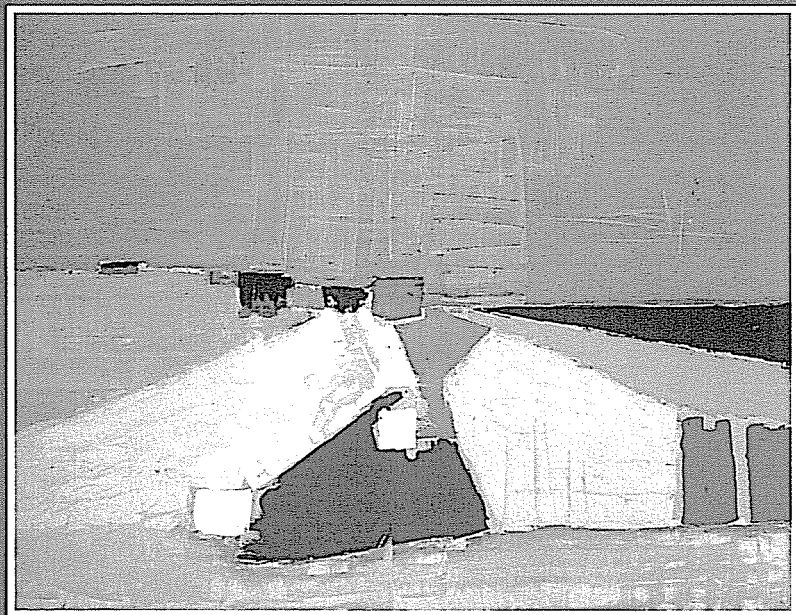


La Sicile de Cicéron



Lectures des *Verrines*

sous la direction de
Julien Dubouloz et Sylvie Pittia

CICERONIAN SICILY : THE EPIGRAPHIC DIMENSION

Jonathan R. W. PRAG
Merton College, Oxford

Sicilian epigraphy is neither widely, nor easily studied¹. The primary reason for this is the lack of an up-to-date corpus, although several excellent thematic and museum corpora do exist². This absence contributes to the only partially correct view that Sicily is epigraphically barren³. One basic aim of this paper is therefore to present an overview of the material pertinent to the period of the Republican province, loosely defined as the last three centuries BC. Such an overview is one necessary part of making sense of the *Verrines*, not least so that we might increase our knowledge of the Sicilian context with which the speeches are so often concerned. In certain respects, this paper is intended as a companion piece to the archaeological overview recently provided by Roger Wilson⁴.

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1. I am most grateful to Sylvie Pittia for the invitation to participate and the efficient organisation of the colloquium and to Julien Dubouloz for spotting my mistakes; and to the Centre Gustave Glotz for financial assistance. The work presented here has benefited above all from the earlier support of University College London graduate school.
 2. Introduction to Sicilian epigraphy: GULLETTA 1999; see further the quinquennial survey articles in *Kokalos* and the relevant sections of *AE*, *Bull. ép.* and *SEG*. Corpora exist for the museums of Palermo, Termini Imerese and Catania, as well as of the material found on Lipari; archaic Greek inscriptions have been collected by R. Arena in *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia* (1, Pisa, 1994, work is ongoing); dialectal Greek inscriptions in DUBOIS 1989. *CIL* 10.6976-7493 and *IG* 14.1-599 remain fundamental, but severely outdated. Phoenicio-Punic epigraphy, some of which is relevant to this period, is mostly collected in AMADASI GUZZO 1967 and 1986.
 3. Davies (2003, p. 338) has characterized Syracuse as « intermittently democratic but epigraphically inert ». Without full publication this is hard to quantify.
 4. WILSON 2000.

This study focuses principally on c. 215 lapidary inscriptions from the Sicilian mainland, which can reasonably be dated to within, or partially within the period of the 3rd – 1st cent. BC. Inscriptions on metal will be treated more selectively, although metal was a significant epigraphic support in Sicily. Given the apparently low level of the lapidary habit, the number of surviving texts on metal is considerable (especially in light of metal's generally low survival rate)⁵. The Syracusans' eagerness to honour Cicero with a bronze plaque hints at a preference for this material, although we should also keep in mind the poor quality of much Sicilian stone⁶. The difficulty lies in determining to what extent the distribution of the surviving sample can be attributed to accidents of survival, or to ancient choices⁷.

My basic question is threefold : what is the relevant epigraphic material, what does it tell us about Ciceronian Sicily, and what does it contribute to interpretation of the *Verrines*? However, in order to answer these questions, we must first confront some methodological considerations. The underlying question is, what can we learn from a set of epigraphic data – or, how do we write history from epigraphy? But in this case, this is complicated by the question of how we should relate a set of epigraphic material to a parallel set of literary material, the *Verrines*: does either set of material take priority? Is it possible to ask compatible questions of both sets of material? This is not unique to this case, but the nature of the material gives the problem greater clarity than normal.

It is possible to give some sense to these questions by examining the different ways in which we could approach the original task outlined above, namely to survey the epigraphic aspects of Ciceronian Sicily :

1. We can examine the specific references to epigraphic practice in the *Verrines* (and then go on to compare these with the surviving material).

2. We can search the epigraphic material for specific points of contact with the *Verrines*: events, people, places which are attested by Cicero and for which the epigraphy provides some sort of support, or further information. *Vice versa*, we can search the *Verrines* for specific points of contact or overlap with what we have in the epigraphic material, or use them to elucidate things we find in the epigraphic material. This should be a simultaneous, two-way process; assigning priority is

5. MANGANARO 2000a has brief comments on the topic ; PRAG 2002 contains a more extensive breakdown of Sicilian epigraphy.

6. *Ver.* 4.145 ; on Sicilian stone, WILSON 1990, p. 239-240.

7. The most obvious omission in this paper is the varied category of material loosely classed as *instrumentum domesticum*. This material is much harder to control ; additionally, space limits what can be covered here.

excessively artificial. It is however worth considering whether the underlying premise involves giving priority to one or the other : it has probably been the more traditional pattern in Ancient History to proceed from the literature to the epigraphy.

3. Similar to approach 2, we can try to use the epigraphic data or the *Verrines* to provide relevant, parallel, or illustrative material for the other in order to broaden the picture. This is a less narrowly specific activity than approach 2, but the agenda is still determined by whichever « text » we are seeking to elucidate : in other words, we still search the one data set for material of relevance to the other, rather than thinking more widely.

4. We can seek to write the context (*i.e.* a « history », in the loosest sense, of Sicily in this period) from one or other of these data sets. This poses the fundamental question : is there an essential difference between history written from epigraphy and history written from literature and, if so, how can we integrate the two ?

5. We can ask specific questions, with one or more of these sets of material in mind, for example : what do we know about Roman presence in Sicily ? What evidence do we have for types of labour in Ciceronian Sicily⁸ ?

Necessary to approach 4, if not to approaches 1-3, is a global survey of all the epigraphic material. It seems to me that the first three (ancient references to inscriptions, direct overlap between literature and epigraphy, illustration of one by the other) require a process of trawling for specific instances of data, which is a methodologically distinct process. The final approach (historical questions) entails something in between and is dependent upon neither source specifically. In fact, I think that options 1-3 are typically driven by the literary text(s), option 4 by the epigraphy and option 5 is either independent of both, or alternatively dependent upon a complete grasp of both (and more).

It is difficult to find direct discussion of these issues, although there is a parallel debate over the interface between archaeological data and literary sources. The basic subject of epigraphy's contribution to ancient history (*i.e.* the types of data which epigraphy can generate and the questions which it can answer) is regularly addressed in manuals on – and introductions to – epigraphy⁹. Additionally, the presence and use of inscriptions in ancient authors (option 1 above) is frequently

8. RIZZO 1989 ; PINZONE 1999.

9. *e.g.* ROBERT 1961 ; MILLAR 1983 ; BODEL 2001. One common theme is an insistence on the need to study inscriptions in bulk, or as a series : ROBERT 1961, p. 473, echoed by *e.g.* MILLAR 1983, p. 92 and p. 110 ; FINLEY 1985, p. 44 ; CALABI LIMONTANI 1991, p. 112-114.

discussed, as is the interaction of specific inscriptions and specific literary texts (in recent years especially with the publication of various senatorial decrees which overlap with Tacitus's *Annales*)¹⁰.

However, a preliminary discussion can be traced in English scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries¹¹. In response to the rapid growth of epigraphy as a discipline and the enormous increase in published material which accompanied the development of the great *corpora*, a debate developed over the value of epigraphy. Opposing emphases upon epigraphy and literature are apparent already in essays by C. T. Newton and B. Jowett. For Newton, epigraphy was primary and should be studied in the same way as the literary texts. By contrast, Jowett, in a notorious essay, with which he prefaced his Thucydides translation, consigned epigraphy to the lesser realm of antiquities (as opposed to history) : inscriptions must be illustrated by literature, are of little independent value and serve merely to confirm, e.g. Thucydides¹².

The debate is partly foreshadowed by that amongst the humanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries over the relative weight of literary and epigraphic sources. Epigraphic texts were frequently favoured from the sixteenth century onwards as being in some way of higher authority, or more reliable, than literature¹³. I. Calabi Limentani distinguishes three ways in which inscriptions tended to be used by historians in this period : firstly as mere ornamentation to work based upon literary texts ; secondly to supplement or elucidate material in the literary texts ; and thirdly as the primary basis for a study, considered either as individual texts or series of texts¹⁴.

The humanist perspective is echoed, in the discussions which followed the essays of Newton and Jowett, by those who advocated a greater level of authority and / or objectivity for inscribed texts over literary texts. E. A. Freeman criticized Jowett, but, although he considered inscriptions to be of higher authority than most literary texts, nonetheless they remain subsidiary to the narrative and serve only to

10. On the former, STEIN 1931 ; CHEVALLIER 1972 ; HIGBIE 1999 and the regular section « Rapports avec la littérature » in *Bull. ép.* ; on the latter e.g. GRIFFIN 1997 ; ROWE 2002.

11. I owe my knowledge of this debate entirely to Dr Peter Liddel, Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Manchester ; he is not responsible for my use of it.

12. NEWTON 1880, p. 97 ; JOWETT 1900, 1, « On Inscriptions of the Age of Thucydides », p. IX-CII, esp. p. XV, XXXII and C-CII.

13. CALABI LIMENTANI 1991, p. 83-86 and p. 99-100 ; STENHOUSE 2005, p. 8.

14. CALABI LIMENTANI 1991, p. 88 ; STENHOUSE 2005, p. 123-148 for a detailed analysis of methodological development across five scholars of the later 16th cent.

illustrate or correct – and they can only be so used by virtue of the existing narratives. P. Gardner attacked Jowett's emphasis on literature alone, noting that corrections from inscriptions to historical fact are but a small part of the epigraphic contribution, the greater being the fields where the ancient writers are silent; he himself undertook several studies based upon series of epigraphic texts. M. Cary, while accepting that one cannot dispense with literary sources (the « flesh and blood » of ancient history), nonetheless believed epigraphic documents to be « objective », in contrast to the subjective literary texts. M. N. Tod combined the views of Gardner and Cary, arguing that epigraphy is objective and that it covers fields which the literary texts ignore. However, he also agreed that although history can be written from literary texts alone, the same cannot be done from epigraphic texts alone: for this reason, the two sources are inextricably intertwined, not mutually exclusive. Throughout this debate, the proximity of epigraphic documents to the actual events and the continuous increase in known epigraphic material are both regularly cited as factors in epigraphy's favour¹⁵.

Jowett's distinction between « history » and « antiquities » has long since faded (L. Robert observed that there is no such thing as historical and non-historical documents) and few today would argue for the « objectivity » of epigraphic documents. Nonetheless, M. I. Finley's reports of the death of literature-based history were perhaps exaggerated¹⁶. In more recent studies which have explicitly confronted the two elements, the emphasis still lies with the literary texts, although examples of a more nuanced view exist: G. Rougemont demonstrates one such approach, by employing a body of epigraphic material as a means to enable the use of available literary texts in a (more) historical fashion¹⁷.

One thing upon which almost all of these writers agree, is that epigraphy cannot itself provide a framework, or narrative. Without a continuous literary text (preferably a contemporary or near-contemporary one), a framework remains a vain hope¹⁸. It might however be argued that this continues to give priority to « political » history, or « histoire événementielle ». The more nuanced view of Robert, echoed by

15. FREEMAN 1886, esp. p. 169-170; GARDNER 1892, p. 12-13, cf. chs. 12 and 14; CARY 1927, p. 3-9; TOD 1932, ch. 1.

16. ROBERT 1953, p. 10; FINLEY 1985, p. 7.

17. ROUGEMONT 1998; compare the papers in the panel organised by Sartori in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik (München, 1972)*, Munich, 1973.

18. e.g. FREEMAN 1886, p. 169-170; TOD 1932, p. 23-24; ROBERT 1961, p. 463; MILLAR 1983, p. 82; FINLEY 1985, p. 11.

J. Ma, is that while literary narratives provide the general and the framework, epigraphy can serve to produce « a closely textured history », which can mesh with the narrative record¹⁹. It is no coincidence that epigraphy has served above all in the areas of social and economic history and in local and provincial history, where in general literary history is of less direct application, or wholly absent. This brings out the very unusualness of the situation presented by the *Verrines*, namely that the *Verrines* do not provide us with a typical narrative framework, but they do provide an extensive literary source on Roman Republican Sicily, which runs parallel to the epigraphy. It is for this reason that the methodological questions posed here seem particularly pertinent, although I do not think that they are in any way restricted to this case.

I do not intend to explore this question further in this paper, but I raise it here because Ciceronian Sicily seems one particularly apt area for a serious case study. The rest of this paper will combine a preliminary case study of these issues with a survey of the potential of epigraphy for the study of Ciceronian Sicily and the *Verrines*, proceeding through each of the five methodological avenues outlined above.

EPIGRAPHY IN CICERO'S *VERRINES*

Cicero cites epigraphic material rather more frequently than most ancient writers²⁰. In light of the recent emphasis upon documentary evidence in the *Verrines* by S. Butler, the fact that Cicero explicitly mentions at least ten inscriptions in the *Verrines* (of which at least two in Rome), as well as *graffiti* in Syracuse, should come as no surprise²¹. However, this relatively high number (balanced by the length of the

19. ROBERT 1961, p. 463 : « Il s'agit ordinairement d'une histoire locale, reliée à l'histoire « générale » par une phrase d'allusion », cf. MA 2000, p. 12.

20. CHEVALLIER 1972, p. 12 counts 66 instances.

21. Return of booty to Segesta from Carthage by Scipio Æmilianus Africanus in 146 (*Ver.* 4.74) and to Engyium (*Ver.* 4.97 ; 5.186), cf. Tyndaris (*Ver.* 4.84 ; 5.185), Agrigentum (*Ver.* 4.73 ; 4.93), Gela (*Ver.* 4.73), Thermae (*Ver.* 2.85-87 ; 4.73) ; honorific decree on bronze of *hospitium publicum* (Syracuse) for L. and M. Tullius Cicero (*Ver.* 4.145) ; honorific decree on bronze (Thermae) for Sthenius, taken by Cicero to Rome (*Ver.* 2.112) ; honorific inscription for Verres, Syracuse (*Ver.* 2.154, cf. *Ver.* 2.137-153 without explicit mention of inscriptions) ; inscribed statue bases in Rome set up by the Sicilians (*Ver.* 2.114 ; 2.150 ; 2.154 ; 2.167-168) ; artist's signature on a silver statue of Apollo, Agrigentum (*Ver.* 4.93) ; silver Cupid, dedicated at Eryx by Verres, bearing Sthenius's name (*Ver.* 2.115) ; Greek inscription on base of a statue of Sappho in Syracuse *prytaneion* (*Ver.* 4.127) ; ivory tusks from the sanctuary of Juno on Melita, restored by Masinissa with a Punic inscription (*Ver.* 4.103) ; *graffiti* lampooning Pipa, wife of Æschion the Syracusan (*Ver.* 3.77). BUTLER 2002, p. 48-51 has a comparable list.

Verrines) is worth keeping in mind when we are usually so negative about the Sicilian epigraphic habit. As Butler observes, the bronze honorific decree which the Syracusans dashed off for Cicero and his cousin suggests, on the contrary, « a rather obsessive epigraphic habit »²². Only in the case of the dedications set up by Scipio in 146 do we have the inscription described (almost)²³, but parallel material can nonetheless be offered in almost every case. However, the search for parallels, as for example in the case of statues commemorating patronage and *soteria*, belongs under approach 3 above, to which we shall come shortly²⁴.

Two points are worth making on the basis of Cicero's citations. Firstly, that several of the categories of inscription on which Cicero spends the most time are either Roman-created or Roman-inspired. This is however one of the least well attested categories of epigraphic material from Republican Sicily. We could either explain this discrepancy as being due to Cicero's own very partial focus, or else dismiss it as a mere accident of survival. Either way, it should give pause for thought. Secondly, although the surviving epigraphic material of this period in Sicily, created by Sicilians, is almost entirely Greek (which is in line with what Cicero says here and elsewhere about Greek linguistic practice on the island)²⁵, nonetheless, the Sicilians erected Latin texts in Rome and elsewhere (as we know from a surviving epigraphic text at Auximum) and the Romans erected Latin texts in Sicily (starting with a milestone of 252)²⁶.

EPIGRAPHIC POINTS OF CONTACT WITH THE *VERRINES*

The search for more information on a particular person, institution, event *etc.*, across the different data sets is a rather limited activity, but an important one nonetheless for explicating a text. Direct overlaps are quite infrequent, for two reasons touched on already: the total body of epigraphic material is quite limited and in particular the surviving Roman-oriented or -inspired material is extremely limited, in contrast to the Ciceronian focus.

22. BUTLER 2002, p. 37, *contra* DAVIES 2003, p. 338. On the Sicilian epigraphic habit, PRAG 2002.

23. Two texts from *Thermae Himeraeae*, both imperial period copies: *IG* 14.315 = *ILS* 8769 = *Syll.*³ 677 ; *NSA* 1935, p. 201-202. Both republished in BRUGNONE 1974, p. 223-229, nos. 3-4.

24. These particular Sicilian examples are discussed and contextualized in TANNER 2000, p. 32-35 and p. 40-41.

25. *e.g.* *Ver.* 2.50 ; 2.154 ; 3.84 ; 4.127 ; 4.147 ; 5.148, *cf.* allusions to Greek institutions, *e.g.* *Ver.* 2.36-37 ; 2.50 ; 2.54 ; 4.50.

26. Auximum inscription: *CIL* 9.5834 = *ILS* 926 ; Corleone milestone of Aurelius Cotta: *ILLRP* 1277 = *CIL* 1².2877 (now PRAG 2006).

Individuals mentioned by Cicero are occasionally attested in the epigraphic record, both Romans (C. Norbanus, praetor in Sicily from 90; C. Claudius M. f. Marcellus, praetor in Sicily in 79; Cn. Pompeius Magnus, propraetor in Sicily in 82) and famous Sicilians (Hieron II of Syracuse; Athenion the slave king)²⁷. At the same time, it may be worth noting that, for example, individual governors upon whom Cicero (and in turn we ourselves) places much weight, such as P. Rupilius, are absent from the epigraphic record²⁸. Additionally, an individual whom we consider important – on the basis of Livy’s account – but who is almost entirely absent from both Cicero and the Sicilian epigraphic record, is M. Valerius Laevinus²⁹. The point may be banal, but arguments from silence generally will not suffice: Verres himself is absent from the surviving epigraphic record, as is Cicero³⁰. Equally salutary is the comparison of evidence for Roman roads in Republican Sicily, which consists of two non-overlapping sets of evidence³¹. Except for very speculative associations, the individual Sicilians to whom Cicero refers do not appear in the epigraphic record³².

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27. Norbanus: *CIL* 1².2951 (now in Syracuse museum); Marcellus: *IG* 14.435 (Tauromenium); Pompeius: *ILLRP* 380 (Rome) and possibly *IG* 14.955 (Kaibel *ad loc.* and MANGANARO 1963a, p. 215-216); Hieron II: *Bull. ép.* 1953.282; *IG* 14.2; 14.3; 14.7; (14.216); 14.240; *SEG* 17.196; 34.979; Athenion’s name appears on *glundes* from the slave wars, MANGANARO 1982, p. 241 and 2000b, p. 130.
28. On Rupilius, *cos.* 132, to whom a *lex prouvinciae* for Sicily is sometimes (questionably) attributed, *cf. esp. Ver.* 2.32-44; 4.125. The only epigraphic attestation is a hypothetical attribution to Rupilius of stamped tiles found in the vicinity of *bouleuterion* II at the site of Ietas (Monte Iato): the stamps are read as *PIR* (right to left) and dated to the imperial period by MÜLLER 1976, p. 64-65 and DAEHN 1991, p. 46, n. 55; Isler (1979, p. 64-65) reads *PR* and suggests the identification with Rupilius. Such speculation is quite legitimate, but can only be speculation: simply because we know of Rupilius’s existence, it does not follow that a stamp which can be attributed to him should be attributed to him – the further hypothesis of Isler that we might therefore infer reorganisation at Ietas by Rupilius on a parallel to that at Heraclea Minoa (*Ver.* 2.125) risks converting the original speculation into established fact.
29. *Esp. Liv.* 26.40; there is a passing allusion in *Ver.* 3.125. The only epigraphic attestation is a single lead *glans*, inscribed *LAEVI(nus)*: MANGANARO 1982, p. 242, n. 32; 2000b, p. 129.
30. On arguments *e silentio*, compare the observation of Millar (1983, p. 92), that what is legitimate is « that form of reasoning which deploys a double negative – [an epigraphic example] will show that it is not the case that there are no examples of *x* from a particular time or place ».
31. Epigraphically: one milestone from the Panhormus-Agrigentum road (*ILLRP* 1277 = *CIL* 1².2877) and a probable reference to road-building activities south of Syracuse by C. Norbanus (*CIL* 1².2951). In the literature: *Ver.* 2.169 refers to a *uia Pompeia*, probably from Messana southwards; Strab. 6.266 is usually taken to attest to a *uia Valeria* built by Laevinus in the Second Punic War (*cf. Liv.* 24.36.5-6) along the north coast of the island. The best summary of the Republican road network is UGGERI 1997-1998, p. 299-308.
32. *e.g.* Eubulidas Grosphus of Centuripae (*Ver.* 3.56), to whom has been attributed a lead « mercantile label » bearing the monogram E and Y at its centre (MANGANARO 1992, p. 459, n. 28 and fig. 14b, *cf. SEG* 42.838).

Specific events, such as the slave wars or Norbanus's activities in the Social War also feature in both types of material³³. Occasionally, specific institutions appear in both, such as the Syracusan ἀμφίπολος, referred to by Cicero and attested in the cult inscriptions from Buscemi near Acrae³⁴, or the more problematic case of the Agrigentine σύγκλητος, described by Cicero and visible in a proxeny decree on bronze of the Agrigentines³⁵. As with individuals, one institution for which we might expect evidence is the *lex Hieronica*, but the only possible epigraphic reference lies in a fragmentary honorific decree from Agrigentum, which may conceivably contain a reference to the procedure of ἀποργ[αφά]³⁶. This is a further clear reminder not only of the accidents of survival, but also of the differing focus in the types of evidence – and thus of a fundamental weakness in this approach.

To reverse the argument, what should we make of the fact that Cicero places great emphasis upon the cult of Demeter in Sicily and that on this occasion the epigraphic evidence apparently provides support for his claims³⁷? If the absence of evidence cannot by itself prove that something lacks significance, how far is it legitimate to believe Cicero's own claims for something's significance, when they happen to be supported by another equally partial set of evidence? One simple control lies in the observation that there is, in absolute terms, good epigraphic evidence surviving for other cults also³⁸. But a fuller response will move us on to the other methodological options, to be considered below: neither type of evidence alone, nor both together, is necessarily sufficient to validate such a claim and it would also be wrong to consider such material in isolation from, for instance, the archaeological evidence.

33. Slave wars: esp. *Ver.* 4.112; 5.10; on Athenion: 2.136; 3.66; 3.125. Inscribed *glandes* from both wars survive: Roman from the first (MANGANARO 1982, p. 242; 2000b, p. 129); slave-produced from the second (MANGANARO 1982, p. 241-242; 2000b, p. 130-131); also, *glandes* produced by Sicilian cities, probably in the context of the slave war(s). Norbanus in the Social War is criticized by *Ver.* 5.8 and praised in *SEG* 1.418 = BUONOCORE 1989, p. 58, no. 11, *cf.* D.S. 37.2.13-14.

34. *Ver.* 2.126 (D.S. 16.70.6) and *SEG* 42.832, *cf.* PUGLIESE CARRATELI 1951.

35. *Ver.* 2.123-124 and *IG* 14.952, *cf.* GABBA 1959, p. 315-316; MANGANARO 1963a, p. 210-211.

36. *SEG* 37.757, with the speculation of CALDERONE 1985, p. 17.

37. *Cic. Ver.* 4.106-115; 5.187-188. On Demeter cult in Sicily, HINZ 1998, *cf.* WHITE 1964. Demeter dedications: *Bull. ép.* 1946-1947.264; *IG* 14.449; *SEG* 14.598 (Dubois 1989, no. 198); 34.979; 34.981.

38. For example, Apollo: *IG* 14.575; *SEG* 15.578 (but *cf.* 34.977); 34.978; 42.832; 42.833; 42.836; 42.854 (?); VETTER 1953, no. 196; Isis: *IG* 14.14a; 14.433; *SEG* 42.852 *etc.* More material in MANGANARO 1977.

Instances of real, direct illumination of Cicero's text by the epigraphic material are rare: one such example is Cicero's passing reference to the *cognatio* of Centuripae with Rome, for which we now have the act of « kinship diplomacy » with Lanuvium and Rome attested by a fragmentary decree of Centuripae³⁹.

EPIGRAPHIC PARALLELS

A more constructive and wide-ranging approach to the epigraphy is to use epigraphic material in order to fill in the background to things we encounter in the *Verrines*. The possibilities increase significantly at this point. For example, although, as we saw above, the honorific decrees which Cicero describes in the case of both Sthenius of Thermae and himself do not survive, nonetheless, we can generate a clear idea of the sort of text and object involved, as well as of other individuals engaged in these kinds of activities, from the documents which do survive. Relevant epigraphic texts on bronze include a pair of decrees recording the activities of a Syracusan, Demetrius, son of Diodotus, on behalf of the Agrigentines and the Maltese; honours for a Roman at Rhegium and the slightly earlier Entella tablet honouring one Ti. Claudius Antiatas⁴⁰. The case of C. Norbanus, honoured on stone at Rhegium, serves to bring out a further footnote to the *Verrines*, namely Cicero's passing reference to Verres' interaction with Rhegium: Sicilian praetors apparently acted across the Straits on a regular basis and this generally went unremarked⁴¹. The search for parallels can take us well beyond the Sicilian material, as in the case of the (united) Sicilian honours for Verres at Rome, for which only one, indirect, Sicilian parallel survives, that previously cited from Auximum – although this is also important possible corroborative evidence for Cicero's hint at some sort of provincial assembly

39. *Ver.* 5.83, cf. 2.163. Decree: *SEG* 42.837 (text); *AE* 1990.437 (French transl.), cf. MANGANARO 1963b and 1976, p. 87-88 (photo); CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI 1989 (photo).

40. Agrigentines honour Demetrius: *IG* 14.952; Maltese honour Demetrius: *IG* 14.953; note also two fragmentary decrees, one from Agrigentum (*IG* 14.954), the other probably Sicilian (*IG* 14.955); the Rhegines honour Cn. Aufidius T. f.: *IG* 14.612; the Entellans honour Ti. Claudius C. f. Antiatas: Entella IV = Ampolo B1 = *SEG* 30.1120.

41. *Ver.* 5.47; *SEG* 1.418 = BUONOCORE 1989, p. 58, no. 11. On governors acting outside their provinces, LINTOTT 1993, p. 24-27. Magistrates retained *imperium* during their return to Rome (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9; *Lex de prouinciis praetoriis*, CRAWFORD 1996, 1, no. 12, Cnidos Copy, col. IV, l. 31-39, p. 242, with commentary p. 265), which renders unproblematic the appeal of Valentia to Verres, as Cicero notes (*Ver.* 5.40-41). This does not however explain Verres' orders to the Rhegines for timber.

or council⁴². Non-Sicilian parallels from Italy and the Greek East on the other hand are abundant⁴³.

In an attempt to contextualize and broaden our understanding of the *lex Hieronica*, Sicilian taxation and agriculture we can make use of both the financial inscriptions from Tauromenium and the cadastral inscription(s) from Halaesa⁴⁴. The former cast light on the ways in which local civic finances operated, only very indirectly suggested by Cicero, and indicate the importance of produce other than grain, such as pulses, as well as the value of timber as a natural resource. The latter opens a very different window on patterns of land-holding and the organisation of the local landscape⁴⁵.

If the search of the epigraphic record for individuals named in the *Verrines* is largely unsuccessful, the quest for parallels is much more productive: several Roman magistrates emerge from the period, in most cases not otherwise directly attested (although a total of five named and one anonymous for the minimum of 178 years (*i.e.* 227-49) of Republican magistrates in Sicily is hardly impressive)⁴⁶; individual Roman *equites* and *negotiatores* are not identifiable in the epigraphic record, but more generic indications of their presence exist, such as Italic or Latin names and

42. BELL, in this volume, p. 195-200. Besides the Auximum inscription and several passages of Cicero (*e.g.* *Ver.* 2.10-11; 2.103; 2.112; 2.146-148; 2.154; 3.18-19; 3.204; 4.138; *Att.* 10.12.2), the only direct evidence for a provincial council is of much later imperial date: *IG* 14.1078a = *ILS* 8843 and Symmachus *Ep.* 1.17. As SARTORI 1981, p. 404-405 observes, this cannot safely be taken to prove anything about the earlier period. Karlsson (1993, p. 37-38; 1996, p. 85) has argued for an earlier Hieronian κοινόν, but the evidence is wholly inconclusive (reference to a κοινόν in *IG* 14.7 cannot securely be so restored, *cf.* *Bull. ép.* 1966.515 and MANGANARO 2005; the Σικελιωτῶν coinage (BUTTREY – ERIM – GROVES – HOLLOWAY 1989, p. 31-33) belongs in a unique wartime context).

43. LINTOTT 1993, p. 41, n. 89-90 and p. 124 (takes the Sicilian case to be certain).

44. Tauromenium accounts: *IG* 14.422-430; ARANGIO-RUIZ – OLIVIERI 1925, no. 13 = *SEG* 4.48; MANGANARO 1964a, p. 42-52 (*cf.* *Bull. ép.* 1966.512); MANGANARO 1964a, p. 53-68 (*cf.* *Bull. ép.* 1966.512); MANGANARO 1988, p. 155-156 (*SEG* 38.973A); MANGANARO 1988, p. 156-157 (*SEG* 38.973B). Halaesa cadaster: *IG* 14.352 (lost); DI GIOVANNI 1885 (second fragment of the same stone, also now lost); CALDERONE 1961 (*SEG* 31.825) (not necessarily part of the same stone).

45. Hypothetical sketch maps, based upon the inscription, illustrating some of the land-holdings in ARANGIO-RUIZ – OLIVIERI 1925, no. 2. Bibliography is extensive, but *cf.* esp. MANGANARO 1980, p. 430-435 and papers in PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO 1998.

46. *Cf.* p. 287-310 for a list of Roman officials attested in Sicily; *e.g.* *ILLRP* 1277 = *CIL* 1².2877 (C. Aurelius Cotta, *cos.* 252, *cos.* II 248); *CIL* 10.7258 = 1².843 (anonymous quaestor *propraetore*, 1st cent. ?); *CIL* 1².2951 (C. Norbanus (C. f. Balbus), praetor *c.* 90-c. 86); *IG* 14.435 (C. Claudius M. f. Marcellus, praetor 79); *IG* 14.356 (C. Vergilius C. f. Balbus, proquaestor early 60s); *IG* 14.282 (L. Caecilius L. f. Metellus, quaestor *c.* 52). Such numbers should make us extremely wary of any arguments based upon survival or non-survival of evidence.

possibly the earliest instance of an *Italici qui negotiantur* inscription⁴⁷; individual Sicilian *aratores* and *principes* may not match on a one-to-one basis, but patterns of naming are confirmed and in particular the distinctively Sicilian use of a *cognomen* within Greek nomenclature, to which Cicero alludes and of which he gives repeated examples, is well-attested⁴⁸. The epigraphic data in fact takes us considerably further, once we go beyond seeking to elucidate what is in the *Verrines* alone: a sizeable body of evidence is now in place for the existence of demotics and other civic sub-divisions in Sicilian civic life and nomenclature⁴⁹.

Institutions similarly gain greater focus: Cicero makes loose references to *Siculus magistratus*, since the details do not interest him, or his Roman audience⁵⁰; by contrast, the relatively rich set of civic inscriptions testifies to a broad range of eponymous priests and magistrates⁵¹; dedications of annual lists of magistrates, as at Thermae, Acrae, or Syracuse give a hint of what is lost, as does an almost complete list of στρατηγοί from Tauromenium (which covers most of the period of the Republican province, interestingly with a six-year gap almost certainly at the time of the First Slave War)⁵².

47. Examples of Italic or Latin names: *IG* 14.336 (Gaius Seius Ptolemaius); *SEG* 34.951 (M. Valerius Chorton, cf. *IG* 14.273; 14.277); *SEG* 34.981 (Gaius Orceius, Gaius Sulpicius, Lucius Caulius); 36.847 (Decimus Laelius Magnus); 37.761 (Marcus Aimilius Rho---, Kipos f.); 42.849 (Pompeia Rufi f.); 42.873.2 (Salvius?); *DI STEFANO* 1984, p. 178, no. 193 (Publius), p. 179, no. 194 (Gaius ... Rouma[-]). *Negotiatores* in Sicily: *ILLRP* 320 = *CIL* 1².612 = *CIL* 10.7459 = *ILS* 864 (Halaesa, 193 (?), cf. *FRASCHETTI* 1981, p. 56); *ILLRP* 380 = *CIL* 1².2710 (Agrigentum); *ILLRP* 387 = *CIL* 1².836 = *ILS* 8962 = *NSA* 1900, p. 97 (Panhormus).

48. Examples of *cognomina* in the *Verrines*: Apollodorus Laphiro (*Ver.* 2.19); Posides Macro Soluntinus (*Ver.* 2.102); Apollodorus, cui Pyragro cognomen est (*Ver.* 3.74); Diocles (...) Panhormitanus, Phimes cognomine (*Ver.* 3.93); Diocles (...) Popilius cognomine (*Ver.* 4.35); Apollonius, Diocli filius, Panhormitanus, cui Geminio cognomen est (*Ver.* 5.16). Epigraphic examples of *cognomina*: *IG* 14.311 (Antallos Ornichas), cf. *SEG* 41.836; *IG* 14.574 = *DUBOIS* 1989, no. 188 (Artemiskos Kaballos), cf. *IG* 14.576; *IG* 14.354 ([Diogenes] Lapiron), cf. *IG* 14.355; *SEG* 37.759 ([Dion] Lapiron). See further *MASSON* 1981; *CORDANO* 1997.

49. Most recently, *GHINATTI* 2004.

50. *Ver.* 3.34; 3.117; 4.146, cf. 2.162; 3.68; 3.105; 3.120. For a more specific interpretation of the *Siculus magistratus* as a particular category of magistrate, cf. *BELL*, this volume, p. 189-194.

51. *SHERK* 1993, supplemented by *DI VEROLI* 1996; also *GHINATTI* 1964-1965. Overview in *CORDANO* 1999.

52. Acrae: *IG* 14.208-214; 14.214a; *Bull. ép.* 1959.546 = *PUGLIESE CARRATELLI* 1956, no. 3 (not 4 as printed in *Bull. ép.*); Thermae: *IG* 14.313; Syracuse (attribution not certain): *IG* 14.8 = *MANNI PIRAINO* 1973, no. 105; Tauromenium: *IG* 14.421, cf. *MANGANARO* 1988, p. 164-170.

What emerges most clearly from both of the preceding approaches is the difference in focus between the two types of source; but what should also be obvious is that we risk missing a great deal if the only questions which we ask are those which are prompted by the *Verrines*. Either we must ask questions independently of the sources (but risk getting a limited answer), or else we must approach the epigraphy on its own terms.

SICILIAN «HELLENISTIC» EPIGRAPHY

The epigraphic culture of Sicily in this period is essentially a Greek civic culture, dominated by public inscriptions. Not only is Greek the dominant language, epigraphically, until the Augustan period, but the types of inscriptions are predominantly public also and this contrasts with other periods of Sicilian epigraphic activity. Of the 1 817 inscriptions on stone from ancient Sicily which can be classified by content, funerary inscriptions predominate (c. 70 %); of the 1 160 of these which can be reasonably tightly dated, funerary epigraphy still constitutes 58,3 % of the total. However, when the sample is restricted to the last three centuries BC, the proportion of funerary epigraphy falls to a mere 20 %, with honorific, dedicatory and «public» documents rising to c. 45 % of the total⁵³.

It is worth examining the overall geographical distribution of the (dated) material (fig. 1, p. 269): the spread is relatively even (although the numbers are small in absolute terms), but clearly concentrated upon the towns of the north and east coast. The difference between the locations generating inscriptions in this period and those places referred to in the *Verrines* by Cicero (fig. 2, p. 270) is not great: the epigraphic distribution covers c. 75 % of that of Cicero. On the other hand, the subset of places which Cicero explicitly claims to have visited (as opposed to simply mentioning them in the speeches) differs by a significantly greater margin, the overlap being only c. 50 %. This latter subset perhaps reflects specific issues of ease of access (Cicero boasted that he took only fifty days in Sicily to collect his evidence)⁵⁴, or those areas which produced the most grain. The places visited by the Delphic θεῶποι around the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd cent. presents an interesting

53. For the distribution of language across Sicilian inscriptions (on stone), PRAG 2002, fig. 2.2. For the shift in types of inscriptions in Hellenistic Sicily, PRAG 2003. Consolidation of the data employed in those studies has confirmed the results (PRAG 2004, fig. 5.2 and p. 174-179).

54. Ver. 6.

alternative epigraphic view of the island in this period (fig. 3, p. 271)⁵⁵. The differences are worth plotting if only as a reminder of the differently partial nature of each set of evidence.

The most active towns epigraphically in this period (or at least those with the best epigraphic survival rates) are, in descending order, Syracuse, Tauromenium, Acrae, Lilybaeum, Segesta and Halaesa. However, the Syracuse and Acrae material mostly belongs to the beginning of this period (much appears to be Hieronian), the Tauromenium material is dominated by the large dossier of civic records, and much of the Lilybaeum material belongs at the end of the period (Augustan). In this regard, the Segesta and Halaesa material is perhaps the most interesting. Neither site underwent significant occupation after antiquity and in both cases the *agora* has been excavated⁵⁶: the image of an active civic centre which the material presents is therefore perhaps reassuring (contrast however the absence of material from Ietas / Monte Iato, also well-excavated and not reoccupied) and potentially paradigmatic: formal *agora*, statue bases, honorifics, *gymnasium*-related material, building inscriptions, the presence of Romans *etc.*

Cicero naturally has specific interests and biases. The epigraphy has a set of biases of its own, but the concerns which the epigraphy represents are independent of those of Cicero. Besides funerary epigraphy, the principal categories of epigraphic material are: public honorifics and other public inscriptions, associated, for example, with the *gymnasium*; a significant number of lists of civic magistrates; occasional building inscriptions; and a range of religious dedications⁵⁷. There is of course a range of anomalous inscriptions – the difficulty in these cases is to know how to integrate them into any sort of overall picture or context, either Ciceronian or Sicilian: an oracular text from near Acrae⁵⁸; a text allocating market-stalls, perhaps in the context of a festival (Acrae)⁵⁹; the Halaesa cadastral inscription noted

55. *SGDI* 2580, variously dated late 3rd or early 2nd cent. (cf. *Bull. ép.* 1994.432); for the Sicilian section, MANGANARO 1964b, p. 419-429; 1996, p. 131-138 (although attempts to infer status in relation to Rome should be treated with caution).

56. Halaesa: CARETTONI 1961; SCIBONA 1971; WILSON 1990, p. 46-48; Segesta: MICHELINI 1997; VAGGIOLI 1997; DE CESARE – PARRA 2000 (work is ongoing); the epigraphic material is collected in DE VIDO 1991.

57. Examples of public honorifics: Apollonia / S. Fratello: *IG* 14.359; Halaesa: *IG* 14.353; 14.354; 14.356 and *SEG* 37.759; Haluntium: *IG* 14.366; Lilybaeum: *IG* 14.273 and *SEG* 34.951; Phintias: *IG* 14.259; Segesta *IG* 14.288(1); Tauromenium: *IG* 14.434; *SEG* 32.936; 32.937.

58. *SEG* 31.822; MANGANARO 1981; PARKE 1986.

59. *IG* 14.217; MANGANARO 2004.

earlier, with a mode of dispute resolution not dissimilar to the procedures outlined in the Nakone inscription from among the Entella tablets⁶⁰; the painted library catalogue from Tauromenium⁶¹; or the Tauromenium financial accounts⁶². No less problematic are the infrequent, 3rd-cent. Oscan texts from Messina⁶³; or the occasional Punic text and *graffito* in the west of the island⁶⁴. The difficulty of generalizing from single instances is constantly present (the same difficulty of course applies to a unique literary text such as Cicero's).

Outward looking inscriptions, such as the consular *Fasti* and Roman calendar from Tauromenium⁶⁵, or the record of the kinship embassy from Centuripae⁶⁶ mostly belong to the very end of this period. By contrast, the infrequent Latin epigraphy is mostly the work of outsiders making statements of either a public and/or a religious nature, reflecting the activities of Roman magistrates, or dedications at sanctuaries⁶⁷, or the familiar category of *negotiatores* inscriptions⁶⁸, outsiders talking to outsiders in front of locals. It is only at the end of the period that Latin funerary epigraphy begins to appear⁶⁹. There are however a few exceptions, such as the inscription of Cn. Host(i)lius (?) from Ietas (Monte Iato), found in

60. Cf. n. 44; SEG 31.825, for the relevant part of the Halaesa inscription; Nakone inscription: SEG 30.1119, cf. AMPOLO 2001.

61. BLANCK 1997.

62. Cf. n. 44.

63. MASTELLONI 2005; CRAWFORD, in this volume, p. 273-275. The texts on stone are: VETTER 1953, nos. 196; 197 and 197a; PARLANGELI 1956, no. 1B (separate text from Vetter 1953, no. 196).

64. Punic texts of the period from Eryx (or possibly N. African): BISI 1969a; Eryx (lost): CIS 1.135 = AMADASI GUZZO 1967, Sic. Pun. 1; Lilybaeum: CIS 1.138 = AMADASI GUZZO 1967, Sic. Pun. 5; AMADASI GUZZO 1993; Lilybaeum (or possibly Carthage): AMADASI GUZZO 1967, Sic. Pun. 4 and Sic. Pun. 10; *graffito* on Isola Favignana: BISI 1969b; Panhormus: CIS 1.134 = AMADASI GUZZO 1967, Sic. Neo. 1 = DE SIMONE 1998, p. 433, E2; Selinus: GARBINI 1965, p. 206-210.

65. *Inscr. It.* 13.2, p. 547, tav. 89; MANGANARO 1963c, p. 13-19; 1964a, p. 38-39; BACCI 1984-1985, p. 724, tav. CLIX; RUCK 1996. PINZONE in this volume, p. 103.

66. Cf. n. 39.

67. Cf. n. 31, for Norbanus and Cotta; to Apollo (Halaesa?): CIL 10.7265 = I².2219; to Venus Erycina (Eryx): CIL 10.7253 = I².2221; 10.7254 = I².2222; 10.7255 = I².2223; to Hercules (S. Stefano): CIL 10.7197 = I².2220; anon. (Syracuse): CIL I².3429.

68. Cf. n. 47.

69. One of the earliest is probably an unpublished funerary stele from the Syracuse necropolis of Canalicchio, now on display on the upper floor of Syracuse museum (inv. 43118) with a relief carving of a plough on the upper half, cf. WILSON 1990, p. 356 n. 97.

association with a tribunal dais in the *agora portico*, or the Italic temple dedicated in Latin at Agrigentum, the « Oratory of Phalaris »⁷⁰.

The overall sense, however, is one of strong individual civic identity and autonomy, rather than the blanket *Siculus* of Cicero's account. This is reinforced when placed alongside the rise in civic mints in the period and by a wide range of epigraphic elements not considered here, but which imply a strong civic focus and civic identity, such as civic tile stamps and other such monogrammed objects⁷¹. A similar concern with civic identity in this period and subsequently is attested outside the island, primarily in funerary epigraphy, but also in Plautus, by a mode of external presentation in the form of *Siculus* + civic ethnic⁷², which implies an interesting tension between the externally imposed « Sicilian » of, for instance, Cicero and the internal emphasis in the epigraphy on civic or sub-civic identity.

QUESTIONS RATHER THAN SOURCES : A HOLISTIC APPROACH ?

One conclusion which has been stressed throughout is that we cannot sensibly consider the epigraphic material in isolation and perhaps the most interesting conclusions can be obtained by attempting to integrate multiple sources of evidence in pursuit of a particular question and the particular light which

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70. Cn. Host[ilius] (Ietas) : *AE* 1994.772 ; *ISLER* 1989, fig. 13 (photo) ; *ISLER* 1994, abb. 2 (reconstruction) ; « Oratory of Phalaris » inscription (Agrigentum) : *CIL* 1².2649 ; *NSA* 1926, p. 106-118 ; *WILSON* 1990, p. 31-32.
71. Useful summary of coinage in *FREY-KUPPER* 1999, p. 411-414 ; civic activity in *MANGANARO* 1996 ; civic document seals in lead (Halaesa and elsewhere) in *MANGANARO* 1999, p. 76-77 and p. 141, fig. 170 ; civic monogram (Halaesa) on boundary stones, *IG* 14.352 ; lead weight or seal, with ethnic ΕΡΒΙΤ| ΑΙΩΝ and monogram *Da(mosion ?)* in *MANGANARO* 1999, p. 77 and p. 141, fig. 172-173 ; lamp from Agrigentum, ΑΚΡΑ(γας), *SEG* 38.920 ; tiles from Cefalù, *SEG* 31.832 : ΚΕΦΑ[λοιδίου] ; 3rd-cent. ceramic stamps from Segesta, *SEG* 41.831 : ΕΦΕΤΑΣ ; tile inscribed with toponym ΜΑΚΕΛΛΑ in *SPATAFORA* 2001 ; tiles reading ΙΑΙΤΟΥ from M. Iato in *BLOESCH* 1971, tav. 8.2.
72. Examples of Sicilians with civic identities : *IG* 2 / 3².10291 (Athens, 1st cent.) : Αισχύλος | Ἀπολλοδώρου | Σικελός ἀπὸ Καλῆς | Ἀκτῆς ; *IG* 2 / 3².10292 (Athens, 1st cent. AD) : Ξένων Νερμηνίου | Σικελός ἀπὸ Νεαίτου ; *IG* 2 / 3².10293 (Athens 1st / 2nd cent. AD) : Ἐρμῶν | Ἀθανίππου | Σικελός ἀπὸ Τυνδαρίδος ; *IG* 7.416 (Oropos, Boiotia), l. 40 : Ζώπυρος Ἐρμογένου Σικελός ἀπὸ Κατάνης ; *IG* 7.420 (Oropos, Boiotia) l. 46 ; l. 56 and l. 62 : Ἐμμενίδας Βεβαίου Σικελός ἀπὸ Κεντροπίων ; *IG* 14.2023, l. 2-3 (Rome) : Σύμφωρος Σικε(λός) | Πανορμίτης, cf. *CIL* 6.20105 ; 6.25351 (Rome) ; 11.915 (Mutina) ; 12.178 (Antipolis, Gallia Narbonensis). In *Pl. Men.* 1069 : (Menaechmus) *Siculus sum Syracusanus* ; (Sosicles) *Ea domus et patria est mihi* ; *Rud.* 49 : *Ei erat hospes pur <suū, Siculus senex | scelestus Agrigentinus, urbis proditor*. Civic ethnics do occur in the *Verrines*, e.g. *Ver.* 2.102 (Solutunus) ; 3.53 (Centuripinus) ; 3.56 (Murgentinus) ; 3.93 ; 5.16 (Panhormitanus).

different sources can throw on it. It remains true that the question must be one which the evidence is capable of addressing and the ability to frame such questions generally presumes a certain level of familiarity with the available evidence. One obvious example of this and where it has perhaps been applied most productively to date, is in the study of Roman migration into the island⁷³.

I conclude this paper with the briefest of summaries of another example, to which I shall return in more detail in a forthcoming article.

In the Fifth *Verrine*, Cicero attacks Verres' military record in defence of the island. In doing so, Cicero alludes to the use of local Sicilian manpower, both by sea and on land. However, while he implies a regular practice, Cicero is, in the speech, only concerned with one instance of abuse and failure on Verres' part⁷⁴. On the other hand, several dedications, both by the garrison at Eryx and elsewhere (especially at Halaesa), suggest a more widespread and regular level of local military activity, as do inscribed *glandes* and various forms of naval commemoration⁷⁵. It is however possible to suggest an even broader context, in the light of the civic epigraphic material and the emphasis upon civic identity and civic life already demonstrated. Epigraphy, but by no means epigraphy alone, attests to the existence of *gymnasia* across the island in this period⁷⁶. The link between these two elements is made possible through one particular inscription, from Soluntum (IG 14.311), in which local soldiers honour a gymnasiarch. In the light of the discussion of the role played by the *gymnasium* which has taken place, especially in relation to Macedonia and Asia Minor and the relationship of the *gymnasium* to citizen soldiery⁷⁷, it is tempting

73. PINZONE 1999 with earlier bibliography.

74. Cic. *Ver.* 5.43-157 *pessim* and esp. *Ver.* 5.43; 5.49-63; 5.86; 5.93; 5.133, cf. 4.21; 4.76; 4.150.

75. Epigraphic texts: CIL 10.7258 = I².843 = ILLRP 446 (garrison at Eryx honours quaestor); IG 14.282 (Segestan at Eryx); IG 14.311 (local troops from Soluntum); IG 14.355 (Halaesans record service at Eryx); IG 14.401 (Messana, if the reading ΝΑΥΠΟΙ = « temple guards » is accepted); AE 1973.265 (Halaesans *et al.* serving at sea under Roman command). For the evidence of local troops provided by *glandes*, cf. the survey in MANGANARO 1999, p. 27-33. For naval activity, cf. esp. the stone *rostra* found at Segesta in BECHTOLD 1997 and those on display in the museum at Tyndaris, in SPIGO 2005, p. 73-74, fig. 3.

76. Epigraphic attestations of *gymnasia* include: IG 14.213 (Acrae); IG 14.240 (Netum); IG 14.256 (Phintias); IG 14.311 (Soluntum); IG 14.349 (Cephaloedium?); IG 14.369-371; IG 14.422 and 14.432 (Tauromenium); IG 14.456 (Catina; the word is restored in KORHONEN 2004, no. 2); SEG 26.1060 (Haluntium); SEG 41.826 (Segesta); SEG 46.1252 (Agrigentum); Bull. ép. 1953.279 (Centuripae); Bull. ép. 1964.629 (Helorus); MANGANARO 1999, no. 58 (Syracuse; a restoration), cf. MORETTI 1976, p. 182; MANGANARO 1980, p. 445-446; CORDIANO 1997, p. 88-89.

77. Esp. GAUTHIER 1995.

to suggest that Rome made use of existing local institutions (as they did in the sphere of taxation) in order to garrison the island – another inscription, from Netum, suggests what has been argued elsewhere by F. Ferruti and G. Cordiano, that *gymnasia* were fostered by Hieron II, quite possibly with manpower in mind⁷⁸. By doing so, the Romans in fact fostered the further growth of a lively civic hellenistic culture, some of the evidence for which we have already seen.

There is not the space to explore this particular suggestion in more detail here ; my point is rather that to get the most from the epigraphy – or from Cicero – we must engage in a more complex process of dialogue between the different stories told by the different sets of material than that suggested in the earlier parts of this paper. But perhaps that was already obvious.

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78. JG 14.240 ; CORDIANO 1997, p. 105-106 ; FERRUTI 2004.

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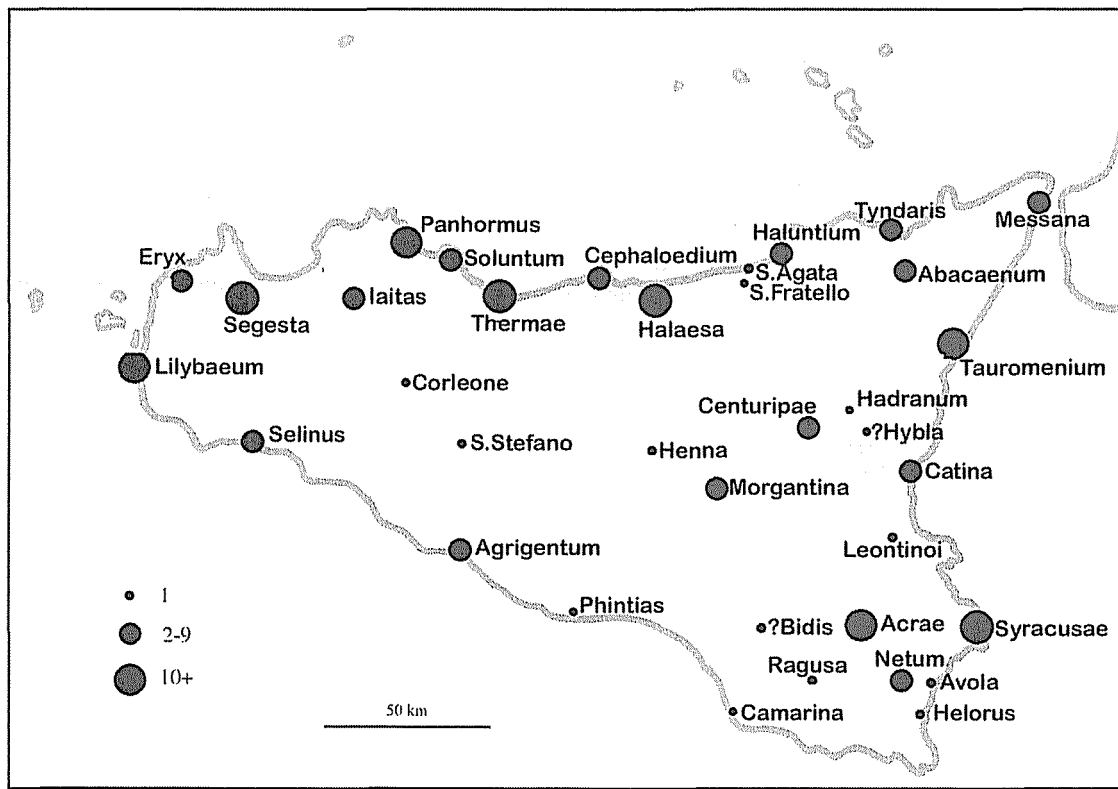


Fig. 1 : Distribution of dated Hellenistic (3rd-1st cent. BC) inscriptions on stone

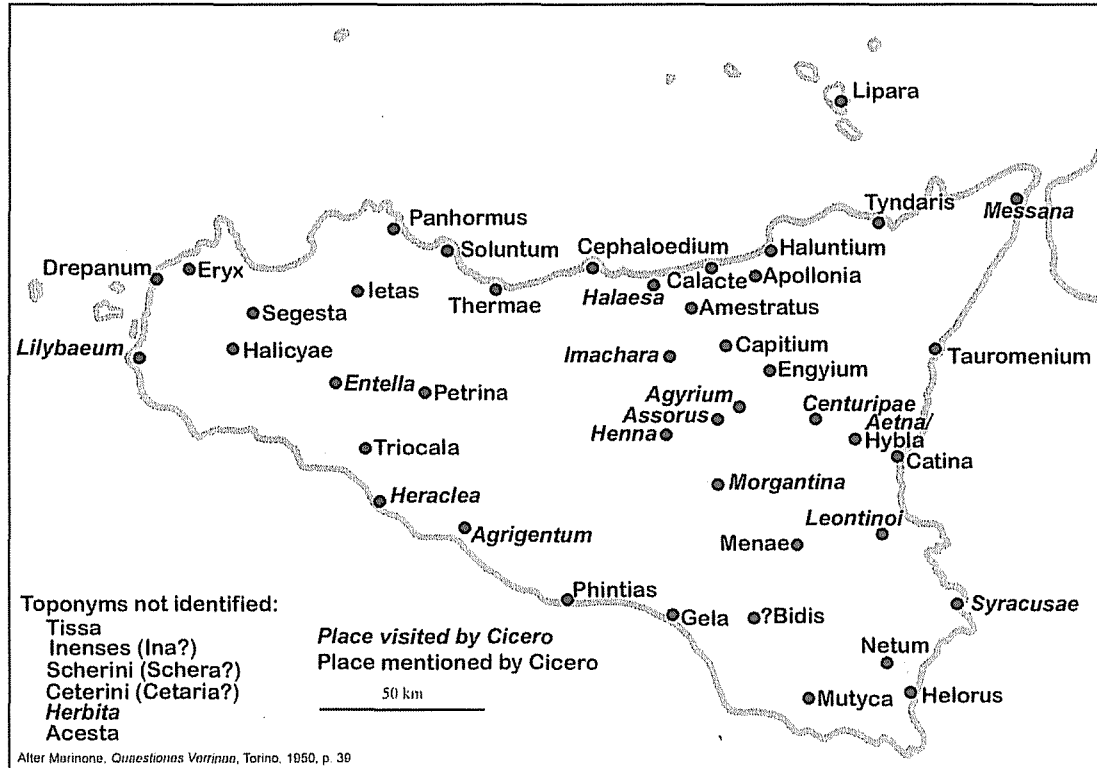


Fig. 2 : Locations recorded by Cicero in the *Verrines*

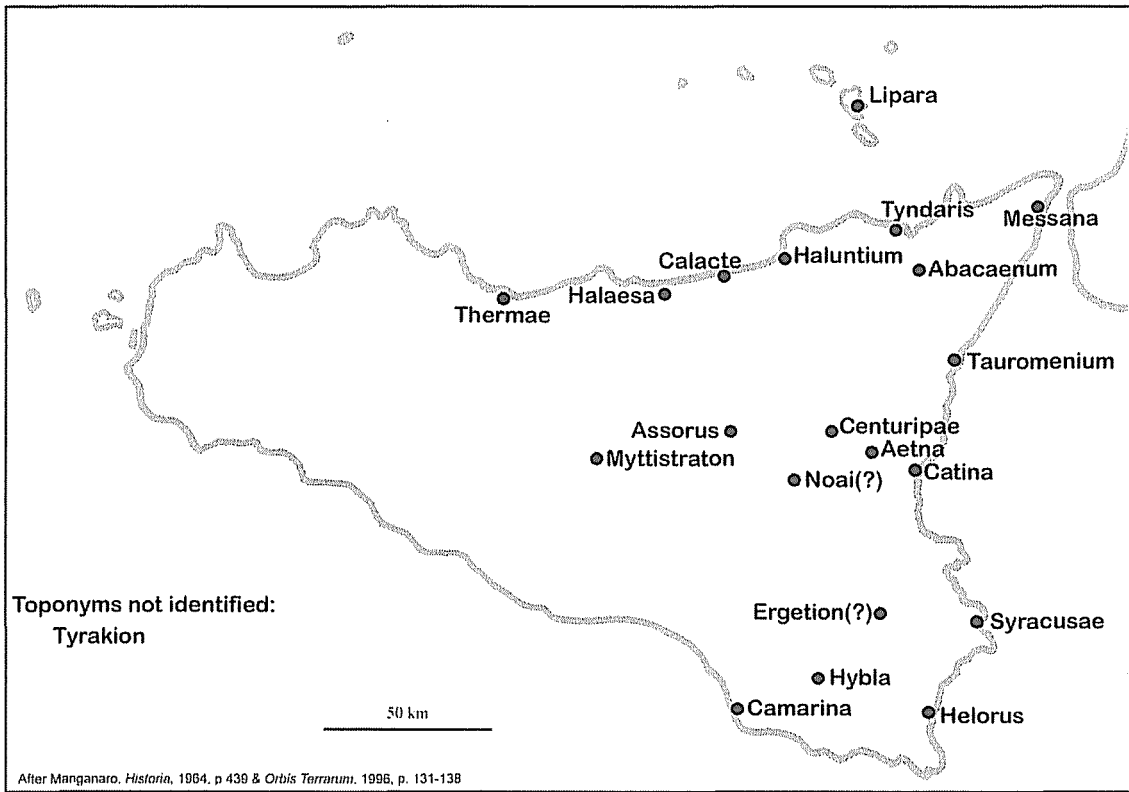


Fig. 3 : Locations visited by Delphic *theoroi*, c. 200 BC (as recorded in the fragmentary inscription SGDI 2580)

Le colloque tenu à Paris en mai 2006, partant des *Verrines* de Cicéron, abordait plus largement l'histoire de la Sicile au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C. La présence de spécialistes de différentes disciplines a permis de croiser diverses approches méthodologiques, en confrontant les sources littéraires, juridiques, épigraphiques et archéologiques. Outre la fiscalité et l'économie de la Sicile romaine, les enquêtes portent sur la vie judiciaire dans la province, les institutions des cités, mais aussi les dimensions plus rhétoriques du discours ou encore la chronologie du gouvernement de Verrès et la prosopographie de la Sicile. La figure de Verrès est éclairée dans sa dimension publique, dans la perspective de l'exercice par Rome de sa domination, mais aussi dans ses aspects plus privés, comme un représentant particulier de la dernière génération de la République romaine.

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