

SICILY AND SARDINIA-CORSICA: THE FIRST PROVINCES

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1. *Introduction*

The moment when the Romans crossed the narrow straits of Messina in 264 BC is consistently seen as one of the most important in the history of Roman imperialism. Polybius chose to begin with this (Pol. 1.5.1); for Theodor Mommsen, 'It was a moment of the deepest significance in the history of the world'. But, as Polybius and Mommsen also saw, one of the principal results, the development of the provinces of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica, was in no way foreseen in 264. For Polybius (1.20.1-2) it was only in 261, after the sack of Agrigentum, that the Senate decided on driving Carthage from Sicily and thereby increasing their own power; for Mommsen, what had begun as a continuation of the expansion of the 'Italian confederacy' ended instead with 'the extension of Italy to its natural boundaries'. This chapter will focus upon why, and how, these islands were transformed into what can reasonably be called the first 'regular' provinces of the developing empire: in other words, the beginnings of formal territorial annexation outside Italy.

The concept of the *provincia* before the 1st Century BC was primarily that of the task or responsibility of a magistrate or promagistrate (usually *cum imperio*). Precisely when the term acquired a distinct territorial or geographical sense continues to be a subject of debate. The word *provincia* does not, for example, constitute part of the description of the Roman empire as found in a law of the Roman people of 122 BC: '[*quoi socium nominisue Latini exterarumue nationum, quouiue in arbitratu ditione potestate amicitiaue [e populi Romani...*]', '[from whomever of the allies] or of the Latin name or of the foreign nations, or from whomever within the discretion, sway, power or friendship [of the Roman people...]'.¹ What is certain is that

¹ Mommsen 1894, 2.165, 167, 203-5. First Punic War: Lazenby 1996; also de Sanctis 1967 (= *Storia dei Romani* 3.1). The causes: e.g., Hoyos 1998, 5-115; Eckstein 1987, 73-101; Harris 1985, 63-7, 182-90; Heuss 1970; cf. Loreto 2007. Richardson 2008, 2-4 on modes of imperial control in relation to the development of Rome's empire in this period. *Provincia*: Lintott 1993, 22-42; Kallet-Marx 1995, 18-29; Richardson 2008; Bertrand 1989. Quotation from *Lex Repetundarum*, I, line 1 = Crawford 1996, 65; contrast Cic. *Mil.* 87; cf. Richardson, 44-5, 79-80.

ca. 227, the Senate decided to double the number of praetors from two to four and to assign the third and fourth to Sicily and Sardinia (with Corsica); and that, thereafter, *imperium*-bearing magistrates or promagistrates, usually praetors, were allotted these two provinces on a regular basis. However, beyond that basic fact (and even the exact conception/mechanism of the regularity of the assignment is a matter of debate), much remains to be understood. Examination of the first two regular extra-Italian provinces may help us to understand both the role of the 'regular' province in Republican imperialism, and at least some aspects of its development.²

2. *Leaving Terra Italia*

Livy and others claim that the Romans sought out grain from Sicily from the very beginnings of the Republic. While the details may be questioned, there is little reason to doubt that the Romans were aware of Sicily as a potential source of grain (and other things) from well before 264. The first treaty between Rome and Carthage (ca. 509), as reported by Polybius, specifically refers to Roman rights to trade in both Sardinia and the Carthaginian-controlled western part of Sicily (Pol. 3.22.7-10); the second (? 348), while explicitly excluding Romans from trading or founding a city in Sardinia, grants equal rights with Carthaginians for those trading in Carthaginian Sicily (Pol. 3.24.11-12). It is tempting, if not strictly necessary, to link the Sardinian exclusion clause to the scattered reports of Roman attempts to found colonies (or naval yards, prompted by the wealth of timber) on both Sardinia and Corsica during the fourth century. Various texts imply interaction across the Tyrrhenian basin in this period.³

Archaeological evidence also indicates interaction and interest, especially from the 3rd Century onwards. In addition to the visible presence of Campanian wares in western Sicily in the period ca. 310–270, there is

² New praetors ca. 227: Solin. 5.1; Livy *Per.* 20. C. Flaminius was the first Sicilian praetor: Livy 33.42.8; the first Sardinian praetor, M. Valerius: Brennan 2000, 2.655. 227 is the conventional date: Brennan 2000, 1.91-3. Regular provincial allocation: Brennan 2000, 187-90; Ferrary 2008, 9-10; and *contra*, Richardson 2008, 17-25. Provincial development: Crawford 1990; Ferrary 2008, 2010; Richardson 1986 (on Hispaniae), Kallet-Marx 1995 (Macedonia and Asia).

³ Sicilian grain: Gallo 1992; Garnsey 1988, 167-81; Northwood 2006; cf. Zevi 1999. On the treaties: Scardigli 1991. Roman colonisation attempt in Corsica: Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 5.8.2; Amigues 1990, Zucca 1996, 74-9. In Sardinia: Diod. 15.27.4; Meloni 1990, 20-3; *contra* Harris 1990, 501 n. 20, cf. Bispham 2006, 123. Interaction across the Tyrrhenian: Livy 5.28, with App. *Ital.* 8.1-3, Diod. 14.93.3-5 (394 BC); Diod. 15.14.3 (ca. 384); Livy 7.25.4-26.15 (ca. 349); Diod. 16.82.3 (ca. 339).

extensive evidence for the movement of Greco-Italic amphorae (as wine containers), of which many were produced in Sicily, around the western Mediterranean basin; this trade expanded rapidly in the aftermath of the first two Punic wars. There is also material evidence from both Corsica and Sardinia of Italian connections in the 4th and 3rd Centuries. It is increasingly clear that we should imagine some degree of economic motivation for Roman imperial behaviour in the 3rd Century, beyond the basic stimulus of booty. Perhaps of more immediate relevance, however, for the Roman decision to aid the Mamertines in 264 is the presence of Campanians in Sicily from the later 5th Century onwards, mostly serving as mercenaries; by the 3rd Century some of these could well have been Roman citizens.⁴

This last point brings us to 264. It has rightly been emphasised that the initial Roman aim in the 'Sicilian War' was to secure Messina (modern Messina), and primarily against Syracuse not Carthage. In the light of Pyrrhus' recent campaigns against Rome and Carthage (and the concomitant Roman pact with Carthage of 279), and the extension of Roman interests into southern Italy, it is quite understandable that the Romans should have been wary of a resurgent Syracuse: Syracusan interests had previously extended well into southern Italy and the Adriatic. The Mamertines quite rationally appealed to both Rome and Carthage in the face of Syracusan attacks. The surviving later tradition, beginning with Polybius and produced in full knowledge of the subsequent escalation, naturally accepts a war directed primarily against Carthage. The historically unparalleled alliance between Syracuse and Carthage (cities at war, on and off, for the last 200 years) late in 264 transformed the situation. When Hieron II of Syracuse then yielded to the subsequent pressure of a double consular army in 263 and concluded friendship with Rome, the war moved on to a very different footing, and even more so in the following 18 months with the successful sack by Rome of Agrigentum.⁵

⁴ Trade: Bechtold 2007, esp. 60; Tchernia 1986, esp. 49-51; Vandermersch 2001, esp. 173-4; Perkins 2007, esp. 43-5. Corsica, Sardinia and Italians: Zucca 1996, 80, cf. Van Dommelen 1998, 115-59; more generally, Mastino *et al.* 2005, 107-12. Third-Century Roman imperial behaviour: e.g., Willing 1998, esp. 794-8; Tchernia 2007. Campanians: Tagliamonte 1994; Ampolo 2001.

⁵ Initial aims in 264: e.g., Eckstein 1987, 76-7; 2006, 164-9; Hoyos 1998, 53-7; cf. already Badian 1958, 34-5. On Hieron II's rise: de Sensi 1977, 9-62; Hoyos 1985; Zambon 2008. On the pact of 279: Hoyos 1984; Scardigli 1991, 163-203. I do not consider the so-called 'Philinus Treaty' to have a serious part in this discussion, despite another recent argument (Serrati 2006); see Hoyos 1985; Eckstein 2010. Sicily and Magna Graecia: Purcell 1994. Syracuse and Carthage in 4th Century: Anello 2002; Huss 1985, 100-215. Hieron's treaty with Rome: Schmitt

The original appeal to Rome came from the Campanian Mamertines occupying Messina. Significantly, in Polybius' account (1.10.2), the Mamertines appealed on the grounds of *homophylia*; that is, they claimed to be of the same race. As has been observed from Mommsen onwards, the Roman response follows previous Roman practice throughout the Italian peninsula, including granting a *foedus* to Messina which required naval contributions to future Roman war-efforts. Roman acceptance of their appeal, after the punishment of a similar group of Campanians in Rhegium some six years earlier, invited accusations of hypocrisy in Roman claims of *fides*, and places this particular action in a long line of Roman diplomatic moves with the potential to invite further war. Significantly, acceptance of the kinship appeal suggests some idea of shared Italic origins (hence not applicable to either Carthaginians or Syracusans); one major shift which seems to accompany the First Punic War is that the concept of 'Italia' was now realised in practice, the original development of which scholars tend to place in the later 4th or early 3rd Century.⁶

Several Roman actions during the war look relatively unusual compared with later provincial practice. For instance, Messina seems to have been the only city in Sicily to receive the standard *foedus* at this stage (see further below); the building of a provincial road (Agrigentum to Panormus) is unparalleled for another century. Arguably, this implies that when the Romans first crossed to Sicily they saw little reason to treat Messina any differently from Rhegium (a mere 7 km away, port to port), but that by 241 alternative approaches were being actively considered. Other developments likewise imply this conceptual shift, such as the second praetorship instituted in 242, with responsibility for the interaction between Romans and non-Romans (the *praetor peregrinus*), or the prohibition on Carthaginian recruiting of mercenaries from Italy in the Lutatius-treaty of 241 (the latter perhaps intended to guarantee supply of Italian manpower, itself consolidated under the *formula togatorum* around this time). Similarly, after the abortive attempts to found colonies in Sardinia and Corsica in the 4th Century, in line with Roman practice in Italy in that period, there was no further attempt to found colonies or distribute land in Sicily, Sardinia, or Corsica before the mostly unsuccessful proposals of the political com-

1969, 137-40; de Sensi 1977, 101-12; Eckstein 1980; Hoyos 1998, 100-15 for a convincing portrait of steady escalation. Hieron II as a client king: Eckstein 1980.

⁶ Mommsen 1894, 2.167; Crawford 1990. Messina's treaty: Schmitt 1969, 135-7; Messina: Pinzone 1999a, 121-72.. Hieron criticises Roman *fides*: Diod. 23.1; Eckstein 2010, 414; Harris 1985, 189. Rhegium: Bleckmann 1999. Mamertine kinship with Rome: Pinzone 1983, 89-137; Battistone 2010, 113-15; Russo 2010, esp. 74-9. Italia, recently Harris 2007; Bispham 2007, 53-73.

petition at the end of the 2nd Century. On the other hand, direct taxation, in clear contrast to Roman practice in Italy, seems to have been an early consideration. For Italians aiming to exploit the opportunities which these lands presented, the difference seems to have been quickly apparent: what may be the first of many inscriptions set up around the Mediterranean by Italian businessmen, identifying themselves explicitly as *Italici*, comes from one of the privileged communities on the north coast of Sicily, ca. 193.⁷

3. *Geopolitics*

But as questions of exploitation remind us, focusing upon conceptual developments may obscure some more fundamental truths. Why did Rome wish to drive Carthage out of Sicily? Why did Rome decide to seize Sardinia in 237? Why the new praetorships in 227? The earlier contacts provide some clues, and we shall come back to that aspect below. The fundamental Roman imperial imperatives of booty and glory also applied: the *populus* was persuaded to vote for war in 264 by the prospect of enrichment (Pol. 1.11.2); triumphs were plentiful in the early part of the war, in turn a key period for the development of Roman triumphal art. But geopolitics also apply, and were, in Polybius' version (1.10.3–11.3), the primary consideration in 264.

The early Roman-Carthaginian treaties illustrate quite clearly the focus of Carthaginian interest: North Africa, western Sicily, and Sardinia. Corsica's place is mostly obscured by silence: it is absent from the treaties, and rarely mentioned except when the object of direct Roman military intervention; there is some debate as to when the island had fallen under Carthaginian control; it has also been suggested that the island was considered 'conquered' by Rome already in 258. If we imagine Carthage standing at the apex of a triangle formed by the Tyrrhenian basin, and bounded on two sides by Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica, then the third side is the Italian coast, and it was Roman interests here that the early treaties sought to define.

⁷ Republican roads: Wiseman 1970; the Sicilian road: Prag 2006. Alternative approaches by 241: Crawford 1990, esp. 122; Pinzone 1999, 53-6; Brennan 2000, 85-9. Prohibition on mercenary recruiting (Pol. 3.27.4, App. Sic. 2.1). *Formula togatorum*, Brunt 1987, 545-8; Ilari 1974; Lo Cascio 1991–94, esp. 325; Prag (forthcoming a), 5–7. Colonisation proposals: App. BCiv. 1.35.156 (Sicily, 91 BC; cf. earlier 1.23.101; 1.29.130; *de Vir. Ill.* 73.5); Seneca, *Dialogi (ad Helviam)* 12.7.9 (Corsica, by Marius ca.100), Pliny, *HN* 3.80 (Corsica, by Sulla, 81). First inscription by *Italici*: *ILLRP* 320. Italians in Sicily: Frascchetti 1981; Torelli 2008; Prag 2012, on the parallel development of a Sicilian identity.

From this perspective, it becomes rather easier to understand Carthaginian concern at Roman involvement in Sicily, having repeatedly struggled with Syracuse for control of the island. Tellingly, at the moment when Rome moved against Agrigentum in 262, Carthage's principal base in south Sicily, Carthaginian naval raids are reported on the Italian coast, launched via Sardinia (Zon. 8.10–11, Pol. 1.20.6–7); in the following years, Rome not only took to the seas in force, but in two consecutive years (259 and 258) mounted campaigns against Carthaginian holdings in Sardinia and Corsica. By 256 Rome was even taking the war to North Africa (as Agathocles of Syracuse had done some fifty years before).

But for either attack or defence, some degree of control of either Sardinia or Sicily is necessary, since they govern the principal maritime approaches (hence Hannibal's land march in 219/8). Roman fear of the potential striking power of Carthage is notoriously encapsulated in Cato's gesture, a century later, of dropping a ripe African fig on the floor of the Senate house (Plut. *Cato Maj.* 27.1; Pliny, *NH* 15.74). Economic perspectives are no less relevant; the early treaties indicate a clear desire to control markets in the Tyrrhenian basin on the part of Carthage; as noted, the wide circulation of material goods is very clear in the archaeological record (as is its increase in the 3rd Century); the substantial presence of Italian traders in North Africa in the immediate aftermath of the First Punic War (Pol. 1.83.7) highlights this second motivation for 'breaking' Carthaginian control of the region.⁸

However, one must not be too Carthago-centric: Roman campaigns in Sardinia and Corsica frequently coincided with military activity on the Italian mainland, in particular against the Ligurians, not only in the 230s BC, but again in the 180s/170s. In particular, the first Roman campaign after the First Punic War, against the Ligurians, provides much the best explanation for the notorious decision to seize control of Sardinia and Corsica in 238/7 (Livy, *Per.* 20; Pol. 1.83.11, 88.8–12). Sardinia and Corsica also control naval traffic westwards, and Sicily the traffic eastwards, including traffic into and across the Adriatic. In the past, Syracuse (under Dionysius I) had founded colonies in the Adriatic at several locations including Issa, a key location in the First Illyrian War of 229; the gift from Rome to Hieron II of

⁸ Triumph-patterns: Rich 1993, 49–50 with fig. 2.2; triumphal art and monuments in this period: Picard 1957, 138; Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Hölscher 1994, 17–51. Corsica: Debergh 1989, 43–4; Scardigli 1991, 152; Zucca 1996, 80–2. Carthaginian imperialism: Whittaker 1978; Barceló 1989; Ameling 1993, 141–54, Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008, 10. Roman attacks on Sardinia and Corsica, 259–258: Debergh 1989; Meloni 1990, 23–30. Italy-Carthage sea-routes: Arnaud 2005, 149–71; Mastino *et al.* 2005, 37–42; Mosca 2002. Cato's figs: O'Gorman 2004.

Illyrian spoils in the 220s (Livy 24.21.9) suggests ongoing Syracusan interest in the region. The so-called *coloniae maritimae* illustrate the Adriatic's relevance to Rome since the later 4th Century.⁹

There were, therefore, sound strategic reasons for annexation. The additional decision ca. 227 to create praetors for Sicily and Sardinia also belongs in context: Carthaginian activities in Spain were increasing (the so-called 'Ebro treaty' dates to 226 BC); Rome had just consolidated control over the Adriatic in the First Illyrian War; and the state was preparing a concentrated campaign in northern Italy against the Gauls following recent expansion into the *ager Gallicus*. The military conquest of Sardinia, between 237 and 231, appeared to have achieved some stability: the only military presence attested between 230 and 218 is a consular army in 225, after the islanders apparently revolted against the new praetor (Zonar. 8.19). The first attested Roman military force in Sicily after 241 is a 'reserve' legion in 225 (Pol. 2.24.13). The sending of the first praetors in 227 *may* therefore suggest a decision to maintain a military presence in western Sicily (and Sardinia?), confronting Carthage (in Spain)—an action which, as is usually maintained, implies the beginnings of a standing army overseas. However, by the early 2nd Century Sicily, and probably also Sardinia-Corsica, were apparently garrisoned principally by local troops, so even that general fundamental principle is hard to sustain.¹⁰

4. *Exploitation*

If changing circumstances following the First Punic War provide one explanation for the decision of 228/7, there is still a need to consider what Roman intentions/expectations may have been in driving Carthage out of each of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica. Of relevance to this is the triumphal return of T. Manlius Torquatus, after the initial seizure of Sardinia, in 235, which prompted the only (if brief) closing of the Gates of Janus in the middle Republic, symbolic of the Roman state at peace. This suggests limited Senatorial fear of immediate Carthaginian reprisals, even if

⁹ Ligurian campaigns: Feig Vishnia 1996, 16-17; cf. Mastino *et al.* 2006, 31. Seizure of Sardinia: Dubuisson 1979, Dyson 1985, 245-6; Brizzi 1989; Carey 1996; Hoyos 1998, 132-43; Ameling 2001; Brizzi 2001. Sea-traffic: Arnaud 2005, 158-9, 164-5, 176-82, 217. Dionysius I: Lombardo 2002; Hieron, Rome and the Adriatic: Millino 2003. *Coloniae maritimae*: Salmon 1969, 70-81.

¹⁰ Feig-Vishnia 1996, 13-25, links campaigns in Sardinia-Corsica, Liguria, the Po Valley, and the Adriatic. Roman conquest of Sardinia in the 230s: e.g., Dyson 1985, 246-51; Meloni 1990, 43-52. Local garrisoning: Prag 2007a.

subsequent rebellions in Sardinia and Corsica may have influenced the revised approach of 227. What is also striking is that the Senate did not impose similar arrangements upon the east coast of the Adriatic, then or indeed anytime during the Republic. To make sense of this, it may be helpful to turn to other, more economic reasons for Roman interest in the islands, and to the actual settlement imposed on them.

Sicily was to become proverbial as a granary for Republican Rome. Our fullest and most detailed information comes from Cicero's prosecution of the governor C. Verres in 70. As early as 262, Hieron II was assisting Roman forces on the island with supplies; in 237 he visited Rome, bringing substantial quantities of grain; and he provided further help early in the Second Punic War. Although there is no evidence for a grain tax exacted by Rome in the inter-war period (despite modern assertions to the contrary), immediately after the fall of Syracuse in 211 the Senate took an interest in the island's potential as a source of grain and the proconsul M. Valerius Laevinus (210–207) took direct action to revitalise agriculture. In 209 and thereafter we hear repeatedly of tithes of Sicilian—and Sardinian—grain being despatched both to Roman armies in the field, and occasionally to Rome itself. Cicero is explicit that the system was based upon Hieron II's. The case has been persuasively argued that, in the 3rd and 2nd Centuries, Roman interest in such grain was primarily for provisioning armies in the field. Arguably, too, such regular taxation of Sicily by Rome evolved directly from the *ad hoc* needs of armies on the island from 264 on.¹¹

However, the exact sequence of the development of Roman taxation in both provinces remains vexed. The answer is bound up with why the Roman Senate resolved to assign these *provinciae* regularly to magistrates or, in other words, chose formally to occupy these islands—the question of what makes a 'province' necessary or desirable. The sources are inevitably less than satisfactory: inferring developments of the 3rd Century from Cicero's rhetoric in the *Verrines* is not without its difficulties. Most plausibly, a system of grain tithes, developed by Hieron II (died 215), was

¹¹ Closing of Janus: refs. in MRR 1.223; alternative interpretation, Harris 1985, 190-1. Sicily the granary: Cic. 2*Verr.* 2.5; Strabo 6.2.7. C273. Hieron's aid: Eckstein 1980. Grain tax system: Carcopino 1919; Pritchard 1970; Rickman 1980, 36-42. Interwar period: Gallo 1992, 394 n. 53 with 397 n. 60; cf. Nāco del Hoyo 2003a, 73-4. Encouragement of Sicilian agriculture: Livy 26.40.15-16, 27.5.2-5, 27.8.18-19, 27.35.3-4, 28.11.8. Grain sent to Rome or armies: Livy 27.8.19, 30.3.2, 33.42.8, 36.2.12; 37.2.12, 37.50.9, 42.31.8 (cf. 23.41.7 from Sardinia). Hieron's tax-system: Cic. 2*Verr.* 3.14; Eckstein 1980. Grain primarily for armies: Erdkamp 2000; note Cic. 2*Verr.* 3.73. Hieron's tax-system: Cic. 2*Verr.* 3.14; Eckstein 1980. Evolution of Rome's Sicilian grain-tax: Serrati 2000; cf. Pinzone 1999b, 485.

extended across the entire island by the proconsul M. Valerius Laevinus in the period 210–207 (a classic example of Rome's adoption and adaptation of existing structures); very possibly the same period saw a similar system instituted in Sardinia. The existence of a Sardinian grain tithe already in the 190s at least seems well-attested, and is regularly mentioned by Livy in conjunction with the Sicilian tithe. Of Corsica, almost nothing can be said.¹²

The evidence for the initial settlement of Sicily in 241, a fragment of Appian, states that a Roman official was sent annually (to Lilybaeum?) and taxes (*phoroi*) were imposed on the three-quarters of the island not then in the kingdom of Syracuse; Livy also indicates that both Sicily and Sardinia were paying some form of taxation (*vectigal*) prior to 218. It is worth bearing in mind that a senatorial decemvirate was in Sicily in 241 to assist with the treaty terms (and perhaps to organise Sicilian communities, as in later settlements). Any taxation was probably a monetary exaction (distinct from *ad hoc* requisitioning of grain); and Appian also appears to record the establishment of customs dues (*portoria*) in western Sicily. Whether the Roman official prior to 227 was a quaestor, or the *praetor peregrinus*, or an extraordinary promagistrate is much disputed. On this reading, one of the principal rationales for the initial Roman presence would be taxation. The obvious comparison is with Macedonia in 167, when taxation was imposed, but without regular Roman presence. Perhaps not coincidentally, the five Sicilian cities described by Cicero as tax-exempt (*civitates immunes ac liberae*) all lie in western Sicily, in what Livy calls the *vetus provincia*.¹³

¹² Cic. 2*Verr.* 3.12–13 is a fundamental passage fraught with problems of interpretation; see Genovese 1993; Pinzone 1999b, 2008. On Roman taxation: Naco del Hoyo 2003a (86–95 on Sicily); cf. France 2007. Sicilian grain taxation established ca. 210 (the standard view): e.g., Marino 1984. Alternatives: use of a pre-existing Carthaginian model (wholly unattested) in western Sicily from 241: Serrati 2000, 122–6; the Hieronian system extended across Sicily by the first praetor in 227 Pinzone 1999, 1–37; the entire system seen in Cicero's *Verrines* only instituted by Rupilius in 132/1: Carcopino 1919 (founded on unsupported assumptions about a hypothetical *lex provinciae*; cf. Crawford 1990). Sardinian tithe: Livy 36.2.12 with 37.2.12; 42.31.8; Naco del Hoyo 2003a, 95–104, and 2003b (excessively sceptical). Spain: Richardson 1976, 1986, 93, 115–17 (5% grain tax from the 170s); Naco del Hoyo 2003a, 127–93, 259–61 (a more varied and *ad hoc* system). Corsica: Livy 40.34.12, 42.7.1–2; Naco, *ib.*, 100–1; Zucca 1996, 125–7.

¹³ App. *Sic.* 2.6, Livy 23.48.7. Appian's στρατηγὸς ἐτήσιος is commonly dismissed as an anachronism; but see Luce 1961, 21–22, and Brennan 2000, 87–9 ('annual commander', not necessarily a praetor). The view outlined here will be argued more fully in a forthcoming article. Senatorial decemvirates: Pol. 1.63.1–3; cf. Greece 196 (Pol. 18.44–47; Eckstein 2008, 283–302) and Africa 146 (App. *Lib.* 135.639; *Lex Agraria*, lines 77, 81, in Crawford *et al.* 1996,

The gradual development of taxation would sit well alongside the gradual diversification of administrative treatment from the Italian peninsula. Direct taxation is not in general a feature of Rome's relationship with the *socii et nomen Latinum* of Italy; vice versa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were not part of the *formula togatorum*, the list of Italian peoples providing the allied half of most Roman armies (although they did provide auxiliary forces, both terrestrial and naval). The need to administer taxation and the disputes that inevitably arise from it (one context for the later *Lex Rupilia's* regulation of legal disputes) provides one obvious motive for a Roman magistrate's presence (military concerns the other).¹⁴

5. *Constituting a Province*

Several aspects of Rome's settlement and organisation of Sicily deserve comment, since they prefigure subsequent developments in Roman imperial behaviour.¹⁵ The first of these is 'kinship diplomacy'. After the Mamertine appeal in 264 claiming *homophylia*, two of the subsequently tax-exempt Sicilian cities, Segesta and Centuripae, are known to have claimed kinship with Rome (the former on the basis of shared Trojan origins). We cannot be certain whether these claims were first made on their surrender in 263 (as Zonaras claims), during the settlement of 241, or later (Cicero's evidence is the earliest); or whether their privileged status is directly connected to such claims. Elymian Segesta had made such claims in dialogue with the Greek world centuries earlier.¹⁶ A group of the 17 'most

no. 2 with pp. 176-7). *Portoria* (τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια): Crawford 1985, 104; Ferrary 1988, 19; cf. Naco del Hoyo 2003a, 89-90. The Roman governor: Kienast 1984, 119-21; Richardson 1986, 7-8; Crawford 1990, 93; Brennan 2000, 91; contrast Dahlheim 1977, 44-53, esp. 48 n. 94. Cf. Harris 1976; Loreto 1993 (quaestorship). Macedonia: Livy 45.18, 45.29; cf. Kallet-Marx 1995, 13-14; Ferrary 1988, 179-80. *Civitates immunes*: Cic. 2*Verr.* 3.13; Pinzone 1999b; Calderone 1964-5, 98; Prag 2010, 67-71 (First Punic War context). *Vetus provincia*: Livy 24.44.4.

¹⁴ Military contributions: Cic. 2*Verr.* 5.60; Prag 2007a for Sicily; cf. forthcoming-a. The *Lex Rupilia* (not a 'lex provinciae', but a governor's *decretum*): Crawford 1990, 112-13, 119-20; cf. Hoyos 1973. Provincial edicts and legal structures in Sicily: Maganzani 2007; Dubouloz 2007. Provincial government: generally Cic. *QFr.* 1.1; Lintott 1993, 54; Richardson 1994, 568.

¹⁵ On Republican Sicily generally: Holm 1898; Manganaro 1980; Wilson 1990, 1-32; Pinzone 1999a, 1-234 1999b; Wilson 2000; Campagna 2006; Prag 2007a, b, c; Survey articles: Campagna 2003; Prag 2009; Dubouloz and Pittia 2009.

¹⁶ 'Kinship diplomacy': Jones 1999, 81-93; Erskine 2001, esp. 168-85; Battistoni 2009; cf. Gabba 1976, 94-101 (3rd Century). Rome and Sicily: Prag forthcoming-c; Battistoni 2010, 115-27; De Vido 2000. Segesta: Zonar. 8.9; cf. Diod. 23.5; Cic. 2*Verr.* 4.72, 5.83, 5.125. Centuripae: Cic. 2*Verr.* 5.83 (cf. 2.163; Diod. 23.4); *AE* 1990, no. 437 = *SEG* 42.837; Manganaro 1963, 2006 (cf. *SEG* 26.1123; Battistoni 2006).

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loyal' cities in Sicily is also attested, which contributed to a garrison at the temple of Venus Erycina in western Sicily (modern Erice)—this may constitute an early attempt to control western Sicily through a league of cities, prior to the decision to send a regular praetor.¹⁷

A second notable element is the use (or otherwise) of formal treaties (*foedera*). Only two cities, besides Messana, received them: Tauromenium and Netum, both probably receiving their treaties during the Second Punic War. We know almost nothing about Netum's treaty, but both Tauromenium's (perhaps ca. 213/2) and Messana's (originally 264/3) contain unequal provisions that go beyond standard clauses of neutrality and defensive alliance. As such they are among the earliest examples of treaties between Rome and cities outside Italy, and, as the treaty of Tauromenium includes a positive privilege (more commonly associated with late Republican treaties), they serve to illustrate the perils of an overly schematic approach to Roman *foedera* in general. The one secure point is that, at least outside Italy, formal written treaties were only infrequently employed by Rome.¹⁸

A third element is the significance and status of Sicily's five *civitates immunes ac liberae*. Ernst Badian argued ~~with the grounds for suggesting~~ that the 'free city' as a Roman imperial tool was 'born' in Sicily, and not, as is more commonly accepted, with Flamininus' declaration at Corinth in 196. The discourse of the 'freedom of the Greeks' in Sicily goes back to the 5th-Century conflicts with Carthage, and was still alive in the 3rd Century, as the Romans surely knew. However, the only evidence for the use of such language by Rome in Sicily comes from Livian reports of a claim to liberate Syracuse from tyrants during the Second Punic War. Incidentally, not one of the five privileged cities in Sicily could seriously claim that it was 'Greek'. More fundamentally, it is probable that their special status was one of tax exemption alone; local autonomy was, it seems, common to all Sicilian cities—they were all *socii*—and in this Rome's treatment of cities in Sicily, Sardinia, and Illyria may not have looked so very different in the 3rd

¹⁷ Lampsacus: Moretti, *ISE* 3, no. 188; Segesta: Thuc. 6.2.3. The seventeen: Diod. 4.83.4-7; Cic. 2*Verr.* 5.124; cf. *CIL* 10.7258, *IG* 14.282, 355; Kienast 1965; Erskine 2001, 198-205; Prag 2007a, 82; ~~forthcoming, c. 12-14; 2011b, 95-7~~

¹⁸ Messana: Schmitt 1969, no. 478 (ship required); Pol. 1.10.2; Cic. 2*Verr.* 5.50-1, cf. 3.13, 4.21, 5.43. Tauromenium: Schmitt, no. 534 (no troops or ships); App. *Sic.* 5; Cic. 2*Verr.* 2.160, 3.13, 5.49-50, 5.56. Netum: Schmitt, no. 535; 2*Verr.* 5.56, 5.133. Roman treaties: Ferrary 1990 (NB 235 n. 59); Mitchell 2005 (esp. 185-9); Rich 2008 (esp. 58-65).

Century. The status of the five is not comparable to the developed *civitas libera* of the Greek East in the later 2nd Century.¹⁹

Sardinia (and Corsica) by contrast possessed no 'free cities', or formally allied communities, at least by Cicero's day (we know very little about the islands' organisation in general). What makes these islands different in one regard is that they continued to suffer military campaigns irregularly throughout the Republic, comparable to the two Hispaniae.²⁰ The more urbanised status of Sicily arguably made its organisation and self-regulation by local élites more straightforward; taxation was primarily based upon pre-existing mechanisms, and encouraged the participation of local élites (the Sicilian tithe was leased locally in Syracuse, and did not therefore become the domain of Roman *publicani*, in contrast to the later Asian tax-system). Roman triumphs were celebrated for campaigns in Sardinia in 175, 172 (Corsica), 122, 111, irregularly in 106, and in 88; by contrast, there were only ovations following the Slave Wars in Sicily (M. Aquilius in 99, perhaps M. Perperna in 132 and P. Rupilius in 131). The Sardinian campaigns of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in the 170s stand out, not only because they are one possible moment for further (re)organisation of the island—although this chapter would suggest that regular taxation was already established—but also because in his triumph of 175 a *tabula*, bearing both an inscription and an *insulae forma* (a map?), was paraded through Rome and permanently displayed in the temple of Mater Matuta. This particular gesture is frequently seen as significant for Roman geographical conceptions of conquest, territory, and empire: Sicily and Sardinia, as discrete, bounded geographical entities, must have played a significant rôle in the development of the *provincia* as geographically conceived.²¹

¹⁹ 'Free city' in Sicily: Badian 1958, 33-43; *contra* Gruen 1984, 144-5; Ferrary 1988, 5-23. 'Freedom of the Greeks in Sicily': Prag 2010, esp. 67-71. Liberating Syracuse: Livy 31.29.7; cf. 24.33.6, 25.28.7, 31.31.8; Gruen 1984, 144, with Prag 2010, 70; Jaeger 2003. Segesta and Halicyae were Elymian; Centuripae and Halaesa were Sicel; Panhormus was Punic: Calderone 1964/5, 98; De Vido 2000, esp. 391 n. 8, 393 n. 18. Tax status is Cicero's *only* concern in 2*Verr.*, 3.12-13, a point often ignored: Ferrary 1988, 5-23; cf. Pinzone 1999b. Compare the debate over the Illyrian cities' status: Derow 1991; Eckstein 1999. The *civitas libera*: Ferrary 1991; 1999.

²⁰ No 'free cities' in Sardinia-Corsica: Cic. *Scaur.* 44. Cf. Richardson 1986, 177-8 for the dichotomy of Roman control maintained either through 'constant warfare' (e.g., Hispaniae), or through 'a combination of continuous diplomacy and occasional open war' (e.g., Macedonia) Republican Sardinia: Portale et al. 2005; Van Dommelen 2007. Corsica: Zucca 1996, esp. 123-7..

²¹ Sicilian élites: Campagna 2007; Deniaux 2007; Pittia 2004; Prag 2003; Rizzo 1980. Prosperity of Republican Sicily: Wilson 2000; Campagna 2006. Sardinian/Corsican triumphs: Mastino 2005, 100. Sicilian ovations: *Inscr. It.* 13.1.558, 562; sources in *MRR*. Gracchus' triumph: Livy 41.28.8. Forma could alternatively be a personification: for Sicily personified: *LIMC*

Of course a great deal more could be said. Subsequent developments in both islands offer considerably more information on Republican provincial government and exploitation: the *Verrines* in particular provide a wealth of information on both behaviour and attitudes; recent archaeological work in Sardinia throws no less important light, albeit of a different kind, on the nature of relations between the imperial power and imperial subjects. Other episodes, such as the Sicilian Slave Wars, are likewise instructive, and Sicily offers an interesting but little-studied example of Roman provincial coinage in the 2nd Century BC. But for a discussion of Roman imperialism the primary interest of the two great islands of the Mediterranean lies in seeking to understand the Roman decision in the 3rd Century to treat them as *provinciae* and what that entailed, for they lie at the beginning of a long tradition which became ever more central to the Roman conceptualisation and organisation of Empire. As Cicero said, Sicily (and, we might add, Sardinia) 'first out of all of them was named a province, the very glory of empire; and first taught our ancestors what a splendid thing it is to rule over foreign peoples.'²²

7.1.759-61, s.v. 'Sikelia'; for Sardinia there is only the eponymous divinity, Sardus Pater: *LMC* 7.1.692-4, s.v. 'Sardos'; cf. Ostrowski 1990, 44-9. For Sicily and the developing concept of *provincia*: Prag 2012; cf. Purcell 1990; Lintott 1993, 22-42; Richardson 2008.

²² Cic. 2*Verr.* 2.2: 'prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperi est, provincia est appellata; prima docuit maiores nostros quam praeclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare.' The *Verrines*: papers in Dubouloz and Pittia 2007, and Prag 2007d. Sardinian archaeology: esp. Van Dommelen 1998, 2007; Bernardini 2006. The Slave Wars: sources in Shaw 2001; see Bradley 1989; Manganaro 1982. Romano-Sicilian coinage: Crawford 1985, 103-115; Frey-Kupper 2006, 42-3.

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