# THE SIKELS TO THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

# SIKEL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION TO THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

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Lay Abstract

This thesis considers the political organization and territory of the Sikel people of eastern Sicily from the Archaic period to the end of the fifth century BCE. In 466 BCE, a figure by the name of Ducetius arose and united the Sikels into a federation, or συντέλεια, against the Greek neighbours who inhabited the coasts to the east and south. Of particular consideration in this thesis is continuity and change in Sikel culture and political organization before, during and after Ducetius' συντέλεια. The aim of this investigation is to demonstrate that the Sikel territory remained a discrete entity from the Greek city-states, and that the Sikels living within this territory both adopted aspects of Greek culture and maintained Sikel practices, into the reign of Dionysius I of Syracuse at the end of the fifth century.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the evidence for Sikel culture in central Sicily from the Bronze Age to the end of the fifth century. Previous scholarship on this period of Sicilian history has focused on the Greeks and their presence on the island; this thesis aims to bring to light the role that the Sikels played in the events of the early Classical period. The present work considers the interdisciplinary body of evidence for the Sikels before, during and after Ducetius' συντέλεια in the mid-fifth century.

The first chapter examines the archaeological evidence for the Sikels before Ducetius' rise to power in 466 BCE. Continuities in Sikel burial practice and communal dining can be traced from the Bronze Age into the fifth century, and are significant in identifying and understanding the nature of Sikel presence at specific sites in the Sicilian interior.

The next chapter focuses on Ducetius' συντέλεια (466-440 BCE) and investigates the historical accounts of Sicily in the fifth century in conjunction with the archaeological evidence for the Sikels. Ducetius is considered in the context of the rise and fall of the Greek tyrants on the island in the first half of the fifth century. In addition, archaeological evidence at the site of Palikè, an important Sikel religious sanctuary, is examined, in order to highlight the continuity in Sikel religious practices during Ducetius' remodeling of the sanctuary. This chapter then culminates with a discussion on the geographical extent of the Sikel territory to the death of Ducetius.

Finally, the last chapter examines the historical and epigraphic evidence for the Sikels from Ducetius' death to the rise of Dionysius I in 405. The Sikels remained

important actors in Sicilian history in this period, and were considered by the Greeks and Carthaginians to be critical allies, as different groups vied for control on the island.

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Declaration of Academic Achievement

The author declares that the content of this thesis has been completed by Jayden Lloyd, with recognition of the contributions of her supervisory committee consisting of Prof. Spencer Pope, Prof. Sean Corner, and Prof. Martin Beckmann during the research and writing process.

## I. Introduction

In 466, the Sikel leader Ducetius gained political notoriety by uniting the Sikel people of eastern Sicily against the Greeks. Diodorus Siculus writes that, "Ducetius, the Sikel leader,[1] united all those cities that were of the same [i.e. Sikel] ethnic origin…into a single common federation [εἰς μίαν και κοινὴν…συντέλειαν]."[2] The purpose of this thesis is to consider the extent and character of Sikel political organization before, during and after Ducetius' so-called συντέλεια. In this work, I will aim to consider two broad themes: first, the extent of the Sikel territory to the end of the fifth century, including consideration of which settlements should be identified as Sikel or Greek or a mixture of the two, and how these locations may have fit into the political structure of the Sikels, and second, evidence for continuity and change within Sikel culture over the course of this period.

In this thesis, I will argue that, while the Sikel territory, culture and political organization changed in extent and character through the Archaic period and into the early Classical, the Sikel territory in some form remained a discrete political entity from its Greek neighbours. By examining how both traditional Sikel practices among the pre-Ducetius elite and Greek influence in Ducetius' συντέλεια shaped political organization in the latter half of the fifth century, I will contend that the political organization among the Sikels from the death of Ducetius in 440 to the rise of the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse was a melding of both previous Sikel practice and the Greek influence introduced by Ducetius. Continuity and change in Sikel culture both, therefore, suggest autonomy and

[1] "Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος," Diod. 11.88.6.
[2] Diod. Sic. 11.88.6.

agency among the Sikel political body, as the Sikels were able to select which Greek practices they wished to incorporate.

The present work is divided into three chapters that will cover the evidence for the Sikels to the end of the fifth century. The first two chapters will focus on examining both the archaeological and historical evidence for continuity and change among the Sikels during the Archaic and early Classical periods until the death of Ducetius in 440. The first chapter will introduce the archaeological evidence for the Sikels, in order to both create a framework for identifying Sikel continuity at sites in central Sicily, and to highlight how this evidence lends support to the argument that the Sikels remained autonomous and discrete actors into the fifth century before the rise of Ducetius.

The second chapter will then consider evidence for the character and extent of Ducetius' συντέλεια. The chapter will begin with a summary and analysis of Diodorus Siculus' account of the history of Sicily from the rise of the Deinomenid tyrants to the death of Ducetius. Diodorus draws a clear parallel between the Greek tyrants and Ducetius and since his account places particular focus on Sicilian tyranny and autocracy,[3] it may lead us into over-estimating Ducetius' contribution to the Sikel political structure. For this reason, the latter half of the chapter will focus on the material evidence for the συντέλεια under Ducetius and the extent of the Sikel territory to the mid-fifth century.

The final chapter of this thesis will then consider Sikel political organization following the death of Ducetius in 440. By examining the historical, archaeological, and epigraphic sources for the Sikels in the latter half of the fifth century, this chapter will

[3] Jackman 2006, 37.

endeavour to highlight how the Sikels neither wholly took up nor rejected Ducetius' model of Sikel unity. Instead, we can see a melding of both the old and the new, especially in the figures of the two Archonides.

## *I.2 Methodology*

### I.2.1 Postcolonial Theory

Two important approaches will help inform this thesis: postcolonial theory and cross-cultural approaches to interpreting archaeological evidence. In recent decades, there have been several important scholarly works pertaining to the Sikel people.[4] These works enter into a long and ongoing conversation that considers not only Greek colonization, but also how the topic of Greek colonization has been approached. The early scholarship on the topic focused on colonization from the Greek perspective, often ignoring or devaluing the perspectives of the local peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact.

In 1948, T.J. Dunbabin published his seminal work, *The Western Greeks*, which was one of the first major comprehensive and interdisciplinary examinations of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy in English.[5] Dunbabin's portrayal of the Sikels was of a primitive group, which was quickly subjugated by the Greeks.[6] According to Dunbabin, "the Sikels were, in the Greek view, a poor, hard-working race of serfs and labourers."[7] John Boardman, Dunbabin's successor at Oxford, took up a similar stance, writing in his book, *The Greeks*

[4] See, for example Albanese Procelli 1996 and 2003, Hall 2002, De Angelis 2003, Antonaccio 2004, Hodos 2006.
[5] Dunbabin 1968; cf. Hodos 2006, 10-1.
[6] Dunbabin 1968, 42-3, 171-93; cf. De Angelis 1998, 542-5, and Hodos 2006, 10-1.
[7] Dunbabin 1968, 192.

*Overseas*, that "in most places the Greeks and the Sicels got on well enough, even if only in the relationship of slave and master."[8]

The evidence for these assertions relies on the authors' shared conclusion that the Sikels were fully Hellenized by the fifth century, and Sikel culture abandoned.[9] The influence of the Greek aesthetic and the adoption of goods by the Sikels in central Sicily suggested to Dunbabin and Boardman that Greek culture moved unilaterally from a dominant group (the Greeks) to a lesser group (the Sikels). Therefore, in the context of the west, the Greeks were taken to be active bringers of culture and the locals to be passive recipients.

As will be argued throughout this thesis, these conclusions are supported neither by the archaeological nor the historical evidence. The overtones of British colonialism in this outlook have been noted.[10] Regarding the influence of British imperialism on the study of Greek culture, De Angelis has this to say:

> An example of this, relevant here, was the translation into classical Greek scholarship of the superiority encouraged by Empire, which, in turn, was no doubt influenced by the cultural supremacist attitudes of the ancient Greeks themselves. This superiority was mediated through the Victorian fascination and self-identification with the ancient Greeks; the combination of these two ingredients produced an imperialist superiority complex in which things Hellenic (mirroring things British) were unhesitatingly regarded as inherently supreme…[11]

As the British wished themselves to be culturally superior to the native populations they had subjugated in their imperialist endeavours, so too they believed their Greeks to be

[8] Boardman 1973, 188.
[9] Dunbabin 1968, 173, 191; Boardman 187-8.
[10] Esp. De Angelis 1998; see also Hodos 2006, 10-1.
[11] De Angelis 1998, 541.

dominant over the populations with whom they came into contact.

The adoption of Greek goods by the Sikels in the Archaic period was, indeed, extensive. It is neither my, nor, I think, anyone's contention that the Greeks did not have a profound effect on the Sikels.[12] However, the problem with the views expressed by Dunbabin and Boardman is that they take away agency on the part of the local populations in the process of acculturation.[13] I believe that Jonathan Hall frames the problem with this view best:

> [While] we are content to say that the cultural traditions of Sicily or South Italy were profoundly Hellenized, we do not claim that Greek culture was 'orientaliz*ed*'. The term used instead is 'orientaliz*ing*' which emphasized the active nature of Greek initiative… But, with the exception of some earlier twentieth-century Italian scholars such as Emanuele Ciaceri (1927-32) and Biagio Pace (1935) who wanted to promote the indigenous cultures of South Italy and Sicily as the original front of Italian national unity, the argument has not generally been extended to the case of the colonized.[14]

In this way, these early approaches to colonization and acculturation did not allow the Sikels to be Hellenizing in the same ways that we have allowed the Greeks to be Orientalizing.

The authors writing in response to Dunbabin and Boardman, have taken a more nuanced approach to the processes of acculturation and interaction between the Greeks and Sikels, focusing on the evidence for hybridity and the continuity of Sikel culture.[15] Sikel agency in the process of acculturation can be traced through the selective adoption of Greek goods and continuity of Sikel practices. By taking this approach to understanding the

[12] Hodos 2006, 12.
[13] Hodos 2006, 11.
[14] Hall 2002, 107.
[15] Hall 2002, 108.

persistence of Sikel culture on the island, we are able to establish criteria for understanding the cultural makeup of the Sicilian interior. These criteria will be outlined in the first chapter, and used in determining the borders of Sikel territory in the second.

I.2.2 Creating Frameworks for Non-Literate Cultures: Cross-Cultural Approaches

Because there are no major extant texts from the Sikels that can illuminate their socio-political system, reconstructing the political organization of the Sikels is a difficult task. Vincenzo La Rosa outlines the problem of this poignantly, if perhaps too pessimistically:

> In the stratified and polycentric labyrinth of the island's history, the Sicans, Sikels, and Elymi are little more than names. The record of these populations, which were without any literary tradition, is entrusted entirely to material culture, and hence all other information is left to the Greek historians and commentators to provide. Such information is given as episodic, by-the-way comments that are never really prompted by an interest in the populations in question, and have capriciously survived the disappearance of so many works of the authors of antiquity.[16]

In this section, I will briefly touch on how scholars in the fields of archaeology, anthropology and Classics have created frameworks for understanding other protohistoric and non-literate cultures in antiquity. By drawing upon these cross-cultural comparisons, I hope to highlight parallels to Sikel social structure, and therefore propose possible frameworks for understanding Sikel political organization.[17]

There is no shortage of anthropological and archaeological work endeavouring to understand political organization and its relationship to material culture. Several materially

[16] La Rosa 1996, 523.
[17] See also Hall 1996 for a discussion on the need for interdisciplinary practices in research on protohistoric groups.

identifiable factors have been identified as characteristic of growth in the scale and complexity of societies; these factors include (but are not limited to) social stratification, craft specialization, long-distance trade and increased settlement size. For example, such developments can be seen during the Etruscan Villanovan period (1100-700 BCE). In the Villanovan period, there was an influx of imported goods in the Etruscan region, which came both by land and sea; at the same time the populations in the urban centres grew for the first time, propelling craft specialization in the area of metallurgy, as indicated by the large number of metallic finds in tombs and hoards.[18] In addition to this, great social stratification is evident in the disparity in grave goods between tombs, together with a marked shift from individual cremation to multiple inhumations in chamber tombs.[19] It has been proposed that these multiple inhumations represent nuclear families, suggesting, perhaps, that the Etruscans wished to highlight their kinship ties in their burial practices.[20] The emphasis on individual families over the wider group highlights the consolidation of an aristocracy at these sites.[21]

Similar developments can also be discerned among the Celts in the West Hallstatt zone during the Hallstatt D period (650-400 BCE). In this period, production of ceramics and metalware intensified in both quantity and quality in communities known as *Fürstensitze.* At the same time, a narrow class of individuals began to be buried in large tumuli in close proximity to these centres, indicating the presence of a distinct aristocracy

[18] Stoddart 2016, 8-13.
[19] Haynes 2000, 13-6.
[20] Haynes 2000, 14.
[21] Stoddart, 2016, 9; see also Arnold and Gibson 1995, 7-8.

within the Hallstatt communities. Thus, Arnold and Gibson propose that these *Fürstensitze* were seats of power that operated as small polities controlled either local kings or aristocrats.[22]

In these two cultures, therefore, it is possible to see developments in the social organization through the material culture. Increases in the settlement size and local craft production are indicative of urbanization and specialization, and social stratification is demonstrated by increased wealth disparity between tombs. More than this, however, is that political organization can also be postulated through the interpretation of this evidence.

[22] Arnold and Gibson 1995, 5-9.

## II. Sikel Social and Political Organization Before the Rise of Ducetius

### *II.1 Introduction*

During the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, there is evidence for social stratification, economic specialization and civic administration throughout Sicily, suggesting social complexity in prehistoric Sicilian cultures, as well as socio-political stratification.[23] Larger centres, such as Pantalica or Polizzello, may have acted as seats of power that controlled or had influence over communities in the surrounding areas.[24] It has been noted, however, that evidence for social stratification in Sikel sites becomes less apparent in the late Iron Age and Early Archaic period.[25] This had led some scholars to doubt the complexity of the Sikel society in this period.[26] Yet, looking forward to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, evidence for social stratification and civic administration once again appears in several prominent Sikel sites.[27]

This chapter will argue that, in the Archaic period, the Sikels showed a level of social complexity and organization similar to that recognized in comparable societies and already identifiable in Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Sicily. Social complexity is considered to be key in the "crystallization" of culture, and therefore important in order to understand Sikel social and political organization.[28] This chapter will, therefore, discuss the archaeological evidence for the Sikels, specifically looking at evidence for social

[23] For chiefdoms, see De Angelis 2003, 25; Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo (2009, 55) propose a transegalitarian model.
[24] De Angelis 2003, 25; Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2009, 56.
[25] Lyons 1996a and 1996b; Franca 1996, 142-3; Leighton 2015, 201-2.
[26] Leighton 2015, 201-2.
[27] Thuc. 6.4.
[28] McConnell 1992, 23.

stratification, such as burial practices and grave goods, as well as for civic administration and political organization as evident in the use of communal space and dining practices.

*II.2 Burials: Tomb Types and Grave Goods*

Like the Etruscans and the Celts, multi-interment chamber tombs rich with grave goods can be found at Sikel sites extending from the Bronze Age into the Archaic period. In the Middle Bronze Age (1425-1250 BCE), the Thapsos culture arose in central and southern Sicily, named for the most important settlement in the region, Thapsos, located on a promontory in the Gulf of Augusta on Sicily's eastern coast.[29] The site was large (30 ha), with the upper part of the settlement reserved for residential areas and the lower for the necropolis.[30] Connections with mainland Greece are evident from the presence of Mycenaean material at the site.[31] Other features of Thapsos culture include round domestic structures and chamber tombs, which are have been identified in Syracuse, Naxos, Cannatolle and Sabucina.[32] At Thapsos, 300 chamber tombs have been located and inhumation seems to have been the burial practice of choice.[33] In addition, multiple interment was standard practice within the tombs,[34] perhaps for similar reasons as the Etruscans above. Fine grave goods, including glass beads, gold jewelry and bronze weapons have also been found at the site, though there has been thorough looting, making

[29] Leighton 1999, 147-8.
[30] Leighton 1999, 150.
[31] Leighton 1999, 152, 170-80.
[32] Leighton 1999, 150-4.
[33] A full examination on burial practices in Thapsos culture can be found in Leighton 1999, 162-70.
[34] Leighton 1999, 163-4, 167.

an analysis of the distribution of grave goods difficult.[35]

Contemporary to Thapsos was the inland site of Pantalica, where there is evidence of occupation beginning in the thirteenth century.[36] Following the decline of Thapsos, Pantalica I or Pantalica North culture developed in eastern Sicily, lasting from 1250-1000.[37] Pantalica I culture is characterized by wheel-made reddish ceramics and bow decorations on bronze goods, including mirrors, razors and daggers, which reveal Mycenaean influence. Other sites that are considered a part of the Pantalica I culture include Caltagirone, Paterno, Sabbucina and Leontinoi.[38] Pantalica I was followed by Pantalica II and III. Pantalica II has been traditionally dated from 1000-850, although there is evidence that it could have extended into the eighth century.[39] Pantalica II is differentiated from Pantalica I by changes in style, especially in bronze goods.[40] If Pantalica II ended in 850, Pantalica III would span from this point to 734, the arrival of the first Greeks on the island.[41]

The site of Pantalica is located in eastern Sicily, 22km inland from Syracuse, located on a promontory at the confluence of the Calcinara tributary to the Anapo river. It is a notable site both for its civic structures situated on the top of the promontory (see next section), as well as the thousands of chamber tombs cut into the rocky cliff faces in the surrounding area. The site was occupied from the mid-thirteenth to the eighth century, and the wealth disparity present in the burials suggests social stratification at the site.[42]

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[35] Leighton 1999, 164-7.
[36] Leighton 1999, 150.
[37] Bernabò Brea 1990, 29; cf. De Angelis 2003, 25.
[38] Bernabò Brea 1990, 40-1.
[39] Leighton 1999, 187.
[40] Bernabò Brea 1990, 41.
[41] Leighton 1999, 188.
[42] De Angelis 2003, 25; Albanese Procelli 2003, 57-58; Leighton 2011, 449; Leighton 2015, 190.

Of the nearly 4,000 tombs in the necropolis of Pantalica, the majority date to the Pantalica I-III phases.[43] These tombs range in size and shape, with the most modest being small, one-roomed cells fit for one or two depositions. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this. In the Pantalica I phase there are two significant tombs, one with a total of 14 inhumations and another with 24.[44] In addition to this, there are at least 24 multi-chamber tombs, ranging from 2-11 rooms, with about 8 dated between 1250-850 BCE (Pantalica I and II phases), and the rest of uncertain chronology.[45] One of these tombs, likely dating to the Pantalica II phase, located to the north of the Calcinara, featured a distinctive plan with a large, sheltered porch in the forecourt to the tomb, which would have perhaps been used as an area for funeral rituals, such as feasting (fig. 1).[46] Within the chamber itself, a bench was cut into the rock. This tomb type, while unique in Pantalica, has contemporary parallels at the Sikel sites of Villasmundo and Finocchito.[47] The most elaborate of tombs at Pantalica had 11 rooms which branched off of a central antechamber in two tiers.[48] As above, these elaborate chamber tombs suggest a familial connection between the individuals buried within.[49] Furthermore, these multicellular tombs also have the most complex grave good assemblages.[50] These features, therefore, would suggest social hierarchy among the Sikels in Pantalica because of the disparity in the wealth of

[43] Leighton 2015, 190.
[44] Albanese Procelli 2003, 57.
[45] Leighton 2015, 198, table 2.
[46] Franca 1996,142.
[47] Leighton 2015, 199; fig. 10B, 200.
[48] Leighton 2015, 198.
[49] This could be either the burial of an extended family, or a lineage relating back to a common ancestor; Albanese Procelli 2003, 57.
[50] Albanese Procelli 2003, 57-8.

grave goods and the size and elaboration in the graves.[51]

In addition to Thapsos and Pantalica, similarly elaborate graves are found in other areas of Sicily, both among the Sikels and in neighbouring populations, dating to the LBA and EIA. At the site of Polizzello in central Sicily, for example, similar chamber tombs are found cut into the rock-face to the north-west and western sides of the settlement.[52] These tomb types stand in contrast to burials found in natural ravines at the site, as well as in the nearby site of Valle Oscura di Marianopoli.[53] At Polizello, the chamber tombs are characterized by large grave good deposits, that included both bronze objects and ceramic vessels, and even eight Egyptianizing scarabs brought to the site via Greek channels.[54] The interments found in the natural ravines, on the other hand, seem to be more modest, with a smaller amount and lesser quality of grave goods, which, as Albanese Procelli points out, suggest a difference in social standing between the occupants in these graves from those found in the chamber tombs.[55] In addition, the most elaborate tombs also included prestige items that accompanied the deceased in the form of personal adornment, such as jewelry, as well as dining ware, which may suggest banqueting as a part of funeral rites.[56]

As the Iron Age progressed, however, multi-chamber tombs began to disappear, and one-chamber tombs with 3-4 interments, presumably for nuclear families, became the norm in both Pantalica and throughout the Sikel territory.[57] One place where this

[51] Leighton disagrees with the conclusion that these more complex tombs would suggest social stratification.
[52] Palermo 1981, 114.
[53] Albanese Procelli 2003, 171-2.
[54] Palermo 1981, 114-20, 142.
[55] Albanese Procelli 2003, 171-2.
[56] Franca 1996, 141-2.
[57] Albanese Procelli 2003, 58.

phenomenon is observed is at the site of Finnochito. This site, located in eastern Sicily not far from Pantalica, features similar chamber tombs to Pantalica and Polizzello, and saw an increase in grave-good quality during the Late Iron Age.[58] However, while the grave good quality increased in general, there is little evidence for social stratification between the tombs at the site in the later Iron Age (Finocchito period — c. 734-650).[59]

Furthermore, at the site of Morgantina, single chamber tombs also seem to have been the norm in this period; however, this should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt, since only three tombs have been found intact (Tombs 4, 5, and 6, located in Necropolis IV; fig. 2).[60] All three were elliptical in shape and between 1.41m-1.70m wide and 0.85-1.19m in height. Tomb 4 included only one deposition, unusual in this period, as well as several ceramic vessels, small metallic items and beads. The remains of four individuals were found in Tomb 5: the complete skeletons of two adults, and the skulls of two children; the only object found in this tomb was a small jug placed at the adults' feet. Tomb 6 was the largest of the three tombs and featured three strata, the second and third including depositions. The first interment consisted of two adults, along with a cattle horn and a small bowl placed on a large, flat pot sherd. The second included four individuals, all adults. This stratum was also the richest in grave goods, with eight ceramic vessels, and several pieces of jewelry, including bronze rings, a chain, two iron serpentine fibulae and pins.[61]

In this way, it appears that there was a cultural shift from the large, multi-chamber

[58] Albanese Procelli 2003, 61-2; Franca 1996, 143.
[59] Franca 1996, 142-3; Leighton 1998, 188.
[60] Lyons 1996a, 177.
[61] For a full discussion on the tombs and relevant finds, see Leighton 1993, 97-110.

and rich tombs of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages to the smaller and less socially-stratified tombs at Morgantina and Finnochitto in the later Iron Age. However, the use of chamber tombs persists from the MBA (Thapsos culture) through to the later periods, demonstrating continuity in Sikel culture. Furthermore, as will be discussed below, during Archaic period, there is a resurgence in the display of social hierarchy in the necropoleis of several sites, as highlighted by the large, rich chamber tombs in Morgantina, Grotte Di Caratabia and Montagna di Marzo.

67 tombs have been found in Morgantina that date to the Archaic period. Of these 67 tombs, 71% are the single-chamber tomb types discussed above. However, there was development in the structure and shape of the tombs over time, transitioning from small ovoid cells to rectilinear rooms with architectural elements cut from the rock.[62] These elaborations in the architecture of the tombs, including *klinai*, pitched ceilings and façades,[63] a reflection of the Greek aesthetic, seemed to have been reserved for those of a higher class.[64]

As in the earlier periods, multi-interments remained the standard, and single depositions were rare and restricted to a few cremations placed in locally-produced *hydriai*. Due to the general poverty of grave goods for these depositions, Lyons suggests that "the practice appears to have been adopted primarily for individuals of lower status or for children who had not yet achieved full status in the community."[65] On the other hand, there

[62] Lyons 1996a, 179; Albanese Procelli 2003, 166-7.
[63] Albanese Procelli 2003, 166-7.
[64] Lyons 1996a, 179.
[65] Lyons 1996a, 181.

are also instances of quite rich burials in the period, with one chamber tomb housing up to thirty-six burials.[66]

Tombs 4 and 9 of Necropolis II at Morgantina both feature multiple interments with a wealth of grave goods. In these tombs, both male and female individuals received a variety of vessels. Broadly, women received shapes that would have been appropriate vessels for perfume and cosmetics (eg. *aryballoi* and *pyxides*) and men received *symposion* assemblages. However, this was not always the case, and there was also overlap in shapes, with both men and women receiving *exaleiptra*, as well as cups and bowls, and in Tomb 9, a woman (Burial 3) received *symposion* vessels. In addition, individuals buried in Tombs 4, 9 and 28 were adorned with a number of prestige items, including bronze and silver jewelry and clothing embellishments. Children buried in these tombs received similar goods.[67] In the contrast between these rich tombs and those of the cremations, we can see a similar form of social stratification to the earlier examples in Pantalica and elsewhere in the Bronze and Early Iron Age that was not reflected in the previous period.

In addition, there are also instances of upper-class tombs elsewhere in the Sikel region. Grotto di Caratabia is located near the Sikel sanctuary of Palikè (discussed below), and Menae, the hometown of Ducetius. The two tombs at Grotte di Caratabia were not natural features in the landscape, but rather rock cut chambers similar those at the sites previously discussed. The tombs are carefully rectilinear, with pitched roofs and a portal cut into the ceiling of the western chamber to allow light into the room. However, what is

[66] Lyons 1996a, 181.
[67] Lyons 1996a, 181-2. Full discussions on Archaic necropoleis of Morgantina can be found in Lyons 1996a & Lyons 1996b.

most significant about the tombs is the incised decoration on the walls. Although the preservation of the tombs is poor, the areas where the finishing of the walls and their incised decoration can still be seen provide a glimpse into the great workmanship needed to construct these tombs.[68] The illustrations include animals, such as horses (both mounted and riderless), dogs, and deer, as well as humans in military gear, and circles and other decorations in a lower register below the figures (fig. 3).[69] The size and construction of the tombs, as well as the motifs of horses and warriors in the scenes suggests that the tombs belonged to local Sikel elite.[70] The style of these images is comparable to geometric figures and designs on both Greek and Sikel pottery dating to the sixth century, which has led Brian McConnell to give these tombs a contemporary date.[71]

The necropolis at the site of Montagna di Marzo is also worth noting due to the rich grave goods found in the sixth and fifth century tombs. The site is located about 15km west of Morgantina, and can possibly be identified with the Sikel town of Herbessos.[72] The necropolis at Montagna di Marzo features several chamber tombs with similar Greek influence and grave good deposits as rich as the tombs in Morgantina discussed above. Some of the tombs included as many at 60-70 ceramic vessels. One tomb in particular, Tomb Est 31 (fig. 4), which dates to the early fifth century, included the full panoply of two warriors, as well as a large amount other goods, such as of Attic vases and bronze vessels. This evidence led Fischer-Hansen to conclude that the tombs at Montagna di

[68] McConnell 2015, 14.
[69] McConnell 2009, 105-7.
[70] McConnell 2009, 105-7.
[71] McConnell 2015, 47-54.
[72] Diod. 7.14.78; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 165.

Marzo "are seen as an example of an elite group within a native community responsible for the transmission of a style of life based upon the Greek models."[73]

However, while Greek goods seem to have been prestige items for the Sikel elite, it has been shown here that Greek culture did not penetrate all facets of Sikel burial. Greek tomb types, including *fossa*, *a cappucina* graves, and *enchytrismos* burials appear in Sikel sites only in the sixth century and in locations where there is other evidence of Greek occupation at the site, such as Greek sanctuaries or domestic structures.[74] On the other hand, chamber tombs were a part of traditional Sikel burials dating back to the Bronze Age, and while their form changes, and was even influenced by Greek architectural style, their basic function can be traced continuously from the fourteenth century to the fifth.

*II.3 Civic Architecture and Communal Dining*

Another category of evidence that must be examined when considering the political and social organization of the Sikels is that of civic architecture and communal dining. This is because communal and political spaces are indicative of complex social organization. As above in the section on Sikel funerary practices, the evidence will be considered diachronically, beginning with LBA and EIA precedence for Sikel political organization, and follow the evidence to the Archaic and early Classical period to consider parallels in the archaeological record. Evidence for civic architecture and communal space in Sikel sites extends from the Bronze Age, with the circular hut in Mucalufa, to the later Archaic

[73] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 165-6; see also, Albanese Procelli 2003, 240-1.
[74] See discussion on Sikel, mixed and Greek sites below.

period with structures in Grammichele and Monte Judica, ending with the *hestiatorian* at Palikè, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The earliest site that will be considered in this section is that of La Muculufa, which lies on the Salso River in south-eastern Sicily, about 14km inland from the modern city of Licata. The site was excavated in the 1980s and 90s by the Licata Archaeological Association and Brown University.[75] La Muculufa dates to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, or Castelluccian culture, which preceded the Thapsos culture. It is considered an important site during this period, due to the settlement's complexity and the extensive finds.[76] At this site, a circular hut (Hut 2, fig. 5 and 6) was excavated on the upper terrace of the site. This hut has several contemporary parallels in Sicily, including in Madre Chiesa, Monte Castellazzo, Thapsos and on the Aeolian Islands, and McConnell suggests that these parallels indicate a solidification of Sikel culture in this period.[77] At the same time, a shift towards greater social stratification, inter-community economic reliance, and overseas trade may had great effects on the settlements of the Castelluccian culture, resulting in an increase in the size and types of settlements.[78] As for Hut 2, the layout of the structure and finds within suggest a purpose other than domestic. The hut was constructed with bench running continuously along the interior wall, and contained the remnants of nearly 100 separate vessels, most of which were the same shape; this has led the excavators to postulate that the hut was perhaps used as a warehouse for a potter, or for a religious or

[75] For site reports and discussion see Holloway, Joukowsky and Lukesh 1990, McConnell 1992, and 1995.
[76] McConnell 1995, 9.
[77] McConnell 1992, 37-44, &1995, 27.
[78] McConnell 1995, 29.

civic function,[79] such as communal dining.

A structure thought to have been of similar function was also found in Pantalica dating to the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age. Contemporary to Orsi's study of the necropoleis of Pantalica, he also excavated the foundations of a large building just off the summit of the hill on which the site was located (fig. 7). This building was dubbed the *anaktoron*, or palace, of Pantalica, originally thought to be the home of a local ruler. The structure measures 37.5m by 14.2m and was constructed in Cyclopean masonry, with 7 rooms and a corridor, as well as a forecourt to the western side.[80] There were also three walls located to the south on the slopes of the hill, which Leighton suggests would have made the area appear as a "fortified acropolis."[81] This structure was originally thought to have been constructed during the Late Bronze Age (Pantalica I), due to the MBA and LBA ceramics found within the structure and Orsi postulated that it may have been a sort of Bronze Age palace. Although both the dating and the function as conjectured by Orsi have come under scrutiny,[82] the structure is nonetheless impressive. In addition, signs of metalworking in Room A and cooking may suggest some sort of administrative, economic or communal function, similar to Hut 2 at La Muculufa.[83] The population of Pantalica is estimated to have been between 1,000-2,000 people, covering an area of up to 80 ha.[84] Due to the size of the community and this so-called *anaktoron*, scholars have postulated that the

[79] McConnell, 1992, 43, 1995, 30 & 37-66.
[80] For a full report on the structure, see Bernabò Brea 1990, 67-83; De Angelis 2003, 25.
[81] Leighton 1999, 155.
[82] The date is considered problematic because the stratigraphy is unclear, and its identification as a palace since there is no definitive evidence for royalty in this period. Leighton 1999, 155-7.
[83] Albanese Procelli 2003, 43.
[84] De Angelis 2003, 25.

community of Pantalica could have, to quote De Angelis, "acted as the 'central place' controlling a surrounding area with smaller, satellite sites within its domain."[85]

In Polizzello, a structure was constructed on the acropolis known to the excavators as *Edificio Nord* (fig. 8). During the first half of the ninth century, this structure went through two phases. In its first phase, the structure was large and trapezoidal in plan, probably with internal partitions, making at least two separate rooms. A large number of cups and other vessels have been found in the structure dating to the first phase of construction; these finds do not yield shapes that would have been used for drawing or pouring liquid, making the assemblage inappropriate for a domestic context; however, a large portion of the wares found would have been used for presenting and cooking food. Therefore, the excavators have proposed that this structure was used to facilitate the preparation of food for communal dining, which could have also taken place in the structure.[86] Later in the ninth century, two small huts were constructed on the acropolis, which, due to their size and location, were probably storage room rather than dwellings.[87] A century later, the *Edificio Nord* was destroyed and a new structure was built on the acropolis (Est 23), which was constructed within a surrounding enclosure. The size and presence of the enclosure seem to suggest that this building, like *Edificio Nord* was of some importance to the acropolis and not meant as a residence. In addition, the building also showed signs of food preparation and consumption, suggesting perhaps that it had the same

[85] De Angelis 2003, 25.
[86] Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2008, 50-52.
[87] Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2008, 52.

purpose as the older building.[88] The excavators of the site proposed that the presence of these structures and their apparent function on the acropolis of Polizzello suggest that in the tenth and ninth centuries, a heterarchy in central Sicily developed, characterized "come rete di individui, che condividono scopi comuni, all'interno della quale ognuno ha la medesima posizione 'orizzontale' di potere e di autorità e la stessa capacità decisionale, sia indipendente che parte di un sistema gerarchico."[89] Thus it is possible that we see here the development of a political organization similar to that of the Etruscans, as discussed above. In this network of chiefs or leaders, Polizzello, as a major centre in the area, would have perhaps acted at a headquarters, where banqueting would have taken place on the acropolis as a means to creating cohesive bonds between the different leadership factions.

During the Archaic period, there is continued evidence for such structures in the Sikel territory. Grammichele, for example, underwent development in the latter half of the sixth century which featured a mix of Greek and Sikel architectural practices that carved out an area of the site for communal use, including warehouses and spaces for the preparation of meals.[90] A similar structure is found at the site of Monte Iudica, where a late Archaic structure was excavated in which over 60 vessels were found, both tableware and storage containers, most of which were locally produced. This number of vessels is considered too great to be utilized for private consumption alone, and therefore Albanaese Procelli and Fischer-Hansen have agreed that we may again see here a communal workshop

[88] Albanese Procelli 2003, 153; Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2008, 53-4.
[89] Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2008, 55.
[90] Patanè 2006b, 126-7.

or storage space.[91] It is significant that in both instances, we find the presence of implements for communal dining, which suggests perhaps that the purpose of these structures was similar to that of Polizzello.

The importance of communal dining is also highlighted in the prominence of both locally-produced and Greek imported dining ware in the grave goods of the wealthy Sikel elite.[92] In as early as the ninth century, Sikel trefoil *oinoichoi*, and Greek *skyphoi* and *kotylai* are found at many inland sites, including Finocchito, Thapsos, Modica and Morgantina.[93] The inclusion of these wares in grave goods extends into the sixth and fifth centuries; at Morgantina, for example, vessels associated with wine or food consumption make up nearly all the imported Greek ceramics present in the necropolis.[94] In addition, outside of Morgantina, while *oiniochoi* and *skyphoi* were readily taken up by the Sikels, *arybolloi* are notably absent from most Sikel assemblages, suggesting that the local imports found among Sikel grave goods were curated, selected because they would have a place in Sikel culture.[95] Furthermore, while Greek ceramics feature prominently in such assemblages, locally-produced vessels continued to be used as grave goods as well, often found alongside the Greek wares. These local wares are distinctive, with a geometric motif, and are found at several Sikel sites, including Licodia Eubea, Grammichele and Ragusa, and never at Greek sites.[96]

The last example of Sikel civic space and communal dining, the religious site of

[91] Albanese Procelli 1996, 170; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172-3.
[92] Hodos 2000, 45-8.
[93] Hodos 2000, 45, 50.
[94] Lyons 1996a, 31; Patanè 2006c, 131.
[95] Hodos 2000, 50.
[96] Patanè, 2006c, 131.

Palikè, will be discussed in the following section in the context of Ducetius' development of it. However, I hope that we can see that in several Sikel sites in eastern Sicily, there is ample archaeological evidence for spaces used for civic administration or communal dining. If this is the case, these buildings suggest political organization within the community and possibly, as some scholars have put forward, a power centre which could have controlled the smaller communities within its vicinity.

*II.4 Conclusions*

Continuity is apparent in Sikel culture both diachronically and geographically. Features of Sikel culture, including burial type, civic architecture, and communal dining are present in the archaeological record spanning from the Bronze Age to the end of the Archaic period. In addition, this evidence highlights some important facets of Sikel political organization. Wealth disparity in tombs can show the emergence of an aristocratic elite, and the development of important centres, communal architecture and dining highlight the solidification of civic administration and control over surrounding territories.

On the other hand, the adoption of Greek goods seems to have been especially prevalent among the Sikel elite, who deposited imported Greek ceramics and other wares in their tombs as grave goods. As the Greek colonies were established on the island, the ability to interact with the Greeks would have been important to the Sikels in order to maintain their territory and autonomy. As will be highlighted below, Sikel leaders, such as Ducetius, Archonides and Demon, were able to navigate these social complexities remarkably well.

## III. The Sikel 'Συντέλεια' under Ducetius (466-440 BCE)

### *III.1 Introduction*

At the end of the sixth century, tyranny arose in several of the Greek cities in Sicily, but by the middle of the century, autocratic rule had been abolished nearly everywhere, at least for a time. Ducetius gained prominence in the years immediately following the exile of the last of the Deinomenids in Syracuse, and, over the course of 26 years, he was a major actor in Sicilian history. This chapter will examine the nature of Ducetius' role as the "leader of the Sikels"[97] drawing on both the historical and archaeological record.

Since it was out of the context of Greek tyranny that Ducetius arose, this chapter will begin by outlining the rule of the Greek tyrants in Sicily, followed by Diodorus' account of Ducetius' leadership, in order to highlight important parallels and differences between the Greek tyrants and the Sikel leader. In the following sections, the archaeological evidence will be examined to further consider the nature of the Sikel territory and political organization while Ducetius was at his height.

### *III.2 Sicily in 5th Century: the Historical Sources*

#### III.2.1 Sicily under the Greek Tyrants

Nearing the end of the sixth century, Sicily saw the rise of tyrants in several cities on the eastern side of the island.[98] This trend began in the city of Gela, with the tyranny of Cleander c. 505. Cleander was murdered by a fellow countryman after ruling for seven

[97] "Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος," Diod. 11.88.6.
[98] For the events that took place from the end of the sixth century to the mid-fifth pertaining to this subject, see Woodhead 1962, 72-6; Holloway 2000, 97-120; De Angelis 2016, 101-10.

years, and his brother Hippocrates took up the tyranny.[99] Hippocrates ruled from c. 498-491, and in that time, undertook a campaign of Geloan territorial expansion eastward, besieging Kallipolis, Naxos, Zankle, Leontinoi and Syracuse, as well as much of the Sikel inland territory. He succeeded in taking all but Syracuse, which only avoided enslavement with the aid of the Corinthians and Corcyrans, who negotiated with Hippocrates that the Syracusans would give up Kamarina in exchange for their freedom.[100] Hippocrates then refounded Kamarina as his own.[101]

During further campaigns against the Sikels, the tyrant died in 491, and Gelon, Hippocrates' former bodyguard and cavalry commander became tyrant after quelling an uprising in Gela and disposing of Hippocrates' two sons. Gelon continued with Hippocrates' policy of expansion and took Syracuse. Gelon moved to Syracuse in 485, leaving his brother Hieron to govern Gela. At this time, he also moved half the population of Gela to Syracuse, as well as the people Hippocrates had settled in Kamarina, which he then razed.[102] He went on to besiege Megara Hyblaea, and brought the aristocrats of the city to Syracuse as well. To the Geloans, Kamarinians and Megarians whom he resettled in Syracuse, he gave citizenship, although the rest of the Megarian people he sold into slavery.

While Gelon was establishing himself in Syracuse, a man by the name of Theron rose to power as the tyrant of Akragas, and between these two tyrants, the *poleis* of

[99] For narrative of the reigns of Hippocrates and Gelon, see Hdt. 7.154-167
[100] Htd. 7.154.2-3.
[101] Thuc. 6.5.
[102] Holloway 2000, 97; De Angelis 2016, 102.

Syracuse and Akragas controlled most of eastern Sicily.[103] According to Diodorus Siculus, these two tyrants united against the Carthaginians, who, possibly allied with the Persians,[104] marched against the Sicilian Greeks.[105] The Carthaginians struck first at Himera, where Theron and his troops were stationed. At the approach of the Carthaginians, Theron sent word to Gelon, who soon joined with reinforcements.[106] The Syracuse-Akragas alliance was able to quash the Carthaginian campaign at the Battle of Himera in 480.[107] De Angelis argues that this resulted in the "first delineation of political spheres between Greek and Carthaginian down roughly the middle of Sicily."[108]

Herodotus goes on to relate a supposed conversation between mainland envoys from Athens and Sparta that were sent to ask for aid from the tyrant against the Persian army. Gelon in this episode declares that he would indeed help the mainland by sending "200 triremes, 20,000 hoplites, 2,000 cavalry, 2,000 archers, 2,000 slingers and 2,000 light armed troops"[109] if he were allowed to be the commander of the Greeks. The envoy, refusing this stipulation, left Sicily empty-handed, and Gelon subsequently decided to send a bribe to Xerxes in the case that the Persians were victorious.[110] While the veracity of the anecdote should be doubted,[111] this narrative does possibly point to a perceived disparity

[103] De Angelis 2016, 102; excepting Zancle, which was taken by Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium in 488/7 BCE and renamed Messana; Diod. Sic. 11.48.1-2; De Angelis 2016, 105.
[104] Diod. Sic. references this alliance in the context of the Persian war, although some scholars have doubted it, suggesting instead that the rise of Greeks on the western side of the island was the cause of the tension; see Green 2006, 74 n. 83; De Angelis 2016, 102.
[105] Diod. Sic. 11.20.
[106] Diod. Sic. 11.20.5.
[107] For a description of the event, see Diod. Sic. 11.21-23.
[108] De Angelis 2016, 102.
[109] … ἕτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὁπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἱπποδρόμους ψιλούς… Hdt. 7.158.4
[110] Hdt. 7.157-163.
[111] Especially the numbers of troops he could provide; De Angelis 2016, 103-4.

between the Greeks of the mainland and those dwelling on Sicily, as well as to the wealth the Sicilian tyrants were reputed to have.[112]

Two years later, in 478, Gelon died, and, despite the fact that he was tyrant of a city where a large portion of the population comprised conquered peoples, the tyranny continued under his brother Hieron, who moved then to Syracuse, leaving Gela to another younger brother, Polyzalus.[113] The smooth transition was, according to Diodorus Siculus, indicative of the great peace and prosperity that Gelon brought to the territory over which he ruled.[114]

Both Akragas and Syracuse underwent large-scale building works under these tyrants.[115] Gelon in Syracuse undertook the construction of a new port on Ortygia as well as the Temple of Athena.[116] Diodorus Siculus also relates that significant sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore were constructed under Gelon, paid for by the spoils from the war against Carthage,[117] and the building works in Akragas included great temples, infrastructure and a great public lake used first as a swimming pool, and later as a fish pond.[118] We are less aware of building projects undertaken in Syracuse on the part of Hieron, Gelon's successor; however, he did continue with Gelon's practice of resettling populations, when he removed the populations of Katana and Naxos to Leontinoi. Hieron

[112] This perception of wealth is likely not far off the mark; regional control over the vast amounts of territory which the tyrants amassed would have created great cash flow.
[113] Diod. Sic. 11.38; cf. Holloway 2000, 97.
[114] Diod. Sic. 11.38.1.
[115] For a summary of Classical architecture under the tyrants see Holloway 2000, 112-120
[116] Holloway 2000, 112; De Angelis 2016, 103.
[117] Diod. Sic. 11.26.7.
[118] Likely the Temple of Olympian Zeus, as well as the temples of Demeter and Athena; Diod. Sic. 11.25.3-4; see also Green 2006, 80 n. 102.

then went on to refound Katana, giving it the new name of Aitna, and undertook a reorganization of the city's layout. In this city, he settled a new population composed of Syracusans and Peloponnesians loyal to him.[119]

The reign of Hieron also saw new hostilities arise between Syracuse and Akragas. In 477/6,[120] tensions arose between Hieron and his younger brother Polyzalus, the ruler of Gela, when Hieron believed that his brother was preferred by the Syracusans and had great political ambitions.[121] This belief was, as Green points out, possibly not unfounded, since Polyzalus had married Gelon's widow, Damarete, the daughter of Theron, and given his own daughter with a previous wife in marriage to Theron, creating a strong bond between the two tyrants.[122] When Polyzalus, perceiving his brother's ill-will, fled to Akragas for the protection of Theron, Hieron prepared to go to war against Akragas, Syracuse's former ally.[123] Diodorus tells us that not long after, Thrasydaios, the son of Theron and the ruler of Himera, incited the people of Himera into rebellion, resulting in the sacking of the city by his father.[124] Thus, we begin to see the peace and prosperity suggested under the rule of Gelon begin to disintegrate, replace by turmoil within and between the two dynasties.

In fact, within a few years of these events, Sicily would see the breakdown of the two powers.[125] In 472 Theron died and Thrasydaios took control of Akragas, only to be defeated by Hieron and driven out of Sicily within a few months.[126] The Akragantines,

[119] Diod. Sic. 11.49.1-2; De Angelis 2016, 106.
[120] Green 2006, 256.
[121] Diod. Sic. 11.48.3-4.
[122] Green 2006, 108 n. 185.
[123] Diod. Sic. 11.48.5.
[124] Diod. Sic. 11.48.6-7.
[125] Holloway 2000, 98.
[126] He would be executed in Megara the following year; Diod. Sic. 11.53.

after several years of oligarchy under "the Thousand," were able to restore democracy in 467/6 and advance a peace treaty with Hieron.[127] Hieron himself, however, died that same year,[128] and was replaced by his brother Thrasyboulos.[129] Thrasyboulos seems to not have been as popular as any of his predecessors, and soon the Syracusans rose against him. The Syrcausans then called upon several Greek centres, "and the Sicel cities of the interior," for aid.[130] The Syracusans and their allies were able to drive Thrasyboulos from the city to Locri in 466/5 and Syracuse was then free from autocratic rule until Dionysius I's ascension to power at the end of the century.

III.2.2 The Rise and Fall of Ducetius

It is out of the context of these powerful tyrannies in Sicily, and their fall, that Ducetius and his συντέλεια arose. In 461/0, the Syracusans were in conflict with Katana. Following Gelon's reorganization of several cities and populations, tensions were high as exiles wished to take back their home cities, and the previous citizens of Katana were the first to set their sights on the feat.[131] Ducetius too, Diodorus tells us, begrudged the new Katanians, "for robbing the Sikels of their land."[132] As Hippocrates, Gelon and Hieron were waging war against the various Greek *poleis* on the coast, they would have had to cross through traditionally Sikel territory, and Herodotus makes reference to this as early as the

[127] Diod. Sic. 11.53.5; Green 2006, 113 n. 199.
[128] Green 2006, 259.
[129] Green suggests that Polyzelos fled Sicily in 477/6 following the hostilities with his brother; 2006, 135 n. 256. Aristotle details that the heir then following the death of Hieron was a son of Gelon, from whom Thrasyboulos manipulated the throne, *Pol.* 5.1312b.
[130] …τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ… Diod. Sic. 11.68.1 (trans. Green).
[131] Diod. Sic. 11.76-77, trans. Green (with modifications); De Angelis 2016, 110-1.
[132] Diod. Sic. 11.76.3.

reign of Hippocrates, when the Geloan tyrant and his army conquered "many barbarian communities" on his way to the Greek cities on the eastern coast.[133] It is likely, then, that the Sikels would have despised a community that previously supported the tyrants that had marched against them,[134] and, with these powerful tyrannies gone, and a new government, favourable to the Sikel people in power in Syracuse,[135] the time was right to reclaim their power.[136]

Thus, united by a common enemy, the Sikels and the Syracusans marched against Katana-Aitna. The combined Sikel-Syracusan army was successful in driving the inhabitants of Katana-Aitna from the city and, "thus after many years, the original inhabitants of Katana recovered their native city;"[137] those who had been driven out then went to the Sikel city of Inessa, and refounded it as Aitna.[138] Thucydides when he writes that, during the Athenian's assault on Syracuse in 414, while they still had the upper hand, the Athenians marched "against the Sikel town of Kentoripe, inducing it to capitulate: on their way back they burned the corn of the Inessians and the Hyblaeans."[139] Ducetius would later march on Inessa in 451, killing the Greek leaders and seizing the city.[140] By 426/5, Inessa was known to Thucydides to be a Sikel settlement, but at this point at least, the

[133] Hdt. 7.154.
[134] Jackman claims that the Katana at this time was the last strong hold that supported Polyzelos, 2006, 34-5.
[135] Since the Sikels came to the aid of the Syracusans in the ousting of Thrasyboulos
[136] cf. Green 2006, 147-8 n. 293.
[137] …οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης ὄντες ἐκομίσαντο πολλῷ χρόνῳ τὴν πατρίδα. Diod. Sic. 11.76.3.
[138] Although suggestion have been made, the site of Inessa has not been securely identified (see below).
[139] Thuc. 6.94, (trans, Hammond). Strabo's account supports this, relating that Inessa was "in a hilly district…eighty stadia from [Katana]" and "situated in the interior about over [Katana], and shares most in the devastation caused by the action of the craters [from the volcano]."[139] Later on, Strabo writes that Aetna is near the city of Kentoripe, where the ridge of the mountain's summit begins; Strabo 6.2.3.
[140] Diod. Sic. 11.91.1.

acropolis was occupied by Syracusans.[141] It is important that Hybla, so close to this new Inessa-Aitna and despite being a Sikel settlement, would later decline to join into the Sikel συντέλεια.[142]

Following this, we are next told that in 460/59, Ducetius, in the image of a Greek tyrant, refounded his home city of Menae in the Plain of Catania,[143] "and shared out the territory around it between the settlers."[144] Additionally, in this passage alone, Ducetius is called βασιλεύς, when in all other excerpts, he is referred to as ἀφηγούμενος, or δυνάστης of the Sikel συντέλεια.[145] At this time, Ducetius also "campaigned against the notable city of Morgantina and reduced it, thus winning high renown among his [Sikel] fellow-countrymen."[146] It is not clear the circumstances that led to Ducetius' destruction of Morgantina in the text. However, the archaeological record at Morgantina, as will be discussed more extensively below, indicates that a mixed population resided in the city, and if it had Greek leanings would have been an obstacle to the creation of a unified Sikel territor including sites like Monte Navone and Montagna di Marzo on the other side of Morgantina from the Sikel centre.

Several years pass in Diodorus' narrative before there is another reference to Ducetius. In 453/2, following Ducetius' sacking of Morgantina, he founded the city of

[141] Thuc. 3.103.1
[142] Diod. Sic. 11.88.4.
[143] Diod. Sic. 11.88.6.
[144] … ἰσχύων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, Μέναινον μὲν πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν τοῖς κατοικισθεῖσι διεμέρισε… Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.
[145] "ἀφηγούμενος," Diod. Sic. 11.88.6; "δυνάστης," Diod. Sic. 12.8.1; or simply "Δουκέτιος μὲν ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων," Diod. Sic. 11.91.1; see also, Green 2006, 154 n. 311.
[146] στρατευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντῖναν, καὶ χειρωσάμενος αὐτήν, δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι. Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.

Palikè, atop a hill overlooking the sanctuary to the Palikoi located on the banks of Lake Naftia.[147] As he did in Menae, he parceled out the surrounding land and Diodorus relates that for a time, the city was quite prosperous.[148]

Two years later Ducetius marched on Inessa, as detailed above. Following this, he turned his sites westward, marching his army into central Sicily to besiege the Akragantine *phrourion* of Motyon in central Sicily.[149] Syracuse at this time drops any association that it had with Ducetius, and came to the aid of the Akragantines marching to defend Motyon against the Sikel army.[150] Ducetius was able to defeat both armies and force them from their camps.[151] The Syracusans executed their general, Bolkon, under suspicion that he had been bribed by Ducetius.[152] In the summer of 450, Ducetius was encamped in Nomai,[153] and the Syracusans once against went after their former ally. Diodorus records the conflict in this way:

> γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως μεγάλης, καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πιπτόντων, μόγις Συρακόσιοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον. τῶν δὲ διαφυγόντων οἱ πλείους μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια τῶν Σικελῶν διεσώθησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ μετὰ Δουκετίου τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν προείλοντο.
>
> A major pitched battle took place, with a high death toll on both sides, and the Syracusans barely succeeded in overcoming the Sicels. But then they put them to flight, and slew many of them as they fled. The bulk of the survivors reached safety in the various strongholds of the Sicels, but a few chose rather to share the hopes of Ducetius.[154]

[147] Diod. Sic. 11.88.6. The extent to which Ducetius actually founded the city of Palikè will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.
[148] Diod. Sic. 11.90.1.
[149] Diod. Sic. 11.91.1; the location of Motyon is discussed below.
[150] Diod. Sic. 11.91.1.
[151] Diod. Sic. 11.91.1; cf. Bellino 2014, for a discussion on the military tactics of the Sikels and their possible impact on Siceliote warfare.
[152] Diod. Sic. 11.91.2.
[153] The location of Nomai is unknown, but perhaps near to Monte Navone in the northeastern territory of Akragas; Green 2006, 175 n. 378.
[154] Diod. Sic. 11.91.3; trans. Green.

The Akragantines then marched on Motyon, where Ducetius and his remaining Sikel forces were barricaded. They joined with the surviving Syracusans and besieged the city.[155] Diodorus writes that in this moment Ducetius was deserted by his remaining allies, and as a result, he fled to Syracuse;[156] there he made himself a suppliant and begged the Syracusans for mercy.[157] The Syracusans accepted Ducetius,[158] and sent him to Corinth where he was meant to remain permanently.[159] Ducetius' interactions with the Syracusans, and his ability to get by in Corinth would suggest a high level of Hellenization among the Sikel elites. In addition, that the Sikels had strongholds to escape to highlights the autonomy that they exercised in this region, and their abandonment of Ducetius may also highlight autonomy between Sikel cities, highlighting the fact that that Ducetius was the leader of a federation, rather than a Greek-style tyrant.[160]

It was not Ducetius' wish, however, to remain in Corinth, and in 448/7,[161] he returned: "after a short stay in Corinth, [Ducetius] broke the agreement, and — his excuse being that he had been instructed, by a divine oracle, to settle the Sicilian site of Kale Akte — sailed back to the island with a group of colonists."[162] Here again it should be noted the

[155] Diod. Sic. 11.91.4.
[156] Diod. Sic. 11.91.4-92.1.
[157] Diod. Sic. 11.92.1.
[158] Diod. Sic. 11.92.3. Although, the motivation behind the Syracusans' actions is unclear. Diodorus' explanation that it was out of religious piety leaves something to be desired; Rizzo, 1970, 143-53, cf. Green 2006, 176 n. 380.
[159] Diod. Sic. 11.92.4.
[160] A comparison has been made between the Sikel under Ducetius and the Italiote confederacies; Jackman 2006 46. cf. Wonder 2012.
[161] Green 2006, 188 n. 35.
[162] οὗτος δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον μείνας ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἔλυσε, καὶ προσποιησάμενος χρησμὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι κτίσαι τὴν Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον μετά τινων οἰκητόρων… Diod. Sic. 12.8.2, trans. Green.

Greekness of this episode;[163] as the refounding of Menae was similar to the Sikeliote tyrants, the founding of Kale Akte mirrors the prophesies given to the oikist of the Greek colonies, as passed down in several of the foundation myths.[164] The return of Ducetius renewed hostilities between Akragas and Syracuse, since the former believed the latter had unjustly freed their enemy, who was now securing valuable land on the north of the island,[165] likely to the benefit of the Syracusans, with whom he almost certainly struck a deal.[166]

Nothing more is heard from Diodorus about Ducetius until his account of the year 440/39, when he writes: "Ducetius, the former leader of the Sicel cities, established the city of the Calactians and while settling numerous colonists there, [once more] made a bid for the Sicel leadership; but in the midst of this endeavor his life was cut short by illness."[167] Ducetius is said to have been aided by the Sikel leader Archonides of Herbita.[168] Unfortunately Kale Akte is not well known archaeologically in this period. While the site has been identified with modern Caronia, the archaeological excavations have only explored the site to the beginning of the fourth century.[169]

[163] see also Hodos 2006, 156.
[164] For the importance of the Delphic oracle in foundation myths of the Greek colonies and the importance of, see Malkin 1987, 17-92.
[165] Diod. Sic.12.8.
[166] Green 2006, 188-9, n. 39 and 40.
[167] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Δουκέτιος μὲν ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν τὴν τῶν Καλακτίνων πατρίδα κατέστησε, καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκίζων οἰκήτορας ἀντεποιήσατο μὲν τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας, μεσολαβηθεὶς δὲ νόσῳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε. Diod. Sic. 12.29.1.
[168] Diod. Sic. 12.29.2; Herman Hansen and Hiene Nielsen 2004, 198.
[169] De Angelis 2011/2, 170.

*III.3 Palikè*

According to Diodorus Siculus, Ducetius founded the city of Palikè near the sanctuary of the Palikoi, in the Caltagirone river valley.[170] The author writes that the sacredness of the site was apparent in his own time, and that oaths were often sworn there, with those who swore falsely being swiftly punished with the loss of their sight.[171] In the Archaic and Classical period, the Palikoi were important chthonic gods to the Sikels;[172] twin brothers, connected to two geysers that were known to throw up large jets of "boiling"[173] water into the air, which has been associated with the Naftia Lake in Sicily, nearby the site identified as the sanctuary, that was present until the 1930s, when it was drained to create more arable land.[174]

Palikè is located on the north bank of the lake and has two distinct areas (see fig. 13). The sacred grotto area was positioned on the slope between the north bank of the lake and the large rocky hill upon which the acropolis and domestic area was located. The sacred grotto would have been protected from the elements by the hill and both locations would have had a good view of the lake, Margi river, and plain below.[175] Despite Diodorus' claim, the archaeological record shows evidence of human activity at the location of the sanctuary of the Palikoi since the Palaeolithic period.[176] Although the monumentalization of the site

[170] Diod. Sic. 11.88.6.
[171] Diodorus Siculus, 11.89.5.
[172] Dougherty 1993, 89.
[173] More than heat, the water most likely seemed to boil due to chemical reactions below the ground, which may account for why some ancient authors believed the lakes were dangerous; Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 145 n. 2, 146.
[174] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 147.
[175] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 146.
[176] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 145, 148.

was undertaken during building projects in the mid-fifth century, most likely under Ducetius, the first permanent structures in the sanctuary were constructed in the seventh century.[177] Evidence for architectural development is present both in the sacred grotto area, as well as at the acropolis of the site.[178] In the grotto area, as many as 9 structures were built in the seventh and sixth centuries in at least three separate building programs[179] (buildings A, D, E, F1 and F2, *ambienti* B1-B3, Complex P East), in addition to infrastructure.[180]

Building A (fig. 9) was located in the middle of a levelled surface in front of the grotto, and was constructed in two phases.[181] In the first phase the building measured 5.5X4.5m with an entrance on the western side.[182] The structure was remodelled extensively in its second phase, with the extension of the northern wall to 8m long. An oblique wall was constructed on the south side as well, giving the structure the look of an *in-antis* temple, although the proportions are smaller than a normal Archaic *sacellum.*[183] A seventh century Cycladic bird cup was found beneath the foundation of the north wall, giving a *terminus post quem* for the first phase; it is difficult to date the second phase, however, since the structure contained almost no other archaeological material,[184] beside ceramic evidence dating to the sixth century found in the destruction stratum.[185]

[177] Maniscalco 2006a, 116.
[178] For a full discussion of the Archaic development of the site, see Maniscalco 2008, 104-113.
[179] Maniscalco 2008, 104.
[180] Maniscalco 2006a, 116; Maniscalco 2008, 104-11.
[181] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 150.
[182] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 150.
[183] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 150-1.
[184] Maniscalco 2006a, 117.
[185] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 151.

Located to the east of Building A, a large rectangular structure, designated as Building D, was constructed.[186] Although the length of this structure is difficult to calculate, since the north side is obscured due to the construction of Stoa B in the Classical period, the structure could be up to 10m wide. The walls were constructed out of roughly worked limestone blocks, and the floor was paved.[187] Just to the south of Building D, an additional four limestone blocks have been located, arranged in a line running parallel to the building's southern wall. Maniscalco has suggested that these blocks could have been used to demarcate an open area, or support votive offerings or other artifacts.[188] *Ambienti* B1-B3 are located on the same terrace as Buildings A and D.[189] The *ambienti* were rooms carved into terrace wall on a N-S axis.[190] The best preserved is B2, which was similar in construction technique to Building F.[191] The rooms were accessible from terrace via entrances in the southern walls, and were connected through internal passages.[192]

Buildings E, F1, and F2 were all located on the upper part of the terrace in the grotto area. Due to the state of preservation, it is unclear if the excavated walls of Building E (fig. 10) were from two parallel buildings, or if it was one structure with two rooms separated by a dividing wall with no direct access from one room to the other.[193] The finds in the structure suggest a seventh century date for construction. The Buildings F1 and F2 were

[186] Maniscalco 2008, 108.
[187] Maniscalco 2008, 108.
[188] Maniscalco 2008, 108-9.
[189] Maniscalco 2008, 107.
[190] The northern wall of the structures would have been cut into the terrace wall, while the southern side would have looked out on to the terrace and the lake beyond; Maniscalco 2008, 107.
[191] That is to say, roughly worked limestone blocks and double walls; Maniscalco 2008, 107-8.
[192] Maniscalco 2008, 107.
[193] Maniscalco 2008, 105.

constructed parallel to one another also at the top of the terrace before the grotto.[194] Building F2 abuts Building E on its western side.[195] Building F1 is the better preserved of the two, and was 4.5m x 13m, with doors located on both sides and the interior divided into rooms.[196] Although F2 is not as well preserved, what has been excavated suggests that the two structures were similar in plan.[197] The buildings were both constructed out of roughly hewn limestone and vulcanite blocks, the floors were paved in marl, and the roofs were covered with flat tiles, as suggested by the fragments found within the structures.[198] There were two cooking areas in the complex, with the second added to Building F1 sometime after its initial construction; evidence for feasting, including *oinochoi* and other ceramics, as well as animal bones, was found in these cooking areas dating to the sixth century.[199]

Building E and the two Building Fs were destroyed later in the Archaic period, and Complex P East was constructed in their place.[200] The building was constructed with the same orientation as Building A.[201] This later structure was L-shaped and built out of roughly hewn limestone and vulcanite blocks.[202] A *bothros* and cooking ware was found in the structure, which may suggest that the building had a similar function to Building F1.[203]

Concurrent with the construction of Complex P East, cyclopean walls were built at the highest point of the rocky outcropping above the sacred grotto.[204] It is argued by

[194] Maniscalco 2006a, 116.
[195] Maniscalco 2006a, 109.
[196] Maniscalco 2008, 104.
[197] Maniscalco 2008, 105.
[198] Maniscalco 2008, 104-5.
[199] Maniscalco 2008, 105.
[200] Maniscalco 2008, 109.
[201] Maniscalco 2008, 110.
[202] Maniscalco 2008, 109.
[203] Maniscalco 2008, 110.
[204] Maniscalco 2008, 110.

Maniscalco that this wall would have delimitated the *temenos* of the acropolis of Palikè, and the foundations of a large structure have been found within the walls, suggesting the presence of a sacred building.[205] In addition, canals and domestic structures were also built at the site. The canals would have been used to channel water away from the sanctuary and would have likely connected to tanks on the slopes of the hill, which could have acted as water reserves for the sanctuary.[206] Domestic structures were located at the top of the hill, near to the sacred precinct, dating to the seventh century.[207]

In the mid-fifth century, Palikè underwent some major building programs. Stoa B (fig. 11) and the *hestiaterion* (fig. 12), discussed here, were constructed with the same orientation as the last phase of the Archaic period,[208] suggesting perhaps that some of the Archaic structures were still standing when this new building program was undertaken.[209] Stoa B is located above the foundations of Building D,[210] and its location in the sanctuary suggests that it was used to divide the lower slope from the upper terrace.[211] The foundations of the structure indicate the plan of a Greek stoa: a long corridor bordered on one side by a colonnade and on the other by a series at least eight rooms.[212] The rooms were interconnected through a series of doorways, as well as accessible from the outside

[205] An Archaic temple similar in construction technique and size has been located at Metapiccola; Maniscalco 2008, 111.
[206] Maniscalco 2008, 108.
[207] Mansicalco 2008, 111.
[208] Maniscalco 2008, 104.
[209] Maniscalco and McConnell, 2003, 151.
[210] Maniscalco 2008, 108.
[211] For a full discussion on the archaeological record and possible uses of Stoa B, see Maniscalco 2008, 114-9; McConnell 2008, 344-9.
[212] These rooms are (running west to east): B1, B4, B5, B6, B7 and B8; Maniscalco 2008, 114. McConnell 2008, 344.

of the structure.[213] The integration of rooms into the plan is unusual in this time period, and much more common in the Hellenistic period, making this one of the earliest examples of this particular stoa type.[214] The middle room, B6, is rectangular, while all of the other rooms are more square.[215] The function of most of the rooms remains unclear,[216] although B6 has some interesting features. Since no anterior wall has been located for B6, it appears that the room would have been a space open to the back of the structure.[217] Support for a table built into the floor and a large drainage channel[218] were also found in the room.[219] These features seem to be placed along the same north-south axis that runs through both Stoa B and the *hestiaterion*, which would have also extended over the lake, looking toward Menae. This feature has led Maniscalco and McConnell to suggest the possibility of a religious function for this room, with the table and drainage channel used for libations and evidence for sacrifice.[220] In addition, later developments of the site show the construction of another smaller L-shaped structure, which may have functioned as an altar, and a *bothros*, continuing the religious use of this space.[221] This is perhaps further supported by the fact that finds from B6 and 7, including large storage *pithoi*, dining ware and implements, and the remains of shellfish and barley,[222] suggest that this building may have been used for

[213] Maniscalco 2008, 114; McConnell 2008, 344.
[214] Maniscalco 2008, 119.
[215] McConnell 2008, 344.
[216] There is no indication of function in the archaeological record for rooms B1, 4, 5, 7; McConnell 2008, 344-9.
[217] McConnell 2008, 348.
[218] 1m wide and 40cm deep; Maniscalco 2008, 115.
[219] McConnell 2008, 348.
[220] Evidence for sacrificial rites includes pieces of burnt fir and animal bones, Maniscalco 2008, 114-7; McConnell 2008, 348.
[221] Maniscalco 2008, 116 and 118; McConnell 2008, 348.
[222] Although the barley may have been used for the sacrifice instead; Maniscalco 2008, 117.

food consumption and storage,[223] perhaps ritual feasting. The collapse of the building can be dated to last quarter of the fifth century through the ceramic evidence found in the destruction layer.[224]

Also within the precinct, the foundations of a large structure have been excavated, now known as the *hestiaterion*. This structure lies at the top of the grotto terrace in the same area as the Archaic Buildings F and E, and on the terrace above Stoa B. The structure was a U-shaped building with a paved forecourt, constructed out of sand limestone in ashlar blocks. It consisted of 7 rooms (Rooms 1, 3-8) arranged around a central courtyard (Room 2), which would have provided a functional common area.[225] The structure measured 29.26x11.8m.[226] The courtyard would have also acted as a monumental entranceway to the rooms located off it.[227] These rooms ranged in size, but the east and west flanking rooms (Rooms 1, 3, 4 and 5) were arranged in such a way as suggests they functioned as Greek-style dining rooms.[228] The rooms along the back of the courtyard (Rooms 6-8) were smaller and more square, and were perhaps used for storage.[229] The shape and the construction of this building have precedence in the Greek world.[230] Possible parallels include the West

[223] Maniscalco 2008, 115-7; Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 152.
[224] Maniscalco 2008, 118.
[225] McConnell 2008, 315.
[226] McConnell 2008, 311
[227] McConnell 2008, 315.
[228] Although there is no evidence for built-in dining couches, the size of the rooms would have certainly allowed for free standing ones, and the offset doorways are a good indicator of such spaces; McConnell 2008, 318 and 330; see also Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 155-61.
[229] If the holes found in the walls were apart of the original construction, they would perhaps been for inset pegs that could have held a variety of objects; McConnell 2008, 320 & 332.
[230] Techniques and materials with parallels in the Greek world used in the *hestiaterion* include the post-and-lintel construction of the doors, the calcarenite plaster, as well as the size and shape of the dining rooms, as noted above. Due to the nature of preservation, it is difficult to know how the upper portion of the building would have looked; McConnell 2008, 319-327.

Building in the precinct of the temple of Hera in Argos and the U-shaped stoa in Locri,[231] in which several dining rooms were also centred around a closed court.[232]

The mid-fifth century dates associated with Stoa B and the *hestiaterion* would suggest that they were a part of building programs undertaken by Ducetius in 453/2.[233] While the forms of both buildings seem to have clear parallels in the Greek world, it is important to note that their apparent functions have long precedence in Sikel culture. As noted in the previous chapter, communal feasting was a fundamental aspect of Sikel political culture since the Bronze Age, and, at Palikè itself, evidence for it at the sanctuary can be noted at Buildings F1 and F2, and Complex P East. In addition, the extensive building programs at the site underscore Palikè's importance as a Sikel sanctuary long before the rise of Ducetius. Therefore, while Ducetius was responsible for the monumentalization of the site, it can perhaps be seen as adding a Greek veneer on already established Sikel practices.

### *III.4 The Territory of the Sikels from the Archaic Period to the Death of Ducetius*

#### III.4.1 The Sikel Centre: The Plain of Catania and Surrounding Hinterland

Standing at the foundations of Stoa B at Palikè looking south across the valley, it is possible to see the modern town of Mineo, ancient Menae (fig. 14). Menae was the birthplace of Ducetius, and in his revitalization of Palikè, he aligned his building programs

[231] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 165.
[232] Other parallels may include the later two buildings in the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia near Croton, as well as the dining complex in the sanctuary at Selinus constructed by Malophoros; Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 165-6; McConnell 2008, 332-3.
[233] Diod. Sic. 11.88.6.

on the same axis as his old city, creating a topographical link between his birth place and a location of significant religious value.[234] Like Palikè, Menae was also located on the banks of the Naftia Lake in the Margi River Valley at the south western corner of the Plain of Catania and the north western edge of the Hyblean plateau.[235] Between Palikè and Menae, at the eastern edge of the lake was Monte Catalfaro. The archaeological evidence suggests that this site was occupied from the eighth to fifth centuries, and like Menae and Palikè, it was positioned at the top of a hill.[236]

The location of these sites would have been well suited for the needs of the Sikel leader: the hills upon which they were situated would afforded a good view of the valley and plain below, and the mountainous topography on the opposite sides would have made attacking the cities difficult. On the other hand, however, the area was suited for trade and travel to important centres in Sicily, with access to the eastern coast via the Plain of Catania, and to Gela and the southern coast from the Margi River. In this way, despite the good defenses of the cities proper, the location would have been a throughway for the Greeks, especially Greek armies, from the south to access the east. Therefore, it is possible to conjecture that these conditions would have created the ideal environment for a Ducetius' uprising, since the territory surrounding Menae and Palikè would have often been overrun by the Greeks during the campaigns of the tyrants, mere decades before. In addition, the facilitation of easy travel would have allowed for contact between the Sikels of this region and the Greeks for other purposes, including trade and networks between elites, which may

[234] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 163.
[235] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 146; Maniscalco 2006b, 122.
[236] Maniscalco 2006b, 122-3.

account for Ducetius' obvious knowledge of Greek language, culture, and customs, as discussed above.

To the east of these cities a border between the Sikel territory and the Leontinian-Greek can be made at Monte San Basilio. The archaeological evidence at the site shows that it was a hilltop settlement fortified in the same style as Leontinoi at the beginning of the fifth century.[237] There has been no Archaic settlement found at the site, and the only finds have been Greek ceramics dating to the sixth century.[238] Due to the location and archaeological evidence for the site, it has been identified with Brikanniai, a Leontinian outpost mentioned by Thucydides.[239] In this passage, the Athenians send Phaeax to Sicily in support of Leontinoi against Syracuse;[240] unable to persuade the Geloans, Phaeax returned to Katana through the territory of the Sikels, stopping at Brikinniai.[241] If we accept the the identification of Brikinniai with Monte San Basilio, the journey from Gela to Brikinniai would have most likely taken the Athenian envoy on the exact path described above.

This border between Greek and Sikel territory can be traced northwest towards the Dittaino River where another *phrourion* was installed on Monte Turcisi. Monte Turcisi was a small settlement, only 1 ha, and, like Monte San Basilio, fortified in a similar technique to Leontinoi with no evidence of occupation prior to the sixth century.[242] A *phrourion* here would have secured the Leontinian territory at the western side of the Plain of Catania.

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[237] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172.
[238] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172; Wilson 1987/8, 119.
[239] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172; Pope 2006, 15.
[240] Thuc. 5.4-5.
[241] Thuc. 5.4, trans. Hammond, with modifications.
[242] Wilson 1987/8, 119; Procelli 1988/9, 123-4; Trèziny 1999, 262; Fischer-Hansen 2003, 173 n. 268.

The Sikel sites of Monte Judica and Ramacca were located to the west of Monte Turcisi. Monte Judica, discussed in the previous chapter, although a prominent Sikel centre in the sixth century, appears to have been mostly abandoned by the time of Ducetius.[243] Excavation of the site has revealed modest occupation in the Iron Age with development in the sixth century.[244] Evidence for an Archaic *naiskos* has come to light at the site, along with domestic structures.[245] The *naiskos* shows clear Greek influence in the architectural terracottas that have been discovered, which include *gorgoneion* and palmette antefixes.[246] The domestic quarter seems to have been developed without a regular plan, likely due to the unevenness of the terrain.[247] No defensive walls have been located at the site, although the natural fortifications were formidable.[248] The abandonment of the site dates concurrently with Greek expansion, both from Leontinoi with the foundation of Monte Turcisi and the campaigns of Hippocrates.[249]

Ramacca seems to have not fared any better than Monte Judica. Like the other settlements in this area, Ramacca is located on a rocky outcropping at the edges of the plain.[250] Human occupation at Ramacca began in the prehistoric period,[251] and from the

[243] Suggested by the abandoment and destruction of domestic structures in the early fifth century. Although the necropolis was in use to the end of the fifth century, the burials and grave goods were Greek for the most part. Although several identifications have been made for the site, including Ergetion, Erbita and Noai, satisfactory evidence has not yet been presented. It seems to me unlikely that the site is either Erbita or Noai, since both sites are attested to in our historical sources for the later fifth century. Privitera 2006, 108; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172-3.
[244] Discussion on early Monte Judica will probably be moved to first chapter, Privitera 2006, 108.
[245] Fischer-Hansen, 2002, 172.
[246] Privitera 2006, 110.
[247] Privitera 2006, 109.
[248] The site was located on a high, rocky slope with a difficult approach; Privitera 2006, 108.
[249] Privitera 2006, 108.
[250] Ramacca sits at a height of 560m; Patanè 2006a, 112.
[251] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 171-2; Patanè 2006a, 112.

seventh century there is great evidence of Greek influence at the site.[252] Two necropoleis have been located at Ramacca, and the domestic areas seem to be a mix of Greek and indigenous, suggesting cohabitation.[253] In addition, the *naiskos* located at the site was also decorated with Greek style architectural terracottas.[254] Contemporary with the decline at Monte Judica, there is similar evidence of destruction and abandonment at Ramacca, which has also been attributed to the campaigns of Hippocrates in the early fifth century.[255]

On the southwestern end of the Margi from Palikè and Menae are several more sites on the border between Sikel territory and that of Gela on the southern coast. Piano dei Casazzi and Altobrando are both smaller hill-top centres west of Menae, situated within a few kilometres of each other. Both were initially believed by scholars to be *phrouria*;[256] however, the archaeological evidence reveals key differences between these settlements and the *phrouria* that have already been discussed. Both Monte San Basilio and Monte Turcisi do not reveal a great amount evidence for occupation earlier than the sixth century, roughly concurrent with the construction of the Greek fortifications. On the other hand, while both Piano dei Casazzi and Altobrando also boast Greek-style late Archaic fortifications, both sites have evidence for earlier occupation.[257] At the two sites there is evidence for Archaic semi-subterranean domestic structures, which is particular to sites in

[252] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 171.
[253] Patanè 2006a, 112.
[254] These terracotta types can be found in many of the Sikel sites in the hinterland surrounding the plain of Catania, which Fischer-Hansen suggests highlights a "wide network of craftsmen" in the region, 2002, 172.
[255] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 172.
[256] See Fischer-Hansen 2002, 173 and cf. Lamagna 2006c, 155-6, for Altobrando; Lamagna 2006d, 159 for Piano di Casazzi.
[257] Altobrando: Lamagna 2006c, 150; Piano dei Casazzi: Lamagna 2006d, 158.

the Sicilian interior, including Ramacca, Sabucina and Vassallaggi.[258] Additional exploration at Altobrando has brought to light locally produced ceramics and, to a lesser extent, Greek imports dating from the sixth to third centuries.[259] The evidence for a preexisting town and the persistence of local ceramics suggest Sikel foundation and occupation. Therefore, the early fifth century fortifications may suggest not Greeks securing the borders of their *chora*, such as in Monte Turcisi and San Basilio, but the Sikels protecting themselves from Hippocrates on his campaigns to the east coast.[260]

The fear that caused Altobrando and Piano dei Casazzi to build walls was not unfounded. Not only were Monte Judica and Ramacca abandoned in the early fifth century, but Monte San Mauro, only 10km south west of Altobrando, was destroyed in the same period. Although Monte San Mauro was originally a Sikel settlement, suggested by Bronze Age occupation, early Archaic chamber tombs, and local ceramic wares found at the site,[261] from the mid-sixth century, the tomb-types found at the site, namely trench tombs, *a cappucina* graves, and *enchytrismos* burials, are Greek. As discussed in the previous chapter, while the Sikels seem to have readily adopted Greek wares as burial goods, the traditional chamber tomb type persisted well into the fifth century. Therefore, the use of Greek tomb types at this site is indicative of a Greek population living at Monte San Mauro.[262] In addition, the site reveals a law code inscribed on bronze written in the

[258] Lamagna 2006d, 158.
[259] Lamagna 2006c, 152-4.
[260] Lamagna 2006d, 159.
[261] Holloway, 1990, 149-50; see also, Fischer-Hansen 2002, 143-6.
[262] Interestingly, these tombs sometimes included local wares. While Holloway writes this off, I find this odd. Greeks rarely had non-Greek burial goods, and it is perhaps possible that this is Sikels choosing to be buried like Greeks; cf. Holloway 1990, 149; see also, Shepard 2005, 132.

Chalkidian alphabet.[263] This could hardly count as the superficial Greek influence seen in other Sikel centres. How this kind of settlement would have factored into Ducetius' συντέλεια, however, is unfortunately not relevant, as Monte San Mauro was destroyed in the early fifth century, likely during the campaigns of Hippocrates.[264]

Grammichele to the east of Monte San Mauro has revealed archaeological material dating to the Bronze Age, with significant development in the Archaic period.[265] Grammichele, like Monte San Mauro, shows a high level of Hellenization. A sanctuary, identified as a *thesmophorion*, was established in the in the seventh century which was in use into the fourth.[266] The sanctuary shows parallels to that at Gela,[267] and the terracotta figurines found there feature Greek iconography.[268] It is evident that the votive terracottas found at the sanctuary were made at local workshops,[269] and prominent examples of their works include the goddess of Grammichele, now in the archaeological museum at Syracuse.[270] The only marble statue from the Archaic period in inland Sicily was found as part of the same votive deposit as the goddess.[271] The statue is of a Greek *kouros*, and likely imported from the Greek mainland.[272] At the same time, Greek graves also appear at the site, including *fossa* and *enchytrismos*.[273] Unlike Monte San Mauro, however, a clear Sikel

[263] These laws reference homicide and fines; Holloway 1990, 149-50; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 143.
[264] Fischer Hansen 2002, 149.
[265] Patanè 2006b, 124-6.
[266] Patanè 2006b, 126; De Angelis 2011/12, 160.
[267] Patanè 2006b, 126.
[268] Patanè 2006b, 126.
[269] Patanè 2006b, 126; Bell 2014, 11-13.
[270] The goddess is the only Archaic Sicilian terracotta sculpture that can be reconstructed completely. The work features a seated goddess in the severe style; Holloway 2000, 92.
[271] Holloway 1990, 151; Bell 2005, 213-7.
[272] Bell 2005, 217.
[273] Patanè 2006b, 124.

presence persists at the site through the fifth century. Several tombs dating to at least the sixth century are attested in the traditional Sikel form.[274] The occupants of these tombs seem to have been particularly rich, since they were well adorned and buried with fine grave goods, including imported Greek ceramics.[275] Because of this Sikel presence, Holloway notes that the site was "possibly less Hellenized than the town at [Monte San Mauro]."[276] Due to the evidence of Sikel occupation, it is generally accepted that Grammichele had a mixed population of both Greek craftsmen and Sikel elite.[277] What is more, in the mid-fifth century, while Ducetius was at large, Grammichele seems to have gone through a particularly prosperous period, and because of this, Patanè argues that the site was of importance for the Sikel regional elite in the time of the συντέλεια.[278]

Licodia Eubea, although it is less than 10 km southeast of Grammichele, seems to have had a very different character in this period. For several centuries, Licodia has been associated with the historically-known settlement of Eubea, a Sikel site that the Leontinian colonists took over as an outpost to secure their eastern borders,[279] and in 1872, the city council decided to add 'Eubea' to the name.[280] In reality, the funerary evidence at Licodia Eubea indicates that the site was more likely an unknown Sikel site into the fifth century, rather than a Greek outpost.[281] From the seventh to fifth centuries the most common tomb type at the site was the traditional Sikel chamber tomb carved into the slopes of the hill

[274] Holloway 2000, 93.
[275] Patanè 2006b, 127.
[276] Holloway 1990, 151; a sentiment that is echoed in Patanè 2006b, 126.
[277] Holloway 1990, 152 and 2000, 93; Patanè 2006b, 126-7.
[278] Patane 2006b, 126.
[279] Strabo 6.2.6.
[280] Patane 2006c, 129.
[281] Holloway 1990, 152.

upon which Licodia Eubea is located.[282] The funerary goods within these tombs included both imported Greek ceramics and indigenous cermaics/goods?.

III.4.2 The Southern Sikels

A node of the Sikel territory extends out south of Grammichele and Licodia Eubea along the southern Hyblaian mountains.[283] Holloway highlights this area as an important, autonomous "buffer-zone" between the territories of Syracuse and Gela in the Archaic period.[284] The first known Sikel site south of Licodia Eubea was Monte Casasia, which can be identified by the characteristic chamber tombs, as well as the Sikel graffito found on one of the grave goods.[285] Interestingly, Syracusan outposts have been identified both to the southwest and east of Monte Casasia. To the east lie Kasmenai and Akrai, and Scornavacche, Chiaramonte Gulfi and Kamarina to the west and south. Kasmenai and Akrai are noted by Thucydides, who writes that they were founded within a century of Syracuse's own establishment.[286] The archaeological evidence from the sites confirms their Greek origin, since it seems that there was no prior occupation before the late seventh-early sixth century, when the settlements were founded on a regular plan and with large fortifications.[287]

There is less conclusive evidence for Scornavacche, since the city was destroyed at

[282] Holloway 1990, 152; Patanè 2006c, 130.
[283] Holloway 1990, 152.
[284] Holloway 1990, 147-8.
[285] Holloway 1990, 152; De Angelis 2001, 169.
[286] Thuc. VI.5.
[287] Di Vita 1976, "Kasmenai"; Voza 1976, "Akrai." Parallels can be seen here between these outposts and the archaeological evidence for Monte San Basilio and Monte Turcisi.

the end of the fifth century and rebuilt under Timoleon in the fourth. However, the lack of evidence for presence before the sixth century and of any chamber tombs at the site suggests that it was a Greek settlement.[288] Chiaramonte Gulfi is usually associated with the historically-attested Greek settlement of Akrillai, which was also founded by Syracuse in sixth century.[289] Finally, Kamarina was founded by Syracuse in 598,[290] and secured Syracuse's power in the east.[291]

In the sixth century, therefore, the Syrcausan sphere of influence extended well into what could be considered Sikel territory. However, autonomous Sikel presence in the region is still both historically and archaeologically attested into the fifth century.[292] The fragments of Philistus of Syracuse suggest that the Sikels were allied with Kamarina during the city's revolt against Syracuse in the second half of the sixth century.[293] In addition, since there is evidence for additional Sikel sites to the south of Scornavacche and Chiaramonte Gulfi, it is possible that the Ducetius and his Sikel supporters took advantage of Syracuse's weakened state following the collapse of the tyrannies. Castiglione, Ragusa and Modica all reveal Sikel occupation into the late sixth or fifth century. Castiglione was destroyed in the late sixth century or early fifth, either associated with Syracuse's take down of Kamarina or Hippocrates' assault on the eastern coast.[294] Nevertheless,

[288] All sixth century tombs that have been located are either fossa graves or *a cappuccina*, Holloway 1990, 152; see also, Del Campo 1976, "Scornavacche."
[289] Herman Hansen and Heine Nielsen 2004, 176; De Angelis 2006/7, 154.
[290] Thuc. VI.5.
[291] Holloway 2000, 89.
[292] Holloway 2000, 90-91.
[293] Philistus frag. 10 and 17; see also, Holloway 1990, 153 and 2000, 90-91; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 202-3.
[294] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 164.

Castiglione provides clear evidence of Sikel presence in the territory during this period, through the persistence of traditional Sikel practices in both the necropolis and the domestic areas of the city.[295]

In addition, excavation at the site has also brought to light an important piece of artwork. The so-called "Warrior of Castiglione" (fig. 15) was found along with 18 sixth-century tombs of mixed Greek types.[296] The statue features the head of a warrior situated above two horses, one carved in low relief facing to the left, and the other's head, facing towards the right, is carved in the round. The outline of an additional horse was carved into the bottom of the stone, suggesting that the monument would have served as a lintel.[297] A retrograde inscription in the Greek alphabet appears on the front face of the statue below the snout of the horse carved in relief, which reads:

ΤΟΙ ΠΥΤΙΚΑ
ΠΥΡ(Ρ)ΙΝΟΙ
ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΙ
ΣϘΥΛ(Λ)ΟΣ

"Skyllos made this for Pyrrinos, son of Pytikas"[298]

This sculpture seems to have been associated with a monumental tholos tomb found nearby. This tomb is quite unusual: around the interior perimeter of the tholos 6 skulls were found, apparently buried in the uncommon Greek *acephalia* tradition, in the strata above an inhumed individual; the tomb type and grave goods suggest the inhabitants were not of

[295] The inhabited areas of the city developed organically, as agglomerations of rooms over the hillside, rather than the standardized court-yard model of the Greek houses; Holloway 1990, 152; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 164-5; Di Stefano 2002, 20-4.
[296] Di Stefano 2002, 29.
[297] Di Stefano 2002, 33.
[298] De Angelis 2000/1, 168.

Sikel origin, but of Greek.[299] In addition, the other graves in this small necropolis included *fossa*, *a cappuccina*, and *enchytrismos* types.[300]

The presence of Greeks in the sixth century at this site would suggest, perhaps, a similar situation to that at Grammichele. This mixing is also evident at the ancient settlement in Ragusa, less than 10km to the east of Castiglione, where the settlement appears to be of local origin, but the nearby necropolis of San Rito highlights Greek presence in the area.[301] Modica, further south than these two sites, on the other hand, seems to have been more firmly Sikel, with a necropolis of Sikel chamber tombs extending into the fifth century.[302]

Although Greek presence in the area of the Heraean hills was certainly felt by the early sixth century, the mountainous terrain running north-south, would have made control from the east (ie. Syracuse) difficult.[303] On the other hand, the pass running through the hills would have facilitated much easier movement between these Sikel centres and those that lay to the north: both to Licodia Eubea and Palikè, as well as further to the west where the Hyblaian mountains reach the Heraean range.[304]

[299] Di Stefano 2002, 29; De Angelis 2006, 154.
[300] Di Stefano 2002, 29.
[301] Holloway 1990, 153; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 165.
[302] Holloway 2000, 90, sees similarities between Modica and Licodia Eubea and Monte Casasia to the North.
[303] Walsh 2011/12, 121.
[304] Holloway 1990, 153.

III.4.3 Sikel Settlements in the Heraian Mountains

There are several Sikel and Greek settlements in the Heraian mountains that must be considered in this examination of the sixth and fifth century Sikel territory. At present, there is not very much available from the site at Monte Navone,[305] where the ancient Sikel site is perhaps overshadowed by the grand Roman villa at the nearby Piazza Armerina;[306] however, the necropolis at the site reveals Sikel chamber tombs with both local and imported Greek ceramics dating to the sixth century.[307] The city was also fortified at some point, and the although greater study is needed to securely date the walls, the evidence for Archaic occupation and similarity to the fortifications of other nearby sites may suggest a sixth-century date.[308] One could perhaps imagine similar motivations as Piano dei Casazzi and Altobrando, which do not lie far to the east.

Not far to the south of Monte Navone is Monte Bubbonia. Monte Bubbonia has been considered by some to be a Geloan outpost, helping to secure its northern border;[309] however, evidence from the site reveals a more mixed picture. Greek influence is evident at the site, with a Greek-style temple appearing in the Archaic period, complete with a *bothros*, Geloan-type Silenus antefixes, and Greek votive terracottas, as well as possible regular planning during the site's Archaic development.[310] On the other hand, however, there is evidence of occupation at the site by the Sikels since the Bronze Age.[311] In addition,

[305] Holloway 2000, 93.
[306] De Angelis 2006, 162.
[307] Curcio 1976, "Monte Navone"; Holloway 1990, 153.
[308] Torella 2014, 48-9.
[309] Holloway 1990, 151.
[310] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 136-41; Torella 2014, 42.
[311] Torella 2014, 41-2.

the site of the Greek temple seems to have had prior occupation as a Sikel sanctuary,[312] and could have remained of some importance to the local population, despite its renovations. Sikel presence is also attested in the necropolis at the site, where a mix of both Greek and Sikel tomb types have been located.[313] Within these tombs, a variety of grave goods have been found, which include, in addition to the Greek and local ceramics, also locally produced bronze pendants and other local wares, and the Sikel tradition of placing a jug inside a bowl.[314] The presence of reasonably wealthy Sikels at the site in the late Archaic period would suggest that the site likely lines up more closely to sites like Grammichele and Ramacca on the Greek-Sikel spectrum, rather than a Greek outpost as previously thought.

To the north of Monte Bubbonia and Monte Navone is Montagna di Marzo. As discussed in the last chapter, the rich tombs at this site would suggest that there was an elite Sikel group based at the site in the fifth century.[315] These elites could have facilitated the rise of Greek culture in central Sicily through the import of Greek goods as prestige items, as found amongst the grave goods.[316] Fortification walls were also constructed in the Archaic period, with modifications in the fifth century, perhaps for the reasons already mentioned.[317]

Between Montagna di Marzo and Palikè is Morgantina (fig. 16), possibly the most

[312] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 136.
[313] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 142; Torella 2014, 42.
[314] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 142.
[315] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 165; Albanese Procelli 2003, 141; Holloway 2002, 153.
[316] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 165; Torella 2014, 51.
[317] Torella 2014, 50-1.

archaeologically well documented of the Sikel sites.[318] As discussed previously, Morgantina was captured and refounded by Ducetius in 459/8. Like Monte Bubbonia, Morgantina has previously been considered mostly Greek from the sixth century,[319] although finds from the site attest to a mixed population into the fifth century.[320] Holloway parallels the site's archaeological record with that of Grammichele.[321] Aside from the Sikel tombs, discussed in the previous chapter, finds from the centre also includes a *naiskos* that likely succeeded an Iron Age cult, as well as an extra-mural sanctuary normally associated with Demeter.[322]

On the other side of Montagna di Marzo are a series of several settlements that are likely along the same lines of mixed settlement as Grammichele, Monte Bubbonia and Morgantina: Enna, Sabucina, and Vassallaggi. Although the historical sources state that Enna was founded by the Syracusans in either the seventh or sixth centuries,[323] the archaeological evidence disputes these claims. While Greek presence is clear in Enna from the beginning of the sixth century,[324] Enna can hardly be a Greek foundation. Evidence from the site reveals occupation since the prehistoric period,[325] and burials in the necropolis include both Greek and Sikel types.[326]

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[318] The American Excavations at Morgantina began in the mid-20th century, and continue to this day. Numerous publications have been made on the site; most significantly, *Morgantina Studies*, vols. 1-6, from Princeton University Press.
[319] Sjöqvist 1973, 35; Holloway 1990, 153; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 166.
[320] Especially the rich Sikel tombs dating to the late Archaic period, Holloway 1990, 153
[321] Holloway 1990, 153.
[322] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 167-8.
[323] Stephanus of Byzantium gives the date as 664 (271.4), and Philistos 552 (Frag. 8). See also Hansen and Neilsen 2004, 195-6.
[324] Holloway 2000, 86; Hansen and Neilsen 2004, 195-6.
[325] Buscemi Felici 2004, 176.
[326] Holloway 2000, 86; Hansen and Neilsen 2004, 195-6; Buscemi Felici 2004, 186.

At Sabucina, there is evidence for initial occupation in the Bronze Age, with renewed development as a Sikel site beginning in the eighth century.[327] Greek influence at the site includes *enchytismos* burials beginning in the Archaic period and in the architecture and decoration of the two sanctuaries at the site.[328] A model of a *sacellum* has come to light, which features typically Greek decorations, including gorgon antefixes and Dioscuri figures positioned as *akroteria*.[329] However, the persistence of Sikel presence is evident at the site into the fifth century, with Bronze Age chamber tombs reused between the seventh and fifth centuries.[330] Similar evidence has come to light in Vassallaggi, where Sikel tombs, houses and fortification can be found alongside Greek domestic structures and tombs appearing in the sixth century.[331] The archaeological record at both Sabucina and Vasallaggi shows that the cities went through a period of turmoil in the mid-fifth century,[332] and this had led to both sites being put forward as Motyon, the Greek *phrourion* that Ducetius sacked in 451.[333] I find it difficult to support the argument for either site; given the size and mixed populations at both centres going into the fifth century, Sabucina and Vassallaggi could not be considered the same type of settlement as that at Monte San Basilio or Monte Turcisi. However, the destruction at these sites could still be linked to Ducetius; his sack of Morgantina gives credence to his willingness to sack cities of mixed

[327] De Miro 1983, 335-42; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 159; Torella 2014, 44.
[328] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 160-1.
[329] The Dioscuri *akroteria* are a common feature on western Greek *sacella* and are found at Gela, Akragas, Syracuse and Locri; Holloway 2000, 79.
[330] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 161.
[331] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 153-7.
[332] There is evidence of destruction at Sabucina dating to this period and renovations at Vassallaggi have been interpretted as a refoundation/resettlement of the site; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 156-7 and 161; Torella 2014, 42-44.
[333] Adamasteanu 1962, 185-6; Miccichè 1989, 89; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 154; Torella 2014, 42.

populations, and if he had set his sights on moving west, it might have been necessary to sack Vassallaggi and Sabucina if their Greek populations were proving difficult, though this is not mentioned in Diodorus' narrative.

Interestingly, not far to the south of Sabucina is a site which could fit the description of Motyon quite well. Gibil Gabib, located at the upper edge of the Salso valley, was occupied by the Sikels in the early Iron Age, but beginning in the sixth century, the majority of the finds from the site are Greek, as is the town planning, and the fortification walls constructed in the late sixth century.[334] However, excavations at the site have not revealed any signs of fifth-century destruction,[335] and therefore the site has not been identified with Motyon; this is not definitive , however, given that the later renovation under Timoleon may have obscured evidence of this.[336]

III.4.4 Mount Etna

Moving north and east from the Heraian Mountains, the Sikel territory extends out past Monte Judica to the slopes of Mount Etna. On the southern slope of the mountain are the sites of Monte Castellaccio, Poggio Cocola, Civita and Paternò, and Mendolito to the west. The southern cities are of particular interest for their possible association with two sites, Inessa and Hybla, which would have both been located in the area.[337]

[334] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 157.
[335] Fischer-Hansen 2002, 157;
[336] Of course, more evidence would need to come to light for a secure identification to be made.
[337] Strabo tells us that Inessa was 80 stadia from Katana; Strabo 6.2.3. In addition, according to Thucydides, the Athenians burned the crops of the Inessians and Hyblaeans on their way from Katana to Kentoripe; Thuc. 6.94. The location of ancient Kentoripe is known because modern Centuripe lies above it, but it is not well attested to in the archaeological record.

Monte Castellaccio is strategically located on the Simeto River at the northern edge of the Plain of Catania, where the hilly landscape would have provide protection, but close enough to the plain to have easy access to the inland centres.[338] The site had been occupied since the early Bronze Age and seems to have been a prominent settlement by the LBA and into the EIA.[339] Greek material is present at the site from the eighth century, and there appears to be evidence for both Greek and local presence at the site to the sixth century, at which point the settlement seems to have no longer been in use.[340]

Poggio Cocola is located not far from Monte Castellaccio and has been tentatively identified with Inessa. In the 1970s a number of chamber tombs were found at the site, attesting to Sikel presence in the Archaic period.[341] However, excavations of the inhabited areas of the site have revealed occupation dating to the late sixth-early fifth century, and it has been suggested that the site may have replaced the settlement of at Monte Castellaccio.[342] The evidence, namely lack of occupation prior to the sixth century, and the regular planning of the settlement, would suggest that Poggio Cocola was from the onset a mixed settlement. Thucydides identifies the site of Inessa as a Sikel centre,[343] which, I believe, may detract from the argument for Poggio Cocola's identification with Inessa.

To the east of the Simento are Paternò and Civita. Although Paternò has been associated with the Sikel city of Hybla, little is known about the ancient site, since the

[338] McConnell 2006, 89.
[339] McConnell 2006, 90.
[340] McConnell 2006, 92.
[341] McConnell 2006, 92.
[342] Pope 2006, 70.
[343] Thuc. 3.103.1.

modern town is located above it.[344] An Archaic fortification wall is known at the site, as well as a Greek cemetery with finds dating to the fifth century.[345] The lack of evidence for Sikel occupation makes me hesitant to accept the identification of Hybla at present. In the same vein, Paolo Orsi first suggested the identification of Inessa for Civita in 1903,[346] despite the fact that there were no systematic excavations at the site for another 50 years.[347] Since then, fifth- and fourth-century houses, and a sanctuary to Demeter and Kore have been found, as well as additional evidence attesting to occupation at the site dating to the Bronze Age.[348] Interestingly, Tomb XI, found at the site is a pit burial containing both Greek and indigenous ceramics.[349] While the mixing of cultural elements is quite usual in chamber tombs, Greek tombs with indigenous material are far less attested in the archaeological record.

Moving north west around the mountain from Civita and Paternò is Mendolito. The site is located not far from the modern city of Adrano, and, at 80 ha, was quite large.[350] The Archaic evidence from the site has revealed a Sikel inscription from the late Archaic city walls (fig. 18). Although several Sikel inscriptions have been located from the private sphere,[351] this inscription is the only public document written in the Sikel language. The text reads:

[344] Pope 2006, 69.
[345] Pope 2006, 69.
[346] Orsi 1903.
[347] Lamagna 2006b, 103.
[348] Lamagna 2006b, 104.
[349] Lamagna 2006b, 105.
[350] Lamagna 2006a, 99.
[351] Mostly as graffiti inscribed onto grave goods, as found in Castiglione, Monte Casasia, Monte San Mauro, Grammichele and Ramacca; Albanese Procelli 2003, 221; Willi 2008, 341-8.

ΙΑΜΑΚΑΡΑΜΕΗΠ*ΑΣΚΑΑΓΙΙΕΣΓΕΠΕΔ
ΤΟΥΤΟΓΕΡΕΦΑΙΕΣΗΕΚΑΔ*ΑΡΔ
ΙΕΑ*

The document is written in the Greek script, but the language seems to have ties to both Oscan and Latin.[352] It appear that the inscription was set into the gate during the construction of the fortifications, since the text was inscribed on a different stone than that used for the rest of the wall.[353] Although there are a few graves at the site that suggest Greek practices,[354] the ceramic evidence at the site is overwhelmingly indigenous in the Archaic period and into the fifth century.[355] In the latter half of the fifth century, it seems that the site was abandoned, which adds weight to the site's identification with the Sikel site Trinakie, discussed in the next chapter.[356]

*III.5 Conclusions*

The territory of the Sikels in the mid-fifth century was multifaceted and complex.[357] Several sites can be considered to be Sikel into the fifth century. These include: Palikè, Menae, Catalfaro, Altobrando, Casazzi, Licodia Eubea, Monte Casasia, Modica, Montagna di Marzo, Monte Navone, and Mendolito. Considering these sites, there seems to be a concentration in the hinterlands to the west of the Plain of Catania.

[352] Linguistically, the "-ΕΙΣ" ending of ΚΑΑΓΙΙΕΣ (line 1) appears to be related to Oscan and Protocampanian, ΤΟΥΤΟ (line 1) to Oscan "teutā" meaning "people," ΑΚΑΡΑΜ (line 1) to the Latin "arx, arcis" (although this connection may be tenuous), and ΓΕΡΕΙΓΑ (line 2) to Oscan "vereiia" - "town" or "settlement"; the third line could be a later addition. Willi 2008, 344; see also, Albanese Procelli 2003, 223.
[353] Willi 2008, 343.
[354] Two *enchytrismoi* tombs containing the remains of infants were located beneath the floor one of the houses, and tholos tombs in the Southern acropolis; event though these are Greek type, the circumstance of the tombs still seem irregular; Lamagna 2006a, 99.
[355] Lamagna 2006a, 100-1; Pope 2006, 71.
[356] Franco 1999, 199-210; Pope 2006, 72.
[357] See Appendix 1 for a map and full list of Sikel sites with designation.

The *phrouria* of Kasmenai, Akria, Monte San Basilio, and Monte Turcisi to the east help to draw a border between the territories of the Greek cities on the coast and the inland Sikel territory. Matters become more complicated in the west, as Scornavacche, Chiaramonte Gulfi and Kamarina seem to penetrate Sikel territory in the South. This may perhaps speak to the difficulties in holding power over the mountainous terrain in the interior.

What is more, several sites appear to have had mixed populations by the sixth century. Monte Judica, Ramacca, Monte San Mauro, Castiglione, and Castellaccio were all destroyed or abandoned during the period of tyranny in the early fifth century. The destruction of these Sikel foundations may have added to the growing tension that led to Ducetius' uprising. However, other sites with mixed demographics seem to have been destroyed in the period of Ducetius' power: Morgantina, Sabucina and Vassallaggi. These sites all lay to the west of the Sikel centre, perhaps suggesting the direction of Ducetius' ambitions. Finally, Grammichele, Ragusa, Monte Bubbonia, Enna, Poggio Cocola, and Civita all seem to have flourished in the mid-fifth century. While Ragusa, Poggio Cocola and Civita seem to have been out of Ducetius' path, Grammichele, Enna and Monte Bubbonia were all in close proximity to the Sikel centre.

As the Sicilian interior seems to have been a complicated mix of Sikel and Greek in the fifth century, so too does Ducetius' leadership. Certain features of his command, including the resettlement of Menae, the monumental building programs at Palikè, and the foundation of Kale Akte have clear parallels to the actions of the Greek tyrants. In addition, Ducetius shows a clear affinity for Greek language and culture in his dealings with his

Greek neighbours and adversaries. On the other hand, the importance of Sikel culture also appears to be clearly at play. Ducetius did not hold the role of tyrant, and the cities within the συντέλεια seem to have kept some autonomy from one another, suggested by the abandonment of Ducetius in 448, and the continued prosperity in Grammichele, Enna and Monte Bubbonia. Finally, while the site of Palikè underwent renovations to make it look more Greek, the basic functions of the sanctuary as established in the Archaic period remained.

## IV. Sikel Organization from the Death of Ducetius to the Rise of Dionysius I

### *IV.1 Introduction*

Although 440 is generally considered the end of the Sikel federation,[358] the Sikels remain present in our primary sources throughout the latter half of the fifth century, with references to the Sikels as valuable allies in the following decades by both Diodorus and Thucydides. Epigraphic evidence from Athens and evidence from the archaeological record at Palikè seems to corroborate the persistence of the Sikels into the latter half of the fifth century. This chapter will outline the evidence for the Sikels in this period in order to better understand the nature of Sikel political formation following the death of Ducetius in 440.

### *IV.2 The Historical Sources*

#### IV.2.1 Diodorus Siculus

##### Trinakie

Diodorus Siculus writes that following the death of Ducetius in 440, Syracuse launched a campaign against the city of Trinakie which "was the only Sikel city that the Syracusans had failed to make subject to them."[359] Diodorus' reasoning was that the Trinakians might attempt to claim leadership of the Sikels, thereby perpetuating the federation that Ducetius had begun. Because, as Diodorus says, all the other Sikel cities

[358] Diodorus writes that the Sikels became Syracusan subjects following the death of Ducetius and the subsequent sacked of Trinakie, 12.29.2; this stance has been taken up by De Angelis, 2016, 118; Serrati 2000, 12; Walsh 2011/12, 120.

[359] Συρακόσιοι δὲ πάσας τὰς τῶνΣικελῶν πόλεις ὑπηκόους ποιησάμενοι πλὴν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τρινακίης… Diod. Sic. 12.29.2 (trans. Peter Green).

were subject to Syracuse at this time, Triankie had no allies to call on to help defend themselves when Syracuse and her allies marched on the city.[360] Syracuse took the city, despite the resistance on the part of the Trinakians, and, the following year, levied "heavier tribute on the Sicels who had been made subject to them."[361]

Besides this one reference, Trinakie is otherwise unknown in our historical sources.[362] Palikè has been identified with Trinakie, the name having changed sometime after the city's foundation to reflect a more nationalistic stance in the συντέλεια[363] or the acropolis of Palikè being called Trinakie, similar to the name Kadmeia of Thebes.[364] This would fit with Beloch's correction to the table of contents for Book XII, where the text reads that the Syracusans attack Trinakie "against the Picenians" (*ἐπὶ Πικήνους*) to "against the men of Palikè" (*ἐπὶ Π<αλ>ικήνους*).[365] Furthermore, Palikè is not mentioned in the text again after XI.88.6-90.2 when Ducetius' founding of the city is outlined, even though, at this point Diodorus writes that, regarding its destruction, he would "provide a detailed account under the appropriate year."[366]

However, other identifications are possible; Antonio Franco argues that identifying Trinakie as Palikè does not fit with the archaeological evidence, because there is no destruction layer dating to the fifth century in Palikè, and because Trinakie is described by

[360] Diod. Sic. 12.29.2-3.
[361] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Συρακόσιοι…φόρους ἀδροτέρους τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις Σικελοῖς ἐπιτιθέντες. Diod. Sic. 12.30.1 (trans. Peter Green).
[362] Galvagno 1991, 106; for a summary of scholarship for this argument, see Green 2006, 172-3 n. 371.
[363] Since the name Trinakie is close to 'Thrinakie' and 'Trinakira,' both local names for Sicily; Green 2006 172-3 n. 371.
[364] Galvagno 1991, 116.
[365] Beloch 1912-27, 136 n. 4 (with modifications).
[366] …περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις. Diod. Sic. 11.90.2 (trans. Peter Green).

Diodorus as having always been prominent among the Sikels, suggesting that the city pre-dated Ducetius' federation.[367] Instead, he identifies Trinakie with the known site of Mendolito, located eight kilometres northeast of Adranon. Franco believes that this site is a good candidate because it shows a flourishing architectural program in the eight to sixth centuries, which would correspond with the prominence that seems to be suggested in Diodorus' passage, and because it was abandoned in the mid-fifth century.

The Sikels: 440-406 BCE

The first reference to the Sikels following the Trinakie episode appears in Book XIII, when Diodorus presents the Sicilians that allied themselves with the Athenians and Syracusans in 415 during Athens' second invasion of Sicily.[368] In this passage, Diodorus, departing from Thucydides, states that the Sikels, "while tending to be favourably inclined toward the Syracusans, nevertheless remained neutral, awaiting the outcome."[369] This suggests that at this point, they were not subjects to Syracusan rule, and it is, perhaps, possible that conditions of Syracusan control over the Sikel territory had changed between 440 and the Athenian invasion.

The Athenians were defeated in 413, and by 409, Sicily was faced with a new threat when the Carthaginians invaded with advanced siege weapons and a myriad of troops.[370] After marching on the city of Selinunte,[371] Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, directed

[367] Franco 1999, 200-1; Diodorus describes the Trinakians as "τος πρότερον ἀηττητους γεγονότας" (12.29.5) and the city as "ἡ δε πόλις οὕτη πολλούς καί μεγάλους ἄνδρας εἶχεν, ἀεί τό πρωτε῾ίον ἐσχηκυῖα τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων" (12.29.2); cf. Pope 2009, 135.
[368] Diod. Sic. 13.4.2.
[369] αί δὲ τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τῇ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς Συρακοσίους ἔρρεπον, ὅμως δ᾽ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μένουσαι τὸ συμβησόμενον ἐκαραδόκουν. Diod. Sic. 13.4.2 (trans. Oldfather).
[370] Diod. Sic.13.54.
[371] Diod. Sic. 13.57.

his sights on Himera,[372] since it was the source of some familial dishonour.[373] At this point, the Carthaginian troops were bolstered with twenty thousand Sikan and Sikel soldiers.[374] In this way, the Sikels continued to act in ways that appear to be independent of Syracusan control.

The Sikels under Dionysius I

There are a few references to the Sikels in the early years of Dionysius' reign that are pertinent to the discussion of Sikel identity before 406, as they may reflect back onto the status of the Sikels in the years before Dionysius' rise of Dionysius; they further emphasize the independence of the Sikels from the Syracusans.

In 406 Dionysius I was appointed to the position of *strategos autokrator* in Syracuse, having taken advantage of the people's dissatisfaction with the previous generals for poor conduct in the war against Carthage, and he quickly established himself as tyrant in the city.[375] The war continued to rage between the Syracuse under Dionysius and the Carthaginians, until 405, when the Syracusans began to feel the strain of continuing to wage the war and the Carthaginians were hit by a plague, leading the armies to come to a truce.[376] According to the terms of this truce the Carthaginians could keep the original Punic colonies, as well as the territories of the Elymi and Sikani; the Sikels, however, along with the cities of Leontinoi and Messana were to remain free.[377] The Sikel territory was in

[372] Diod. Sic.13.59.4-5.
[373] Two generations before, Hannibal's grandfather Hamilcar was defeated by the Syracusan tyrant Gelon while besieging Himera; Diod. Sic. 11.21-23.
[374] Diod. Sic. 13.59.6.
[375] Diod. Sic. 13.92 and 95.
[376] Diod. Sic.13.113-4; Oldfather 1950, 445 n. 1.
[377] Diod. Sic.13.114.1.

an important strategic location,[378] and it is possible that neither side would concede control of it to the other. The question here, therefore, is whether the Sikels in the truce were keeping the freedom that they had maintained before the truce, or were granted freedom at that point. As the Sikels had allied themselves earlier in the war with the Carthaginians, it would seem, perhaps, to be the former.

Despite this truce, in 404, Dionysius sent forth a campaign to bring the Sikels under his rule, precisely because of, as Diodorus explains, "their previous alliance with the Carthaginians."[379] In this attack, Dionysius set his sights on the city of Herbessos. Herbessos is generally associated with Montagna di Marzo.[380] However, this campaign did not go as Dionysius had hoped, and because of it, he nearly lost his position in his city.[381] Again in 403, Dionysius campaigned in the Sicilian interior, this time against the city of Herbita, and again was foiled, reaching a truce with the city.[382] Following this, Archonides, the leader of Herbita,[383] decided to found a city, Halaesa, on the northern coast of the island.[384] Halaesa is associated with modern Castel di Tusa, located between Kale Akte and Kephalodion.[385] The locations of these sites[386] may suggest that in the latter half of the fifth century, the Sikel power base moved west and north, away from Palikè and the hinterlands

[378] See Holloway 1990.
[379] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καλῶς ἐδόκει διῳκηκέναι, τὴν δύναμιν ἐξήγαγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, πάντας μὲν σπεύδων τοὺς αὐτονόμους ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ποιήσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τούτους διὰ τὸ συμμαχῆσαι πρότερον Καρχηδονίοις. Diod. Sic.14.7.5 (trans. Oldfather).
[380] Herman Hansen and Hiene Nielsen 2004, 198.
[381] Diod. Sic.14.8-9.
[382] Diod. Sic 14.15; the site of Herbita is unknown; Herman Hansen and Hiene Nielsen 2004, 198.
[383] Likely Archonides II, a decendent of the Archonides that helped Ducetius found Kale Akte.
[384] Diod. Sic. 14.16.
[385] Herman Hansen and Hiene Nielsen 2004, 190.
[386] Herbessos and Halaesa, that is. It should also be noted that continued occupation is attested during the fourth century in the archaeological record at Kale Akte; De Angelis 2011/12, 170.

surrounding the Plain of Catania. In addition, parallels can be drawn between Ducetius and both Archonides I, in respect of the founding of Kale Akte, and Archonides II in respect of Halaesa.

There are several more mentions of the Sikels in Diodorus' Sicilian narrative, sometimes fighting for the Syracusans as mercenaries, and at other times allying themselves with the Carthaginians against the Syracusans.[387] In 394, Diodorus informs us that Dionysius led an attack against the Sikels in the hill-top town of Tauromenium, who believed it was the rightful territory of their Sikel ancestors. The Syracusan troops succeeded in breaking into acropolis of the city, but then were overwhelmed by the Sikels who were able to drive them off, slaying six hundred and nearly killing Dionysius himself. We are told that "after this disaster the Akragantini and Messanians banished the partisans of Dionysius, asserted their freedom and renounced their alliance with the tyrant."[388] The next year, however, Dionysius is said to have "formed alliances with most of the Sicels" before launching an attack at Messana.[389] In this way, we see that the Sikels play an important role in the narrative, and were so positioned that the Syracusans wanted them on their side, if not through force, at least by alliance.

### IV.2.2 Thucydides

Between Books III and VII of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, the narrative

[387] As mercenaries for Syracuse: Diod. Sic. 14.53.5; as allies of Carthage: Diod. Sic. 14.58.1, 14.75.6.
[388] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς τὰ Διονυσίου φρονοῦντας μεταστησάμενοι, τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχίας ἀπέστησαν. Diod. Sic.14.88.5 (trans. Oldfather).
[389] ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Σικελῶν συμμαχίας… Diod. Sic.14.90.3 (trans. Oldfather).

focuses on events in Sicily for 175 of the 559 chapters. In these 175 chapters, the Sikels are explicitly mentioned in the narrative on 30 occasions. Aside from five mentions in the Sicilian Archaeology, all other mentions are in the context of the Sicilian invasions.

Book III

Book III outlines the Peloponnesian war from 428 to the beginning of 425 (the fourth to sixth years of the war), and includes the beginning of the first Sicilian expedition in 427. Out of the 116 sections in the book, the narrative focuses on the Athenian campaign in Sicily in seven. Thucydides tells us that the Athenians became involved in Sicily in order to help the Chalkidian city of Leontinoi in its war against Syracuse on the pretext of kinship with the Leontinians, but in reality for the sake of preventing the Dorian Syracusans from exporting grain to the Peloponnese, and so that the Athenians might gain control of the island.[390]

The Sikels are mentioned on three separate occasions in Book III. The first reference is used to locate the Islands of Aeolus by its relative location to the Sikel territory and Messana, when the Athenians and Rhegians were sailing against these islands.[391] In the other two references the Sikels play an active role in the narrative. In the winter of 426/5, the Athenians attack the Sikel city of Inessa, as the Syracusans held its acropolis, with the aid of their Sicilian Greeks allies and "those of the Sikels who had revolted from their enforced subjection to Syracuse and were now fighting on the Athenian side."[392] In

[390] Thuc. 3.86.
[391] Thuc. 3.88.
[392]
οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων καὶ ὅσ οι
Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων

the same winter, the Athenians coordinate with the Sikels to invade the territory of Himera, the former from sea and the latter on land.[393] This can be construed as meaning that the Sikels were at this point subject to Syracuse and took the opportunity of the Athenian invasion to rise up; however it is not clear in Thucydides' account exactly when the Sikels' rising is supposed to have taken place. Certainly, though, Thucydides' account is at odds with Diodorus' in presenting the Sikels not as neutral (and, indeed, inclined to the Syracusans) but as important allies to the Athenians during the first invasion.

Book IV & V

Book IV outlines the years 425 to the winter of 423/2, and includes the ending of the first Sicilian expedition. The Sikels are mentioned once in this book. In the summer of 425, the Athenians sailed to Kamarina to stop the Syracusans from taking over the city. The Messanans, seeing an opportunity with the Athenians away, moved against the Athenian-allied Chalkidian city of Naxos. The Sikels "from the other side of the hills"[394] came to the defense of the Naxians, and were able to ward to Messanans off, killing many on the road back as they tried to retreat. The locations of Sikel cities referenced in Books III and IV[395] perhaps suggests that the Sikel power bases, as discussed in the previous section, had already shifted north and west by the mid-420s.

The first expedition ends with the Congress of Gela. In this episode, initially the

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ξυνεπολ-
έμουν, ἐπ' Ἴνησσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον, καὶ ὡς οὐκέδ ύναντο
ἑλεῖν, ἀπῇσαν. Thuc. 3.103; (trans. Hammond).

[393] Thuc. 3.115.

[394] οἱ Σικελοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων πολλοὶ… Thuc. 4.25.9; (trans. Hammond).

[395] Inessa, Himera, "over the hills" [ie. Etna] from Naxios.

Kamarinians and Gelans had decided to come to a truce, and later the rest of the Greeks on the island decided to attend the congress in order to attempt to reconcile.[396] Terms were made and the Athenians sailed back to Greece. It is interesting to note here that, according to Thucydides, despite the Sikels allying with the Athenians and holding significant territory during the first invasion, the only groups present at the Congress at Gela were Greek Sicilians.[397]

The years which Book V covers (422-416/5) are those between the first and second Sicilian expeditions. In the summer of 422 strife arose in the city of Leontinoi when the elite in the city allied themselves with the Syracusans in order to oppose a proposed redistribution of land and drive out the common folk and newcomers from Leontinoi. The Syracusans allowed the Leontinian elite into their city, but soon the Leontinians had a change of heart and went to the side of the commoners, bringing on war with Syracuse. Because of this, an envoy of Athenians was sent to Sicily in the hope that he might persuade their allies to stand against what they believed were Syracuse's expansionist ambitions.[398] The envoy went overland to the Athenian allies, but was ultimately unsuccessful and returned to Katana to sail home, "passing through Sikel country."[399] This ties into the strategic location that the Sikels were in, and what made them such valuable allies; the Sikel territory lay inland in eastern Sicily, and this meant that armies going over land either to or from Syracuse would often have to traverse through the Sikel territory. From this, it

[396] Thuc. 4.58.
[397] Thuc. 4.58.
[398] Thuc. 5.4.
[399] …ἀλλ'ἀναχωρήσας διὰ τῶν Σικελῶν ἐς Κατάνην καὶ ἅμα ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ καὶ ἐς τὰς Βρικιννίας ἐλθὼν καὶ irnaturalπαραθαρσύνας ἀπέπλει. Thuc. 5.46; (trans. Hammond).

would seem that Sikel territory still extended southward.

Book VI

Book VI, which includes the first half of the second Sicilian expedition covers the years of 416/15-414. Of the 105 sections in this book, the expedition takes up 80, and in those 80 there are 16 references to the Sikels. The book starts with an admonishment by Thucydides of the Athenians' ambition to conquer Sicily, while, he claims, they were so ignorant about the island:

> τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο αὖθις μείζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχητος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι, εἰδύναιντο, ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶνἐνοικούντων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶβαρβάρων, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πολλῷ τινὶὑποδεέστερον πόλεμον ἀνῃροῦντο ἢ τὸν πρὸς Πελοποννησίους.
>
> In the same winter the Athenians conceived a renewed ambition to subjugate Sicily, hoping to achieve this with a naval expedition on a greater scale than those under Laches and Eurymedon. Most Athenians were ignorant of the extent of the island and the size of its population, both Greek and barbarian, and had no idea that they were undertaking a war almost as formidable as their war against the Peloponnesians.[400]

The information that Thucydides presents in the Sicilian Archaeology stands in contrast to the knowledge of the demos and as a condemnation of democratic decision-making. David G. Smith, however, has argued that the ignorance that Thucydides is portraying does not match up with the reality of Athens at the time.[401] Athens had a long history of diplomatic relations with Sicily (some of the epigraphic evidence for which will be discussed below), and the first Sicilian expedition saw 6000 soldiers that would have brought back first-hand knowledge.

[400] Thuc. 6.1.1.
[401] Smith 2004, 40, 44.

Besides the references in the Archaeology, the Sikels also appear throughout the narrative in this book as important and useful allies to both sides at different points, and occasionally as Syracusan subjects. In Nicias' second speech, as he tries to dissuade the Athenians from the expedition by explaining the wealth and resources of the Sicilians, and therefore how much it would cost the Athenians to wage war against them, he states that the Syracusans receive tithes from "some of the barbarians."[402] While it is not out of the realm of possibility that the other local populations may have been paying tribute to Syracuse, the location of the Sikel territory relative to that of Syracuse, and the other evidence that Syracuse was at least trying to hold some of the Sikels under its rule, suggests that the barbarians that Nicias is referring to are the Sikels, implying again that the Sikels were not altogether free, nor, since we know that up until this point some of the Sikels, at least, were allied with Athens, completely controlled by the Syracusans. This point is underlined by Hermocrates' advice to his city as to how to prepare itself against the oncoming Athenians.[403] Among the precautions he suggests is that the Syracusans "send out to the Sicels to consolidate alliances and try to make new friends and allies."[404] Furthermore, when the news of the Athenian fleet arriving at Rhegium reaches Syracuse, we are told that the Syracusans "sent round to the Sicel towns, dispatching troops or envoys as appropriate, and installed garrisons in the local forts."[405]

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[402] Συρακοσίοις δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων τινῶν ἀπαρχὴ ἐσφέρεται. Thuc. 6.20; (trans. Hammond).
[403] Thuc. 6.32.
[404] ἐς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πέμποντες τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον βεβαιωσώμεθα, τοῖς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πειρώμεθα irnaturalποιεῖσθαι. Thuc. 6.34; (trans. Hammond).
[405] καὶ ἔς τε τοὺς Σικελοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἔνθα μὲν φύλακας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐς τὰ περιπόλια τὰ ἐν τ ῇ χώρᾳ φρουρὰς ἐσεκόμιζον. Thuc. 6.45; (trans. Hammond).

The Athenian generals, upon arriving in Sicily and realizing that the money promised to them by the Egestans was, in fact, non-existent, were conflicted about whether to go home having accomplished nothing, or to remain in Sicily at great risk, and in favour of this side, Alcibiades, in a similar manner to Hermocrates, advised sending envoys to the occupied Sikels in order to persuade them either to revolt against the Syracusans or to ally with the ones that were free, because the Sikels could provide them with both men and supplies.[406] In both of these cases, the strategic importance of securing the Sikel support is emphasized, and the impression given that some Sikels were under Syracusan occupation but others not.

Following Alcibiades' forced return to Athens and subsequent exile, the remaining two generals, Nicias and Lamachus headed for Selinus and Egesta, with half the troops going by ship and the other half on foot, passing through Sikel territory to Katana. [407] At this time as well, the Greeks went around to the allied Sikels to marshal troops in the hope of taking the town of Hybla Geleatis, which was ultimately unrealized.[408] When the Syracusans decided to march on the Athenians at Katana, the Athenians embarked onto their triremes with "all their own forces and all the Sicels and any others who had joined them" to go to Syracuse.[409]

Some insight into the workings of the Sikel territory may be gleaned at VI.88, which

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[406] Thuc. 6.48.
[407] Thuc. 6.62.4.
[408] Thuc. 6.62.5.
[409]
"οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ᾔσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσιόντας, ἀναλαβόντες τό τε στράτευμα ἅπαν τὸ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὅσοιΣικ ελῶν
αὐτοῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις προσεληλύθει καὶ ἐπιβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας," Thuc. 6.62.5; (trans. Hammond).

describes the events of the winter of 415/14, as Thucydides explains another overture the Athenians make to the Sikels in order to try to bring them onto their side:

> καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι τὰ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξηρτύοντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἔπρασσον ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς πλεῖστοι προσχωρήσονται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ πεδία μᾶλλον τῶν Σικελῶν ὑπήκοοι ὄντες τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ πολλοὶ ἀφειστήκεσαν: τῶν δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐχόντων αὐτόνομοι οὖσαι καὶ πρότερον αἰεὶ <αἱ> οἰκήσεις εὐθὺς πλὴν ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦσαν, καὶ σῖτόν τε κατεκόμιζον τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ εἰσὶν οἳ καὶ χρήματα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς μὴ προσχωροῦντας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύοντες τοὺς μὲν προσηνάγκαζον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων φρουρούς τε πεμπόντων καὶ βοηθούντων ἀπεκωλύοντο.
>
> While the Syracusans continued their own preparations for the war, the Athenians encamped at Naxos made overtures to the Sicels in an effort to win over as many as they could. The Sicels concentrated in the plains were Syracusan subjects and not many had revolted but the settlements in the interior were and always had been independent, and with few exceptions these Sicels immediately joined the Athenians and began supplying the army with food: some contributed money also. The Athenians took offensive action against those who refused to come over, and forced some of them into submission…[410]

Later in this section, the Athenians once again make petitions to the Sikels to supply more cavalry.[411] In the summer of 414, the Athenians took on one such city, Kentoripe, that either had not revolted from Syracuse, or was resisting alliance.[412] During that same summer, the Athenians began a siege of Syracuse and in this endeavour they were joined by cavalry from Egesta, Naxos and the Sikels,[413] and finally, with the Athenians showing (momentary) superiority, Thucydides tells us that many Sikels who had been reluctant to take sides before this point, then chose to ally themselves with the Athenians.[414]

[410] Thuc. 6.88.3-5; (trans. Hammond).
[411] Thuc. 6.88.6.
[412] Thuc. 6.94.3.
[413] Thuc. 6.98.1.
[414] Thuc. 6.103.2.

Thus, the Sikels were, in the minds of both sides, important allies to have; they could provide men and resources, as well as safe passage through inland Sicily. Furthermore, in this book we also see a division of free and subjugated Sikels; those located in the Plain of Catania were under Syracusan rule, while those farther inland and to the north, where the land becomes more mountainous, and harder to control, remained free.[415] It seems that those Sikel cities that did enjoy autonomy were free to ally themselves as they saw fit, independent from the other powers on the island, as well as, perhaps, from each other.

Book VII

While the narrative of the Sicilian Expedition in Book VI ends with the Athenians having the upper hand, Book VII begins with a turn for the worse with the arrival of Spartan and Corinthian support for Syracuse in the summer of 414. Upon the arrival of this fleet, the Peloponnesians began to muster support for their side:

> πέμψειν δέ τινα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν καὶ οἱ Γελῷοι καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινές, οἳ πολὺ προθυμότερον προσχωρεῖν ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν τοῦ τε Ἀρχωνίδου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότος, ὃς τῶν ταύτῃ Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὢν οὐκ ἀδύνατος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλος ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Γυλίππου ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος προθύμως δοκοῦντος ἥκειν.
>
> They were also promised a modest contribution of troops by the Geloans and some of the Sicels, who were much readier now to come over after the recent death of Archonides (a local Sicel king and powerful figure sympathetic to the Athenians), and the arrival of Gylippus from Sparta with evidently serious intent.[416]

From this endeavour the Spartans received about a thousand troops from the Sikels.[417] The

[415] Walsh 2011/12, 121.
[416] Thuc. 7.1.4; (trans. Hammond).
[417] Thuc. 7.1.5.

fact that a group of Sikels moved to the Syracusan side following the death of Archonides, may suggest some centralized power that he had over at least a portion of the Sikels. This Archonides is likely the same one who helped Ducetius found Kale Akte, and the predecessor to Archonides II, the founder of Halaesa.[418]

By the following summer, the Athenians were quickly losing their hold in Sicily and began playing on the defensive. At one point, in a moment of strength, Nicias planned to intercept Syracusan troops who were on their way back from Plemmyrium, which they successfully captured:

> οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν τότε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλημμυρίου ἅλωσιν πρέσβεις οἰχόμενοι ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐπειδὴ ἔπεισάν τε καὶ ξυναγείραντες ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸν στρατόν, ὁ Νικίας προπυθόμενος πέμπει ἐς τῶν Σικελῶν τοὺς τὴν δίοδον ἔχοντας καὶ σφίσι ξυμμάχους, Κεντόριπάς τε καὶ Ἀλικυαίους καὶ ἄλλους, ὅπως μὴ διαφρήσωσι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ ξυστραφέντες κωλύσωσι διελθεῖν: ἄλλῃ γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ πειράσειν: Ἀκραγαντῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁδόν. πορευομένων δ᾽ ἤδη τῶν Σικελιωτῶν οἱ Σικελοί, καθάπερ ἐδέοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνέδραν τινὰ τριχῇ ποιησάμενοι, ἀφυλάκτοις τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενοι διέφθειραν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ Κορινθίου πάντας… καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐν τοῖς Σικελοῖς πάθος ἐγένετο, ἐπέσχον τὸ εὐθέως τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν…
>
> The envoys of Syracuse who had gone out to the other Sicilian cities after the capture of Plemmyrium succeeded in their mission and were now ready to bring back the troops they had gathered. Nicias had prior intelligence of this, and sent word to the Sicel allies of Athens who controlled the territory through which they would have to pass (these were the people of Centoripa and Alicyae, and some others). He told the Sicels not to let the enemy through, but to combine forces and stop them, as there was no chance that they would even try an alternative route (this was because the Acragantines would not allow them passage through their territory). So when these Greek Sicilian troops had started on their way, the Sicels complied with the Athenians' request and set an ambush for them deployed in three divisions. This sudden attack caught them off guard, and the Sicels killed some eight hundred of them, including all the envoys except one of the Corinthians…After this disaster in Sicel country the Syracusans deferred any

[418] Diodorus Siculus, 12.8; Culasso-Gastaldi, 1995, 148; Green 2006, 188-9 n. 39; Fragoulaki 2013, 296.

immediate attack on the Athenians.[419]

Thus some Sikels at this point were still valuable allies to the Athenians, even though some others had switched sides. Thucydides, when listing the allies on each side of the war, includes on the Athenian side, "barbarian support came from the Egestans, who had invited the Athenians in the first place, and from most of the Sicels."[420] On the opposite side, "the only barbarians with [the Syracusans] were the Sicels who had not defected to the Athenians."[421]

In the year 413, the Athenians lost a sea battle to the combined forces of the Spartans and Syracusans, and, with the remaining sailors unwilling to embark their ships and attempt to leave via water, retreated by land.[422] In order to summon the courage of the remaining troops, Nicias rode along the ranks shouting encouragement to the soldiers, that if they could just make it to Sikel territory, they would be safe.[423] Finally, the last mention of the Sikels comes in this same retreat, as the Athenians are hopeful that they might be met by Sikel reinforcements on the river Cacyparis.[424] Soon after the Athenian army was defeated and the captured soldiers sent to work in the quarries of Syracuse.[425]

---

[419] Thuc. 7.32.1-33.3; (trans. Hammond).

[420] …βαρβάρων δὲ Ἐγεσταῖοί τε, οἵπερ ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ Σικελῶν τὸπλέον, καὶ τῶν ἔξω Σικελίας Τυρσηνῶν… Thuc. 7.57.11; (trans. Hammond).

[421] …βαρβάρων δὲ Σικελοὶμόνοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀφέστασαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους… Thuc. 7.58.3; (trans. Hammond).

[422] Thuc. 7.72-73.

[423] Thuc. 7.77.

[424] Thuc. 7.80.

[425] Thuc. 7.85-7.

IV.2.3 Conclusions

The political situation of the Sikels indicated in our narratives is complex. Diodorus tells us that, in 448, the Sikels were subjugated to Syracuse, and in 405, they, in accordance with the treaty signed between Syracuse and the Carthaginians, were to be independent. But it appears that in the 35 years in between they did not simply remain subjects of the Syracusans. As it appears from Thucydides' narrative, the Sikels in the plain of Catania were Syracusan subjects, and the abandonment of Mendolito, if it is correctly identified as Trinakie, may suggest that the Syracusans did dominate that region following the death of Ducetius, as Diodorus claims. However, by the time that the Athenian invasions took place, those living in that area, to the north and west, were independent, including Archonides' Herbita. Topographic considerations may be at play here, as the Plain of Catania would have been easier for an outside group to hold by force, and could more comfortably be kept within the Syracusan sphere of influence,[426] than region to the north, which was both much farther away and mountainous, and therefore more difficult to hold.[427] During the Athenian invasions, it would appear that the independent Sikels were sometimes neutral, sometimes allied with the Athenians, and sometimes with the Syracusans, with shifts in their allegiance sometimes dictated by shifts in power relations among the Sikel communities themselves.

[426] Franco 1999, 201-2.
[427] Walsh 2011/12, 121.

*IV.3 Epigraphic Sources*

Aside from the historical sources, the Sikels also appear in our epigraphic record. In Athens, two inscriptions, *IG* $I^3$ 291 and *IG* $I^3$ 228, make reference to the Sikels. *IG* $I^3$ 291, an inventory of monetary contributions to the Athenians by their western allies, refers to the Sikels as a whole, suggesting that the Sikels may have been using this term define themselves as a collective group. The second inscription references two Sikel leaders, Archonides and Demon, who were named *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of Athens in the latter half of the fifth century. These inscriptions lend further support to some of the ideas outlined above: first, that the Sikels were discrete actors in the latter half of the fifth century, and second, that the elites were able to function effectively with the Greeks.

IV.3.1 *IG* $I^3$ 291

The first inscription is published in three fragments. Fragment A, which preserves some of the top of the inscription, was found in 1937 in a Roman fortification on the north slope of the Acropolis, the second fragment (Fragment B) was found in the Herodeon in 1857, and Fragment C was found in 1937 in modern strata over the north end of the Middle Stoa; the fragments were brought together based on the identical character of the writing and marble type.[428] The text reads as follows:[429]

[428] Except for two carelessly cut lines in Fragment B (see appendix); Meritt, Woodhead and Stamires 1957, 198-9.
[429] My reading (June 2017).

| | Fragment A: | Fragment B: | Fragment C: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | [-] +ĄPĄNAX [-] | [------] KĄ [---] | [-]⌈X [------] |
| | [--] TX̣HHHΠ [-] | [----] ΔΔΔ [--] | [-] Δ+ [------] |
| | [-] ĮHHΠ⊦IIII [-] | [-] +NAIOIΣΣIK+ [--] | [-] H[…]I̯I̯[---] |
| | [-] IΠAPA [-] | [--] ΔE H⌈Δ [--] | [-] ΓIΓNE [---] |
| 5 | [-] XXX⌈[--] | [-] Ṛ EΓ+ [-] | [-] HOIΔEΣ̣I [-] |
| | [--] ᵛᵛ [---] | [--] N ⌈XX+ [-] | [--] Δ̣T [-] |
| | | [--] ΣIKE [-] | [-----] ΛĄI [-] |
| | | [--] ΓIΓ+ [-] | |

The inscription appears to be a list of cities and figures, in a similar style to the Erechtheion inventories.[430] The inclusions of NAX (Frag. A, line 1) and ṚEΓ (Frag. B, line 5), suggest the Sicilian and Southern Italic cities Naxsios and Rhegion respectively. Based on the inclusion of Rhegion, dates of 427 or 415 (either the first Athenian expedition or early in the second) have been suggested, as Rhegion ceased its alliance with Athens during the second invasion.[431] The figures, therefore, would represent contributions to the Athenians by various allies in the West.

In the inscription, the letters ΣIK+ and ΣIKE- appear in Frag. B, lines 3 and 7 respectively, and the letters ΣI- in Frag. C, line 5; these letters have been reconstructed as either a listing of "Sikeliotoi" or "Sikeloi."[432] The first would be a general designation for the inhabitants of Sicily, which seems unlikely, as this would be a too broad a label to fit with the context of the inscription. Therefore, the reconstruction of "Sikeloi," referring to the Sikel population, is preferable.[433] The figure H⌈Δ in Frag. B, line 4 that follows the

[430] Meritt, Woodhead and Stamires 157, 200.
[431] Thucydides, 6.46.2; Meritt, Woodhead and Stamires 157, 199-200; see also Pope, 401-3, who argues strongly for its dating to the first expedition.
[432] Meritt, Woodhead and Stamires 1957, 199; Pope 2017, 412-3.
[433] Pope 2017, 402.

first mention of the Sikels, would presumably be the amount, 160 talents. Unfortunately, this line seems to be corrupted, and the reading is not secure (see Appendix B). However, on Fragment C, the Sikels are listed giving 11 talents, which is still a considerable amount of money.

Pope argues that the use of the term 'Sikeloi' in this inscription is both referring to a specific group of people well known to the Athenians, and that it was an emic usage.[434] The former assertion is based on the argument that, as discussed above, the Athenians were knowledgeable about the island and its inhabitants, despite what Thucydides claims.[435] This leads to the latter argument, because of the knowledge that the Athenians had about the people and the fact that there was a specific Sikel federation before that designated the toponym, it was unlikely that the Athenians would collect money from several Sikel cities individually, but record them under a regional-ethic heading, unless the Sikels had been using it themselves.[436]

IV.3.2 *IG* I$^3$ 228

In 1886, Stephanos Koumanoudis published two stones that were bought by the Archaeological Society and were believed to have come from Athens. The first of the fragments was the archon formula heading of a decree dating to 385/4. In 1886 a second fragment found on the Acropolis was published by Foucart.[437] Together, the stones form a

[434] Pope 2017, 409.
[435] As discussed above; see Smith 2000, 44.
[436] Pope 2017, 412-3.
[437] Walbank 1978, 354-5.

republication of a proxeny dating to approximately 435-415 BCE that declare the two Sikel leaders Archonides and his brother Demon as *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of Athens.[438]

ἐπὶ Δεξι[θέο ἄρχοντος].
Φιλόξεν[ος ἐγραμμάτευε].
*vacat*
ἔδοξεν τῆι [βουλῆι, Ἱπποθωντὶς ἐπ]-
[ρυτάν]ευε, Φ[ιλόξενος ἐγραμματευ]-
[ε — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
*lacuna*
[Ἀρχωνίδην — — — — — — — — — πρόξενο]-
[ν καὶ εὐεργέτ]η[ν] Ἀθ[ηναί]ων [ἀναγρά]-
[ψαι ἐν πόλει ἐ]στ[ήλη]ι λιθίνηι [τὸν]
[γραμματ]έα τῆς βο[υλ]ῆς· καὶ ἐάν [τις]
αὐτὸ]ν ἐν τῶμ πόλε[ων ὅσων Ἀ]θην[αῖο]-
[ι κρατ]οσ[ι]ν δ[ή]σηι [ἢ ἄγηι ἢ ἀποκτεί]-
[νηι βι]αίωι θανά[τωι, τὴν τιμωρίαν]
[εἶν]αι α[ὐτ]ῶι καθά[περ ἐάν τις Ἀθην]-
[αίων] τοιοῦτό[ν] τι [πάθηι, καὶ ἐπιμέ]-
[λε]σθαι τὴμ βο[υ]λὴν [αὐτοῦ τὴ]ν ἀε[ὶ βο]-
[υλ]εύοσαν ἐάν το [δέηται κα]ὶ τὸ[ς στ]-
[ρα]τηγὸς καὶ τὸ[ς] π[ρυτάνες] ὡς ὅ[ντο]-
[ς ἀ]νδρὸς ἀγαθο῀πε[ρὶ τὴν πόλ]ιν [τὴν]
[Ἀθ]ηναίων. Φράσμω[ν εἶπεν· τὰ μ]ὲν [ἄλ]-
[λα] καθάπερ τῆι βο[λῆι, ἐπαιν]έσ[αι δ]-
[ὲ κα]ὶ Δήμων[α] τὸν ἀδ[ελφὸν τ]ὸν Ἀ[ρχω]-
[νίδ]ο καὶ ἀναγράψαι κ[α]ὶ τοῦτο[ν κα]-
[ὶ τ]ὸς ἐκγόνος τὸς Ἀρχωνίδο κα[ὶ Δή]-
[μω]νος προξέ[ν]ος καὶ εὐεργέτα[ς κα]-
[ὶ τὰ] ἄλλ[α καθά]πε[ρ Ἀ]ρχωνίδην vvvv
*vacat*
[Φιλό]ξενο[ς Δ]ημαινέτο [Θορ]ίκιος
[ἐγραμ]μ[ά]τ[ευ]ε.
*vacat*[439]

*Proxenia* were granted at Athens to formalize a relationship between the polis and an

[438] *IG* I$^3$ 288; the reference to the cities that Athens rules must mean that the original decree dates to the fifth century while Athens still had her empire, De Vido 1997, 20-1.
[439] Text reconstruction from Walbank 1978, 355-6; with modified epigraphical marks from my reading (June, 2017). A transliteration of the text (both mine and Walbanks) can be found in Appendix 3.

individual who did some service to the city. The honours a *proxenos* could receive ranged from a simple decree of friendship to the granting of specific privileges.[440] The *proxenia* granted Archonides and Demon gave them the right to be treated in the same manner as a citizen if ever killed or injured in any place ruled by Athens and to be given special treatment by the Athenian magistrates, and granted that their descendants be considered as *proxenoi* and *euergetai* as well.[441]

This inscription fits well with and strengthens our historical sources. The Archonides mentioned in this inscription is the same as the one in Thucydides, confirming the good relationship between the leader and Athens alluded to at the beginning of the seventh book.[442] As with the previous inscription, we once again see the deep connections that existed between Athens and the Sikels.[443]

*IV.4 Palikè*

The archaeological record reveals that there was continued use of the sanctuary at Palikè following the death of Ducetius. In the grotto, the structure labeled Stoa FA (fig. 18), which was probably constructed along a sort of sacred way to delineate the religious space,[444] is thought to have been built in the late fifth or early fourth century.[445] It was the first structure that visitors to the sanctuary would have come across, and was located closer

[440] Walbank 1978, 2-5.
[441] ll. 9-14, 14-19 and 23-25 respectively.
[442] Fragoulaki 2013, 296; Culasso-Gastaldi 1995, 147-8.
[443] De Vido 1997, 21-2.
[444] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 167-8; see also McConnell 2008, 351-6.
[445] Maniscalco 2008, 118-20; finds within the structure suggest usage in the fourth century.

to the banks of the lake, much farther from the grotto than the other structures.[446] The building measures at least 82.3m long and not fully explored.[447] The layout of the rooms, with offset doors to allow for windows, and finds within the structure, including a writing stylus and transport amphora, suggest a commercial function.[448] In addition the plan is typical of a fourth century stoa, with a second floor.[449]

Complex P (fig. 19) was constructed in the fourth century on the foundations of Stoa B following its destruction at the end of the fifth century.[450] Like the *hestiaterion*, Complex P was also U-shaped, and mirrored the old structure in form, which created a closed court between the two structures.[451] The southern side of the structure seems to have been open, creating a covered walkway that would have offered a view of the boiling lakes from the courtyard. Finds from within Complex P reveal that it was in use into the second century.[452]

Both structures, Stoa FA and Complex P, were constructed on the same axis as the earlier Stoa B and *hestiatorion*, perhaps suggesting continuity in the building programs.[453] Maniscalco and McConnell suggest that it is unlikely that the Sikel federation of Ducetius, as short lived as it was, would have been enough to drive this continued use and development, and therefore that a strong administrative authority was in place at the

[446] About 65m from Stoa B to the south east, Maniscalco 2008, 118.
[447] Maniscalco and McConnell 2015, 517.
[448] Layout: Maniscalco and McConnell 2015, 517; finds: Maniscalco 2008, 118.
[449] Maniscalco 2008, 120.
[450] Maniscalco 2008, 120.
[451] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 168-9.
[452] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 169.
[453] McConnell 2008, 350; Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 168-9.

sanctuary that preceded the συντέλεια that is not attested to in our historical sources.[454]

*IV.5 Conclusions*

The latter half of the fifth century was a turbulent time in Sicilian history. In the 35 years between the death of Ducetius and the peace treaty between Dionysius I and the Carthaginians, the island saw several wars, two Athenian invasions and the rise of two great powers on the island. The historical, archaeological and epigraphic records all attest to the major role that the Sikels played throughout this period of instability.

The Sikel territory in the interior continued to be essential in the facilitation of travel within the island, making the Sikels important allies to have, and the major powers often sought such alliances. In both the epigraphic and historical sources, the Sikel leaders continue to be knowledgeable regarding Greek culture and language, as seen in the figures of the two Archonides of Herbita. During this period, the Sikel territory also seemed to shift. The territory moved north and west from the central seat of power formed by Ducetius in the area surrounding the Plain of Catania and away from the Syracusans. Nevertheless, at the same time, a distinct Sikel cultural entity seems to have persisted into this period, as suggested by the continued development of Palikè, as well as the use of the term "Sikeloi" in *IG* $I^3$ 291.

[454] Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 176.

## V. Appendices

*V.1 Appendix A: Sikel Cities*

| Period | Site | Designation |
|---|---|---|
| **Destroyed before the mid-Fifth c.** | Monte Judica | Mixed |
| | Ramacca | Mixed |
| | Monte San Mauro | Mixed/Greek |
| | Castiglione | Mixed |
| | Castellaccio | Mixed |
| **Occupied through the mid-Fifth c.** | Palikè | Sikel |
| | Menae | Sikel |
| | Catalfaro | Sikel |
| | Altobrando | Sikel |
| | Monte Casazzi | Sikel |
| | Licodia Eubea | Sikel |
| | Monte Casasia | Sikel |
| | Modica | Sikel |
| | Monte Navone | Sikel/Mixed |
| | Grammichele | Mixed |
| | Ragusa | Mixed |
| | Monte Bubbonia | Mixed |
| | Enna | Mixed |
| | Poggio Cocola | Mixed |
| | Civita | Mixed |
| | Monte San Basilio | Greek |
| | Monte Turcisi | Greek |
| | Kamenai | Greek |
| | Akrai | Greek |
| | Scornavacche | Greek |
| | Chiaramonte Gulfi | Greek |
| | Kamarina | Greek |
| | Gibil Gabib | Greek |
| | Paterno | Greek |
| **Destroyed mid-Fifth c.** | Mendolito | Sikel |
| | Morgantina | Mixed |
| | Sabucina | Mixed |
| | Vassallaggi | Mixed |


Eastern Siciliy (M. Puglisi)

*V.2 Appendix B:* IG *I3 291*

Fragment A

| Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires Trans. | My Trans. |
|---|---|
| [---] παρα Ναχς[ίον----] | [-] +APANAX [-] |
| [----]ΤΧΗΗΗΠ[------] | [--] ΤX̣ΗΗΗΠ [-] |
| [---]ΗΗΠ⊦ΙΙΙΙ[------] | [-] Ḥ̣ΗΠ⊦ΙΙΙΙ ᵛ [-] |
| [----]Ι παρα[------] | [-] ΙΠΑΡΑ [-] |
| [----]XXX𐆖 [--------] | [-] XXX𐆖 [--] |
| [-----]ᵛᵛ[--------] | [--] ᵛᵛ [---] |

Text Notes

Line 1: Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires includes a Π preceeding the first A, but I cannot confirm this.

Other Notes

Aside from line 1, I would confirm Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires reading of the text.

Fragment B

| Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires Trans. | | My Trans. |
|---|---|---|
| [---------] | Κα[ταναῖοι-----] | [------] $^{vv}$ ΚẠ[---] |
| [--------] | ΔΔΔ[-------] | [----] (vac.c.4) ΔΔΔ[--] |
| [----]ηαίοις | Σικε[λοί------] | [-]+ΝΑΙΟΙΣΣΙΚ+[--] |
| [----τ]ᾲδε | Η⸗Δ[-------] | [--]ΔΕ $^{vvv}$ Η⸗Δ[--] |
| [-----] | Ῥεγῖ[νοι------] | [-] (vac.c.7) ṚΕΓ+[-] |
| [-----]ν | ⸗ΧΧΠ+[-------] | [--] Ν (vac.c.4-5) ⸗ΧΧ+[-] |
| [-----] | Σικε[λοι------] | [--] (vac.c.5-6) ΣΙΚΕ[-] |
| [-------] | γίγγ[εται------] | [--] (vac.c.5-6) ΓΙΓΝ[-] |

Text Notes

Line 3 and 4: Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires note that letters in line 3, and the ΔΕ in line 4 are "carelessly cut."[455] I would argue that this is an understatement. The deep gouges and change in cutting technique suggest graffiti or some other later addition to the text, obscuring the original line. In addition Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires read an A in line 4 preceding the ΔΕ, however, I find no sign of this.

Line 5: Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires read an I following the ΡΕΓ, but I cannot confirm this.

Other Notes

Line 3 has been read as the Sikel contributing a great sum (160 Talents, line 4) to the Athenian cause; however, due to the poor preservation of the line, this reading is uncertain. Nevertheless, the reference to the Sikels later in this fragrament (line 7), and the possible Sikel contribution in frag. 3, would suggest that the Sikels were both known to the Athenians, and contributing to the Athenian cause.

[455] Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires 1957, 200.

Fragment C

| Merritt, Woodhead and Stamires Trans. | My Trans. |
|---|---|
| ⸢X[----------] | [-]⸢X [------] |
| Δ+[----------] | [-] Δ+ [------] |
| H[…]II[----------] | [-] H[…]I̯I̯[---] |
| γιγνε[ται----------] | [-] ΓΙΓΝΕ [---] |
| *h*οι δε Σ̣ι[κελοι---ἐπεδοσαν] | [-] ΗΟΙΔΕΣ̣Ι [-] |
| [.]ΔT (vacat) | [--] Δ̣T (vac.c.4) [-] |
| [κεφα]λαι[ον συμπαντος----] | [-----] Λ̣Α̣Ι [-] |

Text Notes

I would agree with published reading of this text.

Other Notes

The reference to Sikel payment is found in lines 5 and 6.

*V.3 Appendix C:* IG *I*$^3$ *228*

Fragment A

| Walbank Trans. | My Trans. |
|---|---|
| ΕΠΙΔΕΞ[----------] | [-]Ε++ΔΕΞΙ[-] |
| ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝ[----------] | [-]ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝ[-] |
| *vacat* | *vacat* |
| ΕΔΟΞΕΝΤΗΙ[----------] | [-]ΔΟΞΕΝΤΗΙ[-] |
| [-----]ΕΥΕΦ[----------] | [-----]Ẹ̣ΥΕΦ[-] |

Textual Notes

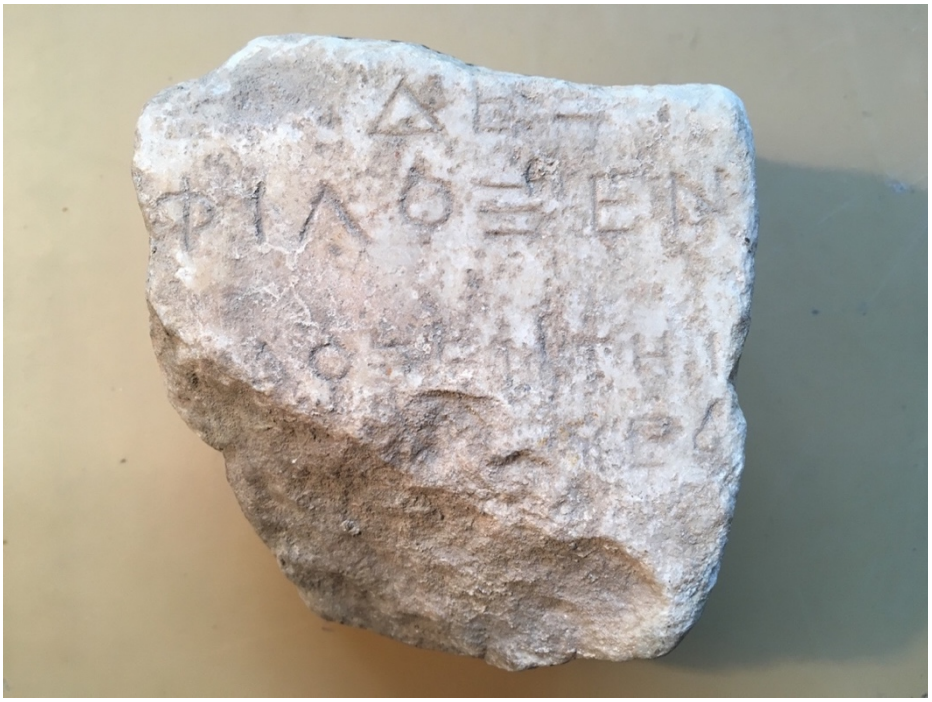
Line 1: Walbank reads a ΠΙ between the first letter (Ε) and the Δ; I cannot confirm either letter.

Line 3: Walbank identifies an Ε before the Δ, but the stone is broken away here.

Line 4: Although Walbank reads an Ε before the Υ, I do not believe that this letter can be identified securely.

Other Notes

The archon headings ἐπὶ Δεξι[θέο] (line 1), dates this stone to 385/4.

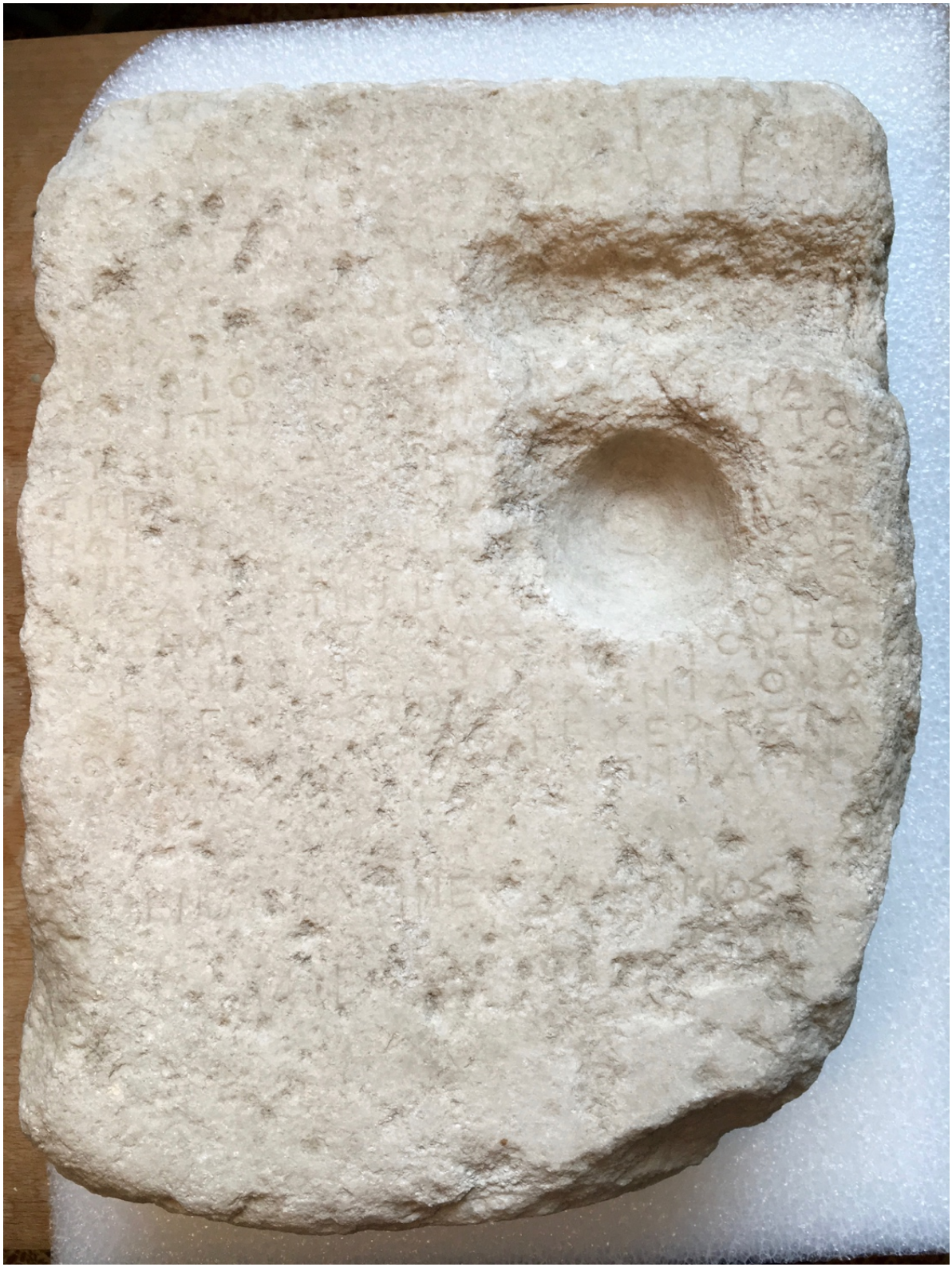


Fragment B

| Walbank Trans. | My Trans. |
|---|---|
| *lacuna* | *lacuna* |
| [-c.11-]Η[-]ΑΘ[----]ΩΝ[-c.6-] | [-c.19-]ΩΝ[-c.5-] |
| [-c.11-]ΣΤ[---]ΙΛΙΘΙΝΗΙ[---] | [-c.18-]ΙΘΙ[-c.5-] |
| [-c.7-]ΕΑΤΗΣΒ[---]ΗΣΚΑΙΕΑΝ[---] | [-c.12-]Β̣[---]ΗΣΚΑΙΕΑΝ[--] |
| [----]ΝΕΝΤΩΜΠΟΛΕ[-c.7-]ΘΗΝ[---] | [-c.6-]Ν̣Τ̣Ω̣[-]Π[-]ΛΕ[-c.7-]Θ̣Η̣Ν[--] |
| [-c.5-]ΟΣ[-]ΝΔ[-]ΣΗΙ[-c.14-] | [-c.5-]Ο̣Σ̣[-]Ν̣Δ̣[-]Η̣Ι[-c.12-] |
| [-c.5-]ΑΙΩΙΘΑΝΑ[-c.14-] | [---]Β̣ΙΑΙΩ̣[-]ΘΑΝΑ[-c.13-] |
| [---]ΑΙΑ[--]ΩΙΚΑΘΑ[-c.13-] | [--]+ΑΙΑ[--]Ω[-]Κ̣ΑΘΑ[-c.12-] |
| [----]ΤΟΙΟΙΤΟ[-]ΤΙ[-c.13-] | [----]ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ[-]ΤΙ+[-c.11-] |
| [--]ΣΘΑΙΤΗΜΒΟ[-]ΛΗΝ[-c.6-]ΝΑΕ[---] | [---]Θ[-]ΙΤΗ[-]ΒΟ[-]ΛΗΝ[-c.6-]ΝΑΕ[--] |
| [--]ΕΥΟΣΑΝΕΑΝΤΟ[-c.8-]ΙΤΟ[---] | [--]ΕΥ̣ΟΣΑΝΕΑ[-c.11-]ΙΤΟ[--] |
| [--]ΤΗΓΟΣΚΑΙΤΟ[-]Π[-c.7-]ΩΣΟ[---] | [--]ΤΗΓ[-c.8-]Π[-c.7-]+ΣΟ[--] |
| [--]ΝΔΡΟΣΑΓΘΟΠΕ[-c.8-]ΙΝ[---] | [--]ΝΔΡ[-]ΣΑ[----]ΠΕ[-c.7-]ΛΙΝ[--] |
| [--]ΗΝΑΙΩΝΦΡΑΣΜΩ[-c.9-]ΕΝ[--] | [--]ΗΝΑΙΩ[-]ΦΡΑΣ[-]Ω[-c.8-]ΜΕ+[-] |
| [--]ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΤΗΙΒΟ[-c.8-]ΕΣ[---] | [--]ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΤΗΙΒΟ[-c.8-]ΕΣ[--] |
| [---]ΙΔΗΜΩΝ[-]ΤΟΝΑΔ[-c.6-]ΟΝΑ[---] | [---]ΙΔΗΜΩΝ[-]ΤΟΝΑΔ[-c.6-]ΟΝΑ[--] |
| [---]ΟΚΑΙΑΜΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΚ[-]ΙΤΟΥΤΟ[---] | [---]ΟΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΚ[-]ΙΤΟΥΤΟ[--] |
| [--]ΟΣΕΚΓΟΝΟΣΤΟΣΑΡΧΩΝΙΔΟΚΑ[---] | [--]ΟΣ+ΚΓΟΝΟΣΤΟΣΑΡΧΩΝΙΔΟΚΑ[--] |
| [--]ΝΟΣΠΟΞΕ[-]ΟΣΚΑΙΕΘΕΡΓΕΤΑ[---] | [--]ΝΟΣΠΡΟ[-c.7-]ΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑ[--] |
| [---]ΑΛΛ[-c.5-]ΠΕ[--]ΡΧΩΝΙΔΗΝ$^{vvvv}$ | [-c.12-]Ε̣[---]ΧΩΝΙΔΗΝ$^{v}$[--] |
| *vacat* | *vacat* |
| [----]Ξ̣ΕΝΟ[--]ΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΟ[---]ΙΚΙΟΣ$^{v}$ | [----]Ξ̣ΕΝΟ[---]ΜΑΙΝΕ[-c.5-]ΙΚΙΟΣ$^{vvv}$ |
| [-c.5-]Μ[-]Τ[--]Ε *vacat* | [-c.5-]Μ̣[----]Ε *vacat* |

Textual Notes

Due to the preservation of the stone, I am unable to securely confirm Walbanks reading in several places, especially at the top of the stone. However, where I am able to read the text, my reading does, in general, line up with Walbank's. Therefore, I would not refute Walbank's reading on any of the lines.



Images

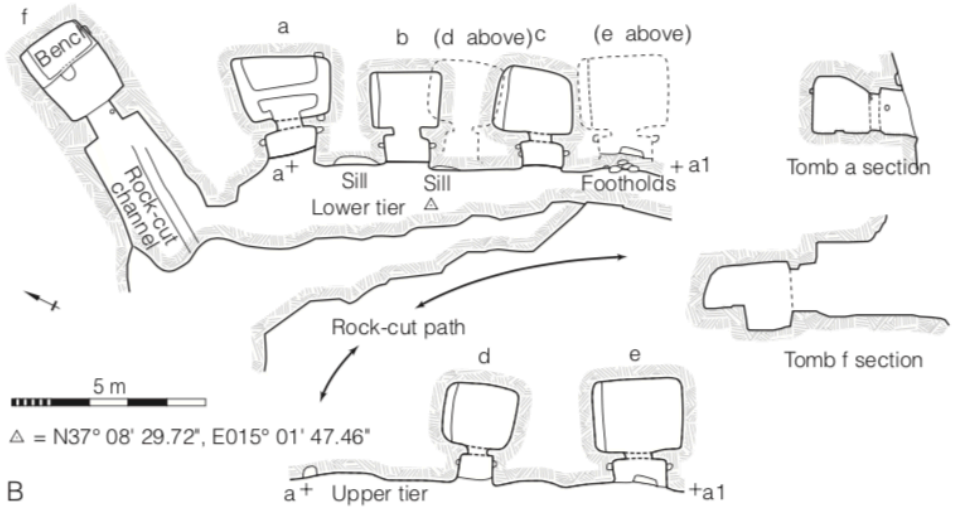



Fig. 1. Pantalica chamber tomb group, include tomb with forecourt (Tomb F) from Leighton 2011, 199.

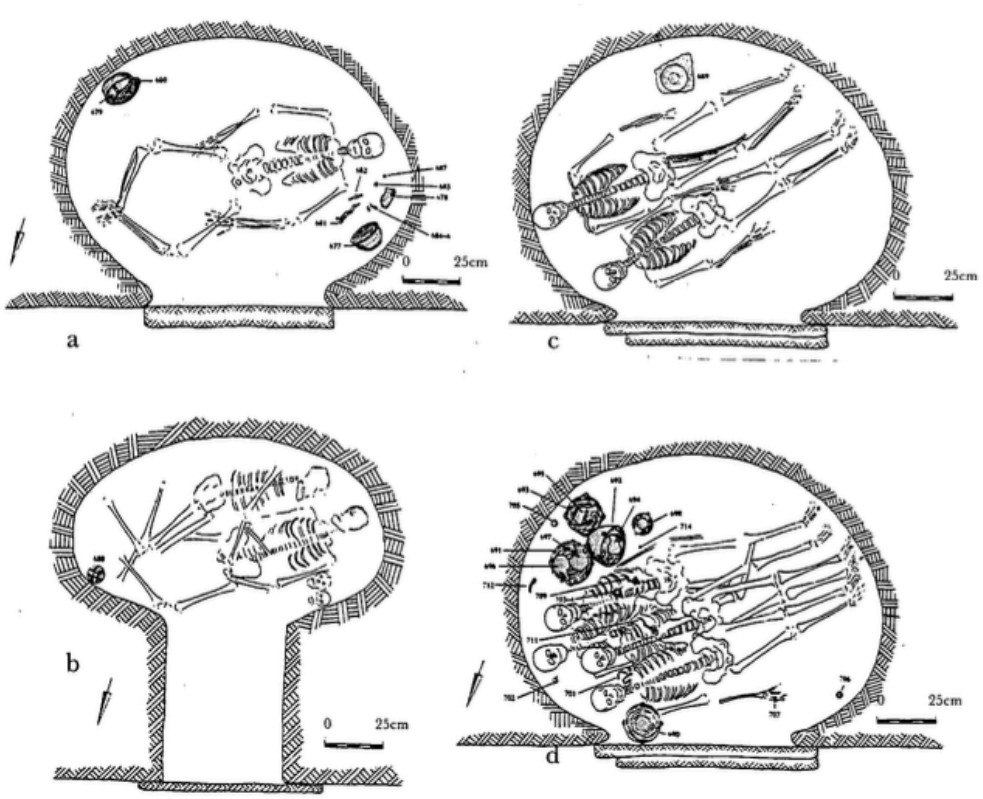



Fig. 2. Iron Age Tombs at Morgantina from Lyons 1996, 178.

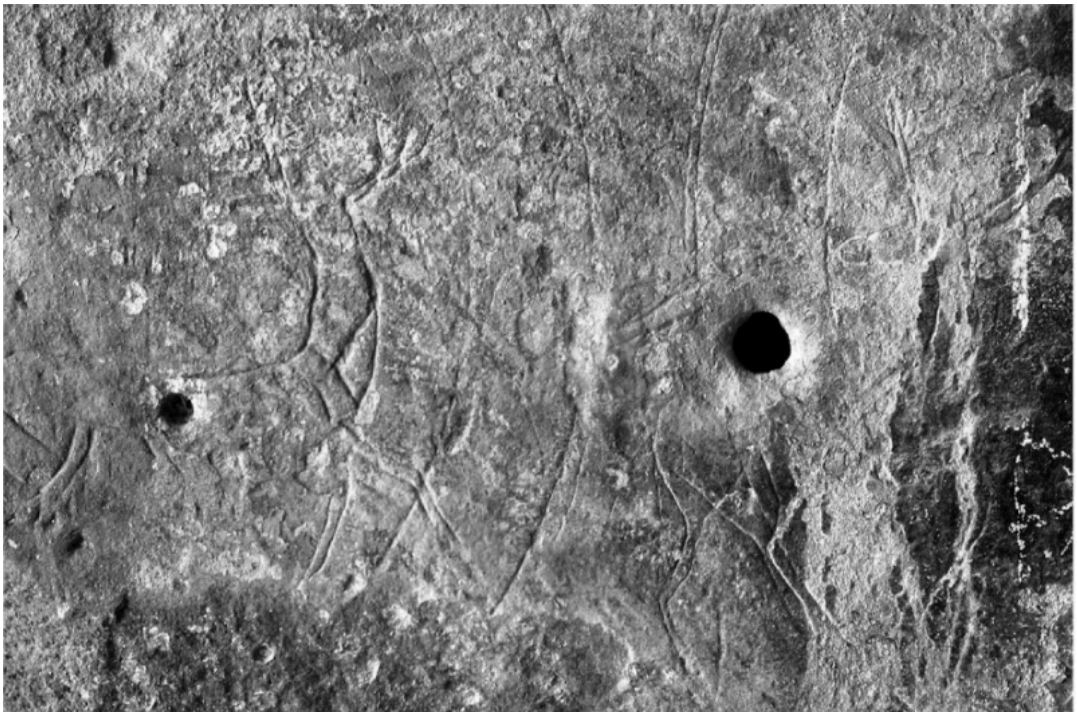


Fig. 3. Incised wall decoration of two deer from the Grotto di Caratabia from McConnell 2009, 106.

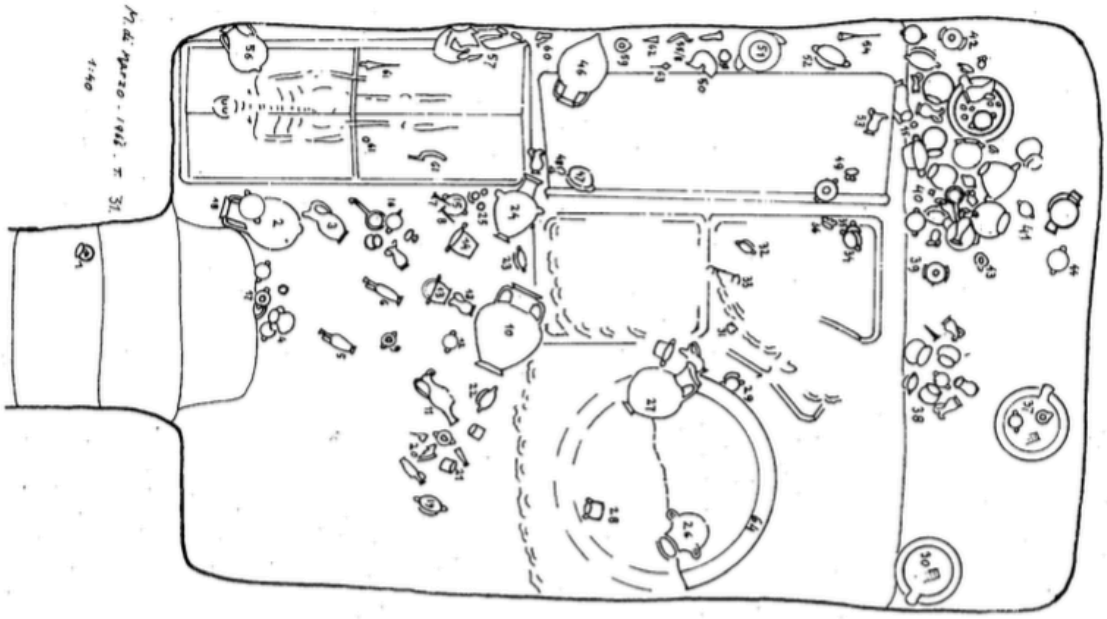
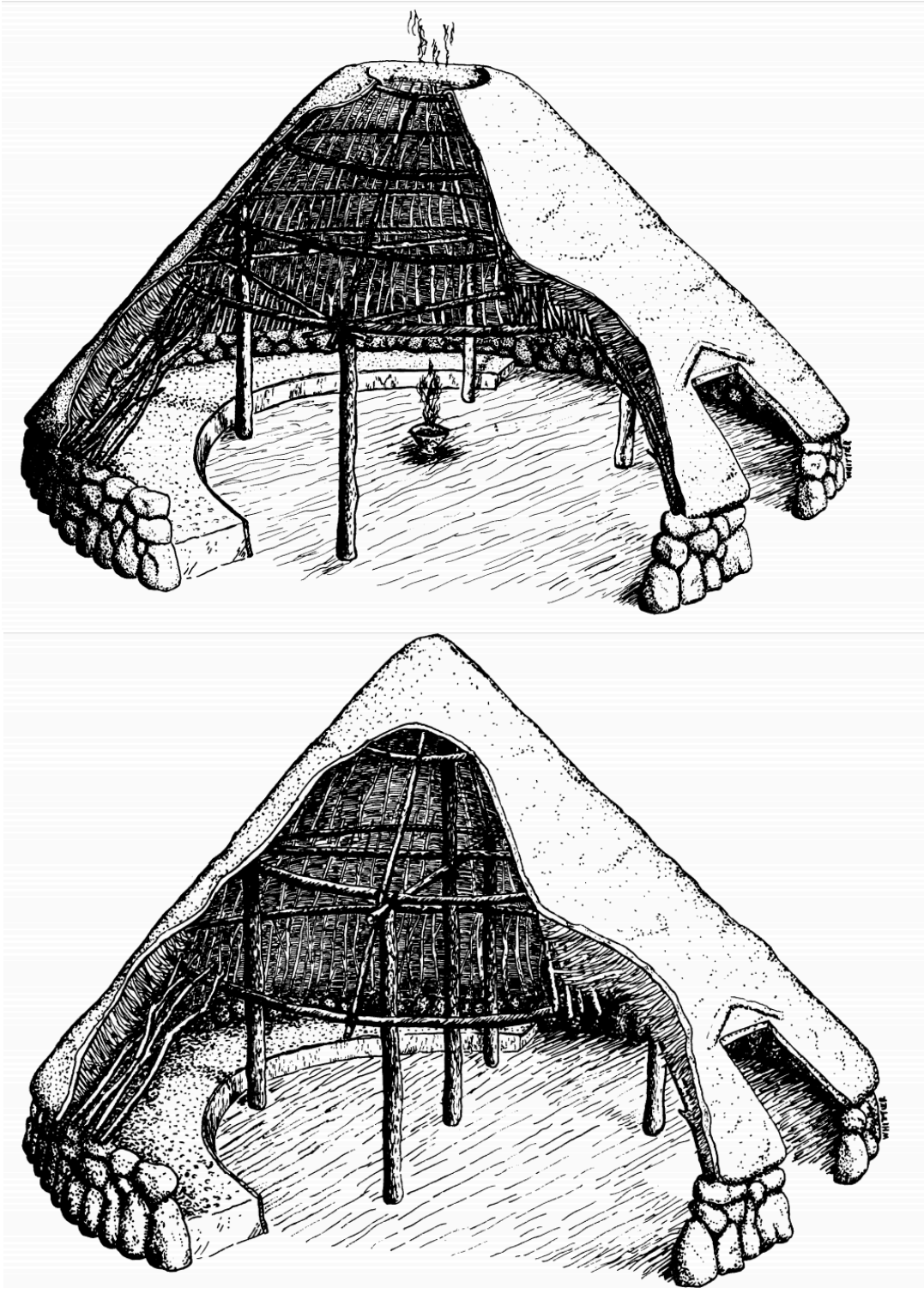


Fig. 4. Tomb Est 31 at Montagna di Marzo from Albanese Procelli 2003, 241.



Figs. 5 and 6. Two possible reconstructions of Hut 2 from La Muculufa from McConnell 1992, 34.

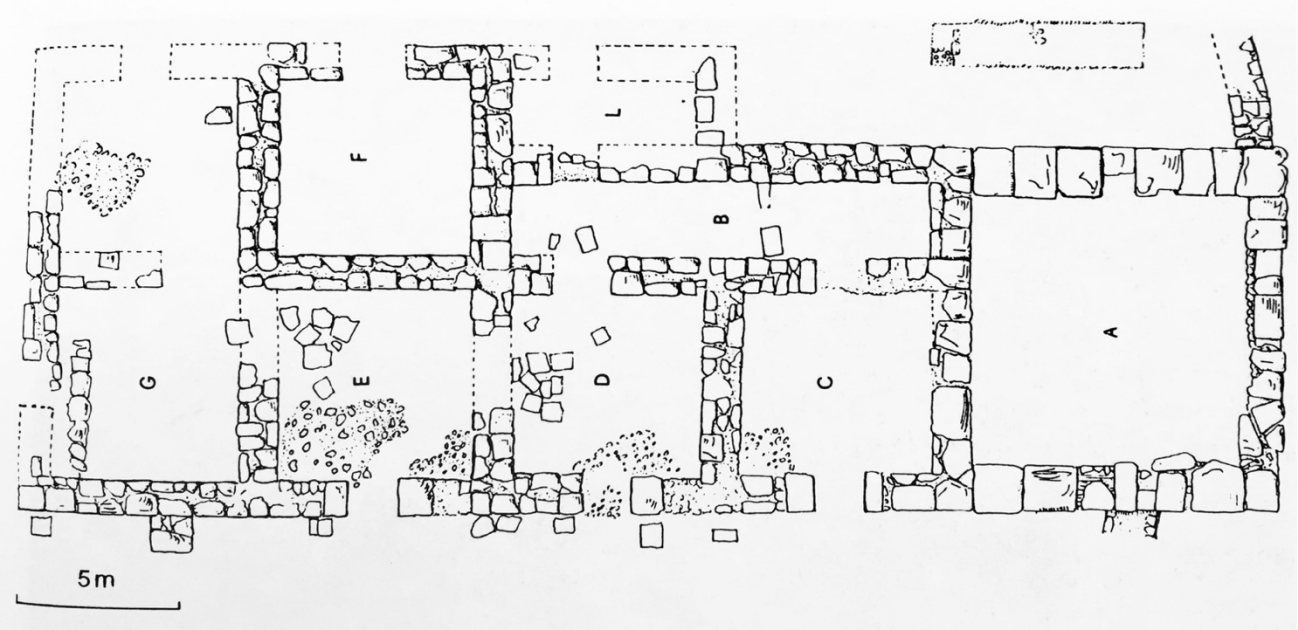



Fig. 7. (above) *Anaktoron* at Pantalic from Leighton 1999, 157.

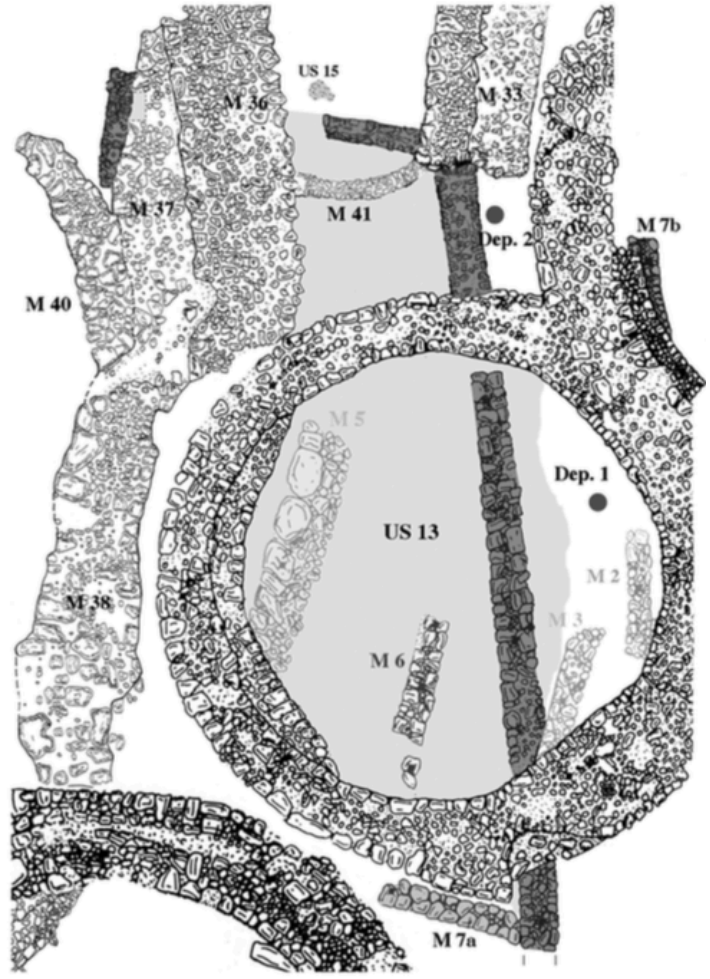



Fig. 8. (left) Edificio Nord (dark grey trapezoidal shaped structure) in Polizzello, from Palermo, Tanasi and Pappalardo 2008, 76.

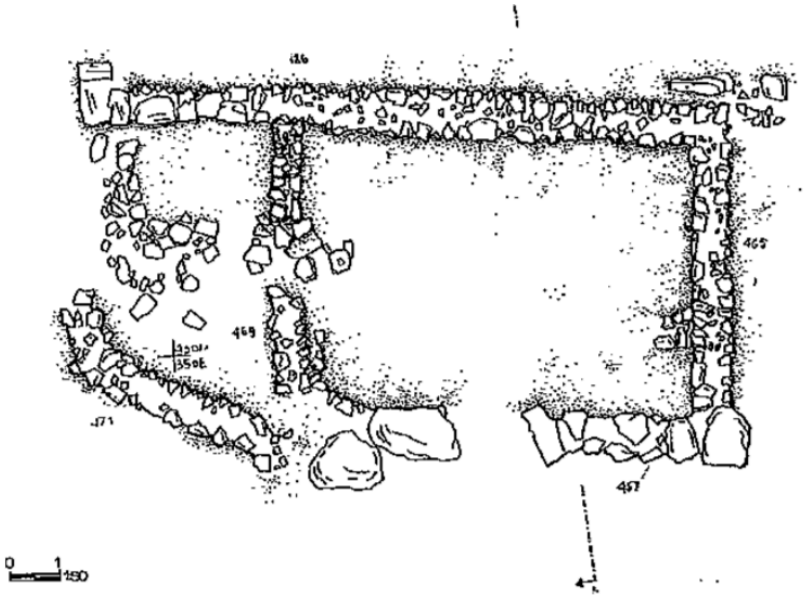


Fig. 9. (right) Plan of the Building A at Palikè from Maniscalco 2008, 106.

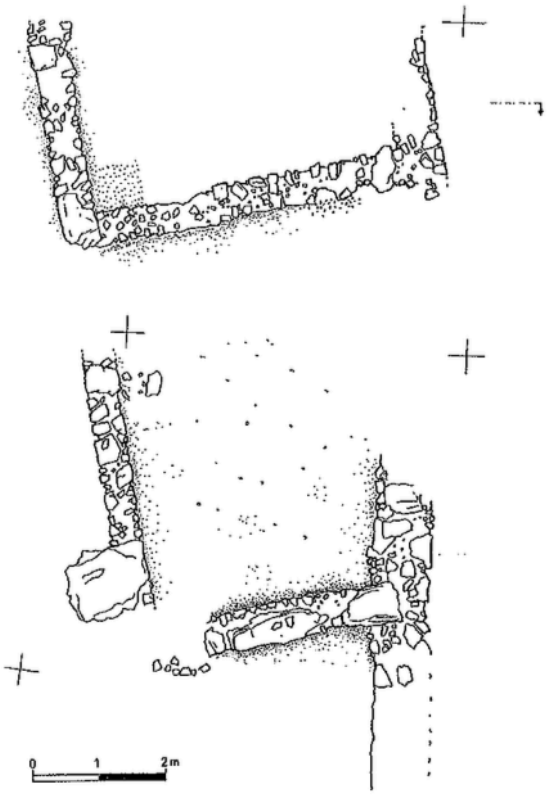


Fig. 10. (left) Plan of Building E at Palikè from Maniscalco 2008, 104.

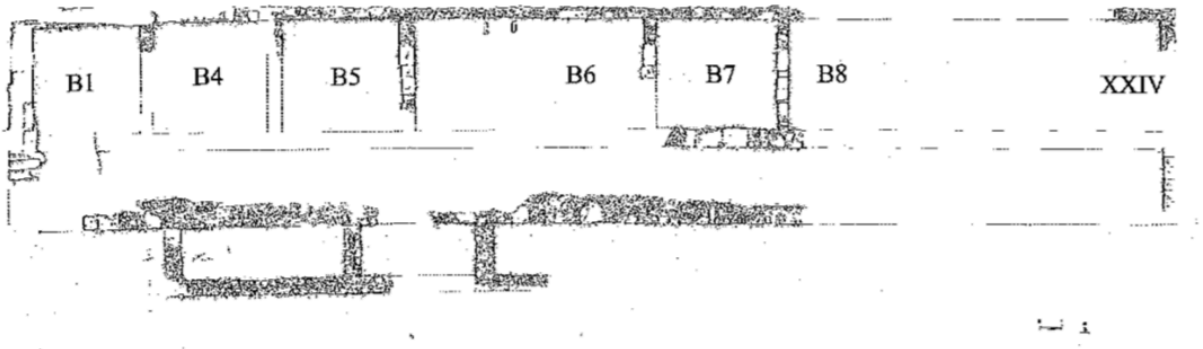



Fig. 11. Stoa B at Palikè from McConnell 2008, 357.

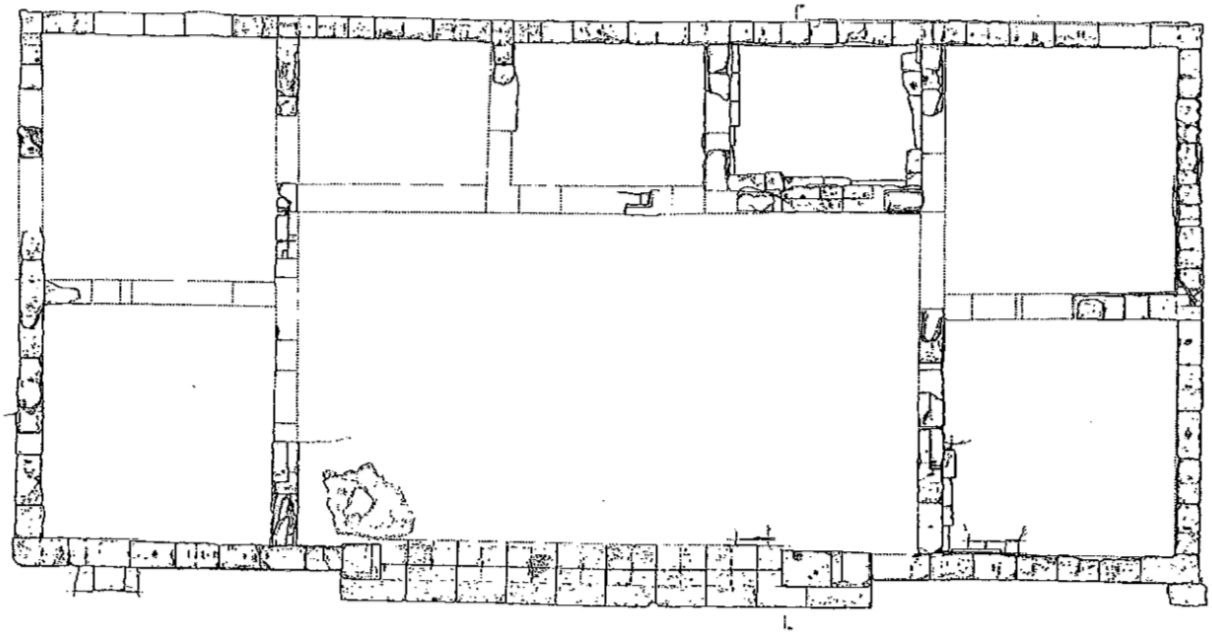


Fig. 12. *Hestiatorion* at Palikè from McConnell 2008, 340.

Fig. 13. Palikè.

Fig. 14. The Margi River Valley from the Sanctuary of the Palikoi at Palikè looking towards Menae.

Fig. 15. Warrior of Caltigirone, Museum Archeologico Ibleo Ragusa.

Fig. 16. The view over the Plain of Catania looking towards Mount Etna from above the Classical Agora at Morgantina.

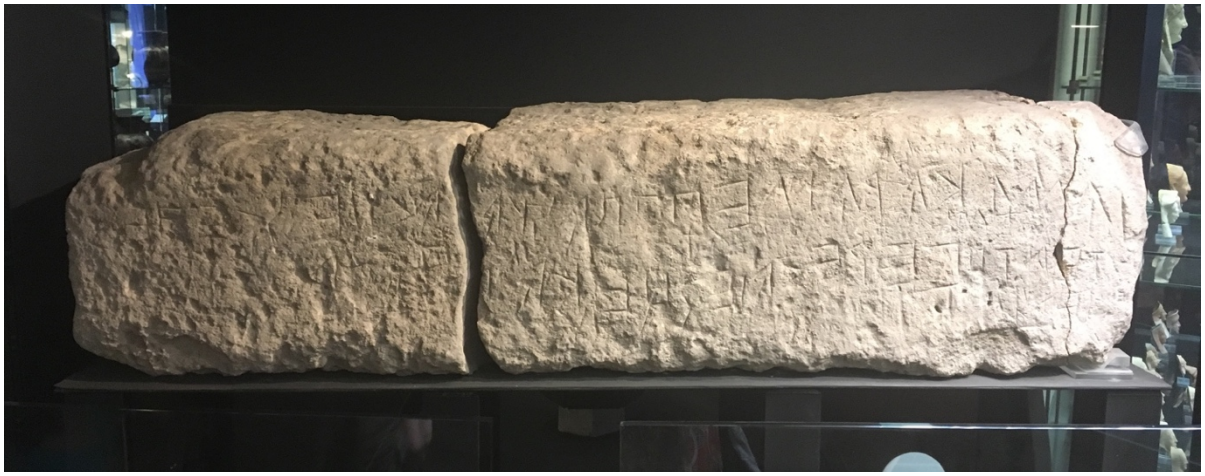


Fig. 17. The Anhellenic Inscription from Mendolito, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi.


Fig. 18. Stoa FA at Palikè, from McConnell 2008, 361.

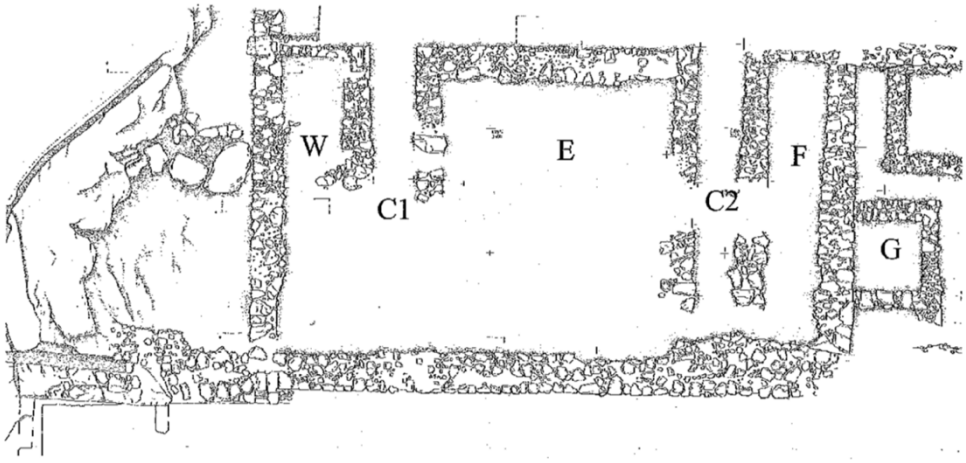



Fig. 19. Complex P at Palikè, from McConnell 2008, 362.

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