban center coupled with historical evidence can, however, give some sense of the extent and consistency of the ancient urban fabric (cf. Plate 6.36a). For example, Wilson has hypothesized, based in part on the positioning of the necropoleis and the amphitheatre and circus – whose sites are now firmly within the modern city, but would have been on the outskirts of the ancient settlement – that ancient Catina in its period of greatest extension would have covered an area of ca. 130 hectares, about half the size of Syracuse (ca. 280 ha.) and a fraction of the area enclosed by the walls of Agrigentum (ca. 500 hectares, not all of which was occupied in the Roman period), but larger than the area enclosed by the wall circuit of Lilybaeum (ca. 77 ha.), and roughly on par with the largest cities of North Africa.[313] Strabo adds, furthermore, that Catina is more populous than Messana and Tauromenium (6.2.3).

Although it is difficult to assign firm dates to the major Roman monuments of the city, it appears that, broadly speaking, the second century AD and surrounding decades – or the Flavian through Severan era - was a time of significant and perhaps continuous public building in the urban center. The major public building projects of this period utilized local materials (most conspicuously, black basalt blocks hewn from the lava flows of Etna) as well as marble, granite, and other stones from further afield in Sicily and the Roman Empire. The most visible monuments of imperial Catina are buildings devoted to entertainment, leisure, and spectacle: namely, the theatre-*odeum* complex in the center of the ancient city (Plates 6.36b and 6.37a) and, on its northern edge, the amphitheatre (Plate 6.37b), as well as numerous bath complexes scattered through the urban center. The theatre was altered or renovated at numerous points in the imperial period that are difficult to establish with certainty, but it appears that, after smaller-scale works datable to the Augustan/Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, the most dramatic renovations focusing on the *scaenae frons* took place in the Hadrianic/Trajanic period. These renovations perhaps stretched into the Antonine era, and were taken up again in the late Severan period (early third century AD).[314] In its current form - a palimpsest of these periodic renovations - the theatre has a seating capacity of ca. 7,000 and a total diameter of 102m, while its *cavea* has a diameter of ca. 87m.[315] There are traces of a small temple along the central axis of the *summa cavea*, of the sort found also in the theatres of Italy and North Africa; an *ambulacrum* and portico was also added to the *summa cavea*, probably in the Severan period. The reserved seating area closest to the orchestra was faced with white marble and cipollino from Euboea.[316]

Augustan period, though the archaeological evidence is slight. Molè, "L'età antica," 47, attributes the aqueduct to the Augustan colony.

[313] Wilson, "La topografia," 152-4.

[314] See Wilson, "La topografia," 157-62; Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 141; Molè, "L'età antica," 48; and P. Pensabene, "La decorazione architettonica del teatro di Catania," in Μεγαλαι νησοι vol. 2, 187-212, at 204, for (slightly different) chronologies of the development of the theatre in the early and middle Empire.

[315] Wilson, "La topografia," 163; R. Soraci, "Catania in età tardoantica," in Gentili, *Catania antica*, 257-78, at 259; Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 191.

[316] Wilson, "La topografia," 157.

The richest decoration was reserved for the stage building and associated structures (*scaenae frons*), which probably underwent a major phase of embellishment under the Severans. Alongside the lower-quality white and rose marbles brought from the area of Tauromenium, the imported stones used in this building included large quantities of white marble (Pentelic, Proconnesan, and Luna), polychrome marble from Teos, as well as colored stones from the quarries of Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean (Mysian granite, coral breccia, etc.).[317] Many of the architectural elements of the *scaena* were adorned with monumental friezes, some probably executed by itinerant craftsmen from the Aegean in concert with local workshops: including a Gigantomachy (perhaps a reference to the legend of Enceladus[318]); a triumph scene, with Victories, soldiers, trophies, and conquered barbarians (perhaps referring to the campaign of Caracalla against the Alemanni in 213); as well as smaller panels adorned with vegetation, animals, and *erotes*. These friezes formed part of a decorative program that exulted Roman victory over outsiders and beneficence to insiders, while connecting these imperial themes with local history.[319] The *scaenae frons* and the *porticus post scaenam* were also adorned with freestanding sculpture – much of which was found *in situ* during eighteenth-century excavations – including statues of Hercules, Apollo, the Muses, and female personifications, such as a probable Roma; and imperial portraiture, such as the head of a youthful Marcus Aurelius and a cuirassed bust (probably an emperor) holding a mantel and scepter.[320]

At some point in the high Empire – almost certainly after the construction of the theatre, and probably under the Antonines or the Severans - an *odeum* was built adjacent to the theatre, on its northwestern side (Plate 6.37a). This structure, though smaller than the theatre (with a diameter of 43m), was similarly sumptuous and sophisticated in its architecture and decor, with an orchestra paved in white marble and an external façade consisting of a series of vaulted arches: the arches not connected to the auditorium were presumably used as shops or storage spaces.[321] On the northeastern edge of town, an amphitheatre was built (Plate 6.37b) perhaps under Hadrian or the Antonines to hold *venationes* and gladiatorial games, the Roman-style spectacles gaining popularity across the empire. The structure (125 x 105m, with an arena of 71 x 51m) is the second-largest amphitheatre in the Roman world, after the Colosseum.[322] Unlike the theatre, the foundations of the amphitheatre were placed on open ground, in keeping with Roman/Italic tradition, though with "antiseismic" reinforcements.[323]

On the other side of the city, on its southern outskirts or suburbs, was a circus/hippodrome perhaps also used for *naumachia* that was completely covered by the lava flow of 1669 and is now known only from antiquarian accounts.[324] It appears from these descriptions, nonetheless, to have been one of the largest such structures in the provinces, with dimensions of ca. 500 x 100m.[325] The bath complexes that cropped up in the city center between the first and third century completed the city's public leisure and entertainment facilities (Plate 6.38a): the best-

[317] Wilson, "La topografia," 159; Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 187.
[318] A son of Tartarus and Ge, the giant Enceladus fought against Athena, who, according to different sources, threw the island of Sicily or Mt. Aetna on him (*RE*, *s.v.*).
[319] Wilson, "La topografia," 161-2; Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 191-8.
[320] Wilson, "La topografia," 158; Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 191; Molè, "L'età antica," 48.
[321] Wilson, "La topografia," 163-5.
[322] Wilson, "La topografia," 165-7, though this claim is controversial.
[323] Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 142.
[324] Tortorici, "Osservazioni," 93-4.
[325] Wilson, "La topografia," 168.

known are the Terme Achilliane (located underneath the modern Duomo), the Terme della Rotonda (just above the theatre, on Montevergine hill), the Terme dell'Idria and Terme del Reclusorio delle Verginelle (in the Montevergine residential area), and the later Terme dell'Indirizzo to the southeast of the forum area.[326]

Recent archaeological research has shed considerable light on the domestic architecture of the imperial city. Excavation particularly in the Monastero dei Benedettini and ex-Reclusorio della Purità has revealed that the middle of the Montevergine hill, situated above the theatre-*odeum* complex, was a prosperous residential area with lavish *domus* developing from the mid-first through the third century AD. These *domus* were interspersed with public buildings and facilities – including at least three bathhouses and a *nymphaeum* fed by the city aqueduct - within the paved street grid that connected the neighborhood to the amphitheatre to the north.[327] The occupants of these residences had a high quality of life: in the first and second centuries, houses were adorned with floors paved in mosaics, with their lots increased in size to accommodate large peristyles holding fountains, *nymphaea*, and *balnea*; in the third century, some *domus* "upgraded" to building separate thermal annexes within their lots. For example, "Domus A" of the Monastero dei Benedettini complex, originally built in the first century AD over a late Hellenistic *domus*, had an entrance room with a paved *lacus* leading to the *ambulacrum* of a vast colonnaded peristyle. The rooms facing onto this peristyle included *cubicula* and a large *triclinium*. The house underwent a radical restructuring in the first half of the second century AD – perhaps corresponding to the period of prosperity that also saw the monumentalization of the public areas of the urban center - and another phase of renovation in the late imperial period.[328]

Epigraphy, politics, and society in Roman imperial Catina

Catania possesses one of the richest – though also one of the most problematic – Roman imperial epigraphic records in Sicily. Here and in Syracuse, another Augustan colony further down the eastern coast, the recent study of the use of Latin and Greek in public and private epigraphy has shed light on the linguistic, political, and cultural changes that accompanied the Roman colonization of the Ionian seaboard of the island. But in spite of recent, careful efforts to define the city's epigraphic record in the Roman imperial period,[329] since the time of the composition of the relevant *CIL* and *IG* volumes by Mommsen and Kaibel, respectively, the attribution to Catania of many of the inscriptions now housed in the city (and especially in the collection of the Museo Civico) has been contested, due in part to the mixing of Sicilian and Roman inscriptions in the collections of leading Sicilian antiquaries like the Prince of Biscari, and to the lack of precise findspots for many of the inscriptions - such as those inscribed on basalt - of secure eastern Sicilian provenance. But this difficulty in distinguishing the Roman imperial epigraphic record of Catania also reflects the similarities between it, Rome, and the other major urban centers of eastern Sicily (i.e. Syracuse and Tauromenium): primarily, their roles as economically dynamic ports with ethnically and socially heterogeneous populations that were receptive to religious and cultural influences from across the Mediterranean.

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[326] Wilson, "La topografia," 168-9; Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 147.

[327] See Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," and Branciforti, "Scavi archeologici nell'ex reclusorio della Purità," for the excavation of these residential areas.

[328] Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 151.

[329] Mainly by K. Korhonen, whose recent work on the epigraphy of Roman Catania forms the basis of my analysis in the following pages.

As Korhonen has recently pointed out, our knowledge of the epigraphic record of Catania essentially begins with the imposition of the Roman colony, after which the public monumental space was practically unilingual, with inscriptions almost always made in Latin. In these respects, the city was similar to the colonies of Tyndaris, Thermae Himeraeae, Syracuse and, as we have seen, to Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, and Halaesa, where strong public Latin epigraphic cultures also emerged in the early imperial period (or even during the last decades of the Republic), though perhaps more "organically" in the latter set of cities, through the presence of substantial populations of Italians and Romans. However, as Korhonen has also noted, in Catania, private epigraphy – including funerary epitaphs and religious dedications – shows a greater diversity of linguistic practices, as would be expected in a city whose middling social levels were probably bilingual or solely Greek-speaking: in Korhonen's words, "nella cultura epigrafica di Catania si può parlare di una convivenza tra l'epigrafia greca e quella latina." For example, the use of Latin predominates in "pagan" funerary epigraphy (by a 60/40 split, according to Korhonen), perhaps reflecting a perceived prestige that was derived from its use in public epigraphy. Though pure bilingualism is uncommon in the corpus of funerary inscriptions, in the formulation of the epitaphs themselves in both languages, there was considerable mixing and borrowing of Greek and Latin phrases and syntax as well as the occasional use by stone carvers of Greek letters in Latin names.[330] Korhonen also notes the persistence of Greek in private, religious inscriptions under the Empire, such as a statue of Priapus with a bilingual dedication in Greek (meter) and Latin (prose) and a dedication in hexameter of a statue to Apollo dating to the late second or early third century AD (*IMCCat* 8 = *IG* XIV 451).[331]

Returning to the realm of public epigraphy, the Latin and bilingual inscriptions that adorned the public spaces of the town – some of which were found *in situ* in and around imperial-era monuments, such as bath buildings and the theatre – shed considerable light on the political, religious, and cultural institutions of the Roman city, as well as on the individuals and groups involved in the development of the urban fabric. Numerous public inscriptions – including what appears to be a colonial "album" dating to the late 260s, listing the city magistrates for each consular year (*CIL* X 7025 = *IMCCat* 26) - attest to the typical magistracies found in Roman colonies across the empire, such as *duoviri* (*CIL* X 7028-9; *CIL* X 7023 = *IMCCat* 17, in honor of a first or early second century AD magistrate who also served as *praefectus fabrum*), *aediles* (*CIL* X 7026) and *quaestores*. Despite this institutional conformity, it appears that at least in the early years of the *colonia*, the city's government continued to promulgate its decisions in Greek at least occasionally, if Korhonen's attribution, dating, and interpretation of a fragmentary marble inscription referring to a *psephisma* of the *boulē* (i.e. a decree of the *decuriones*) (*IMCCat* 43) are correct.[332]

We can also trace the presence of local elite families – probably the descendants of the Augustan colonists – and their dependents in funerary epigraphy. One Latin epitaph records that Grattia C. f. Paulla, the wife of C. Ofillius and mother of C. Ofillius Verus, both duumvirs, was honored with a public funeral and a statue in the forum (*AE* 1989.341m).[333] Another Greek epitaph dated to the second half of the first century or first half of the second century AD

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[330] K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico di Catania: storia delle collezioni, cultura epigrafica, edizione* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2004), 243-9; quote at 249. I include Korhonen's numberings of the inscriptions in the Museo Civico of Catania in this section (abbreviated as *IMCCat*).

[331] Korhonen, "Language and Identity," 11.

[332] See also Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico*, 240.

[333] See below for attestation of the Ofillii in the epigraphic record of Syracuse.

(*IMCCat* 65) commemorates a certain Caelia Heorte, perhaps a member of the *clientela* of the *duovir* L. Caelius Macer of the tribe Claudia, who was honored in a series of inscriptions found in the theatre that date to the same period (*IMCCat* 18-20).

A wide range of cults and religious practices are also attested in inscriptions from Catania. In the realm of civic religion, the L. Rubrius Proculus honored on a statue base of the second century served as *augur* as well as *duovir quinquennalis* (*CIL* X 7028), while the presence of *seviri Augustales* attests to imperial veneration in the high Empire (*CIL* X 7027). Even in the later centuries of Roman rule, a *consularis* made a dedication in Latin to the *genius* of the city of Catania (*CIL* X 7014 = *IMCCat* 7, found in the area of the theatre in 1770 and dated to AD 337-408). Even more striking evidence of the continuity and strength of the cultic symbols and traditions of the city is a reused marble base containing a Latin inscription of the late fifth or early sixth century that commemorates the restoration of the statues of the *flammifugae fratres* by the *consularis* and *v.c.* Merulus probably to their traditional place of honor in the theatre (*IMCCat* 12).[334] The *pii fratres* Amphinomos and Anapius/Anapias had been venerated as the protectors of the city from the dangers of Etna at least since the Hellenistic period; their images had appeared on the coins of Sextus Pompey as well as a later Augustan issue, and they continued to be celebrated as symbols of civic pride in the high Empire (*IG* XIV 502).[335] Further indications of their continued prominence and association with the city in late antiquity are their inclusion in the poems of Claudianus (*Carm. min.* 17: *De piis fratribus et de statuis eorum quae sunt apud Catinam*) and Ausonius (*Ordo urb.* 92-3: *Catinam ... ambustorum fratrum pietate celebrem*).

Inscriptions also attest to the involvement of many social levels in the development of the urban fabric, beginning in the early years of the Augustan colony with the commemoration of the *curatores* of the city aqueduct – all Roman citizens, and so probably members of the colonial ruling elite - on a block of volcanic stone found near the aqueduct's point of origin at Santa Maria di Licodia, 25 km outside the city center (*IMCCat* 25 = *CIL* X 6999). The involvement of members of the local and provincial elite in the costly development of the city center continued into the high Empire: a fragmentary marble dedication in Latin dated to the late first or early second century AD attests to a construction project costing HS 50,000 and involving a certain [B]etilius Secund[us] (*IMCCat* 34 = *CIL* X 7030). Private benefactions also financed many of the renovations and embellishments of the theatre. On an architrave is inscribed the name T. Flavius Ionius – probably a first-generation Roman citizen from the reign of Titus or the following decades, and either a benefactor who financed the construction of some parts of the *cavea* or the architect of the structure.[336] In the Severan period, a certain [T]ralia[nus] made a donation probably of marble sculpture as *summa honoraria*, while one Seius Agathos was honored with a statue for his funerary gift of HS 50,000.[337]

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[334] This dedication is usually attributed to the aftermath of one of the invasions of the city (Vandal, Ostrogothic, or Byzantine) in the late or post-Roman period. However, D. Sami has recently proposed that the Pii Fratres statues could have been desecrated by Christian mobs ["From Theodosius to Constans II: Church, Settlement and Economy in Late Roman and Byzantine Sicily (AD 378-668)," (D.Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 2010), 41-3].

[335] Strabo also mentions the brothers (6.2.3); see also Manganaro, "*Chora Katanaia*," 51, for numismatic and epigraphic evidence of the cult.

[336] Wilson, "La topografia," 160-1; Molè, "L'età antica," 48; and Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 202, for this inscription and its interpretation.

[337] Pensabene, "Decorazione architettonica," 204, for these inscriptions.

Inscriptions also attest to the involvement of imperial administrators in building activities in the city center, especially in the intense period of monumentalization under the Antonines and Severans. The most vivid testimony of the social, economic, and political forces shaping the built environment of Catina in the high Empire is a letter send around AD 164-166 by the *curator* Iulius Paternus to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, apparently regarding a dispute with the *decuriones* over the restoration of a *porticus* (or perhaps *portus* – i.e. structures related to the city's port), a copy of which was inscribed on a marble slab, of which two fragments were recovered in the eighteenth century in the area of the Duomo (*IMCCat* 22-23 = *CIL* X 7024).[338] According to Manganaro's interpretation of this document, Paternus, probably an *eques*, was functioning as *curator rei publicae* or as the superintendent of civic construction.[339] He brought to the attention of the emperors the debts the city had incurred on this project: expenditures in excess of the sums contributed by the emperors (whose use was overseen by the imperial procurator Silius) and by the civic *curia*. The Catanians had proposed selling civic land in order to meet this debt. The solution proposed instead by the Roman officials that was apparently objectionable to the *curia* involved the diversion of civic revenues – perhaps the *cura* of the *ager vectigalis* - into imperial hands for a period, in order to pay the debt: a solution that would have relieved the city of its financial obligations but compromised its fiscal autonomy. This letter, as well as other documents attesting to the presence of *curatores* in the cities of Sicily and southern Italy, has been cited as evidence of financial "crisis" brought on by excessive public expenditure on building. In the absence of corroborating evidence for such a "crisis," however, it is better viewed in more neutral terms, as a reflection of the social, economic, and political tensions that could accompany major public building projects due to the large sums of money required and the potential clashes of interest of the various individuals and groups involved, from the local up to the imperial level.

The involvement of imperial authorities like the *curator rei publicae* T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher (*CIL* XIV 3593, ca. AD 226, discussed further below) and the proconsul Q. Lusius Laberius (*CIL* X 7018, a lost inscription attesting to work on bath buildings) in the development of the monumental landscape of the city continued into the late Severan period. Numerous inscriptions also attest to the beneficence of imperial notables in later decades and centuries. A lengthy third or fourth-century bilingual inscription, written in Latin prose and Greek epigram, commemorates improvements to the city water supply (namely, the *nymphaeum* near the *castella aquarum in moenibus*) sponsored by the *consularis* Fl. Arsinus and a certain Fl. Ambrosius (*IG* XIV 453 = *CIL* X 7017). Such beneficence also extended to the sponsorship of spectacles in the city's entertainment complexes, as a late third or fourth century hexameter inscription honoring the *agonothete* Severus son of Zosimianus found in the sixteenth century, probably in the *odeion*, attests (*IMCCat* 24 = *IG* XIV 502).[340] In addition to the aforementioned dedication of Merulus from the last years of the city's ancient phase of settlement, a monumental Greek inscription commemorates the restoration of public baths in the city center (the Thermae Achillaeae, located under the Duomo) by the *consularis* Flavius Felix Eumathios in AD 438 (*IMCCat* 11 = *IG* XIV 455).

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[338] See G. Manganaro, "Epigrafi frammentarie di Catania," *Kōkalos* 5 (1959): 145-58**,** for the interpretation of this inscription.

[339] Paternus' office has also been restored as *curator operis*.

[340] A fragmentary Latin inscription on marble also from the third or early fourth century AD that was probably found in the vicinity of the theatre commemorates an act of euergetism - perhaps sponsorship of *venationes* (*IMCCat* 41 = *CIL* X 8312).

The presence in the 220s of the *curator rei publicae* T. Claudius Pupienus Pulcher - whose family rose in prominence under the Severans and whose senatorial career mainly consisted of positions in Italy, Sicily, and North Africa (including the curatorship of Lepcis), culminating in the consulship – hints at the political interests connecting Catina with Italy and North Africa, especially with the economic rise of the latter region beginning in the second century and culminating under the Severans.[341] Catina's position as a major port along trade routes connecting the Eastern Mediterranean, the North African coast, and Tyrrhenian Italy, and as an export point for the agricultural products of some of the most fertile regions of Sicily, would have made it the center of the economic interests of many of the leading families of the province. These included the Roscii, a wealthy *gens* of Sicilian origin or roots that had attained senatorial rank by the time of Domitian or Trajan, several members of which are attested epigraphically in cities and rural communities across eastern and central Sicily – and particularly within the "triangle" formed by Centuripae, Catina, and Syracuse.[342] A family member of equestrian rank – one L. Roscius L. f. Rufus of the tribe Quirina, whose *cursus* included *praefectus cohortis equitatae* – was honored with a statue base (or funerary epitaph) at Catania, probably in the second half of the first or the first half of the second century AD (*IMCCat* 16 = *CIL* X 7019). As noted above in the section on Centuripae, the Roscii were connected by marriage and adoption to other leading landholding families of Sicily, North Africa, and Italy, including the Pompeii of Centuripae. A highly fragmentary second-century inscription of uncertain origin now housed in the Museo Civico of Catania seems to commemorate at least one member of this family: probably Sosia Falconilla or another descendant of Q. Sosius Senecio (*IMCCat* 14 = *CIL* X 7021).[343] The wider *familia* of freedmen and other dependents of the Roscii can also be traced in the funerary realm of Catina: as Korhonen notes, Roscius is among the most common gentilicians found in Greek and Latin "pagan" epitaphs, with six known individuals.[344] These include a Roscia Secundilla, commemorated in a Latin epitaph of the second or early third century (*IMCCat* 125), and a Klaudia Roskia, whose marble *cippus* with Greek epitaph dates to around a century later (*IMCCat* 179).

Such funerary *tituli*, along with some public inscriptions and dedications, contain little substantive demographic information about the non-elite population of Catina, but in aggregate, they present an image of a prosperous urban "middle class" engaged in a variety of non-agricultural professions and activities.[345] These included individual freedmen with connections to

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[341] He was the son of one of the men who would be chosen as emperor by the senate in AD 238; his presence in Catania is known from his *cursus*, recorded in an inscription from Tibur (*CIL* XIV 3593). For his significance, see C. Molè Ventura, "Catania in età imperiale," in Gentili, *Catania antica*, 175-222, at 202-220; Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 155-6; and Molè, "L'età antica," 52-4.

[342] See especially Eck, "Senatorische Familien" and "Senatoren und senatorischer grundbesitz" for the prosopography of this family.

[343] Cf. *IMCCat* 13, a late second or early third century Latin epitaph on marble from Catania or Centuripe, that commemorates the infant Q. Pompeius Sosius Clementianus, perhaps a freedman or the son of freedmen of the senatorial Pompeii.

[344] *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico*, 245.

[345] Here, unlike Mayer (*Ancient Middle Classes*), I use the term "middle class" mainly for convenience, to describe the significant portion of the population of Catina that was not part of the traditional political, economic, and social "elite" (i.e. did not primarily rely on rents and produce from landed properties for income), but whose members appear to have possessed some degree of wealth and literacy, and were independently (or corporately) engaged in commerce in the city as businessmen, craftsmen, skilled laborers, etc.

the leading senatorial families of eastern Sicily, engaged in Catina in the business and administrative interests of their patrons; *collegia* of tradesmen associated with the activities of the port; and individuals engaged in the more banal aspects of civic and provincial government and in the provision of the "services" (entertainment, health, etc.) for which there would have been substantial demand in a large, cosmopolitan urban center like Catina. The presence of individuals of enslaved or freed status who were connected to the ruling elite of the island and probably engaged in their business interests in Catina can be seen in funerary epigraphy, such as the epitaph of a *fidelissimus vilicus* buried in the first or second century (*CIL* X 7041).[346] Such individuals were also employed in the administration of the imperial patrimony: a Latin epitaph on marble of the second or early third century commemorates an *Augusti libertus tabularius* (*IMCCat* 38),[347] while another set of epitaphs in Latin and Greek point to the presence of freedmen connected with the family of Agrippa in the first and second centuries (Vipsanii: *IMCCat* 63, 145-7; *IG* XIV 495).

As one of the major ports for eastern Sicily, Catina was also the home of several professional *collegia, sodalicia,* and *conviviae* associated with processing and export activities: including *marmorarii* (*CIL* X 7039), *cuparii* (*CIL* X 7040), *saccarii, mensores,* and the *fabri navales Catinenses* (*CIL* XIV 364), who shared a patron, C. Granius Maturus, with an Ostian corporation.[348] Epitaphs further attest to the presence of individuals providing a range of "services" to the urban community, including actors and gladiators (*IMCCat* 51 = *CIL* X 7046: a female *mimas*; and *IMCCat* 136, probably a gladiator), and a physician (*IMCCat* 171: the *iatros* Bassos). Unusually for Sicily, Catanian epitaphs also attest to the presence of Roman soldiers, veterans, and Roman citizens of indeterminate occupation, who were perhaps colonists or their descendants.[349]

The economy of Roman imperial Catina

The variety of social ranks and occupations attested epigraphically in Roman Catina – which must represent only a fraction of the actual population and of the activities they were engaged in - reflects the economic diversity of the city, which derived from its dual role as the administrative center of a large and fertile *territorium* and as a port along some of the most important shipping routes of the central Mediterranean. However, as Strabo's account of the banditry of Selurus hints, the urban center's relationship with this *territorium* was complicated by the eruptions of Etna, which periodically rendered some lands uninhabitable and forced the reconfiguration of boundaries: the letter of the *curator* Iulius Paternus implies, furthermore, that by the mid-second century, some parcels of civic land were no longer occupied and hence could be sold by the city.[350]

There is no sign of centuriation around the city, and so the extent of its *territorium* especially after the deduction of the Augustan colony is unclear, as is the manner of its expansion and

[346] Cf. *IMCCat* 36 for a possible *vilicus stationis* – the proprietor of a *statio* of the *cursus publicus*.
[347] An anonymous *procurator Augusti* and military tribune is attested in a fragmentary Latin inscription (*AE* 1989.341q).
[348] See especially Soraci, "Catania in età tardoantica," 259-61, for epigraphic evidence of *collegia*.
[349] E.g. M. Iulius M. f. Sedatius Narbone of the tribe Papiria, a soldier in the seventh legion for fourteen years (*AE* 1897.132) and P. Iunius P. f. Servienus of the tribe Quirina (*AE* 1989.341n).
[350] Manganaro, "*Chora Katanaia*," 55.

definition.[351] However, it can be assumed that it could not have extended substantially to the north, beyond the southern and eastern slopes of Etna, due to the presence of the Roman *colonia* at Tauromenium. It is more likely that the territory expanded west and south instead, into the plain of Catania, the valley of the Simeto and the *ager Leontinus* (shared, probably, with Centuripae), and into the Hyblaean plateau (shared with Syracuse).[352] As the presence of members of the provincial and imperial ruling elite and their *clientelae* in Catania implies, this *territorium* contained substantial private and imperial landholdings. Furthermore, a large late Republican/early imperial basalt milestone (*IMCCat* 35 = *CIL* X 7022) was re-inscribed in the second or third century to mark the *fines* of the *fundus* of Vibius Severus.[353]

The presence of such substantial wealth in the *territorium* and the need for integration between rural productive units, larger urban settlements, and the port of Catina itself were reflected in the numerous building projects attested archaeologically and epigraphically in the hinterland of Catina in the imperial period, beginning with the Augustan-era aqueduct bringing water into the city from sources in the southern foothills of Etna. Bridges built over the Simeto in the first and second century AD improved transport and communications between Catina and its inland rival, Centuripae.[354] Substantial rural residential and productive centers also arose in the territory of Catina in the high imperial period. The archaeologically best-known of these are located west of the city at Misterbianco, where a bath complex perhaps attached to a villa arose in the late second century; and along the coast to the north at Santa Venera al Pozzo near Acireale, where a bath building, a small temple, and a late Roman kiln complex have been excavated: perhaps the remains of a small marketing center or thermal spa/cult complex.[355]

Although field survey in the *territorium* has been limited, the research that has been done, especially south of the plain of Catania, suggests an intensive and persistent exploitation of agricultural resources in the imperial period, with a substantial rural population engaged in the cultivation and processing of a diverse range of crops (including cereals, vines, and olives), particularly in late antiquity.[356] The diverse agricultural potential of the hinterland is also

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[351] I.e. through the confiscation of the lands of pro-Pompeian Sicilians, as in Tauromenium; through the resettlement of abandoned lands around Etna; or through the assignment of territory of abandoned cities – though all three methods were probably used incrementally.

[352] A noted early Christian epitaph from the city, now housed in the Louvre, commemorating a child who died at Hybla but was buried in Catania implies that by late antiquity at least, the city's (religious, if not administrative) *territorium* extended substantially to the southwest (*CIL* X 7012, discussed further below).

[353] Another inscription bearing a similar monogram (VB), now lost, was also probably found at Catania (*CIL* X 7107).

[354] Molè, "L'età antica," 45.

[355] For preliminary reports of the excavations at these settlements, see R.J.A. Wilson, "Archaeology in Sicily, 1982-87," *AR* 34 (1987/8): 105-50, at 117; id., *Sicily*, 226-7; and F. De Angelis, "Archaeology in Sicily 1996-2000," *AR* 47 (2000/1): 145-201, at 170. For more recent excavations at Santa Venera, see M.G. Branciforti, "L'area archeologica di Santa Venera al Pozzo (Acicatena)," in *Dall'Alcantara agli Iblei: la ricera archeologica in provincia di Catania. Guida alla mostra*, ed. F. Privitera and U. Spigo (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 2005), 205-7; and S. Amari, "A late Roman pottery and brick factory in Sicily (Santa Venera al Pozzo)," in *Archaeometric and archaeological approaches to ceramics. Papers presented at EMAC '05, 8th European meeting on ancient ceramics, Lyon 2005,* ed. S.Y. Waksman (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 121-8.

[356] F. Valenti, "Note preliminari per lo studio degli insediamenti di età romana a sud della piana di Catania," *Kōkalos* 43/4 (1997/8): 233-73.

reflected in the activities attested at the port of Catina: the *collegia* of *cuparii, saccarii,* and *mensores*, for example, were involved in the storage and export of wine and cereals.

The presence of *marmorarii* at Catina points to another important industry based in the city that relied on the natural resources of its territory and its maritime connections with the wider Mediterranean: the transport and working of stone. As seen at Tauromenium, the eastern coast of Sicily lay along one of the principal shipping routes for building materials from across the Mediterranean to imperial and Byzantine Rome – routes that have left traces in the numerous wrecks of large, valuable cargoes of stone in the shallow waters between Capo Passero and the Straits of Messina.[357] Although little is known of the port facilities of Catina, and it has been suggested[358] that the city was not a major port along such routes for much of the imperial period – losing out instead to cities with more extensive port facilities, such as Syracuse and Tauromenium – the use of a wide variety of valuable stones from across the Mediterranean in public monuments as well as in public and private inscriptions suggests that the city received at least some of this trade, even before the explosive growth of the Severan period. Furthermore, the black basalt from the lava flows of Etna was the primary material used in the monumental infrastructure of Catina and surrounding settlements - especially for paving stones and for foundations, walls, and other substructures that originally would have been covered by more aesthetically pleasing marble and stone facades in such monuments as the theatre and *odeum* - and in the distinctive lava hand-mills used to produce flour that can be found across the empire (cf. Plate 6.38b).

Catina in late antiquity

Ausonius celebrated Catina along with Syracuse as one of the leading cities of the Roman Empire in his *Ordo urbium nobilium* of the late fourth century (16-17). Though the significance of this inclusion should not be overstated, as I have already shown in my discussion of the epigraphic record of the city, Catina maintained its political and economic importance and integration with the wider Mediterranean well into late antiquity and even into the post-Roman period. One manifestation of this continuing prominence and integration is the long life of the public infrastructure of the city, which was maintained and expanded at least through the fourth century. As noted above, a monumental Greek inscription commemorates the restoration of the Thermae Achilleae by a court official in 438 (*IMCCat* 11), and the nearby Terme dell'Indirizzo, another monumental public bath complex, was also probably constructed in the fourth or fifth century.[359] The orchestra of the theatre was enlarged to accommodate aquatic shows in the fourth or fifth century – a modification also made in the theatre at Syracuse in the same period – while the inscription of Merulus commemorating the restoration of the statues of the *pii fratres* implies that the theatre was maintained as commemorative public space even in the last decades of Roman rule.[360]

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[357] These include, from north to south, the Capo Taormina and Giardini wrecks (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 256 and 443, and see above); Marzamemi A-C (cat. no. 670-2); and Isola delle Correnti (cat. no. 522).

[358] E.g. by Molè, "L'età antica," 51.

[359] Wilson, "La topografia," 169.

[360] Wilson, "La topografia," 162-3 for late modifications to the theatre. Another, less reliable indication that public spectacles continued to take place in the city comes from the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, which singles out Syracuse and Catina as the *splendidae civitates* of Sicily, noting their *spectaculum circensium* (589-91).

Another manifestation of Catina's integration into dominant Mediterranean economic, cultural, and religious currents is the presence of an early and extensive Christian community in the urban center, seen also at Syracuse. Around 150 epitaphs from the necropoleis on the northern edges of the city attest to the size and prosperity of this community, which existed alongside a smaller Jewish community.[361] The presence of the Christian community in the urban necropoleis can be firmly dated to the 340s (cf. *IMCCat* 164-5), but it was probably formed substantially earlier: the epitaph commemorating Iulia Florentina, who died shortly after baptism at Hybla but was buried at Catania, probably dates to around the time of the Diocletianic persecutions.[362] The Iulia Florentina inscription is valuable additionally as evidence of the veneration of martyrs by the early Christian community, since she was buried *pro foribus martyrorum*.[363] The area of the necropolis devoted to the cult of martyrs – which took the form of a *martyrium* and associated cemetery by the early fourth century – became the site of a basilica in the sixth century.[364] The abandonment and collapse of the imperial *domus* excavated in the ex-Reclusorio della Purità in the course of the fifth century points to the contraction of the settled area of the city in late antiquity, as necropoleis expanded into former residential and public areas especially on the northern edge of town – including in the vicinity of the amphitheatre, which appears to have been abandoned by the sixth century AD.[365]

The maintenance of a strong civic identity by the Christian community of Catina – an identity that was now focused on the cults of Roman-era martyrs, such as Saint Agatha (who is still the patron saint of the city) - helped to shape the city's post-Roman urban phase. By the seventh century AD, as the urban infrastructure of the imperial city decayed, the northern, formerly extramural zone that included the Roman amphitheatre and imperial and late Roman necropoleis emerged as the center of organized religious activity in the city. In the Byzantine period, the main paved north-south street that had connected the city center to the amphitheatre via the prosperous residential district on Montevergine hill was transformed into a "via devotionalis" linking a series of churches dedicated to Saint Agatha, culminating in the Sant'Agata al Carcere complex at the northeastern edge of the ancient settlement: the supposed location of the saint's imprisonment before her martyrdom in the arena during the Decian persecutions.[366]

Conclusion

Catina's main value as a case study comes from the comparison of its development with that of the other major cities of the eastern coast of Sicily: Tauromenium to the north and Syracuse to the south. All three cities were Augustan colonies, but they were set up for different reasons and according to different models. A colony was created at Tauromenium, as we have seen, for

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[361] Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico*, 243. The epigraphic evidence of the Jewish presence in Catina consists primarily of tombstones: most notably, the bilingual Hebrew/Latin epitaph of Aurelius Samohil (Samuel) and his wife, dated to AD 383 (*IMCCat* 228) and, less securely, *IGLPal* 10, *IMCCat* 187, 192, and 229, and *IG* XIV 534.

[362] Molè, "L'età antica," 57.

[363] Cf. *IMCCat* 189, evidence of veneration of Hilarion in the late fourth/fifth century.

[364] I. Bitto, "Catania paleocristiana: l'epitaffio di Theodule," in Gentili, *Catania antica*, 279-92, at 279.

[365] M.G. Branciforti, "Quartieri di età ellenistica e romana a Catania," in *Archeologia del Mediterraneo. Studi in onore di Ernesto De Miro*, ed. G. Fiorentini, A. Calderone, and M. Caccamo Caltabiano (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003), 95-120, at 113-4; and "Scavi archeologici nell'ex reclusorio della Purità," 59.

[366] Tomasello, "Per un'immagine," 147-8.

punitive and strategic purposes, and was accompanied by the transformation of the topography of the civic center, with the buildings (and, perhaps, institutions) of the old *polis* obliterated by new Roman monuments. The foundation of the Roman colony at Catina, on the other hand, appears to have been an effort to restore political, demographic, and economic order in a region devastated by the eruptions of Etna and the civil wars. Although changes in the residential areas of the city in the Augustan period may be linked to the need to accommodate the new colonists, the imposition of the colony at Catina appears to have had a less dramatic and direct impact on the topography of the urban center. In contrast to Syracuse, Catina developed as an economic rather than political center of power on the eastern coast. Although it was not possessed of the largest or best port in the region, it controlled an extensive and fertile hinterland. For this reason, Catina attracted the economic activity and patronage of the leading families of the province and the attention of Roman administrators (and even, perhaps, emperors), forming, along with Centuripae and Syracuse, an alternative "triangle" of elite activity to rival Lilybaeum, Thermae, and Panhormus in the West.

Catina is also significant for the growth and prosperity it experienced in the Severan period (mid-second - mid-third century AD). Like Lilybaeum on the western coast, this "revival" can be attributed to Catina's position on one of the main shipping routes connecting the long North African littoral, with its booming export economy (particularly in oil, but also in cereals and in ceramics), to Rome and central Italy. As the adornment of the monuments of the urban center with valuable marbles and other imported stones shows, the city was also a port of call on the route connecting the main stone-producing regions of the central and eastern Mediterranean (North Africa, Egypt, and the Aegean) to Rome.

And finally, Catina is nearly unique in Sicily in the maintenance of its urban fabric and in the persistence of a strong civic identity until (and even beyond) the very end of Roman power on the island. This persistence can in part be attributed to the economic and social diversity of its population: as the epigraphic record for the high and late Empire reveals, the city was home to individuals of multiple social levels, from slaves to officials of the imperial court, engaged in a variety of occupations. This economic and social heterogeneity meant that the city remained attractive both as a population center and as an object of elite patronage. In this respect, Catina offers a contrast to the cities examined in the last chapter, whose economies followed the traditional *polis* model of land ownership and exploitation of agricultural resources in the *territorium* – an economic basis for urban development that, as I have shown, was placed under increased strain in the Roman imperial period.

Syracuse (Siracusa)

Introduction

Syracuse, located on the southeastern coast, was the most influential and prominent city in Sicily from its foundation by Corinthian colonists ca. 734 BC through late antiquity, and it saw its relative political, cultural, and economic influence on the island diminish only after the Arab conquest in the late ninth century. Despite (or perhaps because of) its turbulent political history, with dynasties of tyrants alternating with democratic and oligarchic governments, Syracuse was highly active on the Mediterranean political, cultural, and economic stage from the archaic period until its fall to the Romans and the end of its effective autonomy in 211 BC. For these reasons, we possess more historical evidence for Syracuse than for any other Sicilian city, especially in the third century BC. In this century, Agathocles and Hieron II reasserted Syracuse's political, military, cultural, and economic dominance in Sicily. Hieron was the only

Sicilian leader active on the "world stage" of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and his activities within and beyond Sicily – and particularly his interactions with Rome – were chronicled by later Greek and Roman historians, including Livy, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch.

Thanks to the efforts of Agathocles and Hieron, Syracuse was the only truly hegemonic city in Sicily in the third century, and these two men crafted styles of personal rule that were heavily influenced by contemporary Hellenistic monarchs, incorporating such ideological elements as "spear-won land," the defense of the Greeks against barbarians (i.e. the Carthaginians), cultural patronage within Syracuse and its kingdom, competitive euergetism beyond Sicily (mainly, the supply of grain to other cities and kingdoms), and the assimilation of the ruler and his family to Olympian deities (if not the outright institution of a "ruler cult"). In particular, as will be discussed below, Hieron's interactions with Rome anticipated those of the Attalids and other Hellenistic kings, as the Syracusan leader successfully balanced expressing loyalty (or fealty) to the expanding Mediterranean power with maintaining his personal authority and the autonomy of his kingdom.

While we are relatively well informed by literary sources about the history of Syracuse in the third century, the other forms of evidence for this and later periods – and especially the archaeological evidence – is still lacunose. Although the city's ancient history and built environment have received much attention over the centuries, many controversies remain over the identification and chronology of the monuments of Syracuse and its "kingdom" from the Hellenistic into the Roman period. These controversies have implications for our understanding of the political history of the period: for example, for our understanding of the nature and extent of the Syracusan "kingdom" or "sphere of influence" in third-century Sicily, and whether we should view Hieron as a "weak" or "strong" Hellenistic ruler. Likewise, the impact on the urban fabric of the various political changes Syracuse endured after the death of Hieron (such as the Roman sack and the imposition of an Augustan colony) remains difficult to assess.

By the third century, the urban center of Syracuse was organized into four main districts (cf. Plate 6.39a): Ortygia, Acradina, Neapolis, and Tychē. Ortygia, the island on which the original *apoikia* was established that remained the traditional political and religious heart of the city, was connected to the mainland by bridges. Acradina (or Achradina), the mainland district closest to Ortygia, was developed on a regular plan with long, wide streets radiating out to the northwest from the harbors, and eventually extended over the necropoleis that ringed the archaic and classical urban center. Neapolis, another mainland district, was developed particularly in the third century BC on the higher ground to the northwest of Acradina, in an area formerly occupied by necropoleis, smaller suburban residential and industrial settlements, and the famous quarries of the classical period. The precise location and boundaries of Tychē, a mainland district bordering Neapolis, are unknown.

The development of Syracuse under Hieron II

The period of Syracuse's political, military, economic, and cultural "revival," initiated in the mid-fourth century under the leadership of the Corinthian Timoleon and continued by Agathocles and especially Hieron II, also saw the expansion of the urban center to districts of Acradina and Neapolis formerly occupied by extra-urban necropoleis.[367] Although the chronological and topographical details remain uncertain, it is generally agreed that Hieron II was responsible for the monumentalization of all three districts of the city especially in the

[367] See especially G.V. Gentili, "Siracusa. Contributo alla topografia dell'antica città," *NSc* 10 (1956): 94-164, for this process in Acradina.

decades after the First Punic War, when the Syracusan leader's savvy dealings with Rome resulted in the emergence of his city as the preeminent political and economic power in eastern Sicily. On Ortygia, according to the later Roman accounts of Livy and Cicero, Hieron built his palace and monumental granaries (*horrea publica*), though no archaeological trace remains of these buildings.[368] In the Syracusan agora, presumably in Acradina - though its precise location is disputed - Hieron built a new *Olympeion* (sanctuary of Olympian Zeus) to supplement the archaic extra-urban sanctuary to the south; again, no archaeological trace of this building remains.[369] He also expanded the monumental fortifications built by Dionysius I and renovated by Agathocles at Epipolae, to the north of the city center.[370]

Hieron made his greatest impact in Neapolis, where in the decades after the First Punic War he assembled a complex of monuments that served to celebrate his personal power, legitimate his family's claim to dynastic rule, and reinforce the civic identity of Syracuse at a time when the city was celebrating the 500th anniversary of its foundation and enjoying a period of renewed political, economic, and cultural prestige in Sicily and on the Mediterranean stage. The centerpiece of this monumental complex was the theatre built into a gently sloping terraced hillside looking out to Ortygia and the harbor (Plate 6.39b). Although it is uncertain whether Hieron created this theatre *ex novo* or built onto an existing structure, what is clear is that the king was responsible for a program of nearly complete renovation and expansion that obliterated any trace of earlier structures and resulted in the basic form of the theatre still visible today. The theatre was one of the largest in the Greek world, with a seating capacity of ca. 14,000.[371] The attribution of its monumental form to the initiative of Hieron is almost certain, thanks to a series of names inscribed in large Greek letters across the *diazoma* separating the upper and lower seating sections (Plate 6.40a). These names, which correspond to each of the theatre's nine *cunei*, include four members of the royal family (Gelon the son of Hieron, Nereis the wife of Gelon, Philistis the wife of Hieron, and Hieron himself) and five Olympian deities, of whom only Zeus (in the center of the *diazoma*) and Herakles can be identified with certainty.[372] The construction (or renovation and expansion) of the theatre was accompanied by the monumentalization of the terraces surrounding it. On the highest terrace, an L-shaped stoa was built that framed the *summa cavea* just below it. The Belvedere terrace above the theatre underwent an even more profound transformation, with the construction of a large U-shaped stoa aligned with the theatre and two associated cult buildings.[373]

Just south of the theatre and at the end of the wide E-W street that served as the principal axis of Acradina, Hieron built a monumental altar that was cited by Diodorus as one of the emblems of Syracusan prosperity in the century and a half after Timoleon (16.83.2). This altar, the foundations of which are still visible today, was one of the largest in the Greek world, with a

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[368] Livy 24.21 for the granaries, and Cic. II *Verr*. 4.52 for the palace (*domus*) of Hiero on Ortygia. C. Lehmler hypothesizes that the palace was located in the area between the temples of Apollo and Artemis/Athena – specifically, in modern Piazza Archimede, if this was indeed the location of the Roman *praetorium* [*Syrakus unter Agathokles und Hieron II. Die Verbindung von Kultur und Macht in einer hellenistischen Metropole* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 2005), 120].
[369] Diod. Sic. 16.83.2 and Cic. II *Verr*. 4.119 (cf. 4.128) for this temple.
[370] Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 151.
[371] Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 125.
[372] See Campagna, "Architettura e ideologia," 174-81; Bell, "Centro e periferia," 271; and Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 128 for possible restorations of the series of inscribed names.
[373] Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 132-4; Campagna, "Architettura e ideologia," 173.

length of almost 200m and a width of over 20m (Plate 6.40b).[374] It was fronted to the west by a large, paved, open plaza that underwent several alterations in later eras, and whose original form and purpose is somewhat uncertain. The specific divinity or divinities to whom the altar was dedicated is likewise unclear, though it was clearly intended as the site of large-scale public sacrifices.

As I indicated above, our understanding of the impact of Hieron's personal initiatives on the development of the urban fabric of Syracuse rests on somewhat shaky archaeological evidence, and his influence on the monumental programs of other Sicilian cities both within and outside his kingdom is even more difficult to assess with certainty.[375] Nonetheless, the bulk of scholarship is now largely harmonious in its positive assessment of his reign, with a greater appreciation of Hieron as a king who was active on the Hellenistic world stage, and whose city and kingdom were deeply integrated into the political, economic, and cultural currents of the wider Mediterranean.[376] The nature of Hieron's building projects in Syracuse and the motives and ideologies behind these projects largely fall in line with those of the Hellenistic rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean. The construction of the theatre-altar complex in Neapolis – and especially the addition of the monumental inscription to the *diazoma* of the theatre - can be interpreted as a means of legitimating and strengthening Hieron's rule by creating an association between the *basileus*, his family, and the Olympian divinities. At the same time, the Neapolis complex celebrated Syracuse's power and autonomy, and served as a new monumental space within the urban center for public processions, performances, and sacrifices, thus bringing the populace closer to its ruler.[377]

The *Olympeion* in the agora further assimilated Hieron with the chief tutelary deity of the Greeks, who was also a divinity closely linked to Syracuse's origins and history. The assimilation of Hieron with Zeus, though probably not in the form of an official "ruler cult," seems to have been embraced by the Syracusan population, as seen in a small, apparently privately commissioned altar found in the city bearing the inscription *Dios Sōtēros Hierōnos*.[378] The Temple of Zeus was, according to Livy (24.21), also the site of Hieron's dedication of spoils of the Gauls and Illyrians: gifts from Rome in thanks for the king's (financial and logistical, rather than military) assistance in the wars of 225-221 BC. This gesture shows the success of Hieron's "philo-Roman" policy as a means by which Hieron could bolster his stature as a leader in warfare and on the Hellenistic world stage, despite his lack of real autonomy in foreign policy under the Romans.

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[374] Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 135.

[375] Campagna, "Architettura e ideologia," 153-6.

[376] Bell, "Centro e periferia," and, more recently, Lehmler, *Syrakus*, and J. Serrati, "A Syracuse private altar and the development of the ruler-cult in hellenistic Sicily," *Historia* 57 (2008): 80-91, for "positive" assessments of the reign of Heiron; though in general agreement, Campagna ("Architettura e ideologia") sounds a note of caution on the limitations of the evidence for Hieron's personal initiatives inside and outside of Syracuse. Hieron's personal connections to the Ptolemies and the economic and cultural links between Syracuse and Egypt have been much-noted, especially in recent scholarship; see chapter 1 for bibliography.

[377] As Campagna notes, the Hieronian theatre of Syracuse, with its monumental inscriptions, anticipates the function of representing personal power that theatres would begin to fulfill in Rome in the Late Republic and the Augustan period ("Architettura e ideologia," 183).

[378] Serrati, "Syracuse private altar," and Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 150, for different conclusions regarding this altar and its implications for the existence of an official "ruler cult" in the city.

The construction of monumental granaries on Ortygia – also the site of Hieron's palace – tied the political power and legitimacy of the king to the economic power of Syracuse, as derived from the grain tithe that Hieron instituted across eastern Sicily (and that was subsequently adopted by Rome as Cicero's *lex Hieronica*, as the taxation system for the entire *provincia*). The granaries perhaps also served as a conspicuous reminder of the king's beneficence both to his people and to other cities across the Mediterranean (including Rome). As Lehmler points out, the Attalid rulers of Pergamon also built granaries in association with their palaces, as a means of demonstrating the economic security of the state.[379] Hieron's improvement of the city's defenses demonstrates an interest in military technology even in the period after the First Punic War[380] – an interest, most famously embodied in his patronage of the Syracuse-born and Alexandria-trained Archimedes, that he shared other Hellenistic rulers and with Dionysius I and Agathocles, earlier Syracusan rulers who had possessed stronger military credentials.

Hieron's interest in military technology is symptomatic of the elevated intellectual and cultural climate of Syracuse under his rule – a cultural revival attributable to the kingdom's connections with Ptolemaic Egypt and the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean. This integration into Mediterranean artistic, architectural, and cultural trends can be seen in the material culture of the city in the Hieronian period, when many wealthy private homes were adorned with sculpture from or influenced by Alexandrian workshops, such as the statue of an old fisherman found in a luxury residence in the modern Borgata quarter and now in the Museo Archaeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi.[381] The religious syncretism seen in the Hellenistic-era material culture of the city – including objects related to the cults of Cybele, Demeter, Dionysus, and Isis, as well as the series of votive *pinakes* depicting heroized warriors – also derived from the city's close and enduring links with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean.[382]

The specific impact of Hieron and his Syracusan monumental program in cities both inside and out of his "kingdom" (whose boundaries are themselves difficult to determine), such as Morgantina, Tauromenion, Megara Hyblaea, and Akrai, is hard to assess with certainty because of the difficulty of assigning firm chronologies to many of the monuments of these cities. Such evidentiary *lacunae* prevent the firm attribution of such structures as the granaries of Morgantina and the Hellenistic temple in the "agora" of Tauromenion to the personal initiative of Hieron, though they were probably constructed during his reign. However, we can see the impact of the innovative architecture and sheer scale of the monuments of Syracuse – and in particular, the Hieronian theatre – on the development of other Sicilian cities. In the decades after Hieron's death, permanent monumental stone theatres were built *ex novo* in many cities in the West and North, including Segesta, Soluntum, and Monte Iato.

Syracuse under the Roman Republic

After the death of Hieron in 215 BC and the short rule (under guardianship) of his young grandson Hieronymus, Syracuse was plunged once again into political turmoil in the absence of

[379] *Syrakus*, 122.
[380] Lehmler, *Syrakus*, 151.
[381] C. Ciurcina, *Siracusa in età ellenistica e romana. Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa* (Siracusa: Erre produzioni, 2006), 26. In Cicero's account, the city's temples and public buildings were also adorned with fine paintings and sculpture, such as the statue of Sappho by Silanion, a sculptor of Alexander the Great's time, that stood in the *prytaneion* (II *Verr*. 4.57, and see below).
[382] Ciurcina, *Siracusa*, 25.

a strong leader.[383] The city turned against Rome in the Second Punic War, was famously besieged by the Romans in 214/213, and finally sacked by M. Claudius Marcellus in 211 BC.[384] This last event effectively ended the city's hegemonic political and economic position in Sicily, as it and the former "kingdom" of Hieron became part of the new Roman *provincia* that now encompassed the entire island. Cicero states that Marcellus forbade the Syracusans from occupying Ortygia in order to deny them an easily defendable stronghold (II *Verr*. 5.32), but otherwise, the impact of the Roman siege and takeover on the urban fabric of Syracuse is difficult to discern in the archaeological and historical record. Recent excavations have provided some tentative evidence of destruction and contraction of the occupied area that can be broadly dated to the second half of the third century BC.[385] Cicero (II *Verr*. 4.54) and Plutarch (*Marc*. 20) portray Marcellus as a fair, unselfish, and merciful conqueror. However, they make clear that much of the cultural patrimony of the city was lost after the sack, as the Roman commander and his army carried away many of its notable artworks to Rome as spoils (works whose presence in Rome would have a profound impact on the development of Roman cultural tastes and *mores* in the middle and late Republic), though this process is difficult to trace in the archaeological record.

Our knowledge of Syracuse in the early years of the Roman *provincia* derives mostly from the historical record, where it appears that the civic body was quick to recover from the trauma of the siege and establish beneficial relations with its new Roman overlords. According to Cicero, the city was subject to the grain tithe and received no special privileges under the Republic, but it served as the center of Roman administration. The city became the seat of one of the island's two quaestors (the other was based in Lilybaeum), and the palace of Hieron was taken over as the *praetorium* or *regia* – the seat of the Roman governor (II *Verr*. 4.52). Hence the city became the main location of the governor's activities, such as the administration of justice (2.15, 28; 3.10, 27, 34), as well as the location of the yearly contracting of the grain tithe (3.64), and one of the main harbors from which the *portorium* was collected (2.70, 72). Shortly after the sack of the city, the Syracusans honored their conqueror, M. Claudius Marcellus, in ways befitting a Hellenistic king, instituting the "Marcellia" festival in his honor and erecting a bronze statue of him in the *bouleuterion* (II *Verr*. 2.21 and 63).[386] Such gestures honored the Roman promagistrate as the city's new founder or *restitutor*, and helped to cement the client relationship between the Syracusans and the Claudii Marcelli that carried over to the magistracy of M. Claudius Marcellus' son in 198 BC and to later descendants, and endured at least down to the time of Cicero (cf. II *Verr*. 2.14).[387]

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[383] Livy 24.4-7 and 21-4 is the main account of the death of Hieron, the succession and assassination of Hieronymus, the subsequent political turmoil, Syracuse's "defection" to Carthage, and the beginning of the siege of Syracuse in 215-214 BC.

[384] Plut. *Marc*. 14-19 provides an account of the siege of Syracuse.

[385] See, e.g., B. Basile, "Siracusa. Indagini archeologiche nel biennio 2000 – 2001," *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 729-82, on the destruction in the second half of a third century, probably after the Roman conquest, of a large (sacred?) building excavated in the courtyard of the Palazzo della Prefettura on Ortygia (p. 772 and 782); and E. Messina, **"**Lo scavo in via Zappalà (Siracusa)," *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 807-19, on the abandonment of an *insula* excavated in the northern sector of Neapolis at the end of the third century BC (pp. 815-19).

[386] M. Cadario, "I Claudi Marcelli. Strategie di propaganda in monumenti onorari e dediche votive tra III e I sec. a.C.," *Ostraka* 14 (2005): 147-77, for these honors and their implications.

[387] Cadario, "Claudi Marcelli," 169. Other Marcelli involved in the government of Sicily include C. Claudius Marcellus in 79 BC and P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 70 BC.

Although our archaeological evidence for the city's development in the Republican period is deficient, Cicero provides a considerable amount of information on its population, government, religious life, and monumental topography in the early first century BC. Cicero describes Syracuse as the richest and fairest (*pulcherrima atque ornatissima*) city of Sicily, and the largest and loveliest of all Greek cities (*urbs maxima, pulcherrima*) (II *Verr*. 4.52). As the center of Roman administration and the cultural capital of the island, in Cicero's account, the city was the site (as well as the target) of many of Verres' crimes, and thus receives considerable attention in his oration.

Hardly surprisingly, given the city's political and economic centrality in Sicily, Cicero describes it as home to a large and socially, ethnically, and economically diverse population. Many of the members of its wealthy Greek elite have ties of patronage to Verres - serving as his "cronies," in Cicero's reckoning - while others are subject to his abuses (e.g. Heraclius son of Hiero, whose considerable inheritance is pointed out to Verres by the Syracusan citizens Cleomenes and Aeschrio: 2.14). Cicero also refers to individual Romans and Italians resident in Syracuse, as well as to the city's sizeable and active *conventus* (4.25, 4.61, 5.36, 5.59) of Roman citizens – including many *equites* (3.59, 4.61) - engaged in business (*negotiatores*: 2.62) and provincial administration (e.g. as tax collectors and members of *societates*: 2.70).[388] Cicero describes how Verres set up an *officina* for metalworking and engraving in his *regia* on Ortygia, summoning all skilled craftsmen on the island to this establishment (4.24), and how he induced Theomnastus of Syracuse to set up a weaving establishment in his home (4.26), implying that the city was (or became under Verres) home to a large number of artisans who specialized in luxury goods.

Cicero portrays Verres as trying to emulate and supplant Marcellus in the most inappropriate fashion by building patron-client relationships between his family and individual Syracusans, as well as with the entire civic body of Syracuse. The orator claims that statues of Verres and his son were erected in the Syracusan *bouleuterion* alongside the statue of Marcellus (2.21), and that the city was forced to donate statues of Verres, his father, and his son to be set up in the forum/agora and in Rome (2.59). Further inappropriate honors that the Syracusans were forced (in Cicero's telling) to bestow upon Verres include an inscription honoring him as Soter (*qui salute dedit*) and *patronus* (2.63). This juxtaposition of Greek and Roman-style honors fits into the image of Verres that Cicero crafts throughout his oration as a corrupt, misguided Roman magistrate who succeeds in emulating a Hellenistic potentate in bombast and love of luxury, but not in substantive military and political accomplishments. Verres also instituted a festival in his own honor in the city while suppressing that of Marcellus (4.21. 4.63), and an arch was erected in his honor in the agora/forum that was topped by an equestrian statue of himself and a nude statue of his son (4.63).

In his descriptions of Verres' activities in Syracuse, Cicero reveals valuable details about the religious and civic institutions and physical structures of the city. Indeed, Syracuse is the only Sicilian city whose topography Cicero describes in detail, dividing the city into four districts (4.53): Ortygia, the center of Roman administration and the traditional religious heart of the city; Achradina and Tyche, the mainland residential and public areas, based on an imposing orthogonal street grid;[389] and Neapolis, the theatre and temple district. His descriptions of

[388] See Tribulato, "*Siculi bilingues*?" 310-11, for epigraphic evidence of *negotiatores* (possibly involved in the fish trade) and *aratores* in first century BC Syracuse.

[389] According to Cicero, Achradina is the site of the forum and the city's main public buildings, including *pulcherrimae porticus* (stoas), an *ornatissimum prytanium*, *amplissima curia* (the *bouleuterion*), and

Verres' thefts and abuses hint at the vivacity of the town's civic and religious life, as well as the continuity of many of the cults and institutions that had originated in the early years of the *apoikia*. The cult of Demeter/Ceres and Kore/Persephone remained an integral part of the city's religious life, with a *temenos* of the two goddesses located in Neapolis (4.53) and an annual festival still celebrated by the citizenry outside the city, at the site of the legendary rape of Persephone (4.48). The temples of Artemis/Diana and Athena/Minerva that Cicero cites among the main landmarks of Ortygia (4.53) have been identified with some certainty, while the locations of those of Dionysus/Liber and Asclepius (4.57) remain unknown. Though he does not mention the archaic *Apollonion* on Ortygia, Cicero includes Apollo among the main deities venerated in the city, with a colossal statue of the god situated in the highest part of Neapolis (Temenites: 4.53), and another (Paean: 4.57) in the temple of Asclepius. Zeus, however, remained the main civic deity of Syracuse, with the hereditary priesthood of his cult remaining the most prestigious position in the city (2.51, 4.61). The *Olympeion* in Acradina built by Hieron (4.53), the main urban temple of Zeus, was probably the location of the statue of Zeus Urios – the tutelary deity of seafarers – allegedly stolen by Verres (4.57). Cicero also provides evidence for the syncretism in civic religion that had come from Syracuse's early and deep integration into Eastern Mediterranean commercial and cultural currents. He mentions a Temple of Serapis that must have been of considerable public prestige and located in or near one of the main public areas of the city, since Verres set up a statue of himself near its entrance (2.64).

Cicero's description of Verres' thefts from the temples and public buildings of Syracuse (especially 4.55-9) points to the continued wealth and cultural prestige of these institutions and their physical structures - in spite of the plunder of Marcellus and, presumably, of other Roman magistrates – and their continued relevance to civic identity. But in addition to describing the numerous honorific statues and artworks housed in the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* of Syracuse, Cicero also makes clear that the city's government remained active, especially in opposing the abuses of Verres and in courting the support of Cicero during his visit to Sicily, prompting Verres to attempt to dissolve the city council (4.61-5). And finally, two of Cicero's anecdotes speak to the continued prominence of Syracuse as a stopping-point for people and goods on the route connecting Rome to the Eastern Mediterranean. First, he describes Verres' harassment of Antiochus, a son of the Seleucid king Antiochus X who stopped in Syracuse on his way home to Syria from a political mission to Rome (4.27-8).[390] He also complains that because of Verres' thefts from the sacred buildings of Syracuse, the city's tour guides (*mystagogoi*) have nothing to show visitors; since Cicero indicates at various points that his audience is familiar with the sites in Syracuse that he is describing (such as the doors of the Temple of Athena/Minerva: 4.56), these tourists would presumably have included wealthy Romans visiting from Italy.

Besides the account of Cicero, the evidence for Syracuse in the Late Republic largely comes from the city's epigraphic record and from other Roman literature. The appointment of prominent members of the Roman senatorial elite to the quaestorship (such as P. Clodius in 61 BC) and governorship (such as the younger Cato at the start of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar) reflects both the attractiveness of Syracuse as a posting and the strategic importance

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Hieron's *templum egregium* of Olympian Zeus, none of which have been identified archaeologically. Tyche is the site of a *gymnasium amplissimum* and *complures aedes sacrae*.

[390] Another piece of evidence for the presence of foreign notables in Syracuse in the Roman Republican period is a fragmentary dedication by a certain Masteabar, son of a Numidian king, dated by Korhonen to the second quarter of the first century BC ("Language and Identity," 9; cf. Gentili, "Siracusa," 96, for the discovery of this inscription, which was later recarved, though Gentili dates it to the Hieronian period).

of the province of Sicily as one of the main suppliers of grain to Rome and as a bridge to North Africa in the last decades of the Republic. Inscriptions from the city, such as decrees of *proxenia* issued in Greek to the Caesarian proconsul M. Acilius M. f. Caninus (47-44 BC) and to a certain C.? Atilius Sarranus Sopater (early/mid-first century BC), indicate that the local ruling elite remained eager to foster patronage relations with the Roman magistrates and other prominent Roman citizens based in Syracuse.[391] There is also some tentative epigraphic evidence that members of the local elite had begun to acquire the Roman citizenship by the first century BC.[392]

Syracuse under Augustus and in the imperial period

Syracuse became a Roman colony, *Syracusae colonia Augusta,*[393] in Augustus' "settlement" of Sicily in 21 BC. Strabo (*Geog*. 6.2.4) implies that the city had suffered considerable demographic and physical contraction under Sextus Pompey, prompting the *princeps'* "restoration" of the city, though unsurprisingly, there is little archaeological evidence for such a crisis in the urban fabric in the mid-late first century BC. In contrast to the period of Hieron, the era of Augustus and the Roman Empire in Syracuse remains relatively under-studied by archaeologists and historians, in spite of the important questions that the period poses for the urban fabric: for example, how did the monuments of the Hieronian period fit into the civic and religious space of the new colony? Did the urban center retain its cultural and economic centrality in eastern Sicily and its maritime connections with other regions of the Mediterranean? And how did the continuing process of "provincialization," including the growth of senatorial and imperial estates and the abandonment of inland towns like Morgantina, affect the city's relationship with its territory?

Perhaps because of Syracuse's longstanding (and continuing) role in Roman provincial administration, the foundation of the Augustan colony did not bring about the dramatic linguistic shift from Greek to Latin - accompanied by the new presence of Roman citizens of Italian origin in the ranks of the local elite - seen in the epigraphic record of other cities where colonies were imposed, such as Thermae Himeraeae, Tauromenium, and Catina. As Korhonen notes,[394] Latin had been used in public epigraphy in the city even in the Republican period - unsurprising given the presence of Roman magistrates and administrators. And as might be expected, with the transition to the Principate, Latin became the predominant language of monumental public epigraphy. Thereafter, the use of Greek was largely confined to religious, spectacular, and theatrical contexts, and to commemorations of the past. However, as Korhonen points out,[395] there is at least one instance in which communication between the city and the imperial center was bilingual: as part of his efforts to "restore" Syracuse (31-21 BC), Augustus sponsored the

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[391] G.V. Gentili, "Nuovi elementi di epigrafia siracusana," *ArchStorSir* 7 (1961): 5-25, at 11-18, for these two decrees, found in reuse contexts in Acradina. The presence of a certain son of Aulus, perhaps a member of the *gens* Varia, among the *hiereis* issuing the latter decree also points to the participation of resident Romans, or of Romanized local elites, in civic government by the late Republic. Other notable first century BC inscriptions from the city include honorific decrees set up by guilds of performing artists (a *koinon* of *technitai* and a *koinon* of the Muses) in honor of benefactors, possibly in the theatre (*IG* XIV 12 and 13, *IGLPal* 106; cf. Korhonen, "Language and Identity," 9).

[392] E.g. *IG* XIV 13: the benefactor commemorated in this inscription is a certain Apollodotos son of Leukios (Lucius?).

[393] *CIL* X 7131-2 for the name of the colony.

[394] "Language and Identity," 9.

[395] "Language and Identity," 9.

building of a bridge between Acradina and Ortygia, accompanied by statuary and a Greek dedicatory inscription (*SEG* 38.967); in roughly the same period, the city honored him with a statue accompanied by a Latin dedication (*AE* 1989.342b). Although we lack epigraphic evidence for the government of the *colonia*, we can trace the presence of Roman citizens in the religious and cultural life of the city in the early Empire – for example, as cult officials of the *dea Syria* in a now-lost Greek inscription (*IG* XIV 9)[396] - though it is difficult to determine if these are colonists or members of the Romanized Greek local elite.

Although based on Strabo's account,[397] we might expect considerable changes to the urban fabric in the transition from Republic to Empire – including a reduction of the occupied area - few monuments or alterations to the urban plan of Syracuse can be attributed with certainty to the Augustan period. If Ortygia remained unoccupied by the Syracusan citizenry and served exclusively as the center of Roman administration, the main residential and public areas would have remained in Acradina (though perhaps now in a more restricted area[398]) and Neapolis. Indeed, it is exclusively these mainland districts that have furnished scattered archaeological evidence of settlement and monumentalization in the early imperial period. Excavations in the past few decades in various quarters of Acradina have revealed a series of streets paved in carefully shaped and positioned limestone blocks that replaced earlier, deteriorated road surfaces, and that appear to date to the Augustan period. These newly paved streets have been linked to Augustus' efforts to restore and embellish the urban fabric.[399]

Though the dating remains controversial, the monumental complex of Neapolis appears to have undergone profound changes in the Augustan period - changes that were perhaps linked to the desire of the new colony's government (or the wish of the *princeps* himself) to firmly break with and obscure traces of the city's autonomous past and to foster loyalty to the new ruling regime in Rome. The theatre and altar of Hieron were the most conspicuous legacies of this not-so-distant era of nominal independence, and the latter structure underwent significant alterations probably in the early imperial period. The plaza on the western side of the altar was enclosed by a 200m long *pi*-shaped *stoa*/portico, the longest such structure known in Sicily. This portico had 64 columns on its longer side (facing the altar), at the center of which a *propylon* provided access to the central courtyard, and 16 columns on each of its shorter sides. The paved plaza in front of

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[396] See also Korhonen, "Language and Identity," 10 for this inscription.

[397] *Geog*. 6.2.4: "And in our own time, because Pompeius abused, not only the other cities, but Syracuse in particular, Augustus Caesar sent a colony and restored a considerable part of the old settlement; for in olden times it was a city of five towns, with a wall of one hundred and eighty *stadia*. Now it was not at all necessary to fill out the whole of this circuit, but it was necessary, he thought, to build up in a better way only the part that was settled: the part adjacent to the Island of Ortygia which had a sufficient circuit to make a notable city."

[398] This is suggested by Strabo (see previous note), and finds some support in the archaeological record: e.g. the construction of what appears to be a suburban villa in the late Republic or early imperial period at the northern edge of Acradina, in modern viale Scala Greca [L. Guzzardi, "Ricerche archeologiche nel Siracusano," *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1299-1314, at 1308-10].

[399] Basile, "Indagini archeologiche 2000 – 2001," 745-60, for the excavation of a 600m tract of a wide street extending from the "Foro Siracusano" to the area of the modern railway station: perhaps the main road of Acradina and Cicero's *via lata perpetua* (II *Verr*. 4.53). Basile notes that excavations in Piazza della Vittoria in the northern sector of Acradina have revealed a street leading to the amphitheatre that was first paved in the second half of the first century BC, though in a different technique to that used in the street near the Piazza della Stazione [761-5; cf. L. Solè, "La città della Magna Grecia all'Impero Romano. Siracusa," *FormaUrbis* 11.2 (2006): 19-31, at 25].

the altar, which had probably been intended to hold the crowds and sacrificial animals associated with the rituals performed at the altar, seems to have been transformed into a garden, with an ornamental basin or pool at its center and trees planted in neat rows throughout the open area.[400] R.J.A. Wilson, who, following Gentili, dates these changes to the Augustan era on the basis of pottery found in excavations, points to the similarities between the new square and the so-called *palaestrae* of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which also took shape in the Augustan period and, in the case of Pompeii, was also located near the amphitheatre.[401] These transformations would have obscured the altar as a monument in its own right, reducing its visibility, eliminating its sacrificial function, and redefining it as merely the "back wall" of an enclosed garden. Along with the construction of the amphitheatre (which blocked access to the *temenos* from the east[402]), the changes to the altar helped to redefine the Hieronian monumental complex of Neapolis as a center of Roman-style leisure and spectacle for the Syracusan citizenry, rather than as a true "civic center" where the religious and political rituals of *polis* life were performed.

The first phase of construction of the amphitheatre located just east of the altar of Hieron probably also dates to the Augustan period, though the chronology remains controversial: there are literary attestations of gladiatorial games held in Syracuse in the Julio-Claudian period, though these early spectacles – whose sponsors and primary audience were probably the city's Roman colonists - could have been held in the theatre.[403] The Syracusan amphitheatre was of medium size, accommodating ca. 20,000 spectators, smaller than the Colosseum and of similar proportions to the arena of Verona (Plate 6.41a).[404] In large part carved into bedrock, the structure was oriented with the street grid of Acradina, and on its eastern side, a Roman street surmounted by an honorific arch also of the Augustan era (and possibly set up in commemoration of Augustus' visit in 21 BC) led to a residential quarter.[405] While the southern side of the amphitheatre remained open, perhaps to serve as a holding area for animals used in the arena, a reservoir and *nymphaeum* were later constructed on the northern side.[406] The amphitheatre, though built as a single, isolated monument, stood at the head of the street grid of Acradina and served as the new focal point of the monumental complex of Neapolis, drawing

[400] Solè, "La città," 28; R.J. Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity. History and topography* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2009), 140.
[401] "*Agorai* and *fora*," 257.
[402] Bell, "Centro e periferia," 272.
[403] Valerius Maximus refers to games held during the reign of Tiberius, while Tacitus (*Ann*. 13.49) relates that the city's government requested permission from the Roman Senate to hold additional games under Nero (AD 58). While G.V. Gentili ["Studi e ricerche su l'anfiteatro di Siracusa," *Palladio* 23 (1973): 3-80] argued that the amphitheatre was constructed in the late second century AD or early third century AD to replace the theatre as the location for *venationes* and gladiatorial games, R.J.A. Wilson ["On the date of the Roman amphitheatre at Syracuse," in Φιλίας χάριν. *Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1980), 2217-30] proposed an Augustan date, with minor alterations to the structure in later centuries. Wilson's dating has since found general acceptance. There is also material-cultural evidence for gladiatorial games taking place in the amphitheatre: namely, the terracotta statuettes of variable quality depicting different types of gladiators that were found in the area of the amphitheatre and are now housed in the Orsi museum (e.g. inv. no. 19736, 43002, 36771, currently on display) – but, to my knowledge, have never been published.
[404] Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 141.
[405] Solè, "La città," 29; Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 142.
[406] Wilson, "Roman amphitheatre," 2220-1.

attention away from the Hieronian structures, with the altar of Hieron (now an enclosed garden) and the theatre spatially peripheral and subordinate to it.

The Augustan and early imperial sculpture and architectural elements culled from Syracusan monuments over the centuries and now housed in the M.A.R. Paolo Orsi reflect the continued refurbishment and embellishment of the public areas of the city, and the city's persistent cultural connections with the wider Roman Mediterranean.[407] A colossal marble head of Asclepius (inv. no. 693) found near the amphitheatre in 1804, for example, is an Augustan-era copy of the figure found on the Great Altar of Pergamon; a cuirassed marble statue of a Roman official probably dating to the Tiberian period was found in the same area (inv. no. 707). A large marble altar with fine reliefs of flora and fauna on its sides, probably from the Augustan period, was also found in Neapolis, likely in the area of the theatre. The museum also holds high-quality marble portraits of Caligula (inv. no. 6383) and Agrippina Minor (inv. no. 44154) that may have originally been displayed in a monument or public building in the forum.[408]

The periodic visits of emperors, beginning with Augustus in 22/21 BC on his way to the eastern provinces,[409] reflect Syracuse's continued position at the top of the urban hierarchy of Sicily, since the city remained the center of Roman administration and an active port. The public and residential areas of the urban center continued to be used and embellished in the high and late Empire, though, as with previous eras, the function and chronology of many of the new monuments of the imperial period are uncertain. Apart from the amphitheatre, the most conspicuous (and enigmatic) imperial-era structure in Syracuse is the so-called "Roman gymnasium." This monument is located in the southwestern sector of Acradina, near the ancient city walls, in the vicinity of the modern railway station. Consisting of a four-sided portico adjoined by an Italic podium temple and a small theatre or *odeum*, the monument actually appears to be a small temple-theatre complex rather than a gymnasium (Plate 6.41b). Limited excavations in the 1990s shed some light on the chronology of the complex: the portico itself appears to be the earliest structure, dating to the late Hellenistic period (second/first century BC), and may originally have enclosed a small temple/*heroon* or funerary monument. In the early imperial period (probably after the reign of Tiberius), the temple and theatre were constructed over the western side of the portico, turning the earlier structure into a sort of *porticus post scaenam.*[410] A well and perhaps an altar stood in front of the temple.[411] The theatre/*odeum* could seat perhaps 100-200 people, and may have been roofed.[412] The complex underwent further renovations probably in the second century AD, when it was adorned with imported marble and granite columns and architectural elements.[413] The identity of the deity worshipped in the complex is uncertain, though it is generally agreed to be an eastern "import:" Isis/Serapis,

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[407] Ciurcina, *Siracusa* for these objects.

[408] The portrait of Caligula, found in the area of the "Foro Siracusano" in 1887, may date to AD 38, when the emperor visited the city; it may have been broken intentionally as a result of the emperor's *damnatio memoriae* in AD 41. The portrait of Agrippina Minor, dating to around AD 40, was also found in the area of the "Foro Siracusano" in 1925.

[409] Other emperors to visit the city include Caligula, Hadrian, and Septimius Severus (Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity,* 143).

[410] M. Trojani, "Il c.d. ginnasio romano di Siracusa," in Μεγαλαι νησοι. *Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, ed. R. Gigli (Catania: CNR, 2005), vol. 2, 177-86.

[411] Solè, "La città," 25.

[412] Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 142.

[413] L. Lazzarini, "I marmi e le pietre romane d'importazione e il loro riuso a Siracusa," *Marmora* 3 (2007): 107-31, at 110.

Cybele, or Atargatis/*dea Syria*.[414] It also appears to have functioned as a space for public commemoration.[415] A female portrait statue in white marble of the Flavian/Trajanic period and a togate portrait of a magistrate with a document-box, also in white marble and from the late Hadrianic period - both now in the Orsi museum (inv. no. 697-8) - were found in nineteenth-century excavations in the area. The complex is a *unicum* in Sicily and has few parallels elsewhere in the Roman world. Though theatres associated with temples and porticoes of roughly the same date can be found, for example, at Ostia, the Syracusan complex is unique in its small size and in the asymmetrical spatial relationship between the portico, theatre, and temple.[416] It is another example of the eccentric architectural forms seen in many Sicilian cities that could arise from the modification of existing structures within the confines of an already highly-developed urban landscape in order to create new, more "Roman" (or "imperial") monuments.[417]

The main public area of Syracuse in the imperial period appears to have been the so-called "Foro Siracusano" near the Great Harbor and in the heart of Acradina, though few traces remain of its structures or layout. The two Julio-Claudian imperial portraits described above and now housed in the Orsi museum were found in this area, though the visible ancient remains – a small stretch of white limestone pavement and a portico in the northwest corner with steps leading down to the forum, from whose colonnade three marble columns have been re-erected – appear to date roughly to the second century AD (Plate 6.42a).[418] Another probable public area is the so-called "triangular forum" to the northwest, near modern Piazza Adda,[419] small sections of which were excavated in the 1960s. This area appears to have had public buildings (including a portico) and residences beginning in the early first century AD, as indicated by the discovery of a monumental marble base with a Latin inscription, marble columns and architectural elements, traces of a *nymphaeum* or fountain complex, and a wealthy *domus* with mosaic floors.[420] Though little can be said about the appearance of either supposed forum, it is clear that Syracuse's public areas were objects of considerable civic pride, perhaps even attracting the investment of emperors: fine sculpture, including busts of members of the imperial family and honorific portraits of notable citizens, and architectural elements, many crafted from valuable imported granites and marbles, have been found throughout the city.[421]

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[414] See, recently, R. Greco, *Pagani e cristiani a Siracusa tra il III e il IV secolo d.C.* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1999), 29; Solè, "La città," 25; Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 142; and Lazzarini, "Marmi," 110 for thoughts on the identity of the cult.

[415] This commemorative function is unsurprising, given the presence of the theatre/*odeum* and, as we have seen, the long-standing integration of "oriental" cults into the civic religious landscape.

[416] The Ostia complex, in contrast, consists of a full-sized theatre (capacity: ca. 3000) with a true *porticus post scaenam* immediately behind the *scaena* building. A temple perfectly aligned with the center of the theatre *cavea* was later constructed in the middle of this *porticus*.

[417] E.g. the mysterious "Basilica" of Tyndaris and the odeum and "Naumachia" of Tauromenium (see above).

[418] Wilson, "*Agorai* and *fora*," 257, attributes these columns to a second-century "renovation" of the forum.

[419] Campagna hypothesizes that this was the main Hellenistic agora of Syracuse ("Architettura e ideologia," 158).

[420] Gentili, "Nuovi elementi," 23; Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity,* 142.

[421] The imperial sculpture found in Acradina and Ortygia and now in the Orsi museum includes portrait busts of the emperor Nerva, Vibia Sabina, mother of Hadrian, and Faustina Minor (inv. no. 37100, 72699, and 743). Lazzarini ("Marmi") catalogues the large number of imported marble and granite columns and

Further modifications to the urban fabric of Syracuse in the high and late Empire consisted mainly of improvements to infrastructure and alterations or renovations to existing monuments: i.e. "updates" to bring older structures into line with new architectural styles, building materials, and cultural tastes. The Augustan street excavated in Piazza della Vittoria was repaved in the second or third century.[422] The monuments in Neapolis also continued to be used and renovated: a monumental *scaenae frons* was added to the theatre perhaps in the late first century, and around the fourth century, the orchestra was adapted to host the water spectacles (*colymbetra*) that were gaining popularity across the empire. A Latin inscription set up by Neratius Palmus, *v.c. cons.,* that mentions the *scaenae frons* (*CIL* X 7124) may relate to this latter transformation. A nymphaeum was constructed near the amphitheatre probably in the first century AD, and the amphitheatre itself underwent one or more additional construction phases, including an expansion around the second half of the first century AD, and renovations (including the addition of a marble parapet) perhaps associated with the visit of Hadrian in the 120s but more likely datable to the early third century.[423]

Religion, culture, and demography in Roman imperial Syracuse

Although little epigraphic evidence survives from the higher levels of Syracusan politics (i.e. the government of the *colonia* and the Roman provincial administration), we are better informed about the religious and cultural life of the city, as well as about the ethnic composition and economic status of the non-elite, thanks to the extensive corpus of epitaphs from the city's imperial and late antique cemeteries and catacombs.[424] To turn first to the religious life of the Roman imperial city, there is archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the continued veneration of the traditional Greek civic pantheon. A sanctuary excavated near the theatre that was in use from the end of the third century until the early fifth century AD, probably in association with activities in the theatre itself, has been attributed to Demeter.[425] In addition, an imperial-era dedication by a certain Markianos/Marcianus to Zeus and Tyche in Greek on a limestone *cippus* (*SEG* 44.787) was found in the area of ex-Giardino Spagna (on the grounds of the modern city hospital), in northern Acradina. In addition, C. Marcius Zoilus made a Latin dedication to Minerva on a marble candelabrum of uncertain provenance (*CIL* X 7120).

There is even more evidence for the continued prominence of "syncretistic" cults of Eastern Mediterranean origin in public and private religious practice. I have already discussed the early imperial Greek inscription that records the priestly hierarchy of the cult of *dea Syria*, and some scholars have linked the "Roman gymnasium" complex to that goddess (see above). There is also evidence for the private veneration of Cybele, whose cult had been a part of the public religious

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architectural elements found in the Roman imperial standing monuments of Syracuse, as well as those reused in later buildings.

[422] Basile, "Indagini archeologiche 2000 – 2001," 761.

[423] Wilson, "Roman amphitheatre;" Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 141.

[424] M. Sgarlata identifies a corpus of 623 inscriptions from the three large cemeteries of the late antique city (third-sixth centuries) (S. Lucia, Vigna Cassia, and S. Giovanni), preserving the names of 680 individuals [*Ricerche di demografia storica. Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali di Siracusa* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1991), 99], in addition to the numerous fragmentary *tituli* found across the city. This corpus is separate from the numerous inscriptions from earlier cemeteries and tombs, and it has undoubtedly expanded in the two decades since Sgarlata's study, and so we may estimate that roughly a thousand *tituli* have been preserved from the city's Roman burial grounds, out of a considerably larger original number.

[425] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, 18.

life of the city since the early fourth century BC: namely, a small white marble statue of Attis now in the Orsi museum (inv. no. 45921) found in a Roman house in Acradina.[426] Syracuse is the only city in Sicily where, to my knowledge, a Mithraeum has been identified and excavated, though the results of these excavations in the Santa Lucia neighborhood of Acradina were never published.[427] The Orsi museum houses Mithraic cult statuary found elsewhere in the city, including a second or third-century marble relief of Mithras slaying the bull (inv. no. 8478) and a third-century marble sculpture of the god that originally formed part of a larger group depicting the *taurocthonia* (inv. no. 50712).

There is also plentiful evidence for the continuity of the cult of Isis and Serapis in public and private religious practice. The public cult is referenced in two early imperial inscriptions: one in Latin that was found near the catacombs of S. Giovanni commemorates the restoration of a sacred building by a *flamen* of Serapis, Papinius P. f. Flavianus (*AE* 1951.174). The other, a funerary *titulus* also in Latin (*CIL* X 7129), commemorates a *scoparius* of Isis, C. Iulius. In addition, a fragmentary marble statue of a female holding a cornucopia and bearing a *situla*, either Isis herself or a priestess of the cult, also of the early imperial period, was found in Acradina and is now in the Orsi museum (inv. no. 713).

Many objects related to the private, personal veneration of these Egyptian cults also come from Roman imperial Syracuse. These include a small ceramic head of Isis and a bust possibly depicting Serapis found in a hypogeum near the Villa Landolina in Acradina and datable to the second or third century, as well as the numerous third and fourth-century lamps found throughout the city that depict Isis and/or Serapis.[428] As might be expected in a busy Mediterranean port with an ethnically diverse population, Syracuse – and especially its burial areas – has also produced extensive material cultural and epigraphic evidence of "magic": that is, religious practices of a private, personal (even idiosyncratic) nature, outside the scope of the civic cults that focused on the traditional Greco-Roman pantheon and later additions to it, such as Isis/Serapis and the Roman emperor. These practices drew on the language and imagery – but not necessary the theologies or rituals - of "eastern" religions, including ancient Egyptian cults and Judaism. One object related to such rites is a small *aediculum* found near the "Porto Piccolo" and dated to the second or third century that depicts a female divinity in low relief: perhaps Isis or Ephesian Artemis. The *aediculum* bears an indecipherable "magical" inscription in Greek characters that appears to refer to the Egyptian god Atoum (Atōm).[429]

The large number of painted, etched, and inscribed grave markers from the burial areas of Roman Syracuse shed considerable light on the economically, socially, and ethnically diverse population that lived and died in the city. The location of these burial areas is itself significant, since it gives us some idea of the extent of the imperial and late antique city. The largest above- and below-ground burial areas fan out around the northern edges of Acradina and Neapolis. They utilized peripheral areas that had been used for earlier necropoleis, industrial establishments

[426] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, 27-8.
[427] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, 29-30.
[428] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, 40-1, and M. Sgarlata, "Morti lontano dalla patria. La documentazione epigrafica delle catacombe siracusane," in *L'Africa romana: mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano. Atti del XVI Convegno di studio, Rabat, 15-19 dicembre*, ed. A. Akerraz (Rome: Carocci, 2006), 1185-1201, at 1197, for the hypogeum containing the grave of Kloutōria, which I discuss below.
[429] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, esp. 43-7 for this and other "magical" objects and inscriptions from Syracuse.

(such as pottery workshops – see below), or for suburban agricultural production. Areas of exposed, easily workable limestone bedrock – some of which had been used as quarries in earlier centuries – were especially well suited for cemeteries, since tombs could be cut directly into the rock (cf. Plate 6.42b).[430] The main burial areas were in use almost continuously from the second century until the sixth century AD, expanding outward from the urban center to the east beginning in the mid-fourth century, indicating that Acradina did not contract in the middle and late imperial periods.[431]

Most of the Syracusan funerary inscriptions are relatively terse, giving only the name of the deceased, making it difficult to date them with any precision.[432] However, we can draw some general conclusions about the consistency of the population of Roman Syracuse on the basis of this limited evidence. First, both Greek and Latin were used in funerary epigraphy in all periods, though unsurprisingly, Greek *tituli* and inscriptions are far more common than Latin ones; but given the difficulties of dating funerary epigraphy with precision, we can say little about the relative frequencies of the use of each language over time. We can, however, tentatively associate the use of Latin with the higher ranks of Syracusan society, or at least with individuals eager to advertise their social status.[433] As I have pointed out, Latin was the primary language of official public epigraphy, and it was utilized in the more "private" realms of funerary epigraphy and religious dedications by magistrates, members of the provincial elite, and their dependents. For example, Roscius Aelianus Salvius, the son of L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus, the *consul ordinarius* of AD 187, who himself achieved the consulship in 223 - and who was a member of the prominent Sicilian family whose members are attested in Syracuse as early as the Augustan period - dedicated a *cippus* to Aesculapius "*restituta salute"* that was found in the mid-twentieth century in Floridia, just outside Syracuse.[434] Latin appears to be the language of choice for the epitaphs of Roman magistrates and the elite of the *colonia*, many of whom probably originated in Italy: for example, the *scoparius* of Isis mentioned above (*CIL* X 7129), as well as a Roman *eques* (*AE* 1989.342i2), a quaestor (*AE* 1989.342i5), and a prefect (*AE* 1989.342h).

However, a wide range of occupations and social statuses are attested in Latin epitaphs. As in other places (including Catina) where Latin was introduced "from above" by the Roman authorities and heavily utilized in public monumental epigraphy, it appears to have been perceived as a high-status language in Syracuse and it was employed especially by individuals

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[430] Cf. Gentili, "Siracusa," 151-64; A.M. Fallico, "Siracusa. Saggi di scavo nell'area della Villa Maria," *NSc* 25 (1971): 581-639; Messina, "Lo scavo in via Zappalà."

[431] S.L. Agnello, *Una metropoli ed una città siciliane fra Roma e Bisanzio* (Siracusa: Fondazione Giuseppe e Santi Luigi Agnello, 2001), 34-5, who also notes that the Grotticelle necropolis was used continuously from the second/first century BC until the eighth/ninth century AD.

[432] Other information often found on *tituli* includes the age of the deceased, the name of the dedicator of the grave, and his or her relationship with the deceased, as well as the typical range of funerary *formulae* (D.M., etc).

[433] The advertisement of social and occupational statuses in epitaphs was itself a Roman/Italian rather than a Greek/Sicilian practice, as Sgarlata points out (*Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali*, 99f).

[434] Eck ("Senatorische Familien," 110; "Senatoren und senatorischer grundbesitz," 232) dates this inscription, which mentions the consuls Maximus and Albinus, to AD 227 or AD 263, while its original publisher, Gentili, dated it to AD 227. If the dedicator of the *cippus* is to be associated with the consul of AD 223, Gentili's dating seems more likely. The earlier attestation of the Roscii in Syracuse is a large marble base found in excavations near Piazza Adda dedicated as part of a larger building project by a certain C. Roscius, proconsul (perhaps of Sicily, though Eck thinks not), and his wife, Sextia Murcia (Gentili, "Siracusa").

who wished to advertise their social position. One potential indication of the adoption of Latin by non-elite Syracusans is its use in the epitaphs of individuals with "Greek" or "mixed" *nomina*:[435] for example, by the father Cn. Iulius Felix on the tomb of his son of the same name (*CIL* X 7153) and by the mother Thyche (= Tyche) for the tomb of her young sons Euangelus and Thychicus (*CIL* X 7150). Many of the individuals who include their occupation or other indications of their social/legal status in their funerary epitaphs appear to be of middling social status, and in some cases – such as the tombstone of a *medicus* and his *ussor* (*AE* 1951.176) – their grasp of the Latin language is imperfect.

Slaves (*SEG* 38.969), slave owners (*CIL* X 7136), and freedmen (*CIL* X 7141) are also attested in Latin funerary inscriptions. Some of these freedmen and slaves – such as Eros, a young *servus cubicularius* of the proconsul Iunius Iulianus who was buried with the freedman Iunius Alcibiades in the late second or early third century (*CIL* X 7127 = *ILLPal* 45) - were owned by (or formerly in the service of) Roman officials stationed in Syracuse, and so the use of Latin in their epitaphs may reflect their links to Roman owners/patrons, or perhaps their own non-Sicilian origins.[436] Probably also as a result of the continued presence in Syracuse of Roman administrators and other "foreigners" from across the Mediterranean, the use of Latin in funerary epigraphy persisted in late antiquity: for example, in the *titulus* of Atinodorus, the young son of the *primicerius* Mucianus, who may have been stationed in Spain at the time of his child's death and burial. The grave is located in a Christian burial area and is datable to the end of the fourth century or the first half of the fifth century (Agnello 1960, no. 29).[437]

In the much larger corpus of Greek epitaphs, we can also trace the presence of "Roman," "Greek," and "mixed" names in the imperial period and late antiquity: for example, K. Kornifikios Stephanēphoros (Q. Cornificius Stefaneforus), a Roman citizen - perhaps as a result of the Caracallan grant - of Greek origins, who was linked to the Cornificii, a prominent *gens* of the third century (*IGLPal* 108). Nor was the use of Greek confined to the epitaphs of "low-status" individuals: costly sarcophagi and tombs within monumental hypogea also bear Greek *tituli*.[438] Like the Latin corpus, the Greek epitaphs attest to a wide range of occupations and social statuses. The class of professionals and businessmen buried in Syracuse includes doctors (*iatroi*), a veterinarian, ship owners (*naukleroi*: *SEG* 4.21, 15.590), former soldiers, and "intellectuals" (including a professional philosopher and a female poet).[439] We also have attestations of skilled craftsmen – such as a dyer of purple cloth and a weaver – whose occupations, as in the Verrine Oration of several centuries earlier, were probably linked to the

[435] We should be careful about assuming ethnicity, social status, etc. from onomastics, but we can at least conclude that these individuals were not members of the Roman colonial elite.

[436] Another individual – probably also a slave or freedman - whose presence in Syracuse can be associated with the Roman provincial administration, or perhaps with private business, is the *taboularios* (*tabularius*) Pankallos (*SEG* 38.972).

[437] Other Latin inscriptions from the Christian catacombs include *CIL* X 7167 (AD 356), 7168 (AD 431), and 7172-3.

[438] E.g. *IGLPal* 109 = *IG* XIV 54, on a large marble sarcophagus of the late third century AD perhaps from the catacomb of Santa Maria del Gesù that originally held Phretēnsia Statia Skreibonia, probably a *matrona*.

[439] Gentili, "Nuovi elementi," 20-1, for the *titulus* of the *iatros* K. Kaikilios Ariston on a white marble ash urn of the second half of the first century AD. Sgarlata, *Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali*, 132-5, for the professions commemorated in paleochristian epitaphs from the city's catacombs.

city's role as a major port and as a center of wealth and culture in eastern Sicily.[440] And, unsurprisingly, the Greek funerary epigraphic corpus contains further attestations of slaves and freedmen (e.g. *IG* XIV 19).

Sgarlata recently summarized the epigraphic evidence for the burial of "foreigners" in the three large, mostly Christian catacombs of late antique (third-sixth century) Syracuse: Vigna Cassia, S. Lucia, and S. Giovanni.[441] Of the 680 individuals attested on *tituli* from these cemeteries, twenty-three – mostly buried in Vigna Cassia and S. Giovanni - indicate non-Sicilian origins. Six of these were of Syrian origin – including Ithallas, a *nauklēros Leptimagnensios*, who was buried in Vigna Cassia in the fourth or fifth century (*SEG* 4.21).[442] The catacombs also held the tombs of several individuals from Lycia (including another *nauklēros*: *SEG* 15.590) and elsewhere in Asia Minor, as well as of individuals whose homelands – such as Palatios and Krysarios - cannot be identified.[443] Some of those buried in the catacombs were not far from their places of origin: including Rome, Catina, and the Sicilian interior.[444] There is also evidence from the catacombs and earlier burial areas of the presence of individuals of African origin: most notably, the hypogeum near the Villa Landolina and S. Giovanni catacombs that contained the second or third-century tomb of Kloutōria daughter of M. Kloutōrios, of Ptolemais in Cyrene.[445]

The Roman-era epigraphic record of Syracuse is most closely comparable to that of Catina, though Syracuse has produced many fewer public inscribed documents (including records of the imperial cult) than Catina, while providing a greater amount of evidence for the "private" epigraphic habit, especially in the hundreds of funerary *tituli* of the early Christian period. Both epigraphic corpora are extensive compared to other Sicilian cities, and give the impression of a socially, economically, and ethnically diverse – and relatively highly literate[446] - urban population. The mixed use of Latin and Greek in the epigraphic record of both cities, especially in the funerary realm, reflects the persistence of the latter as the language of everyday life (and, probably, as the first language of the majority of the population) and the perceived prestige of the former that derived from its dominance in public epigraphic contexts. We can also discern more finite demographic connections between the two cities: most notably, the presence of the equestrian and, later, senatorial *gens* Roscia.[447]

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[440] Sgarlata, *Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali*, 135. See generally Mayer, *Ancient Middle Classes*, for the social and political significance of such "urban middle classes" in the Roman Empire.

[441] "Morti lontano dalla patria" for the following summary.

[442] Sgarlata, "Morti lontano dalla patria," 1188-93; cf. *IG* XIV 117 (Zodōros = Diodoros from Makrē Kōmē, probably in Tyre, buried in S. Giovanni); *SEG* 4.6 (an epitaph of an individual from Tripolis, buried in Vigna Cassia); and *SEG* 4.9 (the *titulus* of Julia Antiochiana, buried in Vigna Cassia).

[443] Sgarlata, "Morti lontano dalla patria," 1194-9. Another Lycian who died in Syracuse probably in the fourth century was a certain Eustochios, buried in a sarcophagus with a long metric inscription (*SEG* 44.794).

[444] Sgarlata, "Morti lontano dalla patria," 1193-4; cf. *SEG* 27.662, the *titulus* of Eutychia *apo Hortēsianōn* – probably referring to a senatorial estate in Sicily – dated after AD 394.

[445] S.L. Agnello, "Iscrizioni cemeteriali inedite di Siracusa," *RACr* 36 (1960): 19-42, no. 33 for this tomb, where a statuette of Isis and a bust of Serapis were also found (see above). Cf. *IGLPal* 113 = *CIL* X 7175, the grave marker of Kobbouldeous (= Quodvultdeus) from S. Maria del Gesù, dated to the fifth century: the name, if not the man himself, is of African origin.

[446] Or, at least, populations in which the written word and its practitioners were accessible and valued.

[447] Members of the *gens* Ofillia are also attested in both cities: among the holders of the duovirate in Catina (*AE* 1989.341m; see above) and on a tombstone from Syracuse found in Neapolis in the area of the

The economy of Roman Syracuse

In addition to burial activity, the edges of the ancient urban center hosted agricultural and industrial establishments. Since these zones are the most distant from the medieval/baroque city center of Ortygia and the harbors of Acradina, they did not see extensive residential development until the decades following World War II, enabling more extensive excavation than closer-in neighborhoods. And so we are considerably better informed about their complex ancient settlement history. The "urban" status of these areas fluctuated over the course of antiquity, with dense residential occupation alternating (and sometimes coexisting) with industrial production, more scattered sub-urban agricultural production, and use for burials.

Many kiln complexes have been excavated in the past century on the fringes of ancient Acradina. These complexes formed a "potter's quarter" along the bank of a watercourse rich in clay deposits.[448] The excavations of these complexes have confirmed the large-scale production of finewares and coursewares in Syracuse from the early Hellenistic period until the late Roman Republic/early Empire. One such workshop complex in the area of the Villa Maria, on the northeastern edge of Acradina, was established in an area of archaic tombs. Houses and ceramic workshops – including at least three kilns, wells, and cisterns – appear to have been in use from around the second century BC until the first century BC, with some small-scale production following in the second and third centuries AD, before the area was again occupied by tombs in late antiquity.[449] Another industrial complex was excavated on the site of the catacomb of Santa Lucia, on the eastern fringe of the ancient city, close to the shoreline. The kiln in this complex appears to have been in operation by the late fourth century BC, and its period of greatest activity extended into the third and second centuries. It was destroyed while still in operation in the first century AD.[450]

These kilns and others excavated in the same area (including near the late antique Vigna Cassia cemetery) produced a wide range of vessels throughout their long histories of production, including imitations of forms found in Italy and the central and western Mediterranean (e.g. "Gnathian" ware, Campana A and B, and "thin-walled wares").[451] Most significantly, the excavation of these complexes have shown that Syracuse and its hinterland was one of the major production centers of so-called "Campana C" vessels, one of the "universal" types of black-glaze finewares that were produced and distributed widely over the Mediterranean basin in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods.[452] Mineralogical analysis of vessels from Syracuse and from the kiln complexes at Morgantina (see chapter 5) has affirmed that most were produced

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imperial-era burial grounds, dedicated by Ofillia Proba for herself and for her *patronus* L. Ofillius Faustus (*CIL* X 7157).

[448] P. Pelagatti, "Stato e prospettive degli studi di ceramica romana in Sicilia," *RCRFActa* 11/12 (1969/70): 76-89, at 79.

[449] Fallico, "Villa Maria."

[450] S. Lagona, "Vasai a Siracusa in età ellenistico-romana," *ArchStorSir* 2 (1972-73): 91-8.

[451] In some cases, it is unclear if these are imports or local productions – as Malfitana ("Economia, territorio ed officine ceramiche," 155-6) points out, further examination and archaeometric analysis of the excavated ceramic assemblages are needed.

[452] Lamboglia and Morel did the fundamental work of identification and classification of the forms of Campana C. More recent bibliography includes Malfitana, "Economia, territorio ed officine ceramiche," 155-6; and M.A. González López, "La vajilla de barniz negro. Campaniense C," in *Introducción al estudio de la ceramica romana. Una breve guía de referencia,* ed. M.R. Roumens and M.I. Fernández García (Málaga: CVDAS, 2005), 63-80.

from eastern Sicilian clays, further confirming the region as a major area of production of this ware, though it remains difficult to distinguish the products of the Morgantina kilns from those of Syracuse and its hinterland.[453]

Campana C vessels probably of local production have been found in excavations throughout the ancient urban center of Syracuse in a variety of contexts, including occupation strata, cisterns and other fills, and as grave goods. They have also been found in urban and rural sites across eastern and southeastern Sicily, including at Camarina and most notably at the contrada Aguglia farm near Akrai;[454] as well as in northeastern Sicily, including at Tyndaris, and along the central southern coast (e.g. at Heraclea Minoa and Agrigentum). Campana C is rarer in western Sicily, with distribution extending only as far west as the coastal centers of Halaesa and Soluntum – perhaps unsurprisingly, given the difficulty of overland transport across the island and the different orientation of western Sicilian maritime commercial networks.[455]

The distribution of Campana C across the Mediterranean also reflects Syracuse's position on Mediterranean trade routes. Though the volume and extent of Sicilian exports remains unclear, it appears that Campana C from eastern Sicily reached peninsular Italy (mainly the southern Tyrrhenian coastline), the coastal regions of Gaul, the North African coast from Carthage west to the Atlantic, and the coastal centers of the Iberian peninsula, as well as interior centers located along navigable rivers.[456] The Sicilian wares also spawned local imitations, especially in Spain.[457]

Although the date of the beginning of production of Campana C in Sicily remains controversial, it seems to follow the extension of the Roman *provincia* across the island after the Second Punic War and may have been partly instigated by the fall of Carthage and the entry of Italian products (including finewares) onto the island's markets.[458] The ware's origin in Syracuse is not coincidental, since the city was already the artistic and cultural capital of the island, with a substantial population of skilled artisans who were aware of cultural, artistic, and technological developments – including in ceramic production - in the Eastern Mediterranean and peninsular Italy. The widespread production and capillary distribution of Campana C from centers like Syracuse and Morgantina was facilitated by the peaceful conditions of the Roman *provincia* and by the overland transportation networks and infrastructure that developed to enable collection of the grain tithe. Likewise, its distribution outside of Sicily was possible because of the expansion of Rome's empire across the Mediterranean (and with it Greco-Roman cultural tastes and social practices, such as wine consumption, that required the use of high-quality tablewares and service vessels), and because of Syracuse's position as a major export center for grain and other goods - including, as the Verrine orations make clear, artworks and luxury items.

This distribution across the central and western Mediterranean appears to end in the mid-to-late first century BC – i.e. the early Augustan period. The kilns excavated in Syracuse ceased production of Campana C around the same time or slightly later and, as we have seen, the kilns

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[453] J.-P. Morel and M. Picon, "Les céramiques étrusco-campaniennes: recherches en laboratoire," in *Ceramica romana e archeometria: lo stato degli studi*, ed. G. Olcese (Florence: Giglio, 1994), 23-46.
[454] P. Pelagatti, "Akrai. Ricerche nel territorio," *NSc* 24 (1970): 436-99.
[455] Pelagatti, "Akrai," 471-2; González López, "Campaniense C," 67.
[456] González López, "Campaniense C," 67-8; Malfitana, "Economia, territorio ed officine ceramiche," 155.
[457] González López, "Campaniense C."
[458] González López, "Campaniense C," 69; Pelagatti, "Stato e prospettive," 77, for the dating and historical circumstances of the beginning of production.

of Morgantina went out of production around 35 BC. The end of production and export of Campana C can be linked to the increasing dominance of Italian sigillata across the Mediterranean, as it was exported to provincial markets along with wine and other commodities from the mid-first century BC until the late first century AD, when it was itself supplanted by African finewares. The novelty of the shiny red glaze of Italian sigillata, which was produced in massive quantities in the industrial workshops of central and northern Italy (most notably, at Arezzo), along with the consistent high quality of its mature forms and its low price, enabled it to gain widespread popularity in the provinces and to crowd out older, less sophisticated local products like Campana C.

Even after the end of large-scale ceramic production and export in Syracuse, the city remained an important port center through late antiquity, attracting goods and people (and their ideas, beliefs, and tastes) from across the Roman Mediterranean. The evidence I have already cited for the economic and demographic diversity of Syracuse that derived from its continued integration into Mediterranean networks includes the epitaphs of "foreigners" who were buried in the city, including ship owners from the East; as well as the large number of high-quality imported marble and granite columns and blocks found in the city, many of which probably came from public buildings. Shipwrecks carrying cargoes of marble found in the waters off Syracuse and along the southeastern coast of Sicily are additional evidence of the region's integration into the maritime trade in marble and granite building materials: including two of the multiple ancient wrecks found in the bay northeast of Marzamemi, 60km down the coast from Syracuse.[459] One of these wrecks (Marzamemi A), dated to the first half of the third century, had as its principle cargo at least 15 blocks of greyish-white Attic marble, as well as Greek amphorae and smaller quantities of African amphorae, leading its excavator to hypothesize that it was destined for Carthage from the Aegean, following a deep-water E-W course across the central Mediterranean.[460]

Many of the other Roman-era ships discovered in the waters off Syracuse and the coast extending down to Capo Passero carried mixed cargoes of diverse origins, pointing to the multiplicity and complexity of the southeastern coast's maritime links with the wider Mediterranean, particularly in the second through fourth centuries. Three wrecks in the bay to the south of the peninsula that encloses Syracuse's "Great Harbor," Plemmirio A and B and Terrauzza, contained, respectively, a cargo of bronze tablewares, tools, and fixtures dated to the fourth or fifth century; a cargo of African olive amphorae and iron bars dated to ca. AD 200; and a cargo of Greek amphorae from the late second or early third century.[461] Other wrecks located further down the coast – such as Ognina A, the wreck of a ship carrying amphorae from Africa, Spain, and Greece, and probably passengers, that has been dated to AD 215-230 on the basis of coin finds (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 755) – appear, from their mixed cargoes, to have

[459] These wrecks were first surveyed and partly excavated by G. Kapitän (Parker, *Ancient* Shipwrecks, cat. no. 670-679). A new program of research led by J. Leidwanger is currently underway.
[460] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 670, and S.L. Agnello, "Navigazione e porti nel Mediterraneo," *CronA* 26-27 (1987-88): 127-32, at 128; the other wreck, Marzamemi C (cat. no. 672), contained a column of red Nubian granite, and can be dated only generally to the Roman imperial period. In addition, a third/fourth century wreck was found off Isola delle Correnti, near the southern tip of Sicily, of a ship carrying a large cargo of marbles perhaps from Proconnesus or elsewhere in Asia Minor (cat. no. 522).
[461] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 833, 834, and 1143.

been engaged in *cabotage* between the ports of the main export regions of the central and western Mediterranean.[462]

Additional evidence for Syracuse's continued role as a major port comes from two very different, and rarely cited, sources: the journey of Paul to Rome narrated in Acts 27-28:16 and graffiti found in via G. Natale in northern Acradina. The narrative of the apostle's long, difficult journey, which dates to before ca. AD 80, provides valuable evidence for maritime routes between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean in the early imperial period and for eastern Sicily's position on these routes. Paul embarked in a Lycian ship from Adramyttium at Caesarea Maritima, stopping at Sidon, then following the Syrian coast and turning west, skirting the coast of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia (Acts 27:2-5). He and his fellow travelers transshipped at Myra in Lycia to an Alexandrian vessel bound for Italy that continued west in rough waters along the southern coast of Crete, making an additional stop (27:5-8). The ship's journey towards the southern coast of Sicily was interrupted by a severe storm, pushing it south and causing it to wreck at Malta (27:13-28:10). After a three-month stay in Malta, Paul and the others set sail in another Alexandrian ship, landing at Syracuse and staying there for three days before proceeding to Rhegium, then Puteoli (28:11-13). This account confirms that Syracuse was one of the first major landing points on the most difficult part of the route between the Eastern Mediterranean (including the eastern coast of mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, and the Levantine coast) and Rome: the long, open stretch of the Ionian sea between the western coast of Crete and the eastern coast of Sicily. The city was, along with Malta, also one of the first places of refuge on the shorter open-sea route from Leptis Magna in Tripolitania that was probably favored by ships bound from Egypt to Italy.[463]

The graffiti found in the plaster of a wall excavated in via G. Natale offer a more local perspective on Syracuse's port role. These etchings – dated based on letter forms roughly to the third or fourth century – include names, scribbles, as well as human figures, different types of ships and boats, and, rather charmingly, curved lines to indicate waves. These figures appear to form a scene of embarkation, perhaps of the sort the artist witnessed regularly in the port of Syracuse.[464]

Less is known of settlement and production in the hinterland of Syracuse, especially in the Roman imperial period. We have evidence only from a few excavated farms, villas, and rural settlements in southeastern Sicily, much of which, in the absence of another large urban center in the region, can be assumed to have been Roman Syracuse's *territorium*.[465] One of the most extensively excavated rural settlements is in contrada Aguglia, in a hilly area ca. 40km southwest of Syracuse and midway between ancient Akrai (Roman Acrae, modern Palazzolo Acreide) and Netum (near modern Noto), medium-sized urban centers that remained in occupation at least

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[462] Other wrecks found further down the coast include Eloro A, a wreck of late Roman cylindrical amphorae (Keay 25), dated to the fourth or early fifth century (Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 381); Marzamemi D and F (cat. no. 673 and 675), carrying, respectively, African amphorae from the second quarter of the fourth century and a mixed consignment mostly of Spanish and African amphorae of the late third century.

[463] Agnello, "Navigazione," 128.

[464] Gentili, "Siracusa," 135-8.

[465] As with Hieron's "kingdom," it is a relatively futile endeavor to attempt more than a rough estimate of Syracuse's *territorium*. We can hypothesize, however, that the territory of the *colonia* would have been nearly as extensive as Hieron's realm, extending north up to the border with Catina's *territorium*, as far south as Capo Passero, and west/southwest into the Hyblaean mountains.

until the high imperial period (see chapter 4 and appendix 1).[466] Excavations in the 1960s uncovered a farmhouse and cistern surrounded by a dense surface spread of ceramics and building materials, leading excavators to hypothesize that the complex originally consisted of several edifices, perhaps forming a rural hamlet.[467] The main excavated building consisted of a wing of three rooms, one of which originally held at least five *pithoi* and an oven and was probably used as a kitchen and/or storage room, and a smaller wing that was probably used as a stable; both wings opened onto a courtyard. Iron agricultural tools were found inside the building, as well as objects probably related to a household cult, and, most significantly, cylindrical ceramic vessels that were probably used to measure dry goods. Two of these were stamped with the Greek *akribazontos* ("of the one who measures accurately"), indicating that their proportions were approved by a magistrate, perhaps in Akrai or Netum. Similar measuring cups have been found at Morgantina, a major grain storage and marketing center of the south/central interior, leading the excavators of Aguglia to hypothesize that the farm mainly cultivated grain, and that the measures – along with the lead weights also found in excavations - were used in the collection of the Hieronian and/or Roman grain tithe.[468]

The nearby cistern was gradually filled with the domestic waste of the farmstead and, along with the ceramics found in the farm building itself, the ca. 170 complete or fragmentary vessels found in its fill have augmented knowledge of the forms of Campana C and other locally produced ceramics (see above). The excavators hypothesized that the farm, though probably on a relatively small and isolated property and apparently lacking extensive and lavishly decorated residential quarters, achieved a certain level of prosperity (as evidenced by its material cultural assemblage) and was consistently occupied between the second half of the third century and the late first century BC.[469]

We lack substantial evidence for settlement in the early and high Empire in the hinterland of Syracuse. Our evidence for late antiquity is only slightly better, and it has been interpreted under the same set of assumptions about the growth of *latifundia* that has dominated the study of rural settlement across Sicily in the Roman period – for the worse, in my view. A large, luxurious villa on the Tellaro river 40 km south/southwest of Syracuse and near the site of Helorus (cf. chapter 5) has been the subject of extensive excavations that have not yet been published. This villa, which in its current form dates to the mid-fourth century AD, is most famous for the high-quality polychrome mosaics in its reception and dining rooms, including a depiction of the ransom of Hector. It is thought to be the center of a *latifundium* on the basis of its splendor and its felicitous (though rather isolated) location in an area of rich agricultural land, overlooking a water course and well-positioned to receive southerly winds.[470] It perhaps operated in association with the small late Roman/Byzantine settlement at Cittadella, closer to the coast and approximately seven kilometers south of Helorus, which would have functioned as a marketing center and "road

[466] Pelagatti, the main excavator, hypothesized that the farm complex originally lay on or close to the ancient road connecting these two centers ("Akrai," 440).
[467] Pelagatti, "Akrai," 453.
[468] Pelagatti, "Akrai," 490-3 and 498-9; cf. Walthall, "Magistrate Stamps," and the section on Morgantina in chapter 5.
[469] Pelagatti, "Akrai," 497-8. The cistern was closed by the mid-first century BC, as evidenced by the lack of presigillata and Arretine ware in its fill. The farm itself seems to have gone out of occupation at a later date, since some Arretine ware was found in excavation.
[470] Wilson, *Sicily*, 206-8, still provides the best overview of the villa's situation and history.

station" for the Tellaro villa and other estates in the vicinity.[471] A limited campaign of research in the countryside to the southwest of Syracuse, around modern Canicattini Bagni, has pointed to growth in the rural population beginning in the second and third centuries, with an increase in the number of visible sites of farms, villas, and other rural structures (including bath complexes). This has lead to the hypothesis that the territory directly administered by the urban center of Syracuse gradually diminished in the imperial period.[472] Even if this hypothesis is accepted, however, as we have seen, there is little evidence that the economy of Syracuse itself suffered from such a development.

Late antiquity and the early Christian community of Syracuse

Although according to historical sources, Syracuse was devastated by marauding Franks in AD 278, this event has left little discernable impact on the archaeological record. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence for the continued maintenance and improvement of the physical fabric of the city in the late Roman (i.e. post-Diocletianic) and Byzantine (sixth through ninth century) periods. Syracuse also remained an administrative and economic center and the home of a substantial and diverse population. As we have already seen, the theatre was transformed into a *colymbetra* in the late third or fourth century, perhaps with financial assistance from Neratius Palmatus *v.c. cons*. (*CIL* X 7124), a member of the imperial court who was probably stationed in Syracuse in an official capacity.[473] Additional epigraphic evidence for the presence of high-ranking imperial officials in the city in the last centuries of Roman rule - and for their continued activity in the public sphere - includes a bilingual dedication, probably of a statue, by the *populus Syracusanus* to Perpennas Romanus *v.c. cons*. (*IG* XIV 14 = *CIL* X 7125), and a dedication found in Ortygia made by an official, Fl. Valerius Busiris, that refers to the *praetorium (AE* 1946 207).[474] Along with Catina, Syracuse is included among Ausonius' major cities of the empire, and it is also mentioned in the *Expositio totius mundi* (65).[475]

The late antique history of Syracuse is dominated by the spread of Christianity into the physical fabric of the city and amongst the population. Given the city's long history of receptivity of religious influences from across the Mediterranean, it is hardly surprising that Christianity was introduced at a relatively early date, almost certainly from the Eastern Mediterranean. Although it is unlikely that the Christian community had its origins in Paul's brief mid-first century visit to the city, it seems to have been firmly in place and relatively substantial by the mid-third century, when the oldest Christian burial area (S. Maria di Gesù) was established. The first reference to a Christian community in Syracuse in the literary record dates to AD 250/1, and so we may accept the hypothesis that a small community had taken shape by the early third century.[476] The city had achieved "metropolitan" ecclesiastical rank by the time of Constantine, who wrote a letter to its bishop, Crestus.[477]

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[471] Wilson, *Sicily*, 229-30.

[472] S.A. Cugno, "Il paesaggio rurale siracusano nella tarda età romana. Il territorio di Canicattini Bagni," *FormaUrbis* 14.10 (2009): 46-58.

[473] Alternatively (or additionally), he may have owned property in the region, and thus acted as a private benefactor.

[474] We may also cite the sarcophagus of Adelphia, wife of the *comes* Valerius, found in the Christian catacombs of S. Giovanni and dated to the late fourth century (see below).

[475] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 29, and see above on Catina.

[476] Greco, *Pagani e cristiani*, 55-7.

[477] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 29.

The most conspicuous evidence of the early Christian community of Syracuse are the underground communal burial areas (catacombs) used especially in the third through fifth centuries. These catacombs – first S. Lucia, S. Maria di Gesù, and Vigna Cassia, followed by S. Giovanni and Villa Maria - were located in the same extra-urban zone as "pagan" burial areas, on the fringes of Acradina and Neapolis, thus respecting the classical urban center. G. Voza has described them as second only to the catacombs of Rome in size and significance:[478] the S. Giovanni complex, the second largest in the city, contains approximately 10,000 tombs.

The size and careful layout of these areas, along with the *tituli* from the graves themselves, speak to the consistency, cohesion, and vitality of the Christian community, and also to its ethnic and economic diversity. As we have already seen, both Latin and Greek were used in these *tituli*, and they commemorate individuals of a range of social classes, occupations, and geographic origins. However, the community appears to have become increasingly stratified, especially in the post-Constantinian era, as members of the imperial elite began to convert to Christianity. In the newer catacombs of the fourth century and later, more prestigious burial areas were established in expansive underground chambers that contained large, elaborate graves. The individuals buried in these prestigious areas included members of the Roman imperial elite like Adelphia, wife of the *comes* Valerius, who was entombed in a fine sarcophagus of Luni marble with scenes from the Old and New Testaments that had been carved in a Roman workshop. One of the most notable examples of late Roman art in Sicily, this sarcophagus is now on display in the Orsi museum, though it was originally situated in a monumental *arcosolium* adorned with an architrave and columns.

We can also trace in the catacombs the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the formation of a communal identity among the Christians of Syracuse. Clergy, some of whom originated outside Sicily,[479] and other venerable members of the community, such as two elderly women who may have belonged to a religious order, were given prestigious burial places. As in Catina, the veneration of martyrs took hold relatively early in Syracuse: the cult of Saint Lucy, a young girl martyred in 304 during the Diocletianic persecutions, had been established by the early fifth century,[480] and the saint remains the patron of the city to this day.

Shipwrecks discovered in the harbor of Syracuse and in the waters off the southeastern coast attest to the continued integration of the city and its region into major commercial routes, and especially to a strong maritime connection to the Byzantine Empire of the Eastern Mediterranean. Two of the multiple ancient wrecks found in the Great Harbor of Syracuse (Siracusa A and B) carried cargoes of Byzantine-era amphorae (fifth-seventh centuries AD).[481] The Marzamemi B wreck further down the coast held a cargo of architectural elements carved from *verde antico* stone and white Proconnesian marble, which are thought to have been intended for a small Justinianic basilica, perhaps in Cyrenaica.[482]

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[478] *Nel segno dell'antico: Archeologia nel territorio di Siracusa* (Palermo: A. Lombardi, 1999), 119.

[479] E.g. the clergymen attested in the only Latin epitaphs from the S. Giovanni catacombs: the *episcopus* Auxentius Ispanus and Superianus, *clerecus de Aquileia* (Sgarlata, "Morti lontano dalla patria," 1199).

[480] As evidenced by the epitaph of Euskia from the S. Giovanni catacombs (Ciurcina, *Siracusa*, 33).

[481] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 1092-3. The Vendicari wreck further down the coast also held a cargo of amphorae and is dated to ca. 375-625 AD (cat. no. 1211). The Byzantine-era Capo Passero wreck at the southeastern tip of Sicily carried a mixed cargo of roof tiles, amphorae, and iron items (cat. no. 245).

[482] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, cat. no. 671. Two other Byzantine-era wrecks holding indeterminate cargoes have been found in this area (Marzamemi J and K: cat. no. 678-9).

As a result of its continued economic and political importance, the ancient urban center of Syracuse had a long life, with occupation at an urban level extending well into the era of Byzantine control. The city played a role in the Byzantine conquest of Sicily under Belisarius and hosted such notables as the historian Procopius (AD 533) and the emperor Constans II, who established a mint in the city and briefly (AD 663-668) made it the *de facto* capital of the Byzantine Empire.[483] The city's political prominence – and perhaps even the presence of the emperor himself – may have been the reason for the continued maintenance and improvement of some parts of the urban infrastructure even in the late seventh century AD, including renovations to the amphitheatre and the repaving of the Roman-era street in Piazza della Vittoria.[484]

While the occupied area of the city appears to have contracted in the Byzantine era, many neighborhoods – and especially those closest to Ortygia – continued to be inhabited, and show signs of destruction only with the Arab invasions of the late ninth century. The monumental complex of Neapolis appears to have been partly abandoned by the mid-fifth century, when a necropolis was established on the upper terrace of the theatre and in the surrounding area.[485] The structures of an ancient neighborhood recently excavated near the modern train station, on what would have been the southeastern edge of Acradina, also show signs of reduced occupation. Although the main paved Roman street was maintained until the sixth century, the seventh and eighth-century street surfaces were unpaved and the drainage system was no longer maintained, perhaps reflecting reduced traffic in the area and the street's loss of its role as a primary urban axis. The width of the roadway was also gradually reduced as walls of new, irregularly aligned structures were placed onto the Roman-era roadbed.[486]

The visibility of Christianity in the urban landscape also increased in the Byzantine era with the construction of churches in the city center, accompanied by the movement of burials to areas in proximity to these churches even within the intramural area, and the decreased use of the extraurban necropoleis established by the early Christian community.[487] Although the city's first churches had been built in the late fourth century by the bishop Germanus, many of these underwent substantial renovation and expansion in the sixth century. The most significant Christian complexes were located on or near the sites of the catacombs: for example, the church of S. Pietro "*extra moenia*," whose monastery was mentioned in a letter of Gregory the Great of 598. The S. Giovanni Evangelista *martyrium* was located on the edge of Acradina, on the site of an earlier Christian burial ground in use at least until 423 that was obliterated by the construction of the new church and its crypt in the sixth century.[488] Some of these new Christian buildings, such as the sixth-century church of S. Martino, utilized fine stones spoliated from ancient structures – a practice that continued into the medieval and baroque periods.[489] The new Christian religious landscape also included pagan temples in the heart of the city, such as the archaic Athenaion and Apollonion on Ortygia, that were converted into churches beginning in the sixth century.[490]

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[483] Evans, *Syracuse in antiquity*, 144; Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 36; Lazzarini, "Marmi," 108.
[484] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 35-7.
[485] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 37.
[486] Basile, "Indagini archeologiche 2000 – 2001."
[487] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 37; Guzzardi, "Ricerche archeologiche nel Siracusano."
[488] Agnello, *Una metropoli*, 37-45.
[489] Lazzarini, "Marmi," 123.
[490] Agnello (*Una metropoli*, 51) dates these conversions to the era of Justinian or after (mid-late sixth century).

Conclusion

The development of Syracuse in the Roman period can be fruitfully compared and contrasted, respectively, with that of Catina and Morgantina: two cities that had been within the Syracusan political, economic, and cultural sphere of influence for much of their pre-Roman histories. The end of Syracusan political hegemony in eastern Sicily after the Second Punic War had a profound effect on the economy, government, and society of Morgantina – an impact visible in the transformations of the urban fabric in the second century BC. One consequence was that, like Syracuse itself, Morgantina was transformed under the Roman *provincia* into a major regional production and marketing center, a role reflected especially in the growth of the pottery industry. Unlike in Syracuse, however, where this industry developed on the urban fringes, in Morgantina, ceramic workshops took over structures in the heart of the city, including residences and monumental stoas in the agora that had previously been used for grain storage and public administration.

In Morgantina, as we have seen, the pottery industry declined along with activity throughout the city center after the mid-first century BC, as a result of a series of destructions as well as shifts in inland commercial routes. The economy of Syracuse, by contrast, was diverse enough to survive the end of the pottery industry, and the city remained a vital civic center and the home of a large, diverse population throughout the imperial period. The growth of ceramic production in second and first-century BC Syracuse had been opportunistic, taking advantage of the opening of the Mediterranean to expanded commerce under Roman rule, as well as the city's port and its longstanding economic hegemony in eastern Sicily. The growth of the ceramic industry in Syracuse had a "trickle-down" effect, fostering the development of secondary regional production and distribution centers in inland cities like Morgantina. However, after the decline of this industry – probably as a result of increased competition from imported Italian finewares – Syracuse's port allowed it to remain integrated into prevailing Mediterranean commercial routes, and its role as a *colonia* and Roman administrative center brought the continued attention and beneficence of imperial authorities.

Syracuse shared with its northern neighbor Catina a diverse economy and population in the Roman imperial period, and the ancient urban fabric of both cities had a long life, extending beyond the end of Roman rule in Sicily. The similarities between the two cities can be attributed to interrelated factors including the persistence of a strong local (though now colonial) elite – though the activities of its members are less visible in Syracuse – as well as the continued presence of provincial elites and imperial authorities; and their roles as ports, especially on routes between peninsular Italy, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The urban fabric of Syracuse underwent several transformations under the Romans and beyond – from *colonia* to early Christian center to Byzantine capital - transformations whose lasting traces allow us to reject the notion of the city's "decline" beginning in the Augustan period. Though the urban culture of the city became less distinctively "Syracusan" under the Roman Empire with the obliteration of such monuments of the city's former political and cultural hegemony as the altar of Hieron, Syracuse was very much an "imperial" city, with the full "monumental kit" – including a theatre, amphitheatre, baths, and lavishly decorated public areas. It was also one of the most cosmopolitan urban centers on the island, remaining receptive to cultural and religious currents from across the Mediterranean.

Analysis

Summary: Roman urbanism in Sicily

Unlike most of the case studies of chapter 5, all of the cities discussed in this chapter acquired elements of the "monumental kit" found in urban centers across the Roman Empire. Some of these were new constructions: Catina and Syracuse each acquired large amphitheatres – a novel building type in Sicily - by the second century AD, located (as was customary in the Roman world) on the fringes of the urban center. Catina also possessed a circus on its outskirts and a new theatre-*odeum* complex in its center. Lilybaeum, Catina, and Tauromenium were each supplied by at least one aqueduct, which, in the case of Catina and probably of Lilybaeum, took monumental form. This water was used in new public structures such as bath complexes, fountains, and *nymphaea*, examples of which are attested archaeologically and/or epigraphically at Lilybaeum, Centuripae, Tyndaris, Tauromenium, Catina, and Syracuse.

Much of the public bulding work in Sicilian cities in the imperial period, however, involved the modification and refunctionalization of existing monuments and public spaces. This is unsurprising - the high level of urbanization of the island and the antiquity of its cities meant that many urban centers already possessed extensive and elaborate monumental public spaces – and should not be read as a symptom of urban decline, neglect, or poverty. Most conspicuously, the Hellenistic theatres of Tyndaris, Tauromenium and Syracuse were renovated, often multiple times, to bring them up to date with architectural and cultural tastes: for example, by adding elaborate *scaena* buildings and modifying the *orchestra* to accommodate gladiatorial games, *venationes*, and water displays.

There also appears to be a trend beginning in the Augustan period and continuing into the second century towards the "Romanization" or "forumization" of older public spaces – though it should be kept in mind that it is often difficult on the basis of the existing evidence to identify Sicilian fora and agorai with certainty.[491] The modification of older structures to conform to the new political, social, and cultural/religious exigencies of the Principate is most visible at Halaesa (the only city in this chapter in which the agora/forum can be identified with certainty), in the renovation of the second-century BC stoa to include space for the veneration of the emperor. The early phases of the "ex Mulino Barbagallo" complex at Centuripae are obscure, but it is clear that this space was transformed in the high Empire into a monumental complex devoted in part to the imperial cult, with a cult building and other structures opening onto a paved space containing monumental public inscriptions (in Latin) and statues of emperors and civic benefactors – including the statue cycle of Pompeius Priscus.

Since the agora and forum cannot be identified with certainty at Agrigentum, the impact of the imperial-era changes recently traced in excavations – namely, the construction of a new temple precinct – on the city's existing public areas and structures remains unclear. The agora / forum of Tauromenium also can't be identified with certainty, but it is clear that several older public buildings underwent dramatic modifications in the early and middle imperial periods. The Hellenistic public building (*bouleuterion*?) in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (the area traditionally identified as the ancient agora) was obliterated by a Roman bath building after a possible brief use as a *curia*; and in the same area, an *odeum* was built onto a Hellenistic temple. In another probable public area, a Hellenistic stoa was transformed into the monumental façade of a Roman reservoir (the "Naumachia").

[491] As Wilson points out ("*Agorai* and *fora,*" 245).

It is difficult to attribute any of these developments to a deliberate monumental "program" (let alone to assign them to the initiative of any one individual), but in all of the cities in this chapter, we can detect a clear process, beginning in the Augustan period but continuing over several centuries in most cases, of urban embellishment and beautification. In Syracuse, Tauromenium, probably Lilybaeum, and less certainly Tyndaris, this program was clearly announced by the construction of monumental arches: markers of civic pride and distinction, but also unambiguous monuments of the ruling order of Rome. The paving of streets in durable, aesthetically pleasing, often-expensive hard stone – as seen at Lilybaeum, Catina, Tyndaris, and Syracuse - was also in keeping with the Augustan ideology of urban restoration and beautification, and was an effective way to make a conspicuous impact on (and perhaps also mark the prestige of) residential and public areas within older urban plans. Perhaps, in the case of Catina, Tyndaris, and Syracuse, the paving of streets marked the new political and social regime of the Augustan colony, while in Lilybaeum, it may have commemorated the restoration of order after the era of Sextus Pompey.

The types of monuments constructed over the course of the imperial period hint at the nature of Sicilian urban life under Rome and at the priorities of the individuals and groups guiding urban development. One trend seen in most of the cities in this chapter is the construction of monuments that utilized large quantities of water in conspicuous, elaborate ways, such as aquaducts, fountains, public gardens, *nymphaea*, and bath complexes. In addition, most cities saw the construction of new buildings for spectacle and performance (amphitheatres, *odea*, circuses), or the modification of older buildings: mainly Greek theatres. These trends can be interpreted in several ways. They may be symptoms of a de-emphasis by sponsors (whether civic authorities or individual benefactors) on buildings related to public life and civic administration – and particularly structures that facilitated the participation of non-elites, such as *ekklesia* – accompanied by a new taste, both at the elite and non-elite levels, for buildings devoted specifically to leisure and spectacle. Or perhaps, given that many urban centers already possessed buildings suitable for the public functions of government and administration – such as *bouleuteria* and stoas – the creation of new structures devoted to leisure and spectacle was perceived as a more conspicuous and effective way of enhancing urban infrastructure, fulfilling a perceived need to keep up with cultural tastes and with an ever-expanding range of new building types, and proclaiming the city and its elite's political and social prestige.

The lack of new buildings for government and administration points to the significance of the types of structures absent from the monumental landscape of Sicilian cities for understanding their development in the imperial period. For example, we find no *macella* like the ones built in second-century BC Morgantina and late Republican/early imperial Segesta in the cities in this chapter. If this absence is not simply the result of our limited knowledge, it may reflect a change in architectural tastes and in the perception of the role of the monumental space of urban centers. Most of the cities possessed extensive, fertile agricultural *territoria*; served as major import and export centers, maintaining extensive maritime connections with other regions of the Mediterranean; and housed a substantial non-agricultural population. However, at least in some cases, the activities associated with *macella* – i.e. the sale to urban residents of foodstuffs, and especially higher-price, perishable items such as meat, fish, fruits and vegetables – may have taken place in other places, such as *tabernae* located in residential insulae or in the rooms behind

porticoes.[492] In addition, urban centers may no longer have served as the primary markets for residents of their rural hinterlands, with the sustenance needs of this population instead met in markets held in smaller settlements, such as the *stationes* that arose along Roman roads - most notably Philosophiana, near Morgantina, and Naxos, just below Tauromenium (see chapter 7).

There was also no new construction of *gymnasia*: institutions that appear from the archaeological and epigraphic record to have played an integral social and political role under the Roman Republic in many Sicilian cities, including Centuripae, Tauromenium, Tyndaris, Agrigentum (the only city where the *gymnasium* has been identified with certainty), and Syracuse. Epigraphic and historical attestations of these *gymnasia* disappear after the Augustan period. In Agrigentum, though the *gymnasium* continued to be used in the second century, the Augustan-era renovations significantly altered its character, emphasizing the spectacle aspect of the athletic activities it hosted.[493] The apparent obsolescence of *gymnasia* as centers for the military/athletic and intellectual training of the citizen body – and especially the local elite – may reflect the reduced political power and autonomy of urban communities and their ruling classes in the post-civil war period: a development whose causes, course, and significance I discussed in chapter 5.[494] As the *gymnasia* lost this primary purpose, other types of buildings, such as bath houses, that did not have the same (potentially dangerous) association with civic autonomy and cohesion took up their roles as exercise spaces and community leisure centers, and became the object of elite benefaction: as seen at Centuripae, where a father and son sponsored a *sphaeresterium* (exercise area) in honor of their appointment as *duoviri*.[495]

In addition, few new cult buildings can be attributed to the Roman imperial period. Unlike in other areas of the Roman Empire – including both the urbanized Eastern Mediterranean and the previously unurbanized western provinces – no *capitolia* or other buildings associated with Roman cults (such as the temples of Roma frequently found in the eastern provinces) are attested in the archaeological or epigraphic records of the *coloniae* or of other cities.[496] Little can be said

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[492] Mayer asserts that the development of such "*taberna* economies" (and their associated "urban middle classes") was one of the major features of the spread of Roman urbanism in the empire beginning in the first century BC (*Ancient Middle Classes*, esp. 16-19).

[493] Cf. M. Maiuro, "Oltre il Pasquino: Achille, il culto imperiale e l'istituzione ginnasiale tra oriente e occidente nell'impero romano," *ArchCl* 58 (2007): 165-246, for the continued use and expansion of *gymnasia* (and their association with the imperial cult) in cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[494] This hypothesized change in function or de-emphasis of the *gymnasium* finds broad parallels in the fate of *gymnasia* in other provinces. For example, though it lost its traditional role as a training-center for ephebes by the Augustan era, papyrological evidence suggests that the *gymnasium* of Alexandria continued to play a significant role in civic life and Roman administration, serving (broadly) as the town's *agora*/*forum* and (specifically) as the location of the city's tribunal/*dikasterion* [F. Burkhalter, "Le Gymnase d'Alexandrie: centre administratif de la province romaine d'Égypte," *BCH* 116.1 (1992): 345-73, esp. 348-52 and 367]. A similar refunctioning appears to have occurred in other towns in Egypt and nearby regions, including Cyrene (*ibid.* 362-6). Moreover, according to Maiuro ("Oltre il Pasquino"), in some cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, *gymnasium*-bath complexes came to serve as venues for the promotion of the imperial cult alongside their traditional role in the training of the ephebate.

[495] A possible exception is the Severan *palaistra* at Lilybaeum, though it is unclear what sort of structure this was, and whether it stood alone or formed part of a larger athletic/leisure complex.

[496] Though this absence of *capitolia* may be more reflective of the (lack of) interest of Sicilian elites in building such structures in their cities than a lack of initiative from Roman authorities. See J. Quinn and A.I. Wilson, "*Capitolia*," *JRS* 103 (forthcoming, 2013), for the argument that *capitolia* – especially in Africa – were constructed at the initiative of local elites, on the basis of a model at Rome.

about the status of the older civic cults of each city and the buildings associated with them in the Roman imperial period, but the few new religious structures that have been identified instead seem mostly to be associated with cults outside the traditional Greco-Roman pantheon: such as the temple complex at Syracuse that was probably dedicated to Isis/Serapis, Cybele, or Atargatis; the recently discovered Iseum in Lilybaeum; and perhaps the early imperial temple precinct in Agrigentum, tentatively identified as an Iseum. As I discuss below, we also have evidence in most cities for the imperial cult, though, with the possible exception of Centuripae and Halaesa, the buildings associated with this cult cannot be identified with certainty.

Finally, in the more "private" realms of city life, we can also observe the changing tastes and priorities of urban residents, but also greater continuities in the uses of urban space than in the "public" realm. For example, the spaces and structures used for burial in most of the cities were relatively unchanged from Hellenistic and Republican times: burial spaces remained largely communal in nature, relatively inconspicuous, and were located on the fringes of the urban center – as seen most clearly at Syracuse and Lilybaeum. However, in Tauromenium, Halaesa, Tyndaris, and Centuripae, new types of funerary monuments arose in the imperial period. Employing the Roman technologies of brick and mortar construction, these monumental "house tombs" and mausolea, probably utilized by single wealthy families and their dependents, were located on the urban periphery but in conspicuous locations (e.g. near the city gate, in the case of the Halaesa "columbarium"). They proclaimed their owners' awareness of and adherence to burial practices in vogue in peninsular Italy, and they may have belonged to families of Roman or Italian origins.

All of these commonalities in urban development reflect the important fact that all of the cities in this chapter remained the centers of residence for local elites in the early and middle imperial periods, in contrast to the cities examined in chapter 5. This continuous elite presence is most clearly evidenced by the periodic building and renovation of urban residential areas. In Catina, significant changes to existing residential areas - such as the construction of numerous new houses or the extensive renovation and remodeling of existing ones - may be linked to the imposition of the *colonia*. In cities like Lilybaeum and Agrigentum, on the other hand, similar changes – though at a later date - may simply reflect the growing prosperity of the local elite over the course of the imperial period. And in none of the cities can a clear link be established between the decline of prestigious urban residential areas and the growth of suburban or rural residential villas before late antiquity.

To conclude, despite the limitations of our evidence, I would argue that all of the cities examined in this chapter – as well as those omitted for lack of substantial archaeological evidence, including Panhormus, Thermae Himeraeae, and Messina – manifested a distinct form of Roman Sicilian urbanism that was characterized by the adoption of certain types of Roman/Italian/imperial monuments (especially specialized leisure and entertainment buildings) and the rejection of others, such as Roman/Italian cult and administrative buildings. With the possible exception of Tauromenium, older buildings and public spaces were rarely destroyed or obliterated to make way for new ones, as occurred most dramatically, for example, in the creation of the early imperial *coloniae* of Corinth and Carthage. Instead, new construction projects were accommodated within the existing urban plan and had to conform to existing spaces and structures. Older structures – such as theatres and *stoai* - were frequently modified to serve new purposes.

Sicilian urbanism in the Principate was the product of the desire of civic authorities to showcase their city's prestige and cultural currency by creating new monuments, while at the

same time to maintain the existing urban fabric – in other words, by the tension between the perceived need to adhere to imperial norms and the desire to maintain a more local civic identity. As a result, it is characterized as much by local idiosyncracy as by standardization and conformity. Such singular structures as the Tyndaris "basilica," the Syracuse "Roman gymnasium," and the Tauromenium "Naumachia" should be considered equally as characteristic of this Sicilian Roman urbanism – if not more so – than amphitheatres, bath buildings, and paved streets. They are better viewed as a testament to the creativity and ambition of the individuals and groups shaping the urban fabric than as evidence of the "backwardness" of Sicilian architecture and craftsmanship in the imperial period.

The comparative development of Sicilian cities under the Roman Empire

In the rest of my analysis in this chapter, I seek the reasons for the emergence of this "Sicilian Roman" urbanism and I explain its local variations. In order to do this, I first compare the economic, political, and social development of the cities discussed in this chapter and in chapter 5. I showed in chapter 5 that a combination of interrelated geographic, political, and economic factors could influence the development (or lack thereof) of individual cities by facilitating (or hindering) their essential roles as the centers of economically and socially diverse populations headed by a residential local elite.

In this chapter, we can single out Halaesa and Centuripae as "winners" in the political order established under the Roman Republic, despite their apparent geographic disadvantages: namely, their position on hilltops. However, unlike the similarly privileged Segesta, both cities prospered well into the imperial period. Centuripae was positioned along major overland transportation routes and in the heart of an agriculturally fertile region that also possessed mineral resources. The city's leaders also fostered political and social links with other cities – including Rome and its ruling order – and gained advantageous economic positions in the Republican period, acquiring land in the territories of other Sicilian cities. The "Romanized," socially mobile local elite whose wealth was based in commerce and landholding that emerged by the first century BC endured and ascended the imperial social ranks during the Principate, to the continued advantage of Centuripae itself. Halaesa also had precocious links with Rome and peninsular Italy – including a substantial population of individuals of Italian origin – thanks to its position on the Tyrrhenian coast. Like Centuripae and most of the other cities examined in this chapter, it also possessed an extensive hinterland and had gained regional economic hegemony by the late Republic. But despite its prosperity under the Republic and early Principate, Halaesa appears to have persisted as a politically vital urban center only until the late second century AD, around the same time as the final abandonment of cities like Soluntum and Segesta.

On the other hand, the advantageous strategic and economic positions of Lilybaeum and Agrigentum drove their continued prosperity and development, especially in the high and late Empire, despite their troubled relations with Rome in the Republican period and in the civil wars. Similarly, the other four cities examined in this chapter followed diverse courses of development under the Principate despite the fact that all were Augustan colonies. The imposition of a colony was most clearly punitive in the case of Tauromenium, where it seems to have resulted in the obliteration of the institutions and physical structures associated with the old *polis*. However, the city continued to thrive under the new colonial ruling order, apparently on the same economic basis as before: as a major port on the northeastern coast and as the center of a famous wine producing and exporting region. The Augustan colony seems to have stimulated only limited new development at Tyndaris, whose imperial-era history was dominated by severe

periodic seismic movements that caused extensive damage to the urban fabric. The creation of colonies at Catina and Syracuse had a visible impact on the built environment, introducing new, Roman-style monuments and bringing about the extensive modification of existing public areas. However, these cities thrived under the Empire not as a result of their colonial status, but because of their continued (and perhaps expanded) roles as Mediterranean ports and regional economic centers.

In general, from the case studies of this and the previous chapter, we may hypothesize a gradual re-centering of economic, political, and social activity away from the urban centers of the northern coast and towards the cities of the western and eastern coasts that reached its climax in the late second century, with the western and eastern coastal cities remaining economically and politically vital well into the fourth (and, in some cases, fifth) century. The northern coastal centers of Soluntum, Halaesa, Caronia, and even (to a limited extent) Tyndaris, along with interior centers closely linked to the north coast, including Segesta, Monte Iato, and Apollonia, all exhibit signs of decreased political and economic activity, though at different paces and to different extents, between the early first century and late second century AD. In the same period, two "triangles" of cities emerge as centers of economic activity – and imperial, provincial, and local elite patronage – on the western and eastern coasts: Panhormus, Thermae Himeraeae, Lilybaeum (and perhaps Agrigentum, forming a "quadrangle"); and Syracuse, Catina, and Centuripae. One possible explanation for this shift is the decline of Italy as a major exporter of commodities (mainly wine) to the provinces over the course of the first century AD, to be supplanted first by Spain, then by North Africa. The eastern and western coasts were better positioned to take advantage of the increasing volume of commerce directed at Italy from North Africa, making them more attractive bases for the economic activities of elites.

Elite patronage and urban survival

The family backgrounds, social and political aspirations, and personal relationships of the local and provincial elites most active in shaping the urban fabric of Sicily can be traced, to a limited extent, in the imperial-era epigraphic record. In chapter 5, I singled out the absence of such elites as a major cause of the disintegration of the urban fabric of cities that were abandoned in the early Principate. On the other hand, the short- and long-term patronage relationships fostered between individual communities and wealthy, politically influential families and individuals – whether "Roman" or "Sicilian" – could be a major factor in their continued cohesion and vitality under the Roman Empire.

Already under the Republic, as we see clearly in Cicero's Second Verrine Oration, individual local notables as well as entire Sicilian communities had begun to form patronage relations with members of the Roman senatorial elite. In addition, expatriate Romans and Italians had become socially prominent and politically influential residents of many Sicilian cities. The impact of these early links continued to be felt especially in the cities of northern and western Sicily, into the imperial period. One result was that even before the Augustan period, the Roman citizenship had spread to many members of the local elite in these cities – a factor that may have contributed to the apparent stability of the ruling order of cities like Halaesa, Lilybaeum, and Centuripae in the transition from Republic to Principate. An early Roman/Italian presence and strong economic and social links to the Italian peninsula could also have an impact on urban fabric and material culture: in cities like Halaesa, Lilybaeum, and Agrigentum (as well as Segesta), Latin epigraphic culture and Roman/Italian architectural models were adopted earlier and were more pervasive

and enduring than in cities like Catina and Tauromenium, where the earliest Latin epigraphy and "Roman" monuments date to the Augustan period.

As I discussed in chapter 5, the Augustan era was an important point of transition for the urban elites of Sicily, and for their relations with their home communities and with Rome. The imposition of colonies, the confiscation and redistribution of land (especially from partisans of Sextus Pompey), and the formation of imperial estates would have affected the economic and political power of these elites, but their specific impact is difficult to trace in the epigraphic and archaeological record. Change is most visible at Tauromenium, where, according to the historical record, the entire population was deported to make way for the Augustan colony as a punitive measure for the community's support of Sextus Pompey. Thereafter, the formerly vital institutions of the *polis* government fall silent in the epigraphic record, and the structures and monuments associated with it are obliterated in the archaeological record. We can infer from the changes to the built environment and epigraphic records of Syracuse and Catina (as well as Thermae Himeraeae) – such as the construction of amphitheatres and other "Roman" buildings – that the new colonists, perhaps in collaboration with imperial authorities, took leading roles in city government and in shaping the urban fabric. At Halaesa, Centuripae, and Lilybaeum, however, there appears to be no such break, and we can even trace the continued activity of certain individuals and families into the early imperial period. Perhaps in these cities we can infer that the ruling class was gradually augmented, rather than displaced, by individuals and families from abroad with economic interests in Sicily.

Also difficult to untangle – but undoubtedly key to the continued cohesion of urban communities – was the relationship between landholding, political status, and social mobility in the imperial period. Most, if not all, of the cities examined in this chapter had extensive territories under their administration by the early imperial period, for which they were responsible for the assessment and collection of tax (and for the maintenance of infrastructure, such as roads), though they had limited authority to collect revenues from this land by leasing or selling it. These limitations can best be seen by contrasting the Tabula Halaesina with the letter of Julius Paternus concerning the public finances of second-century AD Catina: while the former document shows a *polis* exercising close control over its hinterland and overseeing the leasing of land in accordance with its own institutions, the latter reveals the limited means that a city government possessed for raising revenues, and the potential for Roman authorities to intervene in this process.

The limited financial means of urban communities during the Principate was one result of the divorce of landholding in the *territorium* of a city from membership in the urban community: a process that had already begun in the Republic with the leasing of Roman *ager publicus* formerly administered by Sicilian *poleis* to Sicilian, Roman, and Italian *aratores*. Under the Empire, in addition to the spread of the imperial patrimony, it became increasingly common for wealthy individuals and families – often of equestrian or senatorial rank - to own extensive properties in many parts of Sicily (as well as outside the island). Over the course of the Empire, these individuals and families become increasingly visible in the epigraphic record, as participants in provincial administration and as patrons of Sicilian cities. We have already seen this trend in many of the cities examined in this chapter; the classic case is that of the Maesii Titiani of Thermae and the Fabii Titiani, probably of Panhormus: related senatorial families whose members held multiple administrative posts in Sicily and elsewhere in the empire, especially in the third and fourth centuries, but who remained active in their home cities and in Lilybaeum.

For families like the Maesii of western Sicily and the Pompeii of Centuripae, the political and social distinction between "provincials" and "Romans" grew less acute over the course of the Principate with the opening up of the ranks of the imperial elite to provincial notables. Social mobility was achieved through the acquisition of property, the forging of links to other notable Italian and provincial families through marriage and adoption, and by participation in the administration of the empire, rather than through participation in *polis* government, as had been the case for previous generations of Sicilian elites. By keeping this in mind, we can address the enigma of the lack of "Sicilians" in the senatorial ranks of the high Empire, compared to the large numbers of senators of Spanish and African origins. Domenico Vera has attributed this absence partly to the lack of ambition of Sicilian local notables and to their ambiguous relationship with the Roman ruling order.[497] However, as we have seen, as a result of Sicily's longstanding social, economic, and political links to Italy, and as a consequence of the emphasis of the Augustan "settlement" on the redistribution of landed wealth and political prestige from old urban elites to colonists and individual landowners, rather than the emergence of a provincial elite class rooted in the old Hellenistic/Greek *polis* order, the imperial period saw the increased activity of individuals and families of equestrian and senatorial rank on the island. Many of these individuals and families also had links to Italy and Africa, and their wealth and social mobility were closely tied to their economic interests in Sicily: one reason for their patronage of the most politically and economically vital Sicilian communities. The upward mobility of families with roots in or longstanding links to Sicilian cities – such as the Pompeii of Centuripae – seems to be the result of their social and economic links with other wealthy families in Italy and Africa as much as of their activities in Sicily.

Although Sicilian cities were not the main *loci* for elite social mobility, we should not overlook the social changes that took place among other sectors of the urban population under the Roman Empire. One development particularly visible in the epigraphic record (and especially funerary *tituli*) of cities like Catina and Syracuse is the emergence of freedmen – and even some slaves - in the middling urban social ranks.[498] The presence of these freedmen was related to senatorial and imperial landholding on the island: some would have been stationed in Sicilian cities (especially ports) in order to manage their patrons' economic interests (e.g. as *tabularii*), while others would have been more directly involved in the administration of rural properties (e.g. as *vilici*). However, as the example of the Annii of Agrigentum shows, some freedmen also had considerable scope to enrich themselves by participating in production and commerce based in urban centers. One way that many freedmen utilized this wealth to enhance their social prestige was through participation in the imperial cult.

The Roman Emperor in Sicily

The important role played by the figure of the Roman emperor in provincial society – and particularly in the religious and political life of urban communities – has long been emphasized in scholarship of the Roman Empire.[499] In Sicily, as in the cities of the Greek East, the imperial

[497] "Augusto," esp. 51-8.

[498] This integration of freedmen into urban social and political life is a significant aspect of the development of the Roman "urban middle class" in Sicily and elsewhere that Mayer's recent work (*Ancient Middle Classes*) does not fully explore, since his discussion of the nature of this "middle class" largely ignores Roman legal status distinctions.

[499] Simon Price's foundational work on Asia Minor [*Rituals and power: the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)] emphasizes the "imperial cult" as a set of locally

cult and other expressions of loyalty to the emperor had some antecedents in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods in the elaborate honors paid by individual communities to Hellenistic kings and, later, to Roman magistrates. We can find such practices especially in Syracuse and the communities of eastern Sicily under its influence, where Hieron II modeled his personal rule after the dynasties of the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean. Even if no official "ruler cult" of Hieron existed, the king made a concerted effort, especially through his building program, to accrue divine qualities to himself and to his family. In the decades after the creation of the Roman *provincia*, the Syracusans transferred the honors previously paid to Hieron to leading Roman magistrates (especially the Marcelli), including the dedication of statues and the institution of festivals in their honor.

Although, as with so much of our evidence for Roman imperial Sicily, the epigraphic evidence for the imperial cult and other commemorations of the emperor is highly lacunose, with some cities (e.g. Lilybaeum) probably over-represented and others (e.g. Syracuse) under-represented, it does appear that the emperor was a visible presence in Sicilian cities from an early date: the Syracusans dedicated a statue to Octavian early in his reign (*AE* 1989.342b), while the *municipium* of Halaesa made a dedication to Augustus a few decades later (*CIL* X 7458). There are few surviving dedications to the Julio-Claudian or Flavian emperors, and most evidence for honors paid to emperors dates to the reigns of Trajan through the Severans.

The epigraphic evidence for the imperial cult and other displays of loyalty to the emperor can be divided into two groups: the dedications of individuals and the products of community initiatives. Displays of loyalty to the emperor by entire civic bodies – i.e. dedications sponsored by *res publicae*, *municipia*, and *coloniae* - are rare, and mostly come from the Augustan *coloniae* (particularly Tyndaris) and from Lilybaeum, especially after it had received municipal and colonial status. The epigraphic record of the eight case studies contains, to my knowledge, only one reference to a civic priesthood of the imperial cult: an inscription honoring a *flamen divorum augustorum,* probably of Lilybaeum, found at Mazara (*CIL* X 7212).[500] In addition, no structures associated with the "official" province-wide or community-wide veneration of the emperor of the type found in other provinces (e.g. the "Maison Carrée" in Nimes, the Temple of Roma and Augustus in Leptis Magna, and the imperial cult complex at Tarraco) have yet been identified in any Sicilian city.

Dedications made through individual initiative are more common. Especially in Lilybaeum, we have numerous dedications that refer to the emperor, and sometimes also to his divine quality (*numen*), made by local and provincial elites often in the context of their sponsorship of public works or other benefactions: for example, a local magistrate's donation of funds for the paving of a *platea,* made in honor of Marcus Aurelius (Barbieri 1961, no. 1). An example of a more personal form of veneration of the emperor also probably comes from Lilybaeum: a dedication to Mercurius Augustus made by two Roman citizens (*CIL* X 7224).

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variable rituals and practices drawn from (and operating within the framework of) traditional civic religion. Carlos Noreña's recent work on the Roman West [*Imperial ideals in the Roman West: representation, circulation, power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)] has pointed to the significance of the circulation of "imperial ideals" to the internal and external social relations of provincial communities: dedications and other acts of veneration reinforced the distinction and internal cohesion of local elites while serving as the "symbolic glue" that bound together and stabilized the multiple power networks of the empire.

[500] However, there is numismatic evidence from Halaesa for the existence of a *flamen* of the imperial cult even in Augustus' lifetime (see above).

Most of the individually-sponsored dedications that refer to the emperor and the imperial cult are inscriptions set up by *seviri Augustales*: freedmen who were chosen by the *municipium* or *colonia* to maintain the structures and oversee the rituals associated with the local imperial cult. All of the cities in this chapter except Tauromenium and Agrigentum have produced epigraphic evidence for the Augustales and, in the case of Halaesa and Centuripae, the locations of their offices or cult buildings can be identified with some certainty. The relative prominence of the Augustales in the epigraphic record is a reflection of the success of this institution in fostering internal community cohesion (between *liberti* and the enfranchised ruling classes) and loyalty to the ruling order of Rome. It facilitated the participation of *liberti* in the public life of their cities and offered them opportunities for self-promotion, in the service of the Roman emperor: all of the known dedications of the *seviri* are in Latin, and many were displayed in prestigious public spaces (such as the agora/forum of Halaesa).

The veneration of the emperor in Sicily seems to have conformed to imperial norms in its rituals and institutions, though it was perhaps embraced with limited enthusiasm by the urban ruling classes, except at certain historical moments when displays of loyalty were politically necessary or expedient, such as the receipt of a benefaction or political privilege (e.g. the bestowal of colonial status on Lilybaeum). The lack of internal initiative – i.e. the apparent lack of interest of local elites in the imperial cult, and in other displays of loyalty to the ruling order of Rome – is in keeping with the conclusion I drew above, that urban centers were not the main *loci* of elite social advancement in the imperial period. However, the apparently enthusiastic embrace of the imperial cult by wealthy freedmen is in keeping with the role of Sicilian cities as centers of economic and social activity for freedmen and other non-elites.

Points of transition in the urban landscape

So far in this analysis, I have emphasized broad changes in the urban landscape of Sicily, such as the shift in activity away from the south coast and interior in the first century BC, and then away from the north coast and towards the western and eastern coasts in the high Empire. But these wider trends mask the different extents to which the man-made and natural events that befell Sicily in the imperial period affected individual cities, and we may identify different key points of transition for the built environment of the urban communities discussed in this chapter.

The political events of the late Republic and Augustan period left the most visible impact on the urban fabric of Tauromenium and Syracuse in the form of the monumental reworking of their main public areas. In Halaesa and Centuripae, on the other hand, the middle imperial period – and particularly for Centuripae, the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines – seems to have been an era of particular prosperity and urban development, though in Halaesa, this phase was short-lived. Lilybaeum reached the peak of its political and economic fortunes under the Severans, and its civic pride and prosperity in this period are reflected in the embellishment of its public and residential areas. Agrigentum also achieved renewed political prominence in the Severan period with the bestowal of colonial status, and Catina seems also to have undergone a Severan "revival."

Overall, however, the development of the built environment in all of the cities discussed above can be characterized as slow and piecemeal, rather than quick and dramatic. Although we may attribute major changes in some cities to certain periods – such as the Augustan-era reworking of the monumental complex of Neapolis in Syracuse – there is no evidence for more extensive imperially or locally-initiated "monumental programs" in any Sicilian city. The case of Catina is typical: there was no Augustan "moment" of extensive urban development after the

creation of the colony, but rather, the gradual reshaping of the urban plan in the first through third centuries to include bath houses, an amphitheatre, and a theatre-*odeum* complex, perhaps reflecting the emergence of a prosperous urban residential class with a taste for Roman leisure pursuits.

Likewise, it is difficult to discern processes of quick, dramatic urban "decline" in any of the cities. Halaesa is the only settlement where political and social activity appears to have diminished to a sub-urban level before late antiquity, though it remained a substantial and economically integrated community. Similarly, while the seismic events of the 360s did great damage to Tyndaris, the urban fabric shows signs of deterioration even before these events, and occupation continued on the site at a sub-urban level for several centuries. As Christian communities gained prominence in the cities of Sicily in late antiquity, we can characterize their impact on the urban fabric in terms of re-prioritization or reclassification, rather than as neglect or decline. In the ancient urban cores of Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, Catina, and Syracuse, the fifth and sixth centuries saw the emergence of new centers of activity and novel practices that reflect the different social and religious priorities of Christian communities, such as the transformation of "pagan" temples into churches and the introduction of burials to the intramural area, especially around church buildings. These transformations were not fully realized until the Byzantine period, during which all of the cities discussed in this chapter remained occupied on an urban or sub-urban level.

Conclusion

In this chapter, as in chapter 5, we can observe especially in the epigraphic record the disappearance of Greek local elites as the "public face" of many Sicilian cities by the Julio-Claudian period. These elites were replaced with – or perhaps merged into – new, interrelated social groups that drove urban life and development in the imperial period: colonists, freedmen, and families of provincial elites with extensive landholdings on the island. For these groups and for what remained of the Greek local elite, Roman citizenship and social status were as important as (if not more significant than) local identity based in *polis* citizenship. The accumulation of wealth, effective "social networking," and participation in Roman religious and political institutions – many of which were based in cities - were key to social mobility in Sicily as in other provinces, and urban public space was the most effective venue for individual and communal displays of adherence to the Roman imperial order.

The addition of Roman monuments to the built environment of Sicilian cities – or the modification of existing buildings to accommodate Roman political, religious, social, and cultural institutions – can therefore be seen as part of local and extra-local "conversations" involving the sponsor(s), the community as a whole, and the Roman state as embodied in the emperor and, more immediately, his representatives: provincial magistrates. The local context of the monument often made its message more effective. For example, the statue cycle of Pompeius Priscus in Centuripae was located amidst other monuments celebrating the imperial order, such as the "seat of the Augustales," some of which were also sponsored by the Pompeii. And the paved *platea* funded by a local magistrate in honor of Marcus Aurelius in Lilybaeum was associated with the Cereres (Ceres and Proserpina): a cult with a long history in Sicily and associations with the island's agricultural fertility, but whose name reflects Lilybaeum's religious and cultural ties to North Africa.

The effectiveness of the message of monuments also depended on the financial means of their sponsor(s), the skill with which they were executed, and the size and composition of their

potential audience. Therefore, the economic, social, and political integration of a city was closely linked to its monumental development. However, there was no simple geographic determinism behind the Augustan reordering of the Sicilian urban hierarchy or the subsequent development of the island's cities under the Roman Empire. Rather, a combination of geographic and environmental factors and historical circumstances fostered (or hindered) the ambitions, means, and connections of urban residents – from provincial and local elites down to freedmen and slaves – and their ability to participate in and enhance the economic, political, and social life of cities.

In closing, I would like to emphasize again that the urban centers examined in this chapter lie at one extreme of the settlement spectrum of Sicily, and that they are distinguishable from other forms of settlement mainly in the intensity of their economic, political, and social roles, and the corresponding heterogeneity of their populations.[501] In the next chapter, therefore, I move away from the political and social world of the main urban centers of Sicily to explore the new forms of settlement that emerged under the Principate. I show how the development of these settlements, all of which arose "organically" and apparently without direct encouragement from the Roman state - some on the sites of long-abandoned *poleis* – can shed further light on the density and complexity of the Sicilian settlement landscape under the Principate, as well as on the economic, social, and political relations between urban settlements and their hinterlands (both territorial and maritime).

[501] See chapter 3 for this definition of urban settlement.

Chapter 7: New Forms of (Urban?) Settlement

Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I examined the impact of the economic, political, and social changes brought by the Principate on the urban fabric of the existing towns of Sicily (i.e. the former Greek *apoikiai*, as well as Hellenized Phoenician and indigenous *poleis*). In chapter 5, I traced in one set of cities the obsolescence of certain urban roles (and especially the role of the urban center as an administrator of a defined territory and as a *locus* of elite residence and activity) in the new political and economic order of the early Principate, which was accompanied by the contraction and deterioration of the urban fabric. On the other hand, as I showed in chapter 6, other towns adapted – sometimes with the encouragement or direct assistance of imperial authorities - to meet the political and economic exigencies of the evolving Roman imperial system, and became provincial centers of administration, commerce, and elite activity. These developments point to a stratification of the Sicilian urban system, as a smaller number of cities came to assume a wider range of political, social, religious/cultural, and economic roles, to administer a larger amount of territory, and perhaps to acquire larger populations themselves.

However, there are some similarities in the imperial-era development of the towns examined in chapters 5 and 6. In both sets of towns, processes of production, storage, and redistribution continued to play significant roles. In some cities (e.g. Monte Iato, Segesta and, later, Halaesa), the economic integration of the urban center appears to have continued even amidst or after the decline and disappearance of its political authority. In other cities (especially Lilybaeum, Catina, Syracuse, and Agrigentum), economic integration reinforced the political and social prominence of the urban center. For all of the cities examined in chapters 5 and 6, I attributed changes in the urban fabric at least in part to shifting patterns of Mediterranean connectivity. One consequence of such shifts – seen, for example, at Calacte, and (later) Halaesa – was that sites of settlement could move to more "connected" locations. Another consequence, seen at Segesta, was that new forms of settlement could emerge on old urban sites to take advantage of new production regimes and commercial patterns, even after periods of abandonment.

One aspect of the urban landscape of Sicily that I alluded to in both chapters remains to be examined further: the extent and nature of the new settlements that arose in the Roman imperial period (including whether they can be considered "urban"), and their social, political, and economic relations with existing urban and non-urban settlements (cf. Plate 7.1a). The emergence of *stationes*/*mansiones* and "agro-towns," often along major Roman routes, sometimes also near the coast, and usually in areas of high agricultural potential, has long been cited as an aspect of the "ruralization" of Roman Sicily in the imperial period, along with the obsolescence of former *poleis* – particularly those located in the interior - away from such routes. But as I show in this chapter, like the assumption of the "decline" of the urban centers of Sicily in the imperial period, this picture of the "ruralization" and simplification of the Sicilian settlement network can be nuanced and refined, particularly in the light of recent archaeological work.

Sofiana: a new Roman city in Sicily?

The settlement in contrada Sofiana, in the territory of Mazzarino in the hilly south-central interior, is the archaeologically best-attested new settlement that emerged in Roman imperial Sicily. The site, located on a low ridge overlooking the Nocera river in an area now largely given

over to cereal production, viticulture, and forestry, was first identified and excavated by D. Adamesteanu in 1954 and 1961. Adamesteanu uncovered a late Roman bath complex and a paleochristian basilica surrounded by a cemetery on the southwestern edge of the site, though little of the stratigraphy or finds from his excavations has been published (Plates 7.1b and 7.2a).[1] Excavations in the 1980s and 1990s by G.F. La Torre focused on the area north of the late Roman baths, uncovering several buildings and a system of paved streets, and on the necropoleis surrounding the settlement (Plate 7.2b).[2] Since 2009, an international project of excavation, magnetometry, and field survey has focused on determining the extent of the settlement and the uses of space within it, as well as on understanding the evolution of the site, and its relationship with the surrounding area, in the *longue durée* (i.e. through the medieval period).[3] Adamesteanu identified the contrada Sofiana settlement as the *mansio* of *Philosophiana* of the *It. Ant*. (94,5, also listed as *Gela sive Filosofiana* at 88,2; cf. appendix 2) that lay along the inland route between Catania and Agrigento, based on the similarity of the modern toponym and on stamped tiles (FIL SOF) found in the site's late Roman structures. The Sofiana settlement is nearly unique in the Sicilian archaeological record in the *ex novo* nature of its development in the imperial era, since there is little evidence of frequentation before the Augustan period. Few such settlements with substantial evidence of new imperial-era occupation have been identified in Sicily, and even fewer have been subject to intensive and extensive research.[4]

Approximately eight hectares of the settlement at Sofiana have been excavated since the 1950s, revealing a complex and lengthy, though still lacunose, history of occupation. Adamesteanu found materials from as early as the Bronze Age underneath the late Roman bath building, and hypothesized the existence of a farm on the site in the fourth century BC; however, recent intra-site survey found no materials earlier than the first century BC.[5] La Torre's excavations in the 1980s and 1990s in the area north of the baths uncovered numerous structures – and most notably, a peristyle *domus* (Plate 7.3a) - lining a series of paved, orthogonal streets, as well as a section of a northern perimeter wall. These structures were attributed to the first phase of occupation at Sofiana and dated to the Augustan period (late first century BC/early first century AD). Further additions and modifications to the settlement, including the construction of the first phase of the bath complex on the same orientation as the peristyle *domus*, were made in the Julio-Claudian period and in the second century AD (Plate 7.3b). In addition, from an early stage the settlement was equipped with a water collection and distribution system: most notably,

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[1] The main publications of these excavations include D. Adamesteanu, "Nuovi documenti paleocristiani nella Sicilia centro-meridionale," *BdA* 48 (1963): 259-74; and L. Bonomi, "Cimiteri paleocristiani di Sofiana (retroterra di Gela)," *RACr* 40 (1964): 169-220.

[2] For the results of these excavations, see G.F. La Torre, "Mazzarino (CL), contrada Sofiana. Scavi 1988 - 1990," *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 765-70; id., "Gela sive Philosophianis (It. Antonini 88, 2). Contributo per la storia di un centro interno della Sicilia romana," *QuadA* 9 (1994): 99-139; and R.M. Bonacasa Carra, "Sofiana," in *La Sicilia centro-meridionale tra il II ed il VI sec. d.C.*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and R. Panvini (Caltanissetta: S. Sciascia, 2002), 103-13.

[3] K. Bowes, M. Ghisleni, G.F. La Torre, and E. Vaccaro, "Preliminary report on Sofiana-mansio Philosophiana in the hinterland of Piazza Armerina," *JRA* 24 (2011): 423-49; E. Vaccaro, "Re-Evaluating a Forgotten Town using Intra-Site Surveys and the GIS Analysis of Surface Ceramics: Philosophiana-Sofiana (Sicily) in the Longue Durée," in *Archaeological survey and the city*, ed. P. Johnson and M. Millett (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 104-45.

[4] See chapter 1 for the reasons for archaeologists' long neglect of Roman sites as well as sites in the interior of Sicily.

[5] Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 115 and 124.

La Torre's excavations uncovered long sections of an aqueduct following the orientation of the street system that probably brought water from nearby springs to the bath complex.[6] La Torre's excavations, as well as recent intra-site survey, have shown that the settlement received large quantities of imports in its first phase, including Italian and African finewares, coarsewares, and transport amphorae.[7]

Though La Torre hypothesized a lacuna in occupation in the second century AD, more secure is the "crisis" of the early imperial settlement that occurred in the late third century, attested by the apparent violent destruction of several structures (including the *domus* and other buildings along the early imperial street grid), the decline in the quantities of ceramics found in intra-site survey, and the end of use of the early imperial necropoleis. By the early fourth century, a new phase of building and occupation had begun, whose most prominent feature was a new bath complex on a different orientation than the early imperial building. The use of these new baths lasted perhaps only a few decades, since by the late fourth century, the building seems to have been occupied by industrial workshops and residences. The first phase of construction of the Christian basilica in the southwestern sector of the site dates to around the same time.

Recent magnetometry and intra- and extra-site survey have shed light particularly on this late antique phase of occupation (fourth – sixth century AD), when the settlement appears to have reached its greatest physical extent, covering an area of ca. 21 hectares, excluding the cemeteries. Geophysical prospection has indicated the existence of buildings apparently arranged on a street grid, pointing to a re-planning of the settlement in the fourth century AD, as well as the presence of at least two kilns, one of which certainly produced tiles. Extra-site survey has revealed the proliferation of sites – apparently small farmsteads or houses - in the immediate vicinity of the settlement in the fourth and fifth centuries.[8] Although little is known of the settlement after this period, it appears from the high number and wide dispersion of ceramics that life continued on the site into the eighth and ninth centuries.[9]

The recent research at Sofiana supports the hypothesis that the settlement was a planned entity during its late antique phase, and probably as early as the first century AD.[10] Its current excavators have therefore described Sofiana as "urban-like" or "urban-style," and closest in form to the type of ancient settlement usually described as a *vicus* or "agro-town:" that is, a very large rural settlement or agglomeration that lacks an urban designation, but that shows signs of urbanism.[11] Given this difficulty of classifying Sofiana according to traditional settlement typologies, it may be helpful to return to my criteria for defining an urban settlement and for distinguishing Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements, as outlined in chapter 3. According to these criteria, Sofiana in both its early imperial and late antique phases can certainly be described

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[6] La Torre, "Gela sive Philosophianis," 125.

[7] Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 124-5; Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 430; La Torre, "Gela sive Philosophianis," 136.

[8] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 430-8. But the excavators warn against equating a high number of ceramics with a high density of occupation, since this could actually be evidence of increased dumping of waste on the site.

[9] Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 118-22.

[10] For example, the excavations conducted in 2012 in the area between the peristyle *domus* and the late Roman baths produced tentative evidence of additional structures (including a narrow room with a bench and painted plaster walls), which belonged to the early imperial bath complex that followed the same alignment as the *domus* (E. Vaccaro, pers. comm.).

[11] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 438-42; Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 115.

as an urban settlement, since it did "possess a relatively dense, cohesive, and permanent population, which can be deduced archaeologically from the presence of multiple, differentiated dwellings arranged within a network of streets or around other forms of open, communal space (not necessarily planned)." At least in its late antique phase, it also performed "higher-level economic roles that both tie[d] it to and differentiate[d] it from other settlements in its vicinity" – namely, the "manufacture of goods from raw materials," as evidenced by the kilns in its vicinity and the evidence for glassmaking and other "industrial" activities in the remains of the bath complex. The evidence for commerce and production in both phases of settlement, as well as the peristyle *domus* of the early imperial settlement, furthermore point to the presence of "a heterogeneous and economically and socially differentiated population not engaged solely in agricultural production, and headed by a defined, 'embedded' elite."[12]

However, Sofiana in both stages of settlement is better described as a Secondary Urban Settlement, mainly because of the difficulty of identifying the authority (or authorities) overseeing the development of its infrastructure and buildings. That is, while Sofiana displays urban characteristics including "a relatively high concentration of population" and "evidence of non-agricultural economic activity," as outlined above, as well as "structures and institutions that indicate a civic identity," such as a perimeter wall, an aqueduct and public baths, and an orthogonal street grid, there are no structures that can point to the existence of civic authority within the settlement: that is, no public administration or government buildings.

Whether this lack of clear evidence of civic authority points to Sofiana's political and economic dependence on another settlement in the area is a question that is still unresolved. The original excavators of Sofiana (Adamesteanu) and of the Villa del Casale near Piazza Armerina (Carandini) believed that the former settlement was a dependency of the latter: i.e., that Sofiana developed in late antiquity as a *vicus* or "peasant village" that housed the agriculturalists who worked the land owned by the wealthy notable (probably a Roman senator, if not a high-ranking imperial official, or even the emperor himself) who resided at the Villa, approximately six kilometers distant.[13] This hypothesis was based largely on the proximity of the two sites, the extreme wealth and luxury of the Villa del Casale, and on the likelihood that the toponym "Philosophiana" derives from the name of the *praedia* within which the settlement was situated.

However, the extensive and complex remains of the early/mid-imperial and late antique settlements found by La Torre and in the most recent fieldwork at Sofiana have necessitated a revision of this theory. In the first place, at the time of the early/mid-imperial phase of settlement at Sofiana, the Villa del Casale would have been considerably smaller and less elaborate (perhaps merely a *villa rustica* or *vicus*), and presumably in control of a smaller territory.[14] La

[12] Further confirmation of the (perhaps periodic) presence of an elite stratum in the late antique settlement comes from a monumental tomb in the eastern necropolis whose grave goods included a pair of gold earrings (Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 118-9).

[13] See Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 425-7, for these earlier hypotheses on the relationship between the two sites, and R.J.A. Wilson, "The fourth-century villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily) in its wider imperial context. A review of some aspects of recent research," in *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad. Spätantike Paläste und Grossvillen im Donau-Balkan-Raum. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Bruckneudorf vom 15. bis 18. Oktober*, ed. G. von Bülow and H. Zabehlicky (Bonn: Habelt, 2011), 55-87, for doubts on theories about the ownership of the Villa del Casale and on its role as an "estate-center;" cf. Bonomi, "Cimiteri paleocristiani di Sofiana," 175.

[14] La Torre, "Gela sive Philosophianis," 128-9; cf. P. Pensabene, E. Gallocchio, E. Gasparini et al., "Villa del Casale di Piazza Armerina. Nuovi scavi," *Fastionline* 158 (2009)

Torre hypothesized instead that the early/mid-imperial settlement at Sofiana can be identified with the *Gela sive Filosofiana* (88,2) listed in one of the itineraries in the *It. Ant.* (cf. appendix 2). According to La Torre, the early settlement at Sofiana may be identified with Gela, one of the *stipendiarii* of the Sicilian interior mentioned by Pliny [*HN* 3.14(8)]. The toponym in the *It. Ant.* originated in the early third century AD, when the praedial name Philosophiana was added. In La Torre's view, Sofiana only became a dependency (as the *mansio nunc instituta* of *Philosophiana* at 94,5) of the Villa del Casale in its fourth/fifth century phase, after the destruction and caesura in settlement of the late third century.[15]

However, as other scholars have pointed out, there are several weaknesses to this hypothesis. First, it is based only on textual evidence (namely, Pliny and the *It. Ant*.), and it assumes that the *stipendiarii* of Pliny's list refer to defined urban centers – an assumption I argued against in chapter 2. In addition, it is unlikely (and there is no evidence outside the textual sources) that the early imperial settlement of Sofiana adopted the toponym of Gela, a Greek *polis* nearly 40km distant that had not existed for three centuries. As for the dependence of the late antique settlement of Sofiana on the Villa del Casale, the recent excavators of Sofiana have argued that the estate-derived toponym indicates only the proximity of a *praedia Philosophiana*, not a proprietary relationship.[16] In addition, R.J.A. Wilson has argued against characterizing the Villa del Casale as an "estate-center," given the lack of evidence that it served as anything other than the elaborate, luxurious personal retreat of a wealthy (and, in the current state of research, anonymous) individual.[17]

Moreover, the recent geophysical and survey work at Sofiana has suggested that the site remained a planned entity in late antiquity and became the center of an extensive network of smaller settlements, casting further doubt on the hypothesis that it was a simple "peasant village" dependent on the Villa del Casale. Extra-site survey has revealed dozens of small concentrations of building materials, pottery, and (often) *dolia* within a one-kilometer radius of Sofiana, mostly dating to the fourth and fifth centuries; these concentrations have been interpreted as the remains of small farmsteads or peasant houses.[18] In addition, surface survey within the site has pointed to a significant increase in ceramic numbers beginning in the early fourth century and continuing into the first half of the fifth century, roughly corresponding to the phase of greatest expansion of the Villa del Casale. This intra-site survey has shown, however, that Sofiana remained a center of economic activity in the eighth and ninth centuries, long after the abandonment of the Villa.[19]

Sofiana's relationship to older urban centers in the region also remains unclear. S.C. Stone speculated that the early imperial settlement served as the replacement center for the population of Morgantina once the latter site was completely abandoned in the early first century AD – a view based only on the proximity of the sites (ca. 25km apart) and on the general chronological correspondence of the abandonment of Morgantina with the emergence of Sofiana (cf. chapter

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[http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2009-158.pdf], for recent work on the early and mid-imperial "villa rustica" phases of occupation at the Villa del Casale.

[15] La Torre, "Gela sive Philosophianis," 128-38, reiterated in "Sofiana," *FormaUrbis* 16.6 (2011): 22-6, and accepted by Bonacasa Carra, "Sofiana," 105.

[16] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 445. C. Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio del cursus publicus in Italia. Ricerche topografiche ed evidenze archeologiche* (B.A.R. Int. Ser. 875; Oxford: Hedges, 2000) makes a similar argument for some Italian *mansiones* located on or near imperial/ senatorial estates.

[17] Wilson, "The fourth-century villa," 59-61.

[18] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 438.

[19] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 446 and 448; Vaccaro, "Re-evaluating a Forgotten Town," 125-7.

5). The current excavators of Sofiana have suggested that the early imperial settlement served as a replacement for the abandoned center of Montagna di Marzo, for similar reasons.[20]

Although much remains to be learned about the shape and extent of the settlement at Sofiana and its relationships to the Roman road network and to other settlements in the area, the research that has been done in and around the site has hinted at the complexity of settlement patterns in the Sicilian countryside under the Empire. The development of the rural landscape was not simply a process of the "ruralization" of older *poleis* and of the emergence of *latifundia* and dependent settlements to take their place; rather, new settlements could emerge that did not fulfill the political roles of the *poleis*, but that could possess considerable wealth, and that served as centers of population and economic activity. Sofiana is unusual in the current state of research on Roman Sicily in the extent of its *ex novo* development, in a locality with no substantial earlier human occupation. As I show in the next section, in other regions of Sicily with longer and more substantial histories of settlement, emerging Roman-era settlements sometimes adapted older, often long-abandoned urban sites, especially to create infrastructure for the processing, transportation, and export of agricultural produce.

Naxos and Megara Hyblaea: the "ruralization" of the polis?

I showed in chapters 5 and 6 that settlement re-emerged at, or shifted to a nearby site around, the former *poleis* of Segesta, Halaesa, and Calacte at various points in the imperial period and late antiquity. In this section, I examine two settlements that arose on or near the sites of long-abandoned Greek *apoikiai* on the eastern coast, Megara Hyblaea and Naxos, in the imperial period. I consider whether the emergence of these and similar settlements is a separate phenomenon, or a symptom of the same economic, political, and social processes that led to the emergence of the settlement at Sofiana.

Settlements like the imperial and late antique reoccupations of the former *poleis* of Naxos and Megara Hyblaea appear to be more numerous in Sicily than *ex novo* settlements like Sofiana, but this may be the result of bias in the archaeological record. The former two settlements lie on or near the extensive monumental remains of archaic Greek *poleis*, and so have been easier to detect - and have attracted more attention from scholars - than "isolated" sites in the interior like Sofiana. Nonetheless, much less is known about the later stages of occupation at Naxos and Megara Hyblaea than about their earlier, "classical" phases of settlement. There are substantial challenges in assessing the extent of the Roman and late antique settlement phases at these sites, since the later occupation strata lie closer to the surface and have been more vulnerable to plow damage than archaic and classical layers. In addition, both sites are located in heavily urbanized and industrialized areas, making it difficult to assess their relationship with the wider regional settlement landscape; in contrast to Sofiana, extensive extra-site survey is not possible at Naxos or Megara.

Naxos and Megara were among the earliest Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily,[21] and their founders chose sites along the coast with good visibility, on sheltered bays that offered natural harborage. Both sites were also situated on, or close to, the coastal land route that developed to connect the urban centers of the eastern coast from Syracuse north to Zancle/Messana (the *Via Pompeia* of

[20] Bowes et al., "Preliminary report," 442; and see appendix 1 for Montagna di Marzo.

[21] Both settlements seem to date to the mid- or late eighth century BC. According to Thucydides (6.3), Naxos was the first Greek colony in Sicily, founded by Chalcidians from Euboea a year before Syracuse (735/4 BC). Megara was founded probably a few decades later, and went on to found its own colony at Selinus the following century (Thuc. 6.4).

Roman times[22]). Naxos was situated on Punta Schisò, a flat, low-lying peninsula formed by lava flow between the mouth of the Santa Venera torrent to the southwest and the Bay of Giardini Naxos to the northeast, next to a sandy beach that provided a safe, accessible landing point (Plate 7.4a). The city underwent a phase of redevelopment in the fifth century, accompanied by a new urban plan, probably following its conquest by Hieron of Syracuse in 476 BC (Plate 7.4b).[23] This classical settlement was destroyed in 403 BC by Dionysius of Syracuse, and most of its population was transferred in subsequent decades to Tauromenion (Roman Tauromenium), a more easily defendable settlement on a hill above the Bay of Giardini that assumed most of the urban roles of Naxos (see chapter 6).

However, excavations since the 1970s in the area of the Greek colony and around the modern city of Giardini Naxos to its north have shown that the site of the Greek colony may not have been completely abandoned after the Dionysian destruction, and that life continued (or soon resumed), especially around the bay, in the area of the port of archaic and classical Naxos. The Hellenistic phase of settlement (ca. fourth/third to first century BC) appears to have been restricted to a small area of the classical city, and to have utilized the two main arteries (*plateia* C and *stenopos* 6) that linked classical Naxos to the overland routes to Katane and Zancle/Messana.[24] A few structures and street surfaces related to this phase of settlement have been found within the urban area, and numerous third-century tombs have been found to the north, in the area of the colonial necropolis. In addition, there are traces of Hellenistic farms and kilns outside the Greek colony, especially in the area of a large *extra moenia* sanctuary.

In the imperial period, settlement seems to have shifted away from the site of the Greek colony on the Schisò peninsula to the southwestern corner of the Bay of Giardini, where an agglomeration formed close to the ancient port and along the coastal road to Messana (Plate 7.5a).[25] This settlement has been identified as the *Naxus* or *Naxos* listed as a stopping-point (and exit for travelers to Tauromenium: *Per Tauromenium*) on the Ionian coastal leg of the long route between the Straits of Messina and Lilybaeum in the *It. Ant*. (86,2-89,2, at 87,2).[26] The structures excavated within the settlement in the 1970s-1990s indicate that it functioned as a node for maritime and land traffic. These structures include a bath building dated to the second century AD and situated on the northern side of the road, across from a multi-phased storage building with *dolia defossa*. The bath building – perhaps along with the rest of the settlement - was supplied through a system of water distribution evidenced by the numerous finds of ceramic tubes in the area. The warehouse complex was located between the baths and the ancient port (where traces of colonial-era slipways remain). The first phase of this structure dates to the first century BC/first century AD, when it consisted of a long portico extending along the Messana

[22] This name is found only in Cicero, and it implies that the road was the work of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (89 BC) or Pompey the Great (82-80 BC): D. Malfitana, G. Cacciaguerra, and A. Di Mauro, ed*., Il patrimonio culturale di Priolo Gargallo. Paesaggi, monumenti, itinerari* (Priolo: Alma Editore, 2012), 52.

[23] See *BTCGI* vol. 12 (1993), *s.v.* for P. Pelagatti's summary of the early history of Naxos.

[24] See M.C. Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," in *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina ed evidenze dai Peloritani. Catalogo mostra archeologica, Museo di Naxos 3 dicembre 1999 – 3 gennaio 2000*, ed. M.C. Lentini (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001), 13-39, at 13-16 and 21, for remains of the Hellenistic settlement.

[25] See Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," 23-31, for this phase of settlement.

[26] See appendix 2; this route followed the coast from the crossing from Italy (*A Traiecto*) to Catina (87,4), where it turned inland and headed southwest, with a stop at *Gela sive Filosofiana* (88,2, and see above), to Agrigentum (88,4). It then followed the coast northwest to Lilybaeum (89,2).

road, parallel to the coastline. Seven *dolia defossa* that were probably used to store wine were found in the two rooms at the southern end of this structure. In the course of the second century AD, a row of pilasters was added to the eastern side and the building was subdivided into a series of small rooms, apparently transforming it into a *horreum* accessible only from the port.

Settlement also continued outside this harbor/roadside agglomeration. A few burials of the second and third centuries AD have been found in the archaic necropolis, and a possible *villa maritima* with mosaics dating to the mid-imperial era has been detected near the Giardini Naxos train station. In addition, remains of a mid-imperial settlement were found west of the Santa Venera torrent, close to the modern SS 114 coastal road. The structures of this settlement align with the extramural course of the classical-era *plateia* C, making it likely that the settlement developed near or along the coastal road running south towards Catina.

Occupation of the area continued and perhaps increased in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. The entire arc of the Bay of Giardini appears to have been settled in this period, including the area of the road-station and, from the fourth/fifth century, parts of the Schisò peninsula once occupied by the Greek colony.[27] Excavations since the 1990s in the area of the colony, and particularly on the site of the classical ship sheds, have revealed numerous structures from the late third century AD and after.[28] The structures from this phase of settlement - mostly identified as houses - appear to have partly followed the urban plan of the archaic Greek settlement, and at least one, located near the classical ship sheds, contained a storeroom with two *dolia*. Other evidence of this latest ancient phase of settlement includes a small *tepidarium* built above the colonial fortification wall; the fourth/fifth century complex of kilns excavated in the 1980s in contrada Mastrociccio, in the area of the road-station (discussed below); numerous tombs; and two coin hoards, one dating to the mid-fifth century and the other to the end of the eighth century.[29]

The most significant body of evidence for Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique occupation of Naxos relates to pottery production, and particularly, to the production of transport amphorae that were probably used to export wine from the region. The several kilns found in and around the settlement - and the numerous transport amphorae (and ceramic materials associated with their production) found on land and in the surrounding waters - point to uninterrupted production and export activity centered at Naxos from the third century BC until the fourth/fifth century AD. Indeed, the production and export of wine is an element of continuity between the archaic/classical and Hellenistic/Roman settlements: the Greek colony had multiple extramural ceramic production areas, and bunches of grapes appear on many of its coin issues. Vandermersch's MGS III amphora is an early Naxian production (ca. fourth century BC), and numerous fragments of amphorae of this type have been found in the area of the classical slipways, which had probably been converted to pottery production after the destruction and

[27] See Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," 32-6 for this phase of settlement.
[28] See M.C. Lentini and D.J. Blackman, ed., *Naxos di Sicilia: L'abitato coloniale e l'arsenale navale. Scavi 2003-2006* (Messina: Regione Siciliana, 2009), *passim*, for the excavation of these shipsheds and the Late Roman/Byzantine structures overlying them.
[29] Coin hoards: M. Puglisi, "Un tesoretto monetale tardo-antico," in Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina*, 63-78; late Roman/Byzantine tombs: S. Savelli, "Un nucleo di tombe tardo-antiche," *ibid.,* 85-7.

abandonment of the *polis*.[30] Fragments with the stamp "Naxios" have been found in the area of the suburban sanctuary, on several other sites in Sicily, as well as in Athens and northern Italy.[31]

Potters could take advantage of numerous clay deposits around the colony, including on the eastern slopes of the Larunchi hill and at the mouth of the San Giovanni torrent at the center of the Bay of Giardini. Several kilns with long periods of activity have been identified in and around Naxos. The earliest complexes include a group of three kilns west of the Santa Venera that were active in the third century BC, and two kilns on the Larunchi hill that were active in the third/second and first centuries BC, neither of which appears to have produced amphorae. A mid-imperial (second/third century) ceramic workshop was found in an area of the city of Giardini north of the colonial site and close to the modern coastline. This complex consisted of a large room with two *dolia defossa* adjoining two kilns that produced flat-bottomed MR1 amphorae, and another, separate kiln. In addition, a straight, long basin for the decantation of clay was found in the area of the archaic necropolis, built over and partly destroying tombs. This basin was filled with small flat-bottomed imitations of Dressel 2-4 amphorae as well as early examples of the MR1 type.[32] Most substantial is the kiln complex found in contrada Mastrociccio, near the clay deposits at the mouth of the San Giovanni. This complex included areas for the working and storage of clay, as well as five kilns active in the late fourth and fifth centuries, some producing striated tiles and others producing Keay LII amphorae.[33]

In addition to these kiln complexes, deposits of amphorae, wasters, and other ceramics in and around Naxos provide evidence for the chronology and extent of ceramic production in the area.[34] One of the few ceramic assemblages from Naxos to have been studied in detail is a first/early second century AD deposit of flat-bottomed amphorae found in 2003 on top of one of the slipways of the classical-era naval yard. These amphorae appear to be vessels of local production that were discarded before use perhaps because of poor firing, since their interiors lack traces of the resin lining that would have been applied before they were filled with liquid.[35]

Recent research on these kiln complexes and ceramic deposits - and comparison with vessels found on other sites in and beyond Sicily - has shed considerable light on the production of amphorae at Naxos, and on the production and export of wine in the region in the imperial period. As the MGS III vessels attest, local production of transport amphorae had begun by the early Hellenistic period. This production seems to have increased in the late second/early first century BC, as indicated by deposits of wasters of Dressel 1-type amphorae.[36] By the first century AD, activity at Naxos appears to have centered on the production of small, flat-bottomed amphorae of a basic form that was widely diffused in the Western Mediterranean. This

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[30] M.C. Lentini, S. Savelli, and D.J. Blackman, "Amphorae from the Slipways of the Ancient Dockyard of Naxos in Sicily," in Lentini and Blackman, *Naxos di Sicilia: L'abitato coloniale*, 98-109, esp. 103.

[31] Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," 17; B. Garozzo, "Alcuni bolli ellenistici da Naxos di Sicilia," in Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina*, 41-6 (esp. 41).

[32] Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina."

[33] For the kiln complex at Mastrociccio and its products, see Lentini, "Naxos di Sicilia dall'età ellenistica all'età bizantina," 33-4; A. Ollà, "La produzione di anfore vinarie a Naxos (III a.C. – V d.C.)," in Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina*, 47-60, esp. 49 and 56-9; and F. Muscolino, "Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale di Naxos: l'inizio della produzione di anfore nassie a fondo piano," in Lentini and Blackman, *Naxos di Sicilia: L'abitato coloniale*, 110-33, esp. 123-5.

[34] See Ollà, "La produzione di anfore vinarie a Naxos," for a summary of the ceramic deposits found around Naxos in late twentieth century excavations.

[35] Muscolino, "Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale," for this deposit.

[36] Ollà, "La produzione di anfore vinarie a Naxos," 47.

production expanded and evolved in the second century, with the appearance of new variations on this basic form, and it continued into the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Mastrociccio kilns produced Keay LII vessels.

These amphorae were most likely used to transport the wines for which northeastern Sicily was famous in the imperial period. Literary sources attest that fine wines from the area of Tauromenium and Messana reached the Roman market by the third quarter of the first century AD.[37] Researchers including J.T. Peña and R.J.A. Wilson have hypothesized that certain similar types of amphorae found in Italian assemblages, including vessels from the eastern slope of the Palatine in Rome and larger amphorae with *tituli picti* alluding to Tauromenium found in Pompeii, were used to transport and distribute these wines beginning in the first century AD and continuing, in Rome, into the fifth and early sixth centuries.[38]

Although the basic fabric analysis performed on these amphorae confirm only that they are likely from the area of the Straits of Messina (i.e. South Bruttii or northeastern Sicily),[39] comparison with examples found in and around Naxos – including in a shipwreck off the coast north of the Bay of Giardini – have supported the hypothesis that the imperial and late antique settlement was a major center of production and export. For example, the forty-five amphorae found in the deposit in the area of the classical ship sheds, and probably discarded from a nearby (as yet unidentified) production site, are all of the same type - distinguished by a flat, ringed base, ovoid body, and straight, elongated neck - and match the group of eight complete amphorae found in a shipwreck near Capo Sant'Alessio, 15km north of Naxos. This "Sant'Alessio" type has been dated to the Julio-Claudian period based on comparison with similar vessels found in datable contexts in Ostia, Naples, Lepcis Magna, and in shipwrecks off the western coast of Sicily. It has been ascribed to the early stages of the high- and late-imperial (ca. second through fifth century) production of wine-transport amphorae at Naxos.[40]

The evolution of the forms of amphorae produced at Naxos, their distribution beyond Sicily, and their relationship to typologies produced and distributed in other regions of the central and western Mediterranean provide hints about the nature of production at Naxos, as well as the site's external economic links. The early products of Naxos that were found in the decantation basin in the area of the port (ca. first century BC/AD) derived from forms originating in Italy (namely, Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4). The handle of one of these Dressel 2-4 amphorae of local fabric, which bears the stamp "DA[MOSION]," points to some form of public control over production (from Tauromenion?): perhaps a public workshop whose products were destined for sanctuaries or for public supplies of daily commodities.[41] However, the lack of uniformity of amphorae even of the same typology – such as the vessels of the "Sant'Alessio" type found in the shipwreck and in the deposit in Naxos – point to the non-industrial, manual nature of production. The stamps found on the handles of some of these vessels (e.g. CAPITO and VAL)

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[37] See Peña, "Two groups of *tituli picti*," for the literary evidence – primarily from Pliny the Elder– for this production and export.

[38] J.T. Peña, *The Urban Economy during the Early Dominate. Pottery evidence from the Palatine Hill* (B.A.R. Int. Ser. 784; Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999), esp. 11-13, 74-8, and 154-5; id., "Two groups of *tituli picti*."

[39] Peña, *Urban Economy*; D. Williams, "A petrological note on Roman pottery from Naxos, Sicily," in Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina,* 61-2.

[40] Muscolino, "Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale;" A. Ollà, "Dal mare di Sant'Alessio (ME): Un recupero di anfore da trasporto," *StAnt* 10 (1997): 225-30.

[41] Garozzo, "Alcuni bolli," 43; Ollà, "La produzione di anfore vinarie a Naxos," 48.

also hint at the involvement of an ethnically Latin population in their production – unsurprising given the proximity of the Roman colony of Tauromenium.[42]

The evolution of the forms produced at Naxos over the course of the imperial period[43] reflects the site's connections to other regions of the central Mediterranean, and especially to South Italy and North Africa. The beginning of production of Keay LII vessels in the Mastrociccio kilns, for example, can be attributed to northeastern Sicily's close connection across the Straits of Messina to South Bruttii and the growth of wine production in the latter region for the Roman market in the fourth and fifth centuries – a market that Sicilian wines also supplied.[44] Reynolds and Peña have hypothesized that the export from northeastern Sicily to Ostia, Rome, and Tripolitania of variations on the MR1 amphora, and later of Keay LII vessels, took advantage of prevailing routes from the Eastern Mediterranean, Tripolitania, and central Tunisia to Rome via the Straits of Messina.[45] The settlement at Naxos would have been well positioned to participate in the production, packaging, and export of wine from the region - if not directly overseas, then via intermediate ports like Catina or Messana. Its kilns had access to plentiful supplies of clay and the settlement itself was easily accessible both by sea and by road, including the secondary interior routes connecting the coast to the grape-producing foothills of Etna and the Peloritani.

Little is known of rural settlement away from the coast, so we have almost no evidence for wine production in the region beyond the statements of Pliny and other historical sources. One of the few rural sites in the area to have been identified and excavated is at Scifì, in the valley of the Agrò, approximately eight kilometers northwest of Capo Sant'Alessio. This site, which was inhabited by the second century BC, was occupied in the fourth century AD by a villa or "villula" that probably served as a stopping-point along one of the secondary, non-official routes through the Peloritani that connected the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts.[46] The site was evidently involved in production, storage, and exchange with the coast: fragments of African terra sigillata and transport amphorae are relatively abundant, as are the flat-bottomed amphorae characteristic of Naxian and northeastern Sicilian production. Large storage *dolia* have also been found on the site, and there is some evidence for tile production on-site or nearby.

The colony of Megara Hyblaea lay in the middle of a sheltered bay approximately 20km north of Syracuse, across from the modern city of Augusta and in a narrow coastal plain that is now dominated by oil refineries and other heavy industry (cf. Plate 7.5b). The archaic city was destroyed in 483 BC by Gelon of Syracuse, but rebuilt and resettled under Timoleon in 340 BC. This "Hellenistic" settlement was in turn destroyed by the Romans in their campaign against

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[42] Muscolino, "Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale," 116-19.

[43] Muscolino ("Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale") divides production at Naxos between the first and fifth centuries into three principal forms: the "Sant'Alessio" type, the intermediate "Spinella" type (a variant of the MR1 form and also similar to Peña's Palatine East I) found in a deposit in insula C3 of the classical *polis*, and Keay LII.

[44] Muscolino, "Anfore proto-imperiali dall'area portuale," 123-5; Peña, *Urban Economy*, 155. It is unclear, however, exactly where this form originated: that is, whether it was imported from South Italy to Sicily, or vice-versa.

[45] P. Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean, AD 400 – 700: The ceramic evidence* (B.A.R. Int. Ser. 604; Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1995), 131; Peña, *Urban Economy*, 18.

[46] M.C. Lentini, "Esplorazioni a Scifì (Comune di Forza d'Agrò)," in Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina,* 124-5.

Syracuse in the Second Punic War.[47] The site of the archaic *polis* was excavated sporadically in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most notably by Orsi and Cavallari, and it has been the object of regular campaigns of excavation by the École Française de Rome since the late 1940s (Plate 7.6a).

These excavations, though focused on the remains of the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic settlements, have shown that - like Naxos after the Dionysian destruction - the site of Megara was not fully abandoned after the Roman destruction, but that settlement resumed on a smaller scale by the second century BC. The earliest signs of reoccupation come from the area of the Hellenistic fortifications, where houses and farms were built onto the remains of the city wall in the second and first centuries BC (based on finds of sherds of Campana A). The remains of these habitations include a press with a cement cistern used to collect liquid (oil or wine?).[48] A row of shops built partly over the ruins of a Hellenistic portico in the city center may also date to this period.[49]

After a possible interruption connected to the war with Sextus Pompey,[50] occupation continued on the site from the first through the fourth century AD, with settlement concentrated in the westernmost part of the ancient *polis* in the area closest to overland transportation routes (primarily, the N-S *via Pompeia*). The structures excavated in this area – including a limekiln built into the western fortification wall, broadly dated to the Roman period - have not been fully published and are therefore difficult to date precisely.[51] The most important of these structures is a rectangular building first excavated by Cavallari and Orsi, located approximately 30m east of the limekiln (Plate 7.6b).[52] This building has a central colonnade with seven surviving column bases, and thirteen *dolia* in its pavement. Its precise dating and function are uncertain: the current French excavators hypothesize that it was built in the Hellenistic period and reused as part of a large Roman-era *villa rustica*. Cacciaguerra, on the other hand, describes it as a warehouse belonging to the roadside *mansio* that developed on the site in the imperial period, and dates its destruction and abandonment to the late third century AD.

In the area of the archaic necropolis immediately west of the city wall and the colonnaded building, Orsi found at least a dozen tombs dated to the Roman or late Roman period.[53] In addition, the French excavations have uncovered structures from late antiquity in the area of the Hellenistic fortifications, with some built over the remains of the city wall (whereas structures from earlier Roman-era occupation had been built into it). One room of a third/fourth century house near the wall had a floor in *opus signinum* with the Greek inscription *Gnaiou Modiou*. Attached to this house was a small thermal complex with three separate entrances (two from the outside, one from the house itself), apparently intended to service the other late Roman houses in

[47] See G. Vallet, F. Villard, and P. Auberson, *Mégara Hyblaea 3. Guide des fouilles* (Rome: École Française, 1983), for the history of the *polis* of Megara.
[48] Vallet et al., *Mégara Hyblaea 3*, 7-9 and 174-5.
[49] Vallet et al., *Mégara Hyblaea 3*, 29.
[50] The French excavators note that hoards of silver vessels and bronze coins from this period were recovered in the ruins of a first-century house (Vallet et al., *Mégara Hyblaea 3*, 174).
[51] G. Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea (Augusta, SR) tra l'età tardo imperiale ed il Bassomedioevo," *Archeologia Medievale* 34 (2007): 269-81, at 270.
[52] M. Gras, H. Tréziny, and H. Broise, *Megara Hyblaea 5. La ville archaïque* (Rome: École Française, 2004), 349-53; and Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea," 271, for the interpretation of this structure.
[53] Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea," 271.

the area.[54] In the southern gate of the Hellenistic wall, excavators found the remains of a late Roman agricultural installation on two levels, with a vat for the collection of grape or olive juice from a press (Plate 7.7a).[55] There also appears to have been late Roman/Byzantine-era construction of an uncertain nature in the area of the classical agora.[56]

Sofiana, Naxos, and Megara: new settlement (and resettlement) in Roman Sicily

The three sites discussed so far in this chapter are examples of the new forms of settlement that replaced or supplanted the *polis* in the landscape of Roman imperial Sicily. Naxos and Megara Hyblaea in particular share several characteristics: both were close to major overland routes (namely, different sections of the *via Pompeia*) and to maritime outlets, and both formed part of the immediate hinterland of major Roman urban centers (Tauromenium and Syracuse, respectively). Both settlements were also spread out over a wide area, with many nuclei of activity and little evidence of internal organization. Much of the activity on both sites was related to the processing, storage, and redistribution of agricultural products. Both sites have also provided evidence of long, if not uninterrupted, frequentation in the imperial period. Each settlement is therefore better thought of not as a defined urban center (as it had been in the archaic and classical periods, in its *polis* phase), but as part of a regional system of sub-urban settlement that included smaller, less archaeologically visible, perhaps economically dependent sites (farmsteads, villas, hamlets, etc.).[57] Surveys have traced such a system of rural settlement in the imperial period in the area of Segesta, centered on Aquae Segestanae and later perhaps on the village that arose in the ruins of the urban center of Segesta (see chapter 5).

It is not yet possible to assess Naxos in its regional context because of the urbanization of the surrounding coastline and the lack of survey in the interior. On the other hand, the coastal plain around Megara has been subject to extensive recent research, in spite of the difficulties of tracing ancient occupation in such a heavily industrialized area. This research has centered on the industrial town of Priolo Gargallo, less than seven kilometers southwest of Megara, and its surroundings: an area at the center of a small, fertile coastal plain (cf. Plate 7.5b).[58] It has shed light on the development of a Roman-era and late antique settlement system that had Syracuse at its head, and that was connected and integrated into the island's broader economy via overland and maritime transportation routes.

Surveys of standing structures and surface pottery collection in the area have revealed traces of the paved Roman *via Pompeia,* which probably followed the course of a much older coastal route, and a series of Roman-era monuments and settlements oriented around this road and the numerous maritime landings along the bay.[59] The evidence of Roman-era occupation in the area includes the remains of a monumental tomb in *opus quadratum*, probably of the first century BC or AD ("Guglia di Marcello"), located a few meters away from a paved section of the *via*

[54] Vallet et al., *Mégara Hyblaea 3*, 15-20.
[55] Vallet et al., *Mégara Hyblaea 3*, 93.
[56] Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea," 272.
[57] My understanding of settlement systems here and in the following pages is influenced by J. de Vries' work on pre-modern European urbanization, in which he singles out interdependence, differentiation, and closure as the defining features of an urban system or system of cities (*European Urbanization*, 82).
[58] See especially D. Malfitana and G. Cacciaguerra, ed., *Priolo romana, tardo romana e medievale. Documenti, paesaggi, cultura materiale* (Catania: CNR, 2011) for this research.
[59] G. Cacciaguerra, "Tre insediamenti ellenistici e romani nel territorio di Priolo Gargallo," in Malfitana and Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana*, 155-72.

Pompeia, and at least three large rural settlements of long duration, occupied in most cases from the classical period through late antiquity. In one of these settlements, in contrada Fico-Pezzagrande, an honorific Roman marble statue was found, as were kiln wasters, indicating the presence of an imperial-era kiln producing roof tiles. The Fico-Pezzagrande settlement has been interpreted as the *pars rustica* of a villa complex or as a residential/production area that developed in connection with the *via Pompeia*.[60] All of these settlements have similar ceramic assemblages, dominated by local and imported Italian products in the late Republican and early imperial periods, and by local and imported African products in the middle and late imperial periods.[61]

Several new settlements of various sizes (ca. 1.5 – 10+ hectares) emerged in the late imperial period, beginning in the third century and reaching a height in the fourth/fifth centuries, which are distinguishable mostly from their dense ceramic scatters and by their necropoleis and other burial areas - and, in the case of the San Foca settlement, by a church constructed in the second half of the fifth century.[62] Their development can perhaps be linked to the intensification of agricultural production for export in the region following the Diocletianic administrative reforms of the late third century and the establishment of Constantinople - and the reemergence of Sicily as a major commodity supplier to Rome - in the early fourth century.[63] These settlements, like the older settlements in the area, were located near the *via Pompeia*, and there are some traces of secondary routes connecting them to this road.[64] Their ceramic assemblages indicate that they also received imports, especially transport amphorae and finewares from North Africa. In addition, the variation in the monumentality of the tombs in these settlements' burial areas and in the amount and quality of goods found within the tombs indicates substantial social differentiation in the population of the region.[65]

We can conclude from the recent research conducted around Priolo and in other parts of the southeastern coast[66] that the coastline between Catania and Syracuse, and probably also the stretch of coast extending from Syracuse down to the southeastern corner of the island, was characterized by shifting clusters of rural settlements of various sizes and degrees of organization that were oriented to overland transportation routes and maritime outlets, rather than by substantial urban settlement. Some of these settlements may have lain within larger senatorial estates, as indicated by the tiles with the stamp HORTES found in some sites around Megara and

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[60] Cacciaguerra, "Tre insediamenti," 163-8.

[61] Cacciaguerra, "Tre insediamenti," 172; late Republican / early imperial ceramics include Campana C, Eastern sigillata A and B, Italian sigillata, thin-walled wares, and Greco-Italic and Dressel 2-4 amphorae. Later finds include MR1 amphorae and African sigillata.

[62] G. Cacciaguerra, *"*Contrada Monachella: insediamento, aree cimiteriali e corredi funerari," in Malfitana and Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana*, 173-86; id., "Nuovi dati sui complessi insediativi di Manomozza, San Foca e Castellacio," ibid., 193-206.

[63] See chapter 1 for these developments, and for previous scholars' interpretations of their impact on the economy of Sicily.

[64] G. Cacciaguerra, "Nuovi dati sulla viabilità romana e medievale a nord di Siracusa," in Malfitana and Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana*, 273-84, at 279-80.

[65] G. Cacciaguerra, "Il territorio di Priolo Gargallo tra l'età romana e medievale: considerazioni conclusivi," in Malfitana and Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana*, 285-305, esp. 289-92.

[66] See D. Malfitana and C. Franco, "Contesti archeologici, cultura materiale ed economie dal territorio di Priolo e dall'hinterland in età romana e tardo romana. Dati ed evidenze dal 'Roman Sicily Project: Ceramics and Trade,'" in Malfitana and Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana,* 111-42, for a summary of research in other areas of southeastern Sicily.

by the presence of the toponym Hortesiana in two inscriptions from Syracuse and Modica.[67] In addition, in the area of Priolo, some shifts in settlement can be detected in the late Roman period and again in the waning years of Roman rule in Sicily that can be linked to broad political and economic changes in the empire. Nonetheless, throughout the Roman period, settlement was relatively stable, and its organization appears to have been governed by the processes of production, storage, marketing, and transportation of agricultural goods, mediated through a road system that connected smaller settlements to larger agglomerations (such as the "station" at Megara), to major urban centers, and to coastal outlets.

Recent research in other areas of Sicily has shown that similar networks of smaller, sub-urban settlements had emerged by the imperial period and that their activities intensified in late antiquity, when Sicily regained its economic primacy in the central Mediterranean as an exporter of grain and other commodities to Rome and other regions. The development of new settlements on the southern coast is particularly notable, and may be a response to the abandonment of the region's older Greek *poleis* and the disintegration of their former territories by the early first century AD. The expansion of these settlements in late antiquity may in turn be linked to the revival of the region's economic connections to the wider Mediterranean, and particularly to North Africa.

Excavations in the area of modern Sciacca, located between Mazara and Agrigento on the southwestern coast and probably the site of the thermal spa/road station of Aquae Labodes/Larodes–Thermae Selinuntinae on the southern coastal road,[68] have revealed that settlement flourished along, and away from, the coast. East of Sciacca, in contrada Locogrande on the high course of the Carabollace river, a large rural settlement arose in the late first century AD on the site of a Hellenistic farm and remained occupied through late antiquity. Some scholars have identified this settlement as the station of Aquae Labodes/Thermae Selinuntinae.[69] In addition, three settlements on the coast around Sciacca have been identified archaeologically. Excavations in the 1990s near the mouth of the river Carboj revealed a multi-phased settlement complex (ca. one hectare) in occupation from the end of the third century BC until the seventh century AD, with a phase of intensification in the late first century/early second century AD.[70] A similar settlement (also ca. one hectare) arose in the late fourth century AD at the mouth of the river Carabollace and remained in occupation until the late sixth century.[71] The range of imported ceramics found in its buildings attests to the settlement's close connection with Africa.[72] A settlement at the mouth of the river Verdura a short distance down the coast had a similar size (ca. one hectare), period of occupation (mid-fourth to mid-fifth century AD), and a

[67] Cacciaguerra, "Il territorio di Priolo," 292; and see chapter 6 for the Syracuse inscription.
[68] *It. Ant*. 89,4 and 88,7; see appendix 2.
[69] P. Tirnetta, "Sciacca. Insediamenti rurali di età greca e romana nel territorio," *Kōkalos* 24 (1978): 156-74; V. Caminneci, "Tra il mare ed il fiume. Dinamiche insediative nella Sicilia occidentale in età tardoantica. Il villaggio in contrada Carabollace (Sciacca, Agrigento, Sicilia, Italia)," *Fastionline* 213 (2010).
[70] A. Polito, "Resti di un insediamento rurale in contrada Carboj, nel territorio di Sciacca," *QuadA* 1.2 (2000): 103-23.
[71] Caminneci, "Tra il mare ed il fiume."
[72] V. Caminneci, C. Franco, and G. Galioto, "L'insediamento tardoantico di Contrada Carabollace (Sciacca): primi dati sui rinvenimenti ceramici," in *LRCW 3: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean*, ed. S. Menchelli (Oxford: Archeopress, 2010), 273-82.

ceramic assemblage similarly dominated by vessels from North Africa (including amphorae, table wares, and cooking wares).[73] The toponyms of Carboj and Carabollace – derived from the late Latin *carabus* (river boat) – hint at the economic orientation of these settlements. They would have served as coastal *emporia* for the processing and export of products from the interior, perhaps via the larger ports at Mazara, Lilybaeum, or Agrigentum, and for the capillary distribution of imported goods (particularly from Africa) to smaller settlements in the region.[74]

Elsewhere along the southern coast, the expansion of settlement in late antiquity is particularly notable. In chapter 5, I discussed the emergence of new settlement in the hinterland of the abandoned *polis* of Heraclea Minoa in the late Roman period, most likely in connection with the southern coastal road to Agrigentum. Two large late antique settlements in the interior have been subject to recent excavation: Cignana in the territory of Naro and Vito Soldano in the territory of Canicattì. Cignana, located ca. 8km from the coast but close to the Roman route connecting Catina, Syracuse, and Lilybaeum via Agrigentum, was the site of an imperial-era villa with mosaics and a bath complex (ca. first-third century AD).[75] This villa appears to have been connected in at least one phase of occupation with the Flavian senator M. Otacilius Catulus (cos. suf. in AD 88), since several roof tiles from one of its rooms are stamped with his name or initials.[76] The site of the villa was reoccupied around the second half of the fourth century until the sixth/seventh century by a large village (*vicus*) of ca. 15 hectares, with at least seven buildings and a necropolis. The ceramic assemblage from this village points to strong economic links with North Africa and eastern Sicily that were made possible by the settlement's proximity to the southern coast and to overland transportation routes.

The site of Vito Soldano, located northeast of Agrigento and between the modern towns of Canicattì and Castrofilippo, shows signs of occupation of indeterminate nature in the early imperial period.[77] In the late third or early fourth century, a bath building was constructed on the site, in an *insula* delimited by perpendicular streets that formed part of a larger, still-unexplored regular plan. The site was ringed by a large paleochristian necropolis that also has not yet been excavated. The proximity of the site to the presumed course of the interior Roman road between

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[73] M.C. Parello, A. Amico, and F. D'Angelo, "L'insediamento alla foce del Verdura in territorio di Sciacca (Agrigento-Sicilia-Italia). I materiali ceramici," in *LRCW 3: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean*, ed. S. Menchelli (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 283-91.

[74] Caminneci, "Tra il mare ed il fiume." In the coastal itinerary in the *It. Ant.* between Agrigentum and Lilybeum (88,4 – 89,2), at least one of the five stops listed (*Ad fluvium Lanaricum*) refers to a river crossing; and cf. *Mesopotamium* at 96,1, on the coastal route between Agrigentum and Syracuse (appendix 2).

[75] For recent research on Cignana, see M.S. Rizzo and L. Zambito, "Novità epigrafiche siciliane. I bolli di contrada Cignana (Naro, AG)," *ZPE* 162 (2007): 271-7; O. Belvedere and A. Burgio, "Sulla viabilià nel territorio di Palma di Montechiaro. Brevi note in margine al 'Progetto Cignana'," in *Παλαια φιλια. Studi di topografia antica in onore di Giovanni Uggeri*, ed. C. Marangio and G. Laudizi (Galatina: Congedo, 2009), 515-30; M.S. Rizzo and L. Zambito, "Ceramiche da fuoco di età tardo-antica e della prima età bizantina dal territorio agrigentino. Nuovi dati da Cignana e Vito Soldano," *ReiCretActa* 42 (2012): 289-97; and M.S. Rizzo and L. Zambito, "Ceramiche comuni ed anfore dal villaggio tardoantico di Cignana (Naro, Agrigento, Sicilia, Italia)," in *LRCW 3: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and archaeometry* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 293-300.

[76] Rizzo and Zambito, "I bolli di contrada Cignana," 276-7.

[77] See M.R. La Lomía, "Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Canicattì. Vito Soldano," *Kōkalos* 7 (1961): 157-65, and Rizzo and Zambito, "Nuovi dati da Cignana e Vito Soldano," 291-4, for research at Vito Soldano.

Agrigentum and Catina (which also passed Sofiana) has led some scholars to hypothesize that it should be identified as the *mansio* of *Cosconiana* in the *It. Ant*. (94,7) - 33 Roman miles from *Philosophiana* - and that its monumentalization was associated with the reform of the *cursus publicus* in Sicily under Constantine.[78] The bath building and habitations around it appear to have been abandoned in the fifth century, but the streets remained in use, with some evidence of repaving, until the mid-sixth century, when kilns were constructed over the strata of abandonment.[79]

As I have emphasized with the case studies of the eastern coast, the dichotomy of "urban" and "non-urban" is not adequate for describing and understanding the development of the settlement landscape of the southern coast of Sicily in the imperial period. As I showed in chapter 5, with the exception of Agrigentum, the last Greek *poleis* in the region, along with the political structures associated with them and the territories they had administered, had disappeared by the early first century AD. However, agricultural production continued in the region, and so new forms of settlement arose to house the population engaged in this activity, to manage production processes, and to facilitate the transport (by land and sea) of agricultural products.[80] For example, the itinerary in the *It. Ant.* from Agrigentum to Syracuse *per maritima loca* (sic) includes seven stops at sites labeled as *plagae* or *refugia*, few of which have been identified with certainty (cf. appendix 2). This itinerary seems to be based on a *cabotage* journey, pointing to the close integration of overland and maritime transportation in this region in the middle and late Empire as well as to the ephemerality of many of the centers of such small-scale, regional exchange networks.

The late Roman and early Byzantine period saw the growth of many of these settlements in size and complexity, again in response to shifts in the region's geopolitical position, as direct commercial exchange between Sicily and North Africa increased, partly in connection with military campaigns in North Africa. The mostly highly developed settlement of this late period is at Punta Secca, a short distance down the coast from the site of Camarina and identified by most scholars as the Byzantine *chorion* of Kaukana.[81] But this level of development in the late Roman/Byzantine period is perhaps unique to the southern coast, which retained direct economic contact with North Africa, whereas settlements in other regions show signs of decreased commercial exchange with the continent - and thereafter, of turning to other external markets or developing more regionally-based systems of production and distribution.[82]

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[78] La Lomía, "Vito Soldano," 163-5; Rizzo and Zambito, "Nuovi dati da Cignana e Vito Soldano," 292; but see Wilson, *Sicily*, 224-5, for doubts about this identification.

[79] Rizzo and Zambito, "Nuovi dati da Cignana e Vito Soldano," 292.

[80] See, similarly, J.R. Leonard and S. Demesticha, "Fundamental Links in the Economic Chain: Local Ports and International Trade in Roman and Early Christian Cyprus," in *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26-29, 2002*, ed. J. Eiring and J. Lund (Aarhus: The Danish Institute at Athens, 2004), 189-202, for the important economic role that small and medium-sized coastal sites played in Roman Cyprus, particularly in facilitating the exchange of local products for imported goods.

[81] See chapter 4 and appendix 1 for further discussion of this site and its development.

[82] Note, for example, the apparent curtailment of imports of African and Pantellerian cookwares to the area around Megara and the replacement of these imports with locally-produced wares: G. Cacciaguerra, "La ceramica da fuoco nella Sicilia tardoantica e altomedievale: l'evidenza dell'area Iblea orientale," in *LRCW 3: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and archaeometry* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 301-10. See P. Reynolds, "Hispania in the Later Roman Mediterranean: Ceramics and Trade," in *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, ed. K. Bowes

To conclude this analysis, we can compare the development of the various semi-urban settlements and the regional settlement systems discussed in this chapter. Although it was part of the same broad process of settlement change that led to the re-occupation of the sites of Megara Hyblaea and Naxos and to the emergence of new sites along the southern coast, Sofiana stands out as unique in its monumentality (i.e. the presence of a perimeter wall, large and comfortable residences, and a large bath complex), level of internal organization, and in the wide range of structures found within it. The re-settlement of Megara and Naxos was part of the same process of concentration of economic activity into secondary centers, but neither reached a similar level of monumentality or organization – as far as can be discerned – as Sofiana. The settlement at Sofiana was perhaps more autonomous and exercised a greater range of primary economic and social roles because it was located at a considerable distance (probably at least two days' travel) from a major urban center.[83] Megara and Naxos, on the other hand, were closer - and clearly subsidiary - to important cities, situated easily within a day's journey to Syracuse and Tauromenium, respectively. Therefore, they are better seen as economic extensions of these cities; indeed, the settlement at Naxos may have come to serve primarily as Tauromenium's port.

Although much less is known of its development, the late Roman settlement at Vito Soldano may offer the closest parallel to Sofiana of the sites examined in this chapter. Both sites saw the extensive re-development of their monumental infrastructure in the late third/early fourth century, in the form of the construction of bath buildings oriented to street grids. In both sites, this development may be linked to outside initiative – from imperial or provincial authorities – connected with the reorganization of the *cursus publicus* under Constantine.[84] And in both settlements, the abandonment of these monumental structures and the apparent transition to "industrial" production on their sites (in the form of ceramic kilns and, possibly, glass-working), may be linked to the weakening of external control over the settlements' organization and activities, and/or to their dis-integration from extra-regional networks of production and exchange and their participation instead in more locally oriented networks. However, these hypotheses are tentative and rely on the still-tenuous and incomplete body of archaeological evidence from both settlements.

Settlement and connectivity: moving through Roman Sicily

I have shown so far that the new settlements that emerged in Sicily in the imperial period were mainly "utilitarian" in nature, and were largely oriented towards the production, processing,

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and M. Kulikowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 369-486, for the similar emergence of regional markets in Hispania for oil, fish sauce, wine, and other commodities during periods of abatement of long-distance exports from the peninsula to markets such as Rome and the northern frontiers.

[83] Sofiana is over 40km away from Enna (to its north), which probably remained a significant urban center in the imperial period, though no known Roman roads connected the two settlements. In the *It .Ant*., the *mansio* of *Philosophiana* is 56 Roman miles (and over 90 km on modern roads) away from Agrigento – an overland journey of at least 3 days. It was 45 Roman miles and two days' journey (but almost 100 km on modern roads) from Catania. It is 21 Roman miles from the closest stop (*Galloniana*) in the itineraries included in the *It. Ant.*, for details of which see appendix 2.

[84] The main evidence for this effort is an inscription found at Sciacca that commemorates the creation of a *statio* (probably Aquae Labodes/Thermae Selinuntinae) by imperial authorities, as well as the itinerary in the *It. Ant.* that lists *mansiones nunc institutae* (including *Philosophiana*) between Catina and Agrigentum (94,2-95,1).

and distribution of agricultural goods via maritime and/or overland transportation routes. But the archaeological evidence is limited for the connections between these new settlements and their relationships with the first-order urban centers of Sicily: distribution maps of transport amphorae and finewares, for example, offer only a partial picture of the island's internal and external connectivity under the Empire. To conclude, therefore, I will return to the most substantial document we have of the relationship between settlement and connectivity in the Roman period: the Sicilian section of the *It. Ant.*, whose routes are presented in tabular form in appendix 2. This document, despite its shortcomings (for which, see chapter 2), can help us understand the impact of the emergence of new settlements like Sofiana and Naxos on the urban landscape of Sicily. Furthermore, it can show us the most likely paths by which people (and goods) would have moved into, out of, and through Sicily in the high and late Empire.

Besides a few milestones, foundations of bridges, and sections of pavement, little remains physically of the Roman road network upon which the routes contained in the Sicilian section of the *It. Ant.* were based (Plate 7.7b). It is therefore nearly impossible to determine the exact courses of these roads, as well as the exact location of many of the stopping points listed along them. Scholars are generally in agreement, however, that the Roman road network of Sicily largely adopted the courses and infrastructure of existing long-distance routes, and that this infrastructure was enhanced at various points and in piecemeal fashion by Roman authorities in order to meet strategic needs.[85] This enhancement of the road network occurred especially in the years of the Roman conquest of the island in the First and Second Punic Wars, but also at various times under the Republic and Empire – most substantially, under Constantine.

The high- and late-imperial routes preserved in the *It. Ant.* are centered on seven of the island's major coastal urban centers: Lilybaeum, Messana, Tyndaris, Thermae, Catina, Agrigentum, and Syracuse. These cities served as ports for movement in and out of Sicily (especially between Africa and Italy, as indicated by their position in the maritime itineraries: 487,5 - 493,11 and 515,3 – 518,5), as nodes in overland travel and transport, and as landing-points in smaller-scale, shorter-distance maritime movements (e.g. *cabotage*). Although they are included as stopping points on some routes, Panhormus and Tauromenium are the only Roman *coloniae* that do not serve as beginning or end points, or as connecting points between interior and coastal routes.[86] The routes in the *It. Ant.* emphasize movement through the province (in the land itineraries) or around it (in the maritime itineraries) rather than movement into it. The itineraries also prioritize routes connecting the coasts of Sicily via the seven major coastal cities, sometimes through the interior and sometimes following the coast, over routes accessing the interior from the coast. Of the four coasts, routes following the north coast are under-represented in the overland itineraries and absent from the maritime itineraries.[87]

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[85] G. Uggeri, *La viabilità della Sicilia in Età Romana* (Lecce: Congedo, 2004) is the most recent and thorough study of Roman-era land transportation routes in Sicily.

[86] Panhormus, surrounded by the hills of the Conca d'Oro, may not have had direct access to some of the major overland routes of Sicily; nearby Hyccara (near the coast, in the vicinity of modern Carini) appears to take its place as the northwestern node of the road system (cf. 97,3 and 97,7-98,1).

[87] Two routes connect Lilybaeum to Messana via the southern coast, southeastern interior, and eastern coast, while two routes traverse the southern coast and southeastern interior to connect Agrigentum to Catina and Syracuse. Only one route (actually, two separate itineraries meeting at Tyndaris) connects Lilybaeum to Messana via the north coast, though this route is the shortest between the two centers (244 miles, versus the 257 miles and 336 miles of the more southerly routes). The infrastructure of the Lilybaeum-Messana route via the southern coast appears also to have been subject to improvement under

The Sicilian itineraries also differ in their paces and in the types of accommodation noted along their routes, indicating that they may have been written by (and intended for) different types of travelers. Most of the itineraries seem to reflect overland travel, along routes following the coast or crossing through the interior of the island. However, at least one – the route from Agrigentum to Syracuse *per maritima loca*, in which stops are designated as *refugia* or *plagae* (95,2 – 96,4) – seems to reflect a maritime journey, or perhaps a combination of maritime and overland travel.[88] Most of the routes are relatively evenly spaced, with stops marked at intervals usually of 15 to 25 Roman miles, and almost always of 10 to 30 miles – and so, mostly reachable in a day or less. The Lilybaeum-Syracuse-Messana itinerary (89,3 – 90,4) lists stops at wider intervals (up to 46 miles), but this may be because it covers much of the same route as the Messana-Catina-Lilybaeum itinerary (86,3-89,2), which could be consulted for alternative or intermediary stopping-points – especially for the sections between Lilybaeum and Agrigentum and between Catina and Messana.

The character of the stops also differs slightly between the itineraries. Most notably, as I mentioned above in my discussion of the settlement at Sofiana, the two versions of the route between Catina and Agrigentum seem to reflect journeys taken along the same route at different times, perhaps as much as a century apart. The difference in the nature of the stops along the northern and southern coastal routes *per maritima loca* is also striking: while almost all of the stops listed between Lilybaeum and Tyndaris on the northern coast (90,6-93,1) can be identified as Roman urban centers or as former *poleis* located at or near roadside stations, only one of the seven stops on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Syracuse (95,2-96,4) corresponds to a known urban center (Plintis, a *refugium* probably at or near the abandoned site of Phintias).

The Roman road system as reflected in the *It. Ant.* is clearly geared towards travel along the coasts: nine of the routes within the itineraries are coastal, while only five traverse the interior. The coastal itineraries also show the close integration between overland and maritime transportation routes, perhaps a reflection of the necessity of having numerous safe havens as well as alternative means of transportation available in seasons when sailing around Sicily was difficult. For example, Naxos is listed as a maritime landing point midway between the larger ports of Messana and Catina, but in the overland itineraries, it is also two or three days' journey to the Straits of Messina and two days' journey to Catina (86,3-87,4; 491,1-6).

Most of the interior settlements listed in the *It. Ant.* are also within two or three days' journey of the coast, with stopping-points available along the way. The longest single distance between the coast and an interior center – the 52 miles between Enna and Thermae (93,2-3) – comes from a problematic itinerary that seems to follow a loosely defined route connecting Catina with the hilltop centers around Etna.[89] However, most of the other interior stopping-points would have been relatively accessible to the coast, and hence to the wider Roman central Mediterranean. For example, following the various routes of the *It. Ant.*, the interior stop of Philosophiana would have been two days' journey away from Catina, including a stop at the *mansio* Capitoniana (87,4-88,2 and 94,3-94,5). From there, to get to Italy, a traveler could follow the overland route north to the Straits of Messina (a journey of six days or less), or travel by sea, with numerous

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Constantine (see above and chapter 6 for epigraphic evidence from Thermae Selinuntinae and Lilybaeum).

[88] The northern coastal route from Lilybaeum to Tyndaris (90,6-93,3) is also designated *per maritima loca,* though the stopping-points are not glossed as *refugia* or *plagae*.

[89] For example, the next stop after Enna at Agyrium (93,4) is listed as three Roman miles away, though by modern roads it is over twenty miles.

islands and ports along the coast of Sicily and western Italy to put in at along the way. Alternatively, for a traveler headed to Africa, Agrigentum was a two- or three-day journey from Philosophiana, with stops at the *mansiones* of Galloniana and, possibly, Cosconiana (88,3-4 and 94,6-95,1). From Agrigentum, Lilybaeum could be reached by sea or over land (a four- to six-day journey). From Lilybaeum, a ship could cross to Africa via various islands: perhaps heading towards Marittima on the way to Carthage, or going via Pantelleria or Malta to the ports of Libya (492,7-493,11 and 517,5-518,5; cf. Plate 4.8a).

The *It. Ant.*, when combined with our archaeological knowledge of the settlement system of Roman imperial Sicily, allows us to reconstruct the experience of a hypothetical traveler moving through Sicily in, say, the third century AD. Whether arriving from Italy (at Messana), from the Eastern Mediterranean (at Catina or Syracuse), or from Africa (at Lilybaeum or Agrigentum), his initial impression of Sicily would not have been unfamiliar. In each case, he would have entered a recognizably Roman city, with the facilities a cosmopolitan traveler would expect from any self-respecting urban center in the empire: theatres, amphitheatres, baths, temples, public buildings, fashionable residences, workshops, port facilities, and warehouses. If he took a route that followed the northern coast, he would pass by numerous hilltop settlements (Tyndaris, Caleacte, Halaesa, Soluntum), some decaying or already abandoned, and many with auxiliary settlements closer to the coastline and road. If he followed the southern coast, he would have encountered a landscape almost completely devoid of urban settlement, and instead might have passed by numerous small coastal and roadside settlements, each perhaps consisting of a few houses and storage buildings. If he traversed the interior, he would have encountered a variety of settlement types: including a few *poleis* reinvented as prosperous Roman *civitates* (such as Centuripae), and numerous new, utilitarian settlements that had arisen on or near the road, though some were of considerable size and architectural pretension (including Philosophiana). However, most rural settlement – where the majority of Sicilians probably lived – would have been away from the main routes and beyond the gaze of the traveler, as obscure to him as it is to modern scholars. But in many regions, if the traveler had ventured off the road, he probably would have seen few indications of impoverishment and isolation. In northern and western Sicily, where field survey has been most extensive, rural settlement continued in the imperial period and late antiquity, though often in new configurations: for example, as smaller, dispersed settlements agglomerated into fewer, larger settlements in some areas. The Sicilian countryside continued to be productive, and many of its settlements – even as far inland as the hinterland of the former *polis* of Entella – continued to receive goods from overseas.

Conclusion

I hope to have shown in this chapter and in the two preceding chapters that, despite the sharp contraction in urban settlement numbers in the late Republic and the slower decline that followed under the Principate, the settlement landscape of Roman imperial Sicily was not simply one of decaying, contracting urban centers and emerging luxury villas. Many of the new settlements – like Naxos and Philosophiana - that emerged under the Empire can be described as "urban" only in a loose or minimal sense, as organized centers of population and of economic (but not political) activity. These settlements are difficult to categorize: in spite of their apparently strong connection with the road system and with agricultural activity, the "road station" and/or "estate center" description is not sufficient. Nor can we assess their development simply in terms of the "ruralization" of the *polis*, as part of the much-longer process of "decolonization" described by Asheri (cf. chapter 4). The parallel development of Naxos and nearby Tauromenium, for

example, shows the potentially symbiotic relationship between an economic center and a political/social center. Although the settlement at Naxos possessed some monumentality and organization, this was loose and limited, and the settlement seems to have had no independent political existence, with the *colonia* at Tauromenium serving as the political and administrative center of the region. The Hellenistic and Roman houses, storerooms, and kilns surrounding and overlying the shipsheds of the classical *polis* of Naxos are a dramatic illustration not only of the "decolonization" of Sicily, but also of the deprivation of most of the autonomy of its *poleis* under Rome and the concentration of symbolic power into the handful of *coloniae* that were securely loyal to the imperial center.

As the centers of symbolic power in the province, these *coloniae* saw considerable monumental building activity in the imperial period. At the same time, many of the older *poleis* of the island that lacked such status and/or were poorly positioned to take advantage of the emerging social, political, and economic networks of the imperial period were gradually abandoned – though settlements such as Segesta, Morgantina, and Monte Iato appear to have remained centers of economic activity for decades, and perhaps even centuries, after they had lost their roles as political and social centers. Other urban centers – such as Calacte and Halaesa, and perhaps also Soluntum – saw shifts in activity towards more economically connected sites in their vicinity (such as coastal landings). The monumental urban center of the *polis* could, however, retain (or later regain) its attraction as a center for smaller-scale settlement activity, primarily due to the easy availability of building material and other resources. Lime kilns, for example, were prominent features of the later settlement at Halaesa and at the roadside settlement at Megara Hyblaea.

Many scholars have noted expanded settlement and an increased material "presence" in the countryside of many regions of Sicily in late antiquity. Some have described this expansion as a process of "ruralization" or as a rural "revival" that was linked to Sicily's renewed importance as a supplier of cereals and other commodities to the market of Rome, especially after the establishment of Constantinople and, a century later, the Vandal takeover of the African provinces.[90] The large and elaborately decorated villas that emerged in the third and fourth centuries across Sicily, on the coast and in the interior – most notably at Piazza Armerina, Tellaro, and Patti Marina - are the most famous manifestation of this "dominance" of the countryside. Non-elite rural settlement also becomes more visible in late antiquity, especially in the Southeast and along the southern coast, and especially in the realm of cult, as evidence of the presence of Christian communities (such as rural churches and burial areas) increases.

However, these new settlements were limited in their physical extent and in their social and political significance, in contrast to regions such as North Africa and Italy, which saw the emergence of substantial rural settlements with marketing, and sometimes administrative, functions in late antiquity. In Sicily, perhaps owing to its continued political stability and economic integration into the wider Mediterranean, high-level economic, religious, and political activity - and the monumentalization of these activities – remained concentrated in cities. One illustration of the limited pull of the countryside even at the apparent height of its late antique prosperity is the tombstone of Iulia Fiorentina, a young Christian who, though she died at Hybla in the southeastern interior, was buried at Catina (*CIL* X 7112).

Much more archaeological work needs to be done, however, in order to fully understand this rural settlement landscape and to better assess the relationship between urban and rural settlement in Roman and late antique Sicily. If the case of Sofiana is any indication, the extent

[90] This was the hypothesis of L. Cracco Ruggini and others: see chapter 1 for bibliography.

and complexity of this settlement landscape has been vastly underestimated. In the absence of such new archaeological research, comparison with the Roman-era settlements of regions with similar histories of urban development, such as southern Italy or Achaea, may help to shed light on the significance of the developments that have already been detected in Sicily. In the conclusion to this work, I will expand on some of the avenues of comparative research that may prove fruitful for better understanding the settlement landscape of Roman Sicily and its relationship with the wider empire.

Conclusion

The main conclusion that has emerged from the empirical core of this study (chapter 4), together with the more detailed analysis of the case studies of chapters 5-7, is that three significant quantitative and qualitative shifts took place in the urban landscape of Sicily - and can be observed in the material record of urban settlement - in the long period between the Roman takeover of the western half of Sicily in the First Punic War (ca. 250 BC) and the effective end of Roman political hegemony over the island with the Vandal "conquests" (ca. AD 450). First, intense urban settlement shifted away from the southern and northern coasts under the late Republic and in the early- and mid-imperial periods, respectively, to be concentrated instead mainly on the eastern and western coasts of Sicily by the third century AD. Second, from the late Republican period into the imperial period, there were significant changes in urban forms and in the nature of urban life in both "failing" and "thriving" Sicilian cities. These changes included the adaptation of existing urban structures and spaces to serve new and sometimes multiple functions, as well as the dispersion (or dissociation) of centers of commercial and political activity within cities. One result of these processes of urban transformation is that few Sicilian cities conform to the norms of Roman imperial monumentality seen in provincial "show cities" (such as Carthage and Lepcis Magna in nearby North Africa) and in Rome itself. Rather, the Sicilian cities that continued in occupation and that thrived politically and economically in the high imperial period – such as Lilybaeum, Syracuse, Centuripae, and Catina – selectively adopted elements of the Roman "monumental kit" that met the needs and desires of their populations and that conformed to the existing urban fabric, a process that sometimes led to singular "hybrid" monuments.

And finally, a third major shift in the Sicilian urban landscape can be traced in the relationships between high-order urban centers and the rest of the settlement spectrum, as the major coastal centers of the East/Northeast and in the western corner of the island consolidated their political, economic, religious/cultural, and social positions at the top of the provincial urban hierarchy, and as older second-order urban centers (including many former *poleis*: both Greek *apoikiai* and "Hellenized" indigenous settlements), especially in the interior and on the southern coast, and later on the northern coast, ceded to new forms of economically-oriented, semi- or sub-urban settlement.

The key variable in all three of these shifts was the level of integration of Sicilian regions and localities into the interlinked political, social, and economic networks of the Roman Mediterranean. The eastern and western coasts of Sicily retained a high and consistent level of political, social, and economic integration throughout the Roman period, especially with central Italy and Rome, the North African littoral, and (in the case of eastern Sicily) with the Eastern Mediterranean, which enabled the persistence of high-order urban centers like Syracuse, Catina, Tauromenium, Agrigentum, Panhormus, and Lilybaeum. This small set of cities served as the province's poles of political, social, and economic activity, and of cultural prestige.[91] The southern and northern coasts and the interior of Sicily, on the other hand, were subject to more variable and irregular integration into these networks. As a result, new forms of sub- or semi-

[91] But, as I demonstrated in Chapter 6, the topographies and populations of these primary urban centers were not unaffected by the evolving place of the province of Sicily in the political, social, and economic order of the Roman Empire.

urban settlement (e.g. the "*mansio*" at Philosophiana) developed to take better advantage of these changing patterns of integration - and especially, to adapt to shifts in the dominant maritime and overland transportation routes traversing the island.

Although the geography of Sicily – most obviously, its unique position as an island at the center of Rome's Mediterranean empire – was a dominant factor in the development of its urban landscape under the Principate (as it had been in earlier periods of antiquity), the major shifts I have described were not solely geographically determined. And of course, the urban populations of Sicily were not passive participants in the political, economic, social, and religious/cultural changes that their cities underwent under Roman hegemony, or in the physical alterations to urban spaces through which these evolving roles were manifested. And so, to turn to the human actors in these processes - where they can be observed - unsurprisingly, we have found that elites played significant roles, both in their presence and by their absence, in shaping urban landscapes. The divestment of the political, economic, and social resources of elites from the cities described in chapter 5 – such as Segesta and Monte Iato – and the concomitant contraction and decay of urban infrastructure can be contrasted especially with the case of Centuripae, as outlined in chapter 6. This inland hilltop center possessed the unique combination of an extensive and fertile hinterland, an advantageous position along interior trade and communications routes, and a local elite that was notably politically active and savvy from the early years of Roman hegemony in Sicily through the imperial period. We have seen how a small set of interrelated, wealthy, and politically and socially prominent families of Roman citizens dominated the development of the city by the second century AD, using its public spaces as arenas for the celebration and promotion of themselves and of their home city.

Such elites – though the most visible actors in shaping the political and economic fortunes and the monumental public and private spaces of Sicilian cities – did not exist in a vacuum. Their livelihoods and activities were enabled in large part by the labors of the sub-elites that formed the majority of the urban population, including the "commercial middle classes" whom Mayer has recently described as a dominant force in the spread of the characteristic forms of Roman urbanism – and particularly, the physical manifestations of the "*taberna* economy" - throughout the empire from the Middle Republic through the Principate.[92] Individuals and groups within these urban "middling classes" (as I would prefer to call them) can be traced in the archaeological and epigraphic records of Sicilian cities including Catina, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, and Halaesa, and not only as inhabitants of urban spaces (such as residential and commercial *insulae*, markets, port facilities, offices, and – in the end - graves), but also as participants in urban political, social, and religious life: most visibly as *Augustales* in several cities.

The results of this study suggest several potential avenues for future research, especially regarding the relationship of developments in the urban landscape of Sicily to that of other regions of the Mediterranean with comparable histories of urban development and/or relations with the Roman state. For example, like Sicily, the Roman province of Achaea (whose borders roughly correspond to those of modern Greece) was densely settled with urban centers (*poleis*) of various sizes, many of which had existed for several centuries and were already highly monumentalized, with sophisticated political institutions and highly developed urban economies. Twenty years ago, Susan Alcock employed a then-novel approach that emphasized the material

[92] Mayer, *Ancient Middle Classes.*

record of a province that, like Sicily, had been largely ignored in scholarship of the Roman Empire, in order to trace and evaluate changes in the political, economic, and cultural/religious roles of Achaean urban centers and in the locations, forms, and intensities of non-urban settlement in the Roman period.[93] A new avenue of research into the urban landscape of Sicily that incorporates the work of Alcock and other scholars on mainland Greece would be to examine in detail the types of buildings that were added or modified in the older cities of both provinces. One goal of such research would be to better understand the specific economic, political, social, and cultural forces shaping urban development in each province, as well as the roles and priorities of the individuals and collectives who shaped the urban fabric (whether emperors, provincial administrators and elites, local governments, or individual benefactors). A more problematic path of research, given the patchy geographic and temporal coverage of field survey in Sicily (as well as the difficulty of comparing the results of multiple projects undertaken on different scales and utilizing varying methodologies[94]), would be to compare the evidence for patterns of non-urban settlement in the Roman period in these two provinces, in order to gain a better understanding of the political, economic, and demographic causes and consequences of the changing relationships between urban and rural settlement in each.

Southern Italy is another geographically and ethnically diverse, relatively highly urbanized region with a long history of interactions with the Roman state, as well as strong and enduring economic and political links to the city of Rome. It too may offer useful parallels to Sicily in the development of its urban landscape under the Roman Empire. For example, the new forms of sub- and semi-urban settlement that emerged in many regions of Sicily, sometimes on or near the sites of former urban settlements, in the imperial period and especially in late antiquity – as discussed in chapter 7 - may be compared with the "agricultural agglomerations" or *vici* that sometimes emerged on old urban sites (such as Metapontum) or on other sites close to the road network in southern Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries AD.[95] In addition, as in Sicily, the obsolescence of certain older urban sites in southern Italy (such as the colonial center of Paestum) seems to have been tied to their disintegration from prevailing trade routes and to mounting environmental challenges, such as the lack of a regular water supply or the silting of a river or sea port.[96]

The development of the urban landscape of southern Italy also offers potential contrasts with Sicily that are worthy of further exploration. For example, unlike in Sicily, from the early Republican period until the mid-imperial period, the Roman state pursued an active program of urban creation in Italy – beginning with the establishment of colonies in Latium – to serve its own strategic needs. For similar reasons, the state also sponsored or encouraged the embellishment of existing urban centers in southern Italy, as well as in other areas of the peninsula. This activity led to a high, but arguably artificial or inflated, level of urbanization (i.e.

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[93] However, Alcock relied on often-fragmentary results from older field surveys that now can be supplemented with data from more recent and methodologically sophisticated projects.

[94] The challenges of comparing the results of survey projects from different regions are addressed by Alcock and others in *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, ed. S.E. Alcock and J. Cherry (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004).

[95] This development has been discussed recently (though briefly) by N. Christie ["Vrbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of and Approaches to Abandoned Classical Cities," in *Vrbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, ed. N. Christie and A. Augenti (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate), 1-44, at 20].

[96] Christie, "Vrbes Extinctae," 23; and see Ch. 5 for Sicilian case studies.

the number of centers and the percentage of the population living in them) in many Italian regions. This urban system had come under strain by the second century AD and was in "crisis" in some regions by the third century, partly as a result of the weakening Italian economy, which was itself linked to the declining market share of Italian agricultural exports in the empire in the face of competition from the products of provinces like Baetica and Africa Proconsularis. Nonetheless, we may characterize the major shifts in the urban landscape of Sicily in part as an earlier manifestation of a similar process: that is, as a retrenchment from an unsustainably high level of urbanization and monumental development which, in the case of Sicily, was the result of the intensification of a number of economic and political processes in the late classical through Roman Republican periods, as I outlined in chapter 4.

But this characterization of the development of the urban landscape of Sicily in the imperial period essentially as a process of deurbanization finds no close parallels elsewhere in the Roman Empire, particularly in its extent and in its chronological course.[97] For example, the root causes of deurbanization in other periods of Mediterranean antiquity – such as the "institutional loss" that contributed to the end of Roman urbanism, most dramatically in Britain with the formal withdrawal of state power in the fifth century AD,[98] but also in other regions of the western empire in late antiquity, as Roman political and economic hegemony waned – were not at work in the Sicilian urban landscape of the late first century BC and early first century AD. Rather, the driving forces behind changes in the Sicilian urban landscape – including the obsolescence and disappearance of cities in many regions – were institutional changes at the island-wide, regional, and local levels that were both directly and indirectly linked to the changing political and economic place of the province within the Roman imperial state system.

I conclude with the hope that this study, by highlighting the large- and small-scale changes that the urban landscape of Sicily underwent in its period under Roman hegemony (and the potential significance of these changes for our broader understanding not only of the place of Sicily in the Roman imperial system, but also of the multiple and complex ways in which the formal and informal – and the direct and indirect - mechanisms of Roman state power could manifest themselves over time and across the diverse political, economic, and physical geography of the empire), will serve as a stimulus to further historical and archaeological research on Roman Sicily. The main goal of this research must be to continue to accumulate and analyze reliable archaeological evidence for the settlement landscape across the island. One promising avenue is geophysical survey of known or hypothesized sites of settlement: an unobtrusive method that has been effective in revealing "lost" or "hidden" structures in its limited applications in Sicily (for example, at Sofiana and Akrai), and more extensively and consistently on settlement sites in other regions (such as the Adriatic coast of Italy[99]). However, geophysical research is most informative when coupled with targeted campaigns of excavation

[97] R. Laurence, S. Esmonde Cleary, and G. Sears, *The City in the Roman West, c. 250 BC – c. AD 250* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 299-303, provide a summary and brief analysis of patterns of "urban recession" in the western Roman provinces, especially in the third and fourth centuries AD.

[98] Christie, "Vrbes Extinctae," 20-22.

[99] For example, the work of Frank Vermeulen and the University of Ghent in and around Potentia (Potenza).

and/or collection of surface materials, and so it can be costly and time-consuming to implement on a large scale (i.e. across an entire site).

Therefore, alongside new programs of archaeological field research, the recording, analysis, and publication of the vast existing bodies of Roman-era evidence from Sicily - such as the numerous unpublished ceramic assemblages, inscriptions, "small finds," and excavation records housed in museums and in the storerooms of Soprintendenze across the island - must also continue.[100] Such efforts should include the integration of Sicilian ceramic evidence (such as amphora and fineware assemblages) into online databases with more extensive geographical coverage, such as the British Archaeology Data Service or the *Immensa Aequora* project, which will allow for more sophisticated analysis of the production and circulation of ceramic vessels (and, in the case of amphorae, the commodities they carried) within and outside the island, and hence a better understanding of Sicily's Roman-era economy.

And so, the archaeologists and historians who analyze these ever-increasing bodies of archaeological evidence, and at the same time confront the longstanding challenges and limitations of the traditional set of literary and epigraphic sources, are faced with an increasingly complex picture of life in Roman Sicily. A major barrier to a better understanding of this complexity that should be reduced or eliminated in future scholarship is arbitrary periodization – i.e. the division between the study of "Hellenistic," "Roman," "Late Antique"/"Paleochristian" and "Early Medieval" Sicily. One way forward is to focus attention on the shifting power structures and commercial and productive regimes on the island – and the varying extent and pace of these shifts - rather than (or in addition to) focusing on the impact of chronologically fixed military and political changes, such as the fall of Syracuse to the Romans or the Byzantine re-conquest of Sicily. A reduced emphasis on temporal divisions in the study of Sicilian settlement landscapes could have a particularly salutary effect on the study of the transitional period that followed the waning of Roman political hegemony on the island: for example, by focusing on the impact of the shift to institutionalized Church power over productive regimes in many parts of Sicily and its effect on the settlement landscape.

In addition, on a narrower temporal scale and with the evidence as it currently stands, there are several promising avenues of future research on the Roman imperial period in Sicily. In particular, I hope that this study has shown that the finite links between Sicily and other regions, from the individual to the communal and provincial levels, offer fruitful avenues for further exploration. The various pieces of historical, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence for the formal and the informal, and the unsurprising as well as the unexpected, relationships between Sicily and the wider Mediterranean in the Roman period – such as the third-century Septizodium of Lilybaeum, or the fifth-century Greek epitaph of (the Gallic?) Botis and his wife, (the Jewish?) Eirene from Halaesa - are tantalizing. A more thorough examination of such evidence may lead to a similar conclusion to the one suggested by this study of the urban landscape: that, in contrast to the traditional picture, Sicily was far from "an island for itself"[101] in the Roman imperial period.

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[100] The analysis and publication of the unpublished ceramic assemblages especially from Syracuse and the eastern and southeastern coasts is one of the goals of the "Roman Sicily Project" based at the University of Catania.

[101] To borrow the title of Stephan Epstein's monograph on a later period of Sicilian history [*An island for itself: economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992)].

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General

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Western and West-Central Sicily

Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements

Drepanum

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Ancient Occupation: early 3rd century BC (at latest) – Byzantine era
Location: Trapani, TP

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Little is known of the chronology, extent, or topography of the ancient settlement of Drepanum, since few systematic excavations have been undertaken within the modern city of Trapani that overlays it. The site's ancient history must therefore be pieced together from historical sources, chance finds of ancient material (often lacking context), the reports of antiquarians, and the few, limited excavations that have been conducted in Trapani – primarily, the brief campaign undertaken in 1992 by the Soprintendenza in the area of the Castello di Terra.

A few Punic ceramics (5th – 3rd century BC) recovered in the Castello di Terra excavations and elsewhere in the city are the only evidence of the city's earliest phases of occupation. Drepanum first appears in the historical record in 368 BC, when Diodorus refers to it as the "port of Eryx." According to Polybius, it served as an important naval base for the Carthaginians during the First Punic War. Little is known of Drepanum's subsequent history under the Romans, other than that it was one of the cities harassed by Verres (Cic. II *Verr*. 2.57.140). The fifteen inscriptions (fourteen in Greek, one in Latin) reported to have been found in the 18th century during work on the church of San Pietro in Trapani, all dating to the imperial period, are the only epigraphic materials from the city, but they are known only from a much later transcription and were therefore dismissed by Kaibel as spurious. Although no ancient buildings have yet been detected, two necropoleis have been hypothesized, one located at the northern and eastern limit of the ancient city near the Palazzo delle Poste that was in use during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, and the other located in the area of the church of San Pietro, from which two late antique marble sarcophaguses are thought to have originated. The city is listed in both the *It. Ant*. and the *T.P*. as well as in Byzantine-era route compilations, and it appears to have played an important role as a point of convergence for a number of interior and coastal routes. The discovery of numerous amphorae in the waters around Trapani ranging in date from the 3rd century BC to the Byzantine period attest to the long vitality and importance of the ancient port. The city became a diocese relatively late, probably in the 7th century AD.

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Lilybaeum

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 4th century BC – Byzantine era
Location: Marsala, TP
See Chapter 6 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Lilybaeum/Marsala.

Mazara

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 4th century BC – Byzantine era, with a possible gap between c. 260 BC and the first century AD.
Location: Mazara del Vallo, TP

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Like Drepanum/Trapani, the ancient settlement of Mazara has not been the subject of extensive, systematic excavation because it is overlain by a modern city, Mazara del Vallo. Located at the mouth of the river Mazaro on the southwestern coast, it lay in the border zone between Greek, "indigenous," and Punic Sicily: territory that was the object of the conflict between Segesta and Lilybaeum in 454 BC recorded by Diodorus (11.86.2). The settlement of Mazara itself first appears in the historical record in 409 BC, when it was sacked by the Carthaginian Hannibal, and again in 260 BC in the context of the First Punic War, when the Romans deported its population. The settlement during this period seems to have functioned as an *emporion* and *phrourion* for the frontier region of southwestern Sicily, alternating between Carthaginian and Greek (Selinuntine) control. Recent excavations have detected structures in use during the fourth and third centuries BC in what appears to be the earliest urban nucleus of the settlement, at the mouth of the river Mazaro. The structures of the ancient port were uncovered by dredging work in the early 20th century, while a coin hoard containing 5th century BC issues from all of the major Siceliot cities hints at commercial relations with the wider Sicilian Greek colonial world.

After a possible lacuna in occupation following the Roman conquest, the settlement seems to have prospered under the Roman Empire. All of the inscriptions from the city (three in Greek, twenty in Latin) date to the imperial period, and several refer to Lilybaeum, leading Mommsen and other scholars to conclude that they were transported from that city to Mazara at a later date. As archaeological work in the city and its hinterland has revealed numerous signs of urban and rural wealth, this view has been revised and Mazara has been recognized as one of the major settlements of the southern coast, though it was probably politically subsidiary to Lilybaeum. Signs of this mid/late-imperial urban prosperity include a bath complex discovered under the church of San Nicolò Regale on the eastern bank of the river Mazaro, in use between the third and fifth centuries; and the numerous fine marble sarcophagi from the cathedral, which are now thought to have originated in a yet-to-be located necropolis outside the ancient city.

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Selinus

Category: Primary, then Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-7th – mid-3rd century BC (destroyed and finally abandoned in the First Punic War)
Location: Selinunte, TP; 37° 35′ N, 12° 50′ E

Pan(h)ormus

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-7th century BC – Byzantine era
Location: Palermo, PA

Heraclea Minoa

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic period - 50/25 BC
Location: Eraclea Minoa, near Montallegro, AG; 37° 24′ N, 13° 21′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Heraclea Minoa.

Agrigentum

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 6th BC - Byz
Location: Agrigento, AG
See Chapter 6 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Agrigentum/Agrigento.

Phintias

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: ca. 280 BC – late 1st century BC
Location: Licata, AG
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Phintias/Licata.

Soluntum

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid/late 4th century BC – early 3rd century AD?

Location: near Santa Flavia, PA; 38° 5′ N, 13° 32′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Soluntum.

Thermae Himeraeae

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 407 BC – mid-5th century AD or later
Location: Termini Imerese, PA
Archaeological Bibliography

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Cephaloedium

Category: Secondary → Primary Urban Settlement?
Period of Occupation: early 4th century BC (*phrourion*) – ca. 6th century AD
Location: Cefalù, PA
Archaeological Bibliography

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Eryx

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 8th century BC – late 1st century AD?
Location: Erice, TP

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The summit of Mt. Eryx, overlooking the port of Trapani, has produced evidence of settlement since the 8th century BC. The site was famous throughout antiquity for its sanctuary of Aphrodite/Venus, which Thucydides mentions in his account of the Athenians' Sicilian expedition of 415 BC. Although the town was a stronghold for the Carthaginians during the First Punic War because of its easily defensible location, its sanctuary provided a strong kinship link between the communities of the western corner of the island (especially Segesta) and the Roman Republic in the centuries following the conquest. Indeed, after the Roman conquest, which saw the end of its military role and the transfer of its population to Drepanum, the city probably relied on the pull of the sanctuary for its survival and continuing relevance.

Since the hilltop was resettled and fortified in Norman times, little remains of the ancient settlement. The archaeological work that has been conducted in Erice has focused on the ancient phases of the wall circuit and on the sanctuary of Venus, which lies under the Norman fortress. Neither the wall circuit nor the sanctuary shows signs of frequentation or improvement after the early 1st century AD, and the last historical reference to the sanctuary, in Suetonius, falls in the reign of Claudius. In the absence of any definite archaeological evidence for occupation, it is therefore generally agreed that the sanctuary and town underwent a gradual process of abandonment in the 1st century AD, with any remaining population perhaps relocating to Drepanum (Trapani) or to the surrounding countryside.

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Halicyai

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 4th – 1st century BC (Primary); Secondary until the mid-6th century AD?
Location: probably Salemi, TP

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The location of the ancient city of Halikyai/Halicyai has long been thought to be in or near the modern city of Salemi, on a hilltop in the interior of the Trapani province. The evidence for this identification was largely circumstantial: the history of Halikyai was closely tied to the major cities of western Sicily, Lilybaeum and Segesta, and it clearly lay within their sphere of influence. The city has a prominent role in Diodorus Siculus' accounts of the wars that plagued the island in the 4th through 2nd centuries BC and in Cicero's account of the predations of Verres, but it is absent from any source later than Pliny, including the itineraries.

San Miceli in the territory of Salemi has been recognized as an important early Christian center since the late 19th century, when A. Salinas discovered the mosaic floor of a small mid-4th century basilica surrounded by a cemetery and traces of building activity from the 4th through 6th centuries. The city center of Salemi has only been the subject of systematic (though limited) excavation since 2001. These excavations have lent support to the identification of the site with ancient Halikyai, revealing a settlement that took shape in the 4th century BC, perhaps overlying an archaic settlement contemporary with nearby Monte Polizzo. However, these excavations have produced little evidence of occupation beyond the 1st century BC. This result, together with evidence from survey suggesting a revival of activity in the rural territory of Salemi in the early centuries of the Empire as well as the absence of the city from later imperial literary sources, supports the hypothesis of the settlement's decline into a center of secondary importance under the Empire.

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Segesta

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: late 6th century BC – mid-3rd century AD
Location: near Calatafimi-Segesta, TP; 37° 54′ N, 12° 51′ E

See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Segesta.

Carini / Monte d'Oro di Montelepre (Hykkara)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: Monte d'Oro: until the mid-3rd century BC; Monte Colombrina "vicus": until the 3rd century AD; S. Nicola: late antiquity
Location: Carini, PA

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Due to the rapid development of the coast west of Palermo, including the construction of the autostrada and the Punta Raisi airport, little systematic excavation has been possible in and around the modern town of Carini. However, the town and its territory have long been identified as the site of the ancient city of Hykkara, mentioned by Thucydides in the context of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, and again in the *It. Ant.* as part of the maritime route along the northwestern coast of the island (see appendix 2).

Chance finds, surveys of surface remains, and limited excavations in and around Carini over the past several decades have revealed a series of settlements dating from the archaic period to late antiquity. The indigenous settlement on Monte d'Oro di Montelepre a few kilometers south of Carini has been most convincingly identified as Thucydides' Hykkara; settlement arose there on a series of terraces beginning in the 6th century BC and ending in violent destruction around the mid-3rd century BC, perhaps in connection with the First Punic War. A series of finds from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including the remains of necropoleis and what appears to be a small village on the hillside of Monte Colombrina, suggest a subsequent shift in settlement closer to the coast and port facilities at Baglio di Carini. The area remained of some demographic and economic importance into late antiquity, as attested by the catacombs at Villagrazia di Carini, the largest such complex in western Sicily, in use from the early 4th century into the 5th century. These catacombs were probably associated with the late Roman settlement identified in contrada S. Nicola to the south. The catacombs also hint at the presence of a sizeable early Christian community, probably the reason why Carini was chosen as the seat of a bishop, as attested in letters of Gregory the Great from the late 6th and early 7th centuries.

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Parthenicum

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – mid-3rd century BC (Castellacio di Sagana); 1st/2nd century AD – 4th century or later (contrada Raccuglia, Sirignano)
Location: Partinico, PA

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Surface exploration has revealed a succession of ancient settlements in the area around modern Partinico, situated in a fertile coastal plain west of Palermo, though these settlements have been the focus of little systematic excavation. One of the largest and most visible of these settlements is located on a mountaintop at Castellaccio di Sagana, sited to protect the passage from the coast east into the Conca d'Oro and Palermitan hinterland. Occupation of this site appears to have begun in the 7th or 6th century BC, with a major rebuilding in the Hellenistic period. Traces of fire, as well as the relative scarcity of material on the site datable to after the mid-3rd century BC, suggest a contraction of settlement as a consequence of the First Punic War; the site lacks any ceramic or numismatic material later than the late 1st century BC.

The *statio* of Parthenicum included in the *It. Ant*. (see appendix 2) has been identified in contrada Raccuglia, outside the modern town of Partinico. The settlement here is known only from surface scatters of imported ceramics and coins, all dated to the imperial period – particularly to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Other Roman-era sites in the territory of Partinico include the probable villa in contrada Sirignano, roughly contemporaneous with the settlement in contrada Raccuglia. In addition, in the early 1980s, two tile kilns were excavated that were probably in use in the Republican and early imperial periods; stamped tiles produced in these kilns have been found in contrada Raccuglia as well as other settlements in the vicinity, including Monte Iato.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Ietas

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 6th century BC – mid-5th century AD? (Primary: 4th – mid-1st century BC; Secondary: mid-1st century BC – mid-5th century AD)
Location: Monte Iato, near San Giuseppe Jato, PA; 37° 58′ N, 13° 11′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Ietas/Monte Iato.

Makella (Montagnola di Marineo)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th – mid-3rd century BC
Location: near Marineo, PA; 37° 57′ N, 13° 25′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Excavations since the 1970s have revealed an ancient hilltop town at Montagnola di Marineo, in the hinterland of ancient Soluntum, on a site above the river Eleuterio that was well suited to commerce and communications with the northern and southern coasts. A large Hellenistic (4th

century) settlement with a wall circuit overlay an archaic village; this has been convincingly identified as the city of Makella mentioned in one of the Entella decrees on the basis of a series of inscribed tiles found in a room possibly belonging to a public building. Most of the Hellenistic settlement appears to have been destroyed in the early 3rd century, around the time of Pyrrhus or the First Punic War. The site continued to be inhabited on a much-reduced scale thereafter, with some 4th-century buildings reused until the 2nd century BC. Scattered ceramic and numismatic material from the 1st century BC and the imperial era hint at the existence of a small settlement on the site.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Entella

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th century BC – late 1st century AD
Location: Rocca di Entella, near Contessa Entellina, PA; 37° 44′ N, 13° 11′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History of Entella.

Monte Adranone (Adranon?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: late 6th - mid-3rd century BC
Location: near Sambuca di Sicilia, AG; 37° 39′ N, 13° 6′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Excavation in the late 1960s and 1970s on Monte Adranone, north of the modern town of Sambuca di Sicilia, revealed traces of an indigenous hilltop settlement that was "Hellenized" in the 6th century, probably at the initiative of Selinus, acquiring a wall circuit and an extramural necropolis. The settlement was one of a series of fortified hilltop centers in this contested area of Sicily, in the border zone between Selinus and Akragas, and later between the Carthaginian and Greek spheres of influence. The archaic settlement was probably destroyed around the time of the fall of Selinus, to be succeeded by a settlement firmly within the Punic sphere of influence in the 4th century BC, equipped with two Punic temples, public intramural areas – including a possible storage and distribution facility for agricultural produce – and an extramural artisanal and cult complex. The settlement has been identified as the Adranon mentioned by Diodorus Siculus in the context of the First Punic War, an identification supported by signs of violent destruction throughout the site around the mid-third century. Isolated finds of later coins and ceramics suggest sporadic occupation thereafter, especially in the period of the Second Punic War, when it was perhaps used as a garrison.

Archaeological Bibliography
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Hippana (Monte dei Cavalli)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-4th - mid-3rd century BC
Location: Monte dei Cavalli, near Prizzi, PA; 37° 43′ N, 13° 26′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

One of the highest ancient hilltowns in the western interior was located on Monte dei Cavalli, at 1007m a.s.l., in a mountain range between the valleys of the Platani and Belice rivers. Urban settlement on the site, which has been securely identified as ancient Hippana on the basis of numismatic and epigraphic evidence, began in the mid-4th century, overlying an earlier settlement that had been destroyed in the late archaic period. Around that time, the settlement acquired a wall circuit as well as a perimeter wall around the acropolis; the inhabited area has not yet been excavated, but it seems to be confined within the lower wall circuit. The settlement also possessed a series of buildings on the acropolis (perhaps an agora) and a theatre by the early third century, and probably minted coins in this period of revival, when it was firmly within the Punic sphere of influence, as evidenced by the proliferation of Siculo-Punic bronze coins. Most of the ceramics from the site date from the late 4th century until the mid-3rd century, when the settlement seems to have undergone a violent destruction, attested by burnt layers and finds of lead projectiles, probably in the context of the First Punic War. The site was not reoccupied thereafter. Field survey in the territory of Monte dei Cavalli has revealed a proliferation of rural settlement only in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries, after the settlement's destruction; most of these early sites continued into the imperial period, when the population density of the countryside surrounding the old urban center seems to have reached its highest level.

Archaeological Bibliography
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Caltabellotta (Triokala / Triocala?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-6th – mid-3rd century BC (San Benedetto); 4th – end 6th century AD (Montevergine)
Location: Caltabellotta, AG

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Modern Caltabellotta is located on a mountaintop and between two river valleys, in the border territory between ancient Selinus and Akragas. Ancient settlement in the area seems to have concentrated in San Benedetto, a naturally terraced site west of the modern town. Excavation there in the 1980s revealed traces of a fortification wall as well as a number of small houses. The site appears to have been occupied beginning in the mid-6th century BC and abandoned in the 3rd century, possibly in connection with the First Punic War. Nonetheless, the site has been identified tentatively as the city of Triokala mentioned by Diodorus Siculus in the context of the 2nd-century slave revolts, and later by Cicero and Pliny. Triokala/Triocala was also the seat of a bishop by the time of Gregory the Great (late 6th century AD), though structures potentially related to this episcopal see have not yet been found. In the Roman period, settlement seems to have shifted to lower elevations, and particularly to the site of Montevergine di Sant'Anna 4 km southeast of Caltabellotta, where a sizeable agricultural settlement has been uncovered that was occupied between the 4th and 6th centuries AD.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Giustolisi, V. *Camico, Triocala, Caltabellotta*. Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia Antica "Paolo Orsi," 1981.

Panvini, R. "Scavi e ricerche a Caltabellotta tra il 1983 e il 1985." *Kōkalos* 34/5 (1988/9): 559-72.

Pizzo Nicolosi

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th – 1st century BC
Location: N of Corleone, PA; 37° 49′ N, 13° 18′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

An ancient settlement has been identified on one of the slopes of Pizzo Nicolosi (937m a.s.l.), a few kilometers north of Corleone in the interior of the Palermo province. The ancient settlement is located in a rich agricultural area and would have been in a good position to control access to the interior from the Tyrrhenian coast, since it is near the ancient (and modern) route/road connecting Palermo and Agrigento. The settlement has not been excavated and is known only from surface remains. It appears to have had a long life extending from the 6th century BC into the 1st century BC, though most material from the site dates to the 4th and 3rd centuries. The settlement is divided between an acropolis (Castellucio) and a lower, naturally terraced plateau. Many walls have been uncovered on both parts of the site, though few clear structures are still distinguishable, with the exception of traces of a possible perimeter wall.

Archaeological Bibliography

Vassallo, S. "Pizzo Nicolosi." *SicA* 18.57/8 (1985): 115-48.

Pizzo Cannita

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: late 6th – mid-3rd century BC
Location: In the territory of Misilmeri, PA; 38° 2′ 5″ N, 13° 27′ 5″ E / 38.034722, 13.45138

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Pizzo Cannita is a small hill to the southeast of the Conca d'Oro on the course of the river Eleuterio, which empties into the Tyrrhenian 4km to the north. Ancient occupation of the site was signaled by the discovery of two anthropoid sarcophagi in nearby tombs in 1695 and 1725, and the first excavation was undertaken in 1863. After further excavation in 1930, the site was tentatively identified as Kronia, a town mentioned by Polybius, on the basis of coin finds.

The ancient settlement was the first that would have been encountered along the course of the Eleuterio traveling from the coast, giving it strategic importance for accessing the interior. The site is also easily defendable and is surrounded by good agricultural land. The settlement, which extended along the north slope of the hill, has been the subject of recent surface exploration. The remains of walls, perhaps from fortifications and probably dating to the 5th century BC, were detected. A possible sacred site was also found to the southwest, in contrada Feotto Cannita. The ceramics recovered from the settlement range in date from the end of the 6th to the 3rd century BC, and include sherds of Punic amphorae. It has been hypothesized that the settlement was destroyed as a consequence of the First Punic War since there is no evidence of occupation between the 3rd century BC and the medieval period.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Probable Secondary Urban Settlements

Aquae Segestanae

Period of Occupation: c. 4th century BC – 4th century AD
Location: Ponte Bagni, near Terme Segestane, TP
Archaeological Bibliography
Giustolisi, V. *Parthenicum e le Aquae Segestanae.* Palermo: Centro di documentazione e ricerca per la Sicilia antica "Paolo Orsi," 1976.

Thermae Selinuntinae / Aquae Larodes

Period of Occupation: mid-4th century AD – Byzantine?
Location: Sciacca and its territory, AG; 37° 30′ N, 13° 5′ E
Archaeological Bibliography
See Chapter 7 for excavations of settlements in the Sciacca area.

Campanaio di Montallegro

Period of Occupation: c. AD 375 - 460
Location: Montallegro, AG; 37° 24′ 0″ N, 13° 21′ 0″ E, 37.4, 13.35
Archaeological Bibliography
Wilson, R.J.A. "Rural settlement in hellenistic and Roman Sicily. Excavations at Campanaio (AG), 1994-98." *BSR* 68 (2000): 337-69.

Palma di Montechiaro and vicinity

Period of Occupation: late 7th – 3rd century BC (Castellazzo); c. 1st century BC - 7th century AD (Narasette/Daedalium?)
Location: Palma di Montechiaro, AG; 37° 12′ N, 13° 46′ E
Archaeological Bibliography
Belvedere, O., Burgio, A. "Sulla viabilià nel territorio di Palma di Montechiaro. Brevi note in margine al 'Progetto Cignana.'" In Παλαια φιλια. *Studi di topografia antica in onore di Giovanni Uggeri*, ed. C. Marangio and G. Laudizi, 515-30. Galatina: Congedo, 2009.
Caputo, G. "Palma di Montechiaro (Agrigento)." *NSc* 19 (1965) suppl.: 185-91.
Castellana, G. "Nuove ricognizioni nel territorio di Palma di Montechiaro (Agrigento). Seconda Parte." *SicA* 16.52/3 (1983): 119-46.
De Miro, E. "Ricerche e valorizzazione dei monumenti paleocristiani e bizantini in Agrigento e nel territorio." *Kōkalos* 32 (1986): 285-96.

Colle Rotondo

Period of Occupation: early 5th – early 3rd century BC; late 5th century AD

Location: Along the Platani, near Monte Sara
Archaeological Bibliography
Giustolisi, V. *Camico, Triocala, Caltabellotta* (Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia Antica "Paolo Orsi," 1981), 112-3.

Castello di Calatubo

Period of Occupation: 7th – first half 3rd century BC; Byzantine
Location: near Alcamo, TP
Archaeological Bibliography
Giustolisi, V. *Nakone ed Entella* (Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia Antica "Paolo Orsi," 1985), 77-92.

Cozzo Spolentino

Period of Occupation: until the 3rd century BC
Location: near Corleone, PA
Archaeological Bibliography
Spatafora, F. "Cozzo Spolentino." In *Des Grecs en Sicile. Grecs et indigènes en Sicile occidentale d'après les fouilles archéologiques*, ed. F. Spatafora, 158-61. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 2006.

Monte Sara (Kaprianon?)

Period of Occupation: c 6th – mid-3rd century BC
Location: along the Platani, N of Heraclea Minoa
Archaeological Bibliography
Giustolisi, V. *Camico Triocala Caltabellotta* (Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia Antica "Paolo Orsi," 1981), 111-2.

Monte Falcone di Baucina

Period of Occupation: archaic – Hellenistic (4th century BC)
Location: near Baucina, PA; 37°56′N 13°32′E
Archaeological Bibliography
Greco, C. "Baucina. Esplorazioni archeologiche 1991." *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1135-42.

Pizzo di Ciminna

Period of Occupation: 7th – 3rd century BC (Pizzo Ciminna); 3rd century BC – 4th century AD (settlement in contrada Cernuta)
Location: near Ciminna, PA; 37°54′N 13°34′E
Archaeological Bibliography
Mannino, G. "Ciminna, appunti speleoarcheologici." *SicA* 24.74 (1990): 63-76.

Polizzi Generosa

Period of Occupation: c. 4th – 2nd century BC
Location: Polizzi Generosa, PA; 37° 48′ 0″ N, 13° 59′ 0″ E; 37.8, 13.983333
Archaeological Bibliography

Tullio, A. "La necropoli ellenistica di Polizzi Generosa (contrada S. Pietro) a cinque anni dalla scoperta (1992 - 1996)." In *Archeologia e territorio*, ed. C. Greco, F. Spatafora, and S. Vassallo, 267-74. Palermo: Palumbo, 1997.

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Monte Alburchia di Gangi

Period of Occupation: c. 4th – 2nd century BC?
Location: near Gangi, PA; 37°48′N 14°12′E
Archaeological Bibliography

Tusa, V. "Scavi archeologici a Monte Alburchia." *GiRoccPalermo* 5 (1958): 13-15.

Cozzo Sanita

Period of Occupation: c. 4th-3rd century BC
Location: near Caccamo, PA
Archaeological Bibliography

Lauro, D. "Cozzo Sannita: un insediamento indigeno e punico-ellenistico lungo il corso del fiume San Leonardo." In *Archeologia e territorio*, ed. C. Greco, F. Spatafora, and S. Vassallo, 349-60. Palermo: Palumbo, 1997.

Monte Caltafaraci

Period of Occupation: c. 6th – 3rd century BC
Location: 6 km ENE of Agrigento; in the territory of Favara, AG
Archaeological Bibliography

Castellana, G. "La Neapolis nella chora acragantina e la colonizzazione dionisiana della Sicilia. Proposta di identificazione di una città antica con nota sul sito di Caltafaraci presso Agrigento." *PP* 39 (1984): 375-83.

Mura Pregne

Period of Occupation: archaic – early 3rd century BC
Location: near Termini Imerese, on Monte S. Calogero, at the mouth of the Torto
Archaeological Bibliography

Di Stefano, C.A. "L'ignoto centro archeologico di Mura Pregne presso Termini Imerese." *Kōkalos* 16 (1970) 188-98.

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quaderno imerese, ed. N. Allegro, 175-94. Rome: Bretschneider, 1982.

Vito Soldano (Cosconiana/Corconiana?)

Period of Occupation: imperial – late antiquity?
Location: 5km from Canicattì, AG, on the way to Castrofilippo
Archaeological Bibliography (see also Chapter 7)
La Lomía, M.R. "Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Canicattì. Vito Soldano." *Kōkalos* 7 (1961): 157-65.

S. Agata di Piana degli Albanesi (Pirama?)

Period of Occupation: c. Hellenistic – mid-6th century AD
Location: between Piana degli Albanesi and Marineo, PA
Archaeological Bibliography
Mammina, G., Greco, C. "Un sito tardoromano sulla via Agrigentum - Panormus. Scavi nella necropoli in contrada S. Agata (Piana degli Albanesi)." *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1143-63.

Rocca Nadore

Period of Occupation: mid-4th – late 4th/early 3rd century BC?
Location: near Sciacca, AG
Archaeological Bibliography
Bejor, G. "Scavo del φρουριον punico-ellenistico di Rocca Nadore." *Kōkalos* 18/19 (1972/3): 247-50.
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Central Sicily

Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements

Monte Riparato di Caltavuturo

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 4th – 1st century BC
Location: near Caltavuturo, PA; 37° 49′ N, 13° 53′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Excavation of the ancient hilltop settlement at Monte Riparato, two kilometers north of the modern town of Caltavuturo in the interior of the Palermo province, began in 1972. Archaeological work throughout the 1970s, late 1980s, and early 1990s revealed what was probably a Hellenized indigenous center, easily defendable and in an important strategic position overlooking the Himera river and controlling access to the interior. The chronological limits of the settlement appear to be the fourth and first centuries BC; its necropolis was in use in the third and second centuries BC, while structures excavated within the inhabited area show signs of use between the second and first centuries BC (e.g. imported Dressel 1 amphorae and early sigillata). However, no material recovered from the site is later than the end of the first century BC.

Archaeological Bibliography

Bonacasa, N. "Scavi e ricerche dell'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Palermo a Himera e Caltavuturo (1972-1975)." *Kōkalos* 22/3 (1976/7): 701-12.

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Chiovaro, M. "Monte Riparato." In *Memorie dalla terra. Insediamenti ellenistici nelle vallate della Sicilia centro-settentrionale. Caltavuturo, Museo civico Chiostro San Francesco, 19 ottobre - 2 dicembre 2007*, ed. F. Spatafora and S. Vassallo, 82-5. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 2007.

Di Stefano, C.A. "Ricognizioni archeologiche nel territorio di Caltavuturo." *SicA* 5.18/20 (1972): 83-7.

Pancucci, D. "Campagne di scavo nel territorio di Caltavuturo, 1977 - 1979." *BCASic* 1 (1980): 73-5.

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Tullio, A., Belvedere, O., Pancucci, D. "Attività di scavo dell'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Palermo." *SicA* 12.40 (1979): 43-52.

Gela

Category: Primary Urban Settlement

Period of Occupation: archaic – 282 BC
Location: Gela, CL

(H)enna

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – Byzantine era
Location: Enna, EN
Archaeological Bibliography

Caccamo Caltabiano, M. "La cronologia del municipium di Henna. Discordanza tra il dato numismatico e quello storiografico." *StTardoant* 5 (1988): 353-79.

Greco, C. "Aspetti della cristianizzazione del territorio ennese." In *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra Tardoantico ed altomedioevo. Atti del IX Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Agrigento 20 - 25 novembre 2004*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and E. Vitale, 1743-60. Palermo: Saladino, 2007.

Guzzardi, L. "Attività della sezione archeologica della Soprintendenza di Enna negli anni 1997 – 2001." *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 561-98.

Manganaro Perrone, G. "La prima (metà V sec. a.C.) e l'ultima (44 – 36 a.C.) emissione degli Hennaioi in gloria di Demetra." *SicAnt* 4 (2007): 33-43.

Assorus

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – 1st century AD?
Location: Assoro, EN

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Ancient Assorus was situated in and around the modern town of Assoro, on a ridge running East-West between the Salso and Dittaino rivers, along an important ancient route of communication between the plain of Catania and the Enna region. The town makes appearances in various historical episodes from the 4th century BC until the 1st century BC. It played an important role in the conflict between Dionysius of Syracuse and the Carthaginians in the early 4th century, and it is mentioned in one of the Entella tablets as well as in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list. It also minted coins during and after the Second Punic War. Its famous temple of the river god Chrysas is mentioned in the Second Verrine Oration.

There has been no excavation in or around the modern city since the 1960s. The extensive excavations in that decade focused on the ancient necropolis, which contained almost 80 tombs ranging in date from the 6th century BC to the 2nd century AD; however, the majority dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and only one could be dated to the imperial period. This result, coupled with the scanty Roman-era remains uncovered in the town itself, led its excavators to believe that the ancient city declined in importance under Roman *imperium*. Nonetheless, settlement appears to have flourished in the city's hinterland, which contains the site of a probable Roman villa.

Archaeological Bibliography

Barone, G., Ioppolo, S., Puglisi, G. "Archaeometric study of ancient pottery from Assoro (Enna,

Sicily).” In *Modern trends in scientific studies on ancient ceramics. Papers presented at 5th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics, Athens 1999*, ed. V Kilikoglou, A. Hein, and Y. Maniatis, 227-32. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002.
Morel, J.P. “Recherches archéologiques et topographiques dans la région d'Assoro (province d'Enna, Sicile).” *MEFRA* 75 (1963): 263-301.
----------. “Assoro. Scavi nella necropoli.” *NSc* 20 (1966): 232-87.

Myt(t)istraton

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th - 3rd century BC (part of city destroyed mid-3rd century BC)
Location: Monte Castellazzo di Marianopoli, near Marianopoli, CL; 37° 36′ N, 13° 55′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The ancient settlement at Castellazzo di Marianopoli, near Caltanissetta, has long been identified with the city of Mytistratum/Myttistraton, noted by Polybius for its heroic resistance to the Romans in the First Punic War. The settlement is located on a rocky outcropping 831m a.s.l., dominating a series of hills at the edge of the Madonie range, and appears to be of indigenous origin, though between the spheres of influence of Akragas and Gela. Although aerial photography in the 1950s and 1960s made it possible to distinguish a fortified settlement with a basic urban plan at the site, regular excavation was undertaken only in the late 1970s. These excavations revealed traces of a wall circuit, an inhabited area on two natural terraces, and an acropolis to the northeast, as well as a necropolis containing a group of graves from c. 330-310 BC overlying prehistoric burials.

The intramural area appears to have developed in two phases, in the 6th through 4th centuries and again in the 4th and 3rd centuries, partially reusing older structures. In addition to a house from the second phase of development, a possible shrine has also been uncovered, built in the ruins of an older sanctuary. The date of the destruction of the settlement has been placed slightly before the mid-3rd century BC on the basis of the latest coins (including an issue of Pyrrhus) and ceramic finds in the destruction layers, though occupation appears to have continued in one part of the settlement through the rest of the third century, with scattered occupation in the surrounding territory extending into the imperial period.

Archaeological Bibliography

Fiorentini, G. “Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale.” *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 581-600, esp. 583-93.
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Pottino, G. “Il Castellazzo di Marianopoli. Mytistratum.” *SicA* 12.40 (1979): 53-4.

Morgantina

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – third quarter of the 1st century BC (finally abandoned in the mid-1st century AD)
Location: Serra Orlando, near Aidone, EN; 37° 25′ N, 14° 27′ E

See Chapter 5 for the History of Occupation and Excavation of Morgantina.

Montagna di Marzo (Herbessos)

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – 4th century AD (gap between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD?); Byzantine era
Location: Montagna di Marzo, between Enna and Piazza Armerina, EN

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Excavations in the 1980s and 1990s revealed an extensive and stratigraphically complex settlement at Montagna di Marzo, long identified (though controversially) with ancient Herbessos and located on a small hill between the modern towns of Piazza Armerina and Barrafranca - one of a series of settlements on heights dominating the valleys of the Olivo and Braemi torrents. Previous excavations in the 1960s revealed an inhabited area defined by a wall circuit as well as a necropolis containing over 100 tombs ranging in date from the 6th century BC to the 1st century AD.

More recent excavations have given greater definition to the intramural urban plan. The northeastern edge of the city appears to be a public area – perhaps an agora - where a small theatre dating to the 2nd century BC has been excavated. This theatre, equipped with a colonnaded portico, appears to have served multiple functions, perhaps including as a public meeting space. The public use of the theatre complex is supported by the discovery of fragments of a statue, probably of a magistrate or other distinguished personage, datable to the 2nd or 1st century BC. The theatre appears to have been abandoned in the 1st century BC, to be reused after a long gap in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

The site has also produced a number of interesting epigraphic finds. Among the grave goods from archaic and early classical tombs from the necropolis are a series of imported Greek vessels inscribed in Greek characters, but in a non-Greek language. In addition, the site has produced a number of ceramic *glandes* inscribed with personal names. The function of these objects is unclear, though the discovery of a large number of them in the area around the theatre suggests a public use, perhaps as tokens associated with leading members of the citizenry that were used in political and/or sacred activities.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Guzzardi, L. "Montagna di Marzo. Nuovi dati sulla storia e sulla topografia del sito." *Kōkalos* 45 (1999): 535-51.

Manganaro, G. *Sikelika. Studi di antichità e di epigrafia della Sicilia greca*. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1999.

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Philosophiana

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement

Period of Occupation: 1st – 8th/9th century AD; gap between late 3rd and early 4th century?
Location: Sofiana, near Mazzarino, CL; 37°18′N 14°12′E
See Chapter 7 for the History of Occupation and Excavation at Philosophiana/Sofiana.

Butera (Omphake?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – late 4th/early 3rd century BC; Byzantine era
Location: in and around Butera, CL

Excavation History / History of Occupation

An indigenous center developed in the 8th or 7th century BC in response to the colonization and expansion of Gela, in an easily defendable position on an elevated terrace approximately 15 km north of the Greek colony; the site later became the important anti-Arab stronghold and feudal center of Butera. The plateau of Butera and its surrounding territory were excavated in the 1950s by D. Adamesteanu, who uncovered a Hellenistic necropolis superimposed over an archaic one, containing over 515 tombs and in use from the 8th until the 3rd or 2nd century BC. Adamesteanu concluded that settlement on the platform of Butera itself was occupied with some gaps until the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, although he found traces of settlement on the site from the early Christian/Byzantine era. He first identified the site as ancient Maktorion, though he later accepted its identification as Omphake. Adamesteanu also discovered an important sanctuary at Fontana Calda under the plateau of Butera, which he identified as a cult of the nymphs. The sanctuary received numerous votive deposits from all periods of antiquity, with a particular concentration from the end of the 4th century into the 3rd century BC.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Monte Desusino (Phalarion?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – early/mid 3rd century BC
Location: between Gela and Agrigento

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Monte Desusino is located in a mountainous area in the hinterland of Gela, in a strategically important location for control of the Himera river to the east and the coastal route between Gela and Agrigento. The fortified center at its summit (428m) was identified as Phalarion, a *phrourion* of Gela, by Adamesteanu, who undertook exploration of the site in the 1950s and uncovered a line of defense consisting of a wall circuit interspersed with towers, first laid out in the archaic period but modified in the late 4th century. Excavations in the 1980s and 1990s confirmed the dating of the fortifications to the 4th century and uncovered a farm outside the walls as well as a necropolis with archaic and classical-era tombs. The site has been described by its excavators as a native settlement that became the site of a small Greek military outpost in the early 6th century,

was destroyed probably in the Carthaginian conflicts at the end of the 5th century, and was then repopulated and rebuilt in the time of Timoleon and Agathocles. The settlement appears to have been abandoned by the mid-3rd century BC, since the site lacks ceramics or any other material from this period or later.

Archaeological Bibliography

Adamesteanu, D. "Monte Desusino (Butera)." *NSc* 12 (1958): 335-50.
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Troina (Engyon?)

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 4th century BC – 4th/5th century AD (or later)
Location: Troina, EN

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The modern town of Troina, located on Rocca di Troina on the ridge of one of the highest mountains of the Sicilian interior (1120m a.s.l.), has long been known as the site of an ancient settlement. This settlement would have occupied a key defensive position, but it was also connected to the plain of Catania by the Troina river below it, a tributary of the Simeto. The identity of this ancient settlement is generally accepted as Engyon on the basis of the small inscribed missiles (*glandes*) found in the town.

The presence of the modern town has hindered excavation, but several ancient structures have been found in systematic excavations that began in the 1950s and continue to this day. A system of fortifications was built around the town and the peak opposite Rocca di Troina (Rocca San Panteon) in the 4th century BC. Fine Roman imperial-era houses were excavated within the walls, which were in use from the 1st until the 3rd century AD, as well as two probable bath buildings. In addition, the remains of houses in use in the 5th or 6th centuries AD were found near the Hellenistic fortifications. Around 140 tombs from the necropolis below the city, which appears to have been in use from the end of the 4th century until the mid-2nd century BC, have also been found.

From this evidence we can trace the development of the town in general terms. Its urban plan was in place by the end of the 4th century BC, when the inhabited area was enclosed by a fortification wall. The implementation of this urban plan corresponded with demographic growth that lasted until the mid-2nd century BC. A restructuring or redevelopment of the town's edifices and infrastructure followed in the early or mid-1st century BC, and the town continued to flourish into the Roman imperial period.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Manganaro, G. "Per la identificazione di Troina con Engyon." *SicGymn* 17 (1964:) 251-2.
Militello, E. "Troina. Scavi effettuati dall'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Catania negli

anni 1958 e 1960." *NSc* 15 (1961): 322-404.

Agyrium

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th century BC?, 339 BC – 2nd/3rd century AD or later?
Location: Agira, EN

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The ancient settlement of Agyrion/Agyrium was located 25km northeast of Enna at the head of the plain of Catania, on the slopes of a prominent hill (824m a.s.l.) running parallel to and commanding the valleys of the Salso to the north and the Dittaino to the south. The city also lay on the main route connecting Catania with the interior of Sicily. The modern town of Agira overlies the ancient site, making excavation difficult; much of what we know of the city's ancient history and topography comes from Diodorus Siculus, who was born there in the early 1st century BC.

The city's origins lay in the archaic period, but according to Diodorus, it was refounded and its population augmented in 339 BC by Timoleon. The city benefited from his generosity and that of Hieron, and by Diodorus' time it had a wall circuit with towers, a large theatre, temples and a *bouleuterion* in its monumental agora. Little is known of the city after its appearance in Cicero's speech against Verres, though excavations in Agira have produced sporadic remains of Roman-era houses with mosaic floors. It is possible (though unproven) that the lamps of the Proclos Agyrios workshop, which were widely distributed throughout Eastern Sicily in the second half of the 2nd century AD, were produced in the city. Its presence in the *It. Ant.* and *T.P.* (see appendix 2) points to its continued existence into the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, if not later.

Archaeological Bibliography

Branciforti, M.G. "Lucerne degli αγυρινάιοι nei Musei di Catania e di Siracusa." *CronA* 31 (1992): 93-105.
Patanè, R. "Timoleonte a Centuripe e ad Agira." *CronA* 31 (1992): 67-82.

Centuripae

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 5th century BC – 4th century AD or later
Location: Centuripe, EN
See Chapter 6 for Occupation and Excavation History.

Balate di Marianopoli

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-6th – mid-3rd century BC
Location: near Marianopoli, CL; 37°36′N 13°55′E

History of Occupation

Monte Balate was first excavated in 1978 by G. Fiorentini. These and subsequent excavations revealed the fortifications, inhabited area, and acropolis/sacred area of a Greco-indigenous center, as well as its necropolis in a nearby valley. Monte Balate was one of a series of ancient centers in the territory of Marianopoli, deep in the island's interior, which were located in a system of hills dominating the valleys of two tributaries of the Platani, the Barbarigo-Belici and Salito. The site was occupied from the mid-6th until the mid-5th century, with settlement perhaps interrupted by the war with Ducetius. It was reoccupied from the 4th century until the mid-3rd century BC, after which there are no signs of life on the site.

Archaeological Bibliography

Fiorentini, G. "La necropoli indigena di età greca di Valle Oscura (Marianopoli)." *QuadA* 1 (1985/6): 31-54.

Probable Secondary Urban Settlements

Piano Rizzuto

Period of Occupation: until the end of the 3rd century BC
Location: near Gela

Cozzo Mususino

Period of Occupation: c. late 4th – early 3rd century BC
Location: 5 km SE of Resuttano, CL
Archaeological Bibliography
Epifanio, E. "Ricognizione archeologica a Cozzo Mususino (Petralia Sottana)." *SicA* 15.48 (1982): 61-72.

Sabucina Bassa

Period of Occupation: archaic-end 4th century BC (mountain); c. 1st century BC – 5th century AD (rural community/*statio*? in imperial)
Location: near Caltanissetta, CL
Archaeological Bibliography
Panvini, R. "L'attività della Soprintendenza di Caltanissetta tra gli anni 1992-93." *Kokalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 783-823.
Sedita Migliore, M. *Sabucina: Studio sulla zone archeologica di Caltanissetta.* Caltanissetta: Sciascia, 1981.

Monte Gibel Gabel

Period of Occupation: archaic to late 4th/early 3rd century BC
Location: near Caltanissetta, CL
Archaeological Bibliography
Adamesteanu, D. "Gibil-Gabib (Caltanissetta). Scavi e ricerche archeologiche." *NSc* 12 (1958): 387-408.

Monte Rossomanno

Period of Occupation: 7th – 3rd century BC? (or 1st/2nd century AD?)
Location: in territory of Enna; between Valguarnera and Piazza Armerina, EN

Suor Marchesa

Period of Occupation: c. 3rd century BC – 10th century AD
Location: near Gela, CL

Archaeological Bibliography

Adamesteanu, D. “Suor Marchesa (Butera). Scavi e ricerche archeologiche.” *NSc* 12 (1958): 362-4.

Petrusa

Period of Occupation: c. 1st century BC – mid-5th century AD
Location: near Niscemi, CL; 37°09′N 14°23′E

Cerami

Period of Occupation: classical – 2nd century BC?
Location: in and around Cerami, EN; 37°49′N 14°30′E

Priorato

Period of Occupation: end 4th – early 3rd century BC; early imperial – 5th century AD?
Location: 15km NW of Butera, CL

Manfria (Chalae?)

Period of Occupation: imperial – Byzantine
Location: contrada Monumenti, Manfria, 10km W of Gela, along coast
Archaeological Bibliography

Adamesteanu, D. “Manfria (Gela). Scavo di una fattoria-officina.” *NSc* 12 (1958): 290-334.
Bonacasa Carra, R.M. “Manfria: la necropoli di contrada Monumenti.” *La Sicilia centro-meridionale tra il II ed il VI secolo d.C. Catalogo della mostra, Caltanissetta - Gela, aprile - dicembre 1997*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and R. Panvini, 95-102. Caltanissetta: Sciascia, 2002.

Eastern Sicily

Primary and Secondary Urban Settlements

Kale Akte / Calacte

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 446 BC – 3rd quarter of the 4th century AD (gap/site transition between mid-1st and end 2nd century AD?)
Location: Caronia/Marina di Caronia, ME; 38° 1′ N, 14° 26′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History.

Halaesa

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 4th century BC – Byzantine era
Location: near Castel di Tusa, ME; 37° 59′ N, 14° 14′ E
See Chapter 6 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Kamarina / Camarina

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 6th – late 5th century BC; late 4th century BC – 1st century AD?
Location: near Santa Croce Camarina, RG; 36° 52′ N, 14° 26′ E
See Chapter 5 for the Occupation and Excavation History.

Capo d'Orlando (Agathyrnum?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: late 4th century (or earlier) BC – Byzantine era, with gaps and a possible shift in settlement site
Location: near Capo d'Orlando, ME; 38° 9′ N, 14° 44′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Capo d'Orlando, a promontory in a strategic position to protect the Tyrrhenian coastline on both sides of it, has long been identified – though not unanimously among modern scholars – with ancient Agathyrnon/Agathyrnum. The foundation of this city by its eponymous hero is recalled by Diodorus Siculus, though the town is therafter absent from the historical record until the end of the Second Punic War, when Livy describes how its perfidious inhabitants were deported by the Roman consul to Rhegium. The town became the focus of archaeological interest after the discovery of a well-preserved and well-executed Latin dedication to the emperor Tiberius in or around the town, though under murky circumstances, in the 1880s.

However, there has been little excavation in Capo d'Orlando itself; evidence of its ancient topography has been limited to surface finds, as well as the excavation of the Hellenistic necropolis in the southeast sector of the modern town. The body of evidence from the town (including ceramics) seems to attest to occupation from the mid- or late 4th century BC through at least the 2nd century AD.

Most attention has instead been concentrated on a bath complex discovered in the 1980s at Bagnoli, 3 km northeast of Capo d'Orlando and a few hundred meters from the coast. This complex was constructed no earlier than the 3rd century AD and, according to its excavators, may have belonged to a villa, which in turn was probably associated with a settlement that had developed in the area in the imperial period, as evidenced by surface finds: probably the *mansio* listed at Agathyrnum in the imperial itineraries. This bath complex was destroyed, probably by earthquakes, in the fourth century, and a ceramic workshop producing amphorae and cooking wares was constructed on its remains by the end of the century. Occupation of the area continued with some interruption into the Byzantine period (6th and 7th centuries).

Archaeological Bibliography

Spigo, U. "Capo d'Orlando. Il complesso termale di età imperiale romana di Bagnoli-S. Gregorio. Scavi 1987 - 1992. Relazione preliminare." *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1027-37.

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Spigo, U., Ollà, A., Capelli, C. "La ceramica di produzione locale delle terme di Bagnoli- S. Gregorio a Capo d'Orlando (ME)." In *Old pottery in a new century. Innovating perspectives on Roman pottery studies. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Catania, 22-24 aprile 2004*, ed. D. Malfitana, J. Poblome and J. Lund, 451-64. Rome: Bretschneider, 2006.

Mylae

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 7th century BC – late antiquity (4th/5th century AD and beyond)
Location: Milazzo, ME
Archaeological Bibliography

Tigano, G. "Archeologia a Milazzo. Nuove acquisizioni." *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1059-85.

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Tyndaris

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: late 5th/early 4th century BC – late 4th century AD (or Byzantine?)
Location: Tindari, near Patti, ME; 38° 8′ N, 14° 58′ E
See Chapter 6 for Occupation and Excavation History.

Messana

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-8th century BC – Byzantine and beyond
Location: Messina, ME

Tauromenium

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early/mid-4th century BC - Byzantine
Location: Taormina, ME
See Chapter 6 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Katane / Catina

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: c. 729 BC - Byzantine
Location: Catania
See Chapter 6 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Megara Hyblaea

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – end 3rd century BC (destroyed in 2nd Punic War)
Location: near Augusta, SR; 37° 15′ N, 15° 13′ E
See Chapter 7 for post-destruction occupation history.

Syracusae

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic - Byzantine
Location: Siracusa, SR
See Chapter 6 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Helorus

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early 7th – early 5th century BC, late 5th – 1st century BC (gap in imperial?), 5th/6th century AD and after
Location: near Noto, SR; 36° 53′ N, 15° 5′ E
See Chapter 5 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Amestratus

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: c. 3rd century BC – mid-imperial?
Location: Mistretta, ME; 37° 56′ N, 14° 22′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The ancient settlement of Amestratos/Amestratus, though sometimes confused with ancient Myttistraton, is usually identified with the site of modern Mistretta, located some 16km inland from the Tyrrhenian coast, between Caronia (ancient Kale Akte) and Castel di Tusa (ancient Halaesa). The town itself has not been excavated and nothing is known of its ancient topography, though Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine necropoleis have been discovered (but not published). Amestratus coined bronzes beginning in the 3rd century BC and is mentioned in Cicero's Verrine Orations as well as in the dedication to Caninius Niger found in the agora of Halaesa dating from the early 1st century BC (cf. Chapter 6). Pliny does not mention Amestratus among the *civitates* of Sicily, perhaps because it was not an independent *polis* and lay instead within the territory of Halaesa 15km NW. A few funerary inscriptions from the 2nd and/or 3rd centuries (*CIL* X 7461 and two Greek inscriptions published in the early 20th century) found in and around Mistretta may attest to the city's continued occupation into the imperial period.

Archaeological Bibliography

Fiore, P. "Amestratus, Mytistratum, Mistretta?" *SicA* 11.36 (1978): 53-9.

Apollonia

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: early/mid 4th – late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD, with gap from late 4th/early 3rd – mid-3rd century BC? (Secondary: mid-1st century BC – early 1st century AD?)
Location: Monte Vecchio di San Fratello, ME; 38° 1′ N, 14° 36′ E
See Chapter 5 for History of Occupation and Excavation.

Haluntium

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 4th century BC - 1st century AD?
Location: San Marco d'Alunzio, ME; 38° 4′ N, 14° 42′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The modern town of San Marco d'Alunzio is certainly the site of ancient Haluntium, situated on a rocky conical mountain (548m) overlooking a coastal plain stretching to the Tyrrhenian. Little is known of the ancient city's topography, however; the only ancient monument recognized so far is a Hellenistic temple that was converted into a church. Excavations in the 1990s - mostly emergency interventions preceding building work - revealed parts of the town's Hellenistic necropolis, with tombs from the end of the 4th century until the early 2nd century BC. These excavations have shown that the settlement extended onto terraces below the summit by the 4th century BC, and they have uncovered a few high-status houses occupied from the

Hellenistic period until the 1st century AD, when they were abandoned perhaps in the aftermath of an earthquake.

The city's fate in the Roman imperial period is unclear. Three inscriptions found in San Marco d'Alunzio (one in Greek, two in Latin: one a dedication to Augustus, the other to Livia) attest to Haluntium's municipal status in the Augustan period. Its omission from the imperial itineraries is not surprising given its mountaintop location, and need not imply abandonment. There is some evidence for the reuse of structures abandoned by the mid-1st century AD in the paleochristian or Byzantine era. The site may have been abandoned under the early empire, or settlement may have shifted to an area of town not yet excavated, as was the case in Caronia (Kale Akte).

Archaeological Bibliography

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Bonanno, C., Arcifa, L. "Nuovi scavi a San Marco d'Alunzio (1997 - 1998)." *Kōkalos* 47/8 (2001/2): 599-624.

Fuduli, L."Ruinae Haluntinae S. Marco d'Alunzio. Le sopravvivenze archeologiche dall'area urbana." *FormaUrbis* 15.6 (2010): 23-7.

Adranon / Hadranum

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: c. 400 BC – 2nd century AD or later?, Byzantine era
Location: Adrano, CT

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Adranon was founded by Dionysius the Elder on the extreme southwestern slope of Etna, overlooking the middle of the Simeto valley, and was perhaps originally settled by mercenaries. The town was the successor to the important Sicul settlement of Mendolito, which, like many other such centers, went into decline after the time of Ducetius. It came to be particularly noted for the cult of its eponymous native deity, Adranos. The Dionysian settlement served the strategic purposes of controlling the course of the Simeto and monitoring the region's Sicul population, especially at nearby Centuripae. Its foundation was part of the long-running project of Syracuse's leaders to gain control of the region around Etna.

The modern town of Adrano overlies the ancient settlement, meaning that extensive excavation has only been possible on the periphery. Sporadic excavations since the 1950s within the town have mostly followed building work (often illegal). Most archaelogical evidence so far is associated with the Dionysian settlement, including sections of a wall circuit that originally encompassed around 60 hectares of land. A necropolis and other scattered burial areas have yielded tombs from the 4th through 2nd centuries BC. The scattered houses and streets that have been excavated were occupied from the late 4th until the late 3rd century BC. The town's orthogonal plan seems to date from its early years (late 4th – mid-3rd century BC).

The urban center has yielded little archaeological evidence dating to after the 2nd century BC, and it is possible that some sections were abandoned by the imperial period. Pliny includes the town among the *stipendiarii*, but a round altar found within the Dionysian walls and containing

an honorary inscription in Latin by the decurions attests to the city's municipal status by the 2nd century AD. The only later archaeological evidence from the urban center came from a 1978 excavation under a Norman monastery, which revealed part of a Byzantine church and contemporary structures.

Archaeological Bibliography

Lamagna, G. "Adrano. Necropoli occidentale, saggi di scavo 1990. Nota preliminare." *SicA* 24.76/7 (1991): 47-52.
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Paternò (Hybla Gereatis)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 5th century BC (or earlier) – 3rd/4th century AD (or later)
Location: Paternò, CT
Archaeological Bibliography

Soraci, R. "Appunti di epigrafia greca e romana relativa alla regione hyblense-inessea-adranita." *RendLinc* 13 (1958): 251-7.

Aitna / Aetna

Category: Primary Urban Center
Period of Occupation: Inessa-Aitna: 461 BC – 2nd/3rd century AD (or later); Civita: archaic – mid-4th century BC
Location: S. Maria di Licodia? Civita/Civiti?

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Inessa/Aitna/Aetna is perhaps the best-known ancient *polis* of Sicily whose site has not yet been securely identified archaeologically. Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus recount the city's turbulent early history. In 461 BC, the Dorians who had been settled at Catania by Hieron of Syracuse seven years earlier were expelled from that city by the returning Chalcidians and took refuge at the native settlement of Inessa; the settlers transferred their name for Catania – Aitna – to their new home. Aitna was attacked by the Athenians during both of their expeditions to Sicily, and at the end of the 5th century, it was attacked by Dionysius, who resettled the city again with exiles from Catania. The city experienced a peaceful period after it was seized by Timoleon in 339, after which it entered into the Syracusan sphere of influence.

The city, which had minted coins sporadically in earlier periods, resumed issuing bronze coins after the First Punic War. It is mentioned in the *theorodokoi* list, indicating that it was an autonomous *polis* under the Romans. The city, its topography, government, citizens, and economy are mentioned several times by Cicero, and it seems to have suffered acutely under Verres. Pliny lists the city among the *stipendiarii* and it is also included in the *It. Ant.* (see appendix 2).

Ancient sources indicate that the city was located in the vicinity of Mt. Etna, perhaps between its southern slopes and the river Simeto, along the important internal route connecting Catania and Thermae. Its site has been sought in the vicinity of Paternò (Hybla Gereatis), Santa Maria di

Licodia, and Centuripe (Centuripae). The difficulty of identification stems from the city's name, which changed over time and which was possibly shared with another, smaller settlement further up the slopes of Mt. Etna; it is also possible that, given the city's many historical destructions and resettlements, its site changed over time. The issue is unlikely to be resolved soon, given the increasing difficulty of excavation in the rapidly developing urban corridor stretching west from the modern city of Catania. The two sites most often put forward as the locations of ancient Aitna are Città and Poira, although neither identification has found general acceptance among scholars. The walled indigenous settlement at Città, between Paternò and Santa Maria di Licodia, appears to possess the right size and architectural sophistication but has produced no evidence of occupation later than the mid-4th century BC; according to ancient sources, the heyday of Aitna occurred between the third and first centuries BC. Brief explorations in the 1950s of Poira, a hilltop near Centuripe, produced some evidence of occupation in the Roman period, but no excavation of the site has since taken place.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Rizza, G. "Scoperta di una città antica sulle rive del Simeto. Etna-Inessa?" *PP* 14 (1959): 465-74.

Menai

Category: Primary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – Byzantine era (with a gap in the mid-5th through the 2nd half of the 4th century BC?)
Location: Mineo, CT

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Ancient Menai, founded by the Sicul leader Ducetius in 459, is securely located on the site of modern Mineo, on a high hill at the edge of the Hyblean mountains that overlooks the valley of the Caltagirone/Margi. The site is positioned to control two important internal routes of communication: between the Hyblean high plain and the Enna region, and between the Catanian littoral and the southern coast. The few excavations that have been possible in the modern city over the past century have shown that ancient Menai experienced its greatest monumental and demographic expansion from the end of the 4th century BC, possibly after a long period of abandonment. One of the few ancient monumental structures found in the city is a fountain-nymphaeum complex from around the mid-3rd century BC. Many coins from Hieron II's Syracusan kingdom have been found in the town, attesting to its position within the Syracusan sphere of influence. It began to coin its own bronzes after the final Roman takeover in 212 BC.

The *Menaini*/*Menaeni* are mentioned by Cicero and Pliny, and scattered cremation burials from the Roman imperial period have been found around town. In addition, the monumental Hellenistic fountain/nymphaeum underwent modifications in the imperial and later Roman periods, ending up as a latrine. Nonetheless, a possible demographic contraction may have occurred under the Empire, since many fewer burials from this period have been found.

However, Menai resumed importance in the Byzantine period as a Christian center associated with the martyr-cult of Saint Agrippina.

Archaeological Bibliography

Arcifa, L. "La cristianizzazione nella piana del Margi. Le basilichette di Rocchicella e Favarotta presso Mineo (CT)." In *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra Tardoantico ed altomedioevo. Atti del IX Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Agrigento 20 - 25 novembre 2004*, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra and E. Vitale, 1589-1612. Palermo: Saladino, 2007.
Gentili, G.V. "Mineo (Catania). Fontana-ninfeo di età ellenistica nella zona detta Tomba Gallica." *NSc* 19 (1965): 192-6.
Messina, A. "Mineo. Osservazioni sullo sviluppo del centro antico." *CronA* 10 (1971): 93-120.
Rizzone, V.G. "Iscrizioni tardoantiche di Mineo (CT)." *Epigraphica* 71 (2009): 426-37.

Acrillae

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th century BC – Byzantine era
Location: near Chiaramonte Gulfi, RG; 37°01′N 14°42′E
Archaeological Bibliography

Distefano, G. "Un frammento di incensiere con epigrafe da Chiaramonte Gulfi." *SicA* 39.104 (2006): 167-8.

Akrai / Acrae

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 664/3 BC – late antiquity
Location: above Palazzolo Acreide, SR; 37°04′N 14°54′E
Archaeological Bibliography

Bernabò Brea, L. *Akrai.* Catania 1956.
Chowaniec, R., Misiewicz, K., Małkowski, W. "Acrae antica alla luce di indagini non invasivi." *RTopAnt* 19 (2009): 121-38.
Curcio, G. "Akrai, interessi nuovi per una città antica." *SicA* 4.16 (1971): 47-53.
Curcio, G., Pelagatti, P. "Akrai (Siracusa). Ricerche nel territorio." *NSc* 24 (1970): 436-523.
Distefano, S. "Per una storia del territorio di Akrai in epoca imperiale." *Aitna* 2 (1996): 75-8.
Lombardo, L. "Gabriele Iudica e gli scavi di Acre." *ArchStorSir* 12 (1998): 169-214.

Comiso (Dianae Fons?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – 5th century AD (with interruptions?)
Location: Comiso, RG
Archaeological Bibliography

Bevilacqua, G., De Romanis, F. "Nuova iscrizione esorcistica da Comiso." *RendLinc* 14 (2003): 389-402.
Burzachechi, M. "Nuove iscrizioni greche cristiane di Comiso." *RendLinc* 14 (1959): 403-10.
Di Stefano, G. "La terma imperiale di Comiso. Notizie preliminari delle due campagne di scavo 1988 -1989." *SicA* 27.85/6 (1994): 77-85.

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Ragusa Ibla (Hybla Heraia?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – mid-3rd century BC; interruption in Roman period?; early/mid-4th century AD and after
Location: Ragusa, RG

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The site of the modern city of Ragusa has long been identified with Hybla Heraia, a town in southeastern Sicily mentioned in Hellenistic and Roman sources, though this identification is by no means certain. Most of the archaeological work in Ragusa has focused on the ancient settlement's necropoleis, which were in use from the archaic era until the early Hellenistic period, and again from the early to mid-4th century AD. Limited excavation in the city center has indicated that the classical occupation phase ceased by the 3rd century BC, though if Ragusa is to be identified with Hybla, it is clear from the ancient sources (including the *theorodokoi* inscription) that the *polis* remained vital until at least the 2nd century BC.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Militello, E. "Ragusa. Avanzi greci e romani scoperti presso la foce del fiume Irminio." *NSc* 12 (1958): 224-31.

Modica (Mutyce) / Treppiedi di Modica (Hortesiana?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: c. 4th century BC – early imperial? (urban center of Modica); 2nd – 4th century AD and later (Treppiedi and other surrounding sites)
Location: Modica, RG

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The city of Modica has been identified with ancient Mutyce, a city attested in the context of the Second PunicWar, when it allied with the Carthaginians, as well as in Cicero and Pliny. However, it is difficult to determine the chronology of the ancient city since the modern city directly overlays it. The few archaeological materials from the city seem to date to the 4th century BC. However, the territory of modern Modica has been more thoroughly explored and has revealed a dense network of settlements particularly from the mid- to late imperial period. During this time, settlement seems to have spread through Modica's hinterland in the form of agricultural villages, the best known of which is Treppiedi (controversially identified as the estate center of Hortesiana/Hortisiana), whose extensive necropolis was in use between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Abakainon / Abacaenum

Category: Primary → Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 5th century BC – mid-late imperial (c. 2nd century AD or later); Secondary from Augustan period?
Location: Casale di Tripi, ME; 38°03′N 15°06′E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The hamlet of Casale on the outskirts of Tripi has been convincingly identified, largely on the basis of coin finds, with ancient Abakainon/Abacaenum, a Hellenized Sicul city. The ancient settlement was located on a plain nestled between two hills, at the northeastern edge of the Nebrodi range. Like other settlements in the region, it was situated on easily defendable heights, but was also easily accessible from the Tyrrhenian coast via valleys. Although the city issued coins in the 5th and 4th centuries, the first historical mention of the settlement comes in the context of Dionysius' foundation of Tyndaris in 396 BC, for which he appropriated some of Abakainon's territory. Thereafter, it is usually mentioned in the context of the power struggles between Messana, Syracuse, and the Carthaginians.

Casale was first the subject of excavation in the 1950s and 1960s; these campaigns identified the area of the inhabited center (and perhaps the agora/forum) of Abakainon as well as its necropolis approximately one kilometer away. Recent excavations have revisited these areas, while the territory of the settlement has also been surveyed – a survey that has highlighted the prosperity of the settlement and its hinterland, particularly in the Hellenistic period. The necropolis is notable for its dozens of monumental tombs and was in use from the end of the 4th century until the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC. In the area of the ancient city, excavators have found several bases of granite columns of imperial date, perhaps from a public building or bathhouse, as well as a fragment of a monumental Latin inscription referring to a *duumvir*. The interpretation of this inscription has proved controversial. While the mention of a *duumvir* may indicate that the settlement was a *municipium* during the imperial period, some scholars have suggested that this actually refers to a magistrate of the nearby colony of Tyndaris, to which Abacaenum had become subordinate. The absence of Abacaenum from Pliny's list of *stipendiarii* may indicate that the city had lost its autonomy by the early imperial period, and thus support the latter hypothesis.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Campagna, L. "La classificazione preliminare dei materiali della Campagna 2002." *SicAnt* 6 (2009): 149-51.

La Torre, G.F. "Per la storia di Abakainon-Abacaenum. Prime indagini topografiche nel territorio di Tripi (ME). Relazione preliminare." *SicAnt* 6 (2009): 129-44.

Leontinoi

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement

Period of Occupation: archaic (728 BC) – Byzantine era (Secondary after the late 5th/early 4th century BC Dionysian resettlement)
Location: Lentini, SR
Archaeological Bibliography
Frasca, M., ed. *Leontini. Il mare, il fiume, la città. Atti della giornata di studio, Lentini 4 maggio 2002*. Catania: Maimone, 2004.
----------. *Leontinoi. Archeologia di una colonia greca*. Roma: Bretschneider, 2009.
Gula, C. *Storia di Leontìnoi. Dalle origini alla conquista romana*. Catania: C.U.E.C.M., 1995.
Valenti, F. "Note preliminari sulla topografia di Lentini della conquista romana all'età tardo antica." *SicA* 32.97 (1999): 169-80.

Neaition / Netum

Category: Primary Urban Settlement (Secondary until the end of the 2nd Punic War?, Primary under the Republic and early Empire)
Period of Occupation: c. late 4th/3rd century BC – late imperial?
Location Noto Vecchia, near Noto, SR; 36°53′N 15°05′E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

Ancient Neaition/Netum lies underneath its medieval successor, Noto Antica, which was destroyed by earthquake in 1693 and now lies in ruins. The ancient settlement was first excavated by P. Orsi in the 1890s, who focused on three phases of occupation: the indigenous settlement and its necropolis; the Greek-Hellenistic phase (late 3rd – early 2nd century BC), during which a gymnasium and *heroa* were built, along with necropoleis; and the Christian/Byzantine-era catacombs, including a Jewish burial area. Excavations in the 1970s focusing on the area of the Hieronian agora confirmed the location of the gymnasium and identified a *naiskos*.

These excavations produced little evidence of settlement in the 5th and 4th centuries BC; the first clear urban phase can be dated to the 3rd century BC, probably under Hieron II of Syracuse. The history of the city under the Roman Republic and Empire is known mainly from ancient literary sources and inscriptions. A 2nd-century BC inscription attests to the continuation of the city's gymnasium and its institutions after Hieron's death. The city was evidently economically vibrant in the late Hellenistic period; its citizens, presumably engaged in commerce, are attested in inscriptions as far afield as Athens and Iasos in Asia Minor, as well as in other towns of Sicily, including Akrai. One of its citizens is described Cicero as a prosperous cloth-dyer.

Cicero describes Netum as a *civitas foederata*, while Pliny ascribes Latin status to it. Two funerary inscriptions were found in the 1950s in Noto Antica, probably from an imperial-era necropolis; one commemorates a man employed as a *gametras* – perhaps a *mensor agrorum* for nearby senatorial or imperial properties. Surveys of the territory around the ancient city undertaken in the 1990s suggest rural continuity and prosperity in the imperial period, perhaps connected to the city's Latin status.

Archaeological Bibliography
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Manganaro, G. "Graffiti e iscrizioni funerarie della Sicilia orientale." *Helikon* 2 (1962): 485-511.
Vinci, M. "Un nuovo epitaffio in greco della Sicilia di età alto-imperiale e il formulario con gli

epiteti χρηστος και Αμεμπτος." *ZPE* 162 (2007): 188-92.

Punta Secca (Kaukana / Caucana?)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: mid-4th – mid-7th century AD
Location: Punta Secca, RG; 36° 47′ N, 14° 29′ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

A series of ancient ruins along the southeastern coast near Punta Secca were known to antiquarians and briefly explored by P. Orsi, but were only systematically excavated in the 1960s by P. Pelagatti. Excavations resumed in the 1990s, with the most recent project undertaken between 2008 and 2010. These excavations have revealed three distinct clusters of structures, generally identified (though not unanimously) with ancient Caucana/Kaukana, a *limēn* mentioned by Ptolemy and a *chorion* attested in Byzantine sources in the context of the reconquest of the island in the mid-sixth century.

Most excavation has concentrated on the group of buildings in the Anticaglia area east of Punta Secca. Twenty-five buildings have been uncovered, scattered apparently haphazardly along a 300-meter stretch of coast. Though the structures are well preserved because they were covered with sand shortly after abandonment, few have been systematically excavated. Most appear to be houses, although one was clearly a church with a cemetery, built perhaps in the 5th century and modified throughout the 6th century. The church served as the community's center of gravity and other public and semi-public buildings were grouped around it, including a possible "bazaar" building and larger residences that possessed storage facilities and perhaps doubled as commercial premises. Another large building further removed from the settlement has been identified as a "palazzo" or perhaps the seat of a religious community. Most of the houses, however, are small, and probably belonged to individuals or single families of wage laborers, cultivators, pastoralists, or small-scale merchants. The extensive open space between houses may have been used for orchards and gardens.

Most of the structures underwent several building phases – in the case of one house, seven phases over six or seven decades. Many show signs of improvised defense measures – such as blockaded doors – and hasty abandonment, probably connected to periodic barbarian and Vandal incursions. The settlement as a whole appears to have emerged in the mid-4th century and was abandoned by the mid-7th century.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Di Stefano, G. "Forme urbane tarde nella Sicilia orientale. L'esempio del Chorion di Kaukana." *Kōkalos* 43/44 (1997/8): 463-91.

Pelagatti, P., Di Stefano, G. *Kaukana. Il chorion bizantino*. Palermo: Sellerio, 1999.

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Scornavacche

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: 6th-5th century BC; early/mid 4th – late 4th/early 3rd century BC
Location: near Chiaramonte Gulfi, RG; 37°01′ N 14°42’ E

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The small, anonymous ancient settlement at Scornavacche, excavated by A. Di Vita in the 1950s, covered an area of five or six hectares above the river Dirillo, near Chiaramonte Gulfi. The dating of its phases of occupation is controversial, in part due to the uncertain chronologies of coins found in the excavations, but the new center appears to have arisen on the site of an archaic settlement in the time of Timoleon or earlier in the 4th century (perhaps in the decades following the treaty between Syracuse and Carthage in 383). Located on the important internal communications route between Syracuse, Gela, and the southern coast of Sicily, the settlement’s economy seems to have been based largely on the production of ceramics, and especially terracotta figurines. Kilns have been found in the settlement, along with evidence of ceramic production within individual residences. The settlement was apparently short-lived, though again the exact date of its demise is disputed. It was destroyed and never again inhabited perhaps as early as the end of the 4th century BC, but certainly no later than the 280s.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Gafà, R. “Scornavacche. Le abitazioni.” In *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia: atti del simposio in onore di Antonino Di Vita, Ragusa, 13-15 febbraio 1998,* 257-64. Padova: Ausilio, 2000.
Portale, E.C. “Le terrecotte di Scornavacche e il problema del classicismo nella coroplastica siceliota del IV secolo.” In *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia: atti del simposio in onore di Antonino Di Vita, Ragusa, 13-15 febbraio 1998*, 265-82. Padova: Ausilio, 2000.

Francavilla di Sicilia

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – early 5th century BC; 5th – early 4th century BC; mid-4th - c. mid-3rd century BC
Location: Francavilla di Sicilia, ME

Excavation History / History of Occupation

The modern town of Francavilla di Sicilia is located approximately four kilometers north of the Alcantara river canyon. The site is best known for its Greek cult complex, where rich votive deposits from the archaic, classical, and early Hellenistic periods were found beginning in 1979. More recently, excavations in the urban area of Francavilla have begun to reveal the topography of the anonymous Greek center (very tentatively identified as Callipolis) to which this sanctuary belonged. The history of occupation of this center seems closely connected with that of the coastal colony of Naxos: it was abandoned for the first time around the end of the 5th century, roughly contemporaneous with the destruction of Naxos in 403. The site was reoccupied in the mid-4th century, perhaps in connection with the demographic revival of Sicly under Timoleon. Coins of Syracuse under Agathocles and from the early reign of Hieron dominate the assemblage from Francavilla. However, the settlement’s revival seems to have been short-lived: excavations

have produced no evidence later than the mid-3rd century BC. The site appears to have been abandoned c. 260-240 BC, perhaps in connection with the events of the First Punic War.

Archaeological Bibliography

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Spigo, U. "Ricerche a Monte S. Mauro, Francavilla di Sicilia, Acireale, Adrano, Lentini, Solarino." *Kōkalos* 26/7 (1980/1): 771-95.

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Naxos (Giardini)

Category: Secondary Urban Settlement
Period of Occupation: archaic – 403 BC (Primary); $4^{th}/3^{rd}$ century BC – $5^{th}/6^{th}$ century AD (Secondary)
Location: Giardini Naxos
See Chapter 7 for post-classical occupation.

Probable Secondary Urban Settlements

Favarotta – Tenuta Grande

Period of Occupation: imperial - late Roman? (c. 1st – 6th century AD)
Location: near Mineo
Archaeological Bibliography

Grasso, A.M. "Contrada Favarotta (Mineo). Elementi topografici e ceramica fine da mensa." In *Nelle terre di Ducezio. Monte Catalfaro, Terravecchia di Grammichele, Valle Ruscello, Contrada Favarotta*, ed. M. Frasca, 165-75. Acireale: Bonanno, 2010.

Punta Castelluzzo

Period of Occupation: c. 7th century BC - Byzantine
Location: near Augusta, SR

Portopalo (Portus Pachyni / Apollineum?)

Period of Occupation: Hellenistic/Republican – mid-4th century AD?
Location: Portopalo, SR; 36° 41′ N, 15° 8′ E
Archaeological Bibliography

Bacci, G.M. "Antico stabilimento per la pesca e la lavorazione del tonno presso Portopalo." *Kōkalos* 28/9 (1982/3): 345-7.

Guzzardi, L., Basile, B. "Il Capo Pachino nell'antichità," in *La Magna Grecia e il mare. Studi di storia marittima,* ed. F. Prontera, 189-225. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1996.

Cittadella

Period of Occupation: 4th (or earlier)– 7th/8th century AD
Location: near Vendicari, SR

Punta Castellazzo

Period of Occupation: c. 3rd – 6th century AD
Location: west of Capo Pachino

Capitium

Period of Occupation: c. Hellenistic - imperial
Location: Capizzi, ME; 37°51′N 14°29′E

Monte Catalfaro (Noai?)

Period of Occupation: archaic – mid-5th century BC; mid/late 4th - late 3rd century BC
Location: in territory of Mineo, CT
Archaeological Bibliography
Maniscalco, L. "Monte Catalfaro." In *Dall'Alcantara agli Iblei. La ricerca archeologica in provincia di Catania. Guida alla mostra*, ed. F. Privitera and U. Spigo, 122-3. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 2005.
Messina, A. "Monte Catalfaro e il problema della identificazione di Noai." *CronA* 9 (1970): 24-34.

Poggio Bidini (Bidis?)

Period of Occupation: classical – Roman imperial?
Location: near Acati (formerly Biscari), RG

Giarranauti

Period of Occupation: late Roman/Byzantine era (until the mid-7th century AD)
Location: near Sortino, SR

Castiglione di Ragusa

Period of Occupation: archaic; 4th-3rd century BC
Location: in comune of Comiso, RG; 36°56′ N 14°45' E
Archaeological Bibliography
Di Stefano, G. "La necropoli greca di Castiglione. Notizie preliminari." In *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*, ed. P. Pelagatti, 359-65. Ragusa: Centro studi Feliciano Rossitto, 2006.
Mercuri, L. "Castiglione di Ragusa. Nuovi studi sulla necropoli occidentale." *Ibidem*, 377-84.

Cava d'Ispica (Tyrakinai?)

Period of Occupation: c. 3rd – 6th century AD?
Location: near Modica, RG
Archaeological Bibliography
Agnello, G. "Catacombe inedite di Cava d'Ispica." *RACr* 35 (1959): 87-104.
Messina, A. "Tyrakinai, 'città di Sicilia, piccola ma florida.'" *RTopAnt* 1 (1991): 166-8.

Santa Croce Camerina

Period of Occupation: c. 3rd decade of the 4th – mid-9th century AD
Location: Santa Croce Camerina, RG; 36°50′N 14°31′E
Archaeological Bibliography
Di Stefano, G., Ventura, G., Sirugo, S. "Contributo preliminare sulle ricerche archeologiche e paleobiologiche della necropolis di c. da Mirio (S. Croce Camerina, Ragusa)." *Agoge* 4-5 (2007/8): 351-61.
Scrofani, G. "Nuove testimonianze archeologiche dal territorio di S. Croce Camerina." *SicA*

5.18/20 (1972): 101-10.

Pirrera

Period of Occupation: c. 4th – 6th century AD?
Location: south of Santa Croce Camerina
Archaeological Bibliography
Gentili, G.V. *La basilica bizantina della Pirrera di S. Croce Camerina.* Ravenna: Longo, 1969.

Scicli

Period of Occupation: c. 2nd – 7th century AD
Location: in and around Scicli, RG; 36°47′N 14°42′E
Archaeological Bibliography
Militello, P. ed. *Scicli. Archeologia e territorio*. Palermo: Officina di studi medievali, 2008.

S. Venera al Pozzo (Acium?)

Period of Occupation: c. 4th – early 3rd century BC; c. late 1st century BC / 1st century AD – first half 5th century AD
Location: Acicatena, CT
Archaeological Bibliography
Amari, S. "A late Roman pottery and brick factory in Sicily (Santa Venera al Pozzo)," in *Archaeometric and archaeological approaches to ceramics. Papers presented at EMAC'05, 8th European meeting on ancient ceramics, Lyon 2005*, ed. S.Y. Waksman, 121-8. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007.
Branciforti, M.G. "L'area archeologica di Santa Venera al Pozzo (Acicatena)," in *Dall'Alcantara agli Iblei*. *La ricerca archeologica in provincia di Catania. Guida alla mostra*, ed. F. Privitera and U. Spigo, 205-7. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 2005.

Avola (Abolla)

Period of Occupation: c. 4th century BC – Late Roman/Byzantine
Location: Avola and vicinity, SR
Archaeological Bibliography
Bacci, G.M. "Scavi e ricerche a Avola, Grammichele, Portopalo, Taormina." *Kōkalos* 30/1 (1984/5): 711-25.
Musumeci, M. "Indagini archeologiche a Belvedere e Avola." *Kōkalos* 39/40 (1993/4): 1353-66.

Casalotto

Period of Occupation: c. end Republic/early Empire – Byzantine?
Location: between Valverde and Aci S. Antonio, CT

Appendix 2: The Sicilian Section of the Antonine Itinerary (*It. Ant.*)

The following tables present the land routes through Sicily preserved in the "Antonine Itinerary" (*Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti = It. Ant.*), as well as the main maritime route appended to the end of the *It. Ant.* that includes Sicilian ports. See chapter 2 for the date and purpose of the *It. Ant*.

Text: O. Cuntz, ed., *Itineraria Romana* 1: *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929). Distances between stops in kilometers are based on the estimates in B. Löhberg, *Das "Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti." Ein kaiserzeitlcihes Strassenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches* Bd. 1. *Überlieferung, Strecken, Kommentare* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2006), 109-117.

Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti: Sicilia

1. From Traiectum *to* Lilybaeum *(257 miles)*

A route following the northeastern coast from Messana down to Catina, then crossing the southeastern interior to Agrigentum, where it picks up the southern coastal route to Lilybaeum.

No.	Toponym in *It. Ant.*	Ancient Name (Modern Location)	Mileage (Km)	Notes
86,4	Messana	Messana/Zancle (Messina)	12 (18)	First leg of the coastal route south from the Straits of Messina
87,1	Tamaricios sive Palmas	Tamarici sive Palmae (San Teresa di Savoca?)	20 (30)	
87,2	Naxo (per Tauromenium)	Naxos (Giardini Naxos / Taormina)	15 (22)	Cf. 90,3; see chapters 6 and 7 for the sites of Naxos and Tauromenium
87,3	Acio	Acium (Capo Molini near Acireale?)	24 (36)	See appendix 1 for Santa Venera al Pozzo, near Acicatena, as another possible site of Acium
87,4	Catina	Catina/Katane (Catania)	9 (13)	Route turns inland and heads southwest from Catina
88,1	Capitonianibus	Capitoniana (near Torricelli?)	24 (36)	
88,2	Gela sive Filosofianis	Philosophiana (Sofiana, near Mazzarino)	21 (31)	Cf. 94,5; and see chapter 7 for Sofiana.
88,3	Petilianis	Petilianae (near Campobello di Licata?)	27 (40)	
88,4	Agrigentum	Agrigentum/Akragas (Agrigento)	18 (27)	Route follows the southern coast west from Agrigentum to Lilybaeum
88,5	Cena	Cena (near	18 (27)	

		Montallegro?)		
88,6	Allava	Allava (Case Territo?)	12 (18)	
88,7	Ad Aquas	Ad Aquas Larodes (Sciacca)	12 (18)	Cf. 89,4; and see chapter 7 for coastal settlement around Sciacca
88,8	Ad fluvium Lanaricum	Ad fluvium Lanari(c)um (near Castelvetrano? Modione?)	23 (34)	
89,1	Mazaris	Mazara (Mazara del Vallo)	10 (15)	
89,2	Lilybeum	Lilybaeum/Lilybaion (Marsala)	12 (18)	

2. From* Lilybaeum *to* Messana *(336 miles)

An alternative to the first route, in the opposite direction: this route follows the southern coast to Agrigentum then crosses the southeastern interior to Syracuse, where it turns north and follows the eastern coast to Messana. Actual distance = 300 miles.

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**
89,4	Aquis Larodes	Aquae Larodes (Sciacca)	46 (68)	Cf. 88,7
89,5	Agrigento	Agrigentum/Akragas (Agrigento)	40 (59)	Route turns inland and heads northeast from Agrigentum
89,6	Calvisiana	Calvisiana (Tenutella Rina?)	40 (59)	
89,7	Hible	Hybla (Ragusa Ibla)	24 (36)	
89,8	Agris	Acrae/Akrai (Palazzolo Acreide)	18 (27)	
90,1	Syracusis	Syracusae (Siracusa)	24 (36)	Route turns north to follow the coast from Syracuse
90,2	Catina	Catina/Katane (Catania)	44 (65)	
90,3	Tauromenio	Tauromenium (Taormina)	32 (47)	Cf. 87,2
90,4	Messana	Messana/Zancle (Messina)	32 (47)	

3a. From* Messana *to* Tyndaris *(36 miles)

A short route west along the north coast, connecting to route 3b at Tyndaris.

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**

90,5	Tindaride	Tyndaris (Tindari)	36 (53)	

***3b. From* Lilybaeum *to* Tyndaris "per maritima loca" (*208 miles*)**
A longer route east along the northwestern coast, connecting to route 3a at Tyndaris.

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**
91,1	Drepanis	Drepanum (Trapani)	18 (27)	
91,2	Aquis Segestanis sive Pincianis	Aquae Segest(i)anae (Terme Segestane)	14 (21)	Actual distance = 23 miles (34 km)
91,3	Parthenico	Parthenicum (Partinico)	12 (18)	Actual distance = 15 miles (22 km)
91,4	Hyccara	Hyccara/Hykkara (Carini)	8 (12)	
91,5	Panormo	Pan(h)ormus (Palermo)	16 (24)	
91,6	Solunto	Soluntum/Solous (Solunto)	12 (18)	
92,1	Thermis	Thermae Himeraeae (Termini Imerese)	12 (18)	
92,2	Cefalodo	Cephaloedium (Cefalù)	24 (36)	
92,3	Haleso	Halaesa (Alesa, near Castel di Tusa)	28 (41)	Actual distance = 18 miles (27 km)
92,4	Caleate	Calacte/Kale Akte (Caronia)	26 (39)	Actual distance = 12 miles (18 km)
[92,5]	[Solusapre]	Near Calacte?	[9 (13)]	
92,6	Agatinno	Agathyrnum (Capo d'Orlando)	20 (30)	
93,1	Tindaride	Tyndaris	28 (41)	Cf. 90,5

4. From* Thermae *to* Catina *(91 miles)
An inland route connecting the northwestern coast (at Thermae) to the eastern coast (at Catina). Actual distance = 106 miles / 158 km.

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**
93,3	Enna	(H)enna (Enna)	52 (77)	
93,4	Agurio	Agyrium/Agyrion (Agira)	3 (4)	Actual distance = 18 miles (27 km)
93,5	Centuripa	Centuripae (Centuripe)	12 (18)	
93,6	Aethna	Aetna (Santa Maria di Licodia?)	12 (18)	

94,1	Catina	Catina (Catania)	12 (18)	

5. From* Catina *to* Agrigentum "mansionibus nunc institutis" *(92 miles)
An alternative or replacement route for the inland Catina-Agrigentum section of route 1 (87,4-88,4).

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**
94,4	Capitonianis	Capitoniana (near Torricelli?)	24 (36)	Cf. 88,1
94,5	Philosophianis	Philosophianis (Sofiana, near Mazzarino)	21 (31)	Cf. 88,2
94,6	Gallonianis	Calloniana (near Sommatino?)	21 (31)	
94,7	Cosconianis	Cosconiana (Vito Soldano?)	12 (18)	
95,1	Agrigentum	Agrigentum/Akragas (Agrigento)	13 (19)	Cf. 88,4

6. From* Agrigentum *to Syracuse* "per maritima loca" *(137 miles)
This route follows the southern and southeastern coast, as an alternative to the inland Agrigentum-Syracuse section of route 2 (89,5-90,1).

No.	**Toponym in *It. Ant.***	**Ancient Name (Modern Location)**	**Mileage (Km)**	**Notes**
95,4	Dedalio	D(a)edalium (Palma di Montechiaro?)	18 (27)	
95,5	Plintis	Phintias? (Licata)	5 (7)	*refugium*
95,6	Chalis	Chalae (Caricatore?)	18 (27)	*plaga*
95,7	Calvisianis	Calvisiana (Tenutella Rina?)	8 (12)	*plaga*
96,1	Mesopotamio	Mesopotamium (Berdia Vecchia?)	12 (18)	*plaga*
96,2	Hereo [sive Cymbe]	Her(a)em (Marina di Modica?)	24 (36)	*refugium*
96,3	Apolline	Apollineum (Portopalo)	20 (30)	*plaga* Near the southeastern corner of the island; the route turns north here and follows the eastern coast to Syracuse.
96,4	Syracusis	Syracusae (Siracusa)	32 (47)	Cf .90,1

7a. From* Agrigentum *to* Lilybaeum *(175 miles)
A route north through the west-central interior from Agrigentum to Panormus that then crosses the northwestern corner of the island to Lilybaeum.

No.	Toponym in *It. Ant.*	Ancient Name (Modern Location)	Mileage (Km)	Notes
96,6	Pitinianis	Pitiniana (near Aragona?)	9 (13)	
96,7	Comicianis	Comiciana (near Prizzi)	24 (36)	
96,8	Petrine	Petrinae (Filaga?)	4 (6)	
97,1	Pirama	Pirama (S. Agata di Piana degli Albanesi?)	24 (36)	
97,2	Panoruo	Pan(h)ormus (Palermo)	24 (36)	Cf. 91,5; the route turns southwest at Panormus
97,3	Hyccaris	Hyccara/Hykkara (Carini)	18 (27)	Cf. 91,4
97,4	Longarico	Longaricum (Alcamo?)	24 (36)	
97,5	Ad Olivam	Ad Olivam (San Michele?)	24 (36)	
97,6	Lilybeum	Lilybaeum/Lilybaion (Marsala)	24 (36)	

***7b. From* (H)yccara *to* Drepanum "maritima"**
An alternative coastal itinerary between Hyccara and Drepanum on the longer route between Lilybaeum and Panhormus (cf. 91,1 – 91,4 and 97,2 – 97,6).

No.	Toponym in *It. Ant.*	Ancient Name (Modern Location)	Mileage (Km)	Notes
97,9	Parthenico	Parthenicum (Partinico)	12 (18)	Cf. 91,3
97,10	Ad Aquas Perticianenses	Ad Aquas Perticianenses (San Vito)	15 (22)	
98,1	Drepanis	Drepanum (Trapani)	18 (27)	Cf. 91,1

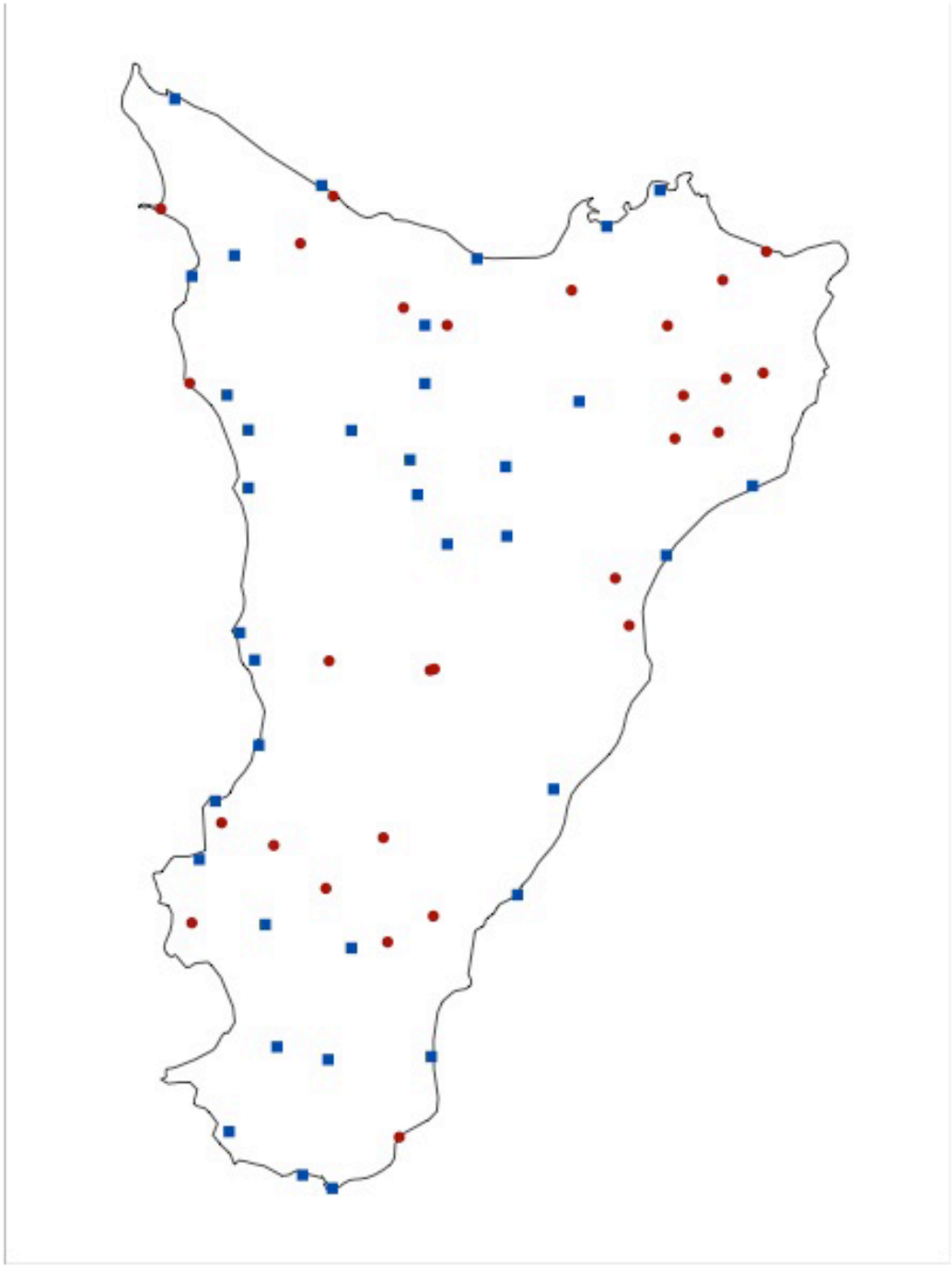
Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itinerarium Maritimum

From* Rhegium *to* Messana, *around Sicily, to Africa
Part of a longer route (487,5-493,11) starting out from Achaea, following the Ionian coast of Italy, and crossing the Straits of Messina from Rhegium; the Sicilian section of the route begins in Messana, follows the eastern and southern coasts to Lilybaeum, and then crosses to Africa from the western tip of the island.

No.	Toponym in *It. Ant.*	Modern Location	Distance (*stadia)*	Notes
491,1-2	Messana	Messina	70	*civitas*
491,3-4	Tauromenium	Taormina	250	*civitas*
491,5-6	Catine	Catania	300	*civitas*
492,1-2	Syracusae	Syracuse	800	*civitas*
492,3-4	Pachinus	Pachino (near Capo Passero)	400	The southeastern corner of Sicily; the route turns west here to follow the southern coast
492,5-6	Agrigentum	Agrigento	400	*civitas*
492,7-8	Lilybaeum	Marsala	750	*civitas*
492,9-10	insula Maritima	Marettimo	300	From Marettimo (the most distant of the Egadi islands from the Sicilian mainland), the route crosses to Africa (492,11-12).

Appendix 3: Plates

Plate 4.1

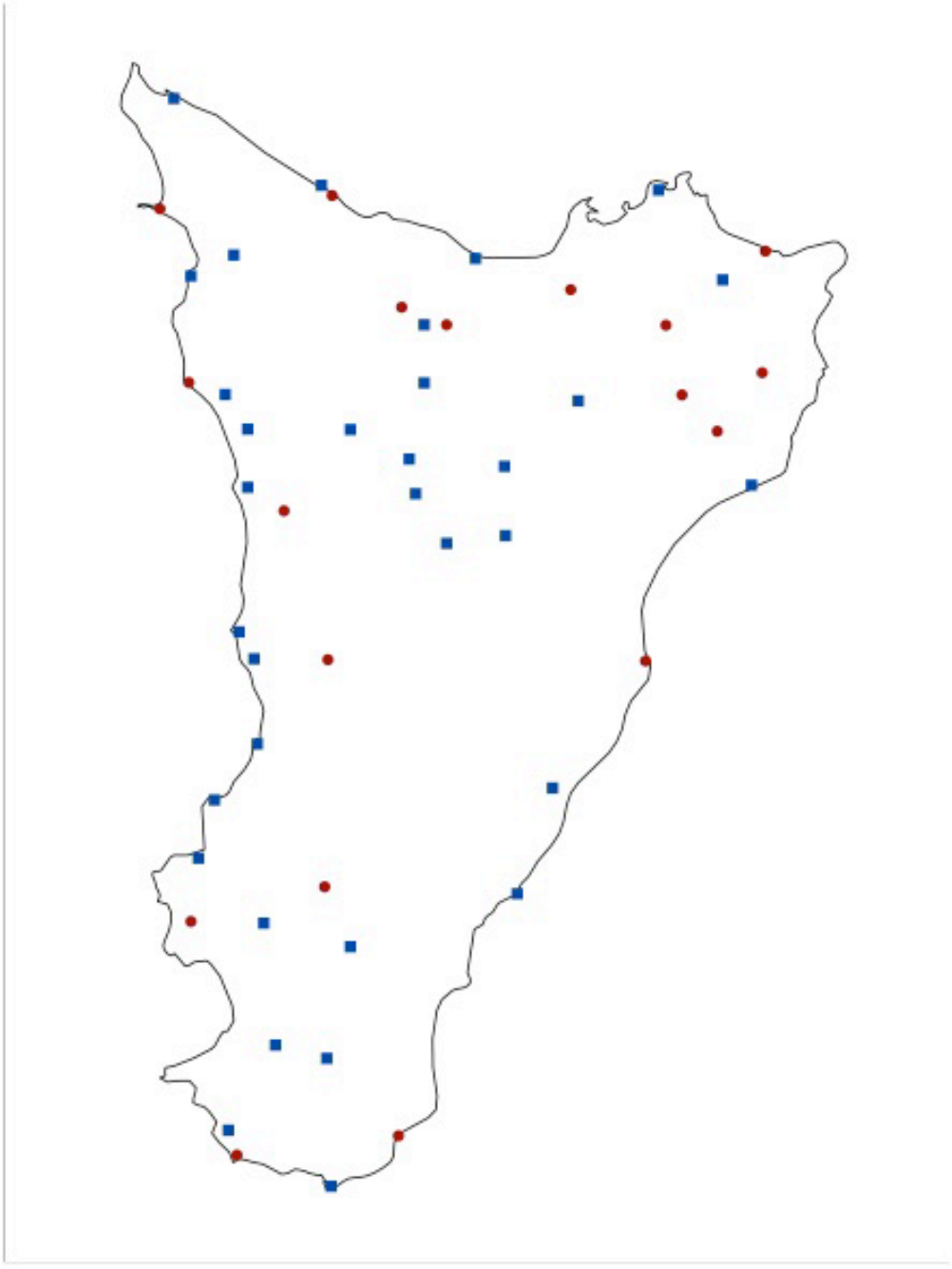


Map 1. Urban settlement in Sicily, 300 BC.

Blue squares: Primary Urban Settlements.

Red dots: Secondary Urban Settlements.

Plate 4.2

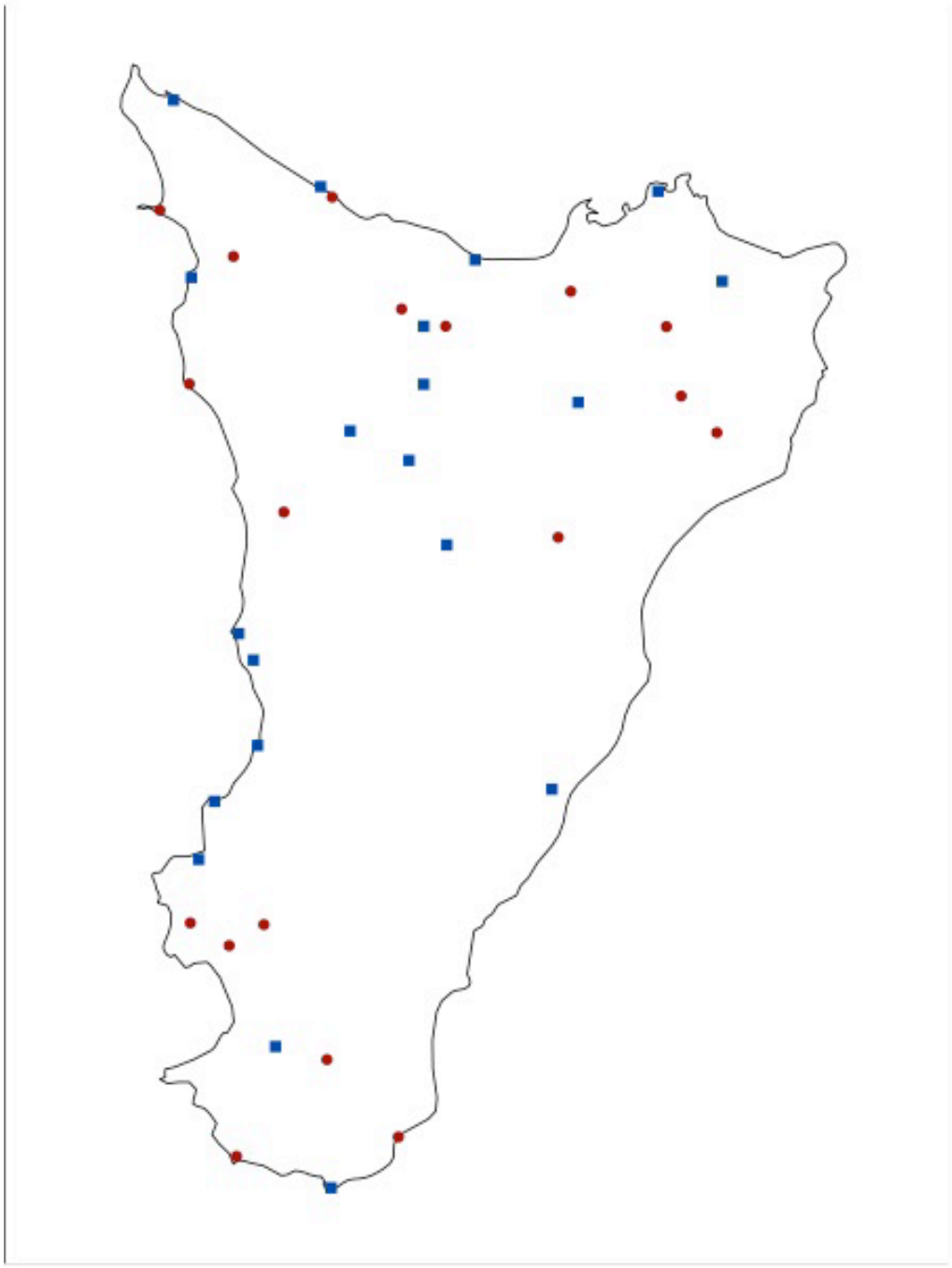


Map 2. Urban settlement in Sicily, 200 BC.

Blue squares: Primary Urban Settlements.

Red dots: Secondary Urban Settlements.

Plate 4.3

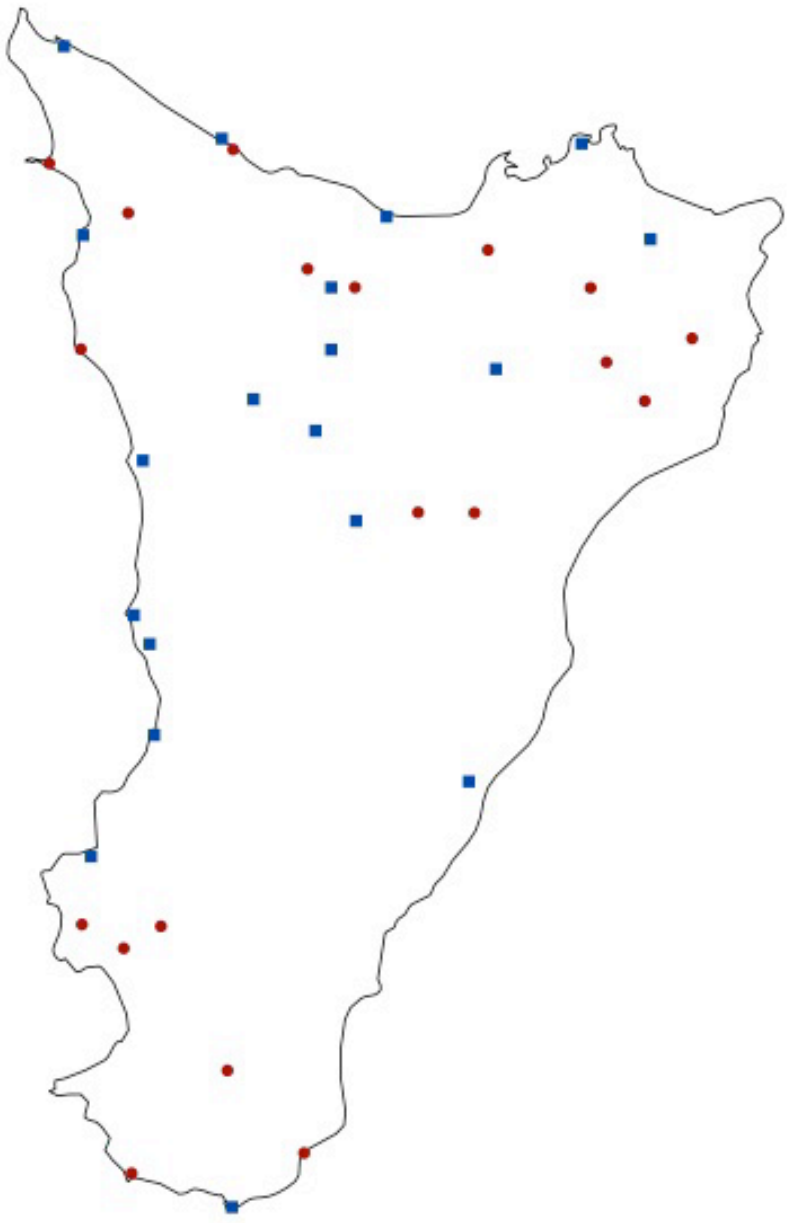


Map 3. Urban settlement in Sicily, AD 100.

Blue squares: Primary Urban Settlements.

Red dots: Secondary Urban Settlements.

Plate 4.4



Map 4. Urban settlement in Sicily, AD 300.

Blue squares: Primary Urban Settlements.

Red dots: Secondary Urban Settlements.

Plate 4.5



Map 5.
Urban settlement in Sicily, 50 BC – AD 50.

Yellow circles: continuously occupied settlements.
Red dots: settlements abandoned between ca. 50 BC – AD 50.

Plate 4.6

Maps 6 and 7. Urban settlement in West Central Sicily, 300 BC and 200 BC.
Settlements in other regions are not shown.

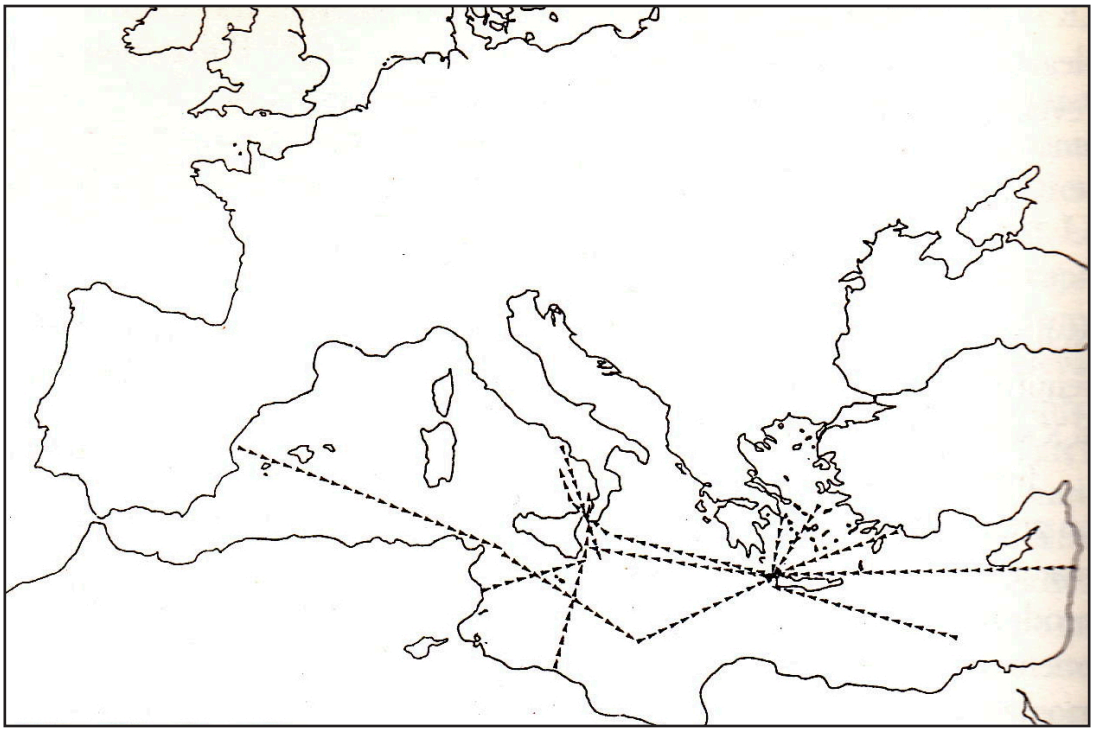
Plate 4.7

Maps 8 and 9. Urban settlement in the Interior and South Coast of Sicily, 50 BC and AD 100.
Settlements in other regions are not shown.

Plate 4.8



a. Map of routes between Rome and Carthage, based on the *It. Ant.* (cf. esp. 515,3 - 517,4 and 517,5 - 518,5); reproduced from A. Mosca, "Aspetti della rotta Roma - Cartagine," in Khanoussi et al., *L'Africa romana XIV* (Rome: Carocci, 2002), 481-90.



b. Map of routes between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean and between Italy and Tripolitania via the Straits of Messina, based on select shipwreck locations; reproduced from G. Bonora Mazzoli, "Approdi della Sicilia occidentale. Considerazioni topografiche," in Khanoussi et al., *L'Africa romana XIV* (Rome: Carocci, 2002), 1041-52.

Plate 4.9

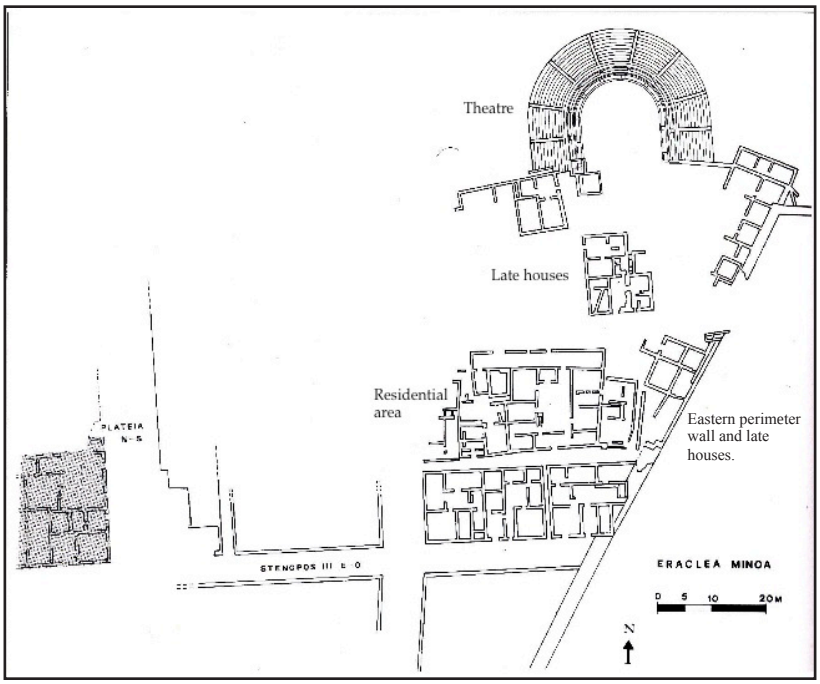


Map of the cities discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Plate 5.1



a. Map of the cities discussed in chapter 5.



b. Heraclea Minoa: plan of the ancient city center, reproduced from Campagna, "Una nuova abitazione."

Plate 5.2

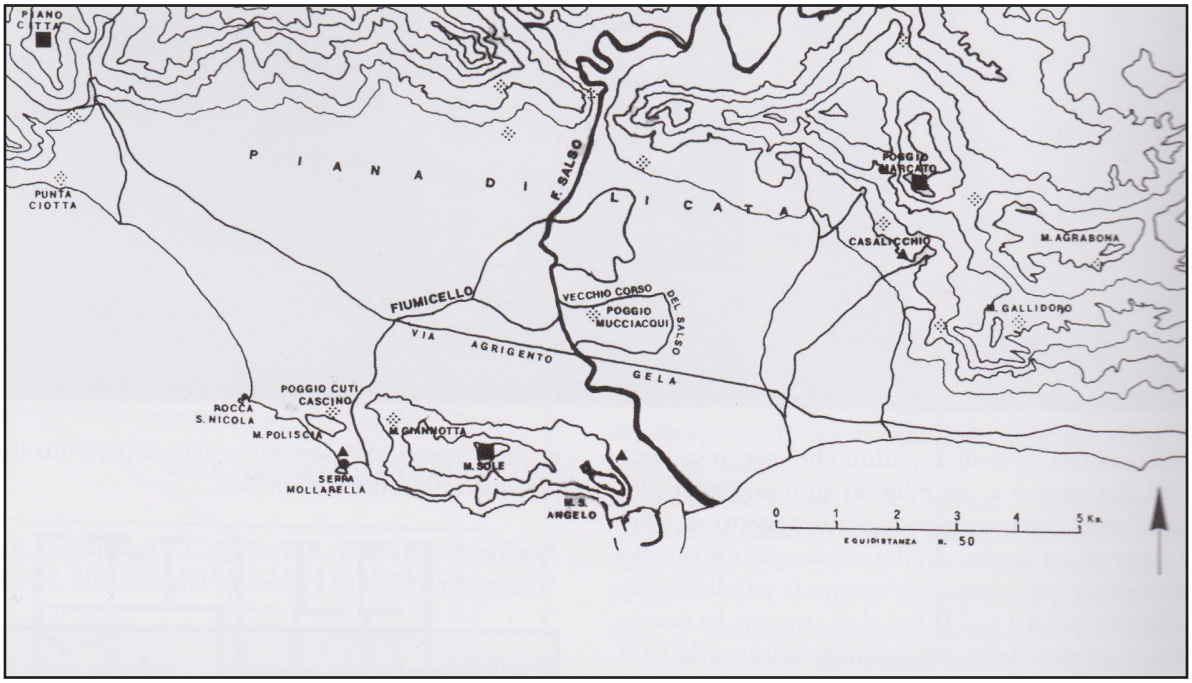


a. Heraclea Minoa, residential quarter: view into Casa IIa from the east/southeast, including a room holding a *lararium.*



b. Heraclea Minoa: late structures (workshop?) built into the theatre and in the formerly open space to its south.

Plate 5.3

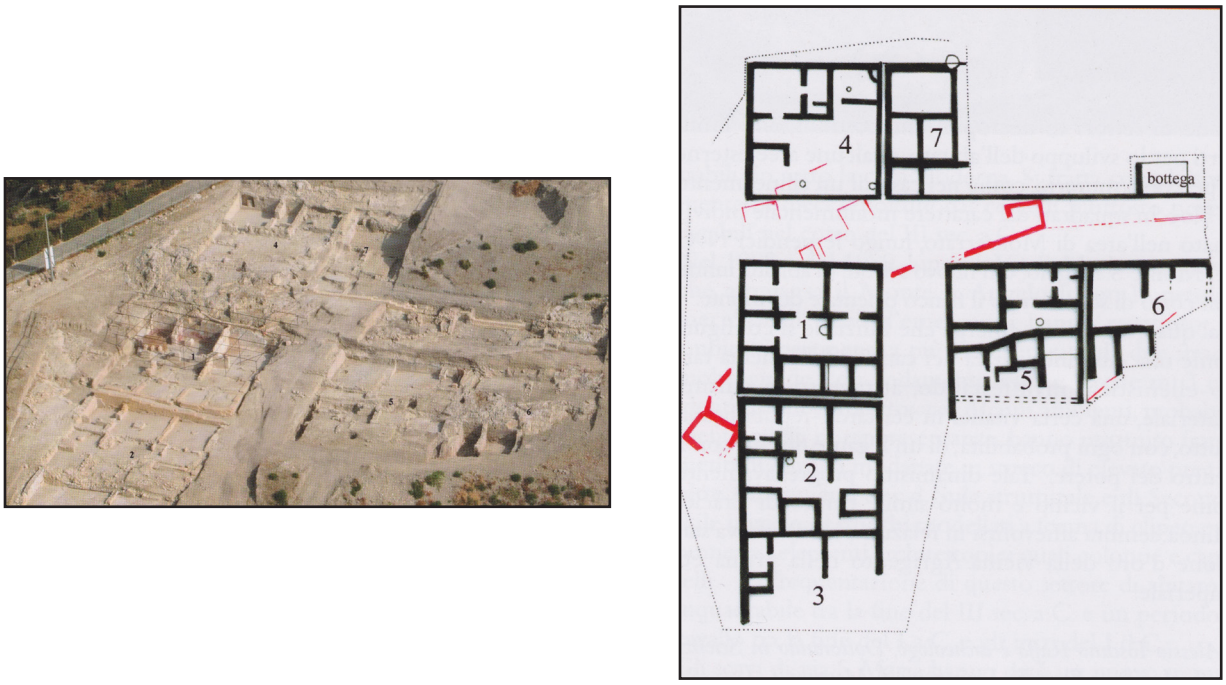


a. Phintias: map of Monte San Angelo and the Piana di Licata, including sites of ancient settlement (reproduced from Toscano Raffa and Terranova, "Finziade").

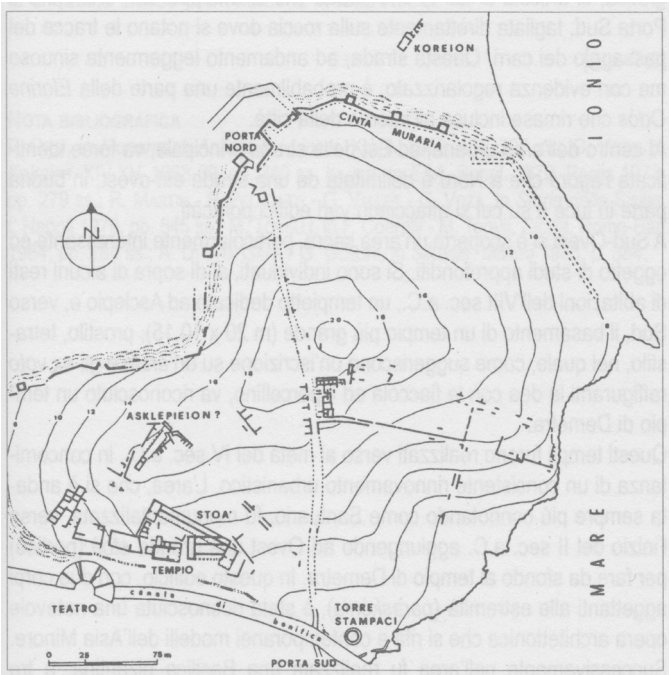


b. Phintias: aerial view of Monte San Angelo, with locations of recent excavations indicated (reproduced from Toscano Raffa and Terranova, "Finziade").

Plate 5.4

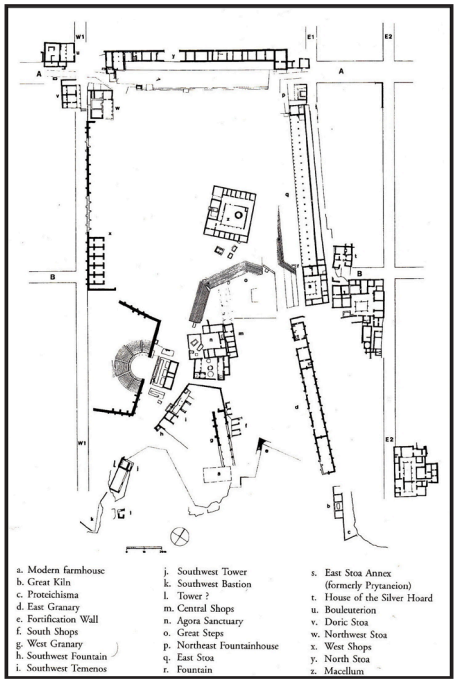


a. Phintias: aerial view of the excavated Hellenistic residential area (left), and plan (right), with Hellenistic houses drawn in black and earlier structures in red; reproduced from Toscano Raffa and Terranova, "Finziade."



b. Helorus: plan of the ancient city center, reproduced from A. Tullio, ed., *Itinerari archeologici in Sicilia* (Palermo: D. Flaccovio, 2002).

Plate 5.5



a. Morgantina: Plan of the city center (agora and East Hill). Reproduced from Tsakirgis, "Morgantina."



b. Morgantina: view of the agora and East Hill from the West Hill.

Plate 5.6



a. Morgantina: theatre adjoining the agora.



b. Morgantina: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the agora.

Plate 5.7



a. Morgantina: *bouleuterion* on the northwestern side of the agora.



b. Morgantina: "Great Steps" (*ekklesiasterion*?) in the agora.

Plate 5.8



a. Morgantina: fountain house in the northeastern corner of the agora.

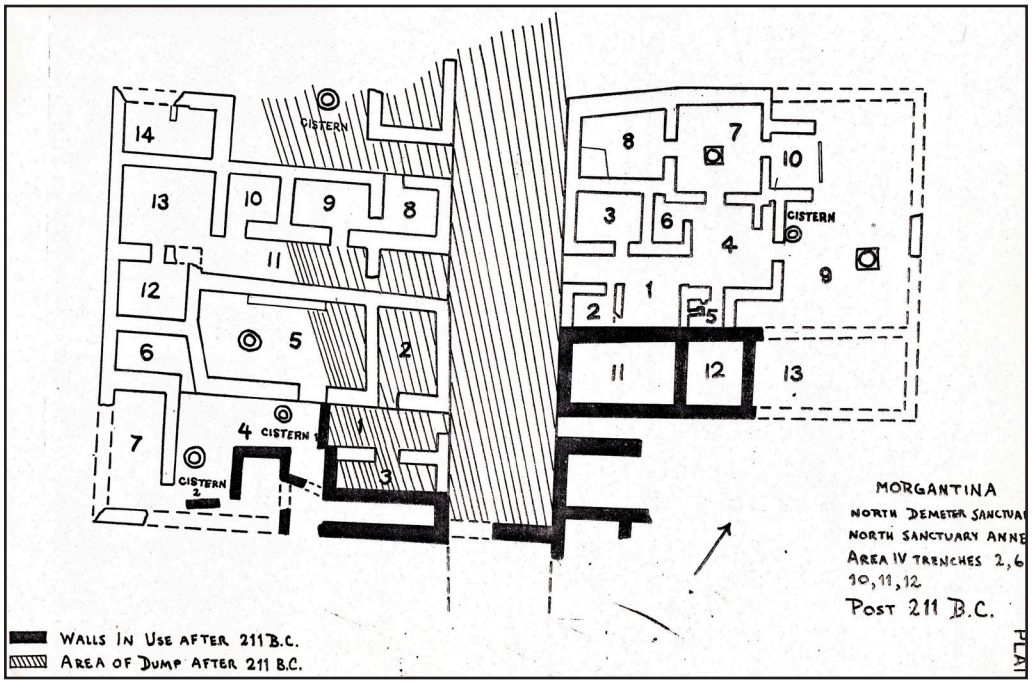


b. Morgantina: view of the agora's East Granary from the north (a later kiln built into the granary is visible on the right).

Plate 5.9



a. Morgantina: view of the agora's West Stoa and the West Hill behind it.



b. Morgantina: plan of the North Demeter Sanctuary, showing post-211 BC destruction and dumping activities; reproduced from Stone, "Roman pottery from Morgantina."

Plate 5.10



a. Morgantina: view of the *macellum* in the agora from the north.



b. Morgantina: view of the "Great Kiln" in the agora from the south.

Plate 5.11

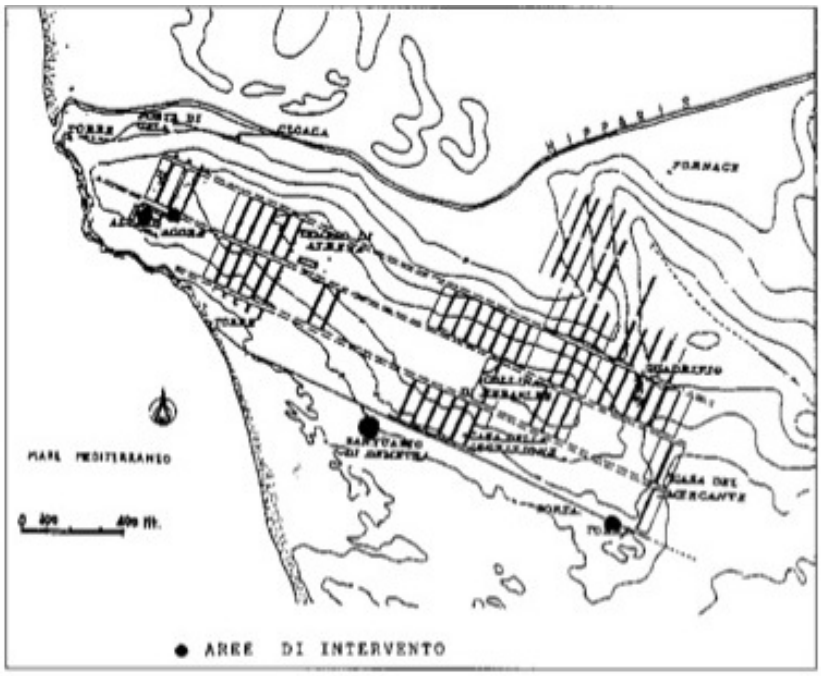


a. Morgantina: view of the House of the Doric Capital on the East Hill, looking out to the agora.

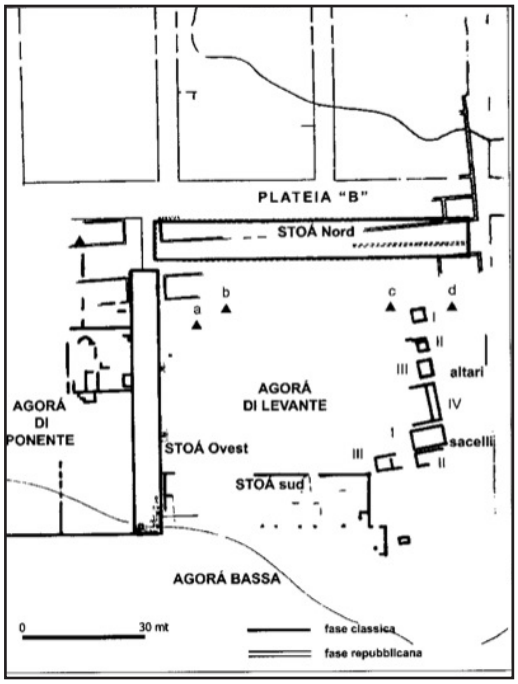


b. Morgantina: view of the House of Ganymede at the top of the East Hill.

Plate 5.12



a. Camarina: plan of the urban center (reproduced from Pelagatti et al., *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*).



b. Camarina: plan of the agora (reproduced from Pelagatti et al., *Camarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*).

Plate 5.13



a. Apollonia: aerial view of the excavated area on the summit of Monte San Fratello (left); plan of excavations on Monte San Fratello (right). Both images reproduced from Bonanno, *Apollonia.*



b. View of Monte Iato from the northwest.

Plate 5.14

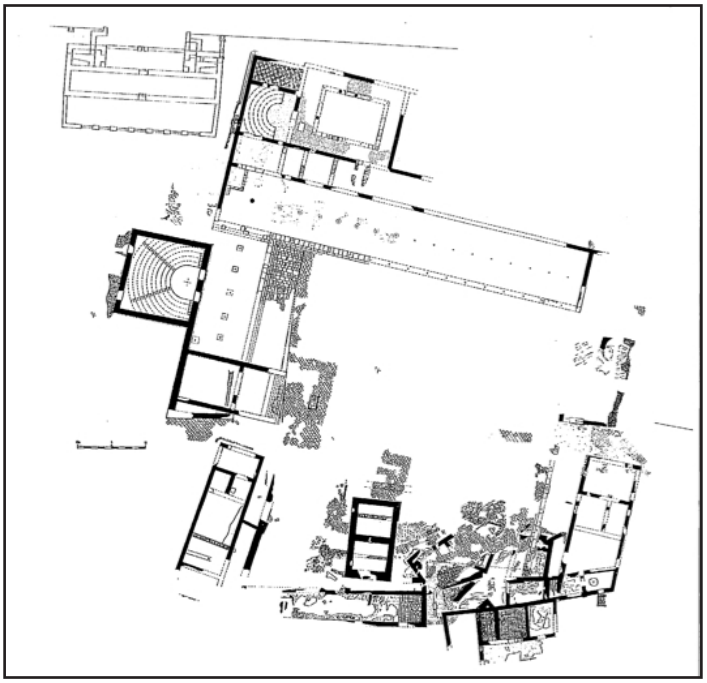


a. Monte Iato: theatre adjoining the agora.



b. Monte Iato: paved street and houses in the “East Quarter.”

Plate 5.15



a. Monte Iato: plan of the agora (reproduced from Isler, "Monte Iato: scavi 2007-2008").

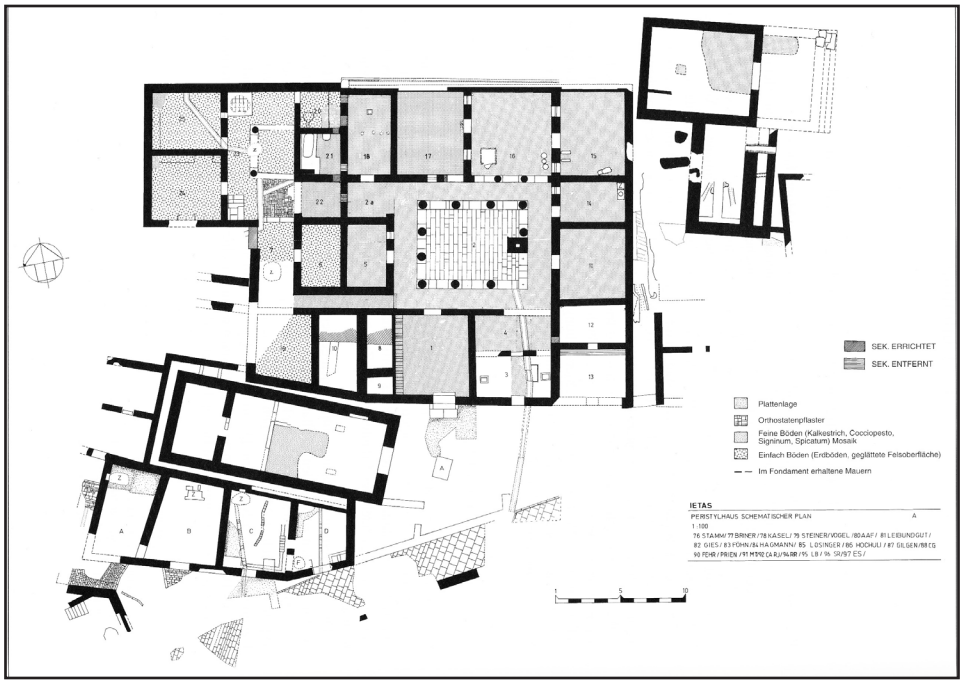


b. Monte Iato: paved section of the agora and stoa in front of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion*.

Plate 5.16



a. Monte Iato: the Hellenistic *bouleuterion.*



b. Monte Iato: plan of "peristyle house 1," reproduced from Hedinger, *Studia Ietina VIII.*

Plate 5.17



a. Monte Iato: central courtyard of "peristyle house 1."

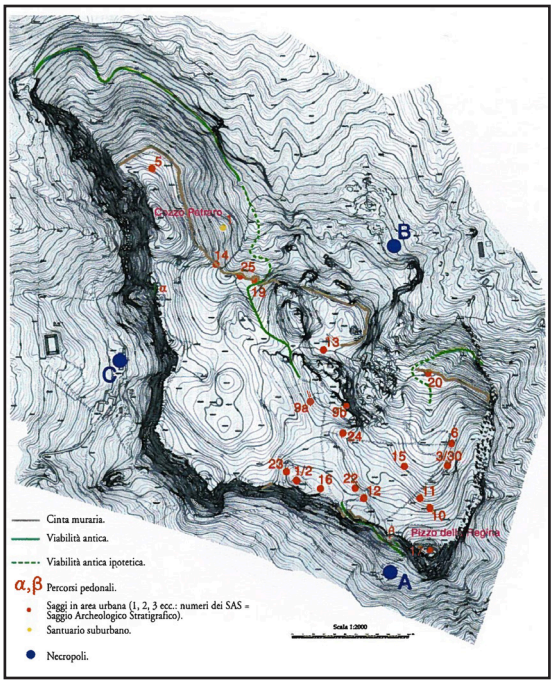


b. Monte Iato: bathroom adjoining the courtyard of "peristyle house 1."

Plate 5.18



a. Monte Iato: "peristyle house 2."





b. Entella: plan of the excavations (left) and aerial view of Rocca d'Entella, with locations of necropoleis indicated (right); both images reproduced from Ampolo and Parra, *Da un'antica città.*

Plate 5.19

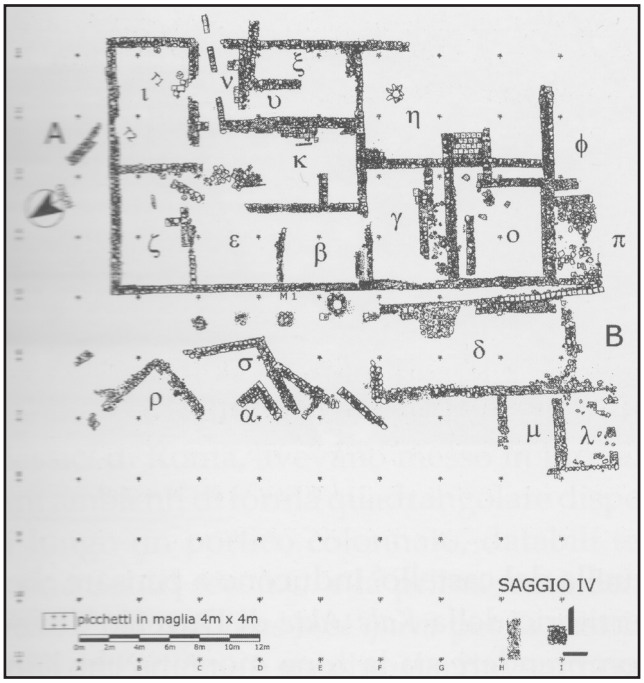


a. View of Marina di Caronia from the west.



b. View of the hill of Caronia (Roman Republican Calacte) from Marina di Caronia.

Plate 5.20



a. Marina di Caronia (Calacte): plan of the buildings found in recent excavations; reproduced from Bonanno and Sudano, "*Kale Akte*."

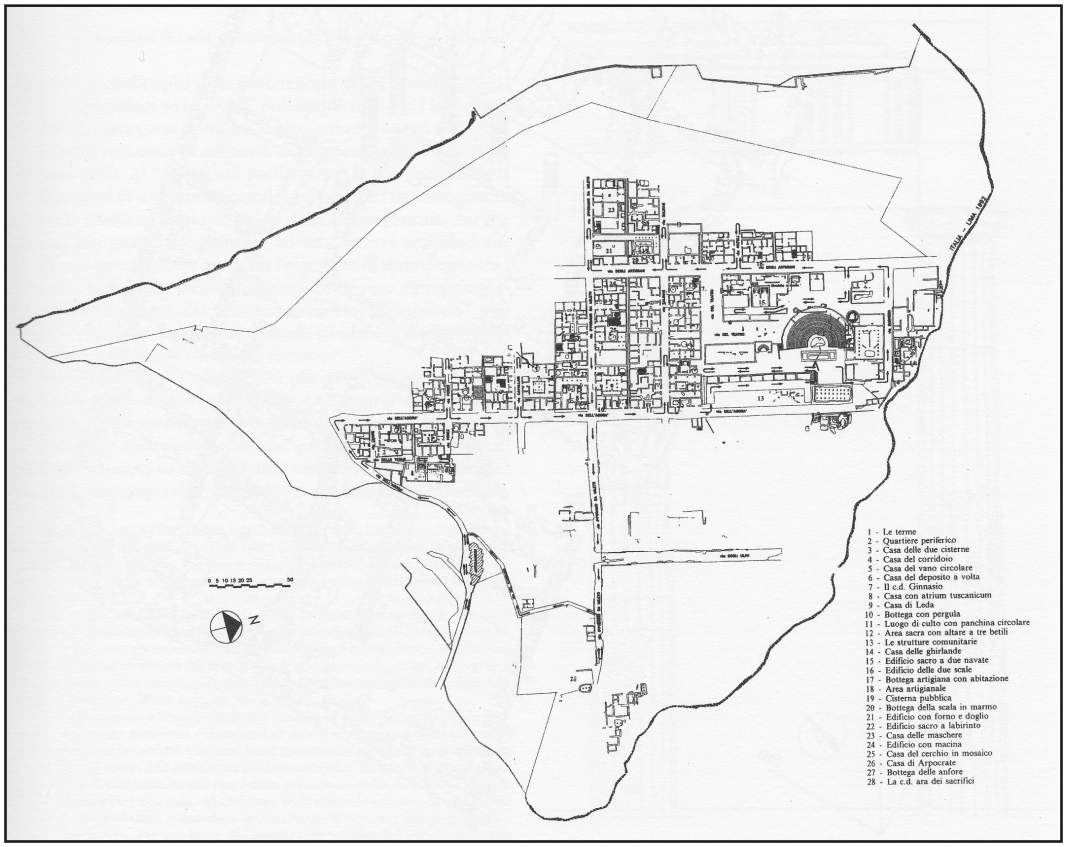


b. Bay of Solanto (the probable location of Phoenician Solous), viewed from the west.

Plate 5.21

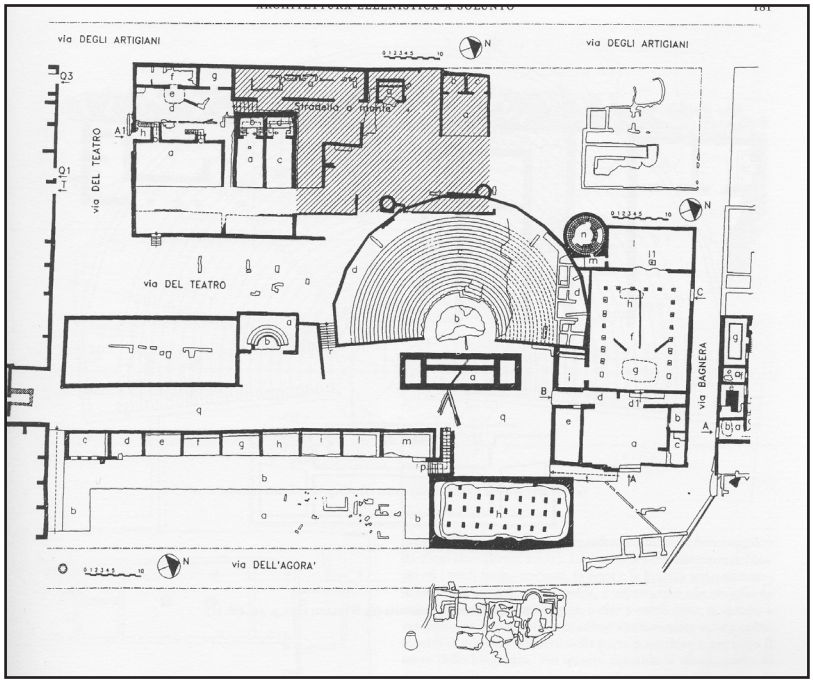


a. Soluntum: view of Monte Catalfano and the Hellenistic city from the west (from the modern village of Santa Flavia).



b. Soluntum: plan of the settlement on Monte Catalfano (reproduced from C. Albanesi, "Architettura ellenistica a Solunto: un caso singolare di teatro-tempio?," in Osanna and Torelli, *Sicilia ellenistica, consuetudo italica*, 177-92).

Plate 5.22



a. Soluntum: plan of the public area (agora, theatre, and *odeion/bouleuterion*). Reproduced from Albanesi, "Architettura ellenistica a Solunto."



b. Soluntum: sacred area with altar "a tre betili" from the south, looking towards the agora.

Plate 5.23

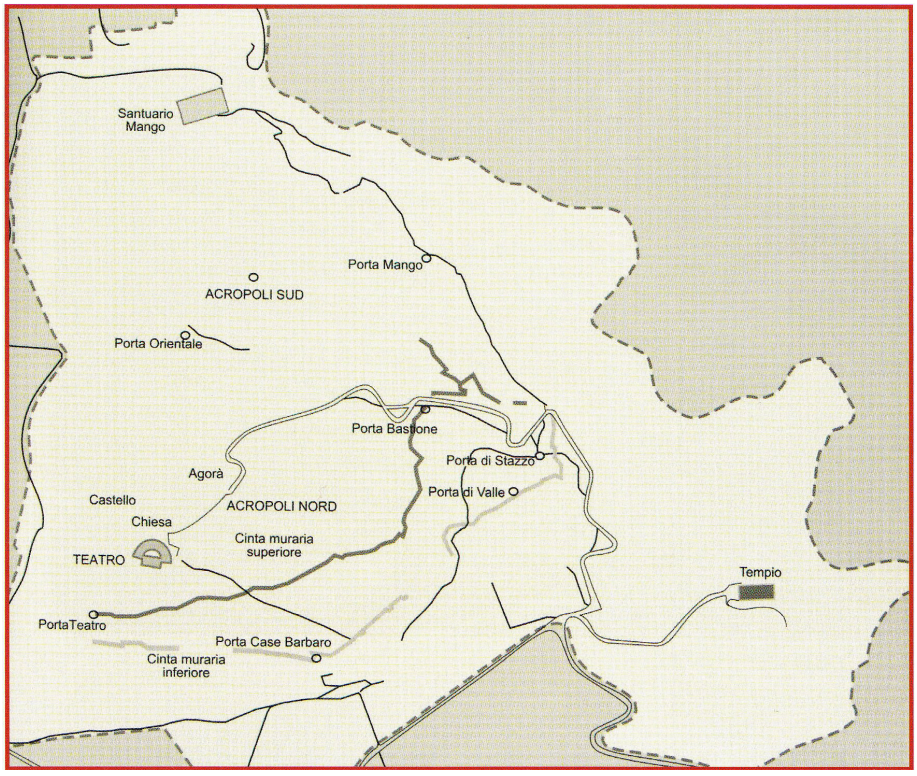


a. Soluntum: broken statue of Agrippina the Elder, found in the ruins of the ancient city and now in the Antiquarium.



b. Soluntum: public cistern adjoining the agora, viewed from the north.

Plate 5.24



a. Segesta: plan of the ancient city, reproduced from L. Sole, "Segesta," *FormaUrbis* 11.4 (2006): 14-22.



b. Segesta: aerial views of the ancient settlement (left), including the Doric temple; and of the theatre and agora on the summit of Monte Barbaro (right).

Plate 5.25



a. Segesta: theatre.



b. Segesta: aerial view of the agora; reproduced from *ASNP* 4.9.2 (2004).

Plate 5.26



a. Segesta: “Porta di Valle.”



b. Segesta: “cinta muraria superiore” (upper wall circuit).

Plate 5.27

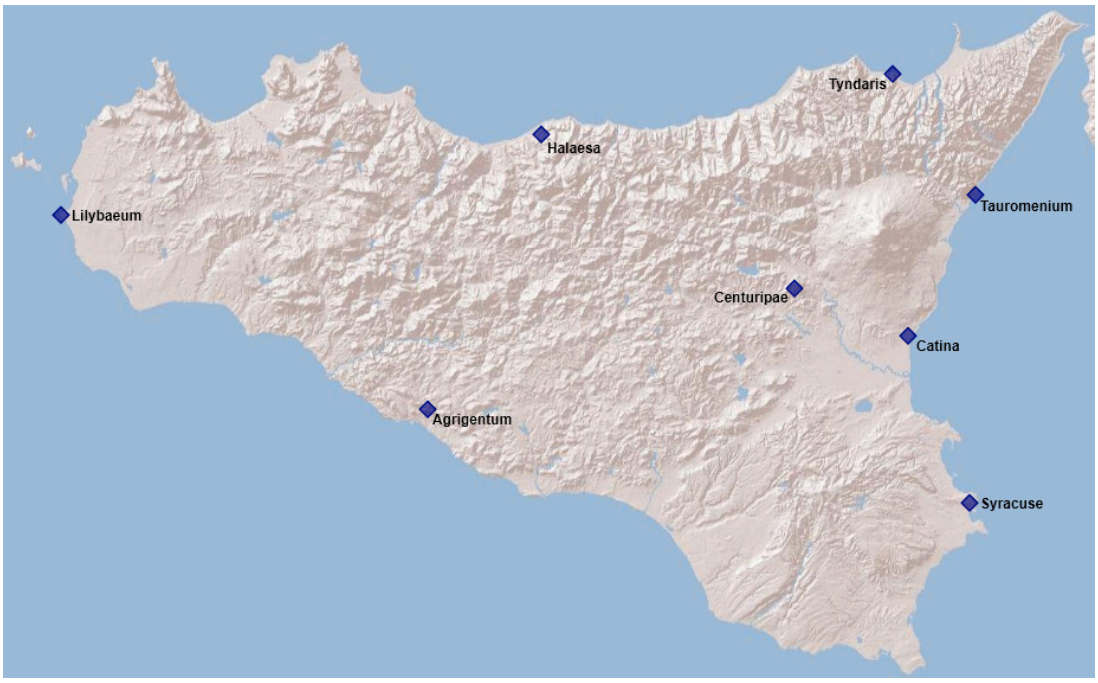


a. Segesta: view of the “triangular forum” area.

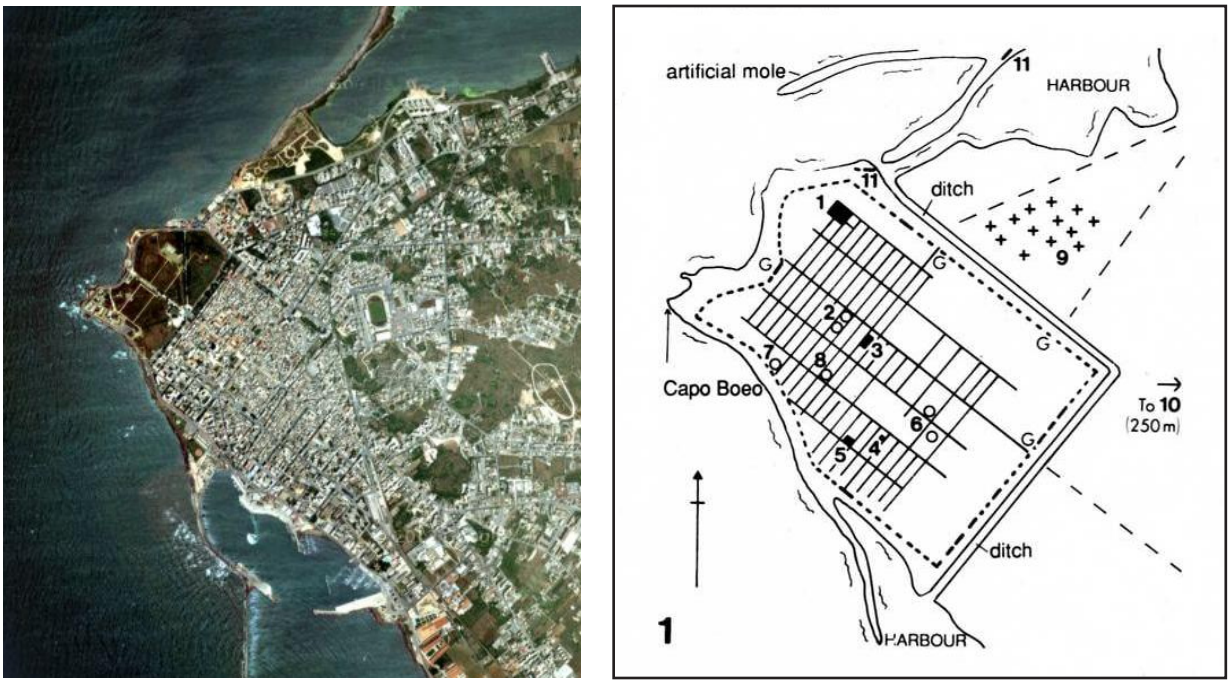


b. Segesta: upright fragment of the dedicatory inscription of M. Onasus and M. Sopolis in the triangular forum.

Plate 6.1



a. Map of the cities discussed in chapter 6.



b. Marsala (ancient Lilybaeum): aerial view (left) and plan of the ancient city (right), reproduced from Wilson, *Sicily.*

Plate 6.2



a. Marsala (Lilybaeum): tombs in the Punic necropolis in via F. Struppa.



b. Marsala (Lilybaeum): tombs in the Hellenistic/Roman Republican necropolis in via del Fante.

Plate 6.3



a. Marsala (Lilybaeum): paved *decumanus maximus* in Capo Boeo.

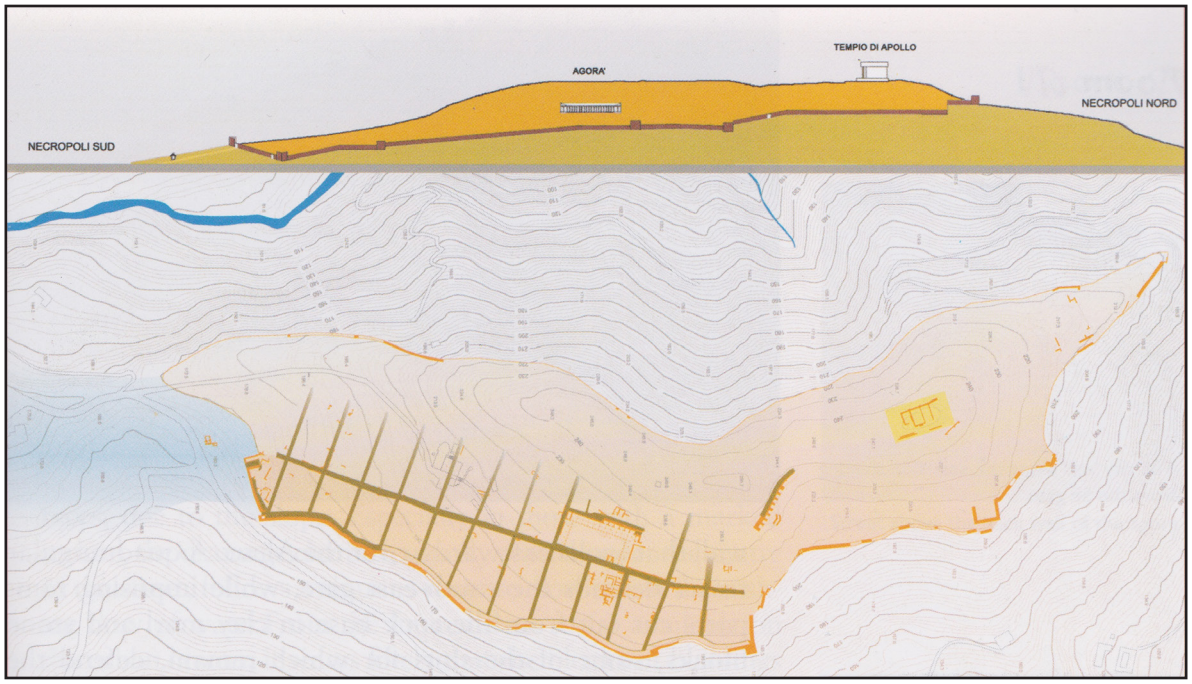


b. Marsala (Lilybaeum): portion of the dedicatory inscription of the paved *decumanus maximus*.

Plate 6.4



a. Marsala (Lilybaeum): late Roman tomb in the *decumanus maximus,* Capo Boeo.

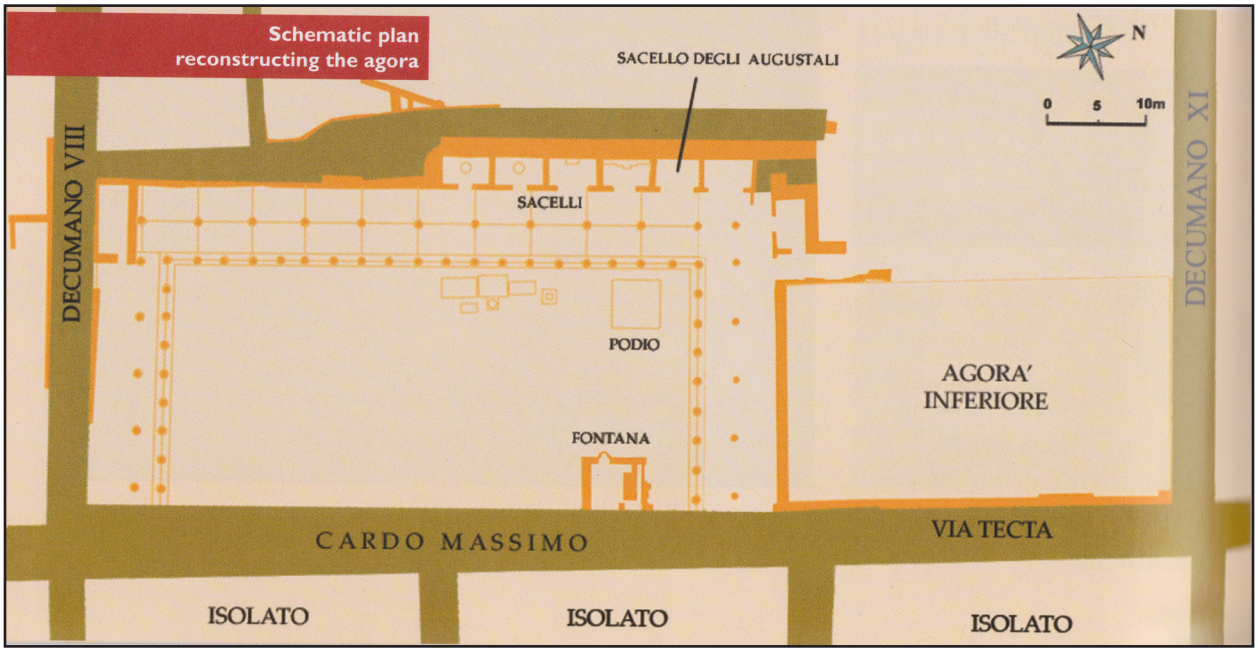


b. Halaesa: plan and elevation of the ancient city center (reproduced from Scibona and Tigano, *Guide to the antiquarium*).

Plate 6.5



a. Halaesa: intersection of the stepped *decumanus* VIII (the "Sacred Way") and the *cardo maximus*, with a drain visible.



b. Halaesa: plan of the excavated "upper agora" (reproduced from Scibona and Tigano, *Guide to the antiquarium*).

Plate 6.6



a. Halaesa: stoa and paved area of the upper agora, viewed from the *cardo maximus*.





b. Halaesa: views of the remains of the portico of the stoa, from the northeastern corner (left) and from the south (right).

Plate 6.7



a. Halaesa: view of the upper agora (including the stoa and its portico) from the north.



b. Halaesa: the “counterforts” on the northeastern slope of the Santa Maria delle Palate hill.

Plate 6.8



a. Halaesa: *taberna / sacellum* III.



b. Halaesa: paved area in front of *sacellum* III.

Plate 6.9




a. Halaesa: remains of statue bases in the agora (left), and the square reticulate base in front of the northwestern corner of the portico (right).



b. Halaesa: statue of Ceres dedicated by the *sevir* Iulius Acilius Hermes in the stoa of the agora (now in the Halaesa Antiquarium).

Plate 6.10



a. Halaesa: the columbarium and Roman imperial burial area outside the southeastern city gate.



b. Halaesa: view south from Santa Maria delle Palate hill along the ridge, towards contrada Feudo (one of the areas included in field survey).

Plate 6.11



a. Halaesa: view south, up the valley of the Tusa, from the northeastern slope of Santa Maria delle Palate hill (part of the area included in field survey).



b. Halaesa agora: part of the outer colonnade of the stoa's portico that was filled with reused building material in late antiquity (view east from the portico).

Plate 6.12



a. Castel di Tusa: probable site of the port of Halaesa.



b. Halaesa: early Byzantine-era curved wall and tomb (note E-W orientation) overlying the paved surface of the agora.

Plate 6.13



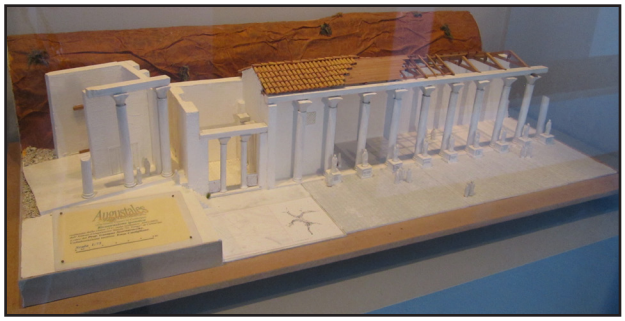
a. Centuripae: aerial view of the modern town of Centuripe.



b. Centuripae: view from Centuripe east to Mt. Etna and into the Simeto river valley.

Plate 6.14





a. Centuripae: remains of the "ex Mulino Barbagallo" complex, viewed from the terrace above (left); and a diorama of the complex in the Centuripe archaeological museum (right).





b. Centuripae: paved area of the "ex Mulino Barbagallo" complex (left), and detail of a space once containing a statue base (right).

Plate 6.15



a. Centuripae: portrait head of Hadrian found in the city center, now in the archaeological museum.



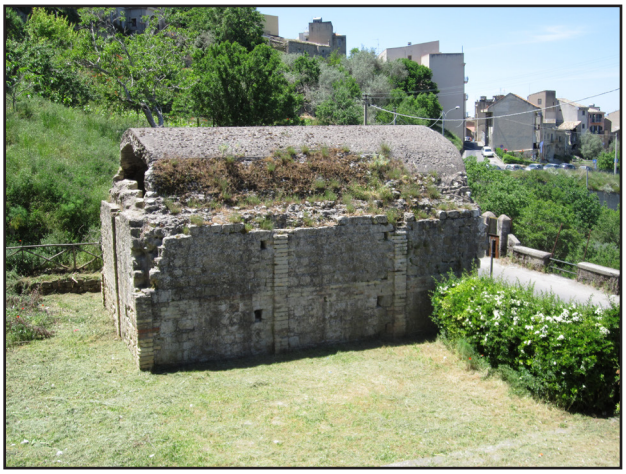


b. Centuripae: male portrait statues from the Priscus cycle, now on display in the archaeological museum.

Plate 6.16




a. Centuripae: female portrait statues from the Priscus cycle, now on display in the archaeological museum.

b. Centuripae. Left: the “Corradino” mausoleum at the eastern edge of the town. Right: the “Dogana” monument.

Plate 6.17



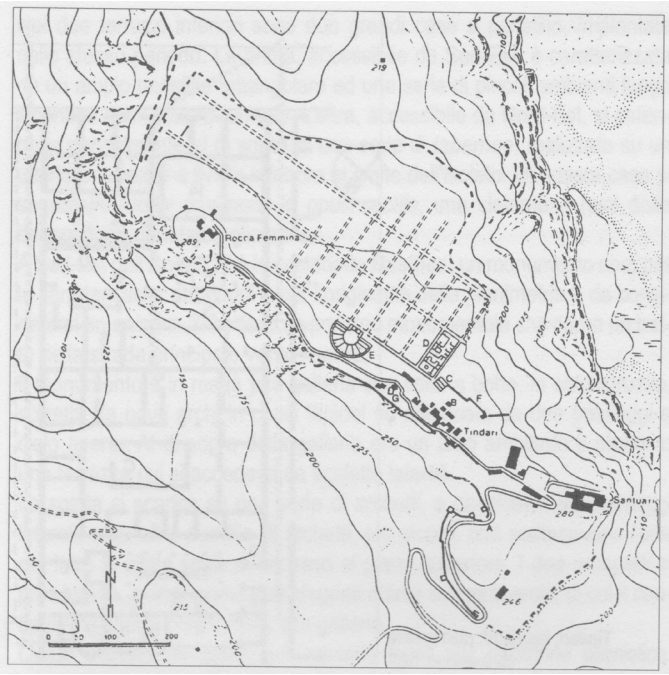


a. Centuripae: inscribed funerary urns, on display in the Centuripe archaeological museum.



b. Tyndaris: view west from the city center to the acropolis.

Plate 6.18



a. Tyndaris: plan of the city center, reproduced from Tullio, *Itinerari archeologici·*



b. Tyndaris: fortifications.

Plate 6.19



a. Tyndaris: theatre.



b. Tyndaris: mosaic floor of the *tablinum* of Casa B, Insula IV.

Plate 6.20



a. Tyndaris: Casa C, Insula IV. Left: view into the house from the vestibule; right: view of the house from the southeast.



b. Tyndaris: the steps of the monumental public building on the central *decumanus*.

Plate 6.21

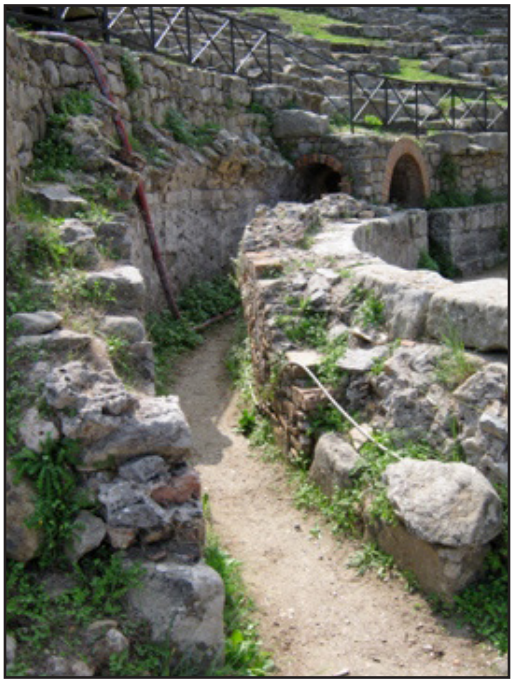


a. Tyndaris: "*decumanus* centrale," view W (left); detail of the pavement of the *decumanus* (right).



b. Tyndaris: mosaic floor of the *triclinium* of a first century BC *domus* excavated along the central *decumanus*.

Plate 6.22



a. Tyndaris: detail of the lower *cavea* of the theatre, including imperial-era alterations (e.g. the removal of the lowest rows of seats to enable conversion into an arena).



b. Tyndaris: view west into the bath house in Insula IV, from *cardo* D.

Plate 6.23



a. Tyndaris: head of Augustus found near the "Basilica," on display in the antiquarium.



b. Tyndaris: honorific sculpture from the area of the "Basilica," now in the antiquarium. Left: female figure (*peplophoros*); right: togate male, first half of the first century AD.

Plate 6.24



a. Tyndaris: honorific statues of magistrates found near the "Basilica," first half of the first century AD.



b. Tyndaris: late Roman monumental tomb on the northwestern edge of the city.

Plate 6.25



a. Tyndaris: “Basilica,” viewed from the west, near Insula IV.

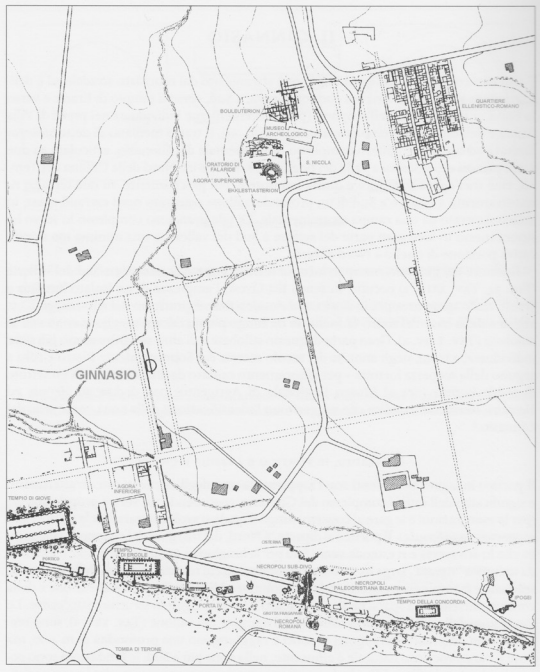


b. Patti Marina villa: detail of a mosaic floor.

Plate 6.26



a. Tyndaris: view of the western end of the "*decumanus* centrale," with the remains of a monumental *propylon*.



b. Agrigentum: plan of the ancient city center, reproduced from De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana.*

Plate 6.27



a. Agrigentum, upper agora: *ekklesiasterion* (left) and *bouleuterion* (right).



b. Agrigentum: aerial view (left) and plan of the gymnasium (right, reproduced from De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana*).

Plate 6.28



a. Agrigentum, upper agora: “Oratory of Phalaris.”



b. Agrigentum: peristyle house in the “Hellenistic-Roman quarter,” viewed from the east.

Plate 6.29



a. Agrigentum: plan of the upper agora, including the early imperial "forum" complex (left); plan of the early imperial "forum" complex (right). Both plans reproduced from De Miro and Fiorentini, *Agrigento romana.*



b. Agrigentum: inscribed seat from the *gymnasium*, now in the courtyard of the Museo Archeologico Regionale.

Plate 6.30



a. Agrigentum: examples of *tegulae sulfuris* on display in the Museo Archeologico Regionale.





b. Durrueli villa: view of the peristyle (left), and floors paved with marble and mosaics in the rooms adjoining the peristyle (right).

Plate 6.31



a. Durrueli: nautical-themed mosaic in the villa's bath complex.



b. Agrigentum: tombs in the *sub divo* necropolis on the slopes of the Collina dei Templi.

Plate 6.32



a. Agrigentum: "Temple of Concord," reused as a church in the Byzantine era.

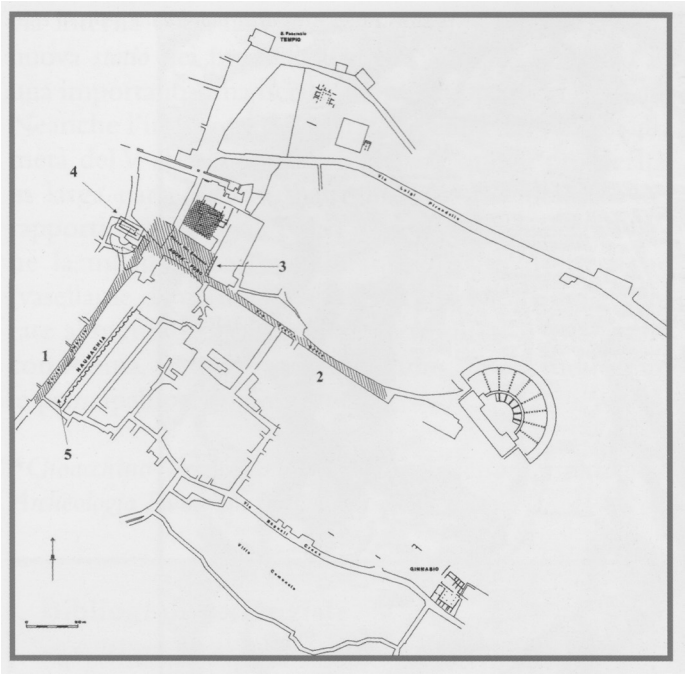


b. View of Taormina (Roman Tauromenium) and the Ionian Sea from the summit of Monte Tauro.

Plate 6.33



a. Tauromenium: Hellenistic/Roman theatre.



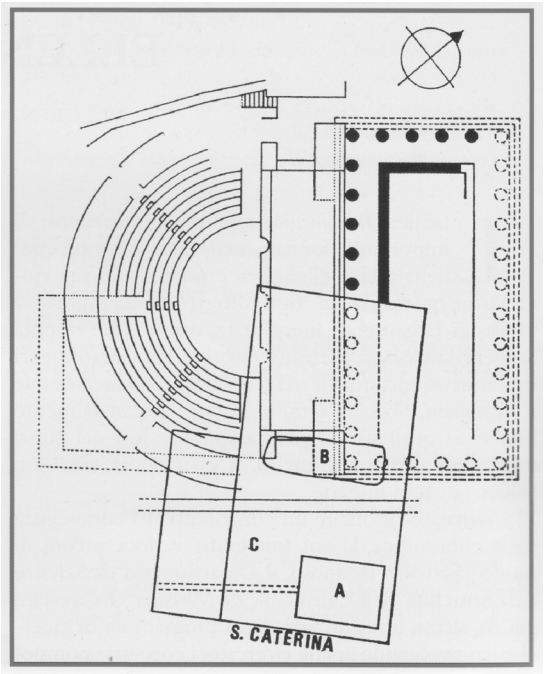
b. Plan of ancient Tauromenium, reproduced from Campagna, "Tauromenion."
1 and 2: main urban axis of the ancient city, corresponding to the modern corso Umberto I (1) and via Teatro Greco (2); 3: area of the agora (piazza Vittorio Emanuele II); 4: Hellenistic temple and Roman odeion; 5: "Naumachia."

Plate 6.34



a. Tauromenium: remains of the Temple of Isis and Serapis preserved in the wall of the Church of San Pancrazio.





b. Tauromenium: photo and plan of the Roman imperial *odeion* adjoining a Hellenistic temple. Plan reproduced from Campagna, "Tauromenion."

Plate 6.35

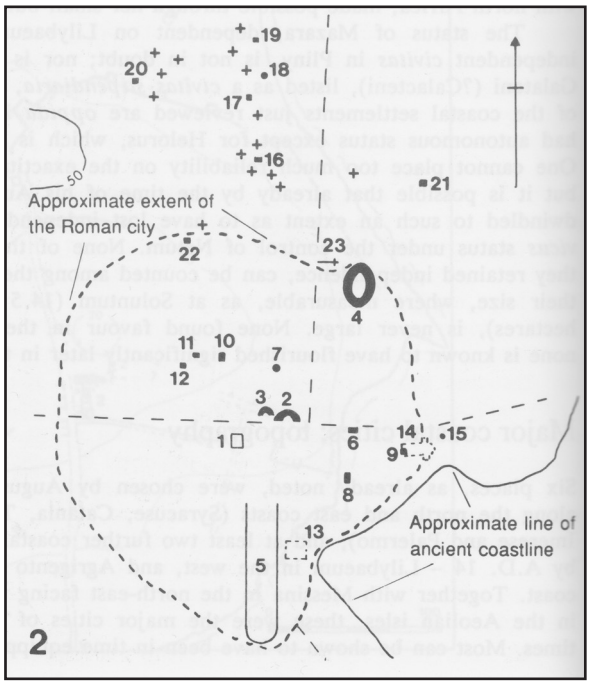


a. Tauromenium: the “Naumachia.”



b. Catina: Roman street under the former Monastero dei Benedettini (now the site of the Università degli Studi di Catania).

Plate 6.36



Sites mentioned in the text:
1: forum(?), 2-3: theatre and odeion, 4: amphitheatre, 5: circus, 7: Terme della Rotonda, 8: Terme dell'Indirizzo, 9: Terme Achilliane, 10-12: area of Monastero dei Benedettini (finds of houses, baths, streets, and a nymphaeum), 16-21: necropoleis and paleochristian tombs; 23: church of S. Agata la Vetere

a. Catina: plan of the ancient city center (reproduced from Wilson, *Sicily)*.



b. Catina theatre: *cavea* (left); *orchestra* and remains of the *scaena* (right).

Plate 6.37



a. Catina: *odeum* adjoining the theatre.



b. Catina: visible section of the Roman amphitheatre (most of the structure now lies under Piazza Stesicoro).

Plate 6.38



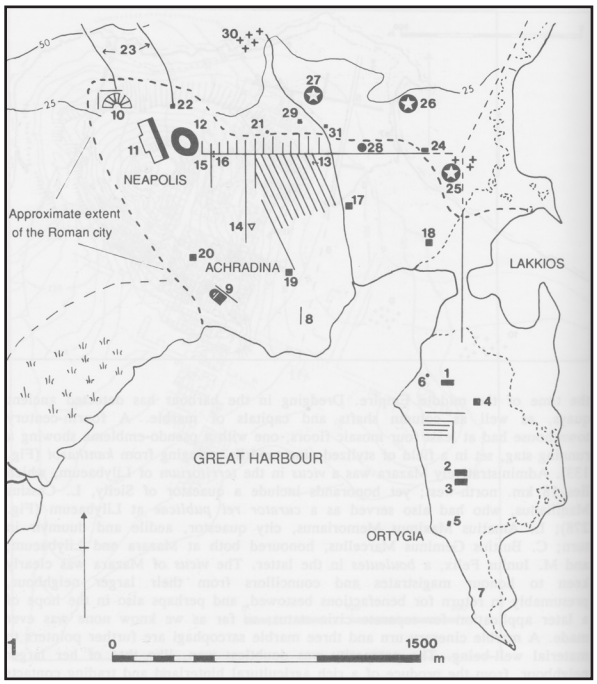


a. Catina: remains of the Terme della Rotonda (left) and Terme dell'Indirizzo (right).



b. Catina: basalt hand mills, now on display in the Roman theatre.

Plate 6.39



Sites mentioned in the text:
1: Temple of Apollo, 3: Temple of Athena, 4: paleochristian church of S. Pietro, 8: agora/forum?, 9: "Gymnasium" theatre-temple complex, 10: Hieronian theatre, 11: Altar of Hieron and adjacent plaza, 12: amphitheatre, 13: Piazza della Vittoria excavations, 14: Piazza Adda, 16: honorific arch, 24: mithraeum, 25: S. Lucia catacombs, 26: Vigna Cassia catacombs, 27: S. Giovanni catacombs, 28: Villa Maria district.

a. Syracuse: plan of the ancient city center (reproduced from Wilson, *Sicily)*.



b. Syracuse: theatre in Neapolis.

Plate 6.40



a. Syracuse: detail of the inscription extending across the *diazoma* in the Neapolis theatre. In this section the name of Philistis, wife of Hieron II, is inscribed.

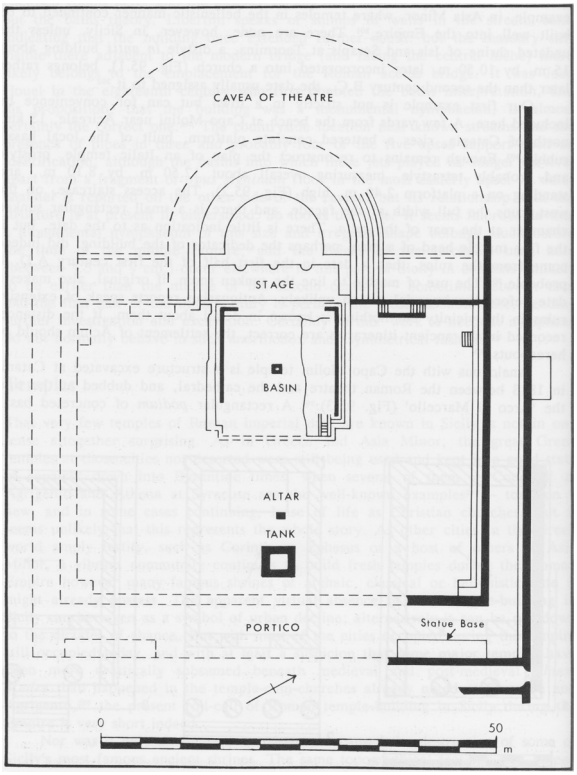


b. Syracuse: the Great Altar of Hieron II in Neapolis.

Plate 6.41



a. Syracuse: the amphitheatre in Neapolis, viewed from the southeastern (left) and northwestern (right) entrances.



b. Syracuse: plan of the "Gymnasium" complex, reproduced from Wilson, *Sicily.*

Plate 6.42



a. Syracuse: Imperial-era remains of the hypothesized forum in Acradina.
Left: three re-erected marble columns; right: section of white limestone pavement.



b. Syracuse: the so-called "Tomb of Archimedes," in a Hellenistic/Roman burial area on the northern edge of Neapolis.

Plate 7.1

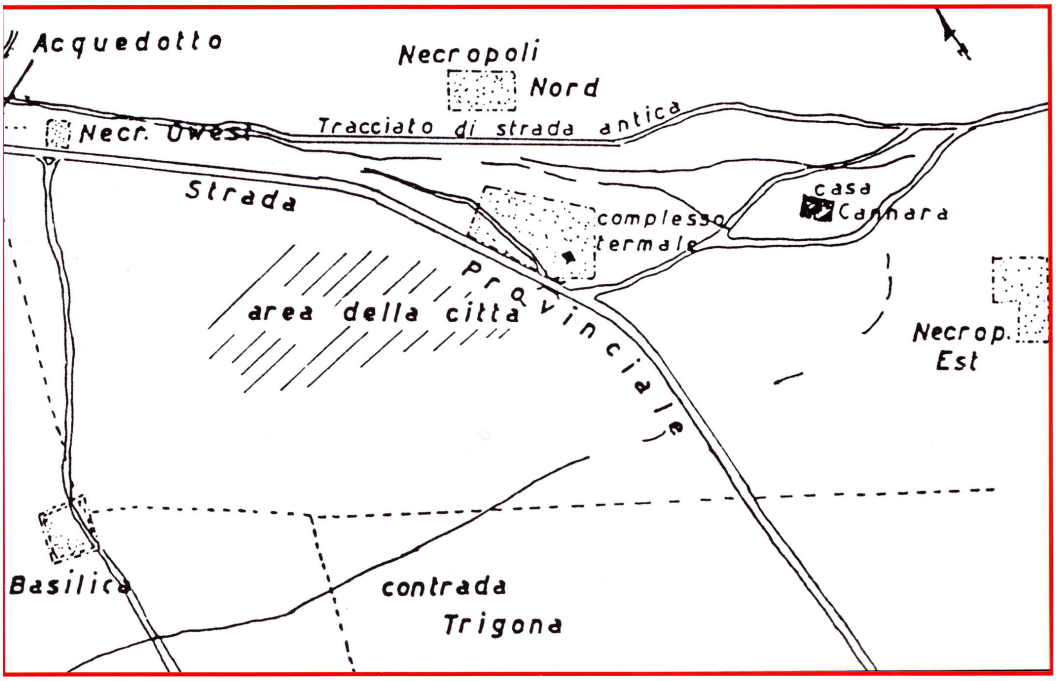


a. Map of the main cities and sites discussed in chapter 7.



b. Valley of the Nocera river, near contrada Sofiana.

Plate 7.2



a. Sofiana: Adamesteanu's rough plan of the site, based on his excavations (reproduced from La Torre, "Sofiana").

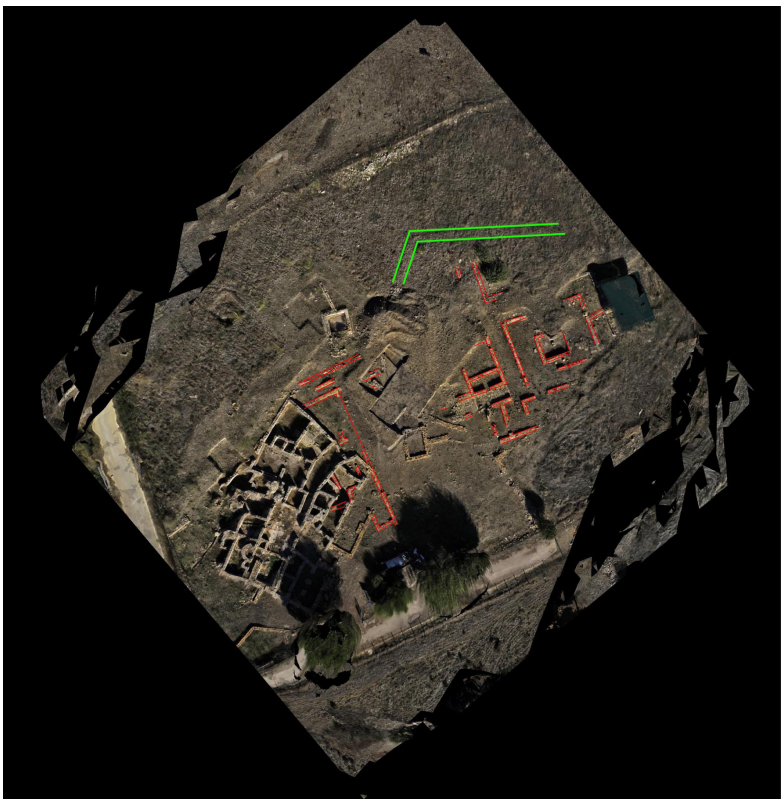


b. Sofiana: paved street and buildings uncovered in G.F. La Torre's excavations.

Plate 7.3



a. Sofiana, peristyle *domus*: plan (left), reproduced from La Torre, "Sofiana;" and *in situ* bichrome mosaic floor (right).



b. Sofiana: aerial view of excavations; walls of the early imperial peristyle *domus* and of the first phase of the bath complex are outlined in red (image courtesy of E. Vaccaro).

Plate 7.4

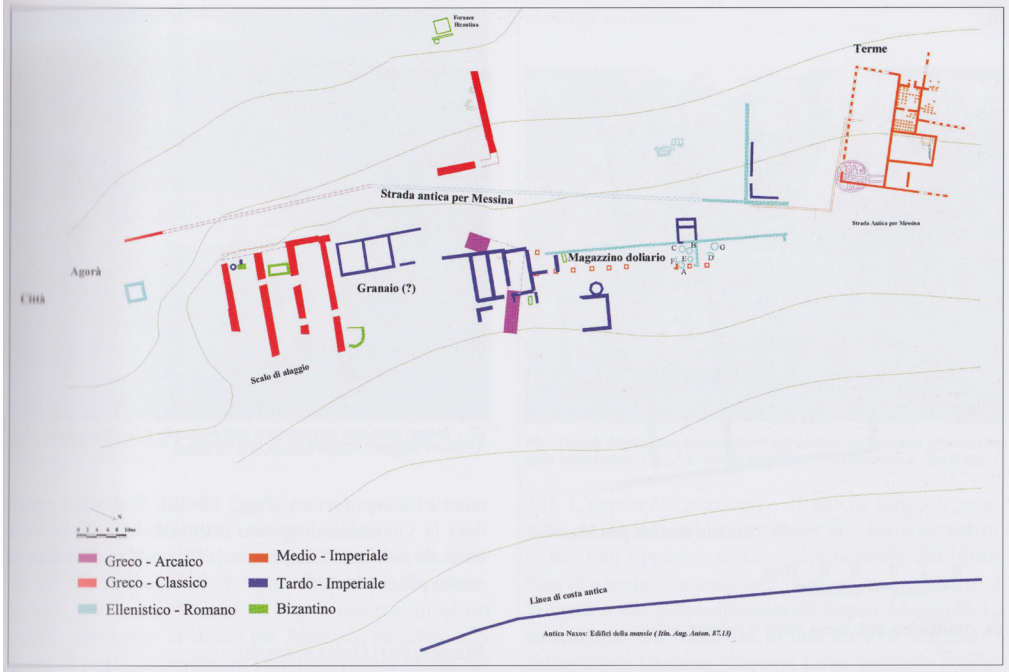


a. View of Punta Schisò (site of ancient Naxos) and the Bay of Giardini Naxos from Taormina (Roman Tauromenium).



b. Naxos: plan of the archaic/classical city center, reproduced from Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina.*

Plate 7.5

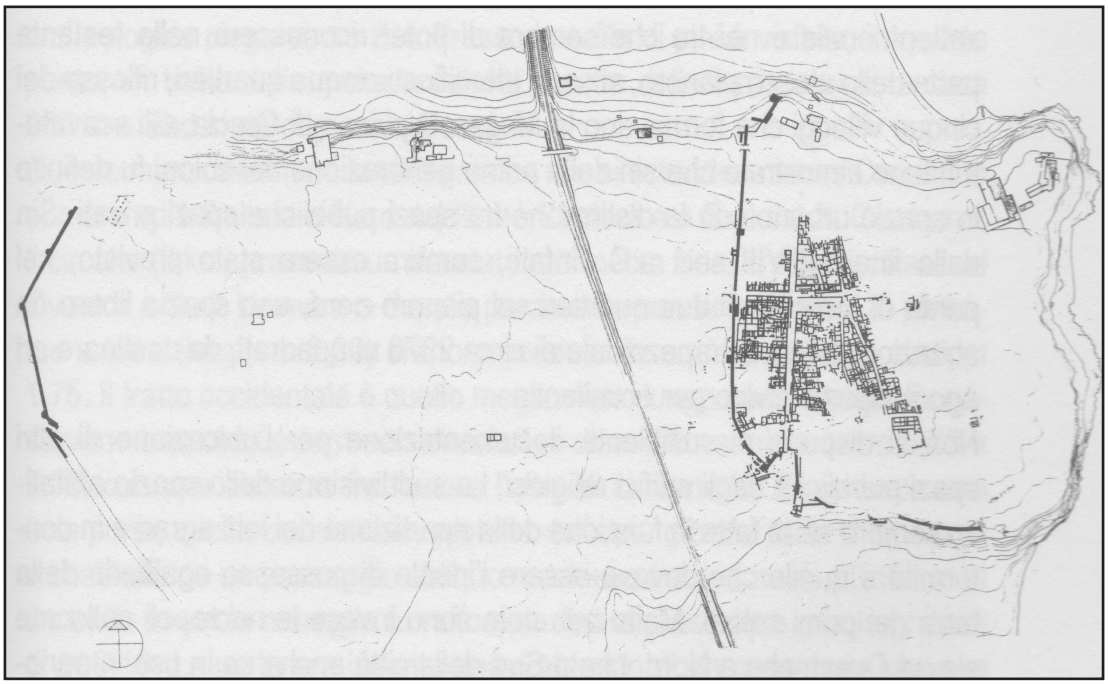


a. Naxos: plan of excavated structures in the Hellenistic/Roman settlement near the ancient coastline, reproduced from Lentini, *Naxos di Sicilia in età romana e bizantina*.

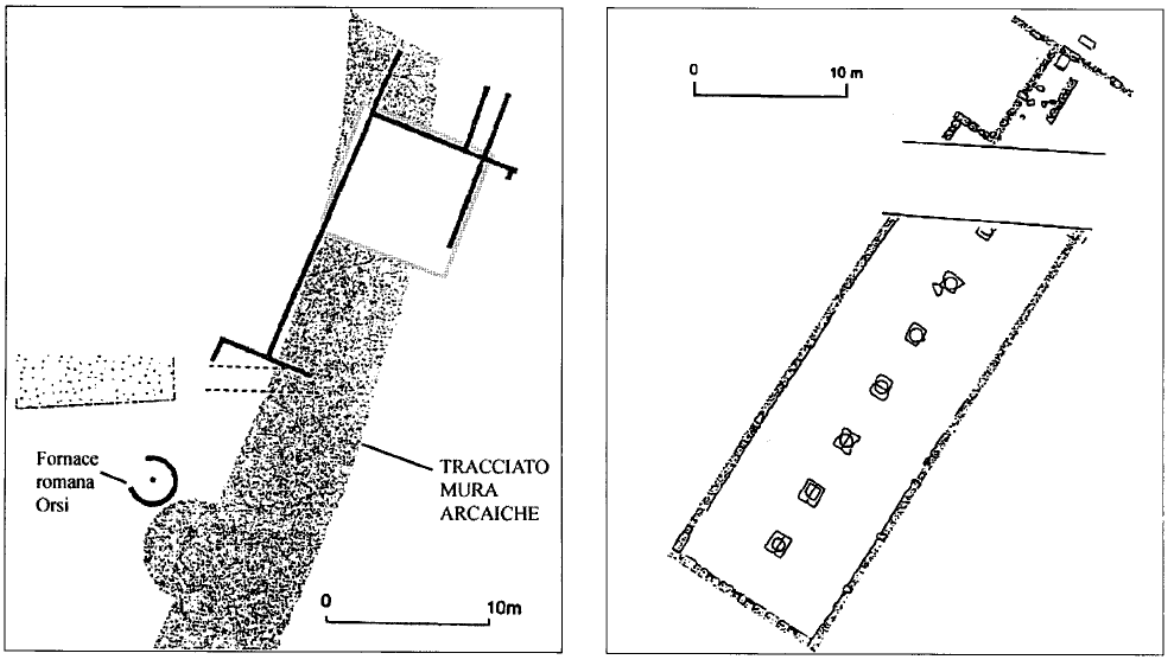


b. View north to the Gulf of Augusta from Epipolae, outside Syracuse.

Plate 7.6

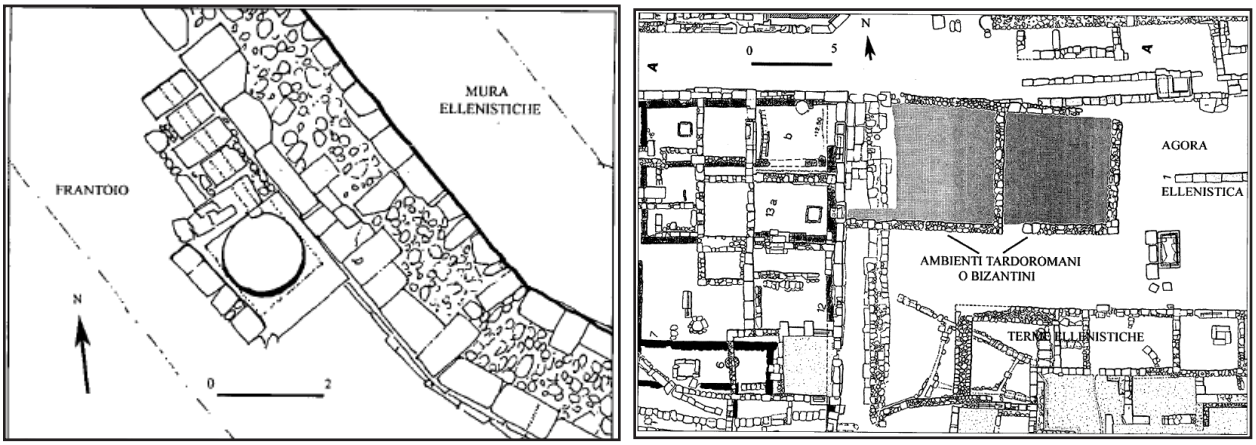


a. Megara Hyblaea: plan of the *polis* (reproduced from Tullio, *Itinerari archeologici*).

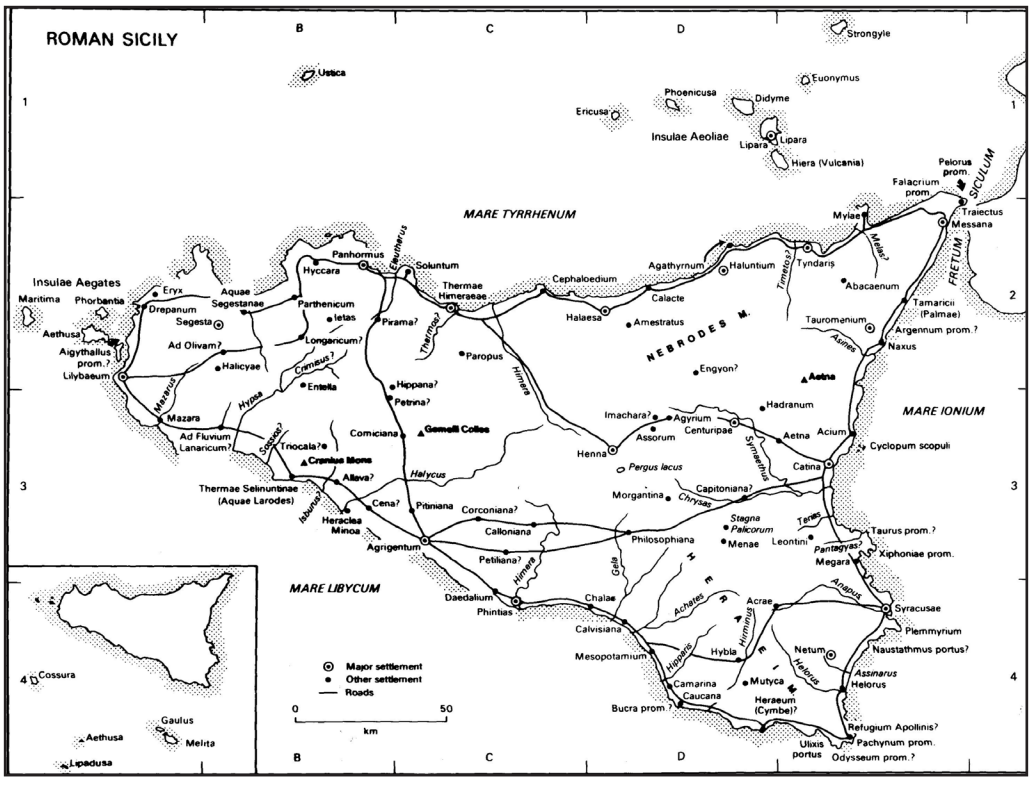


b. Megara Hyblaea: plans of the kiln built into the fortification wall (left) and of the colonnaded building (right), reproduced from Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea."

Plate 7.7



a. Megara Hyblaea. Left: plan of the press structure built into the Hellenistic wall; right: late Roman/Byzantine structures in the agora. Both plans reproduced from Cacciaguerra, "Megara Hyblaea."



b. Map of the Roman road network of Sicily, based on the *It. Ant.*; reproduced from Wilson, *Sicily.*