

BECOMING ROMAN,
WRITING LATIN?
LITERACY AND EPIGRAPHY
IN THE ROMAN WEST

edited by
Alison E. Cooley

with contributions by

A. J. Burnett, R. Conolly, A. E. Cooley, T. Derks, J. Edmondson,
R. Häussler, W. S. Hanson, J. R. W. Prag, N. Roymans,
R. S. O. Tomlin, J. H. C. Williams, and G. D. Woolf

PORTSMOUTH, RHODE ISLAND

2002

JOURNAL OF ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY

SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES NUMBER 48

This volume also belongs to the
**International
Roman Archaeology
Conference Series**

based upon biennial conferences organized by
THE SOCIETY FOR THE
PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES
with additional sponsorship from
The Journal of Roman Archaeology

ISBN 1-887829-48-2

ISSN 1063-4304 (for the supplementary series)

Copyright © 2002 Journal of Roman Archaeology L.L.C. Printed by Thomson-Shore, Dexter, Michigan.

This and other supplements to the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* may be ordered from:

JRA, 95 Peleg Road, Portsmouth, RI 02871, U.S.A.

Telephone (USA) 401 683 1955, telefax (USA) 401 683 1975 (fax only); e-mail: jra@JournalofRomanArch.com

Epigraphy by numbers: Latin and the epigraphic culture in Sicily

Jonathan R. W. Prag

'Never start with an apology.' Perhaps so, but *caveat emptor*, at least. This paper derives not from a paper, but a poster; and if what appeared on that poster was speculative, this paper remains tentative. The poster was an exploration of the possibilities for study. This paper presents some initial findings from that study. Its origins lie in a now-ageing concept, the 'epigraphic habit', and the problematic nature of Sicilian epigraphy. Attempts to bring the one to bear upon the other, as discussed in this paper, provide considerable food for thought. Although the dangers inherent in the sort of analysis attempted below will be highlighted throughout, it is as well to emphasize the point at the start. I make no claims for conclusiveness; this is work in progress. Neither do I believe such an approach can provide a final answer; but it can be a beginning.

It is some 20 years since Ramsay MacMullen coined the phrase, 'the epigraphic habit', in an oft-cited article, but one could go back a further 20 years and find hints of the idea.¹ Essentially, MacMullen pointed out that, whatever the underlying explanations might be, Latin epigraphy reflects social *mores* rather than brute facts. Whether one sought to prove demographics, socio-economic 'facts', literacy or linguistic practice, epigraphy (and in particular lapidary funerary epigraphy) could no longer be assumed to offer a direct interface with the past. MacMullen suggested such influences as a "sense of audience", and that the impulse to inscribe publicly "may be called a matter of culture, in the anthropologist's sense of the word...". E. A. Meyer subsequently proposed a relation between the practice of Latin funerary epigraphy, citizenship and legal status.² 'Ageing' is perhaps an unfair description; 'evolving' might be more apt. More recent discussions have tried to move from 'habit' to 'culture', noting the limitations not only of such attempts at direct explanation, but also of restricting oneself to, for example, lapidary funerary epigraphy, or even inscribed monuments.³ Seeking the wider socio-cultural context requires more than seeking a socio-cultural explanation (audience or legal status) for just one element (Latin lapidary epitaphs) of what is inevitably a much bigger, more disparate phenomenon (epigraphic culture). Which is not to diminish the value of any of what has gone before; "standing on the shoulders of giants" runs the legend on the £2 coin, and it is easy to observe ways in which the whole debate has advanced the subject.⁴

In the case of Sicily, however, there are no shoulders on which to stand. It is not an absence of giants, but rather of any studies of this sort on the Latin epigraphy of the region.⁵ Not only has there been no region-specific study, but the occasional more wide-ranging statistical snapshots in recent scholarship have simply left the island out of consideration. G. D. Woolf, following W. V. Harris, simply marked the island as "no figures available". Harris himself, in tabulating provincial density of Latin inscriptions, makes no mention at all of Sicily (as J. Edmondson demonstrates below, Harris's figures and the resulting provincial rankings have not aged well; but since Sicily climbs the rankings in a similar manner to Lusitania if one compares the number of inscriptions in *CIL* with those known today, one would need to consider find-rates across the provinces to pass judgement. As will become clear, quite apart from the question of intra-provincial variation, which is also a significant factor in Sicily, I think such quantifica-

1 MacMullen 1982 and 1986. Cf., e.g., Mócsy 1966; Ery 1969; Mrozek 1973.

2 MacMullen 1982, 246; 1986, 238; Meyer 1990, esp. 78.

3 Woolf 1996, esp. 30; Oliver 2000, 15-18.

4 E.g., Saller and Shaw 1984, with Ery 1969.

5 Sgarlata 1991 attempts to draw conclusions on the demographics of Syracuse based upon 623 4th-5th c. A.D. inscriptions. Ery 1969 and Shaw 1996, 125-26, do include Sicily, but neither very usefully.

tion of Latin in isolation can be problematic; Harris, discussing literacy levels, merely observed in a footnote that "... some provinces ... made considerable use of other languages").⁶ Saller and Shaw also omitted the island from their studies, as did Galvao-Sobrinho.⁷ All of which is quite understandable. The relevant section of *CIL* (X.2, nos. 6976-7512) is still Mommsen's 1883 edition. It remains the starting point, but it is very out of date, in terms of both finds and method of presentation: provenance is often imprecise, materials are seldom recorded, dates are rarely ventured, and almost never is the text supported by any sort of image or context. This renders it next to useless for any sort of quantitative analysis. Although a complete revision of *CIL* X is underway, Sicily is not the focus of immediate attention.⁸

But if the problem were so simple, it would probably have been resolved long ago. What those who have investigated the relevant material have in fact revealed, but not resolved, is that the situation in Sicily is much more complicated than simply one of a Latin 'epigraphic habit'. This should come as no surprise, given the island's Greek, Phoenician and 'indigenous' history, and in the light of changing approaches to the epigraphic habit. But it is not the Latin epigraphy alone which defies easy approach. *IG* XIV is almost as old as *CIL* X, and little better. But, even if both were 'better', the discipline itself imposes obstacles. If, as this paper is arguing, and discussion of epigraphic culture suggests, we need to consider wider contexts than Latin epigraphy of the High Empire, then the number of disciplinary boundaries we must cross grows rapidly. This study considers inscriptions across three languages (while touching on at least three more) and 14 centuries. Whatever its defects, synthesis is occasionally necessary.

Investigation of the Sicilian material has followed two divergent paths, and itself suggests the need for a more firmly quantified foundation to the discussion. A debate has raged for many years over the island's linguistic history, and in particular on the subject of the respective rôles of Greek and Latin in the transition from the Roman period, through Gothic, Byzantine, Arab, Norman, etc., to the development of the modern Sicilian dialect.⁹ It is inevitably an emotive subject, and has not always engendered the most objective of discussions. The subject is of interest here for two reasons. Firstly, it has been responsible for some of the earliest attempts to apply any sort of quantitative analysis to Sicilian epigraphy.¹⁰ Secondly, while the linguistic debate itself is largely independent of, and unaware of, the increasing caution with which epigraphic evidence needs to be used in this regard, it does at the same time offer an alternative approach to the material, even if it is one which involves concentrating upon the texts at a time when it is decidedly unfashionable to do so. Thus, simply counting the proportions of Greek and Latin inscriptions in a period and/or location should no longer be considered a viable way of determining the principal spoken language. As A. Várvaro rightly pointed out, if such an exercise were undertaken in Catania today, one would conclude that Latin remained very much a living language, since the vast majority of the civic monuments still employ the language,¹¹ but the procedure, properly employed, can still be of value to the debate, firstly, if set in the broader epigraphic context, and secondly, if employed in conjunction with study of the actual linguistic content and its changing nature.

Besides offering some specific discussion of the linguistic interaction of Greek and Latin in Sicily in the Imperial period, a number of other studies also show the way forward.¹² Most

6 Woolf 1998, 81-83, fig. 4.1. Harris 1989, 265-69, esp. Tab. 4. The footnote is n.468 on p. 267.

7 Saller and Shaw 1984, 129-33 (discussion of their data-set); Shaw 1984 (although cf. n.5 above for Shaw 1996); Galvao-Sobrinho 1995.

8 Solin 1998, 96.

9 The bibliography is huge. Besides those mentioned below, see, e.g., Rohlf's 1972 and Manganaro 1994.

10 Maccarrone 1915, 51-52. Rohlf's 1972, 14-16 cites Ferrua's assessment of the Greek/Latin breakdown of catacomb inscriptions, but nothing more.

11 Várvaro 1981, 43-44 (he repeats Maccarrone's figures, with suitable caution); cf. Melazzo 1984, 39-40, who goes round in circles over how to use this sort of evidence.

12 Korhonen 2002 offers a number of observations on the language of Syracusan funerary epitaphs, mainly

recently, C. Consani has considered the interaction between Greek *koine* and Doric dialect on the island from the 4th c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D. From the purely epigraphic perspective, his conclusions have implications for the thorny topic of dating many Greek inscriptions which hover between the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial period. But there are cultural implications also, as in his suggestion that the choice of Doric elements as opposed to *koine* has a political dimension. From the other end, chronologically, L. Melazzo offers an interesting study of linguistic changes in the two languages in the Later Empire and early Christian period.¹³

One path, then, is linguistic. The other is cultural. The two are not wholly distinct, since the question of which language predominated remains an issue, even if in the more recent studies of material culture, or cultural practice, the notion of Latin epigraphy as in some way an index of 'Romanization' is nearer the fore. M. I. Finley summarised the situation for the Imperial period back in 1968, and the picture has not changed much. At the same time, comparing Finley with the much more detailed discussion of R. J. A. Wilson, or Wilson with K. Lomas, one notes how the use of specific examples dominates, especially when confronted by a lack of more solid foundations.¹⁴ Thus, from the perspective of literature, Finley cited Firmicus Maternus and claimed that, from Augustus onwards, Sicilian literary culture was firmly Latin. Wilson instead points out that Firmicus was practically unique in an otherwise Greek literary milieu.¹⁵ When it comes to epigraphy, the situation is no better.

It is not my intention to develop a detailed discussion of the content of the Latin epigraphy of the island: ironically, examples must suffice. It is a commonly repeated assertion that Latin became the universal language for the official inscriptions of *coloniae* and *municipia* in Sicily from Augustan times until as late as the Byzantine period.¹⁶ There are exceptions, but traditionally duty requires only that one notes that these exist and then dismisses them, more or less summarily. Disquiet has been expressed about the value of the distinction between public and private in the field of lapidary epigraphy.¹⁷ In this instance, we might point to the actual numbers of such 'official' inscriptions, and the proportion of all inscriptions that they make up (cf. below and figs 2.3-2.4). How meaningful is such a statement? Bear in mind also that we know of only 6 *coloniae* (7 after A.D. 193) and 7 Latin *municipia* (by A.D. 14) for the whole island.¹⁸ A more specific example: given the situation outlined, Greek official inscriptions of the High Empire are exceptional. This encourages Lomas to advocate, probably correctly, that the situation in Sicily is different from that encountered (and which she has herself highlighted) in S Italy in the Imperial period.¹⁹ But if one is going to employ specific examples, the often-cited inscription of Iallia Bassiana (IG XIV 1091), erected at Rome by the people of Tauromenium, c.A.D. 200, in Greek, fits perfectly the S Italian pattern of promotional Hellenism in the High Empire. When the *colonia* has provided fewer than 10 Latin honorific or dedicatory inscriptions, at least three of which are directed at members of the imperial household, that is not very much to go on, one way or the other; and it renders the decision to focus upon such 'élite' epigraphy even more problematic.²⁰ That the people of Tauromenium should do things differently at home and at Rome is, of course, telling in itself.

late Roman and from the catacombs; Bivona 2001 returns to several ideas already discussed in Bivona 1987.

13 Consani 1996, esp. 124 (political choice), 125-27 (dating); Melazzo 1984, often following earlier work by A. Ferrua.

14 Finley 1968, 165-66; Wilson 1990, esp. 313-19; Lomas 2000.

15 Finley 1968, 165 (and similarly Várvaro 1981, 45-46); Wilson 1990, 320. For a survey of Sicilian literature in this period, see Arrighetti 1980.

16 Finley 1968, 165; Wilson 1990, 313; Lomas 2000, 168-69.

17 Meyer 1990, 95.

18 The precise distribution of status in Sicily after 44 B.C. is debated. Wilson 1990, 33-45, summarizes the issues very well and is followed here. Cf. Manganaro 1988.

19 Lomas 2000, 169-73; Lomas 1995.

20 This remains the common focus nonetheless. Cf. Bivona 1987, 270 ending with the despairing comment,

Although Wilson made by far the most serious attempt to quantify epigraphic practice on the island, not only are his figures buried in the notes, but they also present a very static picture. The gross number of inscriptions of a city for "our period", presumably 36 B.C.–A.D. 535, does not reveal very much; indeed, it offers little more than an updated version of Maccarrone's 1915 figures (and only Várvaro actually tabulated those).²¹ In other words, despite the range of questions we would like to ask of the material, all the questions asked continue to be asked either at the level of the individual inscription, or by the sort of quantitative analysis already used (or mis-used) almost a century ago. Lomas has tentatively highlighted the island's unusualness in the Imperial period; standing as it does at the 'crossroads of the Mediterranean', the island is unlikely to fit neatly into the typical patterns.

Indeed, the extent of the problem, of the island's potential interest, and of the problem's implications for study of the epigraphic habit, is apparent the moment one begins to approach the task. Clearly it does not make sense to map the Latin habit in a vacuum: it must be placed in its context, in the Sicilian epigraphic culture. So we must map the contemporary Greek habit. That already takes us across some eight centuries, since the Romans arrived in the 3rd c. B.C. and the Goths and the Byzantines did not take over until the 5th and 6th c. A.D., respectively. However, it cannot make sense to begin *in medias res* with the Greek habit. We need to establish what the pre-existing Greek practice was before the Romans arrived, if we are to make any claims about the interaction of the two. That pushes us back to the beginning of the Greek colonies or, in the case of lapidary epigraphy, to the 7th c. B.C. at least. But this is still insufficient. Greek and Latin were not the only languages on Sicily, nor the Greeks and the Romans the only inhabitants of the island. We cannot claim to have considered the epigraphic culture of the island (remember that it is the epigraphic culture, and the lapidary one at that, which we are considering; not the actual linguistic history), if we do not include all the (inscribing) languages which occur in this period. So now we have Phoenicio-Punic, Sikel, Elymian and Oscan to add to the equation and, at the other end of the timescale, Hebrew (I have drawn the line at Arabic and the 7th c. A.D.).²²

Is such an undertaking either practicable or worthwhile? The preceding discussion should have suggested its potential value within two Sicilian debates. The wider debate about epigraphic culture is ongoing and the boundaries need pushing still wider. G. Woolf has already remarked that perhaps Christian and catacomb epigraphy needs to be reconsidered as an epigraphic culture in its own right. B. Shaw has noted the differing nature of Latin Christian funerary epitaphs from those of the Imperial period (problematic for his study of family relations because the motivations are clearly different from those highlighted by E. Meyer, and kinship relations are generally omitted). However, he commented simply that the inscribing habit remained at least as strong. C. Galvao-Sobrinho, mapping the Latin Christian funerary epigraphic habit, MacMullen-style, makes a similar point, seeking to provide an explanation at the same level (we might call it the level of [semi-]conscious motivation), as Meyer did for the earlier period.²³ The suggestion offered here instead is that while these motivational explanations for specific habits are no doubt true at one level, they fail to consider the broader epigraphic context, the wider epigraphic culture — and hence the scope suggested by the previous paragraph. Of course, questions of practicality interact with those of worth. As many previous studies have demonstrated, the provincial level is possibly the size of sample best suited to quantitative analysis. However, Sicily presents particular problems. As remarked upon above, *CIL* and *IG* are outdated and inadequate to the task — although they do give some hint as to the numbers involved. *CIL* has somewhat over 500 lapidary inscriptions; *IG* nearer

"... ma la gente dov'è?"

21 Supra nn.10-11; Wilson 1990, 415 nn.9, 10, 11, 14, 16.

22 And if this ripple effect sounds bad enough, bear in mind that this survey was first conceived with the sole aim of establishing the epigraphic trend for the 3rd-1st c. B.C.

23 Woolf 1996, 38; Shaw 1984, 467-68; Galvao-Sobrinho 1995, 445-47, 447-58; Meyer 1990.

600. This suggests that, if one considers lapidary inscriptions alone, then the total body of inscriptions is probably of a manageable order of magnitude, and indeed one at which sampling would not be viable. This raises the separate question of whether we should look wider than merely lapidary inscriptions (which is already to go beyond those studies which restrict themselves to dated and/or funerary inscriptions). As we shall see, a lapidary focus does have certain consequences; but more work is needed to establish how other media fit into the various epigraphic habits or cultures of the ancient world. For the purposes of this study, *all* lapidary inscriptions, including those on 'living' rock, have been included, and also those painted on plaster, but not mosaics, nor those on metals, ceramics, and so on. As so often, there is a degree of arbitrariness in many of these decisions; practicality is often a deciding factor. At the same time, the island's epigraphy presents a fantastic opportunity precisely because, although no small task, it is a practicable one.

We thus treat all lapidary inscriptions, in all languages, from the 7th c. B.C. to the 7th c. A.D. There is a second reason why sampling is not an option with the Sicilian material. This is the difficult state of Sicilian epigraphy mentioned at the start. Aside from *IG* and *CIL*, there is a dearth of corpora. A. Ferrua originally intended to compile one for the Christian epigraphy of the island, but the undertaking has always eluded him. He has published a great many of the inscriptions in articles spanning almost 60 years, but this makes them difficult to collect and integrate, and the varying focus of the articles means that they are not recorded in a consistent fashion. S. Agnello's *Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia* (1953) contains only 106 inscriptions (of which 50 were already in *CIL* or *IG*); in reality the catacomb inscriptions number well over 1,000. For the Hellenistic and Roman periods, G. Manganaro has similarly promised a corpus, but it too seems to have faded from view and instead we have a plethora of articles over almost half a century that publish (or republish) a vast number of inscriptions. A number of museum publications have gone some way towards improving the situation, but these will not suffice as a sample.²⁴ The situation is best for the Early Greek epigraphy, with the collections put together by L. Dubois and R. Arena. But employing these publications alone will necessarily produce a predetermined picture: an overly good coverage of Archaic epigraphy, a focus in the Roman period upon two of the main northern *coloniae*, and a certain bias for the Christian period — or this would be true were the level of reporting consistent, but that in itself is a further complication. One can enter all of these inscriptions on a database, but still the volume of data available for any form of quantification may be negligible. Any study of this sort is heavily reliant on the experts in specific areas; it indeed stands on many shoulders. Ideally of course, we would check every stone by autopsy, but "too much research is a waste of time"²⁵ and in this case probably beyond the realms of possibility. If the picture painted thus far is pretty bleak, then it is deliberately so. *Caveat lector*. This study, and the data offered in the tables and diagrams which follow is 'work in progress' simply because the process of assembling all the Sicilian inscriptions is a slow one, but by no means an impossible one. What is offered here is offered in the belief that the sample of material is now sufficiently large, that it is of interest to see what one can (and what one cannot) extract from it. In the rest of this paper we shall consider the data thus far collected, what they imply for the analyses attempted, and what these analyses in turn imply for the approach itself. Although some historical implications of the trends noted will be considered, full discussion is not attempted.

24 Bivona 1970, Manni Piraino 1972, Brugnone 1974, Bivona 1994 (all cited on p. 20, where the Sicilian epigraphic publications cited in this paragraph, and others, appear).

25 Hopkins 1983, 132, title of Table 3.2. Hopkins rightly points out (131 n.16) that whenever "data are standardised (as funeral inscriptions are), it is worth taking a sample, if only as a pilot study..."; this was done for my original poster, and was suggestive of the patterns here shown, but a) the Sicilian data is hardly "standardised", and b) the sample could never have permitted the wider range of quantitative analyses begun here.

The data

The following are the principal publications employed in collating the data:

AE: 1960-1995, all reported Sicilian inscriptions.

Agnello, S. L. 1953. *Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia* (Rome)

Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. 1967. *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente* (Studi Semitici 28)

Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. 1986. *Scavi a Mozia — le iscrizioni* (Rome)

Arena, R. 1996 (2nd edn). *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*. I. *Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte* (Pisa). (Also vols. 2 [1992], 3 [1994], 5 [1998])

Bivona, L. 1970. *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo* (Sikelika 5)

Bivona, L. 1994. *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese* (Kokalos Suppl. 9/Sikelika 8)

Brugnone, A. 1974. "Iscrizioni greche del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese," *Kokalos* 20, 218-64

Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. 1881. *Pars prima, inscriptiones phoenicias continens* (Paris)

Dubois, L. 1989. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile* (ColEFR 119)

Ferrua, A. 1940. "Nuovi studi nelle catacombe di Siracusa," *RACrist* 17, 43-81

Ferrua, A. 1941. "Analecta sicula," *Epigraphica* 3, 252-70

Ferrua, A. 1941. "Epigrafia sicula pagana e cristiana," *RACrist* 18, 151-243

Ferrua, A. 1982-83. "Le iscrizioni datate della Sicilia paleocristiana," *Kokalos* 28-29, 3-29

Garbini, G. 1967. "Catalogo delle iscrizioni fenicie conservate nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palermo," *Kokalos* 13, 66-72

Griesheimer, M. 1989. "Quelques inscriptions chrétiennes de Sicile orientale," *RACrist* 65, 143-77

Kaibel, G. 1890. *Inscriptiones Graecae XIV. Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae* (Berlin)

Manganaro, G. 1989. "Iscrizioni latine nuove e vecchie della Sicilia," *Epigraphica* 51, 161-96

Manganaro, G. 1994. "Iscrizioni, epitaffi ed epigrammi in Greco della Sicilia centro-orientale di epoca romana," *MEFRA* 106, 79-118

Manni Piraino, M. R. 1972. *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo* (Sikelika 6)

Mommsen, Th. 1883. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Voluminis decimi pars posterior. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Sardiniae comprehendens* (Berlin)

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (not systematically searched, but consulted as the first publication of many inscriptions).

Scibona, G. 1971. "Epigraphica Halaesina I," *Kokalos* 17, 3-20

SEG: all issues, for all republications of IG XIV and CIL X inscriptions.

Teixidor, J. 1964-80. "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique," in *Syria*, which commences vol. 44 (1967) 163-95, taking the year 1964 as its actual starting point; the reports were subsequently collected as single volume: Teixidor 1986. *Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique (1964-1980)*.

Vetter, E. 1953. *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg)

The best approach to recent publications and discoveries in Sicilian epigraphy is through the regular survey articles which appear in *Kokalos*, together with those in the recent ASNP publication *Sicilia Epigraphica* (cf. Gulletta 1999 in the main bibliography).

At the time of writing (August 2001), 1,642 inscriptions have been recorded. Of these, 25 have been excluded, for a variety of reasons (their provenance is too tenuously Sicilian, their nature is too incomprehensible to make them statistically useful, they are probably false). However, all lapidary inscriptions are included, including, for example, milestones (of which only two are known, one of the 3rd c. B.C., the other of the 3rd c. A.D.). Thus the total 'sample' is 1,617. This breaks down into 795 Greek, 758 Latin, 53 Phoenicio-Punic, 7 Greek-Latin bilinguals, 3 Oscan, and 1 Latin-Hebrew bilingual. The number of Latin lapidary inscriptions has increased significantly (nearly 50%) since CIL X. The same is true of Greek — even more so if one includes the full number of catacomb inscriptions (one area where this data-set is still deficient). The principal remaining task is that of filling in the gaps to render the various sub-sets as complete as possible.

A word is necessary about languages. Perhaps the single greatest indication of the existence of an epigraphic culture is the way in which some languages feature and some do not. This impression is reinforced by the decision to focus upon lapidary inscriptions alone. Phoenicio-

Punic occupies a curious middle ground: 53 stone inscriptions is not a negligible number, although it is barely 3% of the total data-set. However, quite apart from the literary evidence for the presence of the spoken language, such as 'Plato' in the 4th c. B.C. (*Ep.* 8.353e), or Apuleius in the 2nd c. A.D. (*Met.* 11.5), concentration on lapidary inscriptions ignores, for example, the large number of amphora stamps, coinage, and the extensive painted and inscribed graffiti on the wall of the Grotta Regina cave near Palermo (6th to 1st c. B.C.).²⁶ Oscan scarcely makes it into the lapidary record, although here numbers are not much higher in the non-lapidary material (a few coin legends and stamps).²⁷ The principal centre is Messina, adopted home of the Mamertines. It is the 'indigenous' languages, Elymian and Sikel, which are most problematic. The former has produced a significant body of material (almost 400 inscribed objects, mostly ceramic graffiti, from the region around Segesta and Entella, dating principally to the 5th c. B.C.), but none of it on stone, and all in an alphabet essentially Greek.²⁸ The latter has produced a tiny handful of lapidary inscriptions (not currently included), and also a significant number of ceramic-based texts. These originate from the inland areas south of Etna and in the southeast of the island and date to the 6th and 5th c. B.C. Significantly, neither language occurs in written form prior to the arrival of the Greeks.²⁹ Once again, epigraphic practice is not equivalent to linguistic practice.

A major concern with data collection of this sort lies in ensuring that individual inscriptions are not recorded more than once. This has been avoided by beginning with the principal corpora (*CIL*, *IG*, etc.), and by employing a searchable computerized data-base on which are recorded all publications of individual inscriptions. For each inscription I have attempted to record information regarding language, date, provenance (and modern location), epigraphic type and material, as well as information on the actual content. However, the nature of publication and reporting means that each of these categories presents a different subset of the total sample. Although some of that is a consequence of the incomplete nature of this survey, it is a problem that is always likely to remain in the absence of comprehensive autopsy. The consequences of this for analysis will be discussed when we come to consider each subset, with the relevant figures included on each chart.

It will be simplest to begin with a frequency curve of the sort MacMullen used so effectively (fig. 2.1). As can be seen, only half of the inscriptions are dated in any useful way — by which I mean to within two centuries or better. An inscription dated to two centuries has been allocated as a half to each century. There are also a few thirds. The consequence of being reliant on those inscriptions which others have dated (few are dated internally, though there are some funerary inscriptions of the 4th c. A.D. and later with consular dates) is that the subset is determined by the focus of past study to a greater degree than the overall data-set. It would have been relatively straightforward to assign inscriptions to very broad dating categories, covering three centuries or even more, but the effect of adding these to the curve would be to raise the base without significantly affecting the actual trends. Many of the catacomb inscriptions have been dated not on epigraphic grounds but on the basis of provenance and the archaeological dates for the catacombs (although there is some circularity here: the archaeological and historical arguments for the S. Giovanni catacombs' usage rest in part upon the last internally-

26 For the Grotta Regina material, see Coacci Polsell, Amadasi Guzzo and Tusa 1979. Examples of amphora stamps in Amadasi Guzzo 1967 (see p. 20), 70-81. Coinage, e.g., Cutroni Tusa, 1967. M. H. Crawford points out to me that both the latter categories of material raise the additional complication of tracing their place of manufacture, which need not be Sicilian.

27 See Vetter 1953 (see p. 20) nos. 196-99 (from Messina; last two are brick-stamps) and *IG* XIV 2393.390 (amphora stamp from Acrae). Cf. Sironen 1995.

28 Agostiniani 1999; cf. Sironen 1995.

29 Albanese Procelli 1996, 173; Martin *et al.* 1980, 758-62, fig. 229; Agostiniani 1988-89. The problematic Sikans (cf. Leighton 1999, 217, 221) have produced no texts thus far.

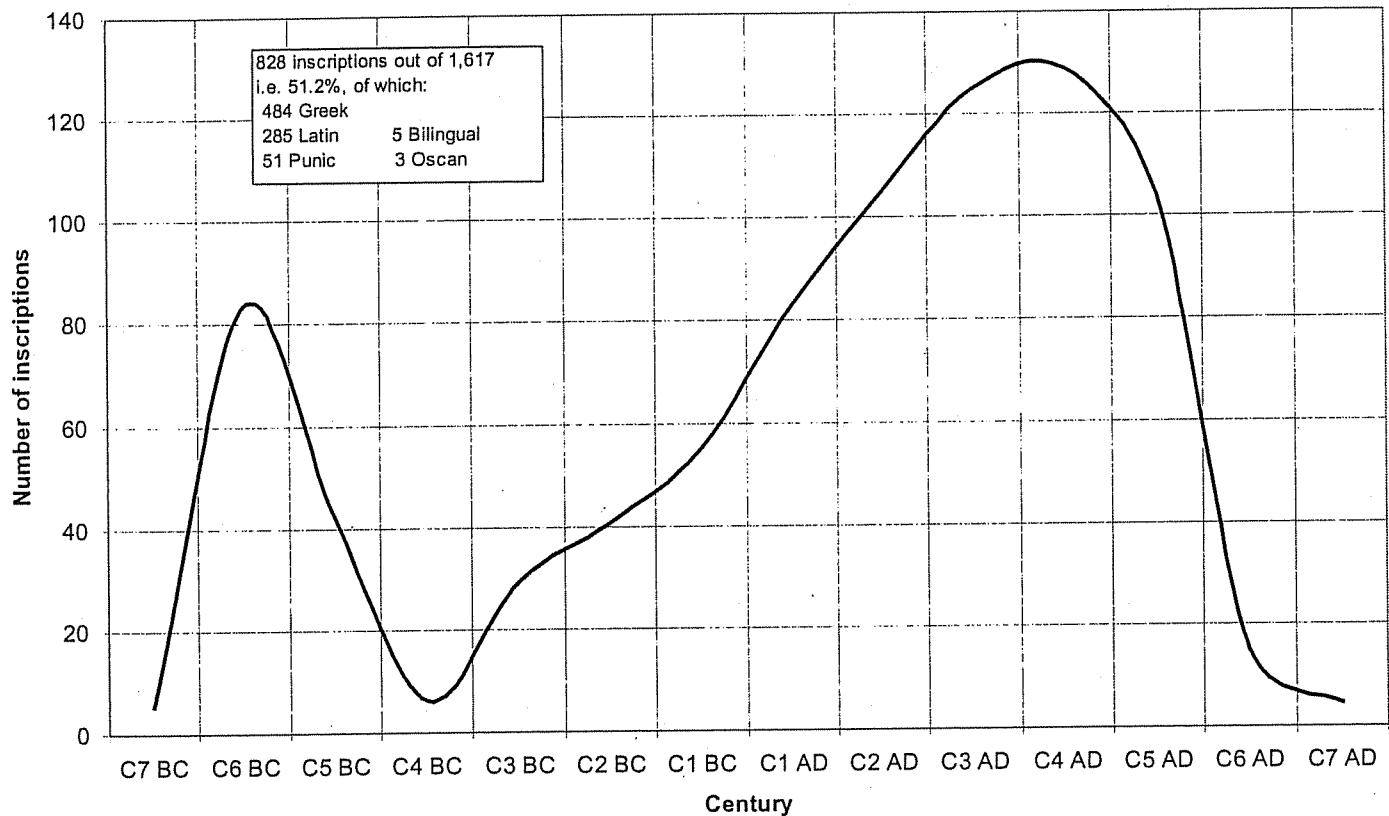


Fig. 2.1. Incidence of lapidary inscriptions in Sicily over time.

dated inscription, of 452).³⁰ The date for some of these could no doubt be pushed later.

Several aspects of this curve require immediate comment. The first is the initial rapid growth of epigraphy on the island in the Archaic period, which in simple numbers parallels the Augustan period. The second is the almost total slump in the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic period, before steady and inexorable growth that visibly accelerates at the turn of the millennium. If that apparently Augustan acceleration is significant, then the much later peak, in relation to previous studies of this sort such as MacMullen's, Meyer's, or Mrozeck's, is still more noticeable. The fall-off in the 6th c. A.D. should probably be much more gradual and is a consequence of the dating issues previously mentioned.

Before considering this in more detail, let us go one step further. Figure 2.2 shows the same distribution curve, but this time broken down according to language. There are 8 fewer inscriptions in this subset (i.e., 820) as it is hardly worthwhile plotting the 5 dated bilinguals (one 1st c. A.D., four 4th/5th c. A.D.) or the three Oscan (3rd c. B.C.). The immediate inference to draw from this second chart must be that in the Archaic period Phoenicio-Punic can hardly be considered a minority language, epigraphically speaking. The data underlying this requires comment: firstly, it is almost entirely a consequence of the extensive exploration of the island site of Motya; secondly, it is here grouped to the 6th c. B.C., although some stelai may date to the very beginning of the 5th (on the basis of the stratigraphic layer from which the bulk of the material comes).³¹ However, while this material is apparently anomalous, two things may be said in its defence. The first is Amadasi Guzzo's point that Motya is the only one of the major Phoenicio-Punic settlements on the island not to have been overlain by later occupation — it could be only the 'tip of a [lost] iceberg'.³² The second is that it competes with the most comprehensively studied and dated category of epigraphic material, namely the Archaic Greek inscriptions. One other point: these Phoenicio-Punic inscriptions are a clear case where the material ought not to be studied out of context; the inscribed stelai, almost all dedications,

30 Griesheimer 1989, 777-82.

31 Amadasi Guzzo 1986 (cited on p. 20), 13-14.

32 Amadasi Guzzo 1999, 39.

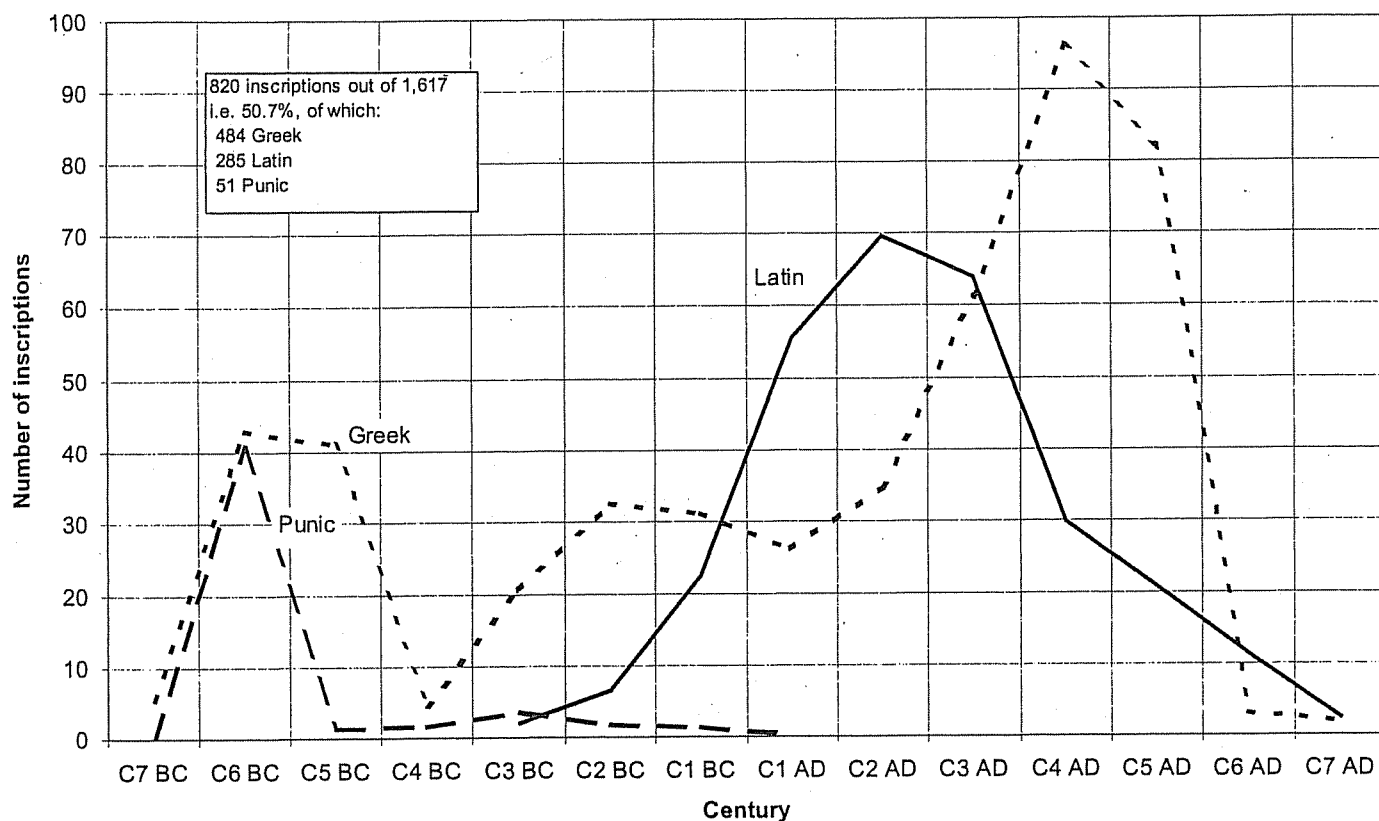


Fig. 2.2. Incidence of lapidary inscriptions over time, by language.

mostly to Ba'al Hammon, constitute a mere 40 out of the 1,185 catalogued stelai.³³

How do we explain the dramatic slump of the 4th c. B.C.? One could no doubt offer 'traditional' explanations: 'Plato' (*Ep.* 8.353e) expressed the fear that Greek might die out in the face of Phoenicio-Punic and Oscan (Opikian), in this troubled period of Sicilian history. But from the epigraphic perspective there are other considerations. The level of study and publication for this period is possibly lower than for any other. Hellenistic epigraphy in Sicily is notoriously difficult to date. We might offer the hypothesis that epigraphy took place primarily on other media during this period, but a quick survey of one of the few collections of such material, the lead *defixiones*, reveals an almost identical gap.³⁴ But if the epigraphy is absent, are we to infer that the island was suffering from a recession? This was the age of the great tyrant Dionysius.

If one adopts a purely politico-historical perspective, the trends noted here make a positive comment on the arrival of the Roman invaders in the mid-3rd c. B.C.; but that is to fall into the trap of correlating epigraphic activity with socio-economic prosperity. Stability is probably essential to the large-scale production of epigraphic monuments, but the question needs instead to be couched more in terms of the epigraphy's content and the economic, cultural and political situation. What was it about the nascent provincial set-up that encouraged a renewal of epigraphic behaviour, and what sort of epigraphy? It has been observed before that Latin epigraphy is very slow to make its mark on the island, and that is confirmed. More interesting is the cross-over period, where Latin overtakes Greek. This is another area where more detailed content-based study would be rewarding, looking at the types and distribution of epigraphic material between the two languages. If we consider the Latin curve on its own, it offers almost no surprises — this is MacMullen's "epigraphic habit"³⁵ — unless we are surprised that Sicily

³³ Moscati and Uberti 1981; for the inscribed stelai, see Amadasi Guzzo 1986 (cited on p. 20).

³⁴ Lopez Jimeno 1991, nos. 23 and 24 are late 5th/early 4th c. B.C.; no. 25 is 4th c. The preceding tablets are all earlier, the subsequent ones 2nd c. B.C. or later (40 in all).

³⁵ Compare MacMullen 1982, Tables 4-5. Moreover, Bivona 1987, 273 considers the majority of the *Thermae Himeraeae* Latin inscriptions to belong to the 1st or 2nd c. A.D., or possibly early 3rd. In the current survey, only 52 out of 190 Latin inscriptions assigned to *Thermae* are dated and included.

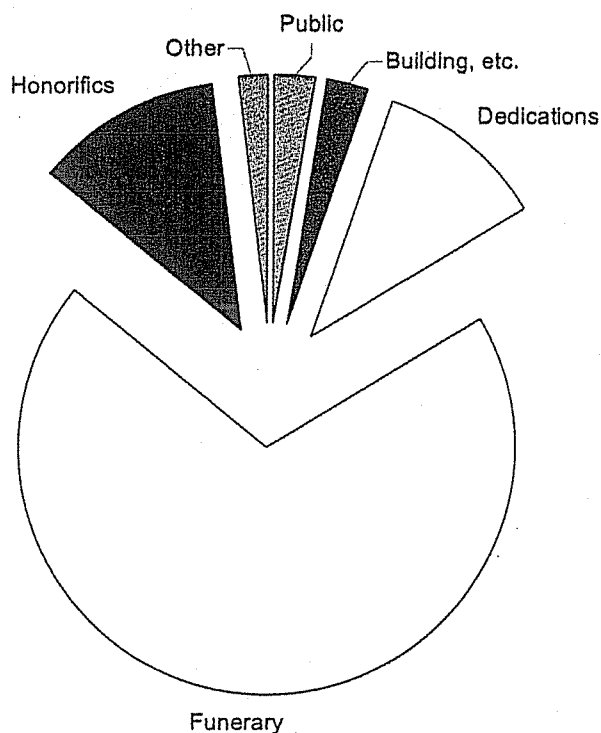


Fig. 2.3. Epigraphic categories for all Sicilian inscriptions (based on 1472 out of 1617 inscriptions, or 91%).

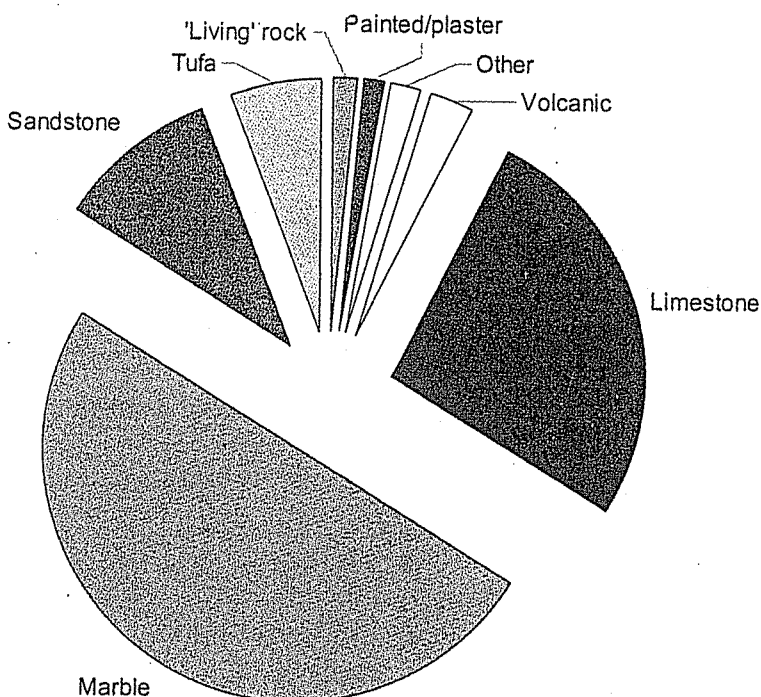


Fig. 2.5. Breakdown of materials employed (based on 732 out of 1617 inscriptions, or 45%).

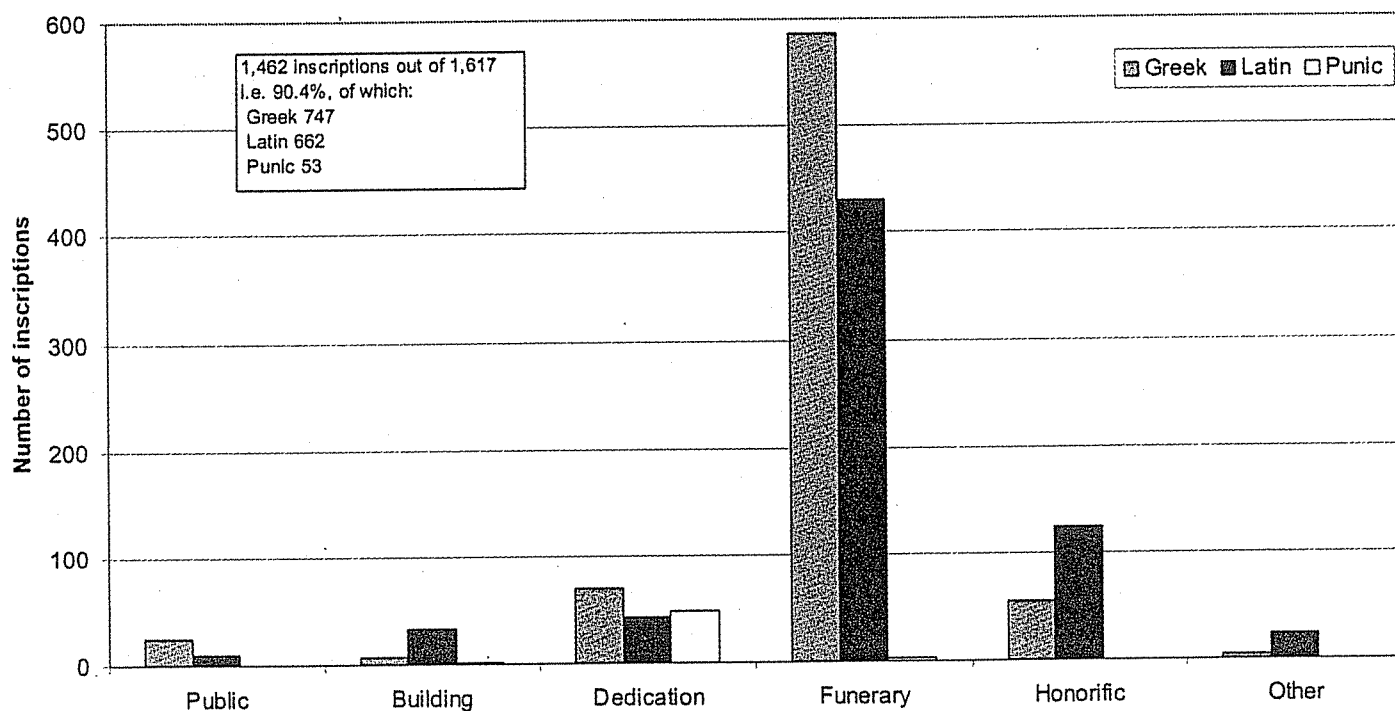


Fig. 2.4. Epigraphic categories by language.

should generate such a pattern. We shall come back to this below. Significantly there is no hint of the sort of secondary Latin peak for the Christian period which Galvao-Sobrinho illustrated for other areas.³⁶ More interesting still is the way the Greek curve behaves in relation to the Latin one; the downturn in the 1st c. A.D. is hardly a significant one; the cross-over in the 3rd c. A.D. takes place at a high level, and the greatest "epigraphic habit" of them all can be seen to reside in the empire's decline, the catacombs, and the Greek language.

³⁶ Galvao-Sobrinho 1995, figs. 1-7.

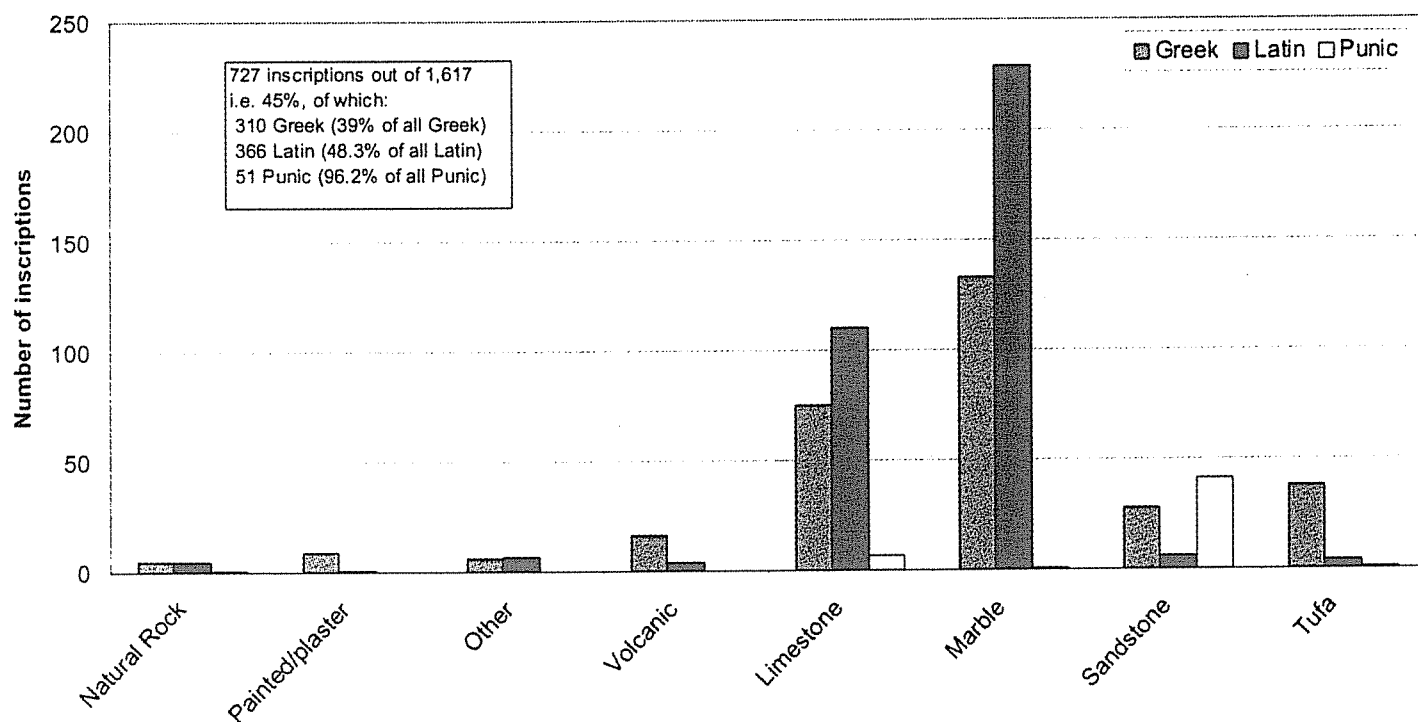


Fig. 2.6. Breakdown of materials by language.

There is obviously much food for thought. But one way to explore the trends suggested by these curves is to recombine the data in other ways; at present this is where we come up against the difficulty that the subsets, as they stand, are not sufficiently co-extensive. While it is possible to consider the types of inscriptions set up across the different languages (fig. 2.4), the current data-set does not permit this to be set against time. (However, in subsequent work this has proved possible, revealing significant patterns for the Republican period.³⁷) Alternatively, we can explore the materials employed (fig. 2.5), but the more complicated permutations of materials against language (fig. 2.6), type, or provenance, let alone time, become ever more questionable statistically as the overlap between data-sets becomes ever smaller and ever further determined by the existing publications.

The pie-chart in fig. 2.3 illustrates the breakdown of epigraphic types within Sicilian lapidary inscriptions over the 14 centuries in question. Based on 1,472 inscriptions, this is close to the full data-set; thus we can go one step further and see how this breaks down in the different languages (fig. 2.4). It should come as no surprise that funerary inscriptions (1,023) far outweigh all other categories. The other categories inevitably involve a degree of arbitrariness in the assignments: 'other', for instance, is largely made up of amphitheatre- and theatre-seat inscriptions. The categories of 'honorific' and 'dedication' are intended to distinguish between those set up to humans and those set up to gods. Including inscriptions set up to emperors and other members of the imperial family in the 'honorific' category begs several questions. This might be thought to explain the greater number of Latin, as opposed to Greek, honorific inscriptions, and so be generating a 'false' trend, but it is worth noting that there are (to my knowledge) no more than 3 Greek inscriptions dedicated to emperors: a gymnasium bench dedicated to Augustus (and Herakles) at Agrigentum; a lost inscription from Messina; and one from Lilybaeum (Marsala), if Kaibel's tentative restoration is accepted (he was suspicious of the stone, which he could not find).³⁸ In other words, dedications to emperors are a fundamentally Latin epigraphic habit.³⁹ Is this what we actually mean when we talk about 'Romanization'?

³⁷ Prag, forthcoming.

³⁸ Agrigentum: SEG 46.1252 = AE 1996.809 = G. Fiorentini, *Kokalos* 42 (1996) 9-14; Messina: IG XIV 402b = SEG 46.1264 = Manganaro, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 82-84; Lilybaeum: IG XIV 275.

³⁹ Bivona 1987, 261-64 (and 1999, 115). But Bivona's conclusion, that the concentration of honorifics in the Severan period implies "un periodo particolarmente felice" (264), cannot stand on such epigraphic evidence alone; indeed, that is the very problem posed by the epigraphic culture.

I am uncertain how much more one can usefully infer from these two charts; other than in the funerary category, the numbers are generally too low to allow of conclusions — although that in itself may be significant. The date-range is problematically large. What we would really like to know is how the epigraphic culture changed in this respect within, or across, the languages over time. I remain doubtful, however, that the set of dated inscriptions as it stands is sufficient to generate a meaningful result, so I offer just two observations. Honorifics appear to cluster in the Hellenistic and (High) Imperial periods, while dedications are very rare after the 1st c. A.D. Here again, the decision to place imperial 'dedications' amongst honorifics will have been a determining factor. But a good case could be made for bracketing such imperial honorifics with Hellenistic practices. Those inscriptions categorized as 'public', incorporating, for example, *fasti*, calendars, accounts and cadastral inscriptions, seem to be most common in the Hellenistic period. Funerary inscriptions are pervasive, but my impression is that they predominate at each end of the chronological spectrum, being somewhat less frequent in the period from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D. This supports Galvao-Sobrinho's observation that the proportion of epitaphs to all other (Latin) inscriptions in many of the Latin-inscribing parts of the empire increased in the Christian period (he suggested calling it the "epitaphic habit").⁴⁰ However, this is one area where a lack of closely dated material is undoubtedly a determining factor. It would also be necessary to consider the wider monumentalizing and funerary contexts in order to obtain the full picture.

Materials constitute the most poorly reported subset. It is disturbing how infrequently those publishing an inscription actually record the material on which the inscription was cut and/or its physical context. It is not possible at this stage to set materials (45.27% of the data-set) against, for example, time (an only partially overlapping 51.2%). The pie-chart in fig. 2.5 shows the breakdown of the 732 inscriptions for which some sort of notice is provided, but these categories often leave something to be desired: 'volcanic' is very general, no doubt including basalts, granites and others; 'tufa' is a frustratingly generic term that on most occasions probably refers to either a sandstone or limestone; in some cases the same stone is variously reported as 'limestone' and 'marble'. This last matters, since true marble does not occur naturally in Sicily — and the predominance of marble is therefore all the more striking.⁴¹ The most we can do at present is set material against language (fig. 2.6). However, as the table included on the chart highlights, the levels of reporting are uneven, so although it would appear that there is a correlation between Latin and marble,⁴² while Greek is distributed more widely across the locally available materials, this must be treated with caution. (The use of marble in Greek inscriptions appears principally as a late feature, of the 4th-5th c. A.D., with a possible secondary concentration in the Hellenistic period). It has not yet proved viable to plot material by provenance, nor to go the additional step and plot material against provenance by language, or over time. When does marble become a significant medium, in which languages and for which types of inscriptions? Is the pattern uniform across the island? What rôle do local materials play? Can one area of the epigraphic culture be seen to follow or imitate another? These are questions for the future.

The final aspect is that of provenance. This brings us full circle, since it is the distribution of inscriptions by language which has been the one area where such quantitative analysis has previously been attempted. Provenance is generally well reported but is rarely precise or certain. Of the 1,595 in the current data-set for which some provenance has been suggested, 22 can only be assigned to 'Sicily' and so do not appear on these maps. The first map (fig. 2.7) shows the distribution of all 1,573 remaining inscriptions (with the exception of a single inscription

⁴⁰ Galvao-Sobrinho 1995, 445.

⁴¹ See esp. Wilson 1990, 237-42.

⁴² Bivona 1999, 115 noted this too, in particular pointing out that all the Latin imperial honorifics from Tyndaris occur on marble; this does not, however, appear to be a consistent pattern across the island.

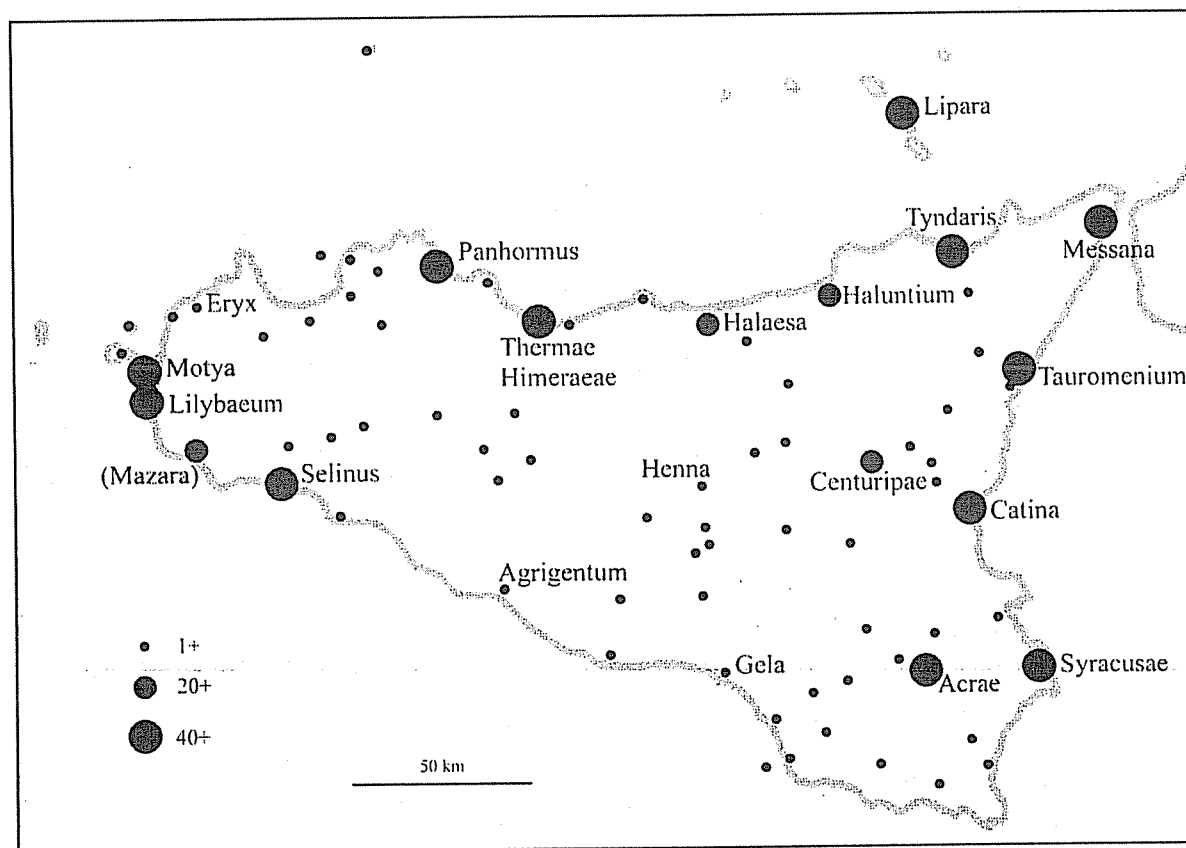


Fig. 2.7. Distribution of all lapidary inscriptions, 7th c. B.C.–7th c. A.D. (based on 1573 out of 1617 inscriptions).

from the island of Cossura [Pantelleria]). The thresholds chosen are arbitrary.⁴³ Few locations fall into the middle band; on the other hand, Syracuse (357 inscriptions so far counted), Thermae Himeraeae (228) and Catina (256) are in a class of their own; next highest is Panormus (71, of which 61 are Latin; the survey's incomplete state, but also its difficulties, can be inferred from the fact that Wilson counts 71 Latin inscriptions, Bivona 73⁴⁴). The other two maps (figs. 2.8, 2.9) retain the same thresholds (it would be misleading to retain a similar scale of symbol but to alter the thresholds, given that the total numbers halve) and map Greek and Latin separately. Finally, the Greek/Latin breakdown for locations with over 20 inscriptions is illustrated by a bar-chart (fig. 2.10). Not yet possible is a secure study of distribution by language over time, but that does not preclude some more general observations.

It has been observed before that the west of the island behaves differently from the east, and that Greek has a much stronger foothold on the E coast. That this is particularly true of the SE corner of the island emerges very clearly from the maps. The coastal concentration is obvious, but this goes hand in hand with the urban concentration. The epigraphic *eremia* of the S side of the island stands out. One thing is striking from the plot of the Latin inscriptions. The *coloniae* created in the Augustan period were Syracuse, Catina, Tauromenium, Tyndaris, Thermae Himeraeae and Panormus (although there is slight dispute over the last);⁴⁵ Lilybaeum was made a *colonia* in c.A.D. 193, and had been a *municipium* prior to that and the seat of a Roman magistrate since at least 227 B.C. The high concentrations of Latin inscriptions match these locations exactly. The only exception is Tauromenium (Lilybaeum fits the pattern better than appears, because it should be viewed in conjunction with the neighbouring concentration at modern Mazara; a great many of the inscriptions found there had been brought from Lilybaeum). But one can go further. Looking at fig. 2.10, no location which was not a *colonia* has pro-

43 Woolf 1998, 83–88 considers some of the issues.

44 Wilson 1990, 415 n.14; Bivona 1987, 257–59 (note too Bivona's comments on provenance: only 13 are truly secure).

45 Omitted by Pliny, *HN* 3.88–90, but included by Strabo 6.2.5. See Wilson 1990, 37, 358 n.40.

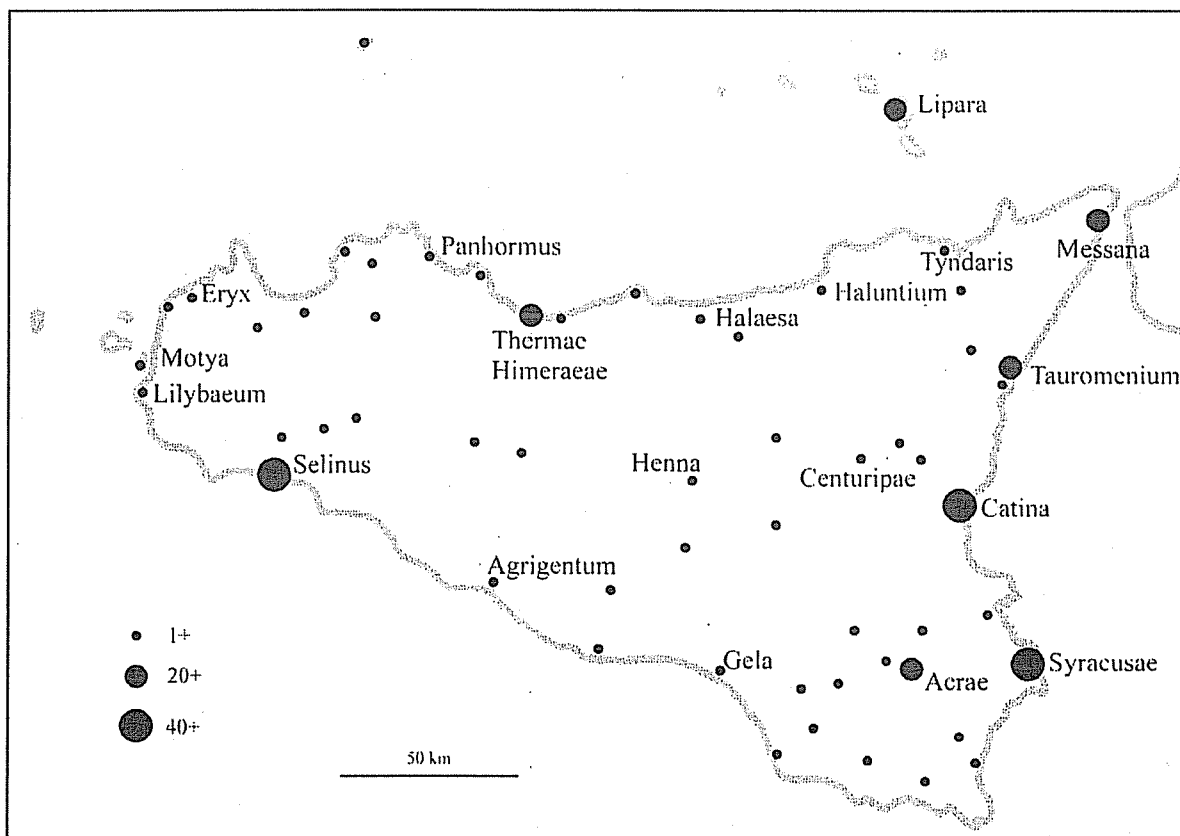


Fig. 2.8 Distribution of Greek lapidary inscriptions, 7th c. B.C.–7th c. A.D.

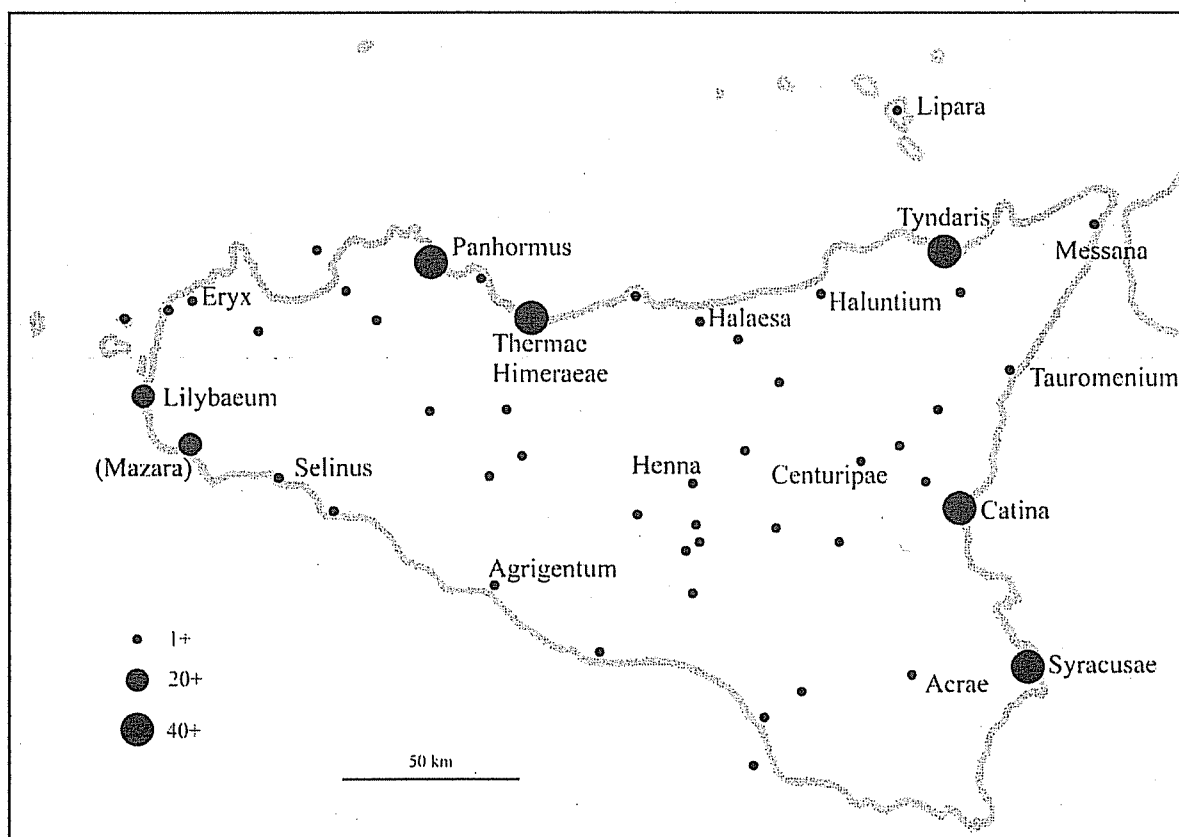


Fig. 2.9. Distribution of Latin lapidary inscriptions, 7th c. B.C.–7th c. A.D.

duced more Latin than Greek inscriptions — with one exception, Halaesa, a *municipium*, which one could highlight as exceptional in all kinds of ways.⁴⁶ Furthermore, those which do produce

⁴⁶ It stands out already in the Republican period with a dedication to a Scipio by the *Italicei*, of probably

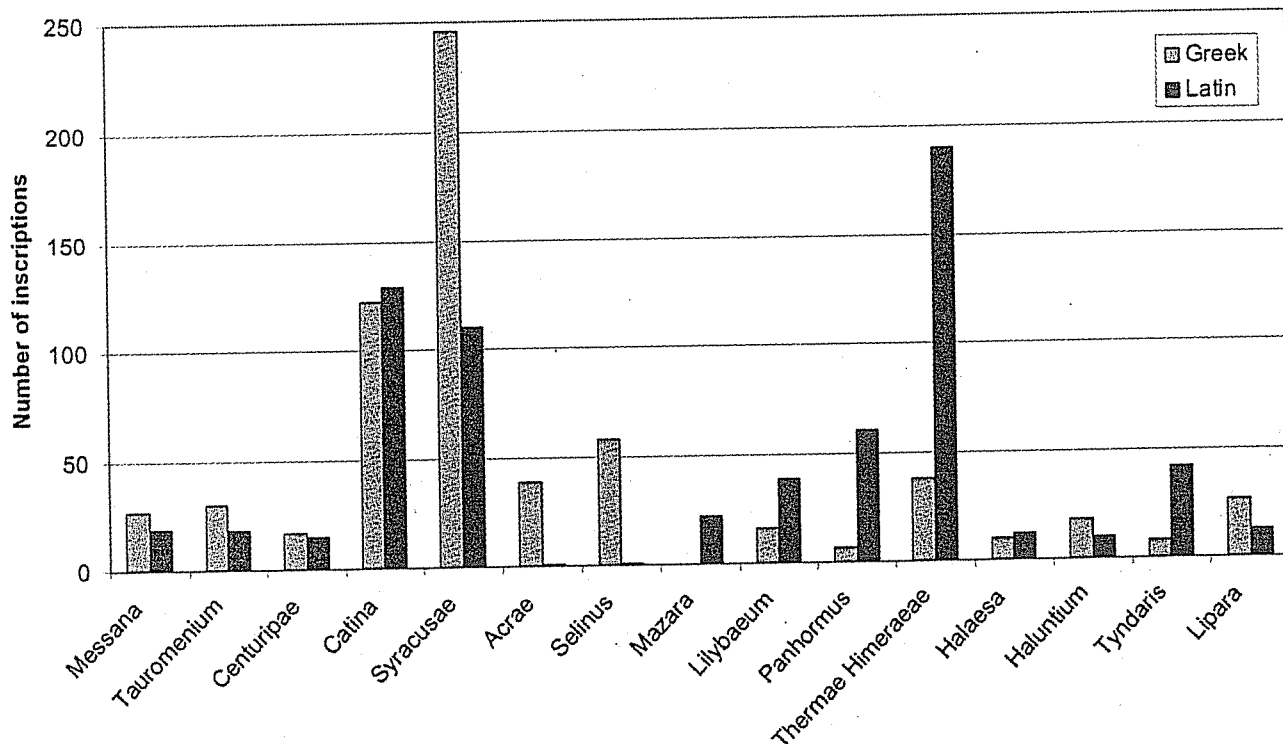


Fig. 2.10. Incidence of Greek and Latin in locations with 20+ inscriptions, in clockwise order around the island starting from Messina (based on 1531 out of 1553 Greek and Latin inscriptions).

more Latin than Greek produce significantly more (Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Thermae Himeraeae, Tyndaris). But to react by saying therefore that Greek did not have a particularly strong foothold, for example in the N and W regions of the island, is to approach the question from the wrong perspective. This is where the bigger picture offered here comes into play. The catacomb inscriptions are a problematic element insofar as they produce a great weight of material from a small number of locations in the east of the island; but they do suggest an alternative perspective. What we are looking at is the presence, or otherwise, of an epigraphic culture. Latin does indeed dominate in Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Thermae Himeraeae and Tyndaris. But these were not otherwise locations with a great inscribing culture, when compared with those on the E coast. Remember the original frequency curves (fig. 2.2). Latin epigraphy's lifespan, and so the great peaks in these 'Latin-heavy' locations, is very short compared with the whole. The implication of the Motya material (see above) is that the Phoenicio-Punic inscribing culture was a minority within a monumentalizing one; and it was six centuries prior to the arrival of the Latin one (I exclude the Grotta Regina material, of a different nature). Greek does appear to re-assert itself (in fact it never went away), but *within the epigraphic culture*. It is primarily a feature of the east when it does so (the two great epigraphic centres of the west, Motya and Selinunte, were dead cities by the Roman period). This emerges most clearly when comparing the trends over time and space with the Latin habits of MacMullen, Meyer, and Galvao-Sobrinho. The explanations offered by these scholars at the level of (semi-)conscious motivation doubtless still have relevance, but there is no Latin curve in Sicily to match that traced by Galvao-Sobrinho; and, considered over the sweep of 14 centuries, it is the 'MacMullen curve' of the Latin, so localized (in the *coloniae*) and short-lived, which is the anomaly. We need a different model, one that bridges and unites these habits in their wider context. The concept of epigraphic culture, rather than merely habit, is one means to such a model.

For the Roman period, we note that K. Lomas was reluctant to correlate the 3rd-c. A.D. Latin/Greek crossover with the universal grant of citizenship of 212, and we should certainly be wary of such specific correlations.⁴⁷ But the great number of Severan-period honorifics has

193 B.C., one of the earliest Latin inscriptions from the island (CIL X 7459 = I² 612, now lost); it was one of the 5 *civitates immunes ac liberae* (Cic., 2 Verr. 3.13); the town invited the Roman senate to legislate over election to its own senate in 95 B.C. (2 Verr. 2.122).

47 Lomas 2000, 173.

been noted (the majority are either Augustan/early Julio-Claudian or Severan).⁴⁸ Perhaps, in this context, we should consider inverting the expected proposition: this is not a case of 'becoming Roman, writing Latin'. The original Augustan *coloniae* were veteran *coloniae* (RG 28). The early Halaesa inscription (cf. n.45 above) was set up by *Italicei*. This is a case of an epigraphic habit imported and losing its significance, a habit imposed within a culture. It is scarcely even a case of 'becoming Roman'.

In studying the individual it is easy to lose the whole. No doubt one can make too much of an 'epigraphic habit' or 'culture' (and I do not pretend that an 'epigraphic culture' is a final explanation: we still need to explain it). It would be wrong always to deny that epigraphy can relate to particular events, processes or economic states. Indeed, it is difficult to see where else one looks for an explanation for the gap in Sicilian epigraphy of the 4th c. B.C. But even the more nuanced answer of a specific linguistic 'habit' cannot always provide the whole answer. The nature and pattern of the Latin epigraphy must make one inherently wary of restricting oneself to such explanations — but that pattern's oddity only emerges once one considers the bigger epigraphic picture. What then does it mean to talk of 'Romanization' when it is so clearly localized around the Roman centres? To speak of 'Romanization' on the basis of a chronologically- and geographically-limited epigraphic trend which, from the Latin perspective, ignores the conquest of 241/210 B.C., and which seems so closely linked to certain foundations and those already possessed of certain rights, can only be misleading. When the Sicilian cities were (briefly) granted Latin status by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., several celebrated the fact — and inscribed in Greek.⁴⁹

Acknowledgements

The original poster was presented at the Roman Archaeology Conference held at Glasgow. It was based upon surveys of AE and SEG for the years 1986-1995. This study has been undertaken with the support of a Graduate Research Scholarship from University College London Graduate School. I wish to thank all those who commented on the poster, as well as Valentina Arena, Kate Cooper, and Michael Crawford for their efforts to improve this paper.

References

- Agostiniani, L. 1988-89. "I modi del contatto linguistico tra Greci e indigeni nella Sicilia antica," *Kokalos* 34-35, 167-208
- Agostiniani, L. 1999. "L'epigrafia elima," in Gulletta 1999, 1-13
- Albanese Procelli, R. M. 1996. "Greeks and indigenous people in eastern Sicily: forms of interaction and acculturation," in R. Leighton (ed.), *Early societies in Sicily. New developments in archaeological research* (Accordia Specialist Studies 5) 167-76
- Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. 1999. "Epigrafia fenicia in Sicilia," in Gulletta 1999, 33-45
- Arrighetti, G. 1980. "Civiltà letteraria della Sicilia antica dal II secolo a.C. al IV secolo d.C.," in E. Gabba and G. Vallet (edd.), *La Sicilia antica. II.2. La Sicilia romana* (Naples) 393-410
- Bivona, L. 1987. "Panormo romana in età imperiale. La documentazione epigrafica," *Kokalos* 33, 257-74
- Bivona, L. 1999. "L'epigrafia latina," in Gulletta 1999, 113-27
- Bivona, L. 2001. "Brevi considerazioni sulla epigrafia latina di Sicilia," in G. Angelli Bertinelli and A. Donati (edd.), *Varia epigraphica. Atti del colloquio int. di epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000* (Bologna) 49-61.
- Coacci Polsell, G., M. G. Amadasi Guzzo and V. Tusa 1979. *Grotta Regina II. Le iscrizioni puniche* (Rome)
- Consani, C. 1996. "Koinai et koiné dans la documentation épigraphique de l'Italie méridionale," in C. Brixhe (ed.), *La koiné grecque antique. II. La concurrence* (Paris) 113-32
- Cutroni Tusa, A. 1967. "Ricerche sulla monetazione punica in Sicilia," *Kokalos* 13, 73-87
- Ery, K. K. 1969. "Investigations on the demographic source value of tombstones originating from the Roman period," *Alba Regia* 10, 51-67

⁴⁸ Cf. n.38 above.

⁴⁹ For the grant: Cic., *Att.* 14.12.1. Inscriptions from Tauromenium: H. Willers, *RhM* 60 (1905) 321-60; G. Manganaro, *CronASA* 3 (1964) 53-68; from Haluntium: *IG XIV* 367; from Agrigentum: *IG XIV* 954; P. Griffo, *Kokalos* 9 (1963) 177-84. For fuller discussion see, e.g., Wilson 1990, 34, 357 n.26, 360 nn. 87, 89.

- Finley, M. I. 1968. *Ancient Sicily to the Arab conquest* (rev. edn 1979, London)
- Galvao-Sobrinho, C. R. 1995. "Funerary epigraphy and the spread of Christianity in the West," *Athenaeum* ns. 73, 431-62
- Griesheimer, M. 1989. "Genèse et développement de la catacombe Saint-Jean à Syracuse," *MEFRA* 101, 751-82.
- Gulletta, M. I. (ed.) 1999. *Sicilia epigraphica* (ASNP, Ser. IV, Quad. 1-2)
- Harris, W. V. 1989. *Ancient literacy* (Cambridge, MA)
- Hopkins, K. 1983. *Death and renewal* (Cambridge)
- Korhonen, K. 2002. "Three cases of Greek/Latin imbalance in Roman Syracuse," in E. N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in cultural interaction* (Aarhus) 70-80.
- Leighton, R. 1999. *Sicily before history. An archaeological survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (London)
- Lomas, K. 1995. "Urban elites and cultural definition: Romanization in southern Italy," in T. Cornell and K. Lomas (edd.), *Urban society in Roman Italy* (London) 107-20
- Lomas, K. 2000. "Between Greece and Italy: an external perspective on culture in Roman Sicily," in C. Smith and J. Serrati (edd.), *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus. New approaches in archaeology and history* (Edinburgh) 161-73
- Lopez Jimeno, M. A. 1991. *Las tabellae defixionis de la Sicilia griega* (Amsterdam)
- Maccarrone, N. 1915. *La vita del Latino in Sicilia fino all'età normanna* (Florence; repr. Bologna 1989)
- MacMullen, R. 1982. "The epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire," *AJPh* 103, 233-46
- MacMullen, R. 1986. "Frequency of inscriptions in Roman Lydia," *ZPE* 65, 237-38
- Manganaro, G. 1988. "La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano," *ANRW* II.11.1, 3-89
- Manganaro, G. 1994. "A proposito della "latinizzazione" della Sicilia," in J. González (ed.), *Roma y las provincias. Realidad administrativa e ideología imperial* (Madrid), 161-67
- Martin, R., P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, and G. Voza 1980. "Le città ellenizzate," in E. Gabba and G. Vallet (edd.), *La Sicilia antica*. I.3. *Città greche ed indigene di Sicilia* (Naples) 706-64
- Melazzo, L. 1984. "Latino e Greco in Sicilia," in A. Quattordio Moreschini (ed.), *Tre millenni di storia linguistica della Sicilia. Atti del convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia 1983* (Pisa) 37-54
- Meyer, E. A. 1990. "Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs," *JRS* 80, 74-96
- Mócsy, A. 1966. "Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im römischen Reich," *Acta Antiqua* 14, 387-421
- Moscato, S. and M. L. Uberti 1981. *Scavi a Mozia: Le stele* (2 vols., Rome)
- Mrozek, S. 1973. "À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire," *Epigraphica* 35, 113-18
- Oliver, G. J. (ed.). 2000. *The epigraphy of death. Studies in the history and society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool)
- Prag, J. R. W. forthcoming. "Reconsidering local élites in Republican Sicily," in "Les biens immobiliers et fonciers des élites locales dans le monde romain (Paris, 8 décembre 2001)" in *Histoire et sociétés rurales*
- Rohlf, G. 1972. *Nuovi scavi linguistici nella antica Magna Grecia* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Quaderni 7)
- Saller, R. and B. D. Shaw 1984. "Tombstones and Roman family relations in the Principate: civilians, soldiers and slaves," *JRS* 74, 124-56
- Sgarlata, M. 1991. *Ricerche di demografia storica. Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali di Siracusa* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 45)
- Shaw, B. D. 1984. "Latin funerary epigraphy and family life in the later Roman empire," *Historia* 33, 457-97
- Shaw, B. D. 1996. "Seasons of death: aspects of mortality in imperial Rome," *JRS* 86, 100-38
- Sironen, T. 1995. "Position of minority languages in Sicily: Oscan and Elymian," in T. Fischer-Hansen (ed.), *Ancient Sicily* (Acta Hyperborea 6) 185-94
- Solin, H. 1998. "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum X. Passato, presente, futuro," in id. (ed.), *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia* (ActInstRomFinl 19) 81-117
- Várvaro, A. 1981. *Lingua e storia in Sicilia (dalle guerre puniche alla conquista normanna)* vol. 1 (Palermo)
- Wilson, R. J. A. 1990. *Sicily under the Roman Empire. The archaeology of a Roman province 36 BC-AD 535* (Warminster)
- Woolf, G. 1996. "Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86, 22-39
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge).