

## BUILDER OF THE CITIES. DIONYSIUS AND SICELS<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

#### BUILDER OF THE CITIES. DIONYSIUS AND SICELS

In 400 BC, Dionysius the Elder founded a city called Adranos, after an important Sikel sanctuary. This deed marked an important phase in relations between the indigenous people and the Greek population. It can be argued that the tyrant's decision was dictated by practical reasons, yet his policy of subjecting a Sikel divinity under the Greek city-state structure resulted from previous Greek experiences and practices. On the other hand, after the era of Dionysius, the cult of Adranos not only did not disappear, but also gained a wider recognition and never lost political importance to the Greeks, who by the end of fourth century exerted significant influence over former Sikel lands. In the effect native people did not vanish from the island but were practically absorbed into the Greek world.

**Keywords:** Dionysius, Adranos, Sicily, Sicels, religion

Throughout his reign, the most famous tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius the Elder, was able to extend and keep his authority over a large portion of Sicily. Such outcome is certainly connected with the results of his military campaigns and never ending conflict with Carthaginians, yet to concentrate on such a reason means also to follow eagerly the Ancient Greek tradition of seeing in a figure of tyrant mainly an instigator of armed conflict<sup>2</sup>. Presence of non-Greeks and Greek population opposing Dionysius on the island was however negotiated not only by the means of military force. As far as that particular tyrant is concerned, it is also possible to present a case study how religion can be used as a mean of exerting control over a particular territory. Follow-

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<sup>1</sup> Article written as a part of research project NCN „Ewolucja form polityczno-ustrojowych na Sy-cylii w latach 405–304 p.n.e. Między demokratyczną polis a monarchią terytorialną”, PRELUDIUM, ID 191312.

<sup>2</sup> Portrait of a tyrant that needs an external conflict to keep his subjects in order begins in earnest with Plato (*Republica* 566e) and has many more other examples throughout the antiquity.

ing paper is concerned with the Sicel area of Sicily and will examine closely a history of city called Adranon, situated on the slope of Mount Aetna.

It is the eastern part of Sicily that is traditionally linked with indigenous population of Sicels. That tribe found itself quickly in contact with Greeks as first waves of Greek colonization concentrated on the eastern shores. It is not clear of what nature relationships between colonists and indigenous population exactly were. It must be said though that a violent suppression of Sicel civilization by Greek colonists had not necessarily been a dominant theme. There is enough evidence to prove also more peaceful co-existence<sup>3</sup>. Evidently however, history and culture of both groups became closely linked together in centuries to come resulting later in almost complete hellenization of the island. Preciously little is known about the original Sicel culture. Apparently, Sicels were always politically divided and never had created a stable and unified political entity that would stand the test of time. In the period of fifth and fourth century BC they became more and more marked by the Greek influence. Turbulent political history of Sicily and Greek cities' sphere of influence reaching decade after decade ever further inland only hastened that process. When Ducetius, a Sicel leader active in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, began to establish new cities, conduct war and diplomacy – it is easy to see him as maybe not a native Greek but clearly a person that acts in a way that would be expected of any Greek statesman of his age. His career, his decisions are therefore clearly showing the complexities of two societies living next to each other.

Our current subject, namely founding of a city by the Greek tyrant at the onset of fourth century BC, is connected to Sicel civilization and will call for not only examination of the written sources, but also will require to cross reference them with the archeological evidence. Especially here, in case of Adranon, such approach is of particular use. According to Diodorus Siculus, that city was established by Dionysius in 400 BC. The fact itself receives only short mention in historian's work<sup>4</sup> and it is for that reason that we need to turn to other works and archeology to be able to treat the subject with all the attention it deserves.

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<sup>3</sup> While the very fact of imposing the first Greek buildings over the Sicel settlement on the island of Ortygia may serve as a valid argument in favor of ousting native inhabitants out of their former places, it is possible to find also the arguments for more peaceful cooperation. Ancient historian offers us the story of Megara Hyblaia, where the territory was ceded to Greeks by local king (Thucydides VI, 4, 1). Even more, archeological findings provide us with indications of a commercial Greek presence predating the Sicilian colonies. Within the „Greek” settlements there are buildings typical for a native culture. While it seems impossible to offer an all-encompassing explanation, it sounds sensible to admit, that relations between Greeks and native population were more complex than it was at first assumed. For a further discussion on those topics, cf. R. Ross Holloway, *The Archeology of Ancient Sicily*, London 1991, p. 86–96; S.N. Consolo Langher, *Siracusa e la Sicilia Greca, tra eta arcaica ed alto ellenismo*, Messina 1996, p. 5–41; T. Hodós, *Local responses to colonization in Iron Age Mediterranean*, London 2006, p. 152–157 (though whole chapter on Sicily offers much food for thought); A.J. Domínguez, *Greeks in Sicily [in:] Greek colonization. An account of Greek colonies and other settlements overseas*, vol. 1, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze, Leiden 2006, p. 253–358.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus Siculus XIV 37, 5: τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Αἴτνης λόφον, καὶ ἀπὸ τίνος ἐπιφανοῦς ἱεροῦ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὴν Ἰαδρανόν.

All ancient authors<sup>5</sup> writing about Adranon mention the specific, important feature of that settlement – that is a sanctuary of local, Sicel divinity, Adranos. Following the narrative of Plutarch, it is being assumed that the sacred place was located within the city walls. Nevertheless, while location of the city itself seems to be well established by modern scholars, the actual site of sanctuary is unfortunately still unknown. We can however observe that some facts about this particular foundation are quite remarkable for several reasons. First, the creation of that settlement marks an important change, as will be later shown, in relations between Greeks and Sicels. Second, not often in a Greek world we can encounter a city with an eponymous patron deity. This very fact underlines the importance of the particular cult at least for the inhabitants of that particular place. Third, the deity in question is not in fact a Greek one.

What makes then Adranon a particularly Greek *polis*? The fact that it was established by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, should not be overlooked. As it is widely accepted, Greek *polis* is not just a city or an urban settlement<sup>6</sup> but also a community of citizens. That is why *polis* in political sense required not only a centre, where citizens could gather, and territory, which they could inhabit. What was necessary for the cohesion of community was also a shared identity and that function could be played by a religion. Greek *poleis* always had more than one cult, but the most important among them was the cult of patron deity of the city. The holy place of such „*poliad*” cult was always located in the very centre of *polis* itself, on the akropolis or close to the agora. Of course, an example of Athens come here to mind – and while in itself such an example does not have to be typical for the Greek world<sup>7</sup> – that is exactly the situation of Adranon, where focal point of identity for the inhabitants was a cult of god Adranos. Such importance of the cult and its placement within the *polis* is eminently Greek and not really typical for Sicels.

This is quite remarkable – in that sense that „Greek” cities tend to have a temple of divine patron for the settlement located in important, usually central location. Patron deity was always important for the self-identity of citizens, urban cult also dictated the rhythm of public life. One would just expect for such a cult to be of Greek provenience, or at least hellenized. City founded by Dionysius cannot be also deemed as a regular colony – while it is quite difficult to tell from where exactly came citizens of Adranos, patron cult was not transferred from any existing Greek city. Here, such function was fulfilled by the place that existed before the actual settlement and was dedicated to the non-Greek deity.

It is also remarked that cults within *poleis* could serve as a means to ensure cooperation and co-existence between Greek community and indigenous populations

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<sup>5</sup> Besides the passage mentioned above from Diodorus Siculus XIV 37, 5 other sources include: Plutarchus, *Timoleon* 12, 1–2 and 12, 6; Aelianus, *De natura animalium* XI 3 and XI 20. They are being discussed further in the article.

<sup>6</sup> M.H. Hansen, *Polis. An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*, Oxford, 2006; M.H. Hansen, T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, p. 39–46 for general definition of the term, p. 183 for the entry of Adranon.

<sup>7</sup> F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, Chicago, 1995, p. 81–88.

which could participate in the religious life of Greek sanctuaries<sup>8</sup>. For latter, it could mean a prestige coming from a possibility of partaking in highly esteemed Greek way of life, but first and foremost it enabled and helped to maintain stable and regular contacts between native people and colonists. That would have the place in Adranon, though here the particular situation is a little different – the fulcrum of such relationship would be a Sicel, native, cult, though adopted as a Greek „poliad” one. In the consequence, it would fulfill not only the needs of Sicel part of Adranon community and help them in the process of integration with Greeks but because the cult of Adranos would also be of importance to Sicels outside of Adranos. As Cusumano has noticed<sup>9</sup>, traditionally Sicel cults always had only one place dedicated to their deities – for example, there were no more than a single sanctuary of Palikoi or the female divinity from Hyblaia. Sicel sanctuaries were also always located outside of their settlements. This fact proves in my eyes the Greek character of founding of Adranon.

Besides the mention in Diodorus Siculus about foundation of the city, we possess several other authors who provide interesting details about cult of Adranos. In work *De natura animalium*, written by Aelian, we can find following passage:

ἐν Αἴτνῃ δὲ ἄρα τῇ Σικελικῇ Ἡφαίστου τιμᾶται νεώς, καὶ ἔστι περίβολος καὶ δένδρα ἱερὰ καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστόν τε καὶ ἀκοίμητον. εἰσὶ δὲ κύνες περὶ τὸν νεών καὶ τὸ ἄλλος ἱεροί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σωφρόνως καὶ ὡς πρέπει τε ἅμα καὶ χρῆ παριόντας ἐς τὸν νεών καὶ τὸ ἄλλος οἱ δὲ σαίνουσι καὶ αἰκάλλουσιν, οἷα φιλοφρονούμενοί τε καὶ γνωρίζοντες δῆπου: ἐὰν δὲ τις ἢ τὰς χεῖρας ἐναγῆς, τοῦτον μὲν καὶ δάκνουσι καὶ ἀμύσσοσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως ἕκ τινος ὀμιλίας ἤκοντας ἀκολάστου μόνον διώκουσιν.

At Aitne in Sikelia (Sicily) honour is paid to a temple of Hephaistos, and there are a precinct, sacred trees, and a fire that is never extinguished, never sleeps. And about the temple and the grove there are sacred Hounds which greet and fawn upon such as pass into the temple and the grove with honest hearts in seemly fashion as is their duty, as though the animals had a kindness for them and presumably recognised them. If however a man has his hands stained with crime, they bite and tear him, whereas those who only come from the bed of debauchery they simply chase away.

(Aelian, *De natura animalium* XI, 3 [transl. Scholfield]<sup>10</sup>)

Not much further, in another passage, Aelian seems to repeat the same information:

ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἄδρανός ἐστι πόλις, ὡς λέγει Νυμφόδωρος, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ Ἄδρανοῦ νεώς, ἐπιχωρίου δαίμονος: πάνυ δὲ ἐναργῆ φησιν εἶναι τοῦτον. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν ὅσα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγει, καὶ ὅπως ἐμφανῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς δεομένους εὐμενῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ἴλεως, ἄλλοτε εἰσόμεθα: νῦν δὲ [p. 282] ἐκεῖνα εἰρήσεται. κύνες εἰσὶν ἱεροί, καὶ οἶδε θεραπευτήρες αὐτοῦ καὶ λατρεύοντές οἱ, ὑπεραίροντες τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Μολοττοὺς κύνας καὶ σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, χιλίων οὐ μείους τὸν ἀριθμόν. οὐκοῦν οὗτοι μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν αἰκάλλουσί τε καὶ σαίνουσι τοὺς ἐς τὸν νεών καὶ τὸ ἄλλος παριόντας, εἴτε εἶεν ξένοι εἴτε ἐπιχώριοι: νύκτωρ δὲ τοὺς μεθύοντας

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 110–118.

<sup>9</sup> N. Cusumano, *Culti nelle Tabulae Halaesinae: continuità e interculturalità* [in:] *La Sicilia romana tra repubblica ed alto impero, Atti del Convegno di studi, Caltanissetta 20–21 maggio 2006*, Caltanissetta, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Whenever it is not stated otherwise, I have used my own translation of the original text.

ἤδη καὶ σφαλλομένους κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οἱ δὲ πομπῶν δίκην καὶ ἡγεμόνων μάλα εὐμενῶς ἄγουσι, προηγούμενοι ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστῳ, καὶ τῶν μὲν παροινούντων τιμωρίαν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐσπράττονται: ἐμπηδῶσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῖς καταρρηγνύουσι, καὶ σωφρονίζουσιν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτούς: τοὺς γε μὴν πειρωμένους λωποδυτεῖν διασπῶσι πικρότατα.

On Sicily, there is a city of Adranos, as Nimphodoros tell us, and in this city there is a temple of local deity, Adranos, about which many wondrous things are being said. How much this god is esteemed, how much he is friendly and kind toward the ones needing his help, I will tell elsewhere. Now however I will tell a different thing. There are dogs which are dedicated to this god, which serve him and worship him. They surpass Molossian breed in shape and size and there are no less of them than one thousand. Dogs during the day they fawn to every person, local or foreign alike, who enters the temple or sacred precinct, and keep wagging their tails. During the night dogs lead drunks and those whose step is uncertain, like companions or guides, in a wonderful manner until dogs would escort each and every one of them to their own home. However, those who under the influence of wine behave unsightly, dogs punish... they jump and tear up their clothes, giving them a lesson that way. Those that are about to steal or rob dogs rip into shreds.

(Aelian, *De natura animalium* XI, 20)

On the first glance, both fragments seem to repeat the same information and it would be easy to assume that Aitne is in fact the same locality which in a second fragment is named Adranon – all thanks to some mistake. There are however arguments against that opinion, as stated by Cusumano<sup>11</sup>. One particular difference must be stressed – in first passage (Aitne) location of the temple is not described in any precise way, in the second one however we see explicitly stated that sanctuary is located *en tei polei*. References to the names of those cities can be also found in late Byzantine text<sup>12</sup>, where Aitne is being used in regards to foundation made by Hiero in first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (that has become to be known as Katane). After the tyrant had died, *xenoi* from Aitne-Katane relocated themselves to an inland settlement of Sicel provenience, known by the name of Inessa. For this reason Inessa started to be called Aitne. New inhabitants seemed to be successful in installing themselves in an inland indigenous settlement that also boasted of significant defensive location. What is more important, there are no indications of cult of Hephaestus in Katane. If it was not transferred from the previous *polis* in an attempt to maintain the identity of new inhabitants, there must have been another reason for its appearance.

Both fragments from Aelian have other differences in regards to religious observances, which would indicate that both cults, while similar, were not exactly the same. Both texts mention dogs as animal servants of the god. In Aitne-Inessa however, they are protectors of civic order and religious purity. Even further, they strike against people that are impure because of crime and sexual indulgence, who transgressed against the civic ideals like *sophrosyne* and *genos*<sup>13</sup>. In second, quite elabo-

<sup>11</sup> N. Cusumano, *Aitna e i cani di Efesto nel De Natura Animalium di Eliano* [in:] *Eis akra. Insediamenti d'altura in Sicilia dalla Preistoria al III sec. a. C.*, ed. M. Congiu, C. Miccichè, S. M. de o, Caltanissetta–Roma 2009, p. 279–280.

<sup>12</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika*, s.v. Ἀδρανόν and Αἴτνη.

<sup>13</sup> The acts being castigated by dogs are standing in opposition to fundamentals of traditional ideal concept of Greek civic life – sanctity and stability of legal relationships from which springs stability and

rate fragment, dogs of Adranos are said explicitly to be kind to *xenoi* and *epichorioi* alike. Also this time they do not punish adulterers, but special mention is given to people who abuse the wine (most likely during religious ceremonies), thieves and robbers. Both cults seems to be similar, yet at closer inspection they both stress different aspects of what is allowed and what is to be punished. It is not a case of simple repetition with mistaken name along the way – it can be therefore assumed that Aelian fragments were written actually about two separate cities. In Aitne-Inessa we would have a local cult adopted and transformed into a Greek one by *xenoi* from Katane to further their own goals. What seems to be especially promoted in this case is guarding the community from vices endangering social cohesion between citizens, while at the same time using, most likely, the indigenous cult for that purpose. In Adranon however what would be stressed is lack of distinction between ‘outsiders’ and ‘locals’. Instead of eminently Greek civic ideals, there is only a mention of temperance in regards to drinking. In both cities dogs were used in a role of force upkeeping the order and boundaries between pious, pure and improper. In both cases though by different means, cult was reinforcing public peace and the divinity performed a function of a protector for those in need. In accordance with the opinion expressed by Cusumano – it seems that within those two fragments we encounter the same cult, which experienced different transformations because of different contexts in which they had occurred.

Elaborating on the case of Aitne-Inessa, it would seem that new inhabitants appropriated a local cult, used attributes of indigenous divinity to create a cult which would be important to Greeks and Sicels alike. At the same time, ideals propagated by the religion would serve to maintain peace between the citizens of the settlement. The similarities and also a geographical closeness would point to the cult in sanctuary of Adranos as an ‘inspiration’ of sorts for the newcomers in Inessa.

The function of Adranos himself as a divinity whose main responsibility was protection and maintaining the order is especially visible in and Plutarch narrative about Timoleon and his struggle against Hicetas.

...πλὴν Ἀδρανιτῶν, οἱ πόλιν μικρὰν μὲν, ἱερὰν δ' οὖσαν Ἀδρανοῦ, θεοῦ τινος τιμωμένου διαφερόντως ἐν ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ...

the people of Adranum. [2] These dwell in a city that was small, but sacred to Adranus, a god highly honoured throughout all Sicily...

(Plutarchus, *Timoleon* 12, 1–2 [transl. B. Perrin])

οἱ δ' Ἀδρανῖται τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες προσέθεντο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, μετὰ φρίκης καὶ θαύματος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὡς ἐνισταμένης τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ τοῦ νεῶ πυλῶνες αὐτόματοι διανοιχθεῖεν, ὄφθει δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μὲν δόρυ σειόμενον ἐκ τῆς αἰχμῆς ἄκρας, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ βρόμενον.

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prosperity of the whole community. People chased by the dogs have not been also enjoying a virtue of temperance. All those values were of direct importance to the life of community, which peace depended upon regulated relationships between citizens.

Moreover, the people of Adranum threw open their gates and joined Timoleon, reporting to him with terror and amazement that at the beginning of the battle the sacred portals of their temple flew open of their own accord, and the spear of the god was seen to be trembling to the tip of its point, while copious sweat ran down his face.

(Plutarchus, *Timoleon* 12, 6 [transl. B. Perrin])

Plutarch narrative refers to the events taking place around sixty years after foundation of Adranon. He clearly states though that the cult of Adranos was wide spread all over the Sicily. Success at Adranon was paramount to Corinthian' success on the island as it convinced other Sicilian cities to join his cause. Once again, location of the temple – just as in Aelian passage – is confirmed to be within the limits of settlement.

Later passage is no less interesting<sup>14</sup> – it is after all the very place of Adranos temple where attempt at Timoleon life is frustrated, also thanks to divine protection. There is no mention of any animals at all in the text of Plutarch. Instead, the god Adranos is depicted in form of statue of an armed warrior. Timoleon, though an outsider and not a citizen of *polis*, is not only admitted to the sacrifices in honor of the god, but receives a divine help and support – just as does the city under protection of Adranos.

Whether it was all actually true, it is not easy to say. Regardless of that, the story of Timoleon indeed shows the later period of mutual history of Greeks and Sicels when cultural boundaries between both sides become marred. It is however not caused by an unequal relationship between a superior culture (Greek) and a lesser one (Sicel). In recent years it is rather the idea of 'cultural porosity' that begins to be prevalent among the scholars<sup>15</sup>. Relationships between both sides were dynamic, their context and their results were not always the same – as can be seen with a Hephaestus cult in Aitne-Inessa and cult of Adranos in Adranon. Changes in those contacts were happening gradually across the fifth century. In this light, Dionysius' decision to found a city built around traditional Sicel sanctuary illustrates one of the phases of that process.

It must be underlined that the very fact of founding a city that would consist of both Greek and Sicel elements is not an isolated phenomenon. While there were cities established solely by Sicels – like Palike in 453 BC – we know also of other locations like Kale Akte (443 BC), Halaesa (403 BC) and, in the end, Adranon. In all mentioned cases it is important to at least briefly review the context in which those cities appeared. Palike was a city established by Ducetius – it was solely a Sicel city (gr. *homoethneis*), built next to the sanctuary of another Sicel divinities, Palikoi. It is hard not to see a political significance in this event, as it was only one of Ducetius 'innovations'. In fact, Diodorus himself acknowledges existence of Sicel *synteleia* credited to Ducetius activities. Another existing settlement was relocated in accordance with his designs. Not any less important is a fact that city of Palike is geo-

<sup>14</sup> Plutarchus, *Timoleon* 16, 3 6.

<sup>15</sup> N. Cusumano, *Mots pour dire les mots. Interactions, acculturations et relations interculturelles dans la Sicile antique (Ve – Ier siècle avant J.- C.)*, „Pallas” (Toulouse), 2009, no. 79, p. 41–63.

graphically located in the very center of Sicel territory<sup>16</sup>. Sicels never in their history had not created a solid, single and unified political entity, much to their disadvantage in comparison with Greeks. Leadership of Ducetius gave the Sicels an opportunity for exactly that. There are other curious developments taking place along with foundation of Palike settlement – for the first time in Sicel culture, settlement was established in accordance to geometric planning and monumentalization of temples was attested archeologically, producing the results similar to Greek western colonies<sup>17</sup>. This leads us to believe that indeed Ducetius tried to shape Sicel people into a new form, not without the Greek influence. While Diodorus mentions at most a military alliance joining the Sicel people together as a result of his activity, the scope of his accomplishments must have been greater. It cannot be a surprise that such actions had met with a direct reaction from Greeks. City of Palike was destroyed and abandoned, most probably around 440 BC. Nearby sanctuary suffered for that reason, but the cult itself survived<sup>18</sup>. This outburst of aggression between Greeks and Sicels is dated after the death of Ducetius, but situation changed even before then. Greek coalition won the military conflict against Sicel leader – and he ended up being exiled from Sicily (450 BC). However, six years later he was able to come back to the island. His arrival was connected to the initiative of founding another city with mixed population – Kale Akte. Such an enterprise must have had support from Greek city states like Syracuse. Location of the new city on the northern coast of Sicily, and presence of Corinthian settlers within that settlement most probably have meant a growing influence of Syracuse within the Sicel territory. From that time onwards, previous homoethnic experiments that Ducetius had organized gave way to joint enterprises by both peoples.

Shortly before foundation of Adranon, other significant events took place. On the plain below slope of Aetna archeologist found an important Sicel settlement, which is not mentioned at all by Greek written sources. Findings indicate that it was abandoned at the end of fifth century BC<sup>19</sup>. The reason for abandoning the Mendolito settlement, as it is called, can be discerned from later events, namely it seems that inhabitants wished to avoid rising pressure coming from the Greeks. Sicels had founded in 403 BC another city near Kale Akte, also with mixed population, called Halaesa<sup>20</sup>. It is possible that this initiative was caused by the abandonment of Mendolito. This marks an important change in cultural history of Sicels. It can be proven that within

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<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> A. Di Vita, *Town planning in Greek Sicily* [in:] *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, ed. J.-P. Descoeudres, Oxford 1990, p. 356–359. For remarks about the Sicel settlement, see: B. McConnell, L. Maniscalco, *The Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi (Rocchicella di Mineo, Sicily). Fieldwork from 1995 to 2001*, „American Journal of Archeology” 2003, no. 107, p. 145–180.

<sup>18</sup> Diodorus mentions only the destruction of Sicel ‘Trinacria’ after the death of Ducetius, no other name is used – Diodorus Siculus XII 29. As place of ancient Palike is known, it is possible to date the violent end of that settlement, which is attested archeologically.

<sup>19</sup> V. La Rosa, *L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Sicilia* [in:] *I Greci in Occidente*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milano 1996, p. 525, 530; R.M. Albanese Procelli, *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. Forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*, Milano 2003; S. De Vido, *I dinasti dei Siculi. Il caso di Archomenides*, „Acme” (Milano), 1997 I, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Diodorus Siculus XII 8, 2.



*chora* of Halaesa another *Adraneion* was built<sup>21</sup>. Taking into consideration that *Adraneion* of Halaesa was not built within the limits of the city itself, it is generally surmised that it did not played a role of patron cult of Halaesa. This role would be given to Greek Apollo, whose cult had a paramount importance for Greeks, especially in creation of new colonies. It must be remarked however that even with different functions of urban and extraurban cults, latter still play an important role in the process of shaping of the society. Here, the Greek element seems to be given the topmost priority. Situation is quite different in case of Adranon.

Dionysius' decision to enclose sanctuary within a city walls would mean that he was able to exert some kind of control over the place of significance to Sicel people. If foundation in Halaesa of temple of Adranos was done by Sicel population migrating from Mendolito to a new location, control of their traditional sanctuary by Dionysius could ultimately serve to fracture the Sicel solidarity even further. The cult of Adranos, as it was mentioned before, is not of Greek provenience. Yet, in this case we can observe acculturation and even appropriation. Not only this formerly Sicel divinity in later texts starts to be identified with a Greek Hephaestus, we can also find indications that he was also being credited according to Greek writers with parenthood of Palikoi<sup>22</sup>. This would suggest that at some point in time Adranos cult, which became introduced into Greek pantheon, was used even to make subject of formerly separate Sicel divinities. As was mentioned before, Palike settlement after destruction in fifth century was not rebuilt by Greeks while the sanctuary itself appears in later history even during Sicilian slave uprisings<sup>23</sup>. Such behavior would have precedents – in Sicilian history we can mention Palikoi genealogy given by Aeschylus, who titled as their parent Zeus Aitnaios in a work commemorating first Hieronian foundation of Aitne-Katane<sup>24</sup>. This appropriation of local cults will con-

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<sup>21</sup> N. Cusumano, *Culti nelle Tabulae Halaesinae: continuità e interculturalità* [in:] *La Sicilia romana tra repubblica ed alto impero, Atti del Convegno di studi, Caltanissetta 20–21 maggio 2006*, Caltanissetta, p. 72–90.

<sup>22</sup> Hesychius, s.v. Adranos. This issue is actually a more complex one, as along the centuries, different parents were ascribed to Palikoi by the Greek writers. 1) Zeus and Thalia, a daughter of Hephaestus – Aeschylus, fr. 27a Mette; 2) Hephaestus et Aetna, a daughter of Okeanos – Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika* 496, 10; 3) sons of Adranos without mentioning the mother – Hesychius, s.v. Palikoi. Even the very first one subjects the neighbouring indigenous cult of Palikoi to a deity (Zeus) present at Hieronian Aitne-Katane. Non-Greek divinities, become in Greek mind part of Greek group of gods and starting from the Aeschylus work, it seems that such an act of subordination of Sicel divinities was politically charged – in case of Hieronian foundation, it underlined importance of Greek cult over near indigenous one. Similar mechanisms in regards to indigenous beliefs can be seen in Aitne-Inessa – role of nearby Adranos' sanctuary was diminished by an establishment of externally similar cult of Hephaestus (additionally connected to a volcanic environment). Later Palikoi genealogy including Hephaestus seems to be based on the same principle. However, with the Adranos sanctuary being circumscribed by Adranon, arguing that it was Adranos who was father of Palikoi would mean attempting to control a second important Sicel cult. For connection of Adranos' cult with Syracuse, see N. Cusumano, *Aitna*, p. 275–279.

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus XXXVI 3.

<sup>24</sup> N. Cusumano, *I Siculi: le popolazioni della Sicilia centro-orientale* [in:] *Ethne e Religioni nelle Sicilia Antica, atti del convegno (Palermo, 6–7 dicembre 2000)*, ed. P. Anello, G. Martorana, R. Samartano, Roma 2006, p. 129.

tinue, as we have seen in example of Aitne-Inessa. There is also material evidence for the spreading of cult of that divinity over the island in later years, in form of coins and inscription from Acragas dated for 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, where Greek form of a name connected to Adranos is attested<sup>25</sup>. This is true especially in case of Mamertine coins issued by Messana, where on the obverse a male head with a beard and helmet is depicted, while the reverse carries an image of dog<sup>26</sup>. Connection between a military deity and warlike Mamertines does not seem improbable. Evidence of wide influence of the cult is not rich but what is puzzling is the geographical area on which those examples do occur. However, it is hard to see this as the result of solely Sicel activity – datation would point to an increasing, and in the end, unifying effect of Greek influence over the island.

To offer a short resume to what was said above, it needs to be said that decision taken by Dionysius to found a city inland and to base it around the Sicel sanctuary must have been a well-thought one. Even long after his reign has ended, that achievement – creation of Adranon – survived the famous tyrant. City itself never grew to a big size, but at the same time it never had been lacking in significance.

The actual foundation can be seen as a continuation of evolution of relations between Greeks and Sicels which started before Dionysius came to a power, even before the career of Ducetius in the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Date of the settlement point that tyrant could seek to mitigate the recent colonization of Halaesa. It can be even argued that ‘taking over’ the Adranos sanctuary was meant to counter the recent Sicel-Greek enterprise and to atomize Sicel population even further. Because Dionysius, by the time of settling the Adranon, was in fact solidifying his hold over Syracuse, because within next few years he started a war with Carthage – his policy in regards to Sicels can be judged as a part of preparations before the conflict of greater scope. It is worth mentioning here that Aitne-Inessa mentioned before as a site of Hephaestus cult used to be a shelter for all of the political refugees from Syracuse. Thanks to its defensive location, they could oppose whoever ruled the Syracuse at a time and their presence must had cause significant obstacle to Dionysius’ plans. Otherwise, tyrant would not offer them an amnesty around 404 BC and invite them back to his *polis*<sup>27</sup>. In turn, Campanian mercenaries could be resettled from Katane into Aitne. This proved to be a wise maneuver. Not only it protected tyrant in the future from any potential dissidents finding refuge within the inland stronghold but also during later Carthaginian conflict garrisoned Aitne stayed loyal to Dionysius.

With that nest of dissidents neutralized, with Sicels brought at least partially under his influence, Dionysius was free to pursuit his military campaigns. In the long term however, his foundation could have further effects for later generations. Adventures of Timoleon would prove that cult of Adranos, strenghtened by Dionysius and brought by him, so to speak, into a Greek world, held sway over at least a part of

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<sup>25</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV 952, 7. Cfr. A. Landi, *Antroponimia siceliota. Struttura e funzione*, Roma 1981, p. 20

<sup>26</sup> B.V. Head, *Historia numorum*, Oxford 1911, p. 103.

<sup>27</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* XIV 14–15.

Sicily. This continued in the next centuries. Support of a local deity which was not a lame god-smith but rather a divine warrior and defender would suit Timoleon propaganda quite appropriately. In this way, an indigenous cult could continue to serve a non-religious goals – which meant in turn, continuing its presence and importance on the island that turned with time irrevocably Greek.

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