

The Hellenistic West

Although the Hellenistic period has become increasingly popular in research and teaching in recent years, the western Mediterranean is rarely considered part of the 'Hellenistic world'; instead the cities, peoples and kingdoms of the West are usually only discussed insofar as they relate to Rome. This book contends that the rift between the 'Greek East' and the 'Roman West' is more a product of the traditional separation of Roman and Greek history than a reflection of the Hellenistic-period Mediterranean, which was a strongly interconnected cultural and economic zone, with the rising Roman Republic just one among many powers in the region, East and West. The contributors argue for a dynamic reading of the economy, politics and history of the central and western Mediterranean beyond Rome, and in doing so problematise the concepts of 'East', 'West' and 'Hellenistic' itself.

JONATHAN R. W. PRAG is University Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Oxford and Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. He has published articles on ancient Sicily, Punic identity, Greek and Roman epigraphy and Roman Republican history, with a particular interest in Roman Republican imperialism. He has edited volumes on Cicero and Petronius and is currently writing a monograph on the use of non-Italian soldiers by the Roman Republican army, collaborating on a commentary on Cicero's *Verrines* and working on a new digital corpus of Sicilian inscriptions.

JOSEPHINE CRAWLEY QUINN is University Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Oxford and Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford. She has published articles on a range of topics in Mediterranean history and archaeology, with particular interests in ancient North Africa and the Phoenicians. She has also co-edited a volume of essays on the Punic Mediterranean with Nicholas Vella, served as editor of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* 2008–11, and co-directs the Tunisian–British excavations at Utica with Andrew Wilson and Elizabeth Fentress.

The Hellenistic West

Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean

Edited by

JONATHAN R. W. PRAG

AND

JOSEPHINE CRAWLEY QUINN



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Contributors

EDWARD BISPHAM is Lecturer in Ancient History in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

ANDREW ERSKINE is Professor of Ancient History in the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh.

ELIZABETH FENTRESS is an independent scholar and President of the International Association of Classical Archaeology (AIAC).

SIMON KEAY is Professor of Roman Archaeology in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Southampton and Research Professor at the British School at Rome.

ANN KUTTNER is Associate Professor in the Department of History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania.

MIREIA LÓPEZ-BERTRAN is a postdoctoral fellow of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture/Fundación Española para la Ciencia y Tecnología (FECYT) in the School of Humanities at the University of Glasgow.

JONATHAN R. W. PRAG is Lecturer in Ancient History in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

NICHOLAS PURCELL is Camden Professor of Ancient History in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

JOSEPHINE CRAWLEY QUINN is Lecturer in Ancient History in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

PETER VAN DOMMELEN is Joukowsky Family Professor of Archaeology and Professor of Anthropology at the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University.

ANDREW WALLACE-HADRILL is Professor of Roman Studies and Director of Research in the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge.

ANDREW WILSON is Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire and Head of the School of Archaeology at the University of Oxford, and a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

R. J. A. WILSON is Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire in the Department of Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia.

LIV MARIAH YARROW is Associate Professor in the Classics Department at Brooklyn College, The City University of New York.

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Abbreviations

Journal titles are abbreviated after the fashion of *L'Année philologique*. Ancient authors and their works are abbreviated after Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (eds.) (2003) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn revised, Oxford. The other abbreviations employed in the volume are detailed below.

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine</i> . Paris. 1888–.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , published annually in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> . 1888–.
CCAG	Cumont, F. et al. (eds.) (1898–1953). <i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i> (12 vols.). Brussels.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum</i> . Berlin. 1863–.
CILA	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> . Seville. 1989–.
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum</i> . Paris. 1881–.
FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923–). <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, Leiden.
<i>I. Lamp.</i>	Frisch, P. (1978). <i>Die Inschriften von Lampsakos</i> . Bonn.
<i>I. Magnesia</i>	Kern, O. (1900). <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin.
ICO	Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (1967). <i>Le Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente</i> . Studi Semitici 28. Rome.
ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (7 vols.). Paris. 1926–72.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin. 1903–. (Note that IG XIV was published prior to this series and subsequently

- integrated into it: Kaibel, G. (1890). *Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae et Siciliae*. Berlin.)
- LTUR* Steinby, E. M. (ed.) (1993–9). *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* (6 vols.). Rome.
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W. (1903–5). *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum* (2 vols.). Leipzig.
- RDGE* Sherk, R. K. (1969). *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*. Baltimore.
- RIL* Chabot, J.-B. (1940–1). *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*. Paris.
- RPC* Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripollès, P. P. (1992). *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. I. London and Paris.
- RRC* Crawford, M. H. (1974). *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols.). Cambridge.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden. 1923–.
- SNG ANS* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*. New York. 1961–.
- SNG München* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland. Staatliche Münzsammlung München*. Berlin. 1968–.
- Syll.*³ Dittenberger, W. (1915–24). *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (4 vols.), 3rd edn. Leipzig.
- Ve.* Vetter, E. (1953). *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*. Heidelberg.

12 | Heracles, coinage and the West: three Hellenistic case-studies

LIV MARIAH YARROW

Any pervasive socio-political phenomenon is made up of repeated individual acts. Each act is informed by broader trends and is yet simultaneously local and unique. It follows that socio-political phenomena should be identifiable through the presence of such iterations. As Barthes says, 'repetition of the concept through different forms is precious to the mythologist, it allows him to decipher the myth: it is the insistence of a kind of behaviour that reveals its intention'.¹ We can rephrase the beginning of the quotation and do little harm to the logic: 'repetition of a socio-political phenomenon through different actions is precious to the historian, it allows her to decipher the cultural construction: it is the insistence of a kind of behaviour that reveals its intention'.

The creation and reception of numismatic images are among the many acts which generated the socio-political phenomenon we label as the 'Hellenistic'. Reproduction and deployment of any image in diverse contexts disseminates the meaning, allowing its semantic field to broaden, shift and develop.² This is particularly true of numismatic imagery on account of the repetition and dispersal inherent in striking and circulation.³

One of the criticisms most often levelled at studies concerned with numismatic iconography is that coins are first and foremost units of monetary

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¹ Barthes 1972 [1957]: 120.

² On dissemination, see generally Derrida 1981 and more specifically 1982: xxiv and 1988; for analysis Bearn 1995: esp. 9. Also relevant here and worthy of further consideration for their theoretical application to the study of Greco-Roman antiquity are post-colonial studies of mimicry such as Bhabha 1984, and also anthropological investigations such as Toren 1988, a particularly careful reading of reproductions of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper' displayed in Fijian domestic contexts.

³ Benjamin 1969: esp. 218 where there is passing reference to the striking of coins as one of the only means by which ancient peoples mass-produced images. Also, see Goux 1990; and Shell 1982, 1994 for theoretical approaches to numismatics.

exchange and that one should not inflate the significance of the images when we have little testimony for their impact on viewers or the intentions of those creating the images.⁴ While at present many scholars seem positively disposed to interpreting coin imagery as politically significant, two arguments in particular for that point of view are worth emphasising.

Firstly, gender theory has taught us that an act may perpetuate a social construction without that being the conscious intention of the agent.⁵ Most women do not get up in the morning, think 'I'm going to enact my gender' and then put on their make-up. This does not negate the fact that the wearing of eyeliner is a performance which has come to be naturalised as a 'feminine' act through collective repetition. In fact the banal pervasiveness of the action lends it greater power to naturalise the social construction. This is no less true of numismatic iconography: an image that becomes normative, even 'thoughtless' in its deployment, is more, not less, likely to be generating a social construction.

Secondly, that coinage has a primary monetary function does not mean that it cannot have secondary functions. 'Identity formation' is just one example of a secondary function of ancient coinage that has come to be widely accepted.⁶ These secondary functions are directly analogous to linguistic connotations or Barthes' 'myth', i.e. to what is called the second order of signification in semiotics. The semiotic model reminds us that secondary orders of signification are no less real than the first. They are dependent on the first and consequently cannot negate or replace or overshadow it: the connotations of any word are inextricably linked to its denotation. Thus a coin has a monetary function, but it may also perform further socio-political functions. Notably both functions are dependent on iterability. Money only works as currency because it is recognised as such by its multiple iterations. The unique coin does not spend; the unique coin cannot disseminate the meaning of the image it bears.

The question of eastern influences on the western Mediterranean has been approached from a numismatic perspective before. Williams and Burnett have given full treatment to the question of the influence of Alexander's coinage on minting in the western Mediterranean.⁷ They question the

⁴ The debate has been most vocal in the study of Roman imperial coinage; see Levick 1999 with bibliographical references to earlier stages in the debate.

⁵ Butler 1990, 2004.

⁶ The best literature on this treats coinage of the Roman period, but the basic concept is equally applicable to earlier periods. For the use of numismatics in a historical approach to questions of identity, see Pobjoy 2000. For a variety of numismatic approaches, see Howgego *et al.* 2005.

⁷ Williams and Burnett 1998.

assumptions which have often been made regarding both the quantity of Alexander coinage that circulated in the West and the political motivations behind any iconographic changes. Their systematic survey of published hoard material and broad coverage of the mints gives great weight to their largely negative conclusions. In short, they assert that there were few coins of Alexander in the West and that it is dangerous to assume particular political conditions lurk behind any shift in iconography. This landmark study is an invaluable anchor point. Whereas they were looking for specific links between Alexander's numismatic iconography and that of the western mints in the first generation after his death (that is in the first thirty years), I am considering how the shifts in western numismatic imagery over a wider time-span are part of the creation of the Hellenistic period.

The following three case-studies examine changes in the representation of the divinity known as Heracles on the coinage of different minting authorities from the late fourth to mid-third centuries in Italy, Sicily and North Africa. I argue that the deployment of such numismatic representations is not a reflection, that is to say a byproduct, of the emergence of the 'Hellenistic' in the western Mediterranean, but part of the means by which the period was made manifest. This shift in numismatic images is one of the many socio-political acts which, taken together, generated a broad cultural shift to what we call the Hellenistic period. The nature of these shifts helps illuminate some of what makes the Hellenistic West unique and distinctive. Above all, these three case-studies demonstrate a willingness to deploy iconography developed in the East in contexts which localise and resignify the representations of Heracles. This usage broadens, and does not limit, the underlying connotations of each image.

This emblematic versatility of representations of Heracles in the Hellenistic West can be tied to three underlying factors: (1) the elaborate narrative tradition of his western labours; (2) the patterns of religious syncretism with Melqart; and (3) how the Heracles mythology and iconography was radically developed by Alexander the Great, in no small part through his numismatic iconography and that of the *diadochoi*.⁸ If a mythic figure is likely to help us

⁸ Heracles has not suffered in recent years from a lack of scholarly attention, particularly in regard to his role in the western Mediterranean; of particular note are Bernardini and Zucca 2005; Massa Pairault 1999 (esp. the three articles in section one, 'Héraclès en Occident: Le «Visiteur», Le Héros «Ethnique» et Le Héros Gentilice'); Mastrocinque 1993; Bonnet and Jourdain-Annequin 1992 (esp. articles by Jourdain-Annequin, Le Glay, and Van Wonterghem); and especially the landmark work, Bonnet 1988. The current avenues of inquiry have been inspired largely by the techniques developed and refined by Malkin for looking at mythology as both a product and catalyst of social interaction, see his 1998: esp. 5–7; for methodology compare also Dench 1995: esp. 32 and Erskine 2001: esp. 2–6. There is still much value in Bickermann 1952.



Figure 12.1 AR stater, Heraclea Lucaniae. Obv.: head of Athena (r.) with Attic helmet; rev.: Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, club to left. Image not to scale.

answer questions regarding the distinctive nature of the Hellenistic West, it will surely be the figure of Heracles.

Heraclea Lucaniae

At the end of the fourth century BC or, at the latest, at the beginning of the third, the mint of Heraclea Lucaniae changed its previously stable obverse and reverse designs. The mint had issued coins since the foundation of the city in 433/2 BC by colonists from both Tarentum and Thurii, and the dominant type seems to reflect these founding influences (Figure 12.1). The obverse shows the head of Athena in an Attic helmet, often found on the coinage of Thurii and thought to be inspired by that city's connections with Athens. The reverse shows Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion; a similar design periodically occurs on the coins of Tarentum. Van Keuren suggests that this is an appropriate choice of imagery because of Heracles' status as a 'Dorian Hero'.⁹ Although there is some parallel iconography from the Peloponnesus from an early date, I am not convinced this is a particularly meaningful framework for thinking about the iconographic choices involved. More significant is how the image choice consciously reiterates the iconography of near neighbours (i.e. Thurii and Tarentum), communities of continuing importance to Heraclea's well-being.

At the end of the fourth century the designs suddenly shift, even though the basic subject matter stays the same. On the obverse Athena is represented with a Corinthian helmet and the reverse displays a standing Heracles with attributes.¹⁰ In a city named for the hero, representations of Heracles are

⁹ Van Keuren 1994: 14. On the coinage of this mint also see the entry by Johnston in Rutter 2001: 124–130.

¹⁰ Most attention has been given to the Corinthian helmet which appears on the head of Athena. Even sceptical Williams and Burnett concede that this may be influenced by the gold stater design of Alexander the Great (1998: 383). Except for a short-lived experimentation with a



Figure 12.2 AR stater, Heraclea Lucaniae. Obv.: head of Athena (r.) with Corinthian helmet; rev.: Heracles standing, lion-skin pelt draped over his left arm, bow in left hand, club in right hand. Image not to scale.

likely to take on particular symbolic meaning, to be reflections of that city's self-constructed identity. In fact, the reverse design changes before the obverse helmet. There is a short-lived issue dated to the 330s BC which shows the standing Heracles with an Attic helmet on the obverse. From this point onwards the wrestling scene never reappears and the standing Heracles is consistently shown nude, the lion-skin pelt draped over his left arm, and usually with a club in or near his right hand (Figure 12.2). There are variations with owl and *nike* in the field, others in which Heracles holds a *skyphos*, cornucopia, or is crowning himself. I do not mean to minimise these variations, but the basic type of the standing Heracles emerges at the point we usually associate with the beginning of the Hellenistic age and remains consistent until the end of silver minting by the city, a debated date, but plausibly placed c. 250 BC. The end of minting is sometimes connected with Rome's growing political influence at Heraclea, beginning with the treaty signed during the Pyrrhic War.

Some still credit Lehmann's suggestion that the variations on the reverse 'standing Heracles' type correspond to two different cult statues at Heraclea and that both statues derive from Scopas' Sicyonian cult statue, with the important difference of the bow being substituted for the apples of the Hesperides.¹¹ Holloway, however, interprets the variations to indicate that the scene is pictorial, rather than sculptural.¹² In defence of Lehmann's hypothesis, van Keuren has drawn attention to a small unpublished statuette of Heracles in the Museo Nazionale della Siritide near the ancient site of Heraclea, which he says has 'the same weighting of the legs and the

three-quarter-facing Athena during the Pyrrhic Wars, the Corinthian helmet remains the obverse type for Heraclea Lucaniae until the end of its silver minting. As an aside, it seems perfectly plausible to me that the Corinthian helmet may have been derived directly from the Corinthian Pegasus staters which circulated in southern Italy at this time as well.

¹¹ Lehmann 1946: 53–62. ¹² Holloway 1978: 56–7.

same position of the club and the right arm with elbow out'.¹³ However, he acknowledges that the lion-skin is draped over the shoulder not the arm on the statuette. Even if we could establish that the image is intended to represent the local cult statue, would this bring us closer to understanding the iconographic switch? The inspiration for this representation is undoubtedly to be found in the art of the eastern Mediterranean, be it Scopas' Sicyonian cult statue or a similar composition; nevertheless determining a specific direct antecedent seems tenuous, even irrelevant, given the variations in the Lucanian types.

Perhaps we can approach the question from another direction. By setting aside the image of Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, what in particular were they rejecting? What did that earlier image connote? One answer might be a close identification with their mother-cities which inspired the original types. The initial catalyst for the changes is likely to have been the arrival of Alexander the Molossian, who broke with the Tarentines by seizing Heraclea and trying to move the general assembly which met there to Thurian territory (Livy 8.24.4 and Strabo 6.3.4). The abandonment of the Tarentine reverse design, followed shortly by the discarding of the Thurian obverse design, seems to fit this narrative well. Thus we see a rejection not of an image for its primary meaning, but instead for its second order of signification, its connotations.

However, the consistency of the new types thereafter seems to me to argue against limiting our interpretation of the type to a single political impetus. The new types allowed Heraclea to develop their public iconography independent of the original influences, to explore what sort of Heracles was appropriate to symbolise their city in its own right. Unlike Heracles wrestling the lion, which was for all intents and purposes a borrowed type, the standing Heracles allowed Heraclea to represent their own Heracles on their coinage. By which I mean, not one limited to a single labour, the defeat of the Nemean lion, but one which through the use of accompanying attributes could reflect the appropriate characteristics of this divinity as a patron of the city. The standing figure was versatile enough to allow small symbolic changes of local meaning as they were felt desirable: winged victories, pious libations, cornucopiae and more. It would be futile for us to search for a specific stimulus behind each variation, but I do not doubt that each choice was symbolic and appropriate to the time in which it was minted. The Heracleans decided to utilise the symbolic potency of their patron divinity, leaving behind a static

¹³ Van Keuren 1994: 31.

borrowed narrative. Each new attribute allowed the reiterated Heracles to disseminate further its meaning.

What does this change tell us about the Hellenistic West? First, eastern catalysts, whether political (Alexander the Molossian) or cultural (Scopas' Sicyonian cult statue), cannot fully account for the form or extent of the change. The new representation of Heracles at Heraclea Lucaniae may be simultaneously a response to local, regional and supra-regional influences, but this was not strictly a reactionary or momentary trend. The stability and endurance of the new image on the city coinage ensures that it came to be definitive of a period within the city's history. The statuette of Heracles in the Museo Nazionale della Siritide confirms that this new type of Heracles was adopted for personal as well as civic representations. The flexibility of the new image to respond with small design variations to local contemporary circumstances may well have added to its longevity and utility as a badge of civic identity. At the same time the overall character of the image – Heracles and his common attributes – is stable and readily identifiable, not just by a local audience, but anywhere within the Mediterranean basin. This Heracles is at once local and universal.

Siculo-Punic issues

The two remaining case-studies demonstrate both Greek and Punic influences and they are both short-lived issues produced for very specific military purposes. However, like the coins of Heraclea Lucaniae, these issues demonstrate a sharp stylistic break from earlier imagery and seem to interact with local, regional and supra-regional trends. In particular the new representations of Heracles can be read from both a local and universalising perspective.

Firstly, there are the Siculo-Punic issues with a lion-scalp covered head on the obverse and a horse head with palm tree on the reverse (Figure 12.3). For the moment I withhold judgement as to whether it would be more accurate to speak of the obverse head as Heracles or Melqart. These issues have been dated from hoard evidence to the period between 305 and 295 BC, after Agathocles' return from Africa. They come in a long series of silver coinage minted by the Carthaginians in Sicily, but break sharply in iconography from both preceding issues and the gold coinage minted at Carthage itself. The majority of earlier issues are of the Tanit (Demeter)/Horse type (Figure 12.4), and just before the issue in question there had been a type with Arethusa, borrowing the iconography of Syracuse. Jenkins has fully



Figure 12.3 AR tetradrachm, Carthage, Siculo-Punic issue. Obv.: lion-scalp covered male head (r.); rev.: horse head (l.) with palm tree to right. Image not to scale.



Figure 12.4 AR tetradrachm, Carthage, Siculo-Punic issue. Obv.: head of Tanit/Demeter (l.); rev.: standing horse (l.), palm tree behind. Image not to scale.

published and discussed these issues and I do not propose to revisit them in detail here.¹⁴ For our purposes it is sufficient to note that there is a sharp break in obverse iconography.¹⁵ The designers of these coins decided to copy relatively faithfully not just the image of Alexander's tetradrachms, but also carefully to imitate the artistic style, a reiteration in a wholly unprecedented context.

Jenkins wants to see the adoption of an Alexander-style coinage as a statement by Carthage itself that it is a major imperial power; he links this with Carthaginian consciousness of the fall of Tyre to Alexander. In his mind it is logical that Carthage would want to model itself on the coinage of the new eastern power. Williams and Burnett have questioned the likelihood of this logic primarily because of what they see as very little evidence of widespread familiarity with Alexander's coinage in the West at this time.

¹⁴ G. Jenkins 1978. Cf. Jenkins and Lewis 1963: esp. discussion on 23–4, appendix 1, nos. 41–53, and Pl. 26.10. For broader contextualisation, see Mildenberg 1989: esp. 6–8 and Bondi 1990–1 and 2000.

¹⁵ Camarina c. 425–405 BC struck tetradrachms with a head of Heracles wearing the lion-scalp (SNG ANS 1205); the dies are signed by the engraver Exakestidas. This representation provides an important artistic link between more classical representations of the same subject and those of the Hellenistic period.

I am concerned that it may be incorrect to see these Siculo-Punic issues, which so clearly assert that they are military issues not civic coinage, as evidence of general Carthaginian aspirations. We need to think of them in their Siculo-Punic context minted by and for men who lived in a world governed by particularly diverse cultural influences.¹⁶

Williams and Burnett may well be right that not all of the men originally paid in this coinage would have recognised the iconic obverse design like we do as emblematic of Alexander the Great. So if that is not what they would see, why is it there? And what would they have thought they were looking at? How does the meaning of the imagery disseminate in this new context? Here we come to the question of whether this head should, in this context, be called Heracles or Melqart and even whether this is a meaningful distinction. Syncretism between these two divinities began well before this period.¹⁷ What the iconography of these obverses forces us to consider, when coupled with the clearly Punic reverse, is whether that syncretism underwent a change, a change generated in part by the iconography itself, perhaps even a change which we might label as Hellenistic.

The designers of the coins were conscious of the coinage of Alexander the Great, of that much we can be certain. They also knew that the Carthaginian population, or at least those serving in the Carthaginian army – we should not make too many assumptions regarding their ethnic identity given the extensive use of mercenaries – would be familiar with the god Melqart as an important Carthaginian deity.¹⁸ The assimilation of Heracles' attributes to Melqart was such that even on funerary art we find Hellenising images of Melqart juxtaposed with more Punic iconography.¹⁹ Artistic syncretism, the assimilation of imagery from one divinity to another, and the juxtaposition of artistic styles were already normative in the western Mediterranean.

For this instance of Heracles imagery to be generative of the new cultural phenomenon of 'the Hellenistic', its iteration must disseminate the meaning of Heracles in such a way as to naturalise the association of the image with the Hellenistic. That is to say, in this context the image must evoke something

¹⁶ Bondi argues that it is precisely at this moment that Carthaginian territorial imperialism in Sicily begins fully to develop with supra-polis regional institutions (1990–1 and 2000) and we can also recall literary allusions to cultural exchange such as Dion's guest-friendship with a Carthaginian (Plut. *Dion* 25.5–6) and Agathocles' father in Thermae sending to Delphi via Carthaginian envoys (Diod. Sic. 19.2.2). J. Prag kindly drew my attention to these references.

¹⁷ See n. 8 above for relevant bibliography.

¹⁸ Diod. Sic. 20.14 records how Melqart had received special honours less than a decade earlier when the Carthaginians sent a special offering to Tyre in 310 BC after Agathocles' landing in Africa.

¹⁹ E.g. the two razor hatchets from the Sainte-Monique cemetery, Bonnet 1988: 220–2.

which other images could not, and this iteration must evoke something which the same image could not in a different context.

Unlike previous obverse designs that borrowed from the surrounding western Greek communities, particularly Syracuse, the recipients of these coins would have immediately noted the strong stylistic difference, and perhaps even understood it to have been of eastern inspiration. Consider how the head fills the whole field of the flan, the strong modelling of the face, the deep-set eyes, the dynamic, well-defined hair on the lion-scalp. Contrast this with the general impression of both the preceding Arethusa and Tanit (Demeter) types, with soft, smooth, placid faces, and delicately arranged hair, all framed by a wide field. By introducing this radical new eastern iconography the minters were breaking with a Sicilian numismatic vocabulary. The Alexander prototype offered an opportunity to embrace a distinctively different type of Greek imagery from the western Greek models they had thus far been employing. Moreover, it allowed them to associate that powerful cultural precedent with a significant Phoenician divinity of timely relevance.

Our familiarity with the coinage of the *diadochoi* leaves us feeling relatively confident as we deduce what this particular image connotes, but in this western context ought we to be so confident regarding the denotations? If asked whether it is Melqart or Heracles being represented on these Siculo-Punic coins, I must answer that it is simultaneously both. The possibility of simultaneity is perhaps easier to conceptualise if we consider a pair of bilingual inscriptions from Malta, dating from the second century BC (IG XIV.600 = CIS I.122 and 122bis).²⁰ The Greek inscription reads:

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέται.

The Tyrians Dionysius and Sarapion, sons of Sarapion, (dedicate these) to Heracles the Founder.

The Punic inscription:

L'DNN LMLQRT B'L ŠR 'Š NDR 'BDK 'BD'SR W'ḤY 'SRŠMR ŠN BN 'SRŠMR BN 'BD'SR K ŠM' QLM YBRKM.

To our Lord Melqart, Lord of Tyre, your servant Abdosir and his brother Osirshamar, both sons of Osirshamar, son of Abdosir dedicate these, because he heard their voice; let him bless them.

These betylic dedications each carry the same bilingual text. If we compare the two halves of the text, the first point to observe is that there are no direct

²⁰ For contextualisation one might compare Culasso Gastaldi 2000 (on a Sardinian trilingual).

parallels. As we might have suspected the name of the honoured divinity has changed, but note that the names of the dedicants also change. Abdosir refers to himself as Dionysius in Greek and his brother Osirshamar is Sarapion. The names Abdosir and Osirshamar are theophoric, based on the Egyptian god Osiris, respectively ‘Servant of Osir’ and ‘Osir has guarded’.²¹ Thus Osiris is ‘translated’ as Dionysus and Sarapis in the Greek names of the two brothers. When the language shifts so does the identity of the speaker, and likewise the identity of the divinity. Abdosir conceived of himself as having two identities and in this religious context he wanted to make an offering using both of his identities. Dionysius honours Heracles and Abdosir Melqart: the dual language inscription is required to express the totality of the benefaction. And yet just as Dionysius is Abdosir, so Heracles is Melqart. We can think about the identity of the head on the coin in the same way: it is an image chosen by Carthaginians to reach a partly Carthaginian audience, so hence it is Melqart, but that does not mean it has stopped being Heracles, specifically the Heracles whom Alexander the Great had infused with meaning, and it certainly does not preclude the Carthaginians also thinking of the image as Heracles. The one instantiation contains within it all possible iterations. There are only right answers to the question ‘is it Heracles or Melqart?’.²²

The role of iteration in this dissemination of meaning is made even more apparent when we contrast the Siculo-Punic tetradrachms with the lion-scalp head with a very rare specimen depicting a bearded male with an earring from earlier in the Siculo-Punic coin series (Figure 12.5).²³ This coin is usually dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC along with the rest of the types bearing the legend RŠMLQRT. This legend translates, ‘head of Melqart’ and probably refers to a Carthaginian provincial institution,



Figure 12.5 AR tetradrachm, Carthage, Siculo-Punic issue. Obv.: head of a bearded male (r.) with an earring; rev.: quadriga (l.). Image not to scale.

²¹ So Renan in *CIS* I.122 and 122*bis*.

²² On bilingualism, see J. Adams 2003 and Amadasi Guzzo 1988. ²³ G. Jenkins 1971: 55.

perhaps an army unit, rather than a specific city or geographical place.²⁴ The legend has led most scholars reasonably to identify the head as Melqart. There are local parallels for a bearded male with an earring on the coins of Solus (Solunto) and Motya, as well as on Siculo-Punic bronzes. Thus the image is not unique, but of only local and limited resonance. We cannot even be wholly confident of our identification of the iconography. By contrast the later Siculo-Punic tetradrachms with the lion-scalp head are part of a Mediterranean-wide trend towards imitating the coinage of Alexander. The widespread dispersal of Alexander's coinage and its imitators brings the imagery into the common cultural framework of diverse viewers. Thus iteration of the image naturalises the association with Alexander, but also, through the diversity of the deployment, the image takes on innumerable local dimensions.

This is not necessarily an immediate result, but a development over time. Burnett and Williams are absolutely correct to emphasise the implausibility that the first recipients of these coins would have recognised them as imitating the coinage of Alexander – and consequently our inability to attribute to the minters any plausible hope of deriving immediate political benefit from evoking such a connection. However, the large-scale production of this imitative image juxtaposed with Punic imagery meant that the minters, probably unconsciously, were naturalising the association of this Heracles type with their own power as well as that of Alexander. Those who first encountered these Siculo-Punic issues and then later handled tetradrachms of Alexander or his successors would have come to recognise the Heracles type as associated with Hellenistic military-political structures regardless of whether or not this was one of the original motivations behind the choice of type.

Mercenary Revolt coinage

Although the widespread dispersal of Alexander's coinage and its imitators brought specific types of Heracles imagery into the common cultural framework of diverse viewers, this process took time. My final, later, case-study demonstrates how the reiteration of the imagery, and the consequent dissemination, naturalise the ideological underpinnings. The coinage in

²⁴ Mildenberg 1993, but also see Cutroni Tusa 1995. Manfredi 1985 hypothesises that the coins bearing this legend may be linked to an as yet unidentified sanctuary. See discussion and bibliography collected by Lipiński 1995: 237 n. 107.

question uses two different representations of Heracles in the same series: both are Hellenistic in character, both integrate eastern parallels with regional traditions in new local contexts.

This is an unusual issue of coinage attributed to the Mercenary Revolt (241–238 BC) which followed the First Punic War, and in this instance we have extensive literary testimony from Polybius regarding the context in which the objects were created (Polyb. 1.67). After the Romans defeated the Carthaginians in Sicily and imposed sharp punitive fines, the Carthaginians were faced with the dilemma of how to disband their very sizable, ethnically mixed mercenaries. Gisco, the governor of Lilybaeum, sent them back in small groups hoping that they could be dealt with piecemeal, but when delays caused them to group together in the city of Carthage and the first signs of trouble began, they were sent on to wait in Sicca. The Carthaginians needed to negotiate a reduced rate of pay because of their financial straits. Unsurprisingly, this was not acceptable to the mercenaries.

Polybius emphasises the mixed nationality of the forces: Iberians, Gauls, Ligurians, Balearics, part-Greeks and Africans. He attributes the difficulty of the payment negotiations to problems of communication; skilled oratory had no hope of working on this audience. In describing the leaders of the revolt he focuses on one man, Spendius, whom he identifies as an ex-Roman slave from Campania, largely motivated to make trouble by his fear of returning to a state of servitude. He is presented as an unscrupulous character with a talent for motivational speaking. He is said to have created a powerful partnership with Matho, the leader of the Libyan soldiers. They were able to convince the communities of North Africa under Carthaginian rule to revolt, creating a civil war. Although Polybius might have taken some liberties in his characterisation of Spendius, we should take seriously his comments on cultural interaction. The coins themselves reflect such interaction in the choice and juxtaposition of images and text.

The series is complex: multiple denominations, diverse iconography, unique metallurgical profile and uncertain chronology. Scholarly discussion has been equally complex.²⁵ Zimmermann identifies nine types, four silver in three denominations and six bronze ranging in size from c. 19.5 grams to c. 6.5 grams, all with the Greek ethnic, $\Lambda\text{IBY}\Omega\text{N}$. However, his system excludes anepigraphic coins usually attributed to the mercenaries. Crawford's older division of the coinage into 'Carthaginian types' and 'native types' covering five denominations (double-shekel, shekel, half-shekel, bronze

²⁵ E. Robinson 1943, 1953; Crawford 1985: 135–8; Carradice and La Niece 1988; Manganaro 1992; Vanni 1993: 123; Manfredi 1995: 155–7 and 260–3; Keyser 1995–6; Zimmermann 2001.

unit and bronze half) is still a useful overview of the entire coinage.²⁶ His 'Carthaginian types' all have Tanit on the obverse; the reverse designs include a standing horse, plough or corn-ear. His 'native types' include Zeus/bull charging, Heracles in lion-skin/lion prowling, diademed Heracles/lion prowling, Heracles in lion-skin/bull charging, Athena/bull charging. All the silver types are debased and contain less than 35 per cent silver; many specimens are obviously overstruck on Carthaginian coinage.²⁷ Our interpretation of the denominational structure is complicated by the use of an arsenical copper alloy as imitation silver.²⁸

Taken together, the relatively sophisticated denomination system, the effort involved in restriking Carthaginian coins and the complex metallurgy all indicate the administrative sophistication of the revolt. This might be called crisis coinage because of its debasement, but in particular the overstriking of Carthaginian coins suggests that ideological motivations were also at play. The revolting mercenaries and their local allies clearly felt it was worth the time, energy and resources to remove Carthaginian imagery from the flans and replace it with iconography and inscriptions of their own. The symbolic change would not have made the coin more spendable or valuable (if anything, less so). The overstriking is an overt statement of autonomy, a rejection of the original mint authority. The language and iconography chosen for the overstriking is simultaneously part of that rejection and the establishment of a new authority.

The use of Greek script can be taken as a reflection of the mixed ethnic make-up of the group, even if Greekness is a characteristic Polybius tries to minimise in his description of the rebels. What one cannot say is that the Greek is a rejection of Punic. This coinage is in fact bilingual with a large prominent *mem* on nearly all specimens; some also have *alpha* or *zayin* or *mu*. The interpretation of the letters is much debated and still elusive; it cannot be just a mint mark given the size and consistence across the specimens.²⁹ Both the bilingual quality of the legends and the use of Tanit on many types suggest that the new authority sought to identify itself simultaneously with both Punic and Hellenic traditions.

The other iconography draws largely on regional precedents from the western Mediterranean. The bull on the reverse of the double shekel and the

²⁶ Crawford 1985: 137–8 (table 5); his division builds on that first proposed by E.S.G. Robinson (1953) who divided the series into 'Carthaginian' and 'Libyan' types.

²⁷ Carradice and La Niece 1988. ²⁸ Carradice and La Niece 1988; Keyser 1995–6.

²⁹ See Zimmermann 2001: 242 for survey of various proposals including an abbreviation for *machanat*, the word for camp which also appeared on the Siculo-Punic coinage, or the first initial of Matho, the revolt leader.

largest bronze units has been linked to the iconography of Campanian coinage, an interesting parallel to Polybius' assertion that one of the initial revolt leaders originated there.³⁰ Moreover, there was no shortage of Campanian mercenaries in Carthage's service generally.³¹ However, charging bulls are well represented on Sicilian coinage as well, notably during Agathocles' reign in Syracuse. Manganaro juxtaposes Syracusan coins bearing Zeus' head with those of the Libyan revolt coinage in order to demonstrate the close iconographic link.³² These other regional parallels help contextualise the two different representations of Heracles in this series.

The two representations of Heracles – an Alexander-style head in a lion-skin on the shekel (Figure 12.6) and the diademed beardless head on the half-shekel (Figure 12.7) – function primarily to distinguish denominations. Both have a prowling lion on the reverse; the half-shekel reverse also has a club in the upper field. The Alexander-style head also appears



Figure 12.6 AR shekel, Libya, 241–238 BC. Obv.: male head (l.) wearing a lion-skin; rev.: prowling lion (r.). Image not to scale.



Figure 12.7 AR fraction, Libya, 241–238 BC. Obv.: male head (l.), beardless and wearing a diadem; rev.: prowling lion (r.), club above. Image not to scale.

³⁰ Acquaro 1974.

³¹ The significance of such Italian mercenaries is underlined by both the prohibition on recruiting included in the treaty of Lutatius and the waiving of these specific clauses in the context of the Mercenary Revolt (App. *Pun.* 5).

³² Manganaro 1992: Pl. XXV.

on the large bronzes but with a bull reverse. The inspiration for the half-shekel type clearly seems to be Syracusan bronze coins of Agathocles.³³ There are few differences between the two designs. The exergue of the revolt coins has a legend on some specimens whereas on the Syracusan coins the exergue contains a spear. The revolt coinage displays a rugged facial type, thick eyebrow ridge, textured forehead and prominent jaw – all commonplace within idealised Hellenistic royal portraiture. The Syracusan prototype has classical features: fine, smooth and youthful. Beardless diademed youths, while never common, are not unknown on the coinage of the western Mediterranean prior to the Hellenistic period; these are variously identified as Apollo or Heracles, often with little justification for either choice.³⁴ The revolt coinage depiction of a diademed Heracles bears stylistic resemblance to the diademed Heracles on the early wolf and twin didrachms bearing the legend *ROMANO*, which are usually dated to 269–266 BC and thought by many to have been struck at Neapolis.³⁵ From Robinson onwards, cataloguers of the Libyan revolt coinage have wanted to see a club laid across the neck of the head. If the club is present, this would bring the parallels with the *ROMANO* didrachms even closer.³⁶ That the Libyan revolt coinage should combine features familiar from Campania and Sicily is not surprising given the composition of the mercenary troops. That the stylistic execution of the facial type should reflect representations of regal power from the eastern Mediterranean is perhaps equally unsurprising. The pattern observed here and in the earlier case-studies could be summarised as follows: numismatic representations of Heracles in the western Mediterranean draw on eastern stylistic precedents while reacting to and interacting with regional representations in order to formulate images appropriate in very localised contexts. These images seem normative within the wider (even pan-Mediterranean) Hellenistic world, but simultaneously the meaning of the image has disseminated to take on time- and place-specific connotations.

This begins to contextualise the presence of the diademed Heracles on the revolt coinage, but does not adequately explain the simultaneous use of two different representations of Heracles. The need to distinguish between denominations is not sufficient explanation. Obviously, any two different

³³ SNG ANS 732–43. It is notable that the type, beardless diademed Heracles/prowling lion, recurs on bronze coinage of Capua during the Hannibalic War.

³⁴ One example from Croton: SNG ANS 421, SNG München 1464.

³⁵ RRC 20/1; Rutter 2001: 287.

³⁶ I cannot confirm the presence of the club on any of the specimens I have handled in London or New York. However, the condition of the coins is quite poor and the specimens may have further degraded since the initial cataloguing.

divinities could have been used; the repetition of Heracles must have deeper significance to those selecting the images and for those handling them immediately upon their manufacture. As a minimum, we can assume that Heracles was perceived as an auspicious, even strategic, deity with which to associate the revolt. Any more precise meaning may be too localised for us to decode, much like the variations of attributes of Heracles on the coinage of Heraclea Lucaniae. Since there is no clear or widely accepted iconographic differentiation between Melqart and Heracles at this time, the one thing we cannot say is that the two different representations on the revolt coinage show a desire to distinguish between the two. The shared reverse type of the prowling lion helps further to associate the two Heracles types with each other; in this series the prowling lion is only paired with Heracles obverse types. Given the bilingual character of the coinage as a whole, both of the representations of Heracles may be assumed to be equally culturally bilingual, in much the same way as was discussed in the second case-study.

Even if the precise reason behind the choice of two different representations is unrecoverable, we can say something about the implications of the choice of these specific images and their juxtaposition in the same series. Whereas it was reasonable to question if those handling the Siculo-Punic issues half a century earlier would have immediately recognised the echo of Alexander the Great's coinage, in this later context we can have little doubt the parallel would have been obvious. The revolting Libyans were invoking Heracles not just in his own right as a heroic divinity, but as an emblem of political power and conquest. Or, to put it another way, this particular image of Heracles was chosen in part because it seemed naturally to evoke the idea of political power and conquest. However, the anonymous designers of the series did not feel limited to a single Hellenistic Heracles. The same message of political power and conquest could be communicated through the diademed representation of Heracles: a representation with greater regional resonance because of the echoes of Agathocles' coinage, but also partaking in the new dramatic style used in the portraiture of the eastern *diadochoi* and thus associated with spear-won authority and wide-reaching power. The reiteration of multiple regional and supra-regional representations of Heracles ties the revolt coinage into a wider socio-political symbolic vocabulary. The coinage becomes iconographically intelligible not only to the diverse population of mercenaries and local peoples of North Africa, but also across the Mediterranean. The choice of two different Heracles demonstrates the complementary, non-competing nature of the different representations.

All three case-studies demonstrate the emblematic versatility of Heracles iconography and illustrate the role of coinage in the dissemination and naturalisation of such iconic images. This process of dissemination and naturalisation contributed to the generation of the socio-political phenomenon we label as 'Hellenistic'. We can observe how these types of iconographic choices help define a new period through reconsideration of what precedent is being rejected in each of the three case-studies. At Heraclea Lucaniae the mint rejected the regional precedents for a reverse type of Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion, in favour of a standing Heracles inspired by eastern statue types. The Siculo-Punic tetradrachms replaced placid imagery based on Syracusan coinage with the bold dynamic Alexander-type Heracles in lion scalp. The Libyan revolt coinage developed a new coinage for a new political authority, but one which drew not only on North African precedents, but also selected regional precedents which were themselves influenced by eastern artistic trends. There is a clear pattern of developing new imagery with antecedents in the eastern Mediterranean and the world of the *diadochoi*, while simultaneously setting aside traditional regional imagery.

Yet, all three cases studies exemplify how the meaning of the eastern antecedent was disseminated in local and regional contexts. The western iterations are rich with connotations impossible to attribute to eastern influence. The new standing Heracles type at Heraclea Lucaniae is augmented with numerous changing attributes (*nike*, cornucopiae, crowns, *skyphoi* and more), symbols which allow the figure to reflect local concerns on a brief temporal scale. The lion-scalp Heracles head of the Siculo-Punic issues is unlikely to have been recognised as an Alexander-type by the first recipients; instead, as was argued above, the new style is much more likely to have been interpreted as a rejection of Syracusan imagery and a new celebration of a deity, Melqart/Heracles, which resonated with both the Punic and Hellenic populations. The scale and dispersal of this issue is surely one of the factors that normalised this representation of Heracles in the West and allowed the image to be associated over time with regional military dominion, as well as the world of Alexander's Successors. Hence, when the image reappears on a different denomination in the Libyan revolt coinage, it partakes in a more generalised representation of power, instead of necessarily specifically evoking its Ur-eastern antecedents. Likewise, the diademed Heracles of this series, while undoubtedly drawing on eastern regal portraiture, draws primarily on Campanian and Syracusan precedents to make an image with strong regional resonance.

What can we say in the end about the generation of the Hellenistic period in the West? I started from the premise that repetition through different actions could allow the deciphering of a cultural construction, i.e. the Hellenistic, that the insistent reuse and reformulation of an image could reveal intention, the underlying assumption being that the peoples of the West actively participated in the socio-political changes of the time, drawing on local, regional and pan-Mediterranean precedents. No one symbolic vehicle can encompass the whole phenomenon, but the representation of Heracles in the preceding case-studies goes some way to illustrate that which is definitive of the Hellenistic West. All three case-studies demonstrate an interest in emblematic versatility. The borrowed types and stylistic choices partook in a wider iconographic vocabulary both eastern and regional, but each individual deployment had specific localised meaning as well. The repeated use of such numismatic imagery and the circulation of the coinage itself normalised types of representations across the region, leading not only to imitation, but also further experimentation.

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