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METHODOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THIRD CENTURY  
SICILIAN NUMISMATICS \*

PLATES 6–7

Though it was the publication of these two books which prompted this article, I shall not attempt to review in detail the vast body of work by many scholars included in the *Atti* of the Seminar – much of it very important and interesting – and shall concentrate instead on a limited number of major issues raised. Not the least noteworthy are those covered in the long contribution on Hieron's coinage (pp. 195-272) by the three scholars responsible for the monograph *Siracusa ellenistica*; this essentially deals with just his last few years. I shall come to this great collaborative effort later.

It is good to find that there is now general agreement that the Roman denarius first appeared in 214 or 211 BC; the ample hoard evidence shows that Rome entered the Second Punic War with the quadrigatus system firmly in place. It was therefore disconcerting to find Aldina Tusa Cutroni maintaining (pp. 465-471), on the basis of finds from Selinus, Partanna and Salaputra, that the quadrigatus was circulating in west Sicily in the 250s. Despite Marchetti's backing Tusa Cutroni's thesis has been effectively demolished by Michael Crawford, who reasonably argued for some occupation of Selinus and its territory after the city was abandoned in 250 BC and its population removed to Lilybaeum.<sup>1</sup> There are in fact a

- \* MARIA CACCAMO CALTABIANO (ed.) *La Sicilia tra l'Egitto e Roma: la monetazione siracusana dell'età di Ierone II*. Atti del Seminario Messina 2-4 dicembre 1993 (Messina 1995), pp. 516 (henceforward *Atti*), and  
M. CACCAMO CALTABIANO, B. CARROCCIO, E. OTERI, *Siracusa ellenistica: le monete 'regali' di Ierone II, della sua famiglia e dei Siracusani* (Messina 1997). pp. 255 and Pls. I-LIII.

*Additional abbreviations*

MS II Morgantina Studies II (Princeton 1989)

NSc. Notizie degli scavi

RPC A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P.P. RIPPOLÈ, Roman Provincial Coinage (London/Paris 1992)

RRC M.H. CRAWFORD, Roman Republic Coinage (Cambridge 1973)

RRCH M.H. CRAWFORD, Roman Republican Coin Hoards (London 1969)

- <sup>1</sup> See A. TUSA CUTRONI, *AIIN* 38/41, 1991/94, pp. 209-221; P. MARCHETTI, *Cahiers Glotz* 4, 1993, pp. 25-65; M.H. CRAWFORD, in: *Coins of Macedonia and Rome; Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh*, eds. A. BURNETT, U. WARTENBERG, R. WITSCHONKE (London 1998), pp. 119-123. Recently two quadrigati were found at Monte Adranone, a site supposedly abandoned c. 250 BC (G. FIORENTINI, A. TUSA CUTRONI, *AIIN* 44, 1997, p. 235 f.); on this site, however, see below my n. 51.

number of very significant post-250 site finds, as Ross Holloway pointed out at the Seminar (p. 335 f.) and others had earlier observed.<sup>2</sup>

I find Maria Caltabiano's proposal to put back the Latin duoviral issue of Enna from c. 45 BC (*Pl.* 6, 2) to the late third century equally alarming.<sup>3</sup> Her view clearly tempted Giulia Gasparro, since the Megara Hyblaea hoard associated a specimen of that issue with coins of Syracuse and Catana reflecting the cult of Sarapis and Isis. The early date of the hoard would prove her thesis that the cult was officially accepted in Sicily before 200 BC. But she wisely resisted the temptation (pp. 95-101). Antonio Pinzone sensibly observed (pp. 483-487) that a Latin *municipium* in Sicily during the Second Punic War would be highly anomalous and historically not easy to accept. Despite his courteously phrased scepticism Caltabiano maintained her position in the subsequent discussion (p. 514). But the case for the late dating of the Enna issue and the Megara hoard is just too strong.<sup>4</sup> It is vital not to be carried away by over-reliance on assumed numismatic criteria. As numismatists we may risk losing the confidence of archaeologists and historians, who are used to looking at the broader picture and are unimpressed by narrow specialism.

In general we need to exercise the utmost rigour in our discipline. Gasparro's long and fascinating paper on the reception of the Egyptian cults (pp. 79-149) is not always rigorous enough. She rightly assumes that the adoption by some Sicilian cities of coin-types taken from the Sarapis-Isis repertoire implies a degree of official recognition of the new cult by the city authorities. She then builds up carefully by study of typology and archaeological and other material evidence the case for thinking that at Syracuse, Catana and Menaeum the cult was already accepted by the late third century and that Sicily, rather than Greece or Delos, was the intermediary in this respect between Egypt and Roman Italy. Obviously we must first make sure which coin-types actually reflect the cult. Gasparro rightly rejects a small silver coin from Hieron's 'regal' series, which has been thought to show Isis Pelagia on its reverse, and a Syracusan bronze from after 212 BC showing a mysterious

<sup>2</sup> E.S.G. ROBINSON published a hoard of nine Libyan coins in NC 1943, pp. 7-11. They were found in a small temple at Selinus below bronze coins of Hieron II. The hoard was first noted by S. CAVALLARI, Bull. della Comm. di antichità di Sicilia 7, 1874, p. 180 f. and A. HOLM, Arch. Zeitung NF 7, 1874, p. 146 f. Robinson acutely identified the coins as struck by the Libyan rebels against Carthage in 241-238 BC. A Roman litra (Mars/horse head, ROMA, Cr. 25/3) was found on the acropolis of Selinus in a stratum that contained Hieronic and other Sicilian bronze; see AIIN 4, 1957, p. 202 f. Crawford's date is 241-235 BC. Horsemen bronzes of Hieron II with the diademed head – surely well after 250 BC – have also been found at Selinus; see AIIN 5/6, 1958/59, p. 306 and 317.

<sup>3</sup> See *Hestiasis*: Studi di tarda antichità offerti a S. Calderone, V (Messina 1984), pp. 1-27.

<sup>4</sup> See F. VILLARD, MEFR 63, 1951, p. 47 f. and 51; M. GRANT, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946), p. 190 f. (43 BC?); RPC I, p. 177 (44-36 BC?), and II, pl. 39. The largest Enna denomination is close in style and fabric to the issue of Atratinus from Lilybaeum c. 36 BC (*Pl.* 6, 1-2); compare RPC pl. 39, 655 and 661. As Grant saw, M. Cestius *duovir* at Enna should be M. Cestius P.F. Primus, *duovir* of Thermae in the triumviral period (CIL X, 7348).

statue in a chariot. There is no reason for thinking that this is Isis (pp. 90-92).<sup>5</sup> Gasparro also inclines to question the usual identification of Isis on the reverse (*Pl.* 6, 4) of a very common Catana bronze (pp. 137-143). Since two specimens were found in a 211 BC destruction level at Morgantina no. 60, the identification would strongly support her case. Manganaro, however, has plausibly suggested that the goddess is really Aphrodite Hyblaea. Since in any case there is nothing characteristic of Isis about the figure, Gasparro wisely remains agnostic and leaves this issue too out of account.<sup>6</sup> She should probably have been equally agnostic about the Zeus/Tyche Syracusan bronze (*Pl.* 6, 9) (pp. 103-105). But on the obverse of two specimens from Munich she detects the typical Sarapis headdress, a «circonstanza, sfuggita finora all'attenzione dei numismatici». That remark is worrying. This is a fairly common issue and it should have given up its 'secret' long ago. Moreover the head is laureate, as normal for Zeus, and not diademed, which is characteristic of Sarapis. The Tyche on the reverse has no distinguishing Isis feature, as Gasparro has to accept.<sup>7</sup> I think that it would be best to exclude this coin also from the argument.

What coins are then left? There is a small coin from Menaeum with the types Sarapis/Nike in biga (p. 118 f.) (*Pl.* 6, 3). Gasparro accepts Caltabiano's case for dating it between c. 210 and 185 BC. This was based on formal numismatic grounds that led Caltabiano to put the start of the *Hispanorum* bronze in the same period.<sup>8</sup> But Kenan Erim showed conclusively from a cohesive body of archaeological evidence that the series started only c. 150 BC. Both Caltabiano and Gasparro curiously missed the reported presence of a specimen of Menaeum Apollo/lyre in the Aidone 1909 and Grammichele hoards, both evidently of Second Punic War date. This would seem to clinch their case.<sup>9</sup> Unluckily there is a snag. In 1974 Crawford had treated the hoards with caution: «I place little weight on them, since I am not entirely happy about their freedom from contamination». In 1985 he still regarded the *Hispanorum* and Tauromenion AE in the Aidone 1909 hoard as extraneous; the former was betrayed by its discrepant patina. The Grammichele hoard must be suspect also, as Crawford saw. It reached the Syracuse Museum in two distinct batches in the course of 1915. Contamination would have been easy.<sup>10</sup> I submit that the Menaeum specimens may also prove to be extraneous. All the Menaeum bronzes

<sup>5</sup> GASPARRO, following HEAD (Coins of Syracuse, 1874, p. 72, 8) and ROBINSON (SNG Lockett 1024), attributed the silver coin to the Fifth Republic (214-212 BC). But in *Siracusa* (p. 29 and 96-98 with Pl. XXXI) it is correctly reassigned.

<sup>6</sup> See G. MANGANARO, *Il tempio greco in Sicilia* (Catania 1985), p. 153 n. 26.

<sup>7</sup> No less than 69 specimens were found at Morgantina: MS II p. 108, no. 381, to which should be added some of the 32 'uncertain' listed under no. 383. The Munich specimens are illustrated by GASPARRO on her Pl. 2, 9 and 10 (p. 151). To my eye they do not show indisputably the Sarapis globe and lotus.

<sup>8</sup> M. CALTABIANO, *Sulla cronologia e la metrologia delle serie Hispanorum*, NACQTic 14, 1985, p. 159-169; MS II, p. 38 f., 44-46 and 203-209.

<sup>9</sup> See AIN 9/11, 1962/64, p. 223 f. with ns. 21 and 52; RRC 30 n.; M. CRAWFORD, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (Cambridge 1985), p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> See RRC; *Coinage and Money* (n. 9), p. 306, Appendix 36.



are very similar in style and fabric and were probably issued in a fairly short period of time. The earliest stratified context is in a Morgantina deposit closed c. 84 BC, where the coin is only moderately worn.<sup>11</sup> The whole series may be late second century, but nothing – except two doubtful hoards – requires us to put it earlier.

There remain three apparently sound archaeological contexts for Sicilian bronze coins with a Sarapis/Isis context. In his excavation of the area around Hieron's great altar of Zeus, where burials continued for a decade or so after the king's death, Gentili found in Thysia 43 a worn Syracusan coin, which he identified from Gabrici's catalogue as a specimen of Sarapis/Isis. Both types were in fact barely legible and it is worth quoting Gentili *verbatim*: «Testa barbata a destra, appena distinguibile. Figura femminile stante a sinistra, regente nella destra avanzata una corona, poco visibile». Gasparro assumed (pp. 96-98) that the «corona» was a mistake, taken from Gabrici, for the expected sistrum.<sup>12</sup> But there is another possibility. The MS II editors found great difficulty in distinguishing worn Sarapis/Isis and Zeus/Tyche bronzes and under their no. 383 they listed 32 coins which could be either. Gentili's coin might well have been Zeus/Tyche. On another occasion he correctly identified a worn specimen of Sarapis/Isis from the diadem (*taenia*) on the head, which significantly he did not note in describing the coin from Thysia 43: the bearded Zeus is always laureate.<sup>13</sup> If the coin from Thysia 43 was really Zeus/Tyche, its finding is no evidence for a late third-century cult of Sarapis and Isis at Syracuse.

In his excavation of the Molino dell'Arco cemetery at Syracuse Orsi found a worn Syracusan bronze with the types Isis/headdress of Isis in an ossuary in Tomb V and a very worn halved sextantal/uncial Roman As in another. On the combined ceramic and numismatic evidence Orsi put the cemetery firmly in the second century BC. Gasparro (p. 106 f.) took this to mean the first or second decade. She missed Orsi's observation that almost all the coins – mainly of Second Punic War date – had seen long, even very long circulation.<sup>14</sup> Here the very worn halved As becomes important, especially as Orsi was given another by the proprietor of the contemporary Zappala d'Agata cemetery. They were presumably halved at the same period.<sup>15</sup> A third Sicilian halved As from a late second-century context at Halaesa was associated with a Hieron II Poseidon/trident bronze and a Catana bronze with the types Sarapis and Isis jugate/Apollo standing (*Pl. 6, 11*).<sup>16</sup> Forty

<sup>11</sup> For style see MS II, Pl. 21 f., nos. 209-214 (*Pl. 6, 3-8*); for Apollo/lyre see pp. 175-178, Deposit 46 (the latest datable coin is Cr. 356).

<sup>12</sup> NSc. 1954, pp. 333-383 (coin described on p. 373); E. GABRICI, *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica* (Palermo 1927), p. 188, nos. 608-615 and Pl. IX, 13.

<sup>13</sup> NSc. 1951, p. 271. Unluckily the coin was not well stratified; the level contained Campana A and Arretine and so came down into the first century BC. For the Tyche and Isis coins see HEAD, *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. XIV, 2 and 5; MS II Pl. 37, 381 f.; GASPARRO Pl. 2, 6 and 9 f. (*Pl. 6, 9-10*)

<sup>14</sup> NSc. 1897, pp. 484-488. Orsi specially stressed the *very* worn condition of a Mamertine pentonkion from Tomb XIV which belongs to Särström's Series XVI of c. 212-200 BC.; see M. SÄRSTRÖM, *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines* (Lund 1940), pp. 121-125.

<sup>15</sup> NSc. 1897, p. 489.

<sup>16</sup> NSc. 1959, pp. 310-315.

three halved Asses were found at Morgantina, but most of these were probably halved in the Augustan age and are of no relevance here.<sup>17</sup> But a halved As of the moneyer L.Pl.H. (Cr. 134/2) was found in a deposit closed c. 135 BC.<sup>18</sup> Crawford dates this issue c. 194-190 BC. Its denarius is obverse die-linked with one of the two denarius types of the issue of TAMP (Cr. 133/2; RRC, 51) (*Pl. 7, 17*), whose victorates are stylistically like those of MAT, fly and helmet (Cr. 162/159/ and 168) (*Pl. 7, 13-16*). The other denarius type of TAMP has Luna with horses prancing (*Pl. 7, 20*), which is found also with AN/AV, an anonymous issue, fly, TAL and feather (Cr. 136. 158. 159. 161 and 163) (*Pl. 7, 18-21*). Crawford once thought that all this group of issues belonged together in the 190s; but in RRC he split them into two sections separated by about twenty years, since a specimen of MAT was found in fair condition in a hoard from Thebes of c. 168 BC.<sup>19</sup> I think that he was wrong to change his mind. The whole group should be dated to c. 170 BC. The As of L.Pl.H. then will have been halved at some point between c. 170 and 135 BC. Can we be more precise about this? It seems reasonable to suggest that the practice of halving Asses was a fairly short-lived phenomenon. Unfortunately we have few details, but the weight of this Morgantina halved As may provide a clue. It is 8.59 g and the As, at 17.20 g, would have been decidedly below the uncial standard. Two other halved moneyers' Asses were found at Morgantina, but without any provenance given – one of Turd (Cr. 193/1) at 9.70 g and one of Q.Marc Libo (Cr. 215/2) at 8.85 g. That they could be identified suggests that they were still fairly fresh when lost, not rendered almost illegible by long circulation down to the time of Augustus.<sup>20</sup> Crawford dated Libo 148 BC, shortly before the suspension of the As's issue after C. Antestius (Cr. 219/2). We know from the great Città Sant'Angelo and the Rochetta a Volturno hoards that a number of well underweight Asses and semisses were circulating at this time. The first included Asses of Turd at 19.60, of Nat and C.Scr at 19.50, of Val at 19.40, of Mat at 19.20, of Murena at 19, two of Bal and one of C.Ter Luc at 18.50, two Asses of Opei and one of AT/TA at 17.50 and one of C.Ter Luc at 16 g.; one semis with wolf and twins weighed 10 g, one of Turd 9.90, one with wreath 9.50, one of P.Blas 9.40 and another with Turd 8.50 g.<sup>21</sup> The Rochetta hoard, among its 63 anonymous semisses,

<sup>17</sup> MS II, p. 183, no. 587. For halved Republican sextantal/uncial Asses from the 20s BC. see T.V. BUTTREY, *AJA* 76, 1972, pp. 31-48. A. TUSA CUTRONI published twenty of these halved Asses from Solus in *Kokalos* 6, 1960, pp. 110-123; a few of these *may* have been halved in the second century.

<sup>18</sup> MS II Deposit 43, pp. 172-174. It included just the first *Hispanorum* issue of c. 150 BC: on this see my note 8, above. The deposit seems «to have been purposely hidden away by being packed into an offering box with a disguising earth fill. Such an expedient suggests a time of danger such as Morgantina experienced during the two servile wars...» (p. 174). A date near the start of the first war seems very likely for the burial. A consul of 134 BC had been sent to Sicily after failure by the praetors (Livy, *Epit.* 56; Obsequens 27; Oros. 5, 9.6).

<sup>19</sup> Contrast RRCH, Tables VIII-IX with RRC, Tables VIII-IX and pp. 50-52. For the MAT denarius see T. HACKENS, *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 712-719, 725 and 728.

<sup>20</sup> MS II, p. 121, nos. 559 and 578.

<sup>21</sup> See S.L. CESANO, *NSc.* 1931, pp. 620-625 (= RRCH 129). There were 2518 Asses, 449 semisses, 185 lower denominations – down to C.Ter Luc (Cr. 217/2).

had pieces weighing 10.30, 10.10 and 8.70 g. One semis with wolf and twins and one of Turd weighed 10.38 g.<sup>22</sup> The Morgantina specimens of L.Pl.H, Turd and Q.Marc Libo, representing whole pieces of 17.20, 19.40 and 18.70 g, fit this pattern of Asses and semisses circulating c. 145 BC. For about a decade after the suspension of the As few semisses were struck. C. Titinius and C. Renius put out minuscule issues from just one pair of dies (Cr. 226/2 and 231/2), while the specimen of C.Val.C.f.Flac in Paris is unique (Cr. 228/3). The issues of Cn.Geli and Sex.Pom (Cr. 232/2 and 235/2), represented by six and three specimens in Paris, were clearly restricted. Not until the triumvirate of M. Acilius M.f., Q.Mete and M.Vargu (Cr. 255-7/2) – with six, twenty eight and sixteen Paris specimens – can the supply be termed adequate. What would be more natural than for the public to create new semisses out of old Asses, at the lowest level to which the weights had fallen? The very worn halved As from Orsi's cemetery will have been halved c. 140 BC, at the same time as the As of L.Pl.H. from Morgantina Deposit 43. The worn Syracusan bronze (Isis/headdress of Isis) found with it in Tomb V need not be put back much further than the 170s; Orsi observed that it had been holed and reused and this may have increased its appearance of wear.<sup>23</sup>

A specimen of the Catana bronze with the types of Sarapis and Isis jugate/two corn-ears (*Pl. 6, 12*) was published by E. Brizio from a votive deposit at Campo La Piano near Umbrian Nocera, which is dated c. 211-208 BC from its Roman component.<sup>24</sup> Unluckily Brizio did not stop to study the other fifty or so small Greek bronzes found with it. He did not think that they would have altered the picture significantly. But, as the excavator picked up two bronzes of Claudius II and Aurelian on the site, it is possible that there were other later intrusions in the numismatic record.<sup>25</sup> Gasparro (p. 122 f.) was surprised to find this small Catana bronze coin circulating c. 200 BC at this remote spot in northern Italy – and she was rightly surprised. Sicilian bronze coins – except for Syracuse and the Mamertini – are never found in Italian hoards of the third and second centuries and even the two exceptions are not found further north than Campania.<sup>26</sup> This strongly suggests that the Catana piece was a late, casual arrival and that it should not be used to help prove Gasparro's main thesis.

<sup>22</sup> S.L. CESANO, *RIN* 28, 1915, pp. 276-268 (= *RRCH* 133). It contained only 7 Asses, 125 semisses and 11 smaller denominations.

<sup>23</sup> It would seem reasonable to expect the same practice of halving in Italy c. 140 BC. The Fontanarosa hoard (*RRCH* 141) with 303 Asses (down to C.Ter Luc) and 36 halved Asses seems to be late first century; see CRAWFORD, *Coinage and Money* (n. 9), p. 73 f., on the wear. BUTTREY has shown that the Montoro Inferiore hoard (*RRCH* 143) must be of this date; see *NC* 1949, p. 49 f. It had 336 Asses (down to C.Ter Luc) and one halved As. For the Isis coin found with Orsi's halved As see *NSc.* 1897, p. 486 and 488.

<sup>24</sup> *NSc.* 1891, pp. 308-315; *RRCH* 553.

<sup>25</sup> *NSc.* 1891, p. 311. See p. 308 for earlier finds by farm-workers on the site of coins, pottery and statuettes, etc. Did any of this get mixed in with the excavated material?

<sup>26</sup> Gasparro surely went beyond the evidence when she wrote «Questa straordinaria scoperta, oltre a dimostrare in maniera inequivocabile la circolazione del nostro tipo già nell'ultimo decennio del III sec.a.C.» For the Cava dei Tirreni hoard (Campania) see *RRCH* 52.

What coins are left to support the early introduction of the Egyptian cult to Sicily? The Morgantina deposits are not much help. Deposit 43 even of c. 135 BC yielded only one Catana Zeus Ammon/Isis Dikaioyne (*Pl.* 7, 22) and one Syracusan Zeus/Tyche bronze. Against Gasparro I have argued that the obverse head can not be seen as Zeus/Sarapis and that Gentili found a specimen of Zeus/Tyche and not Sarapis/Isis in his Thysia 43. Though that find would fix Zeus/Tyche c. 200 BC, there is no reason – despite its close similarity – for putting Sarapis/Isis back to such an early date. It is a pity that the Zeus Ammon/Isis coin in Deposit 43 was not illustrated, so that one could assess through its wear the probable lapse of time since its issue. This could easily be as late as c. 160 BC. The same dating may hold for the Catana Sarapis and Isis jugate/Apollo bronze found with the halved As at Halaesa (*Pl.* 6, 11); the Sarapis and Isis/two corn-ears bronze from Campo La Piana is presumably its lower denomination (*Pl.* 6, 12).<sup>27</sup> Late contexts, of course, do not absolutely rule out early dating, but they are suggestive.

Gasparro indeed argues (pp. 130-137) for a late third century date for the Catana bronze with the triad Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates (*Pl.* 7, 23), despite the fact that the only Morgantina context is mid first century BC. Unfortunately, as she honestly admits, there is little good evidence for the triad in cult in the hellenistic world – apart from Egypt – in the third and second century. The Delos evidence in particular shows that until c. 150 BC Harpocrates was completely overshadowed by Anubis and only gradually came to take a bigger role alongside his parents.<sup>28</sup> I would suggest that in fact Delos provides the key to the spread of the Egyptian cults to the west. From the early second century Italian and Sicilian merchants were playing an increasingly important role in the island's life and from 146 BC – if not from twenty years earlier, when Athens took over Delos – they steadily became predominant among the foreign residents.<sup>29</sup> To this lively period belong the first *sure* echoes of the Egyptian cults in Sicily. Sicily's leading role as the intermediary for the cults between Egypt and Roman Italy is not supported by the evidence taken as a whole. Gasparro's thesis, though argued with great skill and eloquence, in my opinion will not stand.

I must now turn to the coinage of Hieron II, on which Caltabiano, Carroccio and Oteri have made truly remarkable advances. In *Siracusa ellenistica* – after a briefer treatment in *Atti* (pp. 220-272), – they show conclusively that the 'regal', family coinage of Hieron belongs entirely to his last years (c. 218-215 BC) – through meticulous study of style, die-links, control marks, metrology and connections with the coinage of Hieronymos. In the past scholars have tended to break up this block

<sup>27</sup> Gasparro also linked the two coins: see *Atti*, p. 121 f. and her *Pl.* 4, 27 and 5, 28.

<sup>28</sup> See P. ROUSELL, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Nancy 1916), pp. 276-278; ID 2050, 2054, 2056, 2146, 2055, 2058, 2121 f., 2124, 2150 and 2179. In all these texts – which date from 127/6 to c. 112/1 BC – Anubis still appears after Sarapis and Isis *before* Harpocrates. ID 2193 (128/7) even has Sarapis, Isis and Anubis *without* Harpocrates.

<sup>29</sup> See ROUSELL (n. 28), pp. 281-284; J. HATZFELD, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique* (Paris 1919), pp. 357-365; A.J.N. WILSON, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester 1966), pp. 99-119.



of coinage, assigning parts to different dates in the reign. I find specially convincing the demonstration that the iconography of Philistis is derived from the late coinage of Berenice II, who died in 222 BC (*Atti*, pp. 236-243; *Siracusa*, pp. 53-59). Only in one area I am not quite convinced. The coinage of Gelon is peculiar in that the legend ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ takes the place of the royal title as shown on his parents' coins. Yet Gelon was certainly king (SIG<sup>3</sup> 427 f.) and the diadem affirms his status. The letters BA, moreover, appear on almost all his coinage together with control marks and I would agree that, as on some Macedonian issues, they stand for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (*Atti*, p. 248 f.; *Siracusa*, pp. 80-82).<sup>30</sup> So what is the significance of the legend ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ? In the past it has been much debated. At the Seminar Caltabiano and her colleagues saw 'the Syracusans' not as the Syracusan people, but as a special group within that community – the friends and relatives forming a Council of State with the kings (*Atti*, pp. 250-252). This view met with much opposition.<sup>31</sup> In *Siracusa* (pp. 28, 39-41) it is replaced by a more acceptable alternative. The Syracusan people is regarded as the suppliers of the metal for Gelon's coinage and Gelon as the proprietor and authority. I am not quite happy even with this. I would rather agree with those who hold that the legend underlines the special relationship between Gelon and the people, which is reflected in the sources. He seems almost to have stood for a more democratic view of the monarchy.<sup>32</sup>

I now come to the problems of Hieron's coinage as a whole. The arrangement of his first period, with coinage in all three metals, seems sound (*Atti*, pp. 200-209). It can be tabulated thus:

275-269	AV	Kore / biga ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ	4.30 g
	AE	Kore ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ / bull IE	5.66 g
269-263?	AV	Kore / biga ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ	4.30 g
	AR	Athena / pegasos ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ	5.66 g
	AE	Kore / pegasos ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ	11.34 g
	AE	Artemis / pegasos ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ	2.83 g

The dates would have to be modified slightly, if it should prove that Hieron's proclamation as king should be dated 265 BC, after his victory at the River Longanus, rather than in 269 BC.<sup>33</sup> In any event the bronzes with Kore/Bull and IE surely belong to Hieron's period as *strategos autokrator*, though they certainly cir-

<sup>30</sup> For the Macedonian bronzes (from Alexander to Demetrios II) see *Atti*, p. 249, n. 242. P.R. FRANKE, JNG 7, 1958, p. 75 f., treated BA as a control mark; R. ROSS HOLLOWAY, RBN 108, 1962, p. 18 n.44, interpreted it as meaning 'royal silver'. Neither view seems tenable now.

<sup>31</sup> See *Atti*, p. 319 f. (G. DE SENSI SESTITI) and pp. 326-328 (A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOLOMBARDO).

<sup>32</sup> For Gelon and the *demos* see G. DE SENSI SESTITO, *Atti*, pp. 47-49.

<sup>33</sup> For judicious summings-up between 269 and 265 BC see *Atti*, pp. 198 with n. 14; G. DE SENSI SESTITO, Gerone II (Palermo 1977), pp. 225-232; F.W. WALBANK, Commentary on Polybios II (Oxford 1967), p. 42 (on Pol. 7, 8.4) and I (Oxford 1957), p. 54 f. All incline to 269 BC.

culated vigorously with Hieron's bronze coinage as king until late in the reign (*Pl.* 7, 24). They represent the half of the Kore/pegasos unit and match in weight the Athena/pegasos silver. In Hieron's second coinage period they have no such easy relationship with the two denominations that circulated beside them.<sup>34</sup>

In this second period only bronze in fact was struck. The new denominations had Hieron's laureate portrait and a horseman reverse, and a diademed Poseidon with trident reverse, first on a wide flan and with the legend broken IEP-ΩNOΣ. In due course a diademed portrait replaced the laureate and Poseidon/trident was struck on a narrow flan with the break IEPΩ – NOΣ. Scholars have long disagreed on the dating of these two phases. Caltabiano and colleagues, while holding a watching brief for soon after 240, incline to put the change to diademed portrait only a little time before the diademed 'regal' silver (late 220s?). They put the start of the laureate series c. 260 BC.<sup>35</sup> The earliest good evidence for the laureate portrait and the wide-flan Poseidons is the Polizzi Generosa hoard, which contained eight and thirty four specimens respectively. Its date is clearly crucial. Crawford thought that it was probably buried during the First Punic War,<sup>36</sup> but this is clearly too early. The Mamertine coinage was well represented, with specimens of Särström's Series I, II, VII and VIII. Särström dated her Series I-IV c. 285-278 and VII and VIII c. 278-270. She put IX and X in the wide period c. 270-220.<sup>37</sup> I have shown elsewhere that Särström's dates for Series II-IV are too high. The rare Minerva/eagle ROMANO bronze is closely parallel in style, typology and combination of symbols and control marks to Series II and IV, as Crawford argued. It was struck c. 254 BC, possibly at Messina, and its eagle with reverted head depends on Ptolemaic bronze issued from c. 260 BC.<sup>38</sup> The hoards confirm that Särström's Series XI-XVI belong in the Hannibalic War. Series IX and X would fit in the 220s and VII and VIII – with the Polizzi hoard – in the previous decade.<sup>39</sup>

When were the laureate horsemen and the wide-flan Poseidons replaced? We have to turn to Morgantina yet again. The House of Ganymede and the House of the Official were originally dated c. 260-250 BC. Both have mosaics of strikingly

<sup>34</sup> R. ROSS HOLLOWAY, in: *Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson*, eds. O. MØRKHOLM and N. WAGGONER (Wetteren 1979), p. 90 f., argues that, since they were found at Gela (destroyed in 282) the IE bronzes can not belong to Hieron, and in MS II they are dated 'shortly after 310' to 'late 290s': see p. 99 f., no. 324 with note on p. 144. But *Atti*, p. 203 f. rightly reject this. D. AMASTEANU, *N.Sc.* 1960, pp. 108-115, reported post-282 coins from the site, including 10 Poseidon/trident and a Panormos first-century bronze! See also *AIIN* 5/6, 1958/59, p. 305 (a Mamertine pentonkion from Gela, type Särström XV).

<sup>35</sup> *Atti*, pp. 209-211 and 217 f.; *Siracusa*, p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> See S. TUSA CUTRONI, *AIIN* 7/8, 1960/61, pp. 78-90; CRAWFORD, *Coinage and Money* (n. 9), p. 197 f.

<sup>37</sup> See SÄRSTRÖM (n. 14), p. 47 with 68 (I-IV), p. 80 and 82 (VII-VIII) and p. 82 and 86 (IX-X).

<sup>38</sup> See Ermanno A. Arslan *Studia Dicata II*, eds. R. MARTINI and N. VISMARA (Milan 1991), p. 263 f.; *RRC*, p. 40. A.M. BURNETT, *NC* 1986, p. 69 and *AIIN* 36, 1989, p. 37 (struck c. 250 BC at Panormos?).

<sup>39</sup> A specimen of Series IX A was found at Selinus in a stratum considerably later than 250 BC: see *AIIN* 5/6, 1957/58, p. 314.



advanced technique and the scholarly consensus now is that they must be considerably later than the mid-century. Those in the House of Ganymede at least form the original decor of the house.<sup>40</sup> The foundations of this house yielded an Agathoclean Artemis/thunderbolt bronze and a diademed Hieron horseman. The period of use of the house's cistern produced a Campanian Apollo/bull bronze, an Apollo/horseman of Hieron and three halved wide-flan Poseidons.<sup>41</sup> The building fill in the official's house comprised a Campanian Apollo/bull, an Agathoclean Kore/bull, two Kore/bull IE, a laureate horseman, a wide-flan Poseidon and a Punic bronze (Tanit/horse before palm).<sup>42</sup> The two houses were plainly being built when the diademed portrait was just coming in, probably, in view of the mosaics, c. 225 BC. I suspect that they were roughly contemporary with the House of the Arched Cistern, which, on good ceramic and numismatic grounds, the excavators dated c. 235-225 BC.<sup>43</sup> It is tempting to opt for 227 as the moment when the diademed portrait was introduced. In that year Rome began sending an annual governor to west Sicily and this could have made Hieron emphasise his regal status and the prestige of his kingdom. Display of the diadem would put him on a level with Ptolemy III and Seleukos III. In this very year he rivalled them in generosity to Rhodes after the earthquake. Significantly his son Gelon was involved in this action. The dynasty was clearly being paraded in a new way.<sup>44</sup>

When was the laureate portrait of Hieron introduced? Any date very near 260 BC would seem ruled out by the fact that the laureate variety is so much rarer at Morgantina than the diademed – only 25 to 252 specimens. It can hardly have been in issue for any long time before 227 BC. The Athenian poet Archimelos praised Hieron extravagantly when he presented Ptolemy III with the vast ship *Syrakosai* laden with grain and other supplies. This may have been in 239/8 BC, when we know that there was a severe grain shortage in Egypt. The poem ends with an invocation to Poseidon to keep the ship and its precious cargo safe on its journey. Might this be linked with a fairly recent introduction of Poseidon to Hieron's coinage?<sup>45</sup> A wide-flan Poseidon bronze was overstruck by a late Neapolitan Apollo/bull and Nike bronze of Taliercio's Phase IIIa. This was virtually all included in the great

<sup>40</sup> See AJA 64, 1960, p. 132 and AJA 63, 1959, p. 167 f. with AJA 67, 1963, p. 166-168. For the mosaics see B. TSAKIRGIS, *The Decorated Pavements of Morgantina I: the mosaics*, AJA 93, 1989, p. 397-400; D. SALZMANN, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken* (Berlin 1982), pp. 59-77, 80; D. VON BOESELAGER, *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (Rome 1983), pp. 26-30; E. CHIARA PORTALE, *Atti*, pp. 158-160 with n. 11 (late, but before 211).

<sup>41</sup> MS II, Deposit 37, p. 169 f.

<sup>42</sup> MS II, Deposit 21, p. 160 f.

<sup>43</sup> See R. STILLWELL, *Excavations at Morgantina* (Serra Orlando) 1962, AJA 66, 1962, pp. 138-140 and AJA 67, 1963, p. 168 f.; MS II, Deposit 22, p. 161. The latest coins in the fill are two wide-flan Poseidons.

<sup>44</sup> The first Roman governor was C. Flaminius (BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 229). On Rhodes and the kings see Pol. 5,88. 5-8 with WALBANK (n. 33) I, pp. 616-622.

<sup>45</sup> See Athenaios 5, 206d-209e; A.W. PERSON, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 1, 1935, p. 145. For the shortage in Egypt see OGIS 56.13-19 (decree of Canopus) and DE SENSI SESTITO, *Atti*, p. 51 and 185.

Pietrabbondante hoard which Crawford and Burnett would date c. 255-250 BC.<sup>46</sup> This is perhaps a little too early. The 'Italy' hoard, which L. Sambon published in 1870, added to Pietrabbondante some of the abundant Cales issues with a lyre over the bull instead of Nike. On the Roman side it added the Mars/horsehead and Apollo/horse ROMA litrae (Cr. 25/3 and 26/3); Crawford dated the Apollo litra 234-231.<sup>47</sup> If Sambon's hoard was buried c. 230 BC, then Pietrabbondante should probably come down to about a decade earlier. The overstrike on the wide-flan Poseidon could be as late as c. 240. The laureate horseman could have been introduced c. 242, when the end of the first Punic war was in sight. Hieron was now firmly in control and assured of the future. He was included in the Rome-Carthage treaty and was specifically protected in its terms. This was surely the time to advertise his royal rule with a portrait of somewhat unusual type, lacking the usual diadem.<sup>48</sup> Gelon was not included in the peace treaty, but he must have been ready for introduction into public life. Indeed in 242 BC he and his sister Damarete seem to have represented their father in dealing with the envoys from Kos, who announced the declaration of *asylia* and the new ceremonies for Asklepios. They apologised for their father's inability to participate fully at first because of pressing business.<sup>49</sup>

Some time between 242 and 227 BC the practise of halving Poseidon/trident bronzes was initiated. Many more wide-flan than narrow-flan coins were halved, though the latter outnumber the others at Morgantina by a ratio of two to one.<sup>50</sup> Halved wide-flan Poseidons were found in the last level of the demolished North Wing shops in the Agora, with laureate horsemen only and no small-flan coins at all. The excavators dated the demolition c. 250 BC, but since three halved wide-flan Poseidons were found in the period of use of the cistern in the House of Ganymede and a laureate horseman and a wide-flan Poseidon in the building fill

<sup>46</sup> See Numismatic Studies in memory of Martin Price, eds. R. ASHTON and S. HURTER (London 1998), pp. 57-59. They rightly counter the attempt by A. GRECO PONTRANDOLFO (AIIN 27/28, 1980/81, pp. 63-81) to date the early Paestano bronzes and a specimen of Taliercio IIIa (Series 18) from the Santa Venere tomb near Paestum to c. 300 BC. For the Pietrabbondante hoard see NSc. 1900, pp. 645-656; RRCH p. 24; M. TALIERCIO, Atti Suppl. 7 (Rome 1980), pp. 242-245 and 308-324. Only Taliercio's Series 56 is missing from the hoard. The numerous overstrikes are limited to Series 45-47.

<sup>47</sup> L. SAMBON, Recherches sur les monnaies de la presqu'île italique (Naples 1870), p. 32 f.; RRCH p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> See Pol. 1, 62.7-9 with WALBANK (n. 33) I, p. 106 f. For laurel wreath and diadem see PRESTIANNI GIALLOLOMBARDO, Atti, p. 501-506.

<sup>49</sup> SEG XII, 370; for the date see 373.19 with M.H. CHAMBERS, Am. Journ. Phil. 75, 1954, pp. 385-394. No name is preserved in 370, but a decree of the Geloans at Phintias was inscribed on its back and «I and my sister» (line 20) recalls the statue of Hieron at Olympia, dedicated by his children (Paus. 6, 12.4 and 15.6).

<sup>50</sup> See M. BELL, Excavations at Morgantina, 1980-1985, AJA 92, 1988, pp. 327-331 and 338-342 with Atti, p. 291. Ross Holloway was still defending his 214-211 dating of the halving in 1988 (AJA 92, p. 342).

of the house of the Official, we may doubt this date and consider one near c. 230 BC more likely.<sup>51</sup>

The Poseidon bronzes were presumably halved to produce a missing or inadequately produced half-piece. The authorities seem to have made some effort to meet the public's need. There are after all the light Kore/bull IE (*Pl.* 7, 25-26) and the Apollo/horse IEPΩNOΣ bronzes, weighing c. 4 g and so the half the Poseidon/trident. The former are surely products of the Syracusan mint. The earliest context is in Morgantina Deposit 18, with one Syracusan Zeus/eagle (287-278) and one wide-flan Poseidon.<sup>52</sup> I suggest that this bronze represents a fairly short-lived attempt to provide a half-piece to the Poseidon. When it was given up or allowed to trail away, halving would have begun vigorously in reply. The Apollo/horse would have been the government's answer. The two earliest appearances are in Deposits 16 and 37, where it was accompanied by wide-flan Poseidons. Like the light Kore issue it is not very common at Morgantina and may also have failed to meet the problem. Halving will have continued, now on narrow-flan Poseidons as well.<sup>53</sup> Apollo/horse has just one control mark (ΛΥ) which is shared with both wide and narrow-flan Poseidons.<sup>54</sup>

In conclusion I would stress the value of the Seminar *Atti* to anyone wanting to study the role of Sicily in the third century between the major powers Carthage, Egypt and Rome. If I have not dealt fully with all the contributions it was because it seemed more useful in such a Review Article to concentrate on some basic issues. The importance of Hieron's coinage within the overarching theme is emphasised in the subtitle of the *Atti*. Our understanding of that coinage has been immeasurably advanced. If Maria Caltabiano and her colleagues have not answered *all* the questions, they have provided a mass of evidence and detailed discussion, on which we may build with confidence. That is a very remarkable achievement.

<sup>51</sup> M. BELL, *Atti*, p. 291 f., would date the halving c. 250 BC. The finding of halved Poseidons at Monte Adranone, however, supposedly abandoned after 250, is not decisive. Later coins have been found on the site: see E. DE MIRO and G. FIORENTINI, *Kokalos* 22/3, 1976/77, pp. 453-455 with Pl. XLIX, Fig. 2 a-b (a Roman denarius of c. 211/208, Crawford!). There were also very many Punic coins (not all pre-250?) and a specimen of Hieron II horseman (which type?). Also the two quadrigati noted in n. 1.

<sup>52</sup> MS II, 9. 15. Another specimen was found in Deposit 55 (p. 186 f.) with a Kore/bull of the heavy series with club and IE. In the note to nos. 325 and 326 on p. 144 the editors argue that these coins are local Sicilian imitations; they are effectively answered, I think in *Atti*, p. 219 f.

<sup>53</sup> MS II, p. 159 and 169.

<sup>54</sup> See *Atti*, p. 218, where a date even in the third period of Hieron's coinage (c. 218-215 BC) is considered. Perhaps this is rather too late in view of the evidence of halving.

The article by Mina Casabona on 'Le monete di Catana ellenistica fra Roma e le influenze orientali',<sup>55</sup> reached me only after I had submitted mine to the editors.

I can only append some brief observations. She actually divides this bronze coinage by style and other criteria into three periods. The first (from 216/215 to 206 BC) includes the Sarapis and Isis jugate issue and Apollo/Isis?; the second (205/200 to 187?) includes Zeus Ammon/Isis Dikaiosyne and Sarapis/Isis with Harpocrates (*Pl.* 7, 22–23); the third (c. 187–170/150) has no Isis references. The final issue river god/owl and pilei (her no. 19 was found in Deposit 43 of c. 135 BC at Morgantina);<sup>56</sup> as it is a little worn, her end date may be approximately right.

But, though she cites (p. 22 n. 32) the main Morgantina contexts for Apollo/Isis? (her nos. 7–9), she fails to note – unlike Gasparro<sup>57</sup> – that Deposit 60, with two specimens of the Apollo issue, is dated 211 BC. This alone might suggest that her order is wrong: the Sarapis/Isis jugate group (her nos. 1–2) should change places with Apollo/Isis?. And there are other grounds for preferring this order. But the 211 dating for Apollo/Isis? is far from certain. In 1965, Ted Buttrey wrote that of over 1000 Catanae with Apollo and Aetna with Persephone bronzes at Morgantina «not one was found in the sealed deposits [of 211] discussed above: in the eight instances of unsealed strata, some of which may indeed be early second-century rather than late third... six of the eight contain none of these Catania and Aetna pieces, one contains two, one contains one».<sup>58</sup> We read further «A *terminus post quem* for these extremely common issues is provided by their absence from the deposits sealed in the destruction of 211 B.C.».<sup>59</sup>

Deposit 60 was excavated in 1958 and 1963 – the House of the Official – and its 16 coins included the two Catana Apollos and a Roman post-semilibral uncia with corn-ear (Cr. 42/4); it was buried under fallen roof-tiles. In 1963 we read «This great house was destroyed at some time in its history by a fire... A destruction date in 211 BC.... would be probable... It appears that the house lay in ruins for several years and its reconstruction may be fixed by the coins at some time in the second half of the second century».<sup>60</sup> The coins (MS II, p. 38) included two of the first *Hispanorum* issues, two Catana Apollo/Isis?, a coin of Aetna and a post-semilibral uncia (Cr. 42/4). Fires were not uncommon in ancient cities and a much shorter gap than 60 years could be allowed between destruction and rebuilding of the House of the Official. The overwhelming mass of Morgantina evidence supports a date after 200 for Apollo (Isis?). I would put the fire in the first three decades of the second century. The editors of MS II seem quite to have forgotten Deposit 60 in their text – rightly, I submit.

<sup>55</sup> RIN XCX, 1999, pp. 12–42.

<sup>56</sup> MS II, p. 172.

<sup>57</sup> Atti, p. 137 n. 251.

<sup>58</sup> MS II, p. 218.

<sup>59</sup> MS II, p. 141 (n. on nos. 140–142).

<sup>60</sup> AJA 67, 1963, p. 168.

### *Zusammenfassung*

Dieser Artikel befasst sich hauptsächlich mit der numismatischen Evidenz für das Auftreten ägyptischer Kulte in Sizilien und wirft grundsätzliche methodologische Fragen auf. Er gibt auch einen Überblick über die reiche Münzprägung Hierons II., wobei ein neuer Anlass für das Porträt mit Lorbeerkranz und sein Übergang zum Porträt mit Diadem vorgeschlagen wird. Zudem wird die Frage von Hierons halbierten Bronzemünzen einer neuen Betrachtung unterworfen, die neue historische Schlüsse zulässt.

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