La Syrakosion Dekate, Camarina e Morgantina nel 424 a.C.

The Syracusan Tithe, Camarina and Morgantina in 424 BC

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The scholar of ancient history must almost always work with few or late literary sources, in the best case historiographical, on the basis of which, according to a correct philological method, he can offer hypothetical reconstructions, even if they can find confirmation in analogous modern phenomena, known in detail. Only for some areas and less archaic epochs can he have the opportunity to integrate literary sources with epigraphic (or papyrological) and numismatic ones, and turn to the historical reading of archaeological material.

The phenomenon of Greek colonization in the 8th-6th centuries BC, recently reworked incessantly, for the western area is transmitted in a laconic tradition, reproposed by Thucydides according to a clearly constructed chronological grid, and in any case to be accepted as the most reliable, and with very limited ethnic and geopolitical elements. The Athenian historian probably derived it from the Syracusan Antiochos, active at the end of the 5th century BC.[1] This tradition had already been shaped by also accepting elements intended to exalt the role of the Sanctuary of Delphi, which had now risen to a Panhellenic level. Antiochos precisely knows of the intervention of the Delphic oracle regarding the foundation of Croton, by Miscellus, who would have requested fertile territory for his apoikia (that of Sybaris seemed to him the best) and affirms the contemporaneity of the foundation of Croton and Syracuse, whose oecist Archias would have met Miscellus at Delphi, with whom he would have collaborated[2].

Strabo in this regard, as confirmation of the healthiness of the territory assured by the oracle for Croton, recalls the proverb ἡ Συρακοσίων δεκάτη[3], perhaps drawing on Ephorus of Cyme, cited in other passages[4]. The proverbial "tithe of the Syracusans" is mentioned, in addition to Stephanus Byzantinus[5] in terms analogous to those of Strabo, by the Atthidographer Demon, of the 3rd century BC.[6], who specifies "that the Syracusans having become wealthy would have decreed to

[1] Cf. my article: Antioco-Tucidide-Timeo e il vulcanismo etneo, in Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt, Stuttgarter Koll. zur Histor. Geographie des Altertums 6, 1996, p. 30 ff.; R. Sammartano, Tradizioni ecistiche e rapporti greco-siculi: le fondazioni di Leontinoi e di Megara Iblea, in Seia, Quad. Ist. St. ant., Palermo 11, 1994, p. 47–93; my article: Mondo religioso greco e mondo indigeno in Sicilia, in Il Dinamismo della colonizzazione greca, Atti Tav. rot., Venezia 1995, edited by Cl. Antonetti, Napoli 1997, p. 71–82.

[2] FGrHist 555 F 10 (Strabo 6,2,4): cf. J. Bérard, La Magna Grecia, Italian trans., Torino 1963, p. 122 ff., 154 ff. See also A. J. Graham, Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece, Manchester 1964, p. 219 ff.

[3] Strabo 6,2,4 (see Bérard, cited p. 139 n. 26): Συρακούσσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπεσεῖν πλοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν παροιμίᾳ διαδοθῆναι . . . ὡς οὐκ ἂν †ἐξίκνοιτο . . . ἡ Συρακουσσίων δεκάτη.

[4] FGrHist 70 F 136–137.

[5] Steph. Byz., s. v. Συράκουσαι: . . . Συρακουσίους δὲ πλουτεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ παροιμίαν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελῶν τὴν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκγένοιτο αὐτοῖς Συρακουσίων δεκάτη (ed. Meineke p. 92–93).

[6] FGrHist 327 F 14 Δήμων Συρακουσίους εὐδαιμονήσαντάς φησι ψηφίσασθαι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀποδίδοσθαι εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ναῶν τε καὶ ἀναθημάτων καὶ θεωριῶν. Cf. K. Fr. Stroheker, Dionysios I, Wiesbaden 1958, p. 166 and n. 158 at p. 248 ff.; J. Carcopino, La loi de Hiéron et les Romains, Paris 1914, p. 51–54.

allocate the tithe of revenues for the preparation both of sanctuaries and of votive offerings and of processions," that is, for cultic expenses in the city. Demon therefore emphasizes the religious meaning of δεκάτη, which is well documented[7] but is not the only one, since it also designates the tithe levied from the production of a property[8]. The revenues (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα) referred to the agricultural production of the Syracusan territory and certainly also to the port taxes owed to the polis. The tithe must have been extremely substantial, for which the Syracusans had to organize from the archaic period a rigorous fiscal system adequate to their wide territorial epicracy.

A tribute could weigh on lands conquered by arms[9], which had to be paid by those who worked them. Such is the case of the right exercised by the Lacedaemonians conquerors of the Peloponnese, who had subjected the perioeci and the helots to pay a tribute in kind for the land granted to them, which allowed the Spartiates the maintenance of their political condition and participation in the syssitia[10].

Thus in 546 BC Sparta established on the small island of Cythera taken from Argos, as colonists, perioeci, who had to pay a tribute[11]. It was a type of territorial dominion to which other Doric centers aspired, such as for example Corinth, when it entered into conflict with Corcyra regarding Epidamnus[12].

The principle, also affirmed by Thucydides[13], that the colony should show respect to the mother city, implied for example the sending of religious tributes, and this should especially apply if the land for the colonial foundation had been previously conquered by the mother city. Thus precisely intended to do, around 495/4 BC the Danklaioi, when led by Skythes of Cos they had prepared to conquer on the Tyrrhenian coast the territory of Herbita, the city besieged by them (Hdt. 6,22,2–23,2), in view of the foundation of the colony of Kalè Aktè, proclaimed in the Ionian islands. The colonial enterprise did not follow through (it will be Ducetius who realizes it in 440 BC).

Similarly the Syracusans in 598 BC must have conquered the fertile territory of the Ibleans near the coast, in order to be able to distribute it in lots to the colonists who flowed in for the ktisis of Camarina[14]. In this way their right to demand the dekate could have been established, perhaps to be allocated to sacred expenses, for festivals and cult functions in the mother city. Citizens, cadets of families residing in the mother city, also used to transfer to a sub-colony, who therefore ensured the primacy of the latter in the colony[15]. However, after a few generations, if not almost immediately, as occurred at Akragas through the action of Phalaris[16], protest could

[7]See the use of δεκατεύειν for the God of Delphi in Hdt. 7,132,2, and for other testimonies already the old article in R. E. IV 2, 1901, 2423–24. Cf. also my article: Sikelikà, QUCC 78, 1995, p. 98 ff.

[8]Cf. R. E. IV 2, cited for the formula κλῆρους ... ἀδεκατεύτους in OGIS 229, 101 ff., for lands donated by Antiochus I. Cf. also M. L. Lazzarini, Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica, Mem. Acc. Lincei, 1976, p. 91, p. 271 nr. 674: μ' ἀνέθēκεν 'Αθēναία[ι - -] | [χο]ρίō δεκάτēν; nr. 673: ... δεκάτην χοριōω 'Αθμονόθεν Χαιρεδεμō Φιλέα (the dedicator is a woman, a detail not recognized either in IG I^3 2, 800 or in LGPN II p. 469 s.v.).

[9]Thus for Asia Minor under the Achaemenids, cf. M. Corsaro, Tassazione regia e tassazione cittadina dagli Achemenidi ai re ellenistici: alcune osservazioni, REA 87, 1985, p. 79 ff.

[10]I refer meanwhile to U. Cozzoli, Proprietà fondiaria ed esercito nello stato spartano dell'età classica, St. Ist. Ital. St.Ant. 29, Roma 1979, pp. 17 ff., 162 ff.

[11]Cf. Graham, cited p. 95 ff.

[12]Ibidem, p. 140 ff., 219.

[13]Thuc. 1,34,1: cf. my article: Mondo religioso greco, cited 71 ff.

[14]Cf. Bérard, cited p. 135 ff.

[15]Cf. G. Vanotti, L'idea di colonizzazione in Ellanico e Tucidide, in Il Dinamismo della colon., cited p. 101 ff. Zancleans settled in Himera perhaps exiles from Zancle occupied by the Samians in 494/3 BC are to be found in the [φῦ]λα Δαγκλαῖα mentioned in the archaic inscription published by A. Brugnone, La Parola del Passato (hereafter cited PP) 52, 1997, p. 271: some of my corrections, ibidem p. 318 n. 57.

[16]Minority groups of colonists from Cos and Telos at Akragas allowed Phalaris to exercise tyranny for 16 years,

break out, provoking the refusal of control exercised by the mother city. The same will have happened at Camarina, which rebelled against the mother city (δι' ἀπόστασιν: Thuc. 6,5,3) and the Syracusan gamoroi around 552 BC, wanting to reaffirm their right as ἡγεμόνες, decided on armed intervention.

To this should be referred a rather ambiguous fragment in the transmitted text of the Syracusan Philistus[17], from which we learn that at the ford of the river Hyrminos[18] the Syracusans, aided by the Megarian gamoroi and Hennaioi – Henna had already been colonized by Syracusan groups around 634 BC ("one hundred years after Syrakousai," one reads in Stephanus Byzantinus with slight correction of the transmitted number) – assaulted the Camarinaeans, who will have organized an army gathering Sicels and various allies, however lacking the support of the Geloans, who would have declared their neutrality, a detail that will have decided the Syracusans to action.

Camarina, after barely 46 years from its foundation, was annihilated by its founders, an unheard-of event, and the population will have had to resign themselves, like the helots of Sparta, to working the chora paying tribute to the Syracusan gamoroi, or to fleeing into exile taking refuge in the hinterland, for example at Hybla (Megale) or in centers like that of Castiglione di Ragusa (whence comes SEG XLII 847), recently risen to the news for the discovery of a singular inscribed monument, or further north, for example at Morgantina. The Syracusan gamoroi will not have been able to tolerate the breaking of their territorial archē.

The monument, to which I have alluded, conceived as a tropaion, erected to commemorate booty (σκύλος = σκῦλον), probably made of oxen, consists of a sculpture in local limestone, which depicts two oxen with a single body, that is a zeugos boon (I think of the bicephalous ram bronzes, so-called Sicel), with two powerful heads, the left one is truncated: close behind in the foreground is carved a long horse to the left, with a head furnished with bit and reins, to whose body in the center is placed a round hoplite shield, under whose extremity at the bottom right is a section of a war spear, at the front feet of the horse a fighting dog, on the back of the bovine pair a helmeted head (or only a helmet?). In the space to the left under the muzzle of the horse is incised a sinistroverse inscription, on four lines (one omicron, it seems, isolated above the first line, to the right). Thanks to the photos shown on TV and published in the newspaper "La Sicilia" of 23/02/1999, I was able to establish a reading, which I wish to present while awaiting adequate scientific publication: the inscription is in archaic characters (open chi, which seemed to me the first sign on the right, above which stands the indicated omicron; rho, rather than delta, triangular; koppa and lambda non-Chalcidian, as in the dedication inscribed along the leg of the kouros of Megara Hyblaea), datable presumably to the mid-6th century BC.

The text, as I was able to reconstruct also conjecturing as an old epigraphist, appears to me

outside the control of Gela (cf. my article: Istituzioni pubbliche e culti religiosi, in Agrigento e la Sicilia greca, Atti settim. studio Agrigento 1988, Roma 1993, p. 212 ff.).

[17]FGrHist 556 F 5: cf. my article: Metoikismos-Metaphora di poleis in Sicilia, ASNP 20, 1990 p. 395 n. 26. The dating is deduced from Ps.-Skymn., Per. 294 (GGM I p. 208) (the Syracusans Camarina) ἦραν ἐκ βάθρων ... πρὸς ἓξ ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντ' ᾠκημένην (cf. FGrHist 556, Komm. p. 505 with reference to FGrHist 577, p. 686 for the passage of Thuc. 6,5,3: ἀναστάτων δὲ Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν). The problem discussed by A. Di Vita, Tucidide VI 5 e l'epicrazia siracusana. Acre, Casmene, Camarina, Kokalos 33, 1987, pp. 81–85, who denies any value to the lemma on Enna of Stephanus Byzantinus, does not exclude a correction in favor of Casmene in Philistus, considers the Irminio "the political border of the territory" of Syracuse, attributes to the Camarinaeans the responsibility of "waging war on Syracuse," which could not tolerate the ruin of the "design of territorial hegemony." But was it not rather a matter of maintaining the right to demand tribute on the territory of Camarina?

[18]Area explored at the mouth by G. Di Stefano: cf. L'emporio greco dell'Irminio ..., Kokalos 33, 1987, p. 188 ff.; BTCGI IX, 1991, p. 310–315; G. Vallet, Le monde grec colonial d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile, Rome 1996, p. 510 ff. The assault must have occurred under Hybla Heraea, to the north in the upper course of the river.



as follows: ΗΟΠVΤΙϏΑ— ΠVΔΙΝΟϱ—ΕΠΟΙΕ⋞Ε— (after an indentation) ⋞ϙVΛΟ⋞.

That is, even if the position of the patronymic remains strange: Ho Πυτικᾶ — Πυρίνōν — ἐποίēσε — σϙύλος.

The onomastics is foreign: Πυτικα could be a Cretan rendering, that is psilotic, of Πυθικᾶ, on the type of Πύτιος for Πύθιος, in hypocoristic form; Πυρίνōν (excluding a reading Πυδινον) could be connected with Πυρ(ρ)ῖνος.

In my modest opinion the sculpture is the work of a Greek artisan, provincial, who has not been able to achieve the formal synthesis of Greek archaic art, but has effectively rendered characteristic aspects of the Greek hoplite, who is always a farmer, who raises horses and oxen, proud to fight on horseback, with the spear, accompanied by the faithful dog, protected by the round shield and the helmet (I evoke silver litrae with helmet figure from Himera; the first "hoplite" didrachms of Camarina and the silver litrae of Gela with the horseman on the R/). The monument of Castiglione could be referred to a refugee from Camarina, politically annihilated in 552 BC, who came to plunder or to a Geloan, descendant of a Cretan colonist, if the patronymic presents the psilotic form of Πυθικᾶς (cf. Δειπίλō in a graffito: Med. Ant. 1, 1998, p. 266).

Not all the Camarinaeans renounced their identity: Parmenides for example, when in 528 BC (63rd Olympiad) he won the stadion race at Olympia, even if his homeland was deprived of autonomy, declared himself a Camarinaean[19].

After two generations, in 492 BC, a contingent of Syracusan gamoroi captured by Hippocrates tyrant of Gela in the battle on the river Heloros, also thanks to the mediation of Corinthians and Corcyraeans, obtained freedom, ceding Camarina as ransom price[20]. Herodotus concludes the narration of this episode with the phrase Συρακοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. The territory of Camarina belonged, from the foundation of the colony as the Syracusans will have claimed, to Syracuse, whose class of landowners in 552 BC had resumed possession of it, thus increasing their proverbial dekate.

In 492 BC Hippocrates, having obtained from the Syracusan gamoroi the Camarinaean chora, hastened to refound Camarina, presumably bringing together groups of Geloans and descendants of the ancient Camarinaeans, who had remained to work the land burdened with tribute for the benefit of the Syracusans, or returned from the inland centers, where they had found refuge.

It should not be too surprising that the sons or grandsons of the Camarinaean exiles could have returned to the city of their fathers, after two generations: the same occurred in the 4th century BC at Samos, whose exiled citizens, welcomed or helped in many cities, even at Gela and at Syracuse, returned there after more than forty years[21].

Hippocrates, in order to ensure Camarina's control of the hinterland, turned against the Sicels, dying near the city of Hybla[22].

[19]Diod. 1,68,6: cf. Bérard, cited p. 136; L. Moretti, Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici, Mem. Acc. Lincei, cl. mor., VIII 2, 1957, p. 74 nr. 125; F. Cordano, Kokalos 33, 1987, p. 125. Interesting are the considerations regarding the continuity of life at Camarina, documented by excavations, in Di Stefano, cited, pp. 198 ff.; Di Vita, ibid. p. 85 ff.

[20]Herodot. 7,154,3; FGrHist 556 F 15 (cf. L. Piccirilli, Gli arbitrati interstatali greci, Pisa 1973, pp. 58–60).

[21]Cf. Kl. Hallof, Das Bürgerrecht der aus dem Exil heimkehrenden Samier, Klio 78, 1996, pp. 337–346 (BE 1997, 446). For the decree of Samos in honor of the Geloan Diocles in 321 BC, cf. Ch. Michel, Recueil d'inscr. gr., Bruxelles 1900, 368, p. 284; the similar one for the Syracusan Meniskos, published by Chr. Habicht, Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit, AM 72, 1957, p. 197 ff. nr. 30. The phenomenon studied by D. Askeri, La diaspora e il ritorno dei Messeni, in Tria Corda, Scritti in onore di A. Momigliano, edited by E. Gabba, Como 1983, pp. 27–42.

[22]Herodot. 7,155,1: beautiful pages on the conquest policy of Hippocrates in N. Luraghi, Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia, Firenze 1994, pp. 155 ff.



Camarina had a rapid economic recovery, issuing a beautiful, today rare, series of didrachms, characterized by an "hoplite" typology: on the O/ by a helmet to the left, above a round shield, on the R/ by the dwarf palm (lacustrine plant), between two greaves, and all around the legend, clockwise, starting on the right, KAMAPI (with rho with a small leg, sinistroverse)[23].

The city was controlled by a tyrant-vicar, Glaucus of Karystos, on behalf of Gelon, until after less than two lustra, around 483 BC, Gelon himself, "for whom Syracuse was everything," destroyed Camarina and transferred its inhabitants, as well as half the population of Gela and the landowners of destroyed Megara, to Syracuse, granting citizenship to all of them[24].

Of this forced transfer of the Camarinaeans to Syracuse, even if it can be defined a kind of synoecism-refoundation, there is memory in a metrical inscription, incised in Arcadian alphabet on a long marble base, to support votive offerings, apparently of bronze, found at Olympia: "Praxiteles Syracusan and Camarinaean dedicated this votive offering; previously he son of Krinis resided at Mantinea, in sheep-rich Arcadia, a noble man, and to him belongs this testimony of (artistic) virtue"[25].

Praxiteles from Arcadia will have come, perhaps as a mercenary, to Sicily becoming a Camarinaean, when Hippocrates refounded Camarina, then a Syracusan, when Gelon transferred the population to Syracuse[26], perhaps preserving the lot of land assigned to him by Hippocrates in the chora of Camarina. Precisely also this and the chora of other cities subjugated by Gelon and by Hieron, of Naxos, Catana and of the centers of the Sicel area (from which Ducetius will move), will be distributed in lots to the xenoi-mercenaries, also Greeks from the overseas Doric area, who had served the tyrants.

This policy of the tyrants provoked a forced emigration, certainly felt as exile, from the sacrificed cities of inhabitants, who will have had to find shelter in inland centers, perhaps in turn expropriating the lands from the "indigenous," with whom they came into closer contacts, facilitating through bilingualism their alphabetization and therefore Hellenization[27]. The refugees from the destroyed Greek cities were the great promoters of the Hellenization of inland Sicily.

When the system of tyrannies collapsed, in 461 BC the Geloans "distributed in lots (the Camarinaean chora) completely refounding Camarina"[28].

Among its citizens it numbered Psaumis son of Akron, victor in the race with mule cart (like Anaxilas) at Olympia in 456 (or in 452) BC, celebrated in the IV and in the V Olympian, which have come down under the name of Pindar[29]. This second culminates in the celebration of Camarina, evoking its sacred places (the pure grove of Athena), the river Oanos, the ancestral lake, the "sacred canals," derived from the river Hipparis, which quench the thirst of the people

[23]U. Westermark – K. Jenkins, The Coinage of Kamarina, London 1980, pp. 18 ff., 142 ff. and Pl. I.

[24]Herodot. 7,156,1–2: see Luraghi, cited, p. 158 ff.; Un mantis eleo nella Siracusa di Ierone: Agesia di Siracusa. Iamide di Stinfalo, Klio 79, 1997, p. 77; G. Mafodda, La monarchia di Gelone tra pragmatismo, ideologia e propaganda, Messina (Soc. mess. storia patria) 1996, p. 72 ff.

[25]Cf. L. H. Jeffery, The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece, Oxford 1961, pp. 160 ff., 211, 215 nr. 20 and Pl. 41; M. L. Lazzarini, cited, p. 278 nr. 723 (dating before 484 BC) and also Hansen, CEG I 380; H. van Effenterre – Fr. Ruzé, Nomima I, Roma 1994 p. 98–99 nr. 20 (at line 2). The photo (Pl. VII) was granted to me by the German Archaeological Institute of Athens. Here is the Greek text: Πραξιτέλε̄ς ἀνέθε̄κε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα καὶ Καμαρινaῖος· πρόσθα δὲ Μαντινέαι, Κρίνιος huιός, ἔναιεν ἐν 'Αρκαδίαι πολυμέλō(ι) hεσλός ἐόν, καὶ ϝοι μνᾶμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς.

[26]He would be a valorous warrior according to Luraghi, cited, p. 161 ff.

[27]Cf. my article: Modi dell'alfabetizzazione in Sicilia (dall'Arcaismo all'Ellenismo), in Medit. Antico, I 1998, p. 248 ff.

[28]Diod. 11,76,5.

[29]G. Vallet, Pindare et la Sicile, Entr. Ant. Class. 31, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1984, p. 285 ff., in Le monde grec, cited, p. 183 ff.; p. 200. For the prestige of races with mule carts, cf. Luraghi, Klio 79, 1997, cited p. 74.

(the colonists) and allow the rapid construction of a high forest of stable dwellings, freeing the population from hardships. Olympian V in my opinion can well be authentic[30]: for a poet like Pindar it was not essential to have visited the reborn Camarina, to imagine the lacustrine and fluvial landscape and the fervor of the construction sites erected to build the houses of the colonists, drawing water from the canals derived from the river. This was happening barely a quinquennium earlier, if the Olympic victory of Psaumis falls in 456, or at most, if it is from 452 BC, nine years earlier.

Concluding his song Pindar asks Zeus Soter to grant the city excellent brave men and for Psaumis a serene old age among his horses and among his sons, without claiming the conditions of a god.

Psaumis was certainly a farmer, who could raise purebred mules in the lot of land assigned to him and his sons.

Another Camarinaean is to be found presumably in Antandros, son of Pythis, who placed a dedication to Apollo Patroios (protecting god of the family and connected with the phratria) as a dekate (of the production of his lot?), as one reads in the inscription incised on a small bronze base[31].

The city was built with a regular plan[32], divided into quarters, designated in some contracts for the purchase of houses, incised on lead tablets, of Hellenistic age, "laurai," each with the name of a sanctuary that rose there (of Herakles; of Pergaos and Phersophassa) or of a public building ("presses" or "watering place")[33]. Customs and laws (nomima) of the Geloans were introduced there: significant is the month Geloios, attested in a contract[34]. The population was distributed into the three canonical Doric tribes and into subdivisions, the phratriai, numbering 18(?), the first called ὑπάτα, the last νῆτ(α), and also into triakades and eikades[35].

Camarina organized its mint, issuing a rich and prolonged series of silver litrae (of about 0.86 gr.), characterized on the O/ by Nike in flight, with large wings, to the left, above a swan, within an olive crown, and on the R/ by a standing Athena, to the left[36]. The Nike, as on the first tetradrachms of refounded Catana, must have alluded to a military victory, perhaps against the xenoi settled by the Deinomenids in the lands of Camarina; the swan symbolized the lake, near which the city arose and Athena was the poliad goddess, to whom a great temple was dedicated, sung in Olympian V.

These litrae had to integrate into circulation with the tetradrachms and litrae issued at the same time by Gela, the mother city[37].

The new Camarina proved to be a strong polis, autonomously oriented in political choices: when

[30] J. Brunel, La Ve Olympique et la reconstruction de Camarina en 461–460 a. J.-Chr., REA 73, 1971, p. 327–41, does not arrive at an affirmation of the authenticity of Olympian V. For the onomastics derived from Hipparis, cf. J. Curbera, Onomastics and River-Gods in Sicily, Philologus 142, 1998, p. 58 ff.

[31] Cf. my article: Sikelikà, QUCC 78, 1995, p. 98–100: Ἄνταν̃δρος Πύθιος τõι Ἀπόλλõνι δεκάταν ἀνέθẽκε τõι Πατρõιõι.

[32] R. Martin, L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique, Paris 1974, p. 319; G. Vallet, in Le monde grec, cited, p. 511 ff.

[33] Cf. my article: Nuove tavolette di piombo inscritte siceliote, PP 52, 1997, p. 308; p. 311.

[34] PP 44, 1989, p. 190 (L. Dubois, IGDS, Rome 1996, p. 136 ff.).

[35] Cf. B. Helly, Sur les Fratrai de Camarine, PP 52, 1997, p. 365–406, with "geometric" considerations too abstract for me, even if it is true that the registry system influenced the urban one. The lead tokens inscribed with personal names will have been used for voting in the ekklesiasterion (QUCC 1995, p. 101 ff.).

[36] Westermark – Jenkins, cited p. 24 ff.; 146 ff.; for pentonkion and hexas p. 174 ff. and my article: Dall'obolo alla litra e il problema del Damareteion, in Mèlanges G. Le Rider, Paris 1999, p. 251 n. 92

[37] Jenkins, The Coinage of Gela, Berlin 1980, pp. 51 ff., 221 ff.

in 427 BC Athens sent a fleet to Sicily, it did not deny its support[38], and manifested reservations regarding Syracuse, especially on the occasion of the great Athenian expedition in 415/13 BC[39].

In 424 BC an epochal event occurred through the merit of the Syracusan Hermocrates, who in a synhedrion at Gela persuaded the representatives of the Sicilian cities, even those of the Chalcidian ones, to reach a peace agreement, and thus expel the Athenian ships from the island, which with the three commanders returned to their homeland and these ended up on trial[40]. This Synhedrion of Gela must have impressed the historian Antiochos, if he decided to conclude his *Sikelika* precisely in 424 BC[41].

Perhaps also through the support of Gela and the prestige of Hermocrates the Syracusans agreed to cede to Camarina, for compensation in currency paid by the same, Morgantina (in Thucydides not mentioned before and never again after): this chorion of ancient Sicel settlement, now definitively identified, rises about 60 km from the southern coast of the island, well beyond the Iblean area, with which Camarina has always been in close contact. Camarina and Gela represented the natural commercial outlet for Morgantina[42].

It is natural to ask why Morgantina was ceded precisely to Camarina, which agreed to pay currency to the Syracusans. From the chora of Morgantina these will have collected some tribute, of the type of dekate, to which now they will have renounced. Did it have to consist of that, which was owed by right of conquest to Ducetius and by him, following the act of surrender of himself and his chora in 451 BC transferred to the Syracusans? The presence at Morgantina of numerous people originally from Camarina, with kinship ties between the inhabitants of the two cities, must have constituted in 424 BC a reality known to the representatives of the Sicilian cities assembled in the Synhedrion of Gela, who will have approved the cession of Morgantina to Camarina, which paid a price to the Syracusans. In this way the proverbial dekate of the Syracusans suffered a reduction.

The collection of this required a tributary system, which will have long life until Hieron II, later adapted by the Romans in the Lex Hieronica: it will have been applied already from 552 to 492 for the Camarinaean territory and then during the tyranny of the Deinomenids for that of the subjugated Sicel centers and also after 440 BC, when having conquered Palike of the Thrinakioi the Syracusans χρημάτων παρασκευὰς ἐποιοῦντο φόρους ἀδροτέρους τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις Σικελοῖς ἐπιτιθέντες[43]. An equal fiscal system will have been employed regarding the cities subjugated by Ducetius, who always followed the Syracusan model in his political action. It will have been so also for Morgantina, conquered in 459 BC (Diod. 11, 78, 5), perhaps with the help of Greek refugees, fugitives from Camarina: from the territory of Morgantina he will have collected dekate on a personal basis, which I dare to think was transferable[44].

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[38] Thuc. 3,86,2.

[39] For the changeable behavior of Camarina regarding Syracuse, cf. Thuc. 5,4,6: in 422 BC it establishes contacts with Athens; 6,52,2: in 415 the Athenian fleet is not received in the port of Camarina; 6,67,2: very limited aid to Syracuse; 6,75–88: Camarina remains neutral; 7,33,1: Camarina declares itself for Syracuse.

[40] Thuc. 4,65,3. Cf. S. Cataldi, I processi agli strateghi ateniesi della prima spedizione in Sicilia e la politica cleoniana, in AA. VV., Processi e politica nel mondo antico, edited by M. Sordi, Univ. Cattol., Milano 1996, p. 37 ff.

[41] Diod. 12,71,2 (FGrHist 555 T 3): Antiochos most probably was a partisan of Hermocrates.

[42] Of the material emerged in the excavations at Serra Orlando it should be noted which is referable to Gela and which to Camarina, for the second part of the 5th century. For the coins of these two cities, which indicate movements of people, who from them return to Morgantina, cf. Morgantina Studies II, The Coins, by T. V. Buttrey et al., Princeton 1989, pp. 85 ff., 142 (Gela); p. 80 ff. (Morgantina).

[43] Diod. 12,30,1. For the problem in general, cf. Carcopino, cited, pp. 50–54 (the fiscal system would go back to Gelon I).

[44] The synteleia organized by Ducetius, according to Diodorus's testimony, would have constituted a tributary

Ducetius, surprised in the camp near Noai (Nomai) and defeated in 451 BC presented himself as a suppliant in the agora at Syracuse καὶ ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἧς ἦν κύριος, παρέδωκε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις (Diod. 11,91,3–92, 1).

This chora ceded by Ducetius should not be limited to the lands of his property in the area of Menainon and Noai, but include those of the cities conquered by him and merged into the synteleia: among them was naturally also Morgantina.

Therefore from 451 BC the Syracusans will have collected tribute also from the chora of Morgantina: thus I believe one can explain why in 424 BC, ceding Morgantina to Camarina, with the consent of the other cities assembled in the Synhedrion of Gela, they received compensation in currency from Camarina (Thuc. 4, 65).

Still Dionysius I will have applied an analogous tributary regime for the subjugated cities, even if symmachoi.

E. Sjöqvist observed, analyzing the archaeological material discovered at Morgantina, the passage from a Chalcidian phase to the Doric one in the mid-5th century BC[45]. After a period of bilingualism, which allowed the alphabetization of the "indigenous"[46], the city must have filled with Greek immigrants, expelled by the tyrants, and thus was Hellenized.

The population will have been organized there in civic organisms analogous to those of Camarina, as the term εἰκάς read in a vascular graffito seems to suggest, unfortunately in an obscure context. From contracts, incised on lead tablets for the sale of a vineyard property and houses, there result an eponymous official called hiaropolos and a Rhodian month, two details that refer back to Gela, and for the ampochoi, so are called the witnesses in the contracts (just as in those of Camarina), a typically Siceliote onomastics[47].

Around 424 BC Morgantina must have presented itself on the political scene in the eyes of the Siceliotes as a Hellenic polis, issuing, in line with Camarina and Gela, series of silver litrae. Apart from the litra (Pl. VIII Fig. 2), characterized on the O/ by a Head with bearded face, with marked features, which can be of Zeus, and on the R/ by a large erect barley spike, surrounded by the legend, beginning on the right, ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΑ (with gamma as semicircle, Chalcidian/Geloan)[48], also belonging to Morgantina is a litra, already published a hundred years ago by F. Imhoof-Blumer[49]. On the O/ appears a Head of Nymph to the right, on the R/ a protome of boar between pointed grains of barley.

I know of two issues[50]: on a specimen (Pl. VIII Fig. 3), of 0.615 gr., which seems to me of the same O/ die as that published by Imhoof-Blumer, I believe one can read on the O/, also thanks to the autopsy of the specimen seen in the Cammarata Collection of Enna[51], starting from the top right ΜΟΡΓΑΝ—. The Head of the Nymph (Morgantina, certainly) for the line of the face and hairstyle evokes that of Arethusa on Syracusan tetradrachms, datable between 439–435

regime (cf. N. Cusumano, Kokalos 42, 1996, pp. 303–312).

[45]I Greci a Morgantina, Kokalos 8, 1962, p. 60 ff. Cf. also M. Bell, Kokalos 30–31, 1984–85, pp. 501 ff.

[46]Cf. C. Antonaccio – J. Neils, A New Graffito from Archaic Morgantina, ZPE 105, 1995, p. 277 ff.

[47]Cf. respectively BE 1990, 859; 861 (PP 44, 1989, p. 203 ff.; 52, 1997, p. 356 ff.); 1993, 721: the reading [εἰ]κάς remains too dubious.

[48]Cf. K. T. Erim, La zecca di Morgantina, in Le emissioni dei centri siculi fino all'epoca di Timoleonte, Atti IV Conv. CISN, Napoli 1973, Suppl. 20 AIIN 1975, p. 69 ff.; S. Raffiotta, Morgantina, Palermo 1985, p. 63 nr. 1, Fig. 1 at p. 66.

[49]NZ 18, 1886 p. 240 with Pl. 6, 7 (B. Head, HN^2 p. 145): on the O/ was read KIMAPO.

[50]Cf. Dall'obolo alla litra, cited, p. 251 n. 95 Pl. 29–30.

[51]Noted in S. Raffiotta, C'era una volta Camarina, Enna 1996, p. 42 n. 13: dating 470–460 BC, in my opinion too high.

(Boehringer) and 420 BC (Bérend)[52]. On the R/ is depicted a protome of boar to the right, with long muzzle, bristly neck and crest, one foot forward, surmounted by two long grains of barley.

A variant is offered by the specimen I noted in Paris, B. N. 268, of 0.55 gr., of which Mme. Gerin gave me the cast, and which I have published elsewhere[53]. The features of the face are delicate and on the R/ above the protome of the boar no barley grains appear. But on the O/ one notes the beginning of the ethnic MOP, which continues on the R/, counterclockwise, in front of the boar's muzzle, CAN[54]. These two issues of litra with the "boar," in my opinion, should be dated around 424 BC.

The two other known issues of silver litra, which are dated to the Timoleontic period[55], have little stylistic and typological merit, while some bronze issues are excellent, first of all that with face, with elegant profile, of helmeted Athena to the right on the O/ and on the R/ with the lion that tears at a deer's head[56].

The two cities on the coast, Camarina and Gela, constituted the essential poles of a great internal geopolitical park, beyond the Iblean zone, of great economic and human value, in which had concentrated, unifying themselves by culture, language and economic activities, Greek peoples who fled in the years of Syracusan vengeance from Camarina and then in the period of the tyrannies.

In this great park alongside Morgantina are other indigenous and soon Hellenized centers, for which there still remains for archaeologists the task of systematically exploring the depths (despite the grave damage wrought by blind clandestine excavations) and for historians that of possible identification: if for Herbessos (at Montagna di Marzo) something has emerged[57], there still remain M. Bubbonia, Rossomanno or Sabucina[58].

The landscape of each of these centers nestled in the mesogaia must have been very similar to that which is intuited, thanks to systematic and wide-ranging excavations, for Morgantina: it was then covered with woods, especially oak groves, animated by boars (significant is the new litra illustrated above), by deer (the R/ of the bronze with Head of Athena, just recalled), and by various birds[59]. In the same landscape there was no lack of rich lands cultivated with vineyards[60], and in

[52]E. Boehringer, Die Münzen von Syrakus, Berlin 1929, p. 250 nr. 724; 725 (a hemilitron); SNG ANS 5, Sic. III 240–242 (edited by D. Bérend).

[53]Dall'obolo alla litra, cited, p. 251 Pl. 30.

[54]The detail of the ethnic split on the two sides of the coin returns for example on a hexas of Camarina (Dall'obolo alla litra, cited p. 251 n. 92) and on a litra of Abakainon (A. Bertino, Le emissioni monetali di Abaceno, AIIN 1975, cited p. 112 ff.). On the litrae of Abakainon the boar is presented full figure, often accompanied by the piglet or by an oak acorn, evoking the wooded landscape of the Nebrodi (Tripi), in which, as still in areas of Cesarò I have had occasion to note, it must have been raised freely. The figure of the boar on issues of other mints, for example of Crete, lacks the Siceliote elegance.

[55]SNG ANS 4, Sic. II, 463–65; Raffiotta, Morgantina, cited, p. 66 nrr. 2–3.

[56]Raffiotta, cited, p. 66 nrr. 4–5 and p. 62.

[57]Cf. Sikelika, Studi di Antichità e di Epigrafia della Sicilia greca, Bibl. QUCC, Pisa–Roma 1999, p. 7–33.

[58]Cf. meanwhile, BTCGI X 1992, pp. 279–283 s. v. Monte Bubbonia (D. Pancucci).

[59]In this regard I recall a sacred prescription, incised on a brick (Pl. VIII Fig. 4), preserved in the Museum of Syracuse, unfortunately with gaps: [?τρέφ]ειν ἐλάφους | [πελε]ίας, ὄρτυκας, | [ὄρνιθας?], νέα ὄ(ρ)νεα | [τρυγό]νας περιοτε|[ρὰς μέχρ]ι τὸ δαπά|[νημα ἐπ]αρκεῖν· | [ὀρνέων θ]υσίας ἀπο|[τρέπειν·] ἄρσενος δ|[ὲ οἰὸς] καται[γίζειν] | [τὸ δέρμα] {ε}ἐκο[ντί? -]. I can present the following translation: "to raise deer, wood pigeons, quails, chickens(?), chicks, turtle doves, doves (as long as) the expense suffices. Let sacrifices of birds(?) be forbidden, but let the skin of ram be burned sacrificially preferably ..." (cf. Sikelika, Studi di Antichità, cited p. 57–60). See O(ddone) Longo, Le forme della predazione. Cacciatori e pescatori della Grecia antica, Napoli 1989, pp. 64–66. The raising of birds in this city, which Sil. Ital., Pun. 14, 265 defines *frondosis Morgentia campis*, was perhaps finalized for the market. Interesting is a notation in Plut., v. Timol. 22, 5 (the desolate cities, in the years of Timoleon) "were infested with deer and boars": πόλεις ... ἐλάφων ἐγένοντο μεσταὶ καὶ συῶν ἀγρίων.

[60]BE 1990, 859.

the arid and stony zones appeared fields of barley (silver litra with head of Zeus and large spike) and around and on the heights extended pastures, offered to large flocks of sheep, accompanied by majestic rams[61].

Morgantina for the Greeks of the coast was the city of barley bread, of good roast boar, of good cheese and of full-bodied wine, produced from vines known also to the wise Cato[62].

From there arrived in the Siceliote ports conspicuous loads of agricultural products, also for export.

Catania Giacomo Manganaro

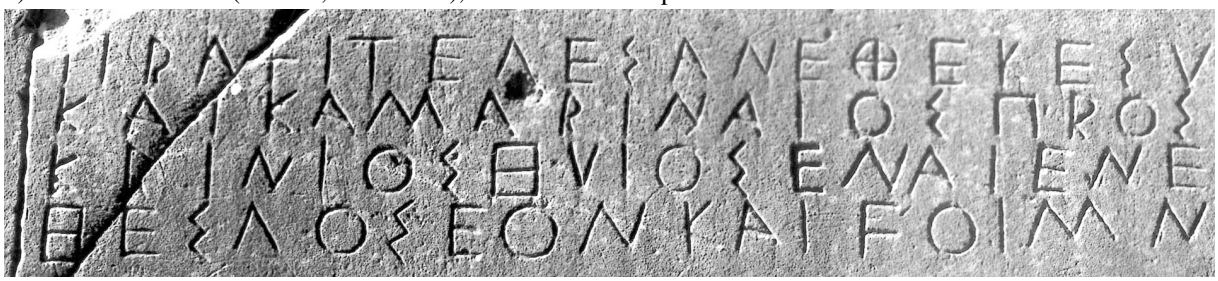
[61]Depicted frequently in bronzes of popular art, perhaps of 6th–5th century BC found in the Etna area: cf. my article: Per una storia della chora Katanaia, in Catania antica, Atti della SISAC, Catania 1992 (Pisa 1996), p. 27 n. 18; Raffigurazioni di fauna e flora nella monetazione, in bronzetti e su anelli della Sicilia greca, in: Gebirgsland als Lebensraum, Stuttgarter Koll. zur Histor. Geographie des Altertums 5, 1993 (Amsterdam 1996), Pl. 41 ff.

[62]Cf. PP 44, 1989, pp. 203–205.

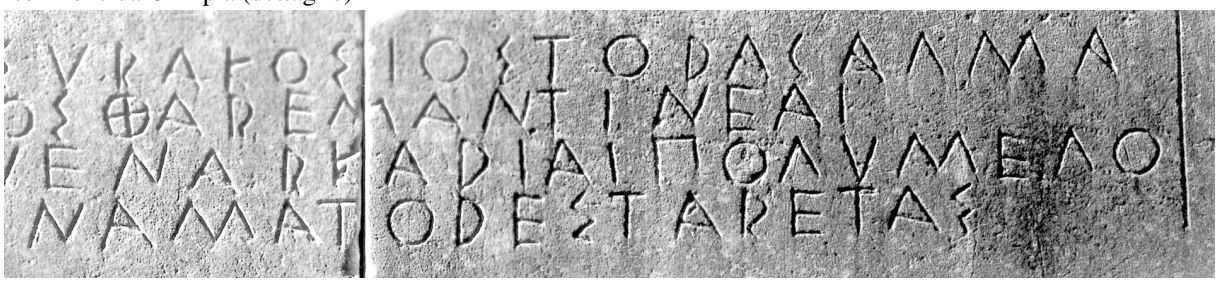




1) Iscrizione metrica (Hansen, CEG I 380), rinvenuta in Olimpia



Iscrizione da Olimpia (dettaglio)



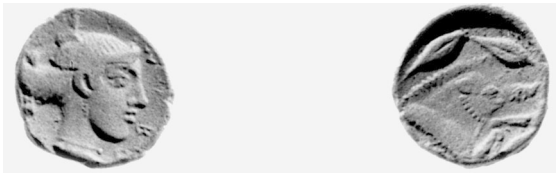
Iscrizione da Olimpia (dettaglio)

G. Manganaro, pp. 115–123

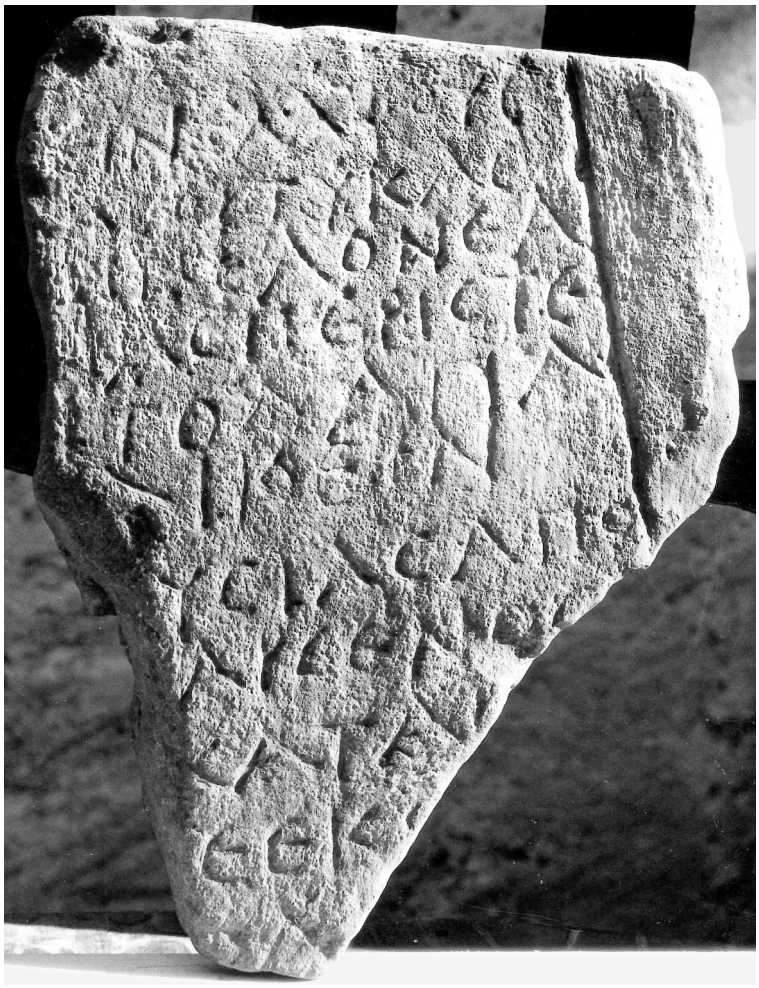
TAFEL VIII



2) Litra da Morgantina (2 : 1)



3) Litra da Morgantina (2 : 1)



4) Prescrizione sacrale nel Museo di Siracusa

G. Manganaro, pp. 115–123