URBANISM AND IDENTITY
AT CLASSICAL MORGANTINA

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1. Introduction

The site of Morgantina, located on a ridge in the rolling landscape of east-central Sicily about 60 km from the Ionian Sea coast, has been the locus of continuous archaeological investigation since 1955 (fig. 1). The ridge controlled the western end of the fertile Plain of Catania and stands above the source of the Gornalunga River. Farther west, behind the inhabited zone, the land rises toward the Heraian Hills, which form a protective barrier. Between approximately 1000 B.C. and A.D. 50, two distinct settlements—both apparently called Morgantina in antiquity—existed on the ridge: an earlier village on the hill at the northeastern end, known today as Cittadella, and a later one on the neighboring plateau, called Serra Orlando, to the southwest (fig. 2). Research carried out at the site has revealed a great deal of information about both towns. The history and preserved material culture of Morgantina specifically (and of Sicily generally) allow for a detailed examination of the transition from Cittadella to Serra Orlando, as well as of the identities and lifeways of the people who settled in those towns during the archaic and classical periods (roughly 600–400 B.C.). Evidence that will be applied to these issues will include contemporary and later ancient historical accounts, the urban plans of the two towns, and the artifacts—especially pottery—uncovered by archaeologists at Morgantina. Most significantly, this evidence reveals the great extent of indigenous presence in the settlement of the town at Serra Orlando, and perhaps even their participation in the town’s foundation, a fact all the more striking for the historical context in which it occurred.

Identity, at its core, is the expression of membership in a larger group of people (or its inverse: exclusion from a group). Such expression is made through claims to similarity or difference. Central to the analysis presented here is the problem of understanding ethnic and cultural identity (and the relation between those two concepts) in the ancient world, which is far from straightforward. The

This article is dedicated to Professor Malcolm Bell, III, who directed the dissertation that forms the basis for many of the results and ideas introduced here, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. I have benefited immensely from conversations with him over the last decade about the character of classical Morgantina. In certain regards, the arguments set out in this article differ from those published by Professor Bell; they are offered with the utmost respect for his extraordinary contributions to the understanding of Morgantina and its place in Sicilian history.

I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers as well as Spencer Pope and Carla Antonaccio for their thoughtful comments on the manuscript; any errors remain my own.

1 Identification of the site as Morgantina has been generally accepted since the work of Erim (1958). The first scholarly excavations on Serra Orlando were carried out by Paolo Orsi at the beginning of the twentieth century, but major work only began in 1955 under Princeton University. Preliminary publications of the excavation results have appeared in the American Journal of Archaeology and final publications in the series Morgantina Studies.

2 Scholarship has grown greatly on this subject since the 1980s. In studies of the classical world, the most significant recent contributions include: Dietler 1999; Dietler 2010; Antonaccio 2003; Antonaccio 2005; Hall 1997; Hall 2002; Morgan 1999; and the papers in Malkin 2001 (esp. Antonaccio 2001).
The difficulty of finding clear indicators of identity is especially great on Sicily, which was a “crossroads of culture” in antiquity, where people belonging to different groups met and mixed. Several waves of migration to the island have been documented archaeologically between the Paleolithic and late Bronze Age. Greeks and Phoenicians came to Sicily later, first as traders, then as colonists. Each of the groups that arrived encountered the ones that had come before, absorbing and transmitting cultural traits and behaviors with those they met. They mixed genetically, too, through intermarriage.

Fig. 1. Map of Sicily, showing cities and their founding populations (J. Bridge).

Fig. 2. Plan of Morgantina (E. Thorkildsen, courtesy of the Morgantina archaeological expedition).

Leighton 1999.
At the same time, violent conflict between groups was common in the period that forms the focus of this essay. It will therefore be necessary to contend with the thorny problems of how ethnicity was constructed as a means of self- and other-identification, and how it is possible for us to find evidence for those kinds of identification in the material record that remains today.

Accounts of ethnicity from the early twentieth century, under the influence of early preoccupations with racial differences, often sought to locate its primary defining characteristics in biological relationships, especially genetics. More recently, scholars have suggested that ethnicity is constructed through some combination of shared kinship and social networks, as well as shared cultural traits such as language, cuisine, and styles found in objects produced by members of the group. In studies of ancient Mediterranean societies, the recent formulation of ethnic identity promoted by the historian Jonathan Hall has been most influential. He defined ethnic identity as being derived not from actual biological relationships but from perceived familial and group connections that were constructed by means of shared histories (mythological or real) of a common lineage and ancestral territory. It is more important in Hall’s system for defining common ethnic identities that the perception exists that kinship and a heritage are shared, and less important that such biological links truly are shared. One of the more attractive aspects of Hall’s theory is that it makes clear how identification of a person’s ethnicity can easily be held from either inside or outside the group. Somewhat controversially, however, Hall has argued that elements such as “biological features, language, religion, or cultural traits” may or may not also be associated with ethnic identity but in any event do not define that identity. Some archaeologists have pushed back against Hall’s exclusion of material culture, preferring to see the production of artifacts according to readily visible styles of artifacts as one way in which ancient people could construct their identity as members of a particular ethnic group and likewise could identify other objects associated with foreign groups. These scholars may even see ethnicity as a physical expression of culture, which they define as shared language, social structures, practices, beliefs, and material production (architecture, tools, textiles, pottery, etc.). In the minds of these archaeologists, Hall also neglected to account for the reflexive ways in which the introduction of innovative or foreign objects can change practices associated with group definitions of ethnicity. As Cuozzo aptly put it, culture and ethnicity are “historically determined, dialectic and dynamic socio-cultural constructions resulting from complex processes of creation, interaction and transformation.” One can imagine, for example, how a new shape or material for a tool might affect its user’s practices, just as the maker’s intended use for the tool would affect its design and decoration.

In the end, however, archaeologists too must recognize that while the style of an object might be encoded with information about its maker’s ethnicity—in its decoration, for example—and therefore valuable to modern scholars who wish to study relationships between groups, there is no way to learn the ethnic identity of the object’s user from the archaeological record. The appearance of a wok in a modern American kitchen, for example, is not a sure sign that the house’s owners

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4 Gustav Kosinna, for example, argued that ethnicity was inherently genetic (Trigger 1989).
5 V. G. Childe referred to different groups as “archaeological cultures,” in which he included groups of artifacts with shared styles (Emberling 1999, 126).
7 Hall 1997, 19.
8 Hall 1997, 19.
9 Emberling 1999, 127; Ruby 2006.
10 Cuozzo 2007, 228.
11 Antonaccio 2003 (following Sewell 1999).
are ethnically Asian. The wok is, however, a sign that the users have chosen the pot because their society is in contact with East Asia and they are interested in producing Asian-style cuisine—even if one could, for example, probably boil pasta in a wok, the shape is adaptively designed for stir-frying. In studies of ancient settlements where a homogeneous set of artifacts has been found, it may be easy to claim that the population belonged to a single ethnic group. A wide distribution of objects produced by different groups, as is often found in cosmopolitan settings such as ancient Sicily, is more difficult to decipher. It is necessary to be cognizant of the details of artifact distribution patterns, as well as of local and regional historical developments, if one is to attempt a satisfactory analysis of ethnic identity at the site.

The approach used in this paper is twofold. It will proceed by first clarifying the literary evidence that describes the turbulent historic context in which the Cittadella settlement was destroyed and, at some later point, the town on Serra Orlando was founded. It will then explore the archaeological evidence for ethnic identity and the way such identity was constructed at both sites. The most significant new contribution made here is the presentation and analysis of ceramic evidence for the earliest settlement of the classical town on Serra Orlando. Finally, the paper will conclude with an investigation of the possible identity of the new town’s founders.

2. Morgantina in the Literary Sources

An examination of ancient literature regarding the history and culture of Sicily in the archaic and classical periods will set the scene for the analysis of the archaeological remains found at Morgantina that follows. Greek colonization of Sicily’s coast started around 735 B.C. Before this period, the island was inhabited by indigenous groups—between three and five of them, according to later Greek writers: the Sikans, the Sikels, the Elymians, the Ausonians, and the Morgetians. Archaeologists have encountered great difficulty in trying to connect the names given to ethnic groups by ancient authors with cultural assemblages in Sicily. Thucydides, for example, placed the Sikels in the east, the Sikans in the west-central part of the island, and the Elymians at the western end of Sicily. While a variation did exist between artifact types found at sites across the island, the variation—for example, among pottery styles—seems not to be marked by three (or five) well-defined types but rather across a continuum formed by two styles that are found together at almost every indigenous site between Akragas and the east coast. Ancient Greeks may not have known, or cared, about the ways in which indigenous populations identified themselves and their ethnicity; the Greek labels may therefore not have much correspondence to the real ethnic divisions that existed on the island. For the sake of clarity, however, this paper will use the name Sikel alone when describing the indigenous population in the area of Morgantina, following the Greek authors. Such a label is useful in this discussion only for distinguishing local people from Greeks. It should not be taken to signify that the indigenous individuals or groups mentioned below were necessarily united by politics or ethnicity, any more than Greeks from different colonies can be assumed to have been.

12 The author’s own experience may be taken as an example: I grew up in the suburbs of New York City with two native Irish parents and a kitchen that included a wok.
13 The dates for Greek colonization of the island are given by Thucydides and Eusebius (see Dunbabin 1948 for a discussion).
14 Thuc. 6.1–6, Diod. Sic. 5.8.1–2, Strabo 6.2.4.
16 See also Albanese Procelli 2003.
Though there was human habitation at Morgantina beginning at least by the Early Bronze Age, Sikel settlement began on Cittadella around 1000–900 B.C.\textsuperscript{17} The people who founded the village there shared many cultural affinities with Italic groups on the mainland.\textsuperscript{18} They built longhouse-type dwellings in various locations, without an obvious or recognizable urban plan, on the slopes of Cittadella and on its upper plateau.\textsuperscript{19} These houses were apparently intended for extended families. Recent excavation has revealed the largest of them to be approximately 25 m in length, containing identifiable spaces for cooking, storage, and other activities.\textsuperscript{20} Cittadella was continuously inhabited in this fashion for several centuries. Pottery was produced at the site, both fine table vessels decorated with either incised or painted geometric decorations, and coarser undecorated deep bowls and casseroles for cooking the primary local diet of soups, stews, and porridges. The Sikels buried their dead as inhumations in familial rock-cut chamber tombs that now dot the lower slopes of the hill, slightly away from the town’s domestic zone.\textsuperscript{21}

When Greek colonization began in the eighth century, Ionians, primarily from the city of Khalkis, led the way.\textsuperscript{22} They founded towns such as Naxos, Katane, and Leontinoi in order to control good harborage and the agriculturally rich Catania plain. Dorians from the Peloponnnesos, especially Corinth, followed with colonies of their own at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia, and Gela. Ancient literary sources recorded (and modern archaeological research has confirmed) that Sikels living on the coast were forcibly dislodged from their settlements by the Greeks, who wanted the sites for themselves, but this process seems to have left interior sites such as Morgantina relatively unaffected.\textsuperscript{23} The earliest strong evidence of Greek contact with Morgantina did not appear until around 550 B.C.\textsuperscript{24}

The period of increased Greek cultural influence at Morgantina coincided with rising political and military turmoil across the island and with the emergence of Gela and Syracuse as regional powers. Unrest became the norm, especially in the early fifth century, as Greek tyrants from various coastal cities attempted to place large parts of Sicily under their control. Beginning in 498 with the rise to power by Hippokrates at Gela, these conquests were particularly marked by the forced movements of large groups or even entire towns from one place to another. This process has been powerfully described by Bell as an ancient version of “ethnic cleansing.”\textsuperscript{25} By the time of Hippokrates’s death in 491, Gela had captured territory as far away as Messana, as well as Leontinoi and Naxos.\textsuperscript{26} These early conquests had an ethnic component to them from the beginning; Hippokrates, like his fellow Gelians, was a Dorian, while Leontinoi and Naxos were Ionian. He also fought Sikels, according to one historical source, conquering at least one of their towns, Ergetion (location unknown).\textsuperscript{27} At Morgantina, a fortification wall was erected around the end of the sixth

\textsuperscript{17} MS IV, 127.
\textsuperscript{18} Leighton 1999, 188–190.
\textsuperscript{19} MS IV, 11–48.
\textsuperscript{20} For the dimensions of the largest Sikel house on the site, found in trench 16W, C. M. Antonaccio, pers. comm.; for activity areas within the building, MS IV, 21–27.
\textsuperscript{21} MS V, esp. 15–29.
\textsuperscript{22} Thuc. 6.3–6.
\textsuperscript{24} Antonaccio 1997; Sjöqvist 1962; Sjöqvist 1973.
\textsuperscript{25} Bell 1995, 29 n. 154.
\textsuperscript{26} Hdt. 6.23–24, 6.154.
\textsuperscript{27} Hdt. 6.155, Polyainos 5.6. Hippokrates tricked the Ergetian warriors, whom he had hired as mercenaries, by sending them to the coast while he took their town by force. He then had his Gelian and Kamarinaian soldiers kill the unsuspecting Ergetians in his pay. The presence of Sikel mercenaries in Greek armies, even taking part in campaigns against Sikel towns, is worthy of note, as it is indicative of the ways in which ethnic boundaries could either be blurred or reinforced in this period. See also Sinatra 1998. For Hippokrates’s conquests more generally, see Dunbabin 1948, 380–405 and Luraghi 1994, 130–187.
century on Cittadella and subsequently destroyed. Sjöqvist suggested this new defense was perhaps a response to the threat posed by Hippokrates, and its destruction was the result of an assault by Hippokrates and his forces.28 Hippokrates also forced Syracuse to abandon its subcolony, Kamarina, which he refounded. Kamarina was a ripe target because it controlled the Ippari River, a key access route into the Sikel-controlled Hyblaian Hills.

On Hippokrates’s death, the commander of his cavalry, Gelon, succeeded him. Gelon continued to campaign, winning a major success by conquering Syracuse, Gela’s great rival in the eastern part of the island, in 485. Gelon not only conquered cities like his predecessor; he also depopulated some of them. He emptied Kamarina, forcing its inhabitants to resettle in Syracuse, which he made his new capital.29 By 483, he also forced the abandonment of Megara Hyblaia and Euboia, incorporating their elite classes into Syracuse and selling the rest of the populations into slavery. He took half of the aristocracy of Gela to Syracuse, creating a wealthy and powerful local group sure to support him. Gelon’s brother, Hieron, continued the practice of moving populations immediately upon his rise to power in 478, forcing the inhabitants of the Ionian colonies of Naxos and Katane to leave their homes for Leontinoi.30 By 476/475, he had refounded Katane as a new colony with Dorian settlers and a different name, Aitna.31 Hieron commissioned Aischylos to commemorate his foundation with The Women of Aitna (now lost).32 Pindar’s Pythian 1 celebrates Hieron’s chariot victory as a citizen of Aitna in 470, as well as the installation of his son Deinomenes as king of Aitna. Hieron died in 467, and he was apparently buried at Aitna as oikist.33 The succeeding reign at Syracuse of yet another Deinomenid brother, Thrasyboulos, was disastrous, culminating in a democratic coup in 461 that also dissolved Syracusan control over the towns conquered by Hippokrates, Gelon, and Hieron.34 In Katane’s case, the original inhabitants returned to their homes, expelling the colonists Hieron had installed there. Hieron’s followers subsequently refounded their town at Inessa, on the southwestern slopes of Mt. Etna, displacing the Sikels already living there.35

The earliest historical event that we know about at Morgantina occurred against this tumultuous backdrop. The account comes from Diodoros Siculus, a Greek-speaking Roman citizen born in the first century B.C. at Agyrion (modern Agira), only 30 km from Morgantina. Diodoros described the events of a war undertaken in this period by Sikels under a leader named Douketios.36 In 461, they formed a league to regain the lands lost when Hieron founded Aitna and distributed Sikel territory to his colonists.37 Douketios also led the Sikels on a broader campaign to carve out an autonomous indigenous region, free from Greek interference, in the center of the island. He reportedly captured Morgantina, which Diodoros described as “a noteworthy city,” in 459.38 He also moved the home of his birth, Menai, from its hilltop, refounding it in the plain below and redistributing the surrounding

28 Sjöqvist 1973. No literary evidence mentions Morgantina in this period; Sjöqvist’s suggestion is based on likely routes from Gela toward the northeastern coast.
29 Hdt. 6.154–156.
31 Diod. Sic. 11.49.1–2. See also Luraghi 1994, 337 and Bonanno 2010, 130 and n. 3.
32 See note 40 below.
33 Diod. Sic. 11.66.4.
34 Diod. Sic. 11.67–68.
35 Strabo 6.2.3.
36 “Douketios” may be only a Sikel title, related to the word dux in Latin, which was then rendered into Greek. Diodoros once calls him king, and several times he is called “hegemon.” A similar phenomenon might also be found in the names attributed to other Sikel leaders, Archonides and Demon of Herbita (note 50 below).
37 The league was composed of all the Sikel cities “except Hybla.” Diod. Sic. 11.49.1, 11.76.3, 11.88.6.
38 Diod. Sic. 11.78.5.
land to its settlers. Three years later, he founded and fortified another settlement, called Palike, at or near the site of boiling lakes that were a locus of indigenous worship. Douketios’s actions—capturing one town, moving the population of a second one, and founding a third ex novo—correspond precisely to the actions of Greek tyrants, and some scholars have seen in Douketios’s behavior a kind of mimicry. This interpretation, which reflects Douketios’s placement within Diodoros’s discussion of the measures undertaken by the Deinomenids and other Greek tyrants, is perhaps too Hellenocentric, however, as it fails to comprehend how, on an individual level, leaders from different backgrounds in a multiethnic context might adopt similar tactics in order to achieve similar goals.

Douketios continued his offensive against Greek settlements. In 451, he conquered, in quick succession, the Aitnaians at Inessa and a fort called Motyon in a part of western Sicily controlled by the Greek city of Akragas. The emergence of a newly powerful indigenous presence spanning the center of the island prompted Syracuse and Akragas to create an alliance. The two cities finally defeated Douketios in 449 at a still-unidentified town called Nomai (probably in the Hyblaian Hills of southeastern Sicily), but the Sikels leader was able to escape under cover of night into Syracuse itself, where he took refuge at an altar in the agora. After much internal debate, Douketios was sent into exile at Corinth—a remarkable turn of events that is difficult to understand. Although the ancient text does not say so, it is possible that in exchange for the sparing of his life, Douketios gave control of the lands he had conquered, which presumably included the territory of Morgantina, over to Syracuse.

Thanks to its defeat of Douketios, Syracuse now held sway over most of eastern and central Sicily, though it is unclear how easily it could exercise its will over territory as far away as Morgantina, especially since the intervening rough terrain of the Hyblaian Hills was still in unfriendly Sikels hands. Indeed, tensions between the Syracusans and their neighbors came to the fore by 427. According to Thucydides, a war was fought for three years by Kamarina, Leontinoi, the other Ionian cities of Sicily, and Athens on one side, and Syracuse and “the Dorian cities apart from Kamarina” on the other. The historian does not explain the cause of this conflict, although enmity had existed between Kamarina and Syracuse from early on. Kamarina had been founded by Syracuse in 598 as part of an early attempt to extend control across the southeast of Sicily, but the subcolony fought repeatedly with its mother city, even before Hippokrates had put Kamarina under Gela’s sway. It is likely—and relevant for our understanding of the nature of the new Morgantina’s foundation—that in the war of 427–424, Kamarina also relied on the Sikels in the Hyblaian Hills as allies against Syracuse.

39 Diod. Sic. 11.88.6.
40 The play Aischylos had written for Hieron more than twenty years earlier concerned the birth of the Palikoi, twin boys associated in the Sikels religion with the site of Palike. The children’s mother was a Sicilian (i.e., Sikels) nymph, and their father, according to Aischylos, was Zeus. As Dougherty has noted, this story can be seen as a clear metaphor for Syracusan domination of the indigenous groups of the interior (1993, 88–91, 94–95). For descriptions of the lakes at Palike and their religious significance, see Diod. Sic. 11.88.6–90.1; Verg. Aen. 9.585; and Macrobr. Sat. 5.19.15. Excavations have been conducted at Palike in the last decade, confirming its role as a sanctuary in the fifth century (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003) with a small settlement appearing at least by the fourth century (Pope 2006; see also note 92 below). Notable architectural remains from this period include Greek-style buildings such as a stoa and a temenos.
41 Adamesteanu 1962; Consolo Langher 1996, 246; Green 2006.
42 Jackman 2005, esp. 41–42.
43 Diod. Sic. 11.91.1.
44 Diod. Sic. 1.92.
45 Thuc. 3.86.
46 Kamarina and Syracuse apparently fought around 550, resulting in the destruction of Kamarina (Thuc. 6.5; the date is given by Pseudo-Skymander (294–296) in a comment on Pind. Ol. 5.16). Consolo Langher has suggested that Kamarina’s friendliness with local indigenous groups might have been seen by Syracuse as a form of provocation, even rebellion (1996, 218).
Kamarina, seemingly alone among Greek cities, enjoyed a good relationship with the indigenous population throughout its history. Thucydides records only that peace was concluded at a congress held at Gela in 424. Under the terms of the agreement, each participant held on to its prewar territory, except that Kamarina received Morgantina and paid an indemnity in silver to Syracuse.

Nothing more is heard of Morgantina in the fifth century, although violence continued across the island. Athens invaded Sicily in 415 with the intention of expanding its empire by conquering the island and seizing its wealth. With the help of important Sikel leaders and the grudging assistance of Ionian towns such as Katane, the Athenians harassed Syracuse. The Athenian plan, based on poor intelligence, ended in disaster in 413, when their vaunted navy was defeated in the harbor of Syracuse and the army was hounded into a trap by the Syracusan cavalry while trying to escape into the hinterland. Sicily was invaded once again in 409, this time by a Carthaginian army that was intent on taking revenge for their defeat by Greeks led by Syracuse and Akragas at Himera, on the north coast, some seventy years earlier. The Carthaginians destroyed Himera, then moved down the southern coast from Motya. They attacked and destroyed Selinous, Akragas, Gela, and Kamarina in turn before besieging Syracuse in 405. That city, too, was on the verge of falling when a plague broke out in the Carthaginian camp, forcing the invaders to return home. After the Carthaginian invasion and the destruction of Kamarina, Morgantina must have been an independent city, although this situation did not last long. Syracuse finally brought central Sicily under its control for good, with Morgantina falling in 396. Morgantina remained more or less under the power of Syracuse down to the end of the Sicilian phase of the Second Punic War and the town’s capture by the Romans in 211.

Whatever Diodoros might have thought of the noteworthiness of Morgantina, the extant literary sources clearly do not describe many events at the city in the fifth century. There is, however, a rich record of life in Sicily generally at this time, and it is possible to infer some of the city’s changing fortunes from what remains. Morgantina (the Cittadella settlement) had seemingly become hellenized enough by 459 that it was a target of Sikels seeking to reestablish their control over the island’s interior. In fact, Douketios reportedly won “high renown among his Sikel fellow-countrymen” for achieving its capture. It is not clear from Diodoros how much Morgantina suffered at Douketios’s hands—from his account, it could simply have been taken over and continued to thrive, or it might have been utterly destroyed and abandoned. The city existed in some form in 424 since it constituted part of the truce between Syracuse and Kamarina. The terms of the peace indicate that Kamarina’s interest in Morgantina was the catalyst for the war in the first place, as Bell has argued. The reasons why Kamarina might have wanted Morgantina will be discussed in greater detail below. Morgantina soon reverted to Syracusan control, however, with its conquest by Dionysios.

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47 Philistos (in a fragment that may be corrupt; see Pais 1994 [1894], 236 and 560–564) wrote that in this war—or perhaps another one otherwise unknown to us between Kamarina and Syracuse, also resulting in Kamarina’s destruction—the Sikels fought alongside Kamarina (FGrH 3:B 556F5).

48 Thuc. 4.65.

49 Thuc. 6.1, 6.43.

50 One Sikel, Archonides of Herbita, was apparently strong enough to block a Spartan army that had come to aid Syracuse against Athens in 414 (Thuc. 7.1). Archonides and his brother Demon were so friendly to Athens that they were officially recognized in an Athenian public inscription as proxenoi (IG 1'228).

51 Diod. Sic. 14.78.7.

52 Bell 2000.

53 Consolo Langher has referred to Morgantina as a “stronghold” (“caposaldo”) of Greek penetration toward the hinterland (1996, 247) and later argued that Morgantina refused to take part in Douketios’s league in a manner equivalent to an independent Greek polis (1997, 65 and n. 36).

54 Diod. Sic. 11.78.5 (trans. Green).

55 Bell 2006.
The historical evidence shows unequivocally that in the archaic and classical periods, Morgantina was located in a zone that was deeply contested by various groups, both Greek and indigenous. Relationships between colonies on the coast, even those of the same background—indeed, even those related as mother city and colony—were equally fraught as relationships between colonizing groups and the indigenous population. At the same time, patterns of cooperation could apparently spring up, even between some Greeks and Sikels. The most notable example of this cooperation was that between Kamarina and the Sikels of the Hyblaian Hills, which seems to have continued off and on for almost a century and a half.56

3. Archaeological Evidence

CITTADELLA (THE ARCHAIC SETTLEMENT)

Having given an overview of the relevant historical context—so far as it is known—for Morgantina in the late archaic and early classical period, it is now time to describe the material record. As noted earlier, the town seems to have been a typical Sikel settlement throughout the first half of the first millennium (fig. 3). Greek-style buildings, especially in the form of naikoi, only began to appear in the middle of the sixth century around the highest part of Cittadella, today called Farmhouse Hill. The new buildings on Farmhouse Hill were not just Greek in plan; they were built using Greek techniques such as anathyrosis for finishing cut blocks.57 The naikoi were decorated with painted terracotta tiles and revetments, including gorgoneion antefixes.58 Pry holes for lifting stone blocks into place were used for other structures on Cittadella’s Lower Plateau.

56 Consolo Langher 1996, 251.
57 Antonaccio 1997.
58 Kenfield (1990; 1993a; 1993b; and in a forthcoming final publication of the terracottas in Morgantina Studies) has argued that these terracottas are evidence for an itinerant group of Ionian craftsmen. Greco (2005) disagrees, suggesting that they show affinities with plaques from coastal colonies such as Gela and (in my opinion, less likely) Naxos.
Two large rectilinear buildings were also built on the Upper Plateau, east of Farmhouse Hill. The better-preserved structure, called the Four Room Building, had its square chambers arranged side by side in a row. It was probably built with two stories, the lower one facing north and the upper one facing south onto an open, possibly public, space. While the lower-floor rooms seem best suited to storage—large quantities of fine imported Greek pottery were found there—conjectured rooms of similar shape in the upper story would have been ideal for banqueting, especially in the style of Greek symposia. A krater made at Athens and decorated in the finest red-figure technique by Euthymides around 510 B.C. was found in one of the lower-level rooms, along with large quantities of Athenian cups. The presence of this pottery seems indicative of feasts occurring in the building.

The kraters and cups are just a few examples of the many objects found at the site that were imported from Corinth, Sparta, Athens, and the Sicilian colonies. Together, these artifacts are strong evidence of steadily increasing Greek influence. Many other kraters, mostly from Sparta or its colony at Taranto, have also been found on Cittadella, another sign that practices associated with the symposium might have been adopted along with the equipment at the newly mixed settlement of Morgantina. Greek vases associated with drinking—an Athenian cup and a Lakedemian krater—have even been discovered bearing inscriptions in the Sikel language. The cup had “Pibe,” an imperative verb meaning “Drink!” incised into its interior, where it would be revealed as the drinker raised the cup to his lips. The krater bore on its neck the words “Kuparas emi,” a phrase that can be translated either as “I belong to Kupara” or “I am Kupara.” “Kupara” is known to have been a Sikel name; Greek literary sources record a nymph with that name associated with territory around Syracuse. In the Greek language, however, the word might be related to the root meaning “hollow”—that is, the inscription could describe the open shape of the krater itself. Such wordplay was a common sport in Greek symposia. Its presence in a colonial context seems to highlight the ways in which Greek practices were adopted by Sikels (or at least Sikel speakers).

Even so, there is also evidence for continued aspects of indigenous culture on Cittadella. Local pottery was common, especially the type known as Siculo-Geometric, with its distinctive buff fabric and painted freehand geometric decorations, and another type with incised geometric patterns on dark gray or brown clay. Siculo-Geometric vases were placed, seemingly as offerings, alongside


60 Just a few meters south (slightly uphill) of the Four Room Building was the longhouse of Trench 16W, mentioned above as the largest Sikel dwelling known from the site (C. M. Antonaccio, pers. comm.). It has not been determined when the longhouse went out of use, and thus what the temporal relation between the two structures might have been, but I would suggest that the placement of the Greek building so close to such a prominent Sikel one might indicate that the location was significant within the Cittadella settlement.

61 The doors in the lower level of the Four Room Building are not off-center, but evidence is not preserved for entrance to the upper level, assuming there was one.

62 The krater is inv. 58-2382 (fully published in Neils 1995, with further discussion in Neils 1997).

63 Antonaccio 1997.

64 MS V, 29–72; also Antonaccio, Neils, and Walsh volume in progress for Morgantina Studies.

65 The cup is 60-1758; the krater is 90-61. The inscriptions were written using the Greek alphabet since Sikel did not have its own writing system.

66 Sikel was an Italic language, along with other languages, including Latin (where bibere means “to drink”). For discussion of this inscription, see Cordano 1992.


68 The process worked in reverse as well: Dougherty noted similar wordplay in Aeschylus’s explanation of the name Palikoi, given to the gods worshipped at Palike (1993, 88–89).

69 Indigenous fine pottery was found in large quantities in the Cittadella settlement (Antonaccio, Neils, and Walsh forthcoming Morgantina Studies volume) and the tombs (MS V, 73–89).
Greek ones in a sanctuary facing the settlement from just across the valley on Serra Orlando.70 People were still inhumed in rock-cut chamber tombs, just as they had been in the earliest phases of the settlement, and the grave goods show a mix of Greek and local objects, especially ceramics. In some cases, the tombs were outfitted with “furniture” carved from the bedrock, such as couches and pitched ceilings reminiscent of the settings mentioned by Greek poets describing outdoor banquets.71 A wide variety of burial practices have been recorded, including the fact that women were often buried with the accouterments of the symposium, in striking contrast to the all-male nature of Greek symposia but in keeping with what is known of elite banqueting in other non-Greek parts of Italy, such as Etruria.72

The archaeological level corresponding to the archaic settlement was discovered below a destruction layer dating to approximately 460–450, coinciding with Diodoros’s account of the city’s capture in 459.73 Only sparse evidence can be found on Cittadella for continued activity after that date. The last tombs from this part of the site date to the middle of the century, with only one known exception in use down to approximately 430.74 My study of pottery from domestic sections of the archaic settlement has confirmed that the town was largely abandoned following Douketios’s attack. Analysis of the median dates for production of vases found on Cittadella shows that the vast majority of the Athenian pottery (84 percent) was made before 460 (fig. 4).75 After that, imports dropped off sharply—only 8 percent of all the Athenian pottery found on Cittadella had median manufacture dates between 460 and 390. There can be little doubt, then, that habitation on Cittadella was severely curtailed following Douketios’s attack. The only strong sign of continued settlement can be found in a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore in Contrada S. Francesco Bisconti, on the easternmost slopes of Serra Orlando, outside the Cittadella settlement and facing it.76 Raffiotta’s recent study of

70 PR VI.
72 MS V, 118–119; Lyons 1991, 3. Lyons saw the mixture of burial practices as indicating instances of ethnic intermarriages (see also Shepherd 1999).
73 Antonaccio 1997.
74 MS V, 14. The lone tomb with material dating after 450 is Tomb 50, which was the locus of five burials between ca. 500 and 430 (MS V, 221–222).
75 Only Athenian pottery is used for this analysis because it is particularly well dated by deposits in the Athenian Agora (the primary publication is Sparkes and Talcott 1970).
76 Raffiotta 2007; Raffiotta 2008.
the terracotta figurines dedicated at the sanctuary found no lacunae in the sequence between the sixth and third centuries.\textsuperscript{77}

Also of note with regard to the imported pottery is the extent to which the consumption of imports was on the rise at the end of Cittadella’s life. Roughly 51 percent of the datable Athenian pottery found in the archaic town was made between 480 and 450. This large proportion is partly due to the popularity of a particular type of drinking cup, known as the Cástulo cup after its type-site in Spain, typically dated to 470–450.\textsuperscript{78} Could this sudden interest in Athenian cups be a sign of an influx of Greek settlers (perhaps attributable to the conquest of Morgantina by Hippokrates in the 490s)? If so, Sikel feelings regarding the town and encroachment on the hinterland by Greek colonies might have been enflamed, leading directly to Douketios’s targeting of Morgantina so early in his campaign.

**Serra Orlando (the Classical Settlement)**

At some point, a new town was founded on Serra Orlando. The precise mechanisms of Morgantina’s rebirth remain mysterious. The following discussion will attempt to shed some light on the problems of precisely when, and by whom, the new town was founded. The evidence for answering these questions comes primarily from two sources: the city’s plan and the artifacts discovered through excavation. Notably, the new Morgantina’s plan was wholly Greek in design, using an orthogonal grid based on a module of a foot measuring 0.322 m (fig. 5).\textsuperscript{79} The appearance of this module throughout the site indicates that the organization of urban space had been decided before any construction took place, as was normal in Greek colonies from the earliest days of colonization.

\textsuperscript{77} Raffiotta 2007, 116–117. If, as I and others suggest, there was only a brief gap between the abandonment of Cittadella and the settlement of Serra Orlando—on the order of ten to twenty years—such a gap might not be easy to identify from the study of terracottas, or indeed from pottery.

\textsuperscript{78} Shefton 1997; Antonaccio 2004; Walsh and Antonaccio forthcoming article on Cástulo cups.

\textsuperscript{79} This measurement is close to the one found on a monument depicting a standard Doric foot of roughly 0.327 m (Wilson Jones 2000).
The second Morgantina was, in other words, a completely new foundation. Each house lot was roughly square, measuring 55 × 58.5 feet (17.71 × 18.84 m); in the “standard” block (the one located between the city’s main avenues), there were six lots on each side, with a 3-foot-wide alley between the backs of the houses, yielding a block size of 120 × 330 feet (38.6 × 106 m). The Hellenic nature of this plan is clear by comparison to other plans laid out around the same time in Greek towns: at Himera, probably redesigned in the early fifth century, there were house lots of 50 feet on a side, with perhaps sixteen houses to a standard block; Olynthos was expanded in 432, with house lots of 56 feet on a side and ten houses to a block. All of this information could thus point to a major Greek colonial foundation, perhaps by Syracuse or some other town looking to solidify its grip on the west end of the Plain of Catania. It is just as likely, on the other hand, that the town could have been intended as a Sikeli league center modeled on Hellenic prototypes. Douketios’s proclivity for refounding indigenous towns has already been described.

The city, which was quite a bit longer than it was wide due to the shape of the ridge it occupied, had two east-west avenues and numerous north-south streets. The agora, located in a flat valley between two hills covered with housing, was unusual for its size (fig. 6). It measured approximately 126 × 200 m, almost exactly equal to six full standard blocks. It seems to have been one of the largest agoras anywhere in Sicily. The size of this space, perhaps indicative of the settlers’ expectations for the future importance of the new town, led to the suggestion by Bell in the 1980s that Douketios founded the town following his destruction of Cittadella, intending Morgantina as the new capital for his league of Sikeli cities. More recently, however, Bell has discarded this theory in favor of one that sees Kamarina as the founding entity, at some point in the years after Syracuse sent Douketios

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80 Bell 2003, 254; Bell 2008b.
82 Adamesteanu (1962) and Rizzo (1970) argued for Douketios’s deep “hellenization.”
83 The plan has been traced for at least seven blocks east and fifteen blocks west from the agora (Bell 2000; Bell 2006).
84 Bell 1984–1985; Bell 2008b. Selinous’s agora seems to have been approximately the same size (Mertens 2006).
85 Mertens 2006.
into exile. The Kamarina hypothesis has much to recommend it. In particular, Bell has argued that the plan of Kamarina could have served as a model for Morgantina. He noted the placement of Morgantina’s agora away from the precise physical center of the city, close to the city’s southern gate, which gave access to the fertile fields below (fig. 7). At Kamarina, the agora was at the western end of that city’s plateau, overlooking the sea and also probably near a gate. On the other hand, the topography of Serra Orlando might also be seen as a determining factor in the size and location of Morgantina’s agora: it lies in the only large and mostly level zone relatively near the center of the city. Kamarina was placed on a comparatively flat plateau, by contrast, where the placement of the agora can be seen more easily as a decision based on other factors.

The date of Serra Orlando’s settlement, although difficult to identify with precision, is critical to evaluating possible founders of the town. Given the detail found in the historical sources concerning Sicily in the fifth century, it should at least be possible to place the settlement of Serra Orlando before 459, the date of Douketios’s victory; between 459 and 449, when Douketios surrendered to Syracuse; or between 449 and 424, when Kamarina’s control of Morgantina was recognized following the Congress of Gela.

The earliest datable evidence for habitation on Serra Orlando published prior to this article comes from a pottery workshop not far from the agora, covered in the fourth century by part of the town’s fortification walls. An Athenian cup dating to approximately 470–450 was found near the workshop’s kiln, incised with graffiti of two Doric Greek names, Pyrrhias and Semonides. The inscription has been seen as implying the presence of Greeks at the new Morgantina from its earliest days. The date provided by this fragment makes it possible that the town was inhabited soon after Douketios’s capture of Cittadella, perhaps even before 449. As noted above, Bell originally hypothesized that Douketios may have founded the new Morgantina, just as he had Menai and Palike. Fragments of Siculo-Geometric pottery were found in the kilns associated with the workshop. It is

87 PR XII, 319.
88 PR XII, 319–320. The cup (inv. 84-191a–d) is dated to 470–450 BCE. See also Cordano 1992 on the graffiti.
89 PR XII, 321.
90 PR XII, 320–321.
unlikely that Greeks would have produced an indigenous type of pottery, so the fragments found in the kiln are a strong sign that there was also a Sikel component to the colonization party.

The dates given by the artifacts sampled for the new analysis presented here are not as clear as those for Cittadella (fig. 8). Half of the datable Attic black gloss pottery found in the early Serra Orlando deposits had been manufactured by 460–450, which could be taken to mean that the Serra Orlando settlement was already in existence at the time of Cittadella’s destruction and abandonment. No destruction layer has been identified on Serra Orlando that would correspond with an attack by Doukétios, however, and it is unlikely that an invader would leave a new section of the town completely intact, destroying only the older part. Serra Orlando’s foundation, then, should postdate 459. The large amount of pottery dating to the middle of the century indicates one of two remaining possibilities: Morgantina was refounded soon after its destruction, or the early objects represent heirlooms brought by settlers to their new home. As Bell has argued, the latter explanation does not seem to be adequate for explaining the very large amount of early pottery at the site.92 Is it possible, however, that Doukétios had a role in the foundation, albeit with the participation of Greeks from Kamarina? Two points, from my perspective, argue against this interpretation. First, Doukétios’s campaigns were explicitly focused on removing Greek influence from the center of the island. There is no evidence in the historical record of long-term cooperation between Doukétios’s league and any Greek city, and Doukétios’s goals prior to his defeat seem to have been directly at odds with a joint foundation.93 Second, a comparison of Morgantina’s plan with Palike, the one well-excavated town known to have been founded by Doukétios, is telling. While Palike, too, was placed on a hill overlooking a plain, it was considerably smaller and less developed than Morgantina.94 The part of the town that has been uncovered also does not show that significant space was set aside for public activities. It seems unlikely, on the basis of these facts, that the new Morgantina had any connection with Doukétios or that it was founded between 459 and 449.

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92 Bell 2006, 256.

93 Doukétios did return from his Corinthian exile to found a joint Sikel-Greek colony at Kale Akte, on Sicily’s north coast, in 446 (or possibly 440). In the only instance in which Doukétios worked alongside Greeks during the 460s and 450s, however, he and the democratic Syracusans who expelled Thrasyboulos jointly laid siege to Aitna and its pro-Hieron settlers in 461 (Diod. Sic. 11.76.3). Doukétios wanted the return of lands expropriated by Hieron from Sikels, while the Syracusans wanted to remove supporters of the previous regime.

94 Pope’s analysis of the pottery associated with the architectural remains points to a date around the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth (2006, 221–222, esp. n. 6). The site flourished in the fourth century. Habitation in the earliest phase, associated with Doukétios’s foundation of the town in the middle of the fifth century, is considerably less clear (p. 226).
The settlement on Serra Orlando therefore was almost certainly established after 449. Three parties would have been interested in the region following Douketios’s surrender: Syracuse, which inherited his territory; Kamarina, whose interest was demonstrated by the terms of the peace accord struck at the Congress of Gela; and, of course, the Sikels. Neither Syracuse nor Kamarina shared a border with Morgantina’s territory, which would have made it difficult for either city to make a serious claim on some of the most valuable land in the island’s interior. The evidence for Sikels taking part in the foundation expedition is strong, however, as the evidence from the early kiln has already shown. Syracusan history was full of antagonism toward the Sikels of southeastern Sicily, dating back to the city’s very foundation. Particularly in the seventh and sixth centuries, Syracuse attempted to assert its power over Sikel strongholds in the Hyblaian Hills.95 If Syracuse did refound Morgantina, it is hard to imagine that Sikels would have taken part in the foundation, let alone that they figured prominently enough in the foundation to be so visible in the material record. The history of unusually strong relations between Kamarina and its neighboring Sikels, on the other hand, is evident from literary sources. Kamarina’s Dorian roots could also have a correspondence with the names found on the inscribed sherd from the early kiln at Morgantina. On the basis of the evidence presented here, the new Morgantina was most likely founded jointly by Kamarina and the Sikels, sometime soon after 449—probably within that same decade, if the early pottery dates and the activity at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary are any guide.96 Only with the cooperation of the local indigenous population—a group that was openly and actively hostile to Syracuse—would Kamarina have been able to expand its sphere of influence into the hinterland.

The data recovered in excavations of houses can also be used to understand daily life and relationships between these two groups on Serra Orlando. Pottery from several domestic deposits in the agora and on the West Hill has revealed significant new information about the people of the new settlement, how they organized their daily lives, and how they constructed their cultural identities. The deposits from the West Hill came from strata beneath the better-known Hellenistic houses.97 The material found in the agora was originally thought by its excavators to be comprised of up to fifteen strata of use layers, in multiple rooms of the earliest public building constructed in the city center, called simply Building A. More recent investigation has shown that most of the material was instead a secondary deposition, a dump of refuse, probably originating in nearby households, that was used to fill in the building’s lowest level and to bring the ground surrounding the exterior up to a level grade. This structure dated around 400–390 B.C.; the space reserved for the agora in the urban plan had apparently been left almost completely empty until this date. Excavation of probe trenches in 2001 revealed that Building A had its southeast corner placed precisely with respect to the grid plan, at the intersection of the main avenue and the first street east of the agora.

Perhaps the most important feature of the early domestic deposits on Serra Orlando is their homogeneity. A similar range of vases was found in each instance: drinking vessels in Athenian black gloss fabric or colonial imitation black gloss; eating vessels comprised almost entirely of bowls sized

95 Syracuse founded two towns, Akrai and Kasmenai, in the Hyblaian Hills (Thuc. 6.5). Kasmenai in particular has a strong military character to its town plan and may have been more a fortress than a full-fledged settlement (Gabba and Vallet 1980, 497–507 and 529–536). Kamarina’s foundation in the sixth century was also part of Syracuse’s plan to dominate the southeastern part of Sicily, but that settlement was not solely military in nature.

96 Bell 2008a.

97 Tsakirgis published the Hellenistic houses (1984; 1995; and a forthcoming volume in the *Morgantina Studies* series). For thorough descriptions of the fifth-century deposits, see Walsh 2006, chap. 3 (with preliminary publications appearing in *PR* V, VI, VIII, IX, and X).
for individual portions; storage in locally produced Siculo-Geometric jars and jugs; and cooking in coarse brown deep bowls and jars. Morgantina is not the only site with a strong Greek presence where indigenous pottery has been found—Trombi has catalogued a few examples from western Sicily. The large amount of indigenous pottery in domestic contexts at Morgantina does seem to be unusual relative to other sites across the island, however. It is impossible to know for certain how each of these vessels was used, but it is possible to make a few assumptions that can lead to interesting conclusions about life at Morgantina. First, the vases were adaptively designed to suit certain functions. The incurving rim of the eating bowls implied a desire that the contents not spill out, probably because they were intended for foods with high liquid content such as soups, stews, or porridges. The absence of flatware such as plates (which were common in the Greek colonies on the coast) is another sign that cuisine at Morgantina was largely liquid. The relative size of the eating and cooking bowls showed that although meals could be prepared for large numbers—a whole family or a host and his guests—each diner received their own individual portion. These facts are consistent with what is known about indigenous dining practices in the fifth century and are another strong indicator that a significant proportion of the population was Sikel.

The second and perhaps the most interesting assumption that can be made about these assemblages of pottery is that since each of them was essentially the same, they reflect a commonly held idea of what kinds of vessels were needed to make up a standard set of household equipment. It is not possible to identify a purely Sikel household or a purely Greek one. As noted above, the styles associated with specific archaeological objects are not imbued with evidence of their users’ ethnic identities, only those of their makers (and even this to a potentially quite limited extent). But the mixed nature of domestic assemblages from across the site shows that people at Morgantina, no matter what their ethnic background, shared a hybrid culture based on a set of common choices from both groups’ traditions. The Greeks who lived at Morgantina adapted to indigenous dining practices (or used locally produced vases for their own cuisine), while Sikels adopted Greek drinking vessels and perhaps behaviors as well.

The use of a Greek-style orthogonal urban plan fits well with this interpretation. Its emphasis on the equal distribution of land seems indicative of other kinds of equality at Morgantina. As described above, excavation has shown that at the moment of settlement, each participant received the same size house lot inside the city walls. Normal Greek colonial practice would have included equally apportioned lots of farmland outside the city as well. Morgantina’s enormous agora would have encouraged large public gatherings, perhaps using the slope of the hill in the center of the space (where a monumental staircase that doubled as an ekklesiasterion was built beginning at the end of the fifth century). There has been great debate in classical archaeology about the correlation between democratic government and the equal distribution of land via an orthogonal grid plan, particularly in the early days of colonization, when colonies that were clearly aristocratic seem to have apportioned house lots equally. New towns tended to have the government of their mother city, however, and Kamarina in the second half of the fifth century was a democracy. The material culture created by the Kamarins and Sikels who, I argue, were the original settlers of the new Morgantina seems to show parity on many levels: economic, ethnic, social, and, very likely, also political.

98 Trombi 2003.
99 See, for example, the presence at Athens of potters with the names Sikanos and Sikelos, among others (Robertson 1992).
100 Boyd and Jameson 1981.
101 Syracuse and Megara Hyblaia, for example, both used grid plans from the beginning, seemingly with equal distribution of land, but neither was a democracy when they were founded (Tréziny 1999). See also Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Cahill 2000; Cahill 2002.
4. Conclusion

The retention of old behaviors and the adoption of new ones at Serra Orlando in the classical period show a collective attitude toward ethnic tradition and innovation different from Cittadella. In the earlier town, Greek practices (especially those related to drinking) seem to be dominant, and much more Greek pottery was preserved than on Serra Orlando. The only visible exception to typical Greek practice seems to have been the possible integration of women into banqueting. At Serra Orlando, by contrast, people throughout the town cooked, ate, and perhaps drank in a manner that combined Greek and indigenous customs. They produced large amounts of indigenous pottery in a city that otherwise looked, from its plan, to be a typical Greek colony. Other aspects of their lives, such as dress or burial practice, might well have been equally hybridized, or they might have been arenas for contesting cultural expression that are not evident from the domestic assemblages (the cemeteries of the early classical settlement on Serra Orlando have not yet been found). The apparent continuity of ritual practice at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in Contrada S. Francesco Bisconti is perhaps a further sign of how peaceful negotiations could happen between Greeks and Sikels about how to jointly organize their society. At this sanctuary (and in others given their own individual equal lots of land around the Serra Orlando settlement following the new town’s foundation), local people venerated two Greek deities that had, by the fifth century, been thoroughly syncretized with indigenous Sicilian beliefs.102

It is impossible to know for certain the extent to which ethnic identities were merged at Morgantina, as they were in the archaeological record of that period. The picture that does exist shows, at a minimum, friendly coexistence between groups and individuals from different backgrounds, rather than antagonism, in spite of the history of ethnic turmoil that marked eastern Sicily throughout the fifth century.

102 The evidence for neighborhood sanctuaries was thoroughly discussed in a recent publication by Bell, who notes that the reservation of multiple equal house lots for Demeter and Kore is apparently a feature of no other Greek Sicilian town (2008b, esp. n. 16).
Bibliography

Abbreviations

Preliminary Reports

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MS I Bell, III, M., Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas (Princeton 1981)
MS IV Leighton, R., Morgantina Studies IV: The Protohistoric Settlement (Princeton 1993)
MS V Lyons, C. L., Morgantina Studies V: The Archaic Cemeteries (Princeton 1996)

Other Abbreviations
FGrH Jacoby, F., Fragments der griechischen Historiker (Berlin 1923–)
IG Inscriptio Graecae (Berlin 1873–)

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