

# STUDI E MATERIALI

DIPARTIMENTO CULTURE E SOCIETÀ – SEZIONE BENI CULTURALI  
AREA ARCHEOLOGIA

UNIVERSITÀ DI PALERMO

fondati da  
*Nicola Bonacasa*

**Nuova serie**

## Studi e Materiali

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## 2

DIPARTIMENTO CULTURE E SOCIETÀ – SEZIONE BENI CULTURALI  
AREA ARCHEOLOGIA

UNIVERSITÀ DI PALERMO

**Imperium Romanum: Romanization between Colonization and Globalization**

Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit in den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften  
Cooperazione italo-tedesca nel campo delle scienze umane e sociali

Villa Vigoni  
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## Opening Remarks





## Foreword

# Romanization between colonization and globalization

*Oscar Belvedere*

The idea of organizing this colloquium first occurred to Johannes Bergemann and myself when we were working on the details of another seminar, one on Roman Sicily. The latter took place in Göttingen in 2017. Entitled *Roman Sicily. Cities and territories between monumentalization and economy, crisis and development*, it took stock of the results of archaeological research conducted on the island over the last twenty years<sup>1</sup>. The results of that research have been remarkable: however, what emerges from the book which published the papers from the conference is a “Roman” Sicily that is considered in itself not just a part of the wider Roman world.

On reflection, it seemed clear to us that we needed now to think in a broader context. Anyone following the debate on Romanization in recent years will have noted that North European (especially Anglo-Saxon and Dutch) contributors to the debate have adopted a different perspective from those of Central and Southern Europe. The first group turned their attention away from the city and the urban elites to the countryside, and to the material culture of the peasant and native social groups, developing a position that was defined as “anti-colonial”<sup>2</sup>. A remarkable exception to this trend in northern Europe has been Greg Woolf, who sees “Romanization” as a cultural revolution<sup>3</sup>. Other scholars (Italians and French, but also Germans) have continued to lay emphasis mainly on the role of local elites in the “Romanization” process, investigating the usefulness of interpretative categories such as “self-romanisation”, in an attempt to overcome both the “colonial” and the “anti-colonial” viewpoints<sup>4</sup>. This dichotomy of approach has become particularly marked in recent years<sup>5</sup>.

Observing that in any case both positions aim to explore the formation of cultural identities, Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys, among others, have proposed to explore cultural transformations not in the context of identities, but in the sense of a dialectic between local and global, of which material culture is an expression, using the theory of globalization and focusing on aspects of connectivity and interdependence within the Roman world, and the “entanglement” of people with their material culture<sup>6</sup>. Of course, I as a landscape archaeologist cannot disagree with the claim that “artefacts are material presences, part of a spatial relation in (historical) time and (geographical) space”<sup>7</sup>.

The concept of globalization has indeed recently been considered helpful for interpreting other periods of the ancient world, such as the Hellenistic era and the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean in the late Bronze Age, without however convincing the majority of scholars as to the validity of this approach.

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1 Belvedere, Bergemann 2018.

2 Against this viewpoint, Van Dommelen 2014 emphasizes the intricate and mixed or hybridized nature of colonial and contact situations.

3 Woolf 2014.

4 E.g. Terrenato 2005.

5 Pitts, Versluys 2015, 5–6. A review of the theories and Romanization debate can be found in Van Oyen 2015. See also Van Oyen 2017.

6 Versluys 2014, 14–19; Pitts, Versluys 2015, 18–23; Versluys 2015; Versluys 2017. Beumer 2016 for a critical review of their work. See also Wiegels 2016.

7 Versluys 2014, 19.

A second consideration led us to organize this seminar: the theoretical debate on Romanization and globalization has remained mainly confined to Anglo-Saxon and Dutch scholars with just a few exceptions (a handful of French, Spanish and German scholars): some of those present at the meeting indeed highlighted the distinction. The contribution of Italian scholars to this debate has been limited to a few who speak English or who write in English, often themselves based abroad in Anglo-Saxon countries, with very few exceptions. One example that has attracted attention among Anglo-Saxon scholars are the papers collected together by Janniard and Traina in the *Mélanges* of the French School in Rome<sup>8</sup>.

G. A. Cecconi has dedicated a paragraph to the “merits and failures of politically correct interpretations” in his paper<sup>9</sup> and, with regard to the proposal to abandon the term “Romanization”, he states (I quote again) that with that term one erases from memory “the harsh and cruel reality of the Roman imperial phenomenon”<sup>10</sup>. Traina comes down in favour of “métissage”, and draws attention to the empires “prior to the age of imperialism, such as the Spanish and the Portuguese”, rather than seeing a form of *ante litteram* globalization in the Roman empire<sup>11</sup>.

Generally speaking, however, the few contributions in languages other than English have been ignored by northern European scholars, partly because English is considered the dominant language in the sciences (but this is not entirely true for archaeology, or in any case only in very recent years), and partly because of their traditional indifference towards papers not published in Anglo-Saxon journals<sup>12</sup>. I think, however, that indifference to theoretical archaeology as a whole is the principal reason why the vast majority of scholars throughout the Mediterranean area have not participated in this debate.

So, being aware of this dichotomy, we thought it was essential to fill it in some way. The aim of the seminar is, therefore, to bring a group of north European archaeologists together with those who study “Romanization” and cultural contact in the Mediterranean area. What we expect from the exchange of opinion about our experiences in the field is to clarify the possibility of interpreting the “Roman” world as a “globalized world”. We also want to see how these interpretative categories could be applied to the Mediterranean area, and in particular to Sicily, an area where Johannes and I, and others like Roger, work, or (in the case of Elizabeth) have worked – a place where Romans came into contact with Greeks, “hellenized”, Punic, “punicized”, and “indigenous” peoples, a variety of cultures and cultural contacts perhaps unique in the Mediterranean world (at least in its western half).

A few words on the structure of the seminar. We explored the possibility of organizing it by theme, but in the end we decided on a geographical approach. This is not to favour an emphasis on “provincial archaeology”<sup>13</sup>, but because we believe that different areas of the Empire presented different problems and different reactions to their contact with the Romans<sup>14</sup>; we feel therefore that specialists in different geographical areas were required. But we hope that throughout we shall try to debate them on a common ground and a broader perspective.

We thank the German-Italian Centre of Villa Vigoni for supporting our project and especially its General Secretary, dr. Christiane Liermann Traniello and her team for welcoming us with the usual hospitality and professionalism, in the splendid setting of Lake of Como, contributing in an essential way to the success of our meeting. Villa Vigoni has also generously financed the publication of this volume, confirming its leading role in promoting human and social research.

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8 Janniard, Traina 2006.

9 Cecconi 2006, 87–92.

10 Cecconi 2006, 83.

11 Traina 2006, 155–156.

12 As has often been noted, e.g. Schmitz 2002, footnote 3; Hostein 2018, 114. This unfortunate attitude has led many scholars to overlook fundamental contributions to research published in other languages.

13 Versluys 2014, 10–14. See also Millett, this volume, 64.

14 Changes in the material world often looked similar, but were increasingly differentiated: Van Oyen 2017, 298. On continuity and change in general, see the approach of Ghisleni 2018.

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# Einführung

*Johannes Bergemann*

Martin Millett hat 1993 die Romanisierung Britanniens als Wechselwirkung zwischen Römern und Einheimischen beschrieben. Ein Jahrzehnt später war der Romanisierungsbegriff dekonstruiert. Greg Woolf (2001) distanziert sich in seinem Artikel über „Romanisierung“ im Neuen Pauly von dem Begriff, Richard Hingley (2005) und John Miguel Versluys (2017) haben hingegen in jüngerer Zeit dafür plädiert, den Begriff durch „Globalisierung“ zu ersetzen. Die Diskussion um Globalisierung führte 2017 zum Erscheinen des von Tamar Hodos (2017) herausgegebenen „Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization“, in dem Afrika, Amerika, Australien, Ozeanien und Asien vor Europa und dem Mittelmeerraum behandelt und zugleich die Grenzen der Antike bis zur modernen Welt überschritten werden.

Dies alles erscheint wie eine britisch-niederländische Debatte. Tatsächlich hatte bereits im Jahr 2000 einmal der deutsche Althistoriker Jochen Malitz (2000) in einem Kontext der Lehrerfortbildung über Globalisierung und Imperium Romanum geschrieben, allerdings in großer Distanz zu dem damals noch nicht in die Altertumswissenschaft eingeführten Begriff, und um ihn sogleich wieder aufzugeben.

Globalisierung zeichnet sich vor allem durch eine erhöhte und verdichtete Konnektivität aus. Sie wird ebenso als historisch spätes Phänomen wie als ein langfristiger Trend diskutiert, der in der Moderne seinen Höhepunkt erreicht, oder auch als ein in der Geschichte periodisch wiederkehrendes Phänomen. Der Begriff der Globalisierung dient dazu, „to recognize the tension between shared practices and the rejection of them. ... Globalization enables us to consider the interconnections between all these different levels of interaction in a united perspective“ (Jennings 2017).

Eine Wortanalyse in der Archäologischen Bibliographie „Dyabola“ ([www.dyabola.de](http://www.dyabola.de)) zeigt jedoch, daß der Begriff der „Globalisierung“ in jüngster Zeit in den altertumswissenschaftlichen Buch- und Aufsatztiteln vor allem im englischen und französischen Sprachraum benutzt wird, weniger im deutschen und italienischen, während der Begriff der „Romanisierung“ insbesondere in Italien und selbst im englischen Sprachraum weiterhin ungleich häufiger verwendet wird. Daher erschien es sinnvoll, die theoretischen Ansätze der angelsächsischen Forscherinnen und Forscher mit materialbasierten Betrachtungen aus Deutschland, Italien und anderen Ländern in einem Kolloquium in der Villa Vigoni zu verbinden.

Die Debatten dort haben einerseits gezeigt, daß die Diskussion sich weder rein theoretisch noch rein materialbasiert klären läßt, und andererseits daß die Verhältnisse in verschiedenen Provinzen und den weit entfernten Gegenden des Römischen Reiches je verschieden waren. Bereits zuvor hatte sich klar ergeben, daß keine umfassenden und übergreifenden Lösungen denkbar sind (Schörner 2005), sondern die Begriffe „Romanisierung“ und „Globalisierung“ vor dem Hintergrund von Einzeluntersuchungen auf ihre Leistungsfähigkeit und ihre Nuancierungen hin betrachten werden sollten.

Nach einer Einführung ins Thema durch die Organisatoren, Oscar Belvedere (Palermo) und Johannes Bergemann (Göttingen), haben die ersten fünf Vorträge das Thema von einem theoretischen oder globalen Standpunkt aus thematisiert. Greg Woolf (London) argumentierte dafür, die unterschiedlichen Phänomene, die etwa mit Romanisierung oder Selbstromanisierung bezeichnet werden, vor dem Hintergrund der Globalisierungstheorie, die ihrerseits verschiedene Phänomene, z.B. Mobilität und Austausch von Waren und



Ideen, umfaßt für Globalisierung in Anspruch nehmen. Miguel John Versluys (Leiden) sah das Römische Reich als globalisiertes Gebilde nicht zuletzt aufgrund der weit über den Mittelmeerraum hinausreichenden Fernhandelsbeziehungen. Neu integrierte er das aus der Ethnologie entlehnte Motiv der „Reibung“ (friction) in die Diskussion und fügte damit dem Globalisierungsbegriff eine weitere Komponente hinzu.

Johannes Bergemann (Göttingen) verwies auf unterschiedliche Rezeptionen und Aneignungen in verschiedenen Richtungen, die in der materiellen Kultur greifbar sind, von Griechenland nach Rom und umgekehrt, die am Ende zu einer in nuce als übereinstimmend erkennbaren ‚Reichskultur‘ führe. Martin Millett (Cambridge) diskutierte das Verhältnis zwischen römischer Initiative und den voraufgehenden lokalen Verhältnissen in Kultur und sozialer Hierarchie.

Der zweite große Abschnitt des Kolloquiums nahm verschiedene Regionen des Römischen Reichs und Fälle von ‚Romanisierung‘ in den Blick. Dabei wurden in verschiedenen Provinzen mit ihren unterschiedlichen Traditionen variierende Formen der Ausbreitung der ‚kulturellen Revolution‘ Roms deutlich.

Eine erste Gruppe von Fallbeispielen widmete sich verschiedenen Regionen Italiens. Nicola Terrenato (Ann Arbor) zeigte, daß Rom selbst durch die Ablösung von der etruskischen und die umfassende Adaptierung der griechischen Kultur eine Genese durchlaufen hat, die er dezidiert und programmatisch als Romanisierung Roms bezeichnete. Peter Attema (Groningen) legte sein Augenmerk auf die Mikroregion der Pontinischen Sümpfe, wo kulturelle und produktive sowie Siedlungstopographische Veränderungen seit früher republikanischer Zeit durch landschaftsarchäologische Forschungen verfolgt werden können. Frank Vermeulen (Gent) berichtete von seinen archäologischen und geophysikalischen Forschungen auf der adriatischen Seite Italiens, wo sich neben römischem auch griechischer Einfluß manifestiert. Kathryn Lomas (Durham) untersuchte die Situation in Unteritalien, wo die griechische Kultur neben den indigenen seit alters präsent ist und die römische in unterschiedlicher Weise manifest wird, Formen die nun auch mit neuen Begriffen beschrieben werden, etwa Hybridisierung und andere postkoloniale Konzepte.

Am zweiten Tag des Kolloquiums traten die Provinzen des Römischen Reichs in den Blick. Elisabeth Fentress (Rom) zeigte, daß in der Provinz Africa nicht allein die Eliten mit der römischen Kultur konfrontiert waren, sondern seit der späten Republik radikale Veränderungen des städtischen Lebens vor sich gingen, teils auch Umformungen eines hellenistisch geprägten numidischen in einen neuen römischen Herrscherkult. Frerich Schön (Tübingen) führte neueste Grabungsergebnisse aus Pantelleria (Cossyra) vor, die zeigen, wie die punische Stadt zu einem römischen *municipium* wurde.

Richard Hingley (Durham) wandte den Blick auf das römische Britannien und insbesondere auf weniger sichtbare Gruppen, niedere Klassen der Gesellschaft und Frauen, und ihren Anteil an Romanisierung oder Globalisierung, und beklagte einen eklatanten ‚Maskulismus‘ der gängigen Betrachtungsweisen. Rainer Wiegels (Osnabrück – Buchbach) behandelte den Oberrhein als Ausschnitt aus dem römischen Germanien und zeigte dabei eine bereits bei der Ankunft der Römer bestehende Öffnung der latènezeitlichen Gruppen zum Mittelmeerraum und ausgesprochen vielfältige kulturelle Prozesse nach dem Erscheinen der Römer am Rhein. Thomas Schattner (Madrid) plädierte nachdrücklich für den Begriff „Romanisierung“. Diese sei freilich nicht intendiert gewesen sei, sondern sie schaffe einen Ordnungsrahmen, der zusammen mit massiver Immigration aus Italien bis zum Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Spanien vollständig in das Imperium integriert habe.

Athanasios Rizakis (Athen) wies nach, daß die kaiserzeitlichen Griechen trotz des anhaltenden Gebrauchs des Griechischen römische Namenselemente adaptieren, durch ihre griechischen Namen aber zugleich griechische Identität bewahren. Günther Schörner (Wien) untersuchte Veränderungen in traditionellen Kulturen im Kleinasien der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel verschiedener Medien. Davon ausgehend unterzog er den Begriff „Romanisierung“ einer Kritik, die dessen heuristischen Wert bezweifelte. Dirk Steuernagel (Regensburg) stellte die obere Agora von Ephesos ins Zentrum seiner Überlegungen, die er architekturtypologisch auf hellenistische Vorbilder zurückführte, in die die neue kaiserzeitliche Funktion eines Kaiserforums implementiert worden sei, auf dem auch zweisprachige Inschriften aufgestellt wurden.

Roger Wilson (Vancouver) und Oscar Belvedere (Palermo) analysierten schließlich verschiedene Denkmäler des republikanisch-kaiserzeitlichen Sizilien aus urbanen und extraurbanen Kontexten. Die größte Insel des Mittelmeers mit ihren langen griechischen, punischen und indigenen Traditionen erscheint demnach als ein Exempel für Romanisierung durch Globalisierung dank der globalen Kontakte der Insel im Römischen Reich und ihrer Lage im Zentrum des Mittelmeerraums.

Auf die Beiträge im Rahmen des Kolloquiums, die hier nun gedruckt vorgelegt werden, und die dazu geführten Debatten zurückblickend läßt sich sagen, daß von den verschiedenen Konzepten von Globalisierung, die späte oder die kontinuierliche Globalisierung auf das Römische Reich nicht zutreffen können, hingegen am ehesten die wiederholte, periodische Globalisierung. Zweifellos sind die Epochen der späten Römischen Republik und der Kaiserzeit von hoher Konnektivität und intensiver Mobilität gekennzeichnet, individuell und in Gruppen. Auch wenn die Fernkontakte nach Indien und Ostasien nur geringe Auswirkungen auf das Römische Reich entfalteten, kann man also von Globalisierung sprechen. Dagegen meint Romanisierung etwas anderes, Präziseres als der offensichtlich weiter gefaßte Begriff der Globalisierung, nämlich die Herausbildung einer in Teilen gemeinsamen kulturellen und z.B. administrativen Struktur, die mit Adaptionen und regionalen oder lokalen Anpassungen ein übergreifendes staatliches Gebilde mit grundlegend gemeinsamen Charakteristika entwickelt. Die europäischen Forschungstraditionen unterscheiden sich offensichtlich nach den Nationen mit langer oder kurzer kolonialer Geschichte. Letztere scheinen weniger nach postkolonialen Studien zu streben als erstere.

Auch von meiner Seite ein herzliches Dankeschön an die Villa Vigoni, ihre Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter und ihre Generalsekretärin, Dr. Christiane Liermann Trainiello, für die Möglichkeit, das Kolloquium in Lovenno di Menaggio durchzuführen. Der Dank gilt ebenso meinem Freund Oscar für die vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit in vielen Jahren wie natürlich allen Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern des Kolloquiums. Ich glaube, wir haben ein wenig Licht in die Sache gebracht!

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# Sicily from the Augustan period to the Middle Empire: what 'romanization'?

Oscar Belvedere\*

## Abstract

*Dal punto di vista politico-culturale l'impatto della conquista romana della Sicilia può essere visto sotto diversi aspetti: per esempio, la politica di conquista, l'afflusso fin dal II sec. a.C. di Italici nell'isola, l'adozione già dall'età ellenistica di forme architettoniche, soprattutto nell'architettura templare, di ascendenza italica. In realtà, la situazione della Sicilia è particolarmente complessa perché i Romani non vennero a contatto con una sola cultura, ma almeno con tre diverse: quella indigena ("ellenizzata"), quella punica e quella greca (nella sua forma occidentale). Se il rapporto con la cultura punica può essere visto all'interno del più ampio quadro del contatto tra cultura romano-italica e cultura punico-ellenistica, e se rispetto alle comunità indigene, soprattutto della Sicilia occidentale, si può utilizzare efficacemente la formula "diventare Greci per essere filoromani", più difficile è comprendere il rapporto con la cultura greco-ellenistica dell'isola.*

*Ancora più complesso è il problema se lo affrontiamo da altri punti di vista non geografici, come la differenziazione tra città e campagne o la reazione rispetto alla cultura romana all'interno di diverse classi sociali. In questo lavoro vogliamo esplorare maggiormente il ruolo dei diversi ceti presenti nell'isola: i coloni romani, gli italici stanziatisi in Sicilia anche da lungo tempo, le classi dirigenti locali ellenistiche, la popolazione subalterna. E rivolgere il nostro sguardo alle campagne, per cercare di cogliere segni di continuità e di discontinuità con la situazione precedente o con la realtà contemporanea delle città, soprattutto nei territori delle colonie romane.*

When in 2009 I was invited to present a paper on the transformation of Greek *agorai* into *fora* in the Roman colonies which were settled in the Augustan

period in Sicily (it was published a few years later), I thought of broadening the theme to allow for a more extensive reflection on the process of the 'Romanization' of the island during the imperial era<sup>1</sup>. Following on from the general discussions on this theme that have appeared in recent years, my contribution to the topic of 'Romanization' allows me today to grasp the opportunity that this colloquium affords by offering here some new considerations.

First, I would like to return to the topic of Augustan colonization and its role in changing the urban landscape of Sicily. The problem of urban landscapes remains, in my opinion, fundamental – not in order to understand the action of the central power in the transmission of ideological or political values, to which more or less spontaneous adhesion was adopted by provincial peoples, but to detect what perception the inhabitants of the cities might have had of the new 'Romanized' landscape. From this point of view, I believe that we cannot ignore the particular division of society that must have occurred within the new Roman colonies<sup>2</sup>. There were three principal categories of 'actor' in this process. First were the new settlers, who were the holders of political and administrative power. Secondly there was the pre-colonial ruling class, who should not be seen (and this applies also to the settlers themselves) in a 'monolithic' manner, for its number would have included both people of

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I am grateful to Roger Wilson for reading and improving my English text.

1 Belvedere 2012.

2 Social stratification in Imperial Sicily, Korhonen 2012, 348-349.

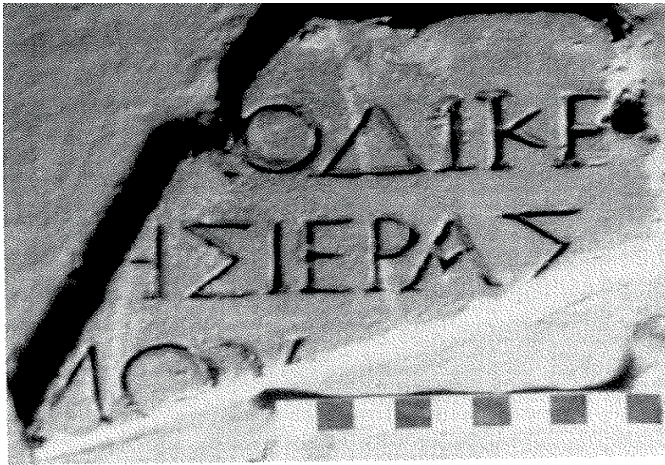


Fig. 1 Dedication of the city of Laodicea of Syria from the forum of Catina (Kajava 2005-2006, fig. 1).

Italian origin<sup>3</sup>, already in possession of Roman citizenship, who formed part of the new elite by right, and also Roman citizens of local origin, who would also have become easily integrated into the new ruling class (e.g. men like Gnaeus Pompeius Philon at Tyn-daris, or Quintus Caecilius Dio at Halaesa in the time of Verres, Lucius Caecilius Martialis at Segesta at the same time, or a little later)<sup>4</sup>; and also part of this group would be those without Roman citizenship, perhaps, but already possessing strong ties with Rome (such as the *Lapirones* family at Halaesa)<sup>5</sup>. Finally, there was the subordinate class<sup>6</sup>: they were certainly less well prepared to deal with the complex intercultural relations, and the multiple negotiations, that arose from the new situation in which they found themselves<sup>7</sup>.

That is why I emphasize that these negotiations would have taken place in a non-neutral setting: the urban landscape of the colonies acquired a strong ideological value, and the political scene at those places changed profoundly, as demonstrated by the almost



Fig. 2 Agrigento. Dedicatory inscription of the seats in the gymnasium (Archaeological Superintendence, Agrigento).

exclusive use of the Latin language at an official level<sup>8</sup>. This does not mean that forms of mediation, above all with local elites, could not be found even in an official political setting (one that was displayed voluntarily, I believe). An example is a dedication in Greek language by the city of Laodicea of Syria in the forum of Catania, which explicitly recalls the values of the *asylia* and the *autonomia* of the city, demonstrating clearly the persistence of Hellenistic traditions in the two cities, which still wish to be seen as ‘hellenistic’ in a fast-disappearing hellenistic world (fig. 1)<sup>9</sup>. A second but fragmentary inscription, of even greater significance, is that which refers to a vote of the *boule*, if one accepts the restoration of the text proposed by some scholars<sup>10</sup>. The *boule* here actually comprised nothing more than the *curiales* of Catina, now dominated by the newcomers.

Even more evident is the mediating role that the gymnasium must have assumed, as for example in Agrigentum. Here L. Egnatius engraved the dedicatory inscription of the seats in Greek<sup>11</sup>, a man

3 Presence in *Thermae Himeraeae*, probably prior to the foundation of the colony, of *gentes* of Italian origin, Bivona 1994, 77; Salmeri 2004, 278.

4 Philon, Fasolo 2013, 116-117; *Caecilli*, Ampolo, Erdas 2019, 113-114. Others *Pompeii*, Fasolo 2013, 116, footnote 562.

5 Prag 2017, 25. We can also remember Herakleios Aristofylou, decurion at Centuripe, Korhonen, Soraci 2019, 106-107, 112.

6 James 2001, 199-202.

7 Keay 2001, 116; Hingley 2005, 45-48. Generally speaking, Pitts, Versluys 2015, 15.

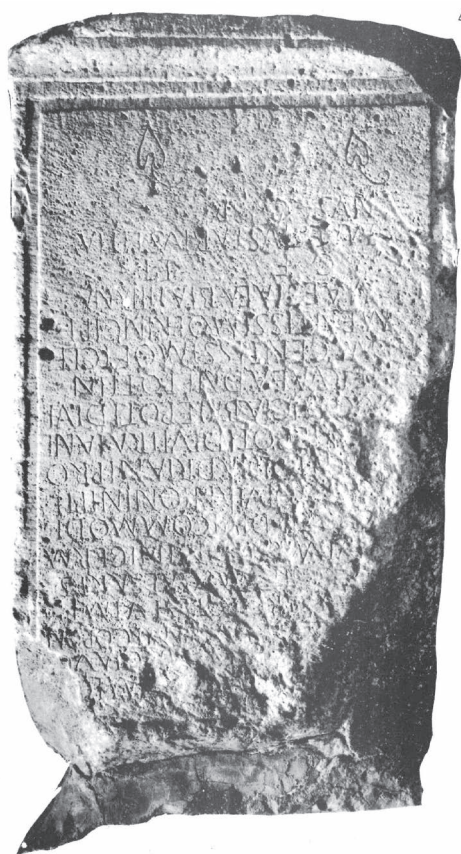
8 Transformation of the linguistic landscape, Korhonen 2011, 8-11. Different linguistic landscape between colonies and *municipia*, Korhonen, Soraci 2019. For the same phenomenon in Roman colonies of Greece, Rizakis, this volume, 251-258, with bibl.

9 Korhonen 2004a, 172-173, n. 27; Korhonen 2004b, 239-240; Kajava 2005-2006. In a context of loyalty to Rome if the dedication was in honour of Cn. Domitius Corbulo or his daughter Domitia Longina, wife of the emperor Domitian, Kajava 2005-2006, 537-541.

10 Korhonen 2004a, 183, n. 43.

11 Meaning of the intervention of Egnatius, Belvedere





Bivona 1994, n. 8

L(ucio) Acilio L(uci) f(ilio) Qui(rina tribu)  
 Rufo  
 q(aestori) pro pr(aetore) provinc(iae)  
 Sicil(iae) tr(ibun) pl(ebis) pr(aetori)  
 praef(ecto) frum(enti) dand(i)  
 ex S(enatus) c(onsulto)  
 Hispellates public(e)  
 d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)  
 patrono

Dedication to Lucius Acilius Rufus (first senator from provincia Siciliae, probably born in Thermae, family origin from Northern Italy) to their patronus by the Hispellates (inhabitants of Hispellum in Central Italy)

Fig. 3 Inscription in honour of L. Acilius Rufus (Bivona 1994, pl. V).

who acted as *flamen Augusti*, and a *gymnasiarca* (fig. 2)<sup>12</sup>. The use of this latter term in association with the former is a clear sign of mediation, as well as the use of the Greek language; but the *duumviri* have typically Italian names, and at least one of

1997, 22-23; Belvedere 2012, 214.

12 If, as is likely, he is the same person.

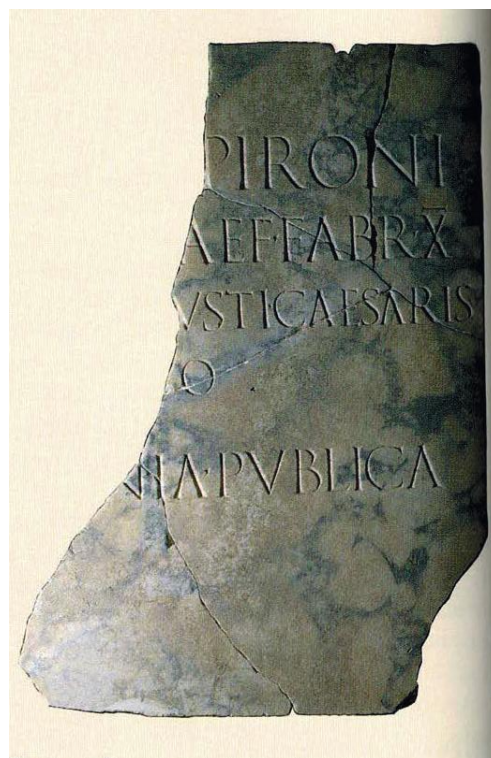


Fig. 4 Inscription in honour of Lapyron from Halaesa (Prag 2017, n. 16).

them seems to be a relative of Egnatius. Therefore, if these examples demonstrate a will to mediate or compromise, they were done in a long-established and indisputable framework.

The funerary inscriptions in Greek related to people of middle class without Roman citizenship (e.g. Attikòn Agathinou at Thermae Himeraeae)<sup>13</sup> show that only a portion of the pre-colonial people participated in a limited way in these forms of mediation (e.g. Markos Aimilios Rhodon at Halaesa, *agoranomos* and a Roman citizen, and perhaps Olos (Aulos) Papios Agatharchos at Thermae Himeraeae)<sup>14</sup>. Moreover it is significant that the first Sicilian senator (Lucius Acilius Rufus) was of Italian peninsular origin (fig. 3)<sup>15</sup>. Conditions in Sicily appear to have been different from those in other provinces and their absence in Sicily may also imply that members of the pre-colonial elite had limited access to the most important positions (i.e. few possessed

13 Brugnone 1974, 235, n. 8. Language choice in funerary epigraphy, Korhonen 2011, 12-13.

14 Prag 2017, 33-34, n. 6; Brugnone 1974, 233-235, n. 7.

15 Bivona 1994, 77, 100, 118-120; Salmeri 2004, 281-282.

the necessary qualifications to enter the network<sup>16</sup> of the Latin-speaking polity). One successful example may have been T. Flavius Ionius, benefactor of the theatre in Catina<sup>17</sup>; another about whom we know more is Lapiron at Halaesa, member of a family already publicly honoured in the late Hellenistic period (fig. 4)<sup>18</sup>. We may also mention the two brothers M. Onasus and M. Sopolis at Segesta, probably Roman citizens and perhaps even *duumviri*<sup>19</sup>. In other words, these examples imply that the real power remained firmly in the hands of Italian families, a status quo favoured by the practice of granting Roman citizenship to freedmen, as is clear from funerary inscriptions (e.g. Gaius Seios Ptolemaios at Thermae, in Greek, or M. Albius Philocalus, in Latin)<sup>20</sup>. As a result, the new urban landscape needed to be perceived differently by the inhabitants – a landscape of belonging for some, of opportunities for others, but also of indifference and uncertainty, if not unfamiliarity or downright exclusion, for yet others.

It is worth speculating, therefore, whether this situation explains why a large part of the Greek-speaking elite may have refused political posts, but instead chose other ways to express their civic commitment. This may have included involving themselves in religious activities, as happened in many cities in Asia Minor. However, both the literary and the epigraphic record for Sicily does not document anything similar happening there, and there is no known equivalent in the island to someone like Gaius Iulius Demosthenes, *procurator centenarius* in Sicily, who founded a festival in his mother city, Oenoanda, during the age of Hadrian<sup>21</sup>. A Greek inscription from Syra-

cuse, unfortunately lost (its greatly mutilated text is preserved only through antiquarian transcription), mentions a priestly college of the Syrian goddess (*dea Syria*). Five of its members (the *sacerdos* and four *praesides*) bear Latin *nomina* without *cognomina* (maybe they are Romans or Italians who moved to Sicily, *negotiatores* perhaps, dealing with East Mediterranean trade?), and two others have Greek names (locals or immigrants from Syria?)<sup>22</sup>. The inscription could, however, document the commitment of members of the local elite in the religious sphere<sup>23</sup>.

Of course, this ambiguous situation raises the question of the supposed recovery of a Greek identity in the island in late antiquity. Did the Greek identity remain hidden for the first two centuries of the Empire, and then re-emerge after the second or third century, or was it the result of deliberate ‘reinvention’? Many scholars have adopted this latter position<sup>24</sup>. More recently, however, Kalle Korhonen has emphasized the persistence of a Greek ‘linguistic identity’ in Sicilian cities, even in the colonies, throughout the imperial period, and the likely presence of substantial bilingualism, at least among the upper classes. He has also emphasized that there were many different reasons for choosing one or the other language in funerary inscriptions or in personal names<sup>25</sup>. Both Greek and Latin were used in the literary field in the first centuries of Empire, as well as in late antiquity<sup>26</sup>.

The distancing from all this of much of Sicilian society is expressed by the middle classes with their use of the Greek language in funerary inscriptions, and by some who engaged even in outbreaks of revolt<sup>27</sup>, while the non-involvement in the whole process of the most marginalized classes, especially in the countryside, were to be expressed again in the third century AD by episodes of violent insurrection, comparable almost to a *bellum servile*<sup>28</sup>. This

16 Networks, Morley 2015, 62-64; Lomas 2019, 65-67 with bibl.

17 Korhonen 2004a, 174-175, n. 30; Wilson 1990, 69. Maybe through a marriage alliance, Salmeri 2004, 281; Sartre 2001, 130.

18 Prag 2017, 44-45, n. 16.

19 Ampolo, Erdas 2019, 119-124. For Cossyra, see Schön-Schaefer, this volume.

20 Brugnone 1974, 232-233, n. 6; Bivona 1994, 155-156, n. 44. Other inscriptions, Bivona 1994, 153-154, n. 42.

21 Reitzenstein 2011, 108-112, 187-188, n. 36. He was also *tribunus* of the *legio VI Ferrata*, stationed in Syria, veterans of which were previously settled by Augustus in Thermae Himeraeae, including the *tribunus* Cn. Pollienus, Bivona 1994, 125-127, nos. 13-14; Korhonen, Soraci 2019, 104-106.

22 IG XIV 9. <http://www.theatrum.de/1082.html> for text.

23 Korhonen 2011, 10. I thank Kalle Korhonen for discussing this inscription with me.

24 E.g. Lomas 2000, 172.

25 Korhonen 2011, 12-13; Korhonen 2012, 361-367; Tribulato 2012, 322-325; Rizakis 2008.

26 Korhonen 2012, 358-360.

27 Korhonen 2012, 348; Clemente 1979, 470; Manganaro 1988, 70-71.

28 Clemente 1979, 470-471.





Fig. 5 Relief with an Emperor and Vestal Virgins from Caronia Marina or from Raffadali (Palermo, Museo Archeologico).

was a conflict that occurred after a long period of mutual indifference in the uplands of Sicily and in marginal areas. Neville Morley reminds us, if any were needed, that not everyone benefits from globalization, nor can everyone take advantage of it<sup>29</sup>.

The colonies, therefore, but also the municipalities with Roman rights, were the main 'imperial' drivers in the process of the 'Romanization' of the island, even if the distance between them and other communities of lower municipal rank does not appear as marked as it is in other provinces of the Roman Empire. In fact, the acceptance of the imperial cult appears to play an important and parallel role in municipalities with Latin rights, such as Halaesa, albeit in modest architectural forms<sup>30</sup>.

Among the 'imperial' nodes of connectivity we can also include the *stationes* of the *cursus publicus*. Their role is shown by the relief with an Emperor and Vestal Virgins (if it was actually found in Caronia Marina, the *statio* of Calacte on the Messina-Lilybaeum road, the *via Valeria*, fig. 5)<sup>31</sup>. This can

29 Morley 2015, 61-62.

30 Scibona 2009, 32-35 (Halaesa); Ampolo, Erdas 2019, 129 (Segesta). We continue to use the traditional distinction between Latin and Roman *municipia*; see however Korhonen, Soraci 2019, 98-101.

31 Portale 2007, 156; Kunz 2006, 194-196; Wilson 1990, 321.

be considered as a clear demonstration of the strong interest that central authority had in the control of communications and coastal sites, and also of the role that these structures assumed, as in other regions of the Empire, for the dissemination of ideas, political and ideological propaganda, 'lifestyles' and material culture, in areas which were far from the colonies and the main cities<sup>32</sup>.

Nor should we forget the focal points constituted by centres of worship with regional significance (such as the sanctuary of Aphrodite/Venus at Er-yx)<sup>33</sup>. I would also like to emphasize the introduction of new Roman divinities into the city pantheon<sup>34</sup>, and the introduction of Festkalenders and priesthoods<sup>35</sup> such as *pontifex*, *flamen Augusti* and *augur*. All of these were closely linked to the exercise of power, as shown by the fact that priestly offices are often attributed to individuals who were political office-holders (*duumviri*) in the colonies. In this context the persistence of traditional cults and priesthoods could be seen as a form of resistance, or rather in my opinion as a form of dialectic between global and local, as has been argued<sup>36</sup>. All this is evidence of a clear demand for political loyalty to local citizens, in line with the introduction of the imperial cult<sup>37</sup>, through exhibitions of portrait statues of the imperial family and through the dedication of altars that required the same display of loyalty from both Romans and non-Romans<sup>38</sup>.

At this point it seems appropriate to leave the urban landscape and move from the cities to the countryside. Of course, the Sicilian countryside cannot be seen in the same way as the countryside of Spain, Gaul or Britannia<sup>39</sup>, nor can its ability to adapt to 'Romanization' be evaluated in the same

32 The meaning of the relief and our interpretation do not change even if it came from the territory of Raffadali, near Agrigento, in which case it is probably from Terravecchia di Modaccamo, an important Roman-period site overlooking the Agrigentum-Panormus road.

33 Kunz 2008, 140-141.

34 Kunz 2008, 134.

35 Kunz 2008, 133-134.

36 Woolf 2010.

37 Kunz 2006, 248-264; Kunz 2008, 141-142.

38 Whitmarsh 2010, 6-8. Generally speaking, Ando 2000, 406-412.

39 Woolf 1998, 142-168; Keay 2001; James 2001.

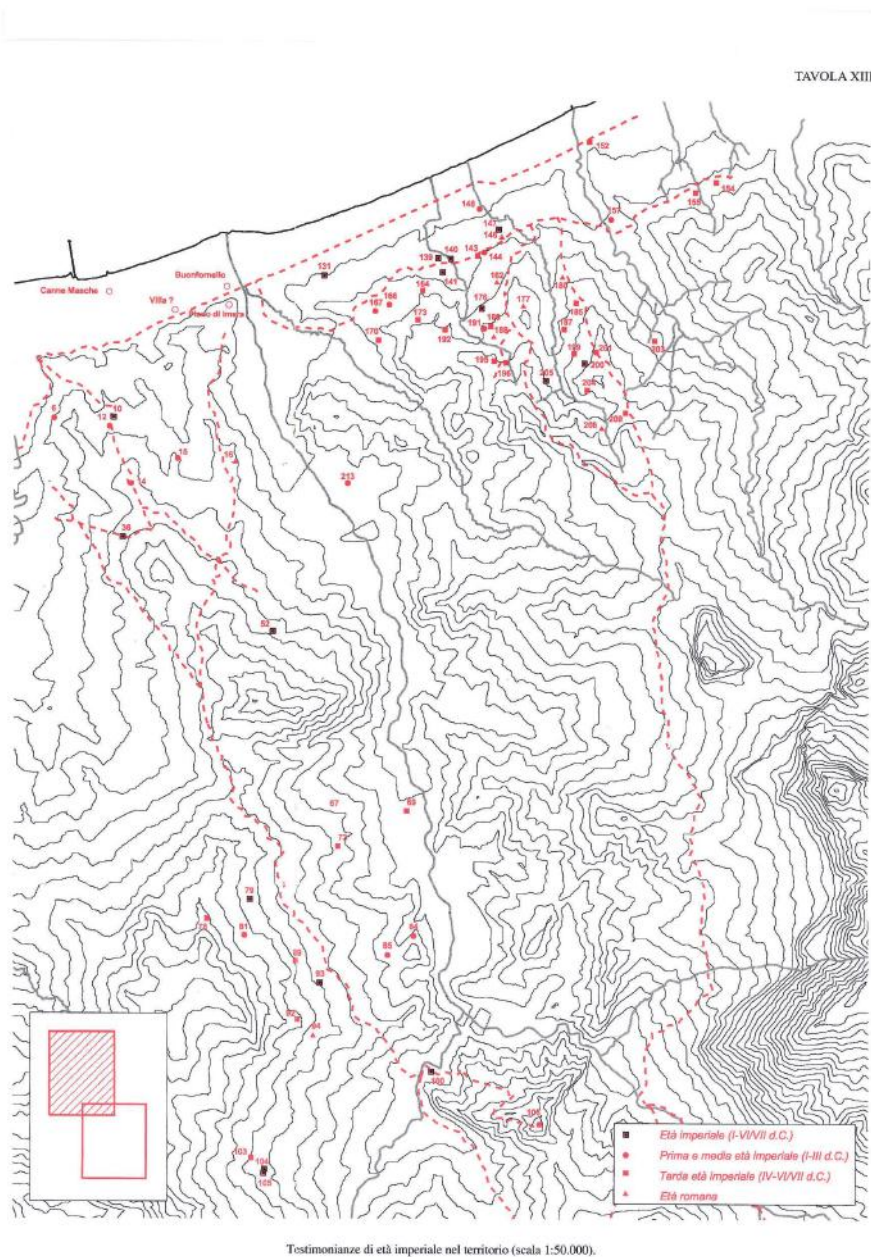


Fig. 6 Territory between the Torto river and the Roccella stream: settlement of the imperial era.

way<sup>40</sup>. Nor can we evaluate in the same way discordant traits by comparison with what was defined as 'standard development' mainly on the basis of evidence from the cities. However, what has been concluded from studies of other areas of the Roman world is valid also for Sicily: we can iden-

40 Hingley 2005, 89; Witcher 2017, for the 'globalization' of the countryside,

tify different agents in the countryside compared with those that we see acting in the cities, and different relationships from those managed in urban contexts. In the absence of clear indicators in the material culture, as we shall see, we still get a sign of it in the differing distribution of inscriptions using the Latin and Greek languages in the countryside, by comparison with those in the cities<sup>41</sup>.

The analysis of the rural landscape of the imperial period tells us little, but the exercise is not entirely meaningless. If we first examine the territories of the cities in which the Roman colonies were settled, and try to understand the effects that land distribution to the new settlers must have had, as well as its economic and also social and cultural impact, we must record that there is no obvious change at all in the agricultural landscape: the new distributions of land did not bring about the centuriation of the territory, as it did in other provinces (a distribution *virutum* during the reign of Vespasian, in the territories of Panormus and Segesta, is our only evidence)<sup>42</sup>.

Quite apart from an absence of evidence for agrarian division, we can detect different forms of land management, with an increase or a decrease in dispersed settlement even in areas which were part of the territory of the same colony (fig. 6), as we have pointed out in our previous work on the territory of Thermae. It is not easy from the evidence of field survey to detect the presence of Roman colonists, or the es-

41 Salmeri 2004, 285-286 and note 160; Wilson 1990, 313-319. See Korhonen 2012, 335, for a more nuanced position; Korhonen 2012, 360-367, for substantial bilingualism in Sicily.

42 *Liber Coloniarum* I (12-21, Lachmann, 211); Campbell 2000, 167.





Fig. 7 Floor in opus signinum and mosaics from the villa of Patti or from the villa of S. Leo (Fasolo 2014, figs. 35-37-39).

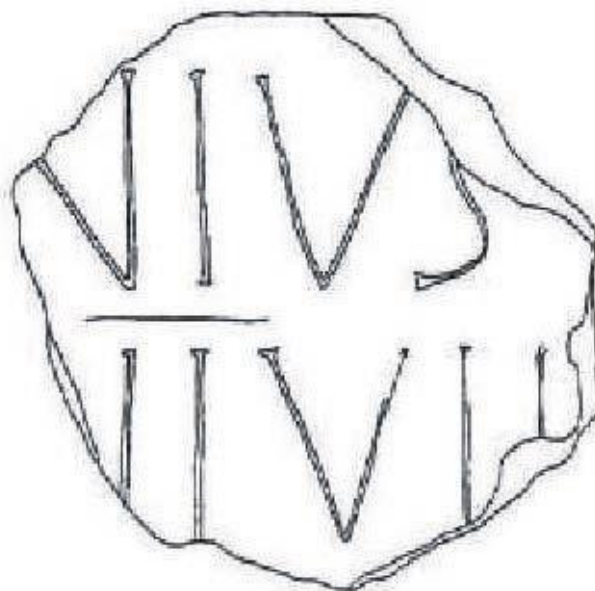


Fig. 8 Latin inscription from Abakainon (Sofia 2017, fig. 3).

establishment of large estates, of a type that we might expect to have been formed by local senatorial families (such as the *Maesii Titiani*, from the 3rd century onwards at Thermae, but there were also the *Acilii* already in 1st century)<sup>43</sup>.

Elsewhere, but still staying in the territory of a colony, we may note that at Tyndaris an apparent continuity of settlement between the pre-colonial phase and the post-Augustan one conceals a significant change in land management, with the establishment of luxury villas already in the first century AD (Castroreale S. Biagio, S. Leo east of Tyndaris, and Patti to the west of the city) (fig. 7)<sup>44</sup>. It would seem that various types of inhabitant are present in different areas of the territory, as we noted in the hinterland of Thermae. The area assigned to the colonists was located along the valley of the Timeto river, even in the territory of the urban centre of Abakainon, which lies far from the city of Tyndaris. An inscription was found at Abakainon mentioning a *duumvir* (fig. 8), which must refer without doubt to a magistrate of the colony<sup>45</sup>. Although all

43 Belvedere 2012, 215.

44 Cali 2009 (Castroreale); Fasolo 2014, 30-31, n. 28, 214 (Patti), 156-161 (S. Leo).

45 Sofia 2017, 25, fig. 3.





Fig. 9 Relief with Apollo and Nike from the villa of Patti (Fasolo 2014, fig. 31).

three villas mentioned above are built on earlier settlements of the Hellenistic period<sup>46</sup>, they certainly represent more a moment of divergence than of continuity by comparison with the previous land tenure arrangements.

Of particular interest is the discovery of a neo-classical relief with a mythological scene in the Patti villa, to which E.C. Portale<sup>47</sup> drew attention, the subject matter of which refers to the Augustan ideology and is correctly linked at the period of the Roman colony (fig. 9). The total adherence to the Augustan ideology, which we have seen so far ex-

pressed in urban public areas, as in Tyndaris itself, is here reflected also in the countryside. It seems plausible, therefore, to see in the Patti villa, assuming that this relief came from the Augustan villa on the site, a clear proof of the impact that the foundation of the colony had on the countryside, because the ideological evidence in this case belongs to the personal and private sphere. If we ask ourselves who the owner of this Augustan villa could have been, we must undoubtedly think of a member of the town's aristocracy, with strong ties and direct relations with Rome, who was keen to show his explicit support for Octavian's party<sup>48</sup>.

So we must ask what role was played by the ties of patronage<sup>49</sup>, *clientela* and *vicinitas*, in promoting not only an ideological loyalty, but also a strongly-bonded identity, with Rome. I believe that, in the case of Patti, *vicinitas* was in play, a concept to which K. Lomas has drawn attention<sup>50</sup>, whereas we can assume that the system of *clientela* acted out mainly in the cities, where the supply of projects, technicians and workers for the construction of buildings and public works functional to the 'lifestyle' of the new settlers was facilitated by their ties of *clientela* with Rome. *Vicinitas* could act both in the municipal sphere and in wider geographical areas, as Lomas emphasizes in her work, both among Roman citizens and between Romans and provincials<sup>51</sup>.

The role of the *villae* in the construction of a landscape of identity has been much discussed in recent years. Greg Woolf considered it fundamental for the diffusion of common cultural values<sup>52</sup>, while Richard Hingley stressed the distinction between the villa and the non-villa landscape<sup>53</sup>. More recently, Roymans and Derks have continued to emphasize the values of social distinction, emulation and competition, as expressed by the elites in the villa landscape<sup>54</sup>. But Roymans and Derks also remind us once again of something we all know well: the complexity of the structure and the differentiation of the social organization of estates, and the different perception

46 See note 4 above for Philon, owner of a 'villa' in the territory of Tyndaris. We can also mention Sthenius of Thermae, owner of 'villae' according to Cicero. Belvedere 1988, 210 for the meaning of the word 'villa' in this context.

47 Portale 2007, 156-157. Roger Wilson thinks that the relief may have been exhibited in the late antique villa, without completely excluding, however, that it may come from an earlier villa on the site (Wilson 2016, 15, footnote 29). Wilson himself has recently suggested to me (personal communication) that the artefact might have been found in a Byzantine-period wall on the site (as some other architectural pieces certainly were), but such a suggestion obviously does not clarify the original location of the relief in the villa. Unfortunately the exact find-spot of this relief has not yet been published.

48 Portale 2007, 156.

49 Rizakis 2004, 87.

50 Lomas 2019. Defining *vicinitas*, Lomas 2019, 55-58.

51 Lomas 2019, 61.

52 Woolf 1998, 162-168.

53 Hingley 2005, 95.

54 Roymans, Derks 2011.

of landscape among the different components of this stratified social community<sup>55</sup>. While the landscape of the villa could be an expression of common cultural values for elites, as Woolf has pointed out, this means that it was also a factor of common identity. But I do not think that subordinates participated in these same values. If the landscape of the villas expressed any identity for them, it was doubtless only an awareness of their own subordination.

If these data allow us to identify elements of discontinuity between the Hellenistic age and the imperial period, material culture does not provide, at least in my opinion, any useful information to identify processes of 'Romanization'. My experience leads me to stress that the major productions of Roman ceramics, such as Italian sigillata and African red-slip ware, are equally common in cities and in smaller towns, as well as throughout the countryside.

A survey of results from archaeological excavations in smaller settlements, such as Calacte, which we cited above as a road junction and a *statio* of the *cursus publicus*, confirms this assumption<sup>56</sup>. Data from surveys in the countryside point to the same conclusion. From those carried out by the Ancient Topography Laboratory of the University of Palermo, in the territories of Himera, Halaesa, Palma di Montechiaro (AG), the Monti of Palermo, Castrolibate S. Biagio (Tindari), and in areas of western Sicily, such as that of Salemi, as well as from the results of similar research elsewhere in the island, we can be sure that the distribution of these tableware products was very widespread, even in smaller settlements.

African red-slip A and African cooking wares are almost always attested alongside Italian sigillata, proof of a continuity of inhabitant and land management between the early and middle imperial periods. The few sites that can be securely dated in the first century AD where Italian sigillata was not found are minor sites, closely related to larger settlements<sup>57</sup>, or

else small marginal ones<sup>58</sup>. In one of them, however, a fragment of Sicilian red-slip pottery was found, proof of the use of at least one fine tableware at that site<sup>59</sup>, even in the absence of sigillata.

It is also noteworthy that in some of the larger settlements we found pottery shapes of greater economic value, such as cups and goblets decorated in relief<sup>60</sup>. However, the results of all Sicilian surveys should be analysed in detail to fully understand the problem, and perhaps we even need a supra-regional investigation<sup>61</sup>. Even today, the rapid and ubiquitous spread of ceramic products of the imperial period seems to me an indication of market availability and the outcome of competition and technical innovation in the lands around the Mediterranean, an area that had already been 'globalized' since the Hellenistic period. The rapid disappearance from the market, during the first century AD, of fine tableware produced by Sicilian workshops (which had tried to compete with Eastern Sigillata through their own local red-slip products), compared to the flourishing state of these workshops in the first century BC, does not testify to an acculturation with Rome, nor represent any change in eating or drinking habits, but rather a simple economic collapse in the face of market competition. Social and cultural differentiation was now expressed by the display of dining services in precious metal (rather than ceramic) at table, and by the decorative schemes of residences, for example their wall decorations and their floor mosaics<sup>62</sup>.

I used to consider the possibility that the spread of ubiquitous ceramic products and the standardization of kitchen and domestic vessel-forms might have favoured the development of a common social identity, or at least a sense of belonging. From the perspective of globalization, however, mass

55 Roymans, Derks 2011, 9, 27-28, fig. 9.

56 Excavations of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies at Rome, Lentini, Görasson, Lindhagen 2002, 95-97; Lindhagen 2019.

57 Himera: site 85, to be connected to the large farm n. 84, Burgio, Lauro 2002, 125-132; farm n. 100, Burgio, Lauro 2002, 146-151. Tyndaris: Fasolo 2014, 216. Halaesa: Burgio 2009, 121-123, nos. 85-87. Gela: Bergemann 2010, 103, n. 100.

58 Burgio, Lauro 2002, 156-157, nos. 104-105, on the high hills, on the edge of the forest.

59 Himera, farm n. 100.

60 Himera: Vassallo 1988, 144, nos. 12, 14-16 (large farm n. 36); Burgio, Lauro 2002, 129, nos. 14-16 (large farm n. 84); Burgio 2002, 109, nos. 25-26 (large farm n. 53). Halaesa: Burgio 2009, 85, n. 5. Gela: Bergemann 2010, 55, n. 54.

61 Survey projects in Sicily, Burgio 2017.

62 Portale 2007. Value of appearance: van de Liefvoort 2016.

consumption of particular goods does not promote the formation of homogeneous identities<sup>63</sup>. While a sense of common belonging could indeed be felt by those who travelled throughout the Empire, such as the senatorial or even some provincial elites, or merchants, all of whom could observe similar urban and rural landscapes or object-scapes and lifestyles in different parts of the Empire with which they could identify<sup>64</sup>, this certainly did not apply to the lower classes, who were tied firmly to their place of origin.

The massive consumption of ceramic imports should, therefore, be seen as a result of Sicily's connectivity with the wider Roman world, and its easy accessibility to overseas markets, without any particular significance as evidence for acculturation or an ability to adapt or 'negotiate', even in the countryside. Perhaps, at the start of the imperial period, the presence of goblets and cups in Arretine ware in urban upper-class houses (but also in those of the middle class) could indicate a desire on the part of the owner to stand out in the context of the new social situation, acquiring the most expensive types of imported Italian tableware. But finds of this same tableware even in rural areas does not support such a hypothesis, and if there was any competition between individuals it was a competition to lose, since now – as noted above – the real difference in status was made by the presence of table services made of precious metals, and by the interior decoration of their houses.

Even the continuing production of widely circulating cooking-ware fabrics such as Pantellerian ware, as well as of idiosyncratic domestic shapes (often largely standardized and based on African models), should not be seen as an affirmation of identity, as has been proposed for Malta<sup>65</sup>. However, this reference to Malta may be useful in order to try understand if another interpretative category can be effectively applied to the Sicilian cultural context: that of insularity.

In a collection of recently published essays<sup>66</sup>, an attempt was made to understand whether insulari-

ty had a role in defining the identity of the inhabitants of an island. The results are very different in my opinion also, fluctuating between an interpretation of insularity as isolation on the one hand, and as an identity response to outside cultural pressures on the other hand<sup>67</sup>. Surprisingly, however, there is no essay on Sicily in this book. Whether that is because a scholar could not be found to deal with the problem, or because Sicily was considered an island not affected by the problems posed by insularity, is not clear.

From what I have said so far, I do not believe that a Sicilian specificity emerges, the fruit of an insular identity, but rather a Sicilian specificity that is rooted in the history of the island and its geographical position, which takes on a greater importance and a different role in the imperial period. It is necessary to get away, even in ancient historical studies, from the standard perception of Sicily as being 'exceptional', which pervades so much historiography of the island<sup>68</sup>.

Concepts such as 'coloniality' and 'locality' have been proposed to define the cultural contacts between Greek colonists and native peoples in archaic and classical Sicily. Paradigms of interpretation like global and local seem to me to be more appropriate for Roman Sicily, whereas I believe they are misleading when applied to most of the other periods of antiquity. However, the dialectic between global and local in the island cannot be adequately described by a term like 'Romanization', which, in my opinion, must be abandoned for the island. It seems to me more useful to speak of the 'Romanness' of Sicily, a term proposed again by Le Bohec<sup>69</sup> and now increasingly used, which I think better describes the Sicilian response to its inclusion in the Roman Empire. There is not a Romanized Sicily, but rather a 'Romanness' of Sicily, understood as a dialectical response to the colonization of the Augustan period, a Romanness that, starting from the 3rd century, and above all from the 4th century onwards, dissolves into the Italian identity of late antiquity.

63 Pitts 2015, 78.

64 Travel and movement, Laurence, Trifilò 2015, 113-114.

65 Anastasi 2018, 136-140.

66 Kouremenos 2018. See also Kouremenos, Gordon 2020.

67 Angliker 2019; Smith 2019.

68 Benigno, Mineo 2020.

69 Le Bohec 2008.



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