Colonial pasts, intercultural present

The relationship between colonial history, language selection and non-linguistic identity presentation in funerary inscriptions from *Syracusae* and *Panhormus* between 1 and 300 CE

Bachelorscriptie in de Griekse en Romeinse Taal en Cultuur

T.P.H. Kersten
Radboud University Nijmegen

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Supervisors
dr. M.K. Termeer
dr. M. de Kreij

Second reader
dr. J.Z. van Rookhuijzen

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My thesis dives into questions of identity, relationships, and community. It is to my own community – a family by birth and by choice – that I dedicate this thesis.

Heumen, 12 June 2023

1. Introduction

This thesis investigates the way persons are presented by others. Not in life, but in death. Its main subject is the presentation of deceased persons in funerary inscriptions set up in two cities on the island of Sicily, *Panhormus* (Πάνορμος, modern Palermo) and *Syracusae* (Συράκουσαι, modern Syracuse). My analysis will focus on the first three centuries of the Roman imperial age, 1 to 300 CE. Due to its central position in the Mediterranean, Sicily was visited and settled by a list of peoples, including native tribes (in the fifth century BCE, Thucydides had divided them into Ἔλυμοι, Σικανοί, and Σικελοὶ), Phoenician-Carthaginian groups (henceforth, Punic groups), Greek migrants, and – eventually – Roman settlers.[1] The diversity of the island was noted by authors from the imperial age as well. Apuleius of Madaura (2nd century CE), seeking to describe the inhabitants of the island, fittingly called them *Siculi trilingues* – "trilingual Sicilians", who spoke Greek, Latin, and Punic.[2]

The Greeks and Romans had the most influence over the island following the First Punic War in the third century BCE – though Greek influence over Sicily had already started four centuries earlier. Due to the growing political and cultural influence of these two groups, Sicily was, essentially, bicultural. Romans had great respect for Greek culture, which caused the Roman elite to raise their children bilingually, and Greek-speakers had to learn Latin, as the new language of government and official communication. This was especially true for Sicily – the first Roman province – which had a thoroughly Roman (read: Latin-speaking) political elite from the 3rd century BCE onwards.[3]

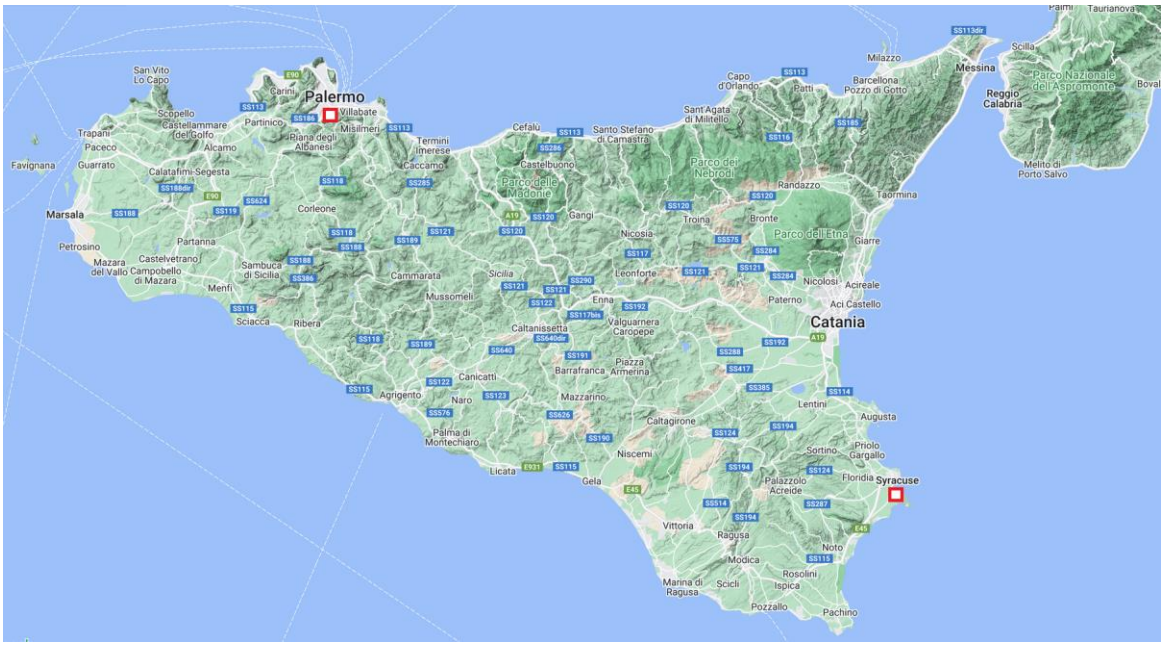

Figure 1 *Map of Sicily, with* Syracusae *and* Panhormus *marked. Image from http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, marks are my own, checked on 12-06-2023.*

[1] Thucydides, *Histories* 6.2.4-6.
[2] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.5.22.
[3] Manganaro, G. "La provincia romana", in: Romeo, R. (ed.). *Storia della Sicilia: La Sicilia antica*, vol. 2, Roma, 1979, pp. 309–363. On the position of Sicily as the first province, see Prag (2013a).

This research provides a new analysis of the epigraphic material on Sicily. The main question is how identity is presented in funerary epigraphy from *Panhormus* and *Syracusae* between 1 and 300 CE and how this presentation can be explained. I first argue that epigraphic production on Sicily is tied to the colonial history of its sites. This allows me to connect the inscriptions to the communities in which they were erected and the audience for which they were intended. I then show that individuals actively selected language and content for their funerary inscriptions as a means to appeal to a specific audience. A small ingroup of Greek cultural elite can be distinguished, though the focus of this thesis will be on the inscriptions tied to an ingroup of the Roman political elite. The appeal to this specific audience can be distinguished in a large number of inscriptions from the corpus. I will show that language and content were actively chosen to appeal to this audience. Because this active choice of language and content focuses on what would be the natural expectation of a funerary inscription as well as the intentionally different reality, I mostly look into inscriptions where a discrepancy can be found between the expected choice and the reality of the inscription. Though they will be discussed, this means that Latin inscriptions from Latin individuals or Greek inscriptions from Greek individuals are, in some cases, of less interest to the current research.

The hypothesis at the base of this research is that the active choice for language can be tied to the inclusion of three non-linguistic identity markers in funerary inscriptions: relationships, occupation, and ethnic background, which are used to appeal to specific ingroups. These three identity markers can also be seen in the famous Regina-inscription (RIB 1065) from South Shields, shown in figure 2.[4] It is a funerary inscription set up by the Palmyrene man Barates for his wife, Regina. The inscription was set up bilingually, with the largest section of the inscription in Latin (3 lines) and a smaller section in Barates' native Palmyrene (1 line). The language selection shows two prospective audiences, with an ingroup of "Romans" addressed by the large Latin inscription, and a smaller ingroup of the local Palmyrene community addressed by the shorter text. The Latin text highlights Regina's position as a freed woman (occupation), her marriage to Barates and his role in erecting the inscription (relation), and her Celtic descent (ethnic background). The Palmyrene text mentions that Barates was her former master (relation through occupation). The inscription is a clear example of my hypothesis. The wider proof of this hypothesis, beyond

Figure 2 *The Regina-inscription (RIB 1065). Image from https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/, cropped and background digitally removed for better display, checked on 12-06-2023.*

[4] The inscription can be accessed in the online database of the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, through https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search term "RIB 1065".

the example of the Regina-inscription, would show that the presentation of identity in funerary inscriptions can be seen as an active process and political action where the relatives of the deceased use inscriptions to appeal to an ingroup of the Latin-speaking elite. This thesis is meant to provide this wider proof by using two sites as a case study.

These are the city of *Panhormus,* in the north-west of the island, and the south-eastern city of *Syracusae*. These cities were not selected due to their geographical location, but on the basis of their colonial background and epigraphic production. Together they provide a total of 69 inscriptions, which can be found in the appendices. *Panhormus* was a city of Punic origin. It served as one of the most important Punic sites from the 8th to the 3rd centuries BCE. From then on, it was influenced by Roman settlers, with extensive colonisation following in the 1st century BCE. Though the city had a Greek population – as the epigraphic material tells us – it was dominated by a Roman population and yields a large majority of Latin-language inscriptions. *Syracusae* had a long Greek history. From its foundation by Corinthians in the 8th century BCE to the 3rd century BCE, the city was a Greek stronghold, with great importance for the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War of the 5th century BCE. The city was then taken over by a series of (mostly benevolent) tyrants, until it was taken over by the Romans in the 3rd century BCE. Unlike Punic culture, Greek culture was respected by the Romans, and continued to thrive alongside newly introduced Roman culture. This explains the relative balance between Greek- and Latin-language inscriptions found in the city. The variations between these epigraphic yields is what makes the sites interesting. In *Syracusae,* the balance between Greek- and Latin-language inscriptions shows the selection of both languages.

The selection of language, along with content, takes place to appeal to a certain ingroup. My research focuses on one ingroup appealed to in the Latin-language inscriptions of *Panhormus* and *Syracusae*: the Roman political elite. The selection of Latin and the three non-language-related markers of relationships, occupation, and ethnic background show a clear appeal to this political ingroup. The research that follows shows that Greek-language inscriptions were not used to appeal to this ingroup. This could be expected. Greek individuals had nothing to gain politically by using Greek as a language in their inscriptions, but they could gain by using Latin to appeal to the Roman political elite. Their use of Greek can, in some cases, be tied to another goal: the appeal to higher culture, which was still thoroughly Greek in the Eastern Mediterranean during 1 to 300 CE. This can be seen in two inscriptions. One of them is ISic003355.

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
ΘΑΛΠΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΕ	Θάλπων χαῖρε
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΜ	χρηστὲ καὶ ἄμεμ-
ΠΤΕ · ΘΑΛΠΟΝ	πτε · Θάλπ̣ον
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ ΕΞΑ	ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι ἐξα-
ΕΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΘΑΝΩΝ	ἐτὴς δὲ θανών
ΝΗΠΙΟΣ ΩΚΥΜΟΡΟΣ	νήπιος ὠκύμορος

Thalpon. Goodbye, honest and blameless Thalpon. Here I lie, having died suddenly, a child, (victim) of quick death.

The words ἑξαὲτὴς δὲ θανών νήπιος ὠκύμορος form a dactylic pentameter. This would have been a recognisable sign of higher learning and thus to (Greek) high culture. In the Greek-language inscription ISic002949, a dancer of a (high-culture) Persian dance is remembered.[5] This shows that Greek was used to appeal to, among other groups, enjoyers of higher culture.

Because other ingroups appealed to by Greek-language inscriptions cannot be properly defined within the two case sites, I will only be able to show how Greek-language inscriptions show the lack of certain aspects that would be expected in Greek epigraphy. This creates a contrast with the Latin-language inscriptions and allows me to more properly and clearly define the appeal to the Roman political elite through Latin-language inscriptions.

1.1 The argument

In the following chapter, I look into earlier research to provide the view of identity used in this research and to link identity presentation to the study of epigraphic material, in Greco-Roman antiquity but more specifically in Sicily. Following this overview, I discuss my approach and methodology.

In chapter 3, I use quantitative analysis of epigraphic material from Sicily, based on the *I.Sicily*-database, to interpret the case sites in their colonial contexts. This analysis shows that epigraphic production in sites on Sicily can be connected to their colonial histories. This provides a social and cultural framework from which the inscriptions produced can, and should, be read. The colonial history of a site and the position of languages in said site shape its community and the presentations of identity to the ingroups in that community.

The positions of Greek and Latin in the corpus will be analysed in the first section of chapter 4. This shows an active selection of language. The inscriptions with active selection of language are then analysed on the basis of the three non-linguistic identity markers I discussed – relationships, occupation, and ethnic background – which I argue show a clear connection between the selection of the Latin language and the use of non-linguistic aspects, as a means to appeal to a definable Latin-speaking ingroup. The ingroups to which Greek-language inscriptions appeal remain less defined.

The conclusion summarises the results of this research and its implications for the study of identity in inscriptions. I close off my research by discussing the limitations of the current work and providing recommendations for further research on the topic.

[5] This inscription is discussed in more detail in chapter 4. For this reason, it is not cited here.

2. Theory and approach

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical backgrounds of my research and provide a model of identity presentation I dub 'identity selection', a more specific view of code switching. The first part of this chapter discusses the conceptualisation of identity. Then, I look into earlier research on the role of epigraphy in Greco-Roman antiquity and epigraphic studies of Sicily, with a focus on identity presentation within epigraphy. Following this overview, I set out my approach and methodology.

2.2 Identity presentation

This research focuses on the period 1 to 300 CE, where Sicily can be considered both as an island with an extensive Greek heritage and as an integrated part of a Roman society. In this society, Greek and Roman culture were both developed and co-existed. Important to this research, is the presentation of identity within this bicultural Sicily. Therefore, discussions surrounding 'romanization' and 'hellenization' will not be set out.[6] Though Punic culture was a large part of Sicily, it will not be extensively discussed. Punic culture had strongly diminished following the Punic Wars and it is poorly represented in the corpus.[7] Rather, I focus on the presentation of identity in a Greco-Roman Sicily.

In my focus on identity presentation, two theories are of particular interest. These are social identity theory and identity control theory. The first model, developed by Tajfel and Turner, argues that no person has a singular, set identity. Rather, a person can adopt and manage several identities on different levels. This is based on the ideas of an 'ingroup' – that people want to belong to – and an 'outgroup' – of which they do not want to be a part. This managing and altering of identity is based on the appeal, status, and perceived stability of a group.[8] An example would be the appeal of the Roman aristocracy, due to its perceived stability, status, and power. According to Tajfel and Turner, persons continuously change their identity to belong to a desired ingroup.

The appeal of an ingroup is inherently tied to social contexts and expectations from a person's surroundings, so argues Burke's identity control theory. According to Burke, identity is indeed based on ingroups and outgroups. However, these groups and larger social structures are what create

[6] For a recent overview of romanisation and hellenisation, see Termeer, M.K., *Latin colonization in Italy before the end of the Second Punic War*: *Colonial communities and cultural change*, Groningen, 2015, accessed through https://research.rug.nl/, checked on 12-06-2023, pp. 34-50.
[7] For the position of Punic culture following the Punic Wars, see Hobson, M., "Carthage after the Punic Wars and the Neo-Punic Legacy", in: López-Ruiz, C. & Doak, B.R. (eds.), *The Oxford Hanbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean*, New York, 2019, pp. 183-198. One inscription in the corpus, ISic003346 from *Syracusae*, includes Punic names.
[8] Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C., "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict", in: Austin, W.G. & Worchel, S. (eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, Monterey, 1979, pp. 33–47.

individual identity, not a person in isolation. Instead, identity is always chosen because of an expected response from the rest of society.[9]

These two theories combined stress that identity is an outward process of presentation, which is tied to expected reactions from the outside world. This research will follow this view of identity as a process of presentation in a social context and will use it to discuss the relationship between identity presentation of the deceased and the audience of the inscriptions.

2.3 Epigraphy in Greco-Roman antiquity

2.3.1 Role of epigraphic texts for identity presentation

The usefulness of inscriptions for identity presentation is tied to the omnipresence of inscriptions in public spaces. In *The Materiality of Text* by Petrovic, Petrovic, & Thomas (2018), this presence of inscriptions is explained. Inscriptions were set up in public spaces – dubbed 'epigraphic spaces' by Petrovic et al. – such as city squares, the side of roads, or public graveyards.[10] During the period 1 to 300 CE, epigraphic production in the Roman Empire boomed and inscriptions could be found everywhere. The practice of putting up inscriptions as a communication of social status and long-term memory slowly spread from the elite to lower levels of society, resulting in what is known as "epigraphic habit" – the habit of putting up inscriptions as a means of long term, public communication.

Because of their commonality and public display, inscriptions were a useful means of identity presentation towards a larger social group. Though the deceased was the one being presented, a funerary inscription had far more to do with the deceased's surviving relatives.[11] This is what funerary inscriptions show us: a 'set' identity of a person through the lens of their relatives. It was the deceased's relatives who benefitted most from their connection to a stereotypically proper wife, a rich uncle, or a militarily skilled brother. The public position of inscriptions made it so, that the relatives would become known in their community as the relative of influential deceased person X or virtuous deceased person Y. Because of this, it is not unreasonable to suggest, as this research will, that the presentation of identity in funerary inscriptions is an active process which ties the deceased and their relatives to certain ingroups.

There is debate on the influence of surviving relatives over the lettering on inscriptions. The current consensus, set out by Edmondson (2015), is that the commissioner of an inscription would order their (decorated) stone monument from a professional *officina*, while the calligrapher and stone-cutter responsible were part of the commissioner's household. Because of the place of the calligrapher

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[9] Burke, P.J., *Identity Control Theory*, Riverside, 2007, pp. 1-7. Burke's theory is only used here as a means to define identity and its role in public contexts. However, the details of his theory – identity standard, input, comparator, and output – are worth investigating for classicists and historians of any kind.
[10] Petrovic, A., et al., *The Materiality of Text – Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden, 2018. See especially pp. 1-25.
[11] Petrovic et al., 2018, pp. 1-25.

and stone-cutter in the household, spelling variations in inscriptions can, to a certain extent, be attributed to the relatives of the deceased and thus the community of the deceased themselves.[12]

2.3.2 Epigraphy in Sicily

My research into epigraphy from Greco-Roman Sicily is possible due to the *I.Sicily* database, launched by J.R.W. Prag in 2017. This online database has made epigraphic material from Sicily and Sardinia easily accessible for research and was used for this research as well.[13] Prag and others had already published on epigraphic material from Sicily before. Prag (2002) shows an overview of the available material in quantitative analysis of type and language distribution across different sites.[14] Language contact and variation, which is a large part of my hypothesis, was discussed by Korhonen (2002), Tribulato (2014), and Capano (2019). They discuss the position of Greek, Latin, and other languages on the island, with a focus on language contact and the influence of Greek and Latin formulas in different sites on the island.[15] Prag (2013) shows the development of the production of epigraphic text objects in the Mediterranean basin, with a focus on Sicily.[16]

Within this earlier research, including the foundations laid down for the study of language contact by Korhonen and others, the implications of cultural contact are not discussed extensively. Korhonen's analysis of Greek and Latin speech groups on the basis of onomastics shows that both languages were used, like Tribulato does through analysis of formulae, but this analysis does not show *why* or *in what way* these languages were used. Also, the presence of these languages are often insufficiently tied to colonial context. The positions of Greek and Latin in the case sites of both Korhonen's and Tribulato's papers are not discussed within the larger colonial framework. The individuality of sites is not fully observed by Capano, whose focus is not on the colonies themselves, but rather the culture of early Roman Sicily as a whole and its effect on Late Antique inscriptions. This focus on individual sites within the larger colonial framework is what chapter 3 of this study wishes to add to current scholarship. Moreover, this research will take the language-related focus of earlier research and tie it to other cultural aspects of Greek and Roman interaction on Sicily. This allows me to set out the implications of language contact and selection and to move beyond its mere observation – something

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[12] Edmondson, J., "Inscribing Roman texts: *Officinae*, Layout, and Carving Techniques", in: Bruun, C. & Edmondson, J. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 111-130.
[13] The online corpus can be found at http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/. Inscriptions from the database are numbered as ISic0000000. I will refer to the inscriptions discussed in this thesis by this code.
[14] Prag, J.R.W., "Epigraphy by the numbers: Latin and the epigraphic culture of Sicily", in: Cooley, A.E., (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin*, Portsmouth, 2002, pp. 15-31.
[15] Korhonen, K., "Language and Identity in the Roman Colonies of Sicily", in: Sweetman, R.J. (ed.), *Roman Colonies in the First Century of Their Foundation*, 2011, pp. 7-31; Tribulato, O., "Siculi bilingues? Latin in the inscriptions of early Roman Sicily", in: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge, 2019, pp. 291-325; Capano, M., "Languages in Sicily between the Classical Age and Late Antiquity: a case of punctuated equilibrium?", *JournaLIPP* 6, 2019, pp. 6-20.
[16] Prag, J.R.W., "Epigraphy in the western Mediterranean: a Hellenistic phenomenon?", in: Prag, J.R.W., & Quinn, J.C., (eds.), *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 320-347.

for which I am indebted to the work already done by the authors discussed above. In the end, this will allow for a more in-depth study of language contact, its relationship with colonial history and with identity presentation, and thus create a more complete view of the culture of Roman Sicily in general and the case sites in more detail.

2.4 Approach

2.4.1 Choice of corpus

Because of my research question and the associated approach of identity presentation towards different communities, the choice was made for funerary inscriptions. As the Regina-inscription showed, funerary inscriptions focus on identity presentation and present different aspects of identity to different groups, even simultaneously. This variety and nuance present in funerary inscriptions makes them a good first case study for the relationship between language selection and identity presentation. Quantitative research into the *I.Sicily*-database, the results of which I will discuss in chapter 3, shows that there is a smaller difference between the number of Greek inscriptions and Latin inscriptions between 1 CE and 300 CE than before or after that period. As this research focuses, in part, on the selection of language, this time period was selected as the basis of the corpus.

As this research is focussed on Greek and Roman (bi)cultural identity, a comparison between sites of different colonial backgrounds (Greek and non-Greek) that provide between 20 and 50 inscriptions for the period 1-300 CE was sought out. The choice was made for a comparison between *Panhormus* and *Syracusae*. The Punic colony *Panhormus* has a similar chronological, though a different cultural development from the Greek colony *Syracusae*. These different backgrounds will be of great value in chapter 3, where I link epigraphic production to colonial background. The Latin inscriptions from *Panhormus* will also provide a useful comparison with the Latin material from *Syracusae* in chapter 4 of this thesis. However, the absence of substantial Greek epigraphic material in *Panhormus* makes it difficult to make supported comparisons between the Greek material from *Syracusae* and the two Greek-language inscriptions from *Panhormus*.

	Panhormus	***Syracusae***
Greek	2	21
Latin	20	26
Total	*22*	*47*

Figure 3 *Distribution of the corpus across the case sites.*

The sites initially provided a combined total of 72 inscriptions marked as 'funerary' and placed in 1-300 CE in the *I.Sicily*-database. Closer analysis reduced this number to 69.[17]

[17] ISic000559 from *Panhormus* is an inscription that likely belonged to the outside of a tomb. Its contents describe the measurements of the tomb and the erectors of the tomb, who prepared it for themselves "while still alive" (*vivi*). It does not discuss a deceased person. ISic000873 from *Syracusae* appears not to be a funerary inscription, but rather a Roman-era dedicatory inscription for a statue of Sappho. It is addressed to a singer associated with Aphrodite dubbed ἀηδὼν (nightingale), a nickname often used for Sappho. See Thorsen, T.S. & Harrison, S. (eds.), *Roman Receptions of Sappho*, Oxford, 2019. ISic000416 from *Syracusae* is similar in composition to ISic000559. It, too, appears to be a building-related inscription for a tomb and does not address a deceased person.

The distribution of inscriptions across the sites is found in figure 3. Due to the generally low number of inscriptions from Sicily, this number will allow for a representative corpus.

2.4.2 Methodology

This thesis intends to show that there is a relationship between colonial history, the presence and selection of language, and non-linguistic forms of identity presentation in the sites *Panhormus* and *Syracusae*. I first look into the ties between colonial history and languages chosen for epigraphic production. The data provided by the recent *I.Sicily*-database will be used to approach sites with larger epigraphic yields and chart the absolute numbers of survived epigraphic production in Greek, Latin, and other languages throughout the sites' history. I then approach this raw data from the perspective of the sites' history and connect the data of epigraphic production in, mainly, Greek and Latin to the sites' colonial backgrounds. This will allow me to prove the relationship between colonial history and epigraphic production in Sicily and provides the backdrop against which I can then analyse identity presentation in the next chapter.

The relationship between language selection and non-linguistic forms of identity presentation will be approached through a model of 'identity selection'. This is a specified form of Wallace Hadrill's (2008) model of 'code switching'.[18] Code switching derives from the use of different identities (registers) at different occasions and in front of different groups.[19] Because individuals and/or groups had a conscious idea of their identity, as a register from which they could draw, they would use aspects of their identity subconsciously in their outward presentation. The model works for the majority of forms of identity presentation in Greco-Roman antiquity. However, its focus on improvisation and unconscious selection of registers does not work completely for written texts such as inscriptions. A more fitting term in that regard is 'identity selection'. Individuals are able to – subconsciously, but also consciously – select aspects of their identity for their presentation towards other groups. For instance, in the case of ISic000862, a composer familiar with Latin texts seems to have *selected* the Latin formula *pia et bona*, which they then translated literally into Greek.[20] The first step in this process can be regarded as identity selection, while the second step fits more into Wallace-Hadrill's conception of subconscious improvisation. Within this thesis, both unconscious and conscious selection of identity will be discussed. The focus, however, is on conscious selection. This model of identity presentation as a subconscious and conscious *selection* of identity will help me argue that identity presentation in the inscriptions is conscious in a great number of cases.

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[18] Wallace-Hadrill, A., *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 3-37.
[19] See, for instance, Bullock & Toribio (eds.) (2012), which discusses code switching in more detail than this thesis is able to do.
[20] The inscription was made in Greek for a Roman woman named Βουλκακία Τερεντία (Vulcacia Terentia). It includes the rare Greek formula εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγαθὴ, a literal translation of the common Latin formula *pia (et bona*).

The expected familiarity of and experience with Greek and Latin of the individuals in the corpus-inscriptions is based upon their names. Roman naming conventions dictated the *tria nomina* –a first name (*praenomen*), family name (*nomen*), and branch name (*cognomen*).[21] These names, especially the *cognomen*, reveal the background of individuals. For instance, Greek individuals adopted the *tria nomina* when they were part of Roman society, but used a Greek name as a *cognomen*, by which they were called. An example is the name Lucius Mallius Philargyrus, found in ISic000562. This shows a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen*, but a Greek *cognomen*. This denotes that this man was a Greek individual. By contrast, inscription ISic003425 shows the name T(ίτος)· Φλάβις · Γεμινιάνος, which can be reconstructed as Titus Flavius Geminianus, a fully Roman name. This name denotes Geminianus as a Roman individual. This way, names can reveal the background of individuals and allow for discrepancy between the expected use of language – such as Greek for Philargyrus and Latin for Geminianus – and the reality of the inscription.

This use of language is connected to the presentation of other aspects of identity. The aspects selected as an expression of identity, such as language, clothing, et cetera, will be referred to in this research as 'identity markers', a term used in research on identity presentation.[22] The use of this term does not imply that the composers of inscriptions actively thought to add a 'relational marker'. Rather, they include formulas connected to relationships, such as 'daughter of X' or 'mother Y made this for child Z'. I have examined all markers mentioned in the inscriptions.[23] Three of these markers will help me to identify and explain identity selection in the corpus: relation, occupation, and ethnic background. I will focus on the presence of these three markers in these inscriptions and tie them to the choice of language.

Figure 4 *An easily legible inscription from the corpus (ISic000853). Image from http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, cropped for better display, checked on 12-06-2023.*

A last aspect that should be discussed is the fragmentary nature of most inscriptions with figure 4 showing one of the better legible inscriptions in the corpus. I have attempted to reconstruct the text of inscriptions, making use of earlier

[21] Salway. B., "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700", *The Journal of Roman Studies* (84), London, 1994, pp. 124-145.
[22] Watzlawik, M., "Cultural Identity Markers and Identity as a Whole: Some Alternative Solutions", *Culture & Psychology* 18, 2012, pp. 253-260.
[23] These include, but are not limited to: relation, occupation, ethnic background, age, gender, virtue, and administrative status. These first three markers were found to be indicative of a relationship between language selection and the inclusion of other markers. Age, gender, and virtue are present in all inscriptions, with only inscription ISic000862 providing an unintentional translation of a Latin virtue-formula into Greek (see footnote 20). Administrative status can be found only in the Latin inscription ISic003338, where a man from Rome includes the administrative district of the city (*tribus*) he was a part of.

research as well as my own suggestions based on the research executed for this thesis. As the earlier research can, together with the inscription itself, be accessed via the *I.Sicily*-database, earlier reconstructions are not discussed in this research and are taken as standard. My own suggestions and variations, however, will be treated as the hypotheses they are and are explained in depth throughout the coming chapters.

3. Epigraphy and colonial history in Greco-Roman Sicily

3.1 Introduction

Epigraphy in the Western Mediterranean found its origins in Greek colonisation, starting in the 7th century BCE. All types of inscriptions – announcing everything from newly built road systems to funerary inscriptions for members of the community –were inevitably tied to community life.

I will show here that the epigraphic production of the case sites *Panhormus* and *Syracusae* – and more broadly of all sites in Sicily – is linked to their colonial history. More specifically, that the relative balance between Greek- and Latin-language inscriptions in *Syracusae* resembles other sites of a similar Greek background with extensive Roman colonisation. *Panhormus* is linked to other Roman sites with non-Greek backgrounds, including Punic and native sites. This difference in cultural and colonial background creates a social backdrop against which inscriptions can and, as I show in this thesis, should be read.

The nature of this chapter is mainly quantitative. The *I.Sicily*-database is used, in the first place, to create overview of the development of epigraphic production in Sicily and then to compare the epigraphic production of different case sites. The analysis of this production will be visualised in graphs, which easily show the similarities between different sites.

The first section of this chapter will discuss the development of epigraphic production in Sicily between the 7th century BCE – when epigraphy was introduced to the island by Greek colonists – and 300 CE, the end of the period under review. The second section will move onto the epigraphic production in the case sites. It will first discuss the behaviour of Greek sites without major Roman influence and then proceed to sites with great Roman influence. This will tie epigraphic production to colonial background. The results of this comparison will provide a clearer view of the ingroup(s) to which the inscriptions in the corpus are presented and will thus allow me to tie the inscriptions themselves to their audiences in chapter 4.

3.2 Epigraphic production in Sicily

3.2.1 Historical development

Epigraphy was introduced to the Western Mediterranean by Greek colonists. They, in turn, had likely been influenced by Near Eastern societies.[24] When Greek colonists came to the island of Sicily in the late 8th century BCE, epigraphic production soon started, as can be seen in figure 5. Most texts were set up in Greek or in two languages – a combination of Greek and Punic or native languages. A large number of inscriptions were set up by native communities and Punic colonists as well. In the early 5th century BCE, the expansion of Greek power over the island seems to have made Greek the standard

[24] Prag, 2013b, 320-347.

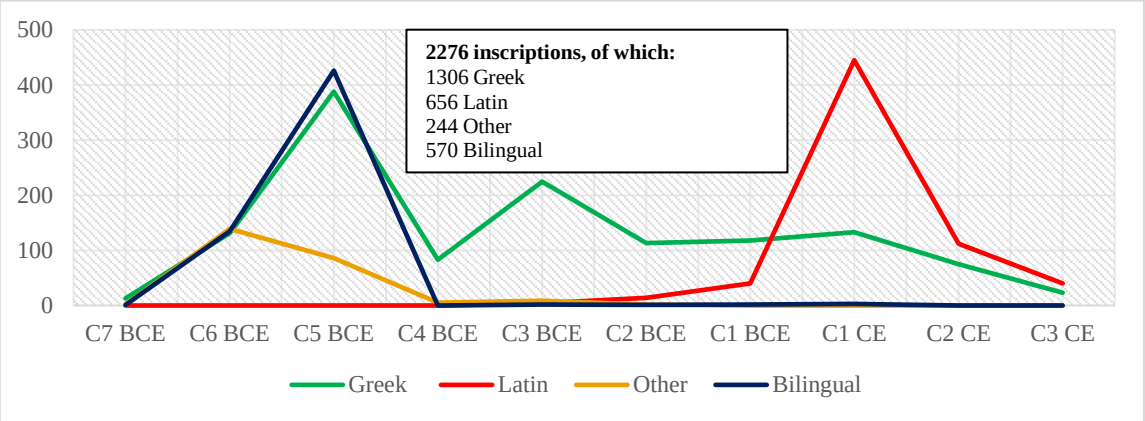

Figure 5 *Epigraphic production on Sicily per language in dated inscriptions (-700<300≤ with date; based on 2276 out of 4617 inscriptions, or 49.3%).*

communicative language for epigraphy.[25] This standardisation of Greek as an epigraphic language caused the disappearance of native texts and a severe decrease in the number of Punic texts produced – from 86 native and Punic texts in the 5th century BCE, to just 18 between the 4th and 2nd centuries BCE. It was clear, from then on, that Greek was the standard for official communication on the island.

The following centuries saw the rise of Latin epigraphic production. This is related to the increasing Roman influence on the island, from military campaigns during the Punic Wars to actual settlements in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BCE. In the late first century BCE, emperor Augustus gave six Sicilian cities the status of *colonia*, with a seventh following in 193 CE (Lilybaeum, under Septimius Severus). Groups of colonists were sent to these cities soon after, both by Augustus and his successors.[26] This resulted in the rise of Latin as both a spoken and governmental language – during the first century CE. Moreover, the political attention the island received under Augustus and later emperors seems to have put an end to the unstable politics and economy caused by the Punic Wars. The political stabilisation and demographic influx led to an increase in epigraphic production. The 1st century-yield consists of 581 inscriptions, of which 445 were set up in Latin. In the second and third centuries CE, epigraphic production declined. The countryside and interior of the island saw economic decline and little attention from Rome herself. The number of inscriptions erected thus dwindled.[27]

3.2.2 Typology of inscriptions

For the period between 1 and 300 CE, 899 dated inscriptions are provided by the *I.Sicily*-database. The data visualised in figure 6 shows that this material mostly consists of funerary epigraphy, making up

[25] Maddoli, G., "Il VI e V secolo a. C." in: Gabba E., & Vallet, G., (eds.), *La Sicilia antica II.1: La Sicilia greca dal VI secolo alle guerre puniche*, Naples, 1980, pp. 1-102.
[26] Prag, 2002, 15-31. Prag understandably focusses on Augustus, though it should be mentioned that emperor Claudius is known to have sent (more) colonists to the island in the middle of the 1st century CE as well.
[27] Clemente, G. "La Sicilia nell'età imperiale" in: Gabba, E. & Vallet, G. (eds.), *La Sicilia antica II.2: La Sicilia romana*, Naples, 1980, pp. 1-102; Pfuntner, L., *Urbanism and empire in Roman Sicily*, Austin, 2019, pp. 62-93; 228-238.

64% of the material or 571 inscriptions. Though outside the scope of this research, it should be mentioned that funerary epigraphy makes up more than half of total finds from the 7th century BCE to 500 CE.[28] This shows the prominence of funerary epigraphy as a mode of presentation in Sicily as a whole, including the case sites.

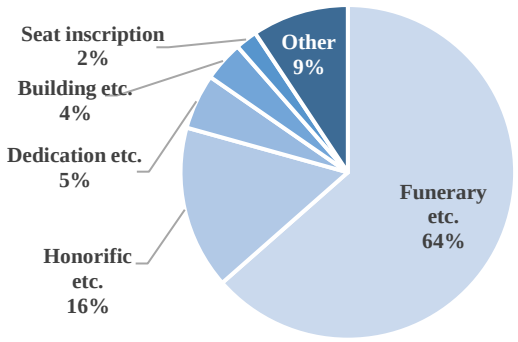

Figure 6 *Typology of inscriptions for identified inscriptions in the I.Sicily-database (0<300>; based on 899 out of 4617 inscriptions, or 19.5%).*

3.3 Epigraphic production and colonial history

Epigraphic production in Sicily is tied to the colonial history of the sites. Figure 7 shows colonies of Greek origin that yield more than 18 inscriptions from 700 BCE to 300 CE. This takes into account the entire colonial history of the sites up to the period under discussion. The sites also include Latin inscriptions – with *Lipara* and *Messana* also providing Punic inscriptions. This majority of Greek-language inscriptions is not exclusive to this *longue durée*, but is also replicated in figure 8, which zooms in on the period 1 to 300 CE. An exception is *Lipara*. The slight majority of Latin-language inscriptions can likely be explained by the city's popularity among the Roman elite. Generally, it can be seen that sites of Greek origin retain their Greek focus later on. An example of this is *Messana*. The site was founded by Greek colonists in the 8th century BCE and was slowly taken over by Roman settlers in the 3rd century BCE, at the end of the First Punic War. Accordingly, the site provides a relative balance between Greek-language and Latin-language texts in 1 to 300 CE – respectively 33 and 27 inscriptions. The respect that Greek language and culture had in Roman society is reflected in the epigraphic record and shows that sites with Greek colonial history were able to retain their Greek-language expression, while also showing Latin-language epigraphy consistent with their later colonisation by the Romans.

The influence of more extensive Roman influence can be seen in figures 9 and 10. These cities were given city rights as *coloniae* or *municipia* under Augustus and were subsequently settled by Roman colonists.[29] The sites *Catina* and *Syracusae* provide a similar colonial history to *Messana*, but were more extensively settled by Romans and are comparable to other sites with Roman city rights in their large production of Latin-language texts. *Centuripae* was a native settlement, but was Hellenised from the 5th century onwards. This colonial history explains its epigraphic production. The same can be said for the sites possessing Roman city rights that lack Greek influence: *Panhormus* and *Thermae Himeraeae*. *Thermae Himeraeae*, a native settlement, was never under Greek control. It provides 12

[28] In total, the percentage of funerary inscriptions between 700 BCE and 500 CE is 52%, based on 3882 inscriptions or 84.1% of the *I.Sicily*-database.
[29] Prag, 2002, 15-31.

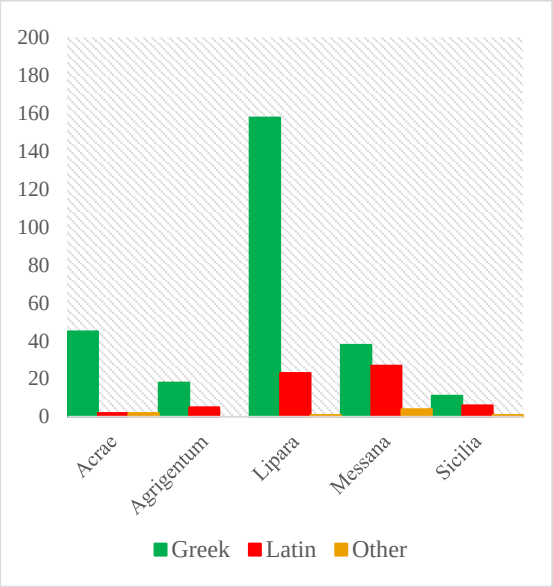

Figure 7 *Language distribution in the largest sites of Greek origin without Roman city rights* ***(>18 inscriptions)*** *(date 300>).*

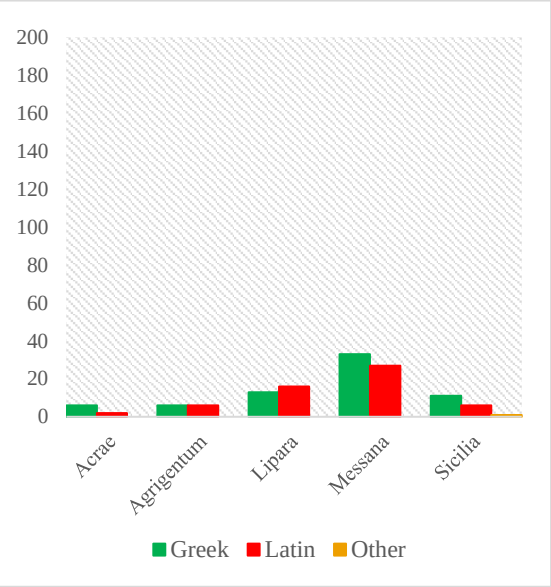

Figure 8 *Language distribution in the same sites from figure 7 (date 1<300>).*

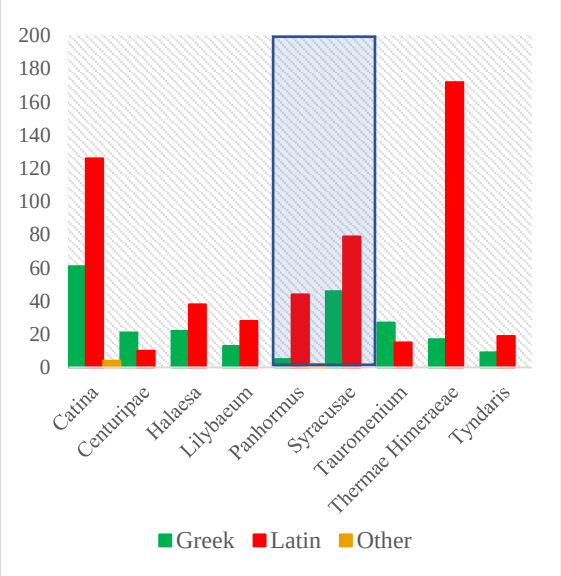

Figure 9 *Language distribution in cities on Sicily with Roman city rights under Augustus (date 300>).* Panhormus *and* Syracusae *marked.*

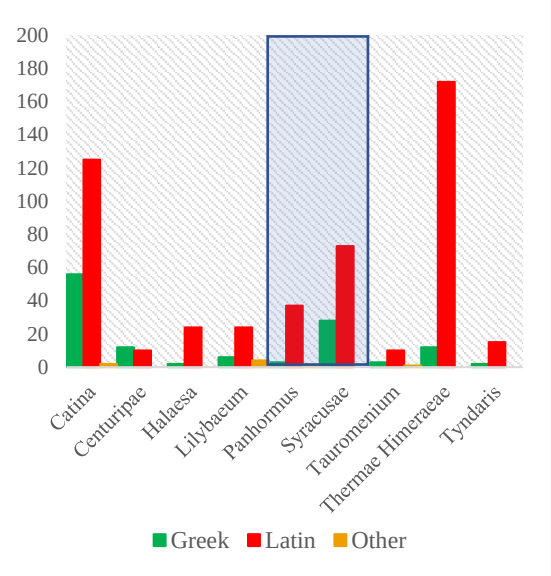

Figure 10 *Language distribution in cities on Sicily with Roman city rights under Augustus (date 1<300>).* Panhormus *and* Syracusae *marked.*

Greek- as opposed to 172 Latin-language inscriptions between 1 and 300 CE. *Panhormus*, a Punic site, was only under Greek control during 276-275 BCE and showcases a similar large majority of Latin-language inscriptions. It provides 3 Greek, 37 Latin, and 1 Neo-Punic inscription between 1 and 300 CE. In both cases, the Latin-language majority in these sites can be explained by the replacement of Punic and native culture by Latin, due to their lack of Greek influence. Punic culture did survive – with Punic names found in one of the inscriptions from the corpus as well.[30] However, it was not

[30] Hobson, 2019, 183-198. The inscription to which I refer is ISic003346.

deemed an appropriate language for epigraphic production.[31] Generally, the replacement of Punic made a site such as *Panhormus* a metaphorical 'blank slate' in external communication. In sites without extensive Greek colonisation, Roman culture quickly took over and rarely shared its cultural primacy with Greek, as these sites had not been sufficiently influenced by Greek colonists.

3.4 Conclusion

The discussion above shows that the epigraphic production displayed by sites on Sicily, shown through two time periods – 700 BCE to 300 CE, and 1 CE to 300 CE – can be tied to the colonial history of those sites. Sites with Greek colonial origins retain their Greek culture, but also show Latin material through their histories of colonial settlement (*Messana, Lipara*). The balance between Greek- and Latin-language production in *Catina, Centuripae,* and *Syracusae* can be traced back to the Greek origins of the sites and their subsequent centrally-organised Roman colonisation from the 1st century BCE onwards. Finally, the large number of Latin-language inscriptions in *Panhormus* and *Thermae Himeraeae* reflects the limited Greek influence in the sites and their extensive Roman colonisation.

This shows that, at least in Sicily, all phases of colonial history are connected to epigraphic production, not just the more recent Roman colonial history. In some cases, Greek material remains as strong as expected, in others it seems that Latin-language inscriptions took the upper hand. This provides a view of the community in which and the ingroups for which the inscriptions were set up. In *Syracusae,* Greek and Roman culture occupy a similar socio-cultural position. The inscriptions from *Panhormus* can be read with a thoroughly Roman colonial history in mind, as Punic culture in the site had lost its standing.

[31] It is difficult to say anything regarding the use of Punic in daily life. We know that Punic culture and language survived in daily conversation due to testimonies of North African writers of Punic descent, such as the fourth-century author Augustine. However, no similar testimony is available for Sicily.

4. Identity presentation in the corpus

4.1 Introduction

This chapter shows that language selection is present in the corpus and that this language selection can be tied to the content of the inscription, more specifically to identity markers of relation, occupation, and ethnic background. In the first section of this chapter, I will analyse the language of the corpus-inscriptions, with a focus on the presence of alternative spellings and the use of formulae. A majority of inscriptions shows unintentional variation in language, which cannot be securely tied to language selection. It will be shown, however, that a part of the inscriptions in the corpus include language variations and formulae that derive from the active selection of Latin and Greek.

The selection of language shown in this section will then be tied to the use of the three selected identity markers in *Syracusae* and *Panhormus*. I will start with *Syracusae*, as its balance between Latin and Greek epigraphic texts – shown in chapter 3 – will allow for a better comparison of the use of identity markers in Latin and Greek texts respectively. These conclusions are then compared to the corpus of *Panhormus*. This shows that the selection of Latin in the corpus-inscriptions can be tied to the selection of relational, occupational, and ethnic markers. Because of the social status that especially relational and occupational markers denote, these conclusions can be read as a means to appeal to the Roman political elite as an ingroup. This also explains why Greek was not used in a similar way by Latin-speakers, as they had little to gain *politically* from the use of Greek and the appeal to a Greek audience. The ingroups appealed to with Greek-language inscriptions remain less defined. One ingroup is suggested in this chapter as the enjoyers of higher culture, which was tied to Greek language and culture in the Eastern Mediterranean.

4.2 Active language selection

The texts within the corpus show deviation from linguistic standards in spelling and epigraphic standards in their use of formulae. Though alternative spellings are, on their own, not signs of active language selection, I argue that a number of alternative spellings in the corpus derive from contamination by respectively Greek or Latin. The use of several formulae, including the use of Greek and Latin naming conventions, also show mutual influence from Greek and Latin. In several cases, this influence shows the active selection of one language over the other.

4.2.1 Alternative spellings

Alternative spellings occur in almost all inscriptions within the corpus.[32] These spellings can be attributed to phonological changes in a language, but also to influences or contamination from another

[32] The literature on this topic has been extensive, and has mostly been produced by linguists. A proper study into these variations in Latin inscriptions can be found in Adams (2013). Regarding Greek, there appears to be no

language. These influences are not, in all cases, a sign of the active selection of another language. An example of this is a common spelling variation found in Sicily, the spelling of ΧΑΙΡΕ (χαῖρε) as ΧΑΕΡΕ (χαε͂ρε). This can be found in inscription ISic000637:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
Π · ΚΛΩΔΙΕ	Π(ούβλιε) · Κλώδιε
ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΕ	Κορνηλιανὲ
ΕΥΣΕΒΗ · ΧΑΕΡΕ	εὐσεβῆ · χαε͂ρε

Publius Clodius Cornelianus, you pious man, goodbye.

The spelling variation is influenced by Latin. The Greek -αι- was pronounced as [ai̯], a sound displayed in Latin as -ae-. Here, it is transliterated as -αε-. The variation shows the reality of pronunciation and could have been inserted at any step of the construction process. Edmonson (2015) shows that most lettering was done in the household itself.[33] Because of the Latin name of the deceased, it is possible that this alternative spelling can be attributed to the deceased's Latin-speaking household choosing Greek for this inscription. It cannot be said with full certainty that the selection of Greek was active, but the inscription does already show the influence of Latin on a Greek text.[34]

Clear active language selection can be seen in other inscriptions from the corpus. One such inscription is ISic000556 from *Panhormus*:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
OSI[- - ? - -]MUS	Osi[--o/ae] [--]mus
ATHNISION	Atenision
SOROR BHNH	soror bene
MHRHNTI	merenti
FHCH	fecerunt

For Osi[--o/ae], who is very deserving of it, [---]mus (and) Atenision, their sister, have made this

This inscription uses Greek lettering and shows the involvement of Greek persons. Instead of the Latin 'E', the Greek 'H' (*eta*) has been used. The *eta* is pronounced as [ɛː] and was, as this inscription shows, able to replace the 'E' in Latin texts.[35] The inclusion of the Greek name ATHNISION – a Latin transliteration of *Ἀτηνίσιον – is another sign of Greek persons who selected Latin as the language for their inscription.[36] The lettering can likely be attributed to the household, which shows the selection of Latin by Greek persons in all steps of the erection process.[37]

The active selection of Greek, on the other hand, can be found without question in inscription ISic000865 from *Syracusae*:

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substantial work that discusses linguistic variation in epigraphy specifically. However, linguistic variation in Greek is set out by inter al. Threatte (1980) and Christidis et al. (eds.) (2007).

[33] Edmondson, 2015, pp. 311-330.

[34] The inclusion of εὐσεβῆ, a Greek translation of the Latin formula *pie*, makes it likely that the text was originally drafted up in Latin, but then written in Greek. See section 4.2.2.

[35] A study on these phonological aspects can be found in Allen (1987).

[36] The name is unknown from other sources, but its ending -ION can be seen as a translation of the common feminine suffix -ιον. Eichler E. et al. (eds.), *Namenforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, Berlin & New York, 1995, p. 609.

[37] Edmondson, 2015, pp. 311-330.

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
ΙΣΠΗΣ ΕΖΗ	Ἰσπὴς ἔζη-
ΣΕΝ ΕΤΗ ΙΒ	σεν ἔτη ιβ
ΜΗΝΑΣ Δ	μῆνας δ
ΗΜΕΡΑΣ	ἡμέρας
Δ	δ

Ispes (sic) has lived for 9 years, 4 months and 4 days.

The inscription is set up in standard Greek and shows no variation. The exception is the name Ἰσπὴς, which appears to be a Greek transliteration of the Latin *Ispes*. This is an alternative spelling of the name *Spes*.[38] The alternative spelling in Latin is caused by prothesis, a linguistic change found in Latin where a phoneme is attached to the beginning of a word, most often resulting in the addition of an 'e' or 'i' to a beginning 's'.[39] This creates Spanish *esfera* from Latin *sphaera*, and also *Ispes* from *Spes*. The linguistic change is only known to occur in Greek texts through Latin influence.[40] Though the calligrapher cannot be distinguished with certainty, it is likely that they were a member of the (seemingly Latin-speaking) household. This would, again, show the active selection of Greek as the language of composition in all stages of the erection.[41] These inscriptions thus show the active selection of both Latin and Greek as a language for epigraphic composition, even though the natural choice of language for the deceased's relatives would seemingly have been different.

4.2.2 Formulae

One Greek formula from Roman Sicily shows the influence of Latin, without itself being a sign of active selection of Greek: ἔζησεν. This term is the Greek translation of the Latin *vixit*, which is used in almost all Latin funerary inscriptions around the Mediterranean. The database of the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI), which focuses on Greek-language inscriptions, documents the use of ἔζησεν in 387 different inscriptions, which are categorised in figure 11.[42] Only 45 fully surviving inscriptions appear outside of Sicily.[43] These are either bilingual and present the formula as a translation of the Latin *vixit* (10), name a Roman deceased (19), or do not provide a name (5). Thus,

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[38] The inscription is documented on *I.Sicily*, in Korhonen's work on the inscriptions from the collection of the Museo Civico di Catania (2004), and in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*. This last work, where the inscription is documented by the code IG XIV 48, also ultimately corrects the name to *Spes*, though a comment on the linguistic change itself is not added. The particular variation of *Spes* to *Ispes* can be found in Latin-language inscriptions for male (e.g. EDCS-13002395) and female individuals (e.g. EDCS-26100356). This seems to be the only occurrence of the name variation in Greek. Data collected from http://www.manfredclauss.de/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search term "Ispes".

[39] See Väänänen, V. & Limentani, A., *Introduzione al latino volgare*, Bologna, 2003 and also Barchi (2019), cited in note 41.

[40] Barchi, S. "On vowel prothesis before *sC* in Substandard Latin and Koine Greek: a synoptic review", *Studi e Sagii Linguistici* 57(2), Pisa, 2019, pp. 45-82.

[41] Edmondson, 2015, pp. 311-330.

[42] Data collected from https://epigraphy.packhum.org/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search term "ἔζησεν".

[43] The inscriptions where ἔζησεν appears as a reconstruction without any surviving letters have been left out of this analysis, as it is out of the scope of this research to check all the reconstructions made for epigraphic material outside of Sicily. This material, after all, is used only for comparison to Sicilian inscriptions.

In Sicily	Outside Sicily (not fully reconstructed)		
341	45		
	Bilingual	**Fully Greek**	
	10	35	
		Roman name for deceased	**Non-Roman name for deceased**	**Unintelligible**
		19	11	5

Figure 11 *Distribution of ἔζησεν in Greek-language inscriptions. Data and image from https://epigraphy.packhum.org/, checked on 12-06-2023.*

ἔζησεν likely started as an active adoption of a Latin formula, which became a standard formula in Greek-language funerary inscriptions in Sicily. Seeing as the period under study is the imperial age, the formula should be seen as the unintentional use of an originally Latin formula. Even though it should not be seen as a sign of active selection of Greek during the period 1 to 300 CE, it is a sign of earlier language contact and its influence on epigraphic formulae.

Several other formulae in the corpus do show clear signs of language selection in composition. Naming conventions, for one, show that Roman individuals chose Greek. An example is ISic000637 from *Syracusae,* discussed earlier because of its alternative spelling ΧΑΕΡΕ:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
Π · ΚΛΩΔΙΕ	Π(ούβλιε) · Κλώδιε
ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΕ	Κορνηλιανὲ
ΕΥΣΕΒΗ · ΧΑΕΡΕ	εὐσεβῆ · χαῖρε

Publius Clodius Cornelianus, you pious man, goodbye.

These conventions dictated the *tria nomina* –a first name (*praenomen*), family name (*nomen*), and branch name (*cognomen*).[44] This convention is not used in Greek inscriptions, unless Roman influence is present.[45] The deceased in this inscription also bears a fully Roman – even Italic – name: Publius Clodius Cornelianus.[46] This shows that Roman individuals kept their Roman naming conventions when they selected Greek as a language and is thus a sign of their selection of Greek.

Influence of epigraphic tradition inherent particular to either Latin or Greek compositions is visible as well. Throughout Sicily, Greek inscriptions with a farewell appear. These texts say ‘goodbye’ to the deceased.[47] An example is ISic001118 from *Panhormus*:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
ΘΕΟΔΟΤΑ ΚΕΛΤΑ	Θεόδοτα Κέλτα
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΕ	Ἐπαφρόδειτε
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε

Theodota Kelta Epaphrodeitos, goodbye.

[44] Salway.1994, pp. 124-145.
[45] See for traditional Greek onomastics, Parker, R., *Changing names: tradition and innovation in ancient Greek onomastics*, Oxford, 2019.
[46] The alternative spelling Clodius, which derived from Claudius, is a feature of Umbrian, an Italic dialect from central Italy. See Buck (1979).
[47] This is not exclusive to Sicily. See Carroll (2008).

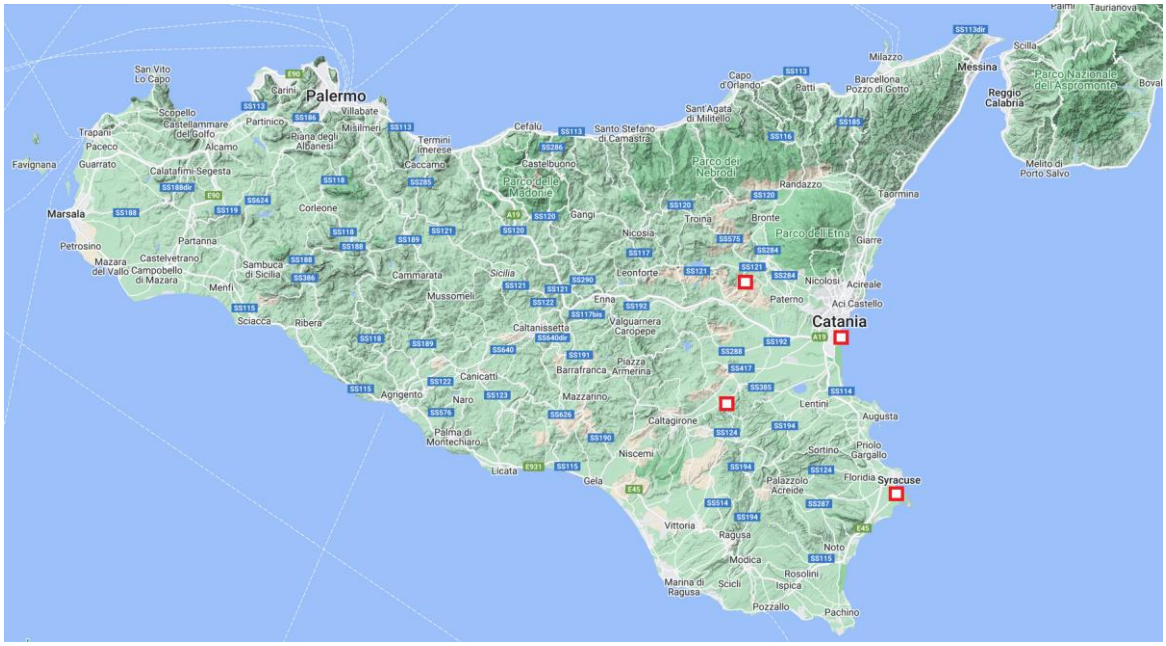

Figure 12 *Distribution of inscriptions on Sicily that include the word* salve. *Data and image from http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, marks are my own, checked on 12-06-2023.*

The Latin version of the type appears only in the south-east of Sicily, where Greek settlements were the most extensive. The appearance of the Latin type is shown in figure 12.[48] This Latin type was influenced by inscriptions from these Greek settlements and shows the influence of Greek on Latin.

The Latin type then also influenced the Greek-type through its use of a virtue-related formula. An example of a Latin inscription is ISic002962:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
Q · CORNIFICI ·	Q(uinte) · Cornifici ·
Q · LIB · HERMES ·	Q(uinti) · lib(ertus) · Hermes ·
PIE · SALVE ·	pie · salve

Quintus Cornificius! Hermes, the freedman of Quintus, made this. You pious man, goodbye.[49]

The virtue-related formula *pie* or *pia* is common in Latin epigraphy throughout the Mediterranean.[50] In *Syracusae*, the formula χρηστὸς καὶ ἄμεμπτος was generally used,[51] but a small number of inscriptions from *Syracusae* show εὐσεβῆ or εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγαθὴ.[52] This is a translation of the Latin formula *pia (et*

[48] Data collected from http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search term “salve”.
[49] The structure of this inscription may appear strange in translation. However, the start with a vocative allows the erector to place attention on the name of the deceased first, in order to then move onto the erector and the greeting. This puts focus on the deceased and was likely understood this way by ancient audiences as well.
[50] Data collected from http://www.manfredclauss.de/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search terms “pia”, “pie”.
[51] Korhonen (2011), pp. 7-31. Korhonen shows that the formula is only used in the south east. Using both *I.Sicily*-database and the database of the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) (https://epigraphy.packhum.org/), the formula can still only be found in the south-eastern cities of *Catina*, *Menae*, *Syracusae*, with one example from *Panhormus* present in the corpus (ISic001119). The PHI provides an inscription present in the Museo di Palermo of unknown provenance and one Late Antique example from Rome, which may be related to Sicily’s southeast.
[52] The formula εὐσεβῆ can be found once in *Catania*, which had a similar colonial history to *Syracusae* – see chapter 3. The formula εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγαθὴ may also be visible in *Drepanon* (ISic003552), a city in the

bona). The use of this formula in a Greek-language text by Roman individuals shows the active selection of Greek.

4.2.3 Conclusion

Language contamination and selection appears in Latin texts from *Panhormus* and in Latin and Greek texts in *Syracusae*. In *Panhormus*, Latin was the standard community language, while Greek and Latin were on equal footing in *Syracusae*. These cases of language selection have been proven through spellings in Greek based on Latin linguistics and pronunciation, the influence of Greek letters on Latin-language texts, and the consistent translation of Latin and Greek formulae into the other language in both sites. If Edmondson (2015) is indeed correct in his suggestion that nearly all lettering was done in the household, active selection of language can be seen during (almost) all steps of the construction process of the inscriptions in the corpus.

4.3 Identity presentation in *Syracusae*

This section will show that there is a relationship between the use of Latin as an epigraphic language and the use of relational, occupational, and ethnic markers. This can be tied to the appeal to an ingroup of Roman political elite.

4.3.1 Relation

The corpus-inscriptions from *Syracusae* show relational markers with the deceased in 13 out of 47 inscriptions. This includes 12 out of 26 Latin-language inscriptions and 1 out of 21 Greek inscriptions.

The relationship between the deceased and others in addressed in several different ways:

1. Relational marker in naming conventions: ISic003595;
2. Relationship between deceased and fellow-freedman: ISic000044;
3. Relationship between deceased and parent: ISic000430, ISic000462, ISic000729, ISic003338, ISic003595, ISic004342;
4. Relationship between deceased and other relation: ISic000424, ISic000045, ISic001676, ISic003346;
5. Implicit familial relationship between deceased persons: ISic000431, ISic004357.

First, the single Greek-language inscription needs to be discussed. The inscription in question, ISic003595, appears to stress a relationship between the deceased and her father:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
ΚΛΟΥΤΩΡΙΑ	Κλουτωρία
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΚΛΟΥΤΩΡΙΟΥ	Κλουτωρίου

northwest. This would show that the formula is spread more widely around Sicily. Prag et al. believe the inscription to be a forgery, which would still limit the formula to south-eastern Sicily. See the inscription in the *I.Sicily*-database through http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, checked on 12-06-2023.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΚΗ	Πτολεμαικὴ
ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΗΝΗΣ	τῆς Κυρήνης
ΕΤΩΝ	ἐτῶν
ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ	ἑξήκοντα

Kloutoria, daughter of Marcus Klouterios, a Ptolemaic woman of Cyrene, (has lived) for sixty years.

However, the use of the genitive ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΚΛΟΥΤΩΡΙΟΥ appears, rather, to fit Greek naming conventions. Greek names were often singular, or added a patronymic, denoting the relation of the person to their father. This patronymic was most often formed, as it is here, with the use of the genitive case.[53] In this inscription, the relational marker is thus part of naming conventions, and not an active choice to highlight the relationship between the deceased and her father.[54] The use of Greek naming conventions is expected, as it is stated that the deceased is from Egypt, where Greek had always served as the spoken and administrative language during the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods, instead of Latin.[55] Thus, this singular Greek inscription also lacks any relational marker, which means that relational markers in the *Syracusae*-corpus are exclusive to Latin inscriptions.

The lack of relational ties in Greek inscriptions can be seen in inscriptions such as ISic000638. This inscription is clearly set up for a deceased child, whose parents do not mention themselves:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
Μ ΚΟΚΚΗΙΣ	Μ(ᾶρκος) Κοκκήις
ΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ	Νεικηφόρος
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ · ΚΑΙ · ΑΜΕΜ	χρηστὲ · καὶ · ἄμεμ-
ΠΤΕ · ΧΑΙΡΕ ·	πτε · χαῖρε ·
ΕΖΗΣΕ · ΕΤΗ · Γ	ἔζησε · ἔτη · γ

Marcus Coccei[u]s Nicephorus, you honest and blameless, goodbye. He has lived for three years.

It would be expected that the parents named themselves. Relational markers are a great part of Greek-language inscriptions in other regions during this period, but also before the arrival of the Romans. These markers are not inherently Roman and are an expected part of Greek-language funerary inscriptions.[56] However, this is not the case in imperial *Syracusae*.

Though relational markers are, thus, exclusive to Latin-language inscriptions, they are not exclusive to Romans. An example is ISic000430:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
DIS MANIBVS	Dis Manibus
EVANGEL	Euangel-
. . .]IXIT · AN	us v]ixit · an(nos)
VIIII	VIIII
THYCHICVS	Thychicus

[53] See Parker (2019).
[54] A similar use of the genitive can be found in ISic003338 and ISic003346. In both cases, however, the *tria nomina* are still used. The genitive is therefore used as a relational marker for parentage, while the inscription above uses it as a replacement of Roman naming conventions.
[55] On her name: it appears to be related to Venetic *kluθiiaris*. See Whatmough (1923).On Egypt: Evans, T.V., "Latin in Egypt", in: Riggs, C. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 516-525.
[56] Data collected from https://epigraphy.packhum.org/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search terms "θυγάτηρ", "παῖς", "τέκνον", "υἱός".

VIXIT · AN · VI	vixit · an(nos) · VI
THYCHE	Thyche
MATER · FIL	mater · fil(iis)
PIISSIMIS	piissimis
FECIT	fecit

For the Spirits of the Deceased. Euangelus has lived for 9 years. Thychicus has lived for 6 years. Thyche, their mother, has made this for her most pious sons.

The inscription shows three Greek names in a Latin-language inscription. These Greek persons, or more specifically the *mater* Thyche, selected Latin for the inscription. The use of relational markers can be contrasted with the lack thereof in inscription ISic003355, discussed above, which was also set up for a child but lacks relational markers.

This focus on relational ties in Latin-language text is remarkable, particularly due to the relative balance of Greek- and Latin-language inscriptions in imperial *Syracusae* as a whole (28% to 72%) and funerary epigraphy specifically (45% to 55%).[57] It can be explained as an attempt to appeal to a Roman ingroup. The inclusion of relational ties, most often between the erector and the deceased, gives social standing to the relatives of the deceased as it tied the erector to an (often) virtuous family member, such as the use of *piissimis* in the inscription above.[58] As the political elite in Sicily was Roman (read: Latin-speaking), the focus of relational markers to a Roman ingroup makes sense, and there was less appeal to use these markers for a Greek ingroup.[59] The use of Latin to address a Latin-speaking elite has also been argued in the case of Greek cities in mainland Greece and the Near East and is shown to be an alignment with the political elite.[60] Seeing the use of relational ties for social standing, the same can be argued in the case of *Syracusae*. Language choice and the use of relational markers are linked to the active choice for a Roman audience.

4.3.2 Occupation

Occupation is mentioned in 9 inscriptions, 8 out of 26 Latin inscriptions and 1 out of 21 Greek-language inscriptions. This includes service in politics (ISic000044, ISic000729), religious cults

[57] Total epigraphic yields that provide a better balance are limited to *Centuripae* (22 inscriptions, 54% Greek and 46% Latin) and *Catina* (183 inscriptions, 30% Greek, 68% Latin, and 2% other).

[58] A clear example of this in Roman society would be the use of death masks in public parades, which show commemoration of the deceased, but also the relationship between famous deceased family members and their surviving relatives. This practise has recently been shown to exist outside of elite circles as well, which shows the importance of family ties in the entirety of Roman society. See Madden, K.S., "'Breaking the Mould' Roman Non-Elite Plaster Death Masks: Identifying a New form of Funerary Commemoration and Memory", *Assemblage: the Sheffield Graduate Journal of Archaeology* (16), Sheffield, 2017, pp. 13-31.

[59] See Manganaro (1979), pp. 309–363.

[60] Eck, W., "The Language of Power: Latin in the Inscriptions of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina", in: Schiffman, L. (ed.), *Semitic Papyrology in Context*, New York, 2003, pp. 123-144; Id., "The presence, role and significance of Latin in the epigraphy and culture of the Roman Near East", in: Cotton, H. et al. (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge & New York, 2009, pp.15-43; McCleery, R., "Being Roman, Writing Latin? Consumers of Latin Inscriptions in Achaia", *Chronica* 6, 2016, pp. 41-57.

(ISic000409, ISic000426), service to the emperors (ISic000424), the general position as a freedman (ISic000434, ISic002962, ISic002963), and a dancer (ISic002949), who is presented in Greek.

Occupation and freed status are used to appeal to the Roman political elite, as this showed status and social mobility towards the higher levels of society.[61] This is also because former slaves were allowed to become plebeian citizens in Roman society, while they still had a lower position in Greek society.[62] Freed status would then not be used to appeal to a Greek political ingroup, even if such an ingroup was available. Due to the status associated with freedmen, the use of this marker can be seen as orientation towards to a Roman ingroup, similar to the use of relational markers. The same can be said for service in politics, to the emperors and in the religious cults mentioned in these inscriptions, which are the imperial cult and the cult of Isis. The cult of Isis was Eastern, though it had globalised and did not use Greek as a distinct communicative language similar to the use of Latin in the imperial cult.[63] These different occupations thus all explain the appeal to a Roman political ingroup.

The Greek inscription can be tied to the metrical inscription discussed in chapter 1 and seems to appeal to a Greek ingroup that valued high culture. It was made for Gaius Caecilius Chariton Juventinus, a dancer of a Persian dance – the *oklasma* – which was well-known among Greeks and Romans from the 5th century BCE onwards.[64] Dancing was seen as higher culture – a domain that was part of a Greek-ingroup in the Eastern Mediterranean, similar to the metrical inscription discussed in chapter 1. Though his name, and especially *cognomen*, reveals a mixed Greco-Roman background, his selection of Greek can be explained by the appeal to enjoyers of higher culture in the Eastern Mediterranean. This explains why this particular inscription was set up in Greek, rather than Latin.

The selection of an occupational markers was generally tied to the selection of the Latin language and a Roman (elite) audience. This is clear in the selection of Latin for members of the military, religious institutions, and freedmen. The inscription for Caecilius Chariton appears to appeal instead to another ingroup, namely a Greek-speaking ingroup associated with higher culture.

4.3.3 Ethnic background

Ethnicity is only stressed in 1 out of 47 inscriptions from *Syracusae*, ISic003595. In the inscription, which is discussed above, the deceased is identified as a ΙΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΚΗ, which stresses her Egyptian

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[61] The status associated with certain careers and welfare is discussed in Duncan-Jones, R., *Power and Privilege in Roman Society*, Cambridge, 2016. The position of Roman freedmen is discussed extensively in MacLean, R., *Freed slaves and Roman imperial culture: social integration and the transformation of values*, Cambridge, 2018. Her work discusses the prominence of freed status in (funerary) epigraphy as well.

[62] Zelnick-Abramovitz, R., "Freed slaves, their status and state control in Ancient Greece", *European Review of History* 16(3), London, 2009, pp. 303-318.

[63] The international character of the cult is discussed in detail by Bricault (2013). The Egyptian nature of the cult saw its spread through the Hellenistic world under Ptolemaic support. It then slowly but steadily spread to Rome and the Roman provinces. It is unknown where and if there was a cult place for Isis in *Syracusae* or whether this individual, Gaius Iulius Primio, had served Isis somewhere else.

[64] The inscription marks Gaius Caecilius Chariton Iuventinus as a ὀκλαδοπαίκτης, a dancer of the *oklasma*. This was a dance of Persian origin which was popular in the Eastern Mediterranean. The inscription is discussed by González Galera in his work on mime actors in Antiquity (2019), p. 48.

background. Because Greek was the main spoken and administrative language of Egypt, it makes sense that this ethnicity is stressed in a Greek-language inscription.[65] However, ethnicity is not stressed in enough inscriptions to tie it to the selection of Greek or Latin.

4.4 Identity presentation in Panhormus

This section shows that relational, occupational, and ethnic markers are connected to the selection of Latin as an epigraphic language, similar to the epigraphic material from *Syracusae*. In chapter 3, it was shown that, due to its colonial history, *Panhormus* provides little Greek-language material. Therefore, these conclusions regarding Latin-language inscriptions cannot be fully compared to Greek-language material. This section thus focuses on the presence of the three markers in Latin-language inscriptions.

4.4.1 Relation

Within the corpus from *Panhormus*, relations are addressed in 18 out of 20 Latin inscriptions and 0 out of 2 Greek inscriptions. The relationship between the deceased and others is addressed in several different ways:

1. Relationship between deceased and fellow-freedman/erector: ISic000557, ISic000559, ISic000561, ISic000568;
2. Relationship between deceased and parent: ISic000547, ISic000548, ISic000561, ISic000565, ISic000569, ISic000572, ISic002964;
3. Relationship between deceased and other relation: ISic000033, ISic000034, ISic000549, ISic000556, ISic000560, ISic000563, ISic000570, ISic003543.

Like the inscriptions from *Syracusae*, it is not exclusive to Romans. An example of a Greek deceased can be found in ISic000557:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
D · M	Dis · Manibus
M · AVRELIVS	M(arcus) · Aurelius
ERMEROS · M · A	Ermeros · M(arco) · A(urelio)
CALLINICO · PA	Callinico · pa-
TRONO · OPTI	trono · opti-
MO · B · M · F	mo · b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit)

For the Spirits of the Deceased. Marcus Aurelius Ermeros made this for Marcus Aurelius Callinicus, the best patron, who is very deserving of it.

As stated above, the lack of Greek-language material makes it difficult to assert whether this consistent use of Latin in inscriptions that show relational markers can be matched with the conclusions made for *Syracusae*. However, it does show similar results.

[65] Evans. 2012, pp. 516-525.

4.4.2 Occupation

As I explained in the case of *Syracusae*, markers of occupation and freed status were valued by the Roman ingroup to which these Latin-language inscriptions appeal. These markers are mentioned in 9 out of 20 Latin inscriptions from *Panhormus*. This includes service in the military (ISic000547, ISic000548, ISic000549), the general position of freedman (ISic000559, ISic000561, ISic000565, ISic000568) or freedman for the emperors (ISic000560), and finally a miller – according to my reconstruction (ISic000562).

The inclusion of the occupational marker of freedman, in general or specifically to the emperors, explains the choice for Latin, as it did in *Syracusae*. Military positions are mentioned in three cases. An example is ISic000547:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
D M	D(is) M(anibus)
A]VRELIO · RVSTICO · MIL	Aurelio · Rustico · mil(itavit)
ANNOS · VIII TR ZENO	annos · VIII · tr(iere centuria) Zeno-
NIS · MAR · GERMANICI	nis · Mar(co?) · Germanici-
ANVS · MIL · ANNOS · X	anus (*sic*) · mil(itavit) · annos · X
VALER · VICTORINVS	Valer(ius) · Victorinus
HER · B · M · F	her(es) · b(ene) · m(erentibus?) · f(ecit)

For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Aurelius Rusticus, who served for eight years on the trireme-regiment of Zeno, and for Marcus Germanicianus, who served (there) for ten years, Valerius Victorinus, the surviving heir, made this, who are very deserving of it.

The inscription was likely addressed to both Aurelius Rusticus and Marcus Germanicianus, because of the similarities in composition for lines 2-3 and 4-5. The position of soldier, occupied by both men, is tied to the selection of Latin. Though a position in the military was valued in Greek society as well, the army was organised almost entirely in the Latin language, even in the Greek Eastern Mediterranean. This was even the case in Roman Egypt, where Latin was barely used.[66] This shows the prevalence of Latin as the language of the military. Identity as a soldier would thus have found its expression through Latin. Similar to the inclusion of other occupations, ties to a deceased veteran served as a status symbol for the deceased's relatives.[67] This creates the appeal to a Roman ingroup.

The last inscription that should be discussed is ISic000562:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
L · MALLIVS	Lucius · Mallius
MOL	mol(endarius)
PHILARGYRVS	Philargyrus

Lucius Mallius Philargyrus, a miller.

[66] Evans 2012, pp. 516-525. Evans criticises earlier research for its belief that nearly all Latin documents in Egypt are military. He states that very few documents are military in nature. However, though not all Latin documents were concerned with military matters, it is true that all Latin documents in Egypt were made by soldiers.

[67] See Duncan-Jones (2016), especially pp. 19-21.

The second line of the inscription was not reconstructed in the *I.Sicily*-database. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, where it is documented under the code CIL X.07312, proposes MUL(ieris) L(ibertus). This changes the surviving letters and unnecessarily adds an L. My reconstruction interprets the letters as an abbreviation of *molendarius*, or 'miller'.[68] In both reconstructions – whether the Greek Philargyrus was a miller or a freedman – the occupational marker can be tied to the selection of Latin, as it relates to the importance of freedman and occupation to the Roman ingroup.

It can be said that the selection of an occupational marker was tied to the selection of the Latin language and a Roman (elite) ingroup. This is clear in the selection of Latin for members of the military and freedmen. The inscription for Philargyrus is uncertain, but is possibly another example of the combination of Latin and the presence of occupation in the content of an inscription. This shows that Latin was tied to the use of an occupational marker.

4.4.3 Ethnic background

Ethnicity is present in 1 out of 22 inscriptions from *Panhormus*, ISic000549:

Diplomatic	**Interpreted**
VLPIO · SEVERO	Ulpio · Severo
NAR[--]TVS	Nar[is]tus
EQ · SING · AVG · TUR	eq(ues) · sing(ularis) · Aug(usti) · tur(ma)
BVSTVRONIS · VIX · AN · XXXVIII	Busturonis · vix(it) an(nos) XXXVIII
D	D[---]
MANSVETVS · ET · TITVS	Mansuetus et Titus
H · B · M · F	h(eredes) · b(ene) · m(erenti) · f(ecerunt)

To Ulpius Severus. He, a member of the Naristi and personal cavalry of the emperor in the regiment of Busturo, has lived for 38 years. D[---?]. Mansuetus and Titus, his heirs, made this for him, who is very deserving of it.

The inscription was erected for a Germanic soldier who served in the personal service of the emperor. This was common during the Early Empire and was the best position a Germanic person could occupy within the empire.[69] The relationship between the ethnic marker and the occupational marker is clear. However, the choice for Latin is likely due to the occupational marker. Greek was not a relevant – or, likely, accessible – language for a Germanic soldier. Rather, the inscription should be read as another example of the use of Latin as the language of the military administration and thus as another example of the combination between the selection of Latin and an occupational marker. Like in *Syracusae*, ethnic markers do not appear widely enough to be tied to the selection of language or audience.

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[68] My reconstruction is based on similar inscriptions that denote include the occupation as well as the – albeit rare – position of occupation between *nomen* and *cognomen*. Data collected from http://www.manfredclauss.de/, checked on 12-06-2023. Search term "molendarius" provides EDCS-24700385, EDCS-37200677, EDCS-32802042. For occupation between *nomen* and *cognomen*, see EDCS-09301621.

[69] Speidel, M.P., *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperor's Horse Guard*, London, 1994, especially pp. 1-24. The custom of hiring Germanic horse guards was continued in the second century, though it was abandoned in the early third century. This also provides a relative dating for the inscription.

4.5 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter has shown that active selection of language can be seen during (almost) all steps of the construction process of the inscriptions in the corpus. This was visible through alternative spellings, naming conventions, and the influence of formulae from both languages. The second section uses three markers – relation, occupation, and ethnic background – to show the relationship between the selection of Latin and these markers. The relational and occupational markers proved a connection between the selection of language, content, and audience in *Syracusae* and a suggested connection in *Panhormus*. The inscriptions from *Panhormus* show the same pattern, but cannot be adequately compared to Greek-language material.

The reason for this combination of Latin and content lies in the selection of audience, namely an ingroup of Roman political elite. This ingroup was appealed to by Romans and Greeks, though all through Latin. The choice for Latin by Greek individuals was especially a way for them to appeal to this political elite, while the Greek language could be chosen to appeal to several other ingroups. The ingroups that were appealed to in Greek cannot be properly distinguished, save the ingroup of high culture, which was still tied to Greek in the Eastern Mediterranean. This was seen, for instance, in a funerary inscription for a dancer.

A more prominent and defined ingroup remains to be the Roman political elite. The combination of language and content to appeal to a Latin-speaking political ingroup shows that funerary inscriptions were used in a political sense. They were used by the deceased's relatives as a way to present themselves to the Roman political elite – through the praise of the deceased. This way of reading inscriptions provides us with more insight into socio-cultural relations and power structures in Sicily.

5. Conclusion

Funerary inscriptions in *Syracusae* and *Panhormus* were set up as a result of active identity presentation towards ingroups. The most prominent ingroup was the Latin-speaking political elite. In this thesis, I have studied how the language and aspects of the content of epigraphic compositions were chosen actively against a backdrop of relationships to this ingroup. The selection of Latin as an epigraphic language has been securely linked to relational and occupational identity markers. Ethnic background did not figure prominently in the corpus and could therefore not be judged adequately. The relationship between language and content focuses on the Roman elite-audience of the inscriptions, which was actively sought out. Greek ingroups could only partially be identified within the corpus – with only the ingroup of Greek higher culture enjoyers being securely distinguished.

This was started in chapter 2, with a definition of identity as a process of presentation fit into expectations from social groups. In chapter 3, quantitative analysis of epigraphy from Sicily showed that the language distribution in epigraphic sources was tied to the colonial history of the sites. This gave insight into the audiences and ingroups of the corpus-inscriptions themselves. The inscriptions themselves were analysed in chapter 4. The results of this chapter tell us that presentation in funerary epigraphy can be seen as a socio-political act. The selection of Latin was tied to the use of relational and occupational markers in both sites, which lacked in Greek-language inscriptions from the sties. This is marked, due to the prominent place of these markers in the longer Greek epigraphic tradition, and thus shows the active selection of language and content to address the Roman political ingroup. The chapter also helped to define a smaller Greek-language ingroup tied to higher culture such as poetry and dance.

The reading of funerary inscriptions in this way has shown that colonial history and its power structures continuously influence identity presentation in inscriptions from *Panhormus* and *Syracusae*. Further research may find that these conclusions can be applied to Sicily as a whole, or possibly the entire Mediterranean.

Before any such research can be started, I wish to discuss limitations of the current research. The most important of these limitations is the size of the current research. While Sicily generally provides little epigraphic material, the corpus used in this thesis consists of only 69 inscriptions, spread across two sites. Furthermore, the formulae analysed were, generally, only compared to the rest of Sicily and not the entire Mediterranean – the exception being the formula ἔζησεν – and thus provide a limited view of the possible language contact present in the corpus. Other markers, such as virtue-related markers, age, and gender, did not appear to provide insight into the relationship between language selection and non-linguistic presentation. However, it may prove useful in future research to take these markers into account as well.

Another aspect is the selection of the case sites. *Syracusae* and *Panhormus* both proved to be representative of different colonial histories on Sicily in chapter 3. However, when the relationship between language selection and other forms of identity presentation was analysed in chapter 4, the lack of a substantial number of Greek-language inscriptions in *Panhormus* prevented a full-scale comparison of identity selection between the two sites. For this part of the research, another site may have allowed for a better comparison to the material from *Syracusae*. However, the Latin-language material from *Panhormus* could still be compared to *Syracusae* and supports the conclusions made for that site to a certain extent.

My recommendations for further research start with the conclusions from chapter 3. I believe it will prove interesting to tie the colonial history of sites on the whole of Sicily – as well as the entire Eastern Mediterranean – to their epigraphic productions and would advise to widen the scope and selection of sites used in this thesis by looking into the entirety of the *I.Sicily*-database. Furthermore, I advise to look into the relationship between language and other markers within funerary epigraphy on the entire island. This wider scope may allow for a better understanding of the Greek ingroups to which funerary inscriptions appeal as well. Following this research, it can also prove insightful to look into the selection of language and its relation to other markers in other regions of the Mediterranean East, where Latin was used as a minority language as well, and compare these results to findings from Sicily. This can create a new view of funerary inscriptions as a socio-political tool in Greco-Roman society.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Inscriptions from *Panhormus*

All the data found in this appendix, save the translation and notes, are from the *I.Sicily*-database, through http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, checked on 12-06-2023.

Id.	Date	Text	Translation	Language	Personal reconstruction
ISic000033	101-150	Fortunati fratri pientissimo fecerun<t> sorores	For Fotunatus, the most pious brother, his sisters made this.	Latin	
ISic000034	1-300	[D(is)]M(anibus) [- - ? - -]f(iliae)· Festivae [- - ? - -e]t · uxori · rariss(imae)[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -] Mercuṛ[iu]ṣ	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Festiva, a daughter [---] and the rarest wife [---] Mercurius (made this).	Latin	
ISic000547	1-300	D(is) M(anibus) [A]ur(elio)· Rustico · mil(itavit) ann(os)· VIII tr(iere centuria) Zeno- nis · Mar(co?)· Germanici- anus (*sic*) · mil(itavit)· ann(os)· X Valer(ius)· Victorinus her(es)· b(ene)· m(erentibus)· f(ecit)	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Aurelius Rusticus, who served for eight years on the trireme-regiment of Zeno, and for Marcus Germanicianus, who served (there) for ten years, Valerius Victorinus, the surviving heir, made this, who are very deserving of it.	Latin	**Lines 4-5:** suggested as dative due to similar composition in lines 2-3. **Line 7:** reconstructed as m(erentibus), see previous reconstruction.
ISic000548	201-300	D(is)m(anibus) Tac(itio)· Iulia no· evok(ato) quondam Aur(elia)· Lucil la· coniu gi · karissi mo · et · Iuli us· Tacitia nus· filius heredes posuerunt merenti	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Tacitus Julianus, once call(ed upon) to the army, Aurelia Lucilla, for her most precious husband, and Julius Tacitianus, his son, his surviving relatives, made this for him, who is deserving of it.	Latin	**Line 2:** evok(ato) reconstructed as the entire surviving line.
ISic000549	1-300	Ulpio· Severo	For Ulpius Severus.	Latin	

		Nar[is]tus eq(ues)· sing(ularis)· Aug(usti)· tur(ma) Busturonis · vix(it)· an(nos)· XXXVIII D[- - ? - -] Mansuetus· et · Titus h(eredes)· b(ene)· m(erenti)· f(ecerunt)	He, one of the Naristi and personal cavalry of the Emperor, in the regiment of Busturo, has lived for 38 years. D[---]. Mansuetus and Titus, his surviving heirs, made this for him, who is very deserving of it.		
ISic000554	1-300	D(is)[M(anibus)] P(ubli)· Aeli· Pii· qui · vi[xit- - ? - -]	For the Spirits of the Deceased. (The tomb) of Publius Aelius Pius, who has lived [---]	Latin	
ISic000556	1-300	Osi[- - ? - -]mus Athnision soror bhnh mhrhnti fhchr(unt)	(For?) Osi[---] [---]mus (and) Atenision, his sister, made this for him, who is very deserving of it.	Latin	
ISic000557	1-300	D(is)· m(anibus) M(arcus)· Aurelius Ermeros· M(arco)· A(urelio) Callinico· pa trono · opti mo · b(ene)· m(erenti)· f(ecit)	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Marcus Aurelius Ermeros made this for Marcus Aurelius Callinicus, the best patron, who is very deserving of it.	Latin	
ISic000560	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus) Fortis · Caesar(is)· ser(vus) sibi · et · Charidi coniugi · bene merenti · et · P(ublio)· Aelio Aug(usti)· lib(erto)· Felici · poste risq(ue)· suorum · fecit	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Fortis, the slave of the imperial heir, made this for himself and Charis, his wife, who is very deserving of it, and for Publius Aelius Felix, the freedman of the emperor, as well as their descendants.	Latin	
ISic000561	1-300	Herennia nus verna patri · bene m[- - ? - -]	Herennianus, a homeborn slave, for his father, who is very deserving of it.	Latin	
ISic000562	1-300	L(ucius)· Mallius mol(endarius) Philargyrus	Lucius Mallius Philargyrus, the miller.	Latin	**Line 2:** reconstructed as mol(endarius).
ISic000563	1-300	D(is)[M(anibus)] Q(uintus)· Munatiu[s- - ? - -] fecit [- - ? - -] et [- - ? - -] [- - - - - -] [- - ? - -]P· XIIII	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Quintus Munatius [---] made this for [---] and [---] [------] [------] and fourteen P[---]	Latin	

ISic000565	1-300	[- - ? - -]dius · C· l(ibertus) Philo[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -]O· filiae · Nep[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -]AE· · bene [- - ? - -] [- - ? - -]IO· caput · IM[- - ? - -]	(Chalci)dius C, freedman, (for?) Philo[----] [---] daughter of Nep[---] [*cognomen*]a, who is very deserving of it [---]IO head IM[---]	Latin	
ISic000568	1-300	M(arcus)· Siciribonius M(arci)· l(ibertus) Stymphalus Caecilia Attica f(ecerunt)	Marcus Siciribonius Stymphalus, freedman of Marcus. Caecilia and Attica made this.	Latin	
ISic000569	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus) Secundino alumno · infan ti · dulcissimo qui · vix(it)· ann(o)· I · m(ensibus)· X dieb(us)· XVII· Hermes et Primitiva fecerunt (met omschrijving van afbeelding)	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Secundinus, the sweetest baby, who his mother nourished herself and who has lived for one year, ten months, and seventeen days, Hermes and Primitiva made this.	Latin	
ISic000570	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus)· S(acrum) P(ublii)· Servili· Ipaphroditi v(ixit)· an(nis)· XXVI· Encoepus· p(osuit)	For the Spirits of the Deceased, a sacred offering. (The tomb) of Publius Servilus Ipaphroditus. He has lived for twenty-six years. Encoepus placed this here.	Latin	
ISic000571	1-300	D(is)· m(anibus) Suetia· Tyndaris vix(it) · an(nis)· LXI menses · I · dies · XVIII	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Suetia Tyndaris has lived for sixty-one years, one month, and eighteen days.	Latin	
ISic000572	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus) M(arco)· Virginio Pompeio· fil(io) bene · merenti vixit · annis · XXV Pompeia Atti[cill]a· mater	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Marcus Virginius Pompeius, her son, who is very deserving of it. He has lived for twenty-five years. Pompeia Atticilla, his mother, made this.	Latin	
ISic001118	101-200	Θεόδοτα Κέλτα	Theodota Kelta Epaphroditus, goodbye.	Ancient Greek	

		Ἐπαφρόδειτε χαῖρε			
ISic001119	201-300	Ἰγνάτιος Μαριανὸς ⟦χρηστὸς⟧ καὶ ἄμενπτος ἔζησεν ἔτη · ν · ἡμέρας · ζ·	Ignatius Marianus, [[honest]] and blameless, has lived for fourteen years and six days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic002964	201-250	D(is)· M(anibus) Valeria· M(arci)· fil(ia)· Marcia Germanae delicatae · suae · fil(iae)· Marcio Iusto alumno suo sarcophagum posuit vixit ann(is)XXIIII men(se) uno dieb(us) X	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Valeria Marcia, daughter of Marcus, placed this sarcophagus here for Germana, her own charming daughter, and Marcius Justus, who she nourished herself and who has lived for twenty-four years, one month, and ten days.	Latin	
ISic003543	201-250	D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) Victor vix(it) ann(os) LI fec(it) Charis	For the Spirits of the Deceased a sacred offering. Victor has lived for 51 years. Charis made this.	Latin	

Appendix 2: Inscriptions from *Syracusae*

All the data found in this appendix, save the translation and notes, are from the *I.Sicily*-database, through http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk/, checked on 12-06-2023.

Id.	Date	Text	Translation	Language	Personal reconstruction
ISic000044	150-250	D(is) ❦ M(anibus) ❦ Eróti · Iuni · Iuliáni pro có(n)s(ulis)· ser(vo) cubicularió Iunius Alcibiades bene merenti fécit vixit · annis · XX	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Junius Alcibiades has made this for Eros, the chamberlain of governor Junus Julianus, who is very deserving of it. He has lived for twenty years.	Latin	
ISic000045	101-200	[D(is)M(anibus)]s(acrum) [- - 5? - -]anthe [vixit a]nnos VII [- - 5? - -]nepoti [- - 5? - -]me fec(it)	For the Spirits of the Deceased a sacred offering. [---]anthe has lived for seven years. [---]me made this for her niece.	Latin	**Line 5:** *vixit* and *annos* separated.
ISic000409	1-50	Dis · Manîb(us) · C(aius) · Iulîus · Prîmîo Isidis · scopâr(ius) vix(it) · ann(os) · LXXX pie · salve	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Gaius Iulius Primio, the janitor of the Isis-sanctuary, has lived for eighty years. You pious man, goodbye.	Latin	
ISic000423	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus)· Anni · Anthimi homo · optume· have have et tu	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Annius Anthimius, you great man, goodbye, goodbye to you too.	Latin	
ISic000424	1-300	[D(is)]M(anibus)s(acrum) Burniae · L(uci)· f(iliae) Primulae [E]paphroditu[s] Augustoru[m] li]b(ertus)v(ixit)a(nnos)[. .]	For the Spirits of the Deceased a sacred offering. Epaphroditus, a freedman of the emperors, made this for Burnia Primula, daughter of Lucius. She has lived for [---] years.	Latin	
ISic000426	1-300	[- - ? - -](vac.2)Aug[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -](vac.5) Cerialis · sex[vir(?)Augustalis(?)]	[---] (of?) the Emperor(?) Cerialis, priest of the Emperor *or* Cerialis Sextus, priest of the Emperor	Latin	
ISic000427	1-300	D(is)· M(anibus)[- - ? - -] Chr]ysi[- - ? - -]	For the Spirits of the Deceased.	Latin	**Line 2:** name suggested as Chrysis

		vixit ·]a[nnos] Felix] I[- - ? - -] piissi]m[- - ? - -]	(Chr)ysis(?) has lived for [---] years. [--- Felix] I[---] (has built this) for (their) most pious (son?).		
ISic000430	1-300	Dis Manibus Evange lus v]ixit · an(nos) VIIII Thychicus vixit · an(nis) · VI Thyche mater · fil(iis) piissimis fecit	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Euangelus has lived for seven years. Thychicus has lived for six years. Thyche, their mother, built this for her most pious sons.	Latin	
ISic000431	1-300	Fulvius · Nic[o] vixit · annis · L· Fulvius · Ianuarius vixit · annum · I· menses · III	Fulvius Nico has lived for fifty years. Fulvius Januarius has lived for a year and three months.	Latin	
ISic000434	1-300	L(ucius) Licinius L(ucii) l(ibertus) Dapnus vix(it) a(nnos) XXXV	Lucius Licinius (made this). Dapnus,*(sic*) Lucius' freedman, has lived for thirty-five years.	Latin	
ISic000435	1-300	M(arcus)· Lus[- - ? - -] Silvan[us- - ? - -] vix(it)· ann[os- - ? - -]	Marcus Lus[---] Silvanus [---] has lived for [---] years.	Latin	
ISic000445	1-300	S(it) t(erra) t(ibi) l(evis)	May the earth rest lightly on you.	Latin	
ISic000462	1-300	[- - ? - -]ane filia I[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -a]nnis XV[- - ? - -] [- - ? - -d]ies XV R[- - ? - -]	[---]ane, the daughter of Lucius (?) has lived for six (?) years and fifteen (?) days. R[---] (made this?)	Latin	
ISic000637	50-100	Π(ούβλιε)· Κλώδιε Κορνηλιανὲ εὐσεβῆ · χαέρε	Publius Clodius Cornelianus, you pious man, goodbye.	Ancient Greek	
ISic000638	1-100	Μ(ᾶρκος) Κοκκήις Νεικηφόρος χρηστὲ · καὶ · ἄμεμ πτε · χαῖρε · ἔζησε · ἔτη · γ	Marcus Coccei[u]s Nicephorus, you honest and blameless, goodbye. He has lived for three years.	Ancient Greek	**Line 1:** *nomen* suggested as Cocceius.
ISic000729	1-300	D(is) [- - -] A(ulo) Tedio A(uli) f(ilio) Au(gurino?)[- - ? - -]	For the Spirits (of the Deceased).	Latin	

		[- - ? - -] praefec[to- - ? - -] [- - ? - -]Ti(berius) Q(?)u[intus?- -]	Tiberius Quintus (?) (made this) for Aulus Tedius Augurinus, the son of Aulus, prefect [---].		
ISic000795	101-300	Κ(οῖντε)· Κορνιφίκι Στεφανῆφόρε χρηστὲ · καὶ · ἄμενπτε χαῖρε [ἔ]ζησε · ἔτη · ιβ · μῆ(νας)· θ ·	Quintus Cornificius Stephanophorus, honest and blameless, goodbye. He has lived for twelve years and nine months.	Ancient Greek	
ISic000853	1-200	[Θ(εοῖς)] · Κ(αταχθονίοις) Κ(λαυδία) · Σωτή[ρ]ις χρηστὰ κ̣αὶ ἄμ̂εμ̂π̂τ̂ο̂ς̂ ἔζ(ησεν) ἔτ̂η̂ · ξγ’ · μ̂ῆ̂(νας) · γ’ · ἡ̂μ̂ἔ̂(ρας) θ’	For the Gods of the Underworld. Claudia Soteris, honest and blameless, has lived for sixty-three years, three months, and nine days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic000862	1-300	Βουλ̣κακία Τερεντί̣α· εὐσεβὴς καὶ · ἀγαθὴ ἔζησεν ἔτη · μ·	Vulcacia Terentia, pious and good, has lived for forty years.	Ancient Greek	
ISic000865	201-300	Ἰσπὴς ἔζη σεν ἔτη ιβ μῆνας δ ἡμέρας δ	Ispes (*sic*) has lived for twelve years, four months, and four days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic000875	101-250	[- - ? - -]+N+++[- - -] [- - - λί]πες ἔκτυπα γαι[ας -?- -] [πί]στιν διένειμα ❦ [- - ? - -] [- - -]N ἐμὴ παράκοι[τις- - ? - -] [β]ιότοιο ετ[. .- - ? - -]	[--- but for a man of your appearance] You leave (?) [three ---] as worked in relief. I have spread faith. Next to my bedpartner [---] years of my life.	Ancient Greek	I follow Korhonen’s reconstruction instead of Kaibel (followed by *I.Sicily*). Kaibel does not defend his elaborate reconstruction.
ISic001006	1-300	Φύρμῳ	For Fyrmos (*sic*)	Ancient Greek	Prag also suggests Φύβνῳ (‘For Fybnos). Name reconstructed as Greek transliteration of Firmus.
ISic001121	1-200	Τίτο̂ς Να❦ σίδις Βασι λείδης ἔζ[η]- σε ἔτη λ̣[.]	Titus Nasidis Basileides has lived for 30 (+ ?) years.	Ancient Greek	

ISic001296	101-200	Μνησθοῖ Ἐνκάρπιν χρηστὴ καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἔζησεν ἔτη ν′	May you be remembered, Enkarpion, honest and blameless. She has lived for 50 years.	Ancient Greek	**Line 2:** name reconstructed as Ἐνκάρπιον on basis of common suffix -ιον.
ISic001503	1-300	ΡΩΣΚ(ιος?) ΝΕΙΚ(ιας?) ΚΟΠ(ρος?) ΑΓ(ιος?)	Roscius (?) Neikias (?) Kopros (?), saintly (?)	Ancient Greek	
ISic001665	1-300	Ἀ(υλος) · Ἄννιος Κέλερ	Aulus Annius Celer	Latin (Ancient Greek)	
ISic001666	1-200	A· per · (vac.6) Augu· rinus ·	Aper Augurinus	Latin	
ISic001676	50-200	Ḅṵṛọ[- - ? - -] T(itus) · Flav[ius- - ? - -] Caelia[- - ? - -] sibi· (vacat)[- - ? - -]	For Bur(r)us? [---] Titus Flavius [---] (and) Caelia (built this?) and for themselves [---]	Latin	**Line 1:** name suggested as Burrus. **Line 2:** name reconstructed as Flavius
ISic002949	1-100	[Ἰουλ]ία Εὐ - [μά]χη ❦ [φίλ]ανδρος Κ Καικίλ[ιος χαρί]των Ἰουουέ[ντιος Ἵλα]- ρος βιολόγος ὀκ[λαξ?] παίκτης φιλόξ[ενος]	Julia Eumache, who loved her husband. Gaius Caecilius Chariton (and) Juventius Hilaros an actor, crouching, a sportsman, a good host.	Ancient Greek	
ISic002962	1-300	Q(uintus) · Cornifici(us) · Q(uinti) · líb(ertus) · Hermes · pie · salve ·	Quintus Cornificius Hermes, freedman of Quintus, you pious man, goodbye.	Latin	
ISic002963	1-300	Q(uintus) · Cornificius · Q(uinti) · lib(ertus) · Iuvenalis · vixit · annos · VIIII · pie · salve ·	Quintus Cornificius Juvenalis, freedman of Quintus, you pious man, goodbye.	Latin	
ISic003338	1-200	C(ai) · Servili · C(ai) · f(ilius) · Qûîr(ina tribu) Avite · pie · salve vixit · an(nos) · XVII · diebus · XI ·	Gaius Servilis Avitus, son of Gaius, of the tribe Quirina, you pious man, goodbye. He has lived for seventeen years and eleven days.	Latin	

ISic003346	50-150	Dis Manibus Tito Flavio Gannamali filii Ganamioni allina uxor viro bene merenti S(ua)P(ecunia)F(ecit)	For the Spirits of the Deceased. For Titus Flavius Ganamion, son of Gannamal. Allina, his wife, made this for her husband, who is very deserving of it, with her own money.	Latin	**Line 2:** blank after T and F reconstructed following common abbreviations. **Lines 2-3:** names reconstructed as *GNML(Q) and *GNM-ιών following Punic radicals in Benz (1972).
ISic003355	250-300	Θάλπων χαῖρε χρηστὲ καὶ ἄμεμ- πτε · Θάλπ̣ον ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι ἐξα- ἐτὴς δὲ θανών νήπιος ὠκύμορος	Thalpon. Goodbye, honest and blameless Thalpon. Here I lie, having died suddenly, a child, (victim) of quick death.	Ancient Greek	
ISic003359	1-300	Γ(αι) · Ματρίνι Φηλικίων · χρη(στὲ) · καὶ · ἄμε(μπτε) · χαῖρε	Gaius Matrinius Felikion, honest and blameless, goodbye.	Ancient Greek	
ISic003379	1-300	Sex(tus) Alfius Arion	Sextus Alfius Arion.	Latin	
ISic003380	1-300	Κ(ουίντε) · Πομπῆι Ἔλπιστε χρηστὲ καὶ ἄμεμπτε χαῖρε ἔζησεν ἔτη κδ μῆνες δ ἡμέρας δ	Quintus Pompeios Elpistos, honest and blameless, goodbye. He has lived for twenty-four years, four months, and four days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic003425	1-300	Τ(ίτος)· Φλάβις · Γεμινι - άνος · χρηστὸς · καὶ ἄμεμπτος · ἔζησε ἔτη · κβ· μῆν(ες) γ	Titus Phlabis (*sic*) Geminianus, honest and blameless, has lived for twenty-two years and three months.	Ancient Greek	**Line 1:** *nomen* interpreted as Flavius.
ISic003429	1-200	D(is)· M(anibus) A(ulus)· Allienuṣ Maṛcianuṣ vix(it)· anni(s)· X[XI]I	For the Spirits of the Deceased. Aulus Allienus Marcianus has lived for twenty-one years.	Latin	
ISic003539	1-300	Ạ Σ [πα]ρθ̣ένο̣ς σε[μ]νὴ [ἀ]μέμπτο[ς ἔζ]ησεν ἔτη ιθ μῆν[ας]· γ· (vac.3/καὶ?) ἡμέρας · ια·	AS(- - ? - -) an unmarried girl, pious, blameless, has lived for nineteen years, three months, [---] and eleven days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic003595	1-300	Κλουτωρία Μάρκου Κλουτωρίου	Cloutoria, daughter of Marcus Cloutorius, a Ptolemaic woman from Cyrene, (has lived) for sixty years.	Ancient Greek	

		Πτολεμαικὴ τῆς Κυρήνης ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα			
ISic003646	1-250	P(ubli)· Sergi · Niger piissime · salve	Publius Sergius Niger, you most pious man, goodbye.	Latin	
ISic004342	101-300	D(is)M(anibus)S(acrum) Didyme vi xit an(nis) LXIX Ḷ(- - -)Ẹpacathus [- - ? - -m]atri dul - [cissi]mae	For the Spirits of the Deceased a sacred offering. Didyme has lived for sixty-nine years. L(ucius?) Epacathus (has made this) for his sweetest mother.	Latin	
ISic004357	1-300	[- - ? - -- - ? - -]us · Maxi[- - ? - -- - ? - -] [- - ? - -]I et · Silv[- - ? - -- - ? - -] [- - ? - -e]t · suorum [- - ? - -]	[---]us Maxi[---] [---]i and Silv(anus?) [---] [---] and of their own [---]	Latin	
ISic004461	175-250	[- - ? - -]❦ χρηστῆ [καὶ ἄ]μεμπτε [χαῖρε]❦ ἔζησες [ἡμέρας(?)] ρη	[- - -], honest and blameless, goodbye. You have lived for a hundred and eight days.	Ancient Greek	
ISic004464	175-250	· Ἄλφιος · Εὐτυχίων χρησ· τὸς ἀνὴρ · · καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἐνθά - δε κεῖμαι ζήσας · μ· ἔτη καὶ · β· μῆνας ·	I, Alphios Eutuchion, an honest and blameless man, lie here, having lived for forty years and two months.	Ancient Greek	
ISic004467	175-250	Ὕσπληξ · χρηστὲ · καὶ ἄμεμπτε · χαίρε ἔζησες · ἔτη γ	Husplex, honest and blameless, goodbye. You have lived for three years.	Ancient Greek	

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Koloniale verledens, intercultureel heden: de verhouding tussen koloniale geschiedenis, taalselectie en niet-talige identiteitspresentatie in grafinscripties uit *Syracusae* en *Panhormus* tussen 1 en 300 n.Chr.

Binnen de multiculturele samenleving op het Sicilië van de Romeinse Keizertijd was er veel contact tussen, met name, Grieks- en Latijnsprekende groepen. Dit contact zorgde ervoor dat men zich, veelal, kon uiten in zowel Latijn als Grieks. Er kon een zekere selectie van de ene of de andere taal plaatsvinden. Deze scriptie onderzoekt hoe deze selectie naar voren kwam in grafinscripties uit twee steden, *Syracusae* (het moderne Syracuse) en *Panhormus* (het moderne Palermo). De belangrijkste vragen daarbij zijn hoe deze selectie past binnen de koloniale achtergrond van de steden, hoe deze zich uitte, en welk doel die selectie precies had. Deze selectie is verbonden met de koloniale achtergrond van steden en had, zo blijkt uit mijn scriptie, te maken met de manier waarop nabestaanden zich middels een grafinscriptie wilden presenteren aan de buitenwereld. Dit deden ze via Latijn met name aan de Romeinse toplaag en in het Grieks naar verschillende groepen, waarvan één groep van cultuurliefhebbers onderscheiden kan worden.

In hoofdstuk 2 ga ik in op eerder onderzoek over identiteit en epigrafie, met een focus op de manier waarop epigrafie een rol speelde in de Grieks-Romeinse samenleving. Ik ontwikkel, aan de hand van *social identity theory* en *identity control theory*, een beeld van identiteit als een proces van presentatie aan andere groepen, waarbij verwachtingen vanuit deze groepen een grote rol spelen. Vervolgens leg ik de kaders van mijn onderzoek vast en ontwikkel ik mijn model van ‘actieve selectie’, wat uitgaat van de beschikking over verschillende culturele identiteiten die men op het ene of het andere moment kan inzetten om zich aan anderen te presenteren. In eerder onderzoek wordt al aangestipt dat Grieks-Romeinse epigrafie een zodanige rol heeft in de openbare ruimte dat zij ingezet kon worden voor identiteitspresentatie.

Ik leg in hoofdstuk 3 uit hoe de koloniale achtergronden van steden op Sicilië overeenkomen met de productie van inscripties in Grieks, Latijn, en andere talen. Het hoofdstuk laat zien dat de productie van Griekse en Latijnse inscripties duidelijk verbonden kan worden aan de koloniale geschiedenis van steden op Sicilië. Dit levert ook een sociaal-culturele context waarin de inscripties in *Panhormus* en *Syracusae* zijn opgesteld. Er wordt duidelijk dat Grieks en Latijn in *Syracusae* een redelijk gelijke positie innamen, terwijl de focus in *Panhormus* – een stad die uitgebreid door de Romeinen was gekoloniseerd – op Latijn ligt. Dit geeft uitleg over het mogelijke publiek van de inscripties uit deze steden.

In het eerste gedeelte van hoofdstuk 4 wordt aangetoond dat er actief taalselectie plaatsvond in beide steden, waarbij taalselectie in *Syracusae* uitgebreider aantoonbaar is. In het volgende gedeelte verbind ik deze taalselectie aan het presenteren van drie identiteitsaspecten in de inscripties, namelijk

‘relatie’, ‘beroep’, en ‘etnische achtergrond’. Deze drie aspecten tonen een verhouding tussen taalselectie en andere vormen van identiteitspresentatie. Wederom is bij de inscripties uit *Syracusae* de relatie tussen taalselectie en andere vormen van identiteitspresentatie duidelijker aantoonbaar dan bij *Panhormus*, maar ook in deze tweede stad kan de relatie aangetoond worden. Deze relatie heeft met name te maken met de presentatie van de overledene en diens nabestaanden naar de Romeinse politieke elite. De drie identiteitsaspecten die ik onderzoek werden ofwel erg gewaardeerd in de Romeinse samenleving (vormen van familiebanden, typen beroep) of vonden hun uiting exclusief in het Latijn (militaire dienst). Het gebruik van deze aspecten in Latijntalige inscripties door Romeinen en niet-Romeinen en de vrijwel volledige absentie daarvan in Griekstalige inscripties van zowel niet-Romeinen als Romeinen zelf toont aan dat deze drie aspecten, samen met het Latijn, geselecteerd werden door personen om zich positief te presenteren aan de Romeinse politieke elite. Bij de Griekstalige inscripties blijft meer onduidelijkheid over het verwachtte publiek. Twee inscripties richten zich duidelijk op een groep van liefhebbers van hoge cultuur, die in het Middellandse Zeegebied haar uiting vond in het Grieks. Een ander publiek voor Griekstalige inscripties kan niet met zekerheid onderscheiden worden, zoals dat bij Latijntalige inscripties mogelijk is.

Mijn onderzoek biedt zo nieuw inzicht in de manier waarop mensen zich in deze twee steden presenteren en de wijze waarop grafinscripties ingezet worden als een sociaalpolitiek middel en statussymbool, ook in het Grieks, maar met name in het Latijn. In het vervolg raad ik dan ook aan om de benadering van inscripties als sociaalpolitiek middel door te zetten in onderzoek naar andere casussen, in Sicilië ten eerste, maar ook daarbuiten.