

Herakles on the Edge: how do objects depicting the figure of Herakles inform our understanding of artistic choices and identity during the expansion of the Roman Empire?



**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

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2018

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This research interrogates the dynamics and discrepant experiences of Sicilian communities in the centuries before and after its conquest by Rome, by contextualising the choices made in representing the frequently occurring image of Herakles. Investigation of the object biographies of these representations in Chapter 3 reveals the influence of groups and institutions within communities which are overlooked by modern processes of cataloguing, collecting and connoisseurship analysed in Chapters 1 and 2. Focus here on one theme of representation, one object and one site through case studies problematises the assumptions made by these processes about the relative importance of global and local trends.

In Chapter 4, interrogation of objects bearing theatrical representations of Herakles demonstrates the importance of festivals involving dramatic performances in eastern and southern Sicily; challenging assumptions about the use of such objects as evidence of a developmental progression of theatre 'Between Greece and Rome'. It questions the value of aesthetic judgment of uncontextualized, idealised renderings of selected images. Chapter 5 establishes the importance of considering the entire object, discussing clay sealing strips from Selinunte bearing the seal impression of Herakles, used by individuals and civic authority operating within the Carthaginian eparchy; and highlights the limitations of cataloguing systems based on mythological types. The site of Morgantina reveals in Chapter 6 the changing dynamics of the groups, institutions, and global trends influencing a community which came under different powers between 370-170 BC.

Close study of contextualised biographies of objects bearing Herakles' image, through comparison of the three case studies, reveals the potential for greater understanding of cultural change in light of the dynamics underlying the artistic choices and identities of individuals. These dynamics, crucial to modern understanding of the realities of ancient power, can be profoundly affected by decisions made in the post-depositional cataloguing, publication, and display of objects.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take the opportunity to acknowledge the financial support of several groups without whose help this thesis would have been much the poorer. AHRC awarded me a grant to support the funding of my MA in Archaeology of the Roman World, which led directly to this research. During my PhD research the School of Archaeology & Ancient History and the College of Social Sciences, Arts & Humanities supported research trips to the ICS Library in London and my attendance at conferences in Edinburgh and Amsterdam, from which I gained valuable feedback. The Worshipful Company of Arts Scholars provided me not only with their Research Prize but also the wonderful mentoring support of Graham Barker.

All the staff in the School of Archaeology & Ancient History at the University of Leicester have been unfailingly generous with their time and wisdom, even when the former is in short supply. I am particularly grateful for the advice of Sarah Colley, Simon James, Jan Haywood, Dave Edwards and Neil Christie. Enormous thanks are also owed to my postgraduate cohort, especially Chantal Biemann, Antonino Crisà, Giacomo Savani, Eleonora Zampieri, Damjan Krsmanovic, Sarah Scheffler, Rachel Wilkinson, Rachael Sycamore, Rubén Montoya and Phil Hughes.

Several scholars have helped with information and advice and I am grateful to Professor James Diggle, Dr Dirk Booms and Dr Peter Higgs at the British Museum, Dr Rosanna De Simone, Dr George Kakavas from the Athens Numismatic Museum, and Professor Malcolm Bell and Professor Shelley Stone from the Morgantina project. Edward Johnson at the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre and Culture & Sport Glasgow (Glasgow Museums) have kindly allowed me to include material from the Stevenson Collection in this thesis. Many thanks must go to Branko van Oppen and the Sealings group who gathered at the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam for their helpful responses to my paper, especially Professor Sharon Herbert. The Institute of Classical Studies Library is a fantastic resource, where Dr Olga Krzyszkowska kindly advised on access to otherwise inaccessible images of Syracusan figurines, and the librarians, notably Christopher Ashill and Sue Willetts, are unfailing in their help.

Marian Maguire's images of Herakles as a colonist in a new world that was already home to a different community encapsulate the ideas I have tried to convey here. She has generously allowed me to reproduce "Herakles attempts gentility" as the frontispiece to

this work. I would encourage interested readers to investigate the rest of the series at www.marianmaguire.com

Finally, I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Sarah Scott and Graham Shipley, who have been unstinting in their support and patience, as well as inspiring in sharing their expertise and insights into the ancient world. Diana Hainsworth Fraser, with her eagle eyes, is definitely not responsible for any errors in this thesis. It would have been impossible to start, never mind complete, this project without the love of my parents and my husband, to whom this is dedicated.

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Chapter 1: Orientation

1.1 Justification of Choice of Subject and Approach

“Here he comes, the Hero of the World, wearing a lion-skin and swinging his olive club...this man of double nature, the god in him folded back in human flesh.”

(Winterson, 2005: 29-30)

The popularity of Herakles as a figure in ancient art leaves him at the mercy of traditional academic interpretations and models. His appearances are typically catalogued in a manner that leads to the juxtaposition of objects which could never have appeared together in antiquity. He is listed first by medium - which gives objects an implicit ranking according to their perceived value - and second by the representation of the myths about him as understood by the modern scholar, an understanding based upon a literary, canonical version. Such methods of cataloguing reinforce monolithic, colonial ideas of cultural change.

Provincial representations of Herakles tend to be compared unfavourably with classical ones, especially those produced by ‘big name’ artists; these are considered to represent the choices of a centre that is implicitly male, urban, well-educated and influential. At best, they are seen as evidence for immigrant Greek or Italian craftsmen reproducing a universally accepted aesthetic canon, or as evidence of religious syncretism. Without considering the artistic choices made in provincial art and the full biography of the object, we are led to assume that only one experience of ancient art was possible in every community in every region of every province.

Price (1984: i) suggests in his discussion of Augustus that people used religion as a means of understanding the realities of power about them at the time, while Alcock observes the importance of ritual in orientating individuals within their immediate physical and cultural environment (1997: 174). I contend that by examining the ways in which Herakles, is portrayed and the objects on which he is depicted, we may gain an insight into how individuals understood power and local identity in the ancient world, since Herakles was an aspirational figure of power to whom cult and ritual were offered.

Although scholarship on the Hellenistic period has often emphasised the importance of regions, the focus tends to remain on the central élites clustered in the capitals of Alexander the Great's Successors or on regional centres, for instance Syracuse in Sicily or Taranto in southern Italy. Images of the apotheosised mortal known variously as Herakles, Melqart, Hercle and Hercules, however, are found on objects used by every level of society across the Mediterranean world, including Sicily, the setting for a series of stories about his activities by the local author Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BC. The popularity of this aspirational figure of power, on the edge of humanity and divinity, suggests that consideration of his image will provide insights into the perceptions of power by individuals in different communities. Consideration of the objects on which these images appear, meanwhile, will offer a more nuanced reading of identity and power in those communities (see p. 14 below for further discussion).

The focus of art-historical scholarship in the Hellenistic period is on the capitals of Alexander's successors, moving away from the classical centre of Greece. Power and patronage are perceived as having shifted. Does that mean that the beating heart of creativity which produced classical art stopped in Greece at the same moment as Alexander's? While the Successors' kingdoms lay in the eastern Mediterranean, we know with hindsight that the power which would eventually come to rival Alexander's came from the west: Rome (on the problems of the west-east split in Hellenistic scholarship, see Prag & Quinn, 2013: 2). This research takes as its focus communities on Sicily, whose art traditionally has been considered 'Greek', and who first encountered Roman troops in 265/4 - becoming the first Roman province in 241 BC - yet for centuries there had been considerable Carthaginian presence and influence on the island (see 2.1.2 for further discussion, Wilson, 2013: 79). Carthage itself is frequently represented as the 'other' to Rome, before its destruction in 146. On Sicily, Herakles is depicted on objects from communities associated with all three of these areas, but even this brief contextual sketch suggests that his representation can be expected to have varied considerably. This research therefore considers objects from the centuries on the edge of Rome's first military actions on the island, the years 370-170 BC, as Sicilian communities encountered the new power represented by Roman forces, to investigate how the arrival of this new power affected the artistic choices and identity of individuals within those communities (see 2.3.1 for further discussion). All dates henceforth are BC unless stated.

This research seeks to return objects depicting Herakles to their original contexts, in order to investigate the artistic choices made by individuals in the provinces as the political situation around them changed. By considering objects from Sicily in the period of its initial contact with Rome, I aim to demonstrate more fully the dynamics and practicalities of artistic choices for artists, commissioners and consumers away from the classical centre, as traditionally conceived, and to reveal whether provincial communities remained ‘on the edge’ artistically as they became integrated into Rome’s expanding empire.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This research therefore investigates how individuals choose to represent their ideal human figure to themselves and others in a time of social and political change. The focus of the investigation is on objects on which the divine hero Herakles is represented, and which were found in the province of Sicily before and after a Roman army first arrived in the province in 265/4, within the limitations of scholars’ ability to date objects reliably. The relevant dates are thus 370-170 BC. Supplementary questions are:

- how Herakles was represented and on what objects at the edge - both in time and space - of the Roman Empire.
- why different forms of objects were selected in different regions as appropriate carriers of Herakles imagery.
- whether communities remained ‘on the edge’ in terms of artistic choices as the power and influence of an external group developed and became established.
- the potential and limitations of data and existing scholarship on representations of Herakles from Sicily.

1.3 Research context

1.3.1 Recognition of Herakles and his equivalents on objects

Stafford has demonstrated the multiplicity of myths and references to Herakles, both in classical mythology and that of neighbouring regions such as Etruria and the Near East (2012: 13), emphasising that it is impossible to identify one canonical representation of him in either text or image. Two themes, however, do recur as identifiers in modern scholarship, the club and/ or lionskin first mentioned by Peisandros of Rhodes c. 600 BC (ibid. 4) and the muscular physique associated with the physical nature of his exploits (ibid. 13). The lionskin is a reference to what is now known as Herakles' first labour, in which he strangled the Nemean Lion whose skin was impenetrable by weapons; thereafter he wore the lion's skin as a version of armour. Even a cursory look at published examples reveals figures identified as Herakles wielding a bow (e.g. P22 in this research), as a variation on the club. Identification of Herakles' Phoenician equivalent, Melqart, is even more difficult (Quinn, 2018: 124), with the very few demonstrable iconographical examples on objects depicting individual choices ranging in their representations on objects from hatchet razors to scarab seal-stones, until his appearance with a club on coin issues representing the choices of the Barcid family issued in Spain (Miles, 2010: 251) as a 'multi-valent' image that united different ethnic groups within Hannibal's army.

In this research I have included any representations from Sicily of a powerful male figure, bearing either a club or a lion-skin or Herakles' name, as well as any examples published as Herakles or Melqart by modern scholars. See 2.1.1 for explanation of the categorisation of representations used in this research.

1.3.2 How has the representation of Herakles been treated in scholarship?

The most recent major treatment of Herakles in scholarship (Stafford, 2012) emphasises the enormous variety of ways the figure was represented in both literature and as an image. It should therefore come as no surprise that scholarly approaches are equally varied, although they may be broadly grouped by the methodological treatment employed. Evidence of Herakles may be catalogued, the relationship between his appearance in texts and images compared, or a combination of sources used to address wider questions about ancient society.

As a divine hero of mythology, Herakles appears in the catalogues of mythological figures compiled in the eighteenth century by scholars such as Tassie and Lippert (Plantzos, 1999: 3), composed to illustrate collections of ancient objects. The focus of these catalogues was to improve the aesthetic taste of the public (see Chapter 5). Images were described and grouped by elements of their representation, which was explained by reference to literary sources. The huge range of depictions of him both in literature and in material culture has led to a tendency to combine the two strands of evidence, with images from material culture being used to illustrate the different myth cycles (Vollkommer 1988; Brommer 1986), based on the great compendium of examples in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1988, 1990: hereafter *LIMC*). Differing literary or representative examples may be noted, but are viewed as a variant from the norm, unless the number of examples is particularly high; and the focus is on the archaic and classical periods, with only some Hellenistic examples considered too important to omit (Vollkommer 1988; Stafford 2012). Discussion of Herakles in material culture in the Greek world may therefore be seen as representative of traditional art-historical scholarship: élite-centred, focused on Athens and panhellenic sanctuaries in ‘Old Greece’, and conceiving of a general stylistic development that reaches its peak with the sculpture of Lysippos, after which it descends into regionalism, rococo or baroque flamboyance, or archaising imitation (Loeffler, 1954: 24; cf Burn, 2004: 17). The context of the object on which the representation occurs, or the biography of that object, is rarely considered, unless it contributes to the iconographic explanation.

Conferences and publications on Herakles overseen by Jourdain-Annequin and Bonnet (1986, 1996) seek to employ evidence from text and images to address how Herakles stands as a symbol for social and cultural development across the ancient Mediterranean. Fundamental to this argument is the idea that Herakles was associated by ancient peoples

with the figures of Melqart and Hercle, indeed Jourdain-Annequin argues that Herakles' role in popular thought was enhanced by his association with Melqart (1989: 52). The hero who battled monsters and death, helping people to understand different events in their lives, became a civilising hero associated with the rule of law and colonising processes (1989: 651). This idea has been developed specifically by Malkin (2011) to consider how Sicilian communities might have been integrated during the process of colonisation; he makes Herakles the middle ground around which colonisers and colonised could come together, while Cusumano (1996) uses stories of Herakles' encounters with women as evidence for acculturation. Miles has shown how both literary sources and the civic choices on coin issues demonstrate the use of Herakles by controlling authorities as a symbol of power, one that would resonate with different communities (2010: 171). Examples from southern Italy, Rome, Carthage, as well as Sicily, all depict Herakles in differing ways. Most recently, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn (both 2018) have proposed that a 'network of Melqart' developed between temples to this deity in the western Mediterranean at colonies linked to the city of Tyre. The next step in this approach combining literary and material evidence is therefore to consider to what extent individuals at all levels of society within these communities chose to accept, adapt, or reject these conceptions of Herakles.

Although text and image are both cited as important sources of information by all these authors, more emphasis is placed on literary evidence, notably Hesiod and Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus' work, written under Julius Caesar and the emperor Augustus, places emphasis on how a peaceful civilisation under the rule of law might be achieved (I.2.1). The political context of Diodorus' writing, under two deified *imperatores* who made use of the legal system and of colonies of settlers to bring about Roman control across the ancient Mediterranean, therefore underpins one of the key texts used by this branch of scholarship on Herakles' representation. We should query the extent to which the qualities of the Caesars are being transferred to Herakles and consequently how accurate is this impression of Herakles' role in the eyes of Sicilians from 370-170.

1.3.3 How have communities been identified from their objects?

The ways in which communities of the ancient Mediterranean have been imagined in modern scholarship have varied considerably, often depending on the extent to which texts or objects have been drawn upon as evidence. Post-colonial theories, drawing on material culture, as well as texts written by a central élite, are by now well-rehearsed (see Webster, 1996, 2001) for understanding how communities interacted internally and with external groups. The work of MacSweeney (2011) and Gardiner (2013) has demonstrated how material culture can inform our understanding of the dynamics within and between communities, and the groups and institutions these contain. This research is concerned with the way individuals within communities conceive of their own position within the changing world represented by Sicily in the centuries before, during, and after the Roman takeover. As discussed in 2.1 below, Sicily was already home to diverse communities before Roman troops arrived on the island. Colonialist, unidirectional theories which understand a one-way process of influence in society and the objects it produces are therefore redundant. More nuanced theories, which allow greater agency on the part of a range of individuals have been proposed, such as creolisation (Webster, 2001), homogenisation (Vallat, 2001: 103) and globalisation (Hodos: 2010). To those with teaching experience in particular, discrepant experience (Mattingly, 2004) represents an intuitive appreciation of how individuals encounter a community culture. The value of applying this theory to the military community has been recently demonstrated by Walas (2016).

In a class or year group, no two pupils will experience a school in the same way, even if there may be physical evidence that appears identical, or opinions expressed which demonstrate similar attitudes. Schools may expect pupils to wear identical uniforms and use the same equipment; they may encourage the same ethos through rules about behaviour, expectations of achievement, and relationship with the local community, but other factors must be taken into account when explaining why pupil A and pupil B emerge with different personalities, records of achievement and attitudes to the school. Many of these factors are intangible and would not show up in an archaeological record, should anyone wish to excavate education, but physical evidence would remain of some of the different groups within a school which affect a pupil's day-to-day experience of what can be termed their controlling power. These include teaching materials across the curriculum, but also the displays created about or by pupils which draw attention to what is valued and celebrated, and the equipment for different activities which brings pupils together outside

the existing groups of friendship, neighbourhood, faith or administration (Gardner, 2013: 14), for example creative arts, charity events or sport. As Mattingly's treatment of military, civic, and rural communities in Britain has demonstrated, interrogation of material culture can indicate the discrepant experiences and identities of individuals within one geographical or administrative area. In this research I argue that selected material evidence can identify the equivalent groups or institutions of daily life in ancient Sicily which informed the artistic choices of its inhabitants, a factor overlooked in current scholarship as an influential force. Below I explain how this material has been selected.

Iconography - the symbols added to objects - offers evidence for the groups identified above, as well as more personal preferences. Let us examine the person and possessions of a school pupil to see what symbols they bear, remembering that many of these may be intended as subversive, an intention often overlooked, but whose importance to identity was identified by Webster (1997: 177). A uniform bears a symbol of the school, tying the pupil to that institution, but may also indicate groups within it by insignia of a house system, or association with sporting or musical groups. The pupil may also wear, whether permitted or not, jewellery indicating wealth, fashionsense, or religious or cultural symbols, including wristbands indicating charities, music festivals or friendship groups; all may demonstrate their distinctiveness as a group within the wider community (Mattingly, 2006: 520). A pupil's equipment is also indicative, most especially now their mobile devices, but in practice anything that can be personalised. The images that effect this personalisation are particularly comparable to those in this research, since they represent the personal choices of the individual; this choice may be created by the individual, copied from an existing idea – indeed often copied *because* it is an existing idea – or some combination of those two methods, but its value is what it tells us of the individual's associations. These may be groups of family, friends, sporting allegiance, music, literature, film or artistic preference. We may, of course, misinterpret the image and its associations. The objects themselves inform us of what is available to that pupil at a certain time and their form, material, and method of construction all indicate the presence of wider-reaching institutions and networks that are equally informative of contemporary society (Joy, 2010: 14; Denoyelle & Iozzo, 2009: 31).

By tracing an individual pupil's path through their experience of their controlling power, school, we can therefore identify factors which inform their artistic choices and identity, expressed through what they wear and carry, within the wider context of the school. Thus,

we should consider the value of tracing the life of an object in its original context to establish how ancient communities have been imagined from their objects.

By focusing on simply the images it bears, traditional views of ancient art reduce the whole object to a modern definition of use, values, aesthetics and therefore identity, without considering either that any of these views might have changed during the object's biography (ancient and modern), or even that the object exists to be anything other than a thing to be looked at. Recent research by Sweetman and Hadfield has demonstrated that this view can be reinforced by displaying an object within a case in a museum¹. This approach also disregards the fact that objects themselves have agency (Gosden, 2005: 193), and multiple uses; it therefore takes away the opportunity to study questions of identity and the details of the lives of craftsmen in antiquity (Scott, 2003: 4) which object biography provides.

Identifying Communities through Object Biography

Existing scholarly concentration on ancient art produced for élites to use in élite contexts, as described above, thus gives a very narrow view of the artistic choices available to individuals in the ancient world. This limits the resulting insights into whether those societies remained 'on the edge' of empire with regard to these choices and identity. To give one example, Herring (2007: 16) argues that in southern Italy this élite-centred approach may lead to an unbalanced focus on Hellenisation at the expense of indigenous people. An alternative approach is to consider the biography of an object, tracing the choices made about it during its creation, use and 'death' (usually with its deposition) (Joy, 2010: 8), as well as its after-life in the modern world. We must bear in mind that objects and the representations on them may change during an object's lifetime. The different elements of an object and image's biography can be usefully broken down into identification of their form, genealogy, source and effects (Gosden, 2005: 198); below I discuss how these elements may inform our understanding of artistic choices and identity through the processes and groups their context implies.

An artist was faced with a number of choices when considering the form of the object (s)he created, including the method of production itself. By ignoring the technologies

¹ See p.18 of "Artefact or art? Perceiving objects via object-viewing, object-handling, and virtual reality", Sweetman, R. & Hadfield, A. (forthcoming, 2018) in the University Museums and Collections Journal. I am very grateful to the authors for allowing me access to this article in advance of publication.

behind the production of objects, we lose evidence for an entire area of behaviours, social patterns and identities (Mattingly, 2011: 208). Thus, we need to pull apart the production stages to discover the social relationships they entail. We should also note the value placed on weight by 21st century individuals when encountering the object by touch, not sight, in Sweetman and Hadfield's work (loc. cit). The result in scholarship of this decision to choose a particular form is that much ancient art is placed within a typology, leading to assumptions about the object, as identified above. These vary from an object's form or style to the representation of Herakles it depicts (Vollkommer, 1988; Stafford, 2012), placing together objects which have no links in reality, only within scholarly systems (Gosden, 2005: 207; Strathern, 1988: 7; Roth: 2007, 66).

Ridgway (1988, 32) objects to the placing together of major and minor arts in the context of court and domestic art in the Hellenistic world, arguing that the two would never influence each other; however, Roth argues that, by ignoring the various options faced by a craftsman, the impact of functional goods on finer products may be lost (2007: 66). This suggests to me that while typologies of objects might impose a culturally informed straitjacket onto our understanding of the biographies of objects, close examination of individual contexts allows specific examples to be judged on their own terms. By considering a range of objects' biographies, all containing a representation of a popular image, we might therefore gain the opportunity to think outside the usual strictures imposed by a focus on one region, one production method, one form or one function. While we might ignore top-down models of cultural impact, we should certainly take into consideration the insights that consideration of the biography of the object may reveal into what those with better trade opportunities or more transferable wealth might buy.

Joy has demonstrated the danger of removing the use-context from the decoration of objects by concentrating only on decorative style (2010: 24), noting that we should not assume that we know what, in an object or its decoration, was valued by a society. Biographies demonstrate the choices available to craftsmen, commissioners and consumers in terms of tracking which traditional and innovative elements were present in Herakles objects and images in comparison with other options. By comparing the forms available at the source of production in comparison with those found when traded, we may be able to draw conclusions about the choices made to export or import particular forms (Osborne, 2001: 280). Study of biographies can also show how objects are changed over time in terms of their form; if this is a change of function, symbolism or something

else, then it introduces the possibility of changes being determined by the object itself (Gosden, 2005: 196) and thus influencing other people and objects; this would represent a rather different approach to identity. By acknowledging that an object itself may effect a change in a practical fashion, we may be able to eliminate some elaborate theories related to material culture's value in assessing past societies.

Choosing to create, commission or use something that is the same as something else may indicate a desire to share an identity (Huskinson: 2000, 7) with someone but not necessarily the whole community (Hingley: 1997, 84); but use of an object does not even always signify acceptance by the individual (Webster, 1997: 170). Here we may compare a pupil's attitude to their uniform. Gallone has observed the dangers of hereditary, clan-led societies creating stronger divisions between the have and have-nots within Hellenistic Messapia than between Messapians and their neighbours (2007: 25). This consideration of the relationship between those with different resources in a community is one which can inform our understanding of how group decisions may be made on the basis of public opinion, swayed by individuals with influence, vividly demonstrated in the Brexit referendum of 2016.

Identifying the source of an object or image allows a range of insights into the opportunities available to the different individuals responsible for its appearance. As noted above, however, we should be wary of assuming a desire to associate with the community or individual perceived as the source of the object on stylistic grounds (Denoyelle, 2005: 106), not least since that source for a particular community at a particular time may not be traceable in the archaeological record. As Gosden notes, "We have no reason to believe that wares we know to be imported were viewed similarly by contemporary users." (2005: 207). In this provincial context, we should consider whether an object has been obviously reworked from a Roman original (Hunter, 2013: 20) and whether this might indicate opposition or resistance to Rome (Mattingly, 1997: 17). Where possible, we should consider the implications of the sources of the materials necessary to create the object, especially whether or not this suggests people were choosing to make use of a wider or smaller network of goods. Proximity to a source or trade network should be noted, since even those people living at a port or entrepôt with less money will still have greater access to imported goods than those of similar or higher status living further away. Since trade does not necessarily mean friendship, and may even continue during a conflict, we should beware of assuming friendly relations from evidence of trade alone (Herring,

2007: 18). It may also be difficult to identify short-term breaks in trade in the archaeological record.

Considering the effects of particular objects is not possible by tracing the object's biography alone; contextualisation is also necessary. However, in order to understand fully the realities behind artistic choices, it is crucial to consider the practical effects of objects both on individuals and on other objects. Since items are culturally constructed and different people have different identities (Kopytoff, 1986: 18; Mattingly, 2011: xxii), we should consider the implications of the fact that societies are unlikely to be united (Herring, 2007: 16) and that objects and people may thus be viewed in different ways depending on the attitude of an individual. It may be that an object represents 'the élite' and not necessarily 'Rome' (Hingley, 1997: 88) or indeed Greece or Carthage; without identifying a particular context for that object, we cannot know what effect an object had. Objects and people may go through different stages of acceptance as bound to one identity or another.

So, since objects (and the people involved in their creation) may not be viewed or used in the same way by the same people over time (Kopytoff, 1986: 64; Gosden and Marshall, 1999: 169), as van Dommelen (2007: 61) has argued for Punic material in Sardinia, we should not assume the same attitude to objects and what they represent diachronically. This works both ways: attitudes to Roman (or any other culture's) material may also change, as well as what represents 'Rome' to other peoples (Mattingly, 2011: 6; Wells, 2013: 8) or even its own. In terms of the representation of events, encounters between cultures may be viewed from different perspectives, perhaps independent of one another rather than in dialogue, so artists may experience a new culture and depict it without involving it in their own style (Thomas, 1999: 5).

The effect of an object will also be affected by its position in space, where it is placed and in what relation to other objects, as well as its position in time. Any writing on the object, its legibility to and appreciation by an ancient viewer, as well as the modern issues of reception, should also be taken into account (Clarke, 2003: 11). Thus, by considering the effect of an object in comparison to its typical life-path (Joy, 2010: 13), it is possible to consider how quickly new ideas, including materials, are adopted or rejected, giving indications of whether models of creolisation, diaspora or discrepant identities (or a combination) are more appropriate to the situation in a province at a particular time. Key to this approach is the ability to take account of these possibilities, by ruling out

terminology which makes assumptions of source or identity, and considering objects and images across a wide spectrum, so that assumptions about style and typology, especially, do not preclude available choices.

There has been a tendency in modern scholarship to polarise the concepts of 'Roman' and 'native', assuming that these are mutually exclusive categories, as well as use of modern ideas of ethnicity, the most obvious of which is 'Greek'. Such labelling emphasises these polarities and takes away the subtleties of identity that existed within both regions and communities and across different time periods. Should we assume that common elements are 'Roman' (Freeman, 1993: 443) or, we may add, Greek or Phoenician? Brilliant has argued that this idea also extends to identification of 'style', which he argues is a modern method of organising diverse artistic examples (2007: 10); this is a particularly common problem in the study of the Hellenistic period. Thomas, quoting Bernard Smith, emphasises that we should consider the plurality of traditions and not dismiss the idea that incoherence may exist within culture (Thomas, 1999: 3), an idea which emerges clearly from the analogy with schools. Perhaps a more relevant polarity may be 'insider' and 'outsider' (Mattingly, 2011: 210)? Clear understanding of these terms is crucial to this research, which seeks to investigate identity around the time of the Roman takeover; since Hunter (2013: 15) has noted a greater focus on identity at a time of colonial contact, evidence from objects sharing an image can potentially show whether or not such a focus is evident in a given case. It may also demonstrate the idea that colonisers may group together people who did not identify with one another before the contact, while from the other side all colonisers are viewed as 'the enemy' (Mattingly, 2011: 212). A further issue of labelling and preconception is the danger of assuming that colonisers are 'active' and 'modernising', while indigenous people are 'passive' and 'traditional' (Bell, 1999: 164). Here our analogy would suggest that it is the pupils who are traditional, while the school authorities are modernisers; an idea that would be dismissed outright by most pupils, if not necessarily by their teachers.

The discussion above has demonstrated that interrogation of object biography can reveal more complex choices than traditional accounts of artist and viewer. By considering the stages by which an object, not simply its image, is created, we can detect not only choices about the socially-informed processes of production and distribution, but also the context in which objects were used and deposited. This provides access to the artistic choices and

identity of a greater range of individuals in ancient Sicily and the regions with which it traded.

A further benefit of this method is that it allows us to consider the impact of influences that may not be linked to ethnic groups but are part of wider processes in society. Hodos has proposed the value of globalisation in understanding phenomena of increased connectivity and shared practices in the ancient Mediterranean, noting that this is sensitive to cultural differences (2010: 4). As globalised ideas develop, local choices become apparent in the selective adoption of objects and practices. This raises the question of what associations were made about globalised objects and practices. Dudley (pers. comm.) has shown that artefacts lose their own agency and identity when they represent wider ideas; thus, we should consider whether objects attributed to external influence by scholarship were in fact viewed that way by their ancient users. We noted above that images may be copied and used by pupils simply because they are popular and therefore create the impression that the user is an insider. Another reason may be its use by an influential character, one of an élite (Antonaccio, 2010: 41). By contextualising the biographies of individual objects, we can thus attempt to determine the influences behind artistic choices and identity within Sicilian communities, whether global, institutional or local.

The image of Herakles

This discussion has demonstrated that interrogation of the biographies of objects bearing a shared representation can shed light on the complex factors lying behind the artistic choices and application of identity to those creating, using and depositing them. As is evident from 2.1 below, communities on Sicily were shifting and diverse. The potential of iconography to identify institutions and groups within communities, as well as wider trends of influence, was proposed above. It remains to establish the value of Herakles as the selected representation on objects from Sicily 370-170 BC. As indicated in 1.3.2, Herakles is a figure found to occur across the ancient Mediterranean and therefore his appearance is not restricted to one of the many ethnic groups found on Sicily (see 2.1.2, Miles, 2010: 101; Quinn, 2018: 127). In addition to his popularity across groups, Herakles was also found within communities as a figure associated with all levels of society, since his eventual deification was achieved as a result of physical strength and hard work, not because of his divine connections, as exemplified in Greece on the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Spivey, 2004: 74). The account of Diodorus Siculus, which places a sequence of

events in his life on Sicily (see 2.1.1), also indicates Herakles' status 'on the edge' of humanity and divinity in his role as founder of cults to Demeter and Kore on the island (D.S. IV 23.4). Thus, Herakles represents a figure of power, whose artistic representation would indicate both an ideal form of the human body across a range of traditions, and an indication of what power looked like to individuals as a new political and military power, Rome, appeared on the scene. In practical terms, Herakles' continuing popularity in art and literature after antiquity (Stafford, 2012: 239) has helped to ensure that ancient representations of him are more likely to be preserved in modern collections. By considering the biography of objects bearing his image from Sicily, we can therefore draw conclusions about the artistic choices of a cross-section of individuals and their identities, including the groups and institutions which combined to create them, not simply elite choices.

Chapter 2: Context and Methodology

2.1 Context: Overview of Evidence for Sicily

2.1.1 What does historical evidence tell us about Herakles on Sicily?

References to historical sources mentioning Herakles' exploits on Sicily and the context in which the objects contained in this research appeared are found in the appendix.

Stesichorus' poetry provides evidence that Herakles' activities on the island were known and elaborated from at least the sixth century, confirmed by the metopes of Temple C at Selinunte portraying Herakles with the Kerkopes (Stafford, 2012: 62). The fullest account, which informs many modern versions, is by Diodorus Siculus writing in the first century BC, who devotes much of book IV of his general history to a biography of Herakles. This includes an account of Herakles' travels on Sicily, which are set as the hero returns from capturing Geryon's cattle in Spain. Particular focus is placed on the rites to Herakles at Diodorus' birthplace of Agrigento (IV. 24), but also notable are the preceding comments on Herakles' institution of sacrifices to Demeter and Kore at Syracuse, which he directed the locals to continue annually (IV.23.4).

Diodorus' account, along with the metopes at Olympia (Spivey, 2004: 73), has structured Herakles' exploits for later readers into the Twelve Labours (Dodekathlos), commanded by Hera and overseen by Eurystheus (D.S. IV.9.5), and other events. The Labours comprise: slaying the Nemean Lion and the Lernaean Hydra; capturing the Erymanthian Boar and the Kerynitian Hind; removing the Stymphalian Birds; cleaning the Augean Stables; capturing the Cretan Bull, Diomedes' Horses, the girdle of the Amazon Hippolyte, and Geryon's cattle; finally collecting Cerberus from the Underworld and the Apples of the Hesperides (IV.11-26). Representations of these events are labelled 'Labour Narratives' in this research. Remaining exploits are labelled 'Other Narratives'. Some, such as the strangling of snakes sent by Hera to kill Herakles as a child (IV.10) remain well-known; others, such as events in Sicily, do not recur in modern accounts. The reason for labelling narrative scenes separately is to address how central these labours were in popular imagination in Sicily. As demonstrated by the Syracusan Epicharmus' comedy *Busiris*, written in the fifth century, Herakles recurs as a theatrical character on Sicily, identified by a mask and padded costume. These examples are listed under 'Theatre'. Remaining representations, with no narrative features, are labelled 'Head' and 'Alone'.

‘Club’ indicates that Herakles is represented only by the image of a club. ‘Inscription’ indicates that the object bears an inscription and no image.

In order to contextualise the objects on which Herakles appears from Sicily, historical sources referring to individual sites are also collected in the appendix, with further references for sites with theatres available in Marconi (2012: 205-7). Sites appear within narratives of Sicily such as Diodorus’, dominated by conflict between communities, especially the descriptions of the Punic Wars by Livy and Polybius. Further references can be found in the geographers pseudo-Scylax of the fourth century and Strabo writing at the turn of the millennium. No sources written by Elymian, Punic-Phoenician or Sikanian authors survive. As outlined below in 2.1.2, assuming the same experience across Sicily for 370-170 is inaccurate. In terms of this research, the key point is the date of the Roman takeover at each community, which varied site by site thus, Lipari was captured in 251, two years before Selinunte. However, sites in the Syracusan kingdom may not have been controlled directly by Rome until after 214, and, in the case of Morgantina, this was handed over to mercenary Hispani.

Even this cursory glance at the historical sources therefore indicates that both Herakles’ representations and the contexts in which they were found varied enormously. The evidence of 2.2 will indicate how their recording and publication further affect our understanding of them. Examples need to be considered in their ancient and modern contexts to establish how and why Herakles was represented; the contextualisation of this figure of power is then uniquely placed to shed light on the institutions which formed the mechanics of society at individual sites during the period of Rome’s takeover.

2.1.2 How have historians and archaeologists imagined communities on Sicily 370-170 BC?

Sicily’s central position made it a stopping point for those travelling around the ancient Mediterranean. Its fertile land encouraged settlement and the development of agriculture from the third millennium BC, and Phoenician traders established settlements in the west of the island from the ninth century. Most written accounts, however, start with the arrival of Greek colonists in the east of the island in the eighth century (Higgs & Booms, 2016: 19).

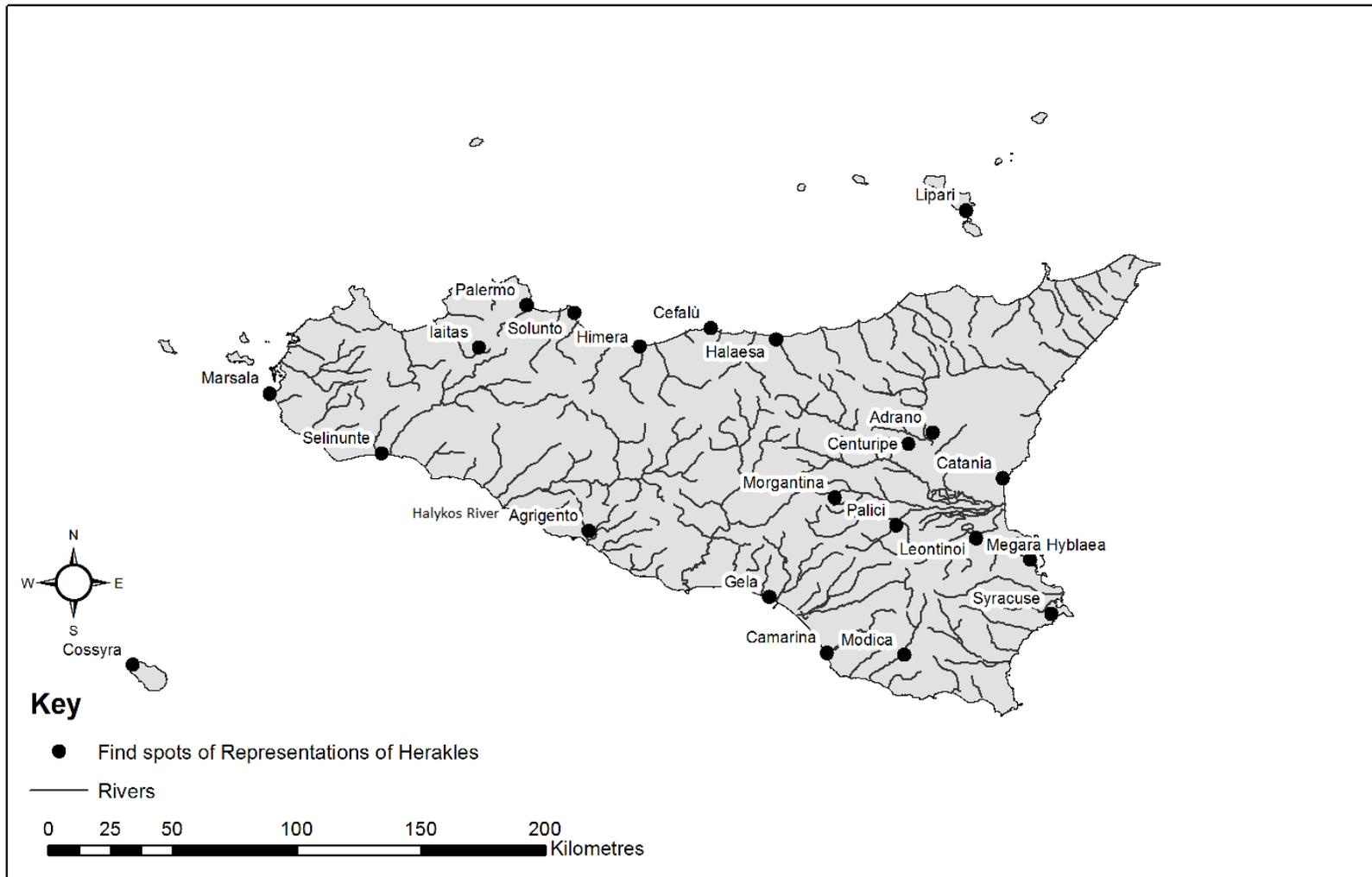


figure 2.1.1. Sicilian Communities

The range and importance of national or ethnic identities on the island are identified below; it should be noted, however, that one community or another may be singled out for attention, rather than highlighting the range of influences that existed (Wilson, 2013: 79, see 1.2). There is a bias of information from ancient sources - and therefore a concentration in modern scholarship - upon Syracuse, especially in the third century under Hiero II (Ampolo, 2013: 26; Wilson, 2013: 83). Traditional models of Hellenisation can mean that Phoenician or Punic settlers are seen as the 'other' (see Quinn, 2018: xv for the under-appreciation of Phoenician culture and history in modern scholarship), with Greek settlements only interacting with those in the west of the island on a trade basis, despite the fact that survey evidence suggests a much more complex rural landscape of production networks by the beginning of the fourth century (Spatafora, 2013: 38; Perkins, 2007: 37). Spatafora emphasises the need to consider a broad context for the realities of life in local communities, not simply imported materials. We should therefore question to what extent the idea of 'otherness' is useful.

Campo (2013: ix) suggests that a common Sikel(iote) identity, manifested in language, religious practice and conventions, and with its capital at Palike and sacrifices offered to Apollo Archegetes on the altar at Naxos (Ampolo, 2013: 12), developed in the fifth century, either in opposition to the 'Greek' towns of Syracuse and Akragas or as part of an anti-Athenian confederacy. Greco (2013: x) identifies a common Greek identity in opposition to barbarians (locals and Punic) until the advent of Rome, with the use of the triskeles symbol and soterial messages on Agathokles' coinage of 306-289 representing a pan-Sicilian motif (Veit, 2013: 27). This might suggest that the same communities should have jointly identified themselves in opposition to Rome when the time came. On this question, Perkins (2007: 35) feels that while Hellenisation and Punicisation may be valid ideas for different areas of Sicily, the advent of Rome produced a different dynamic. By contextualising the broadest possible range of objects in time and space, this research therefore offers the opportunity to cover a full range of influences and to consider their relative impact on artistic choices on the island. From this, conclusions can be drawn about the status of communities integrated or 'on the edge' of empire.

Communities on the island of Sicily may be identified as belonging to one of a number of groups: Sikels, also known as Sicilian Greeks (e.g. at Centuripe); indigenous Sicilians also known as Sikans (Hykkara), including Elymians (this group may have been constructed by

Athenian writers for specific political purposes to match Segesta's 'Greek' origins: Spatafora 2013, 38); Punic or Phoenician groups (Panormus, Solunto), mercenaries (Entella, Zankle-Messana), Campanians, and other Italians. This complex picture is reflected in modern Sicilian regionalism: regional archaeological parks are used by schools to investigate regional identity (Campo, 2013: ix), and in modern law archaeological finds belong to the region, not the state. However, locating a community in space is not necessarily sufficient. Thus, very specific knowledge of context of both place and time may be relevant to the artistic choices made. Broadly, east Sicily was a mix of initially Dorian and Chalcidian Greeks with Sikels, while the west was more mixed; from the beginning of the fourth century eastern Sicily was heavily influenced by what is described as a Syracusan 'eparchy', while the west was Carthaginian. The borders of these spheres of influence changed over time, depending on peace treaties, the Halykos River being the most usual boundary (see figure 2.1.1: the mouth of the river lies between Selinunte and Agrigento).

In the period under discussion, both archaeological and historical evidence demonstrates the complexity of the situation on the island. 'Punic' Motya was destroyed in 397 but was rebuilt as 'Greek' Lilybaeum (mod. Marsala). Syracuse moved from Carthaginian to Roman influence after 269 under Hieron II, then back to Hannibal's Carthage in 216/5 under Hieronymus, before the Roman sack of 211. Iaitas from around 300 had Hellenic-style peristyle houses, but also others showing Macedonian influence; a house dating to the second century had Punic-influenced water engineering techniques; later that century, the ground-plan of a temple in the agora (or forum?) demonstrated its Italic influences (Perkins, 2007: 42). Lilybaeum and Segesta, although in the Carthaginian area, were closely tied to Rome after 227; in Nakone decrees show internal stasis resolved by ambassadors from Segesta and Entella and a repopulation after political changes, perhaps encouraged by Rome after the 1st Punic War (Ampolo 2013, 26). Overall, it is clear that political alliances depended very much on historical or political context, not on ethnicity, and there could be frequent changing of sides.

Despite these important regional differences, however, the compelling rhetoric of Cicero's *In Verrem* has often led to a treatment of the whole island of Sicily as a prosperous province exploited by Rome (Perkins, 2007: 33; Prag, 2015: 168). Prag (ibid. 172) has demonstrated the problems created by viewing the élites in Sicilian communities as lacking autonomy and being viewed as behaving differently to their peers in the eastern Mediterranean. His work on epigraphic sources provides clear evidence of the ways in

which individual communities negotiated their own relationships with the power of Rome (ibid. 171). In fact, there was considerable local variation even under Roman rule, with different areas having different financial and juridical status (Ampolo, 2013: 26). While the eastern Syracusan kingdom with its existing administration and infrastructure was easily subsumed into the Roman governing system, the western individual communities provided a different challenge (Perkins, 2007: 37); this may have had an effect on how new ideas were spread as Rome took over. The fact that Roman governors (praetors until 132, subsequently a proconsul) appear to have lacked their own troops (Prag, 2015: 71) may also have affected how Herakles as a figure of power was represented and contributed to the continuation of regionality. Thus, close examination of the context of the evidence from a diachronic perspective is an effective way to address the realities of such changes on the ground and to give an idea of the different artistic choices available.

2.1.3 Archaeology on Sicily

The previous section demonstrated the complex reality of the diverse communities of Sicily in the period 370-170 and thus the need for close contextualisation of each object within these different communities. Scholarship on Sicily has often suffered from the east-west divide, as one of the areas of western colonies grouped together and treated as the periphery of the 'main' Hellenistic world in the east (Lyons & Bennett, 2013: 3; Prag & Quinn, 2013: 1-2). While it may become part of this world with Pyrrhus' campaigns on the island in 278-275 (ibid. 6), it is mainly treated as belonging to its own story or to the development of Rome. When considering the different communities on the island, it is important to note that there is no complete native literature (Lyons & Bennett, 2013: 1), resulting in the strong influence of Diodorus Siculus' writing from a Sikel perspective (see for example, Jourdain-Annequin 1986; Cusumano 1996). There is even a broader context than this, namely the difference in emphasis between modern scholars writing about Sicily from a classical perspective, and those writing from a Phoenician one. Those writing from a Phoenician perspective may see the island as part of other spheres of influence: the 'Phoenician' to the west and north, or the Italian and Etruscan to the north. These different emphases can affect which evidence is selected and how it is discussed; for example, Lancel describes stelai at Motya as exhibiting no Greek influence at all (1995: 89), whereas authors writing from a classical perspective tend to focus upon the Motya charioteer and make no mention of the stelai.

Excavation on the island took place as early as the mid-eighteenth century, under the direction of Count Biscari (Denoyelle & Iozzo, 2009: 23), whose collection of materials now at Catania was based upon finds from that region at sites such as Camarina and Centuripe (e.g. Cam1 in this data-set), and Prince Castelli, whose land included Halaesa (for a full account of 18th-19th century collecting and excavation, see Crisà, 2012). By 1864, Dennis' handbook to travellers in Sicily would recommend visits to museum collections at Palermo and Catania, with Cam1 described as a highlight of these collections of objects, including coins, bronze, statuettes, figured vases and Etruscan seal-stones. In addition to the leadership of local aristocratic antiquarians, excavations were also carried out by visitors, such as the British architects Harris and Angell whose Grand Tour visit to the island in 1822 resulted in the initial excavation of the Selinunte acropolis (1826: 7), and by local landowners, for instance Signor Sclarici at Contrada Diana on Lipari (see appendix doc). Despite various safeguarding procedures set up by the ruling authorities of the Kingdom of Naples, throughout the 18th-19th century (Crisà, 2012: 5) excavations took place at the whim of individuals, with varying degrees of legality, scientific rigour, and publication. Objects were just as likely to be displayed in Glasgow (L22) or St Petersburg (Ad1), as at Palermo (Sel1) or Leontinoi (Le1). It is notable that one incarnation of the safeguarding authority was known as the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (ibid. 6), linking the two ideas. The identification of temples, theatres, and objects in the Greek tradition predominated.

From the end of the 19th century, after Sicily had become part of a unified Italy, until 1946, rigorous excavations were undertaken under the leadership of individuals whose names are now commemorated in regional museums on the island; Antonio Salinas at Palermo, Paulo Orsi at Syracuse, Luigi Bernabò Brea on Lipari, as well as Joseph Whitaker at Motya (Sofroniew, 2017: 170). The conservation and display of objects at museums on the island which occurred as a result of these excavations was formalised in 1946 by the Special Statute, making any find from antiquity the property of its Sicilian region (Campo, 2013: x). In practice, chance finds and illegal excavations, resulting in finds being sold overseas, were still carried out (see 3.1.iii for the implication of this contextual understanding). The tendency to undertake excavations around the coast should be noted, with a focus on the Greek period, the Phoenician settlement of Motya excepted.

Post-war excavations at Gela, Lipari, and Morgantina, where finds can be associated with known historical events, have become central points of reference for the comparison and dating of materials from other sites. The discovery of pottery production at Gela, dated by

associated coinage to the 330s, has drawn attention to the activities of the tyrant of Syracuse from 339, Timoleon, in creating opportunities for potters to develop their craft in south and east Sicily under the aegis of Syracuse. Brea and Cavalier's excavations of the Contrada Diana necropolis at Lipari have provided evidence for the production of polychrome pottery and especially theatrical terracotta objects in the period c. 340-251 (see Chapter 4), which now represent a point of comparison for examples found around Sicily. Since its inception in the 1950s, the excavation of Morgantina by American teams, and especially because of the thorough publication of its finds (see Chapter 6 and Wilson, 2013: 89), has provided evidence for domestic material of the Hellenistic period at the site sometimes dubbed 'Sicily's Pompeii'. This, along with Iaitas in the west, are rare examples of inland sites where Roman Republican, as well as Greek era, trends have been identified.

Art history has been fairly happy to acknowledge the impact of Sicily on mainland Greek architecture, specifically architecture in sanctuaries (Tomlinson, 1989: 78), but other areas of art in the Hellenistic period on the island are treated as derivative or part of a 'Greek koine', such as the Eupolemos or Morgantina hoard of silver and gold luxury vessels (Lyons, Bennett, 2013: 4). It seems that art from Sicily can be 'Greek' when it is considered outstanding, such as the Delphi Charioteer dedicated by Polyzalos of Gela, or even the Motya Charioteer (Pedley, 1993: 24), produced in a community usually described as 'Phoenician'; but 'provincial' if it falls short.

If judged within an art-historical tradition, which ascribes the main motivation in ancient images to the creative interest of the artist, the art of ancient Sicily may seem provincial, given the lack of names of artists in the literary record. A historically-based approach that examines the links between art, consumers and context, however, makes the study of sculpture on the island a rich field of exploration. Miles (2013: 159)

When Sicily's art has been considered in the island context, there is still a programmatic selection of examples taking place. The Getty exhibition 'Art and Invention between Greece and Rome', later exhibited in Sicily itself, aimed to fill in the gaps between Greek and Roman art (Bisogniero, 2013: viii), demonstrating the scholarly tendency outlined above (1.3.3) to see art as a natural development in style. Its acknowledgment of a common theme of colonising a new world, since it was published in 2013 for the Year of Italian Culture in the USA, demonstrates a way in which the post-depositional context of material can affect the way it is perceived. While this focus on Sicily's place in the classical

past may minimise the Phoenician contribution, it does at least emphasise the island's centrality in the Mediterranean and the evidence it provides for the creation of new identities by artists from a variety of different influences (Potts and Franklin, 2013: vii). This indicates the potential of material from Sicily to suggest evidence for models of acculturation. Lancel (1995: 315) points out the influence of Sicilian motifs on art in Carthage. The range of influences exerted on and by artists in Sicily demonstrates the importance of fully contextualising objects in order to identify the different artistic choices that have been made.

Sicily's own impact on the art of Rome has been undervalued because of the proximity in date of the sack of Syracuse to Rome's actions in Greece and the east. In addition to the objects brought back to Rome, temples to the cult of Venus Erycina were set up on the Capitoline by Q. Fabius Maximus in 215 and another outside the Porta Collina in 181. Di Cesare (2013: 139) has emphasised the importance of considering the stylistic and technical analysis of the sculpture found at the Porta Collina in ascribing material to Sicilian, Greek or Roman artists. Such analysis may inform our understanding of choices made by artists on Sicily.

This brief summary demonstrates that the selection criteria of different scholars have affected the collection of published objects bearing the image of Herakles on Sicily. Those objects from museums at Catania, Palermo, and Syracuse are more likely to be the result of antiquarian collection and may well be unprovenanced. Excavations on the island of remains from the period in question are more likely to produce objects designated as being of Greek culture, with an emphasis on artistic highlights and the theme of the theatre. The Roman Republican period is under-represented in the record.

2.2 How have Sicilian objects been recorded and published?

The recording of Sicilian objects bearing images of Herakles has varied according to their excavation and conservation; an example of the effects of recording systems on modern understanding of objects can be found in Chapter 4 for L22, 32. As this section will demonstrate, the way in which data have been recorded in the various publications differs according to whether the object or the image it bears is considered more important. Details of recording appear in gazetteer entries in this thesis. Publication of Sicilian objects can be traced back to the work of Biscari in the 1780s, whose collection was first published in 1787 by Sestini (Crisà, 2012: 5). In the mid-19th century objects begin to appear in international publications, such as Ad1 in Benndorf's polychrome illustrated *Catalogue of Greek and Sicilian Vases*, published in Berlin in 1869, and in journals such as *Philologus* in 1868. Figured vases bearing images of Herakles have thus been discussed in international scholarship as evidence for the classical world's art and material culture for over 150 years.

The objects in this data-set excavated since the 1880s may appear in excavation, object or museum catalogues, often in more than one catalogue. A further level of catalogue, by iconographic type, drawing upon these categories, also contains examples in this data-set; this is discussed below (2.2.1, p. 29). From 1880, excavation reports appeared in national publications such as *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, *Archeologia Classica* and *Monumenti Antichi*. The former is organised by region; until 1941 Syracuse appeared as a different region from the rest of Sicily, emphasising the focus on this cultural centre noted in 2.1.2. Reports appearing in these publications and the journal *Kokalos*, published by the University of Palermo, therefore represent accounts of sites within Sicilian and Italian archaeology, invariably dug by Sicilian teams. From 1946 excavation reports for individual sites have increasingly been published in their own right, with long-running digs at Iaitas, Lipari, Morgantina and Selinunte running into several volumes. Publication in this way places the focus on objects, in the context of an individual site within a region, and often shows the complete assemblage from object's find-spots to give a full view of the choices made. At Lipari, focus is placed only on theatrical objects from the site, as discussed below (4.2.1), and full assemblages are not always detailed. Morgantina was the first site to adopt the methodology of American excavations in Greece, where objects are recorded by type, with known comparisons found around the northern Mediterranean listed. Objects published in excavation reports can therefore be placed in the context of their find-spot, within the choices of the local community.

Those objects which do not appear in excavation reports are published with varying degrees of subjective judgment in their allotment to object and iconographic catalogues. Even object catalogues such as the Morgantina Studies series decontextualize the objects they contain to a certain extent, by placing together objects that would never appear together in life (see 1.3.3 above). The inevitable result of this decontextualisation is to focus on aspects of an object which distinguish it from others of its type, and that is often achieved by description and aesthetic assessment of figured decoration. In the case of pottery vessels, the presence of figured representation can determine the catalogue in which a vessel appears and therefore the interpretative value placed upon it. Publication of objects in this way thereby places them into certain cultural trajectories, which may lessen the degree to which their creation, function, or deposition is available for consideration by scholars using the catalogues while focus is placed on the representation.

Objects bearing Herakles from Sicily fall under the following cultural trajectories: Terracottas (Bell, *M.S.* I, 1981) and fineware (Stone, *M.S.* VI, 2014) from Morgantina, theatrical objects from Lipari (Brea and Cavalier, *M.T.L.*, 1976) and Adrano (Lamagna, 2002), and sealings from Selinunte (Salinas, 1883) are catalogued as objects from one site. This groups them as local choices, often with close attention to deposition context, and allows the comparison of the objects with those from other sites and traditions, permitting the identification of local, regional, or global trends within the influence of local groups and institutions. Theatrical objects (Webster, 1978), figured vases (Trendall, 1959) and scarab seal-stones (Zazoff, 1963) occur in catalogues of examples from regions or the broader classical world, from which Punic-Phoenician examples are invariably excluded. Here the focus is placed entirely on the image, whether as a means of identifying a particular producer (vases) or for the representation or style (theatre, scarabs), decided subjectively. Choices of representation and type are positioned in scholars' perceptions of a wider world, with no more detail than the community in which the object was found and a consequent association of the use of the object across time periods and wide regional areas. Questions of function, production methods and styles are discussed in general terms, assuming a uniformity of practice across communities and regions, usually under the influence of cultural centres such as Athens. The bronzes from the Palermo Museum, published by di Stefano as a group of objects within the museum's collection (Ma1, all P objects except P2-5), share an association by their curation in the modern world. These and many of the scarabs collected by Zazoff lack any contextual information from the

ancient world, making them evidence for representation choices in the ancient and modern worlds only.

Iconographic catalogues, including *LIMC* (see 1.3.2) and *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*, following in the tradition of Tassie and Furtwängler (see Chapter 5) and source object or museum catalogues, such as Zazoff and the Biscari Collection, may include objects bearing Herakles from Sicily as examples of types of representation of Herakles, Melqart, Hercle, or Hercules. The selection of the images on these objects as examples of iconographic types therefore reflects the expectations of modern scholars, whose focus on what is aesthetically pleasing is reliant on culturally and subjectively created judgments, which may ignore individual, local, or regional needs (Denoyelle & Iozzo, 2009: 31; Mattingly, 2011: 35). These judgments are the legacy of over two centuries of the scholarship and cultural tastes (Lapatin, 2003: 72). They may reflect the differing values placed on objects due to certain characteristics, such as their material, their date, and the method and place of their production (ibid. 69, 71, 78).

Lapatin has demonstrated the greater focus that has been placed in scholarship on stone architecture, marble and bronze sculpture, and painted pottery (ibid. 69), despite evidence from ancient sources suggesting that gemstones, gold and silver, ivory, fine wood, amber, and textiles were valued as or more highly (ibid. 71). We may note the omission from *LIMC*'s methodology (1988: xxi) of semi-precious stones and the use of the heading 'metal', which should therefore equate gold, bronze, or lead, but places these materials after stone and clay (ibid. 74). In terms of the date ascribed to objects, the period under consideration here falls within the Hellenistic and Roman eras of ancient art; the former has been perceived to be of lesser quality than the classical period (Lapatin, 2003: 78; Fullerton, 2003: 93; Burn, 2004: 16), perhaps following Pliny the Elder's view of bronze-working (Isager, 2003: 54). Since "Roman figures of Herakles are taken as replicas, variants, echoes or pastiches of Greek prototypes" (*LIMC* IV, 1988: 738), examples of objects created from moulds, rather than, for example, wheel-made, commissioned vessels, are unlikely to appear as examples of iconographic types in iconographic catalogues. Examples from museum collections judged to be of the same iconographic type as an earlier object are also likely to be omitted from iconographic catalogues. In terms of the place of production, Bonacasa doubts that the 'artistic production' of bronze took place on Sicily (2013: 68), implying that any artistic bronze examples included in iconographic and museum catalogues of Sicilian objects represent the choice to import external manufactures by their ancient owner.

Section 2.2.1 demonstrates how one iconographic catalogue (*LIMC*), which selects the images on objects as exemplars of iconographic types, reflects the differing priorities of the source catalogues identified in this section. Section 2.2.2 then outlines the benefits of combining data from excavation reports with catalogues of objects and representations in a broader approach.

2.2.1 Which representations of Herakles on Sicily are selected as exemplars of iconographic types?

As indicated in 2.2 above, iconographic catalogues from the eighteenth century onwards have selected examples of images from source object and museum catalogues to serve as iconographic types, often with a focus on deities (for further discussion see Chapter 5). The following section describes the selections of Sicilian examples of Herakles made for *LIMC* (see 1.3.2 for the importance of this text) to identify the varying priorities of the different publication sources.

22 objects from Sicily from the period 370-170 on which Herakles was represented were selected for *LIMC* as exemplars of iconographic types; my research does not include those found on public architecture and coins, since these are the result of civic, not individual, choices. It should be noted that two of the objects listed by *LIMC* with separate entry numbers are in fact the same object (Ag2&3, a clay cheekpiece mould) and the total is therefore 21. This separate listing has resulted in this one object being assigned differing dates. Dating of objects in the volumes follows the subjective stylistic criteria employed by the source collections; this results in more precise dates (often within a decade) being assigned to figured vessels, while other objects are assigned to spans of fifty years (scarab Sy3), to one century (statuettes Mod1 and Sy1, ring Sic1, scarab Sy2) or even simply to the Hellenistic period (statuettes Cat3-4 and P1, mask L21, sealing Sel160). Comparison with excavation reports available in 1995 reveals alternative or precise dates for Mod1, G1, Ag1 and Sel60. The vessels selected for inclusion date from 400-300. In addition, 4 objects of any type from Sicily bearing images of Herakles dated to the period after 300 were chosen.

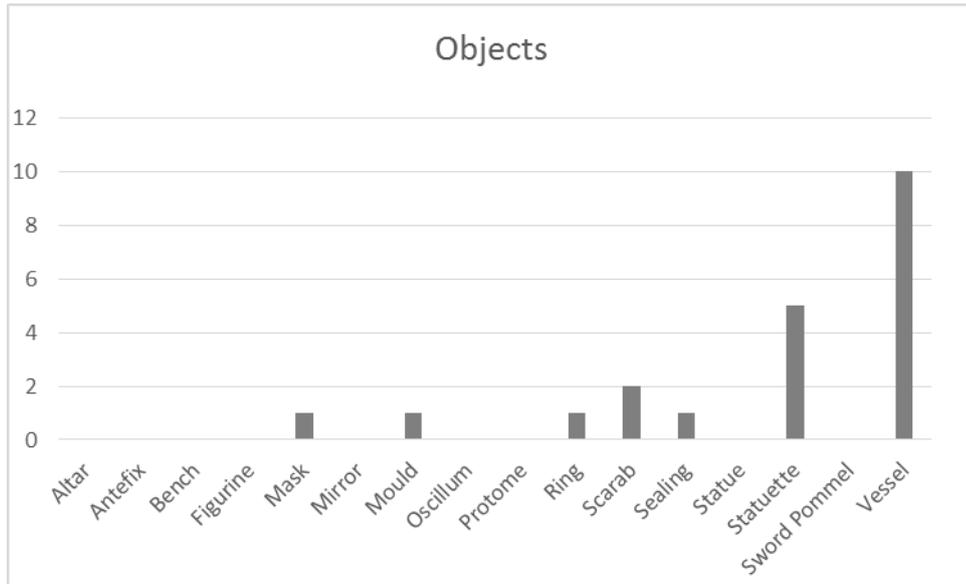


figure 2.2.1. Objects bearing a representation of Herakles selected for inclusion in *LIMC*

The majority of the objects selected by *LIMC* depicting Herakles on Sicily in this period were made from clay, two being the impressions of other objects (Ag2&3, of a helmet cheekpiece, and Sel160, of a ring), while ten are figured vessels, only four of which are considered to have been produced locally. The remaining clay object is a terracotta mask. Of the objects not made from clay, five are bronze (four cast statuettes, one finger ring), two carnelian scarabs described as Etruscan and listed under ‘Ercole’ and one marble statuette.

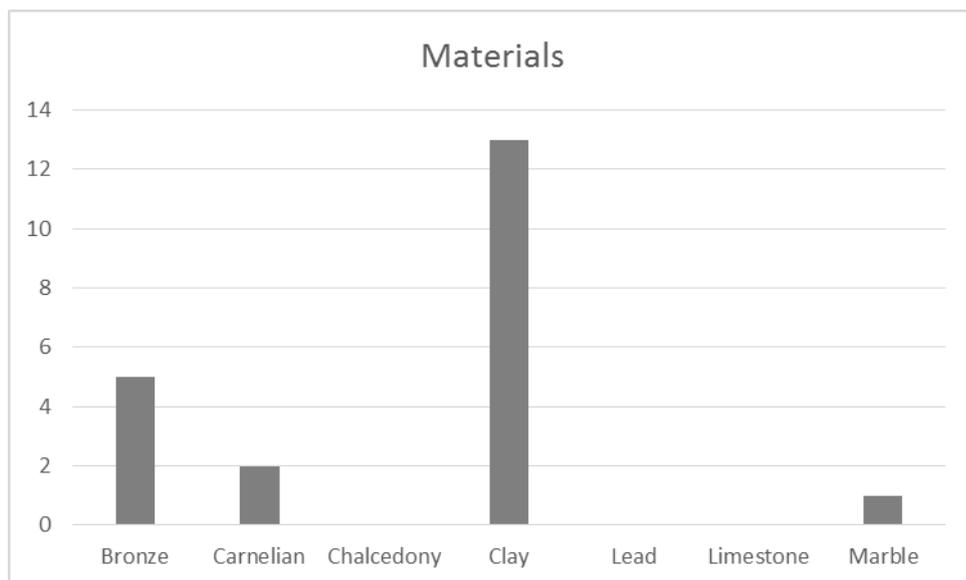


figure 2.2.2. Materials of objects bearing a representation of Herakles selected for inclusion in *LIMC*

In terms of the source of the objects selected for inclusion in this catalogue as exemplars of iconographical types, Italian-produced vessels were found in the eastern communities of Centuripe and Catania (twice), as well as two examples from the coastal centre of Agrigento and one described as coming from the north coast community in the area of Phoenician influence at Palermo (sic, not Panormus). The two Apulian examples (Ag1 and Cat1) fall in the first half of the fourth century; the Campanian vessels within a twenty-year period from 350. The four vessels produced on the island come from communities in the eastern Sikel region of Greek influence (Adrano 325 and Gela 340-330), the entrepôt of the northern island of Lipari (mid-fourth century), and one other unspecified site on Sicily, dated 400-370. No firm date is assigned to the terracotta mask from Lipari (L21) or the sealing from Selinus (Sel160), the latter another coastal community in the Phoenician eparchy. The two carnelian scarabs are both designated as Syracusan, the largest community in the Greek east, but with Sy3 in the late fourth century and Sy2 from the third. The Syracusan marble statuette (Sy1) appears later again, in the second or first centuries. Three of the bronze statuettes are described as coming from the eastern side of Sicily, two from Catania, but with no date suggested, the third from Camarina in the second century; however, the fourth is listed as western Palermo, and again no date is suggested. The third-century bronze finger ring is described as Sicilian.

The five vessels described as kraters are all ascribed to overseas production in Apulia (Cam1), Lucania (Cat2), Campania (P2 and Ag4) and Attica (Sy7) respectively.



figure 2.2.3. Sites of objects bearing a representation of Herakles selected for inclusion in *LIMC*

Herakles' representation varies across the different examples (see 2.1.1 for the different categories used here). Although iconographical catalogues are collections of images, they do not always illustrate examples; the reader is therefore reliant on the scholar's description of the details of an iconographical type. In the case of Herakles, the term 'young' Herakles indicates that he does not wear a beard. P2 is described 'as' Ag4, although the scenes differ in the other individuals depicted; this technique of associating the representations on different objects with 'as', ditto marks or a continuous line is found in catalogues dating to the eighteenth century onwards (see Chapter 5, p. 181 for further discussion). More detail is provided for Herakles' representation on figured vessels or when involved in one of the Labours than for examples of the hero as an individual. All the depictions (except Ag1) are confidently placed in the fourth century, that is the figured vessels, depict Herakles in a scene associated with the theatre, or with characters who would appear in theatrical versions of myth, such as maenads, satyrs or Papposilenos. Deities such as Hermes are identified in the entries for figured vessels. The entry for Cat1 specifically suggests that this representation may be a phlyax scene (see Chapter 4) and that for G1 gives a precise association with a satyr play of Sophokles (with alternative renderings of the name of the play). L1 and Cat2 both feature Deianeira; the former is noted as including labels for each character depicted. Four objects attributed to the fourth or third centuries depict one of the Twelve Labours: Ag2&3 which depicts the Nemean Lion and the Cretan bull, Sic1 which is described 'as' Ag2, and the two carnelian scarabs Sy3 and Sy2 noted under Hercle, which represent respectively Herakles holding up the heavens and with the horses of Diomedes.

Of the statuettes selected for inclusion in *LIMC*, two statuettes attributed to the third or second centuries (Mod1 and Sy1), as well as the undated statuettes (P1, Cat3-4), are described according to the weapons held and their pose, all *contrapposto* with the exception of Cat3 for which a knowledge of the Latin *mingens* (urinating) is required to understand the pose. The final two undated examples of clay objects, L21 and Sel160, simply state for L21 'young H in lionskin' and for Sel160 'man bending to left over dog'.

Iconographic catalogues rarely include information about the function or deposition context of the objects selected to exemplify types; they do, however, include some information about their post-depositional life. The introduction to the *LIMC* states that entries should be listed by: type, shape, where made, museum reference, where found, a selective bibliography, date and then a description, thus giving different stages in an object's biography (1981: xx). Sy1 uniquely from this data-set does include information in

LIMC about its findspot in a sculptor's workshop in Syracuse, thus providing a link to the production of a piece of art. The selections made of Sicilian examples of iconographic types in the *LIMC* demonstrate the importance of museum collections and object catalogues highlighted in 2.1.3 in the post-depositional biography of examples. All the examples selected are found in either the three large museum collections of Biscari at Catania, Palermo, or Syracuse, or (in some cases and) the catalogues of figured vases of Trendall and Zazoff's catalogue of scarabs.

Summary of conclusions

The selection of objects from Sicily in the period 370-170 as exemplars of iconographic types of Herakles in an iconographic catalogue therefore shows a very small number of objects, 21, of which nearly half are figured vessels and half of those were created in Italy. Two further examples, the carnelian scarabs Sy2 and Sy3, are considered to be of Etruscan production and to represent Heracle. While four of the objects are associated with the western area of the island under Punic political control, and two come from the island entrepôt of Lipari, the majority are considered to be Greek-Sicilian.

There is a strong focus on theatrical representations selected for inclusion in *LIMC*, with all but one of the vessels and the Lipari mask (L21) directly associated with drama. The theatrical vessels selected all date to the fourth century, after which no other productions of this type or theme are included. By contrast, those objects assigned a date in the third or second century are varied in object, material and representation. No representations from Sicily in this period are selected for the *LIMC* entries on Melqart or Hercules. All of the examples depict Herakles as a muscular figure, but his age ranges from 'young Herakles' without a beard to older figures. With the exception of the two scarabs (Sy2 and Sy3) Herakles wearing a beard is associated with drinking and appears as a figure to laugh at or with.

All of the objects are unique, suggesting that they were created as commissions for individuals with the money and access to the craftsmen and their materials which this implies. The vast majority are recorded in object or museum catalogues. We should also note that two objects, Sic1 and H1, belong to private individuals, having been sold at auction. In short, the appearance of Herakles on Sicily, in the examples selected to illustrate iconographic types in *LIMC*, was invariably in a theatrical representation in the fourth century BC, after which he appears rarely, either engaged in a Labour or as an individual figure.

2.2.2 What are the benefits of combining data from different sources in understanding the artistic choices of individuals on Sicily in this period?

Sections 2.2-2.2.1 have demonstrated that examples of Herakles from Sicily in the period 370-170 may have been recorded and published with different priorities depending on whether focus is placed on the object or the image it bears. This research seeks to contextualise and trace the biographies of objects bearing the image of Herakles by considering their form, genealogy, source and effects (see 1.3.3). In order to do so, information recorded in different cataloguing systems is required; thus the data from *LIMC* and its source catalogues will be considered alongside information from excavation reports and archaeological contexts, as detailed in section 2.3 below.

The decontextualisation of objects which occurs when focus is placed on an image removes them from the society which created, used, and deposited them, implying a uniformity of practice and aesthetic ideals belied by archaeology and historical sources; also, a lack of local agency and infrastructure. For the reasons behind and impact of such decontextualisation on art historical scholarship, see Marlowe (2013: 38-40). As demonstrated above (2.2.1), decontextualisation occurs in museum and iconographical catalogues, but also, to an extent, in object catalogues. One detail which can aid understanding of an object's function is its size, so the measurements should also be included to place the objects in the context of regional choices, as recorded in sources such as the vase catalogues of Trendall. Inclusion of evidence from excavation reports will therefore allow us to consider the choices made by ancient Sicilian individuals in their local context.

It is equally important to consider the context of objects in their post-depositional lives in order to track the labels and consequent trajectories added to them by scholars in exhibition and academic discussion. For example, the use of terminology such as 'skyphos' or 'olpe' in the entries for figured vessels, with no distinction drawn from earlier Athenian examples, suggests an assumption that these vessels were used for the same purpose as they were in Athenian symposia (see 1.3.3 above). By including the details of collection, museum, or auction context, as recorded in museum and iconographical catalogues, with examples from the data-set identified in object catalogues and excavation reports, it will be possible to show how the effect of, and on, modern artistic choices has influenced our understanding of ancient Sicilian communities.

Mass-produced object types, such as L21 and non-figured vases, were often created by local craftspeople; thus their inclusion enhances our understanding of the choices Sicilians were making when they bought such products. By combining the data selected for inclusion in *LIMC* and its source catalogues with object catalogues and excavation reports of such types from sites such as Lipari and Morgantina, this research seeks to consider the full range of choices available to ancient Sicilians acquiring an image of Herakles, including all available materials. Joy notes that the low ranking of metalwork causes this to be frequently overlooked (2010: 14). The ranking of objects according to material or production method assumes that objects and processes in the ancient world were judged in the same way as today, ignoring the work of such anthropologists as Holtorf (2002: 49) which has identified that these systems are culturally informed.

In considering questions of identity of the diverse communities on ancient Sicily, the potential of the representation of Herakles and Melqart, as demonstrated by *inter alios* Malkin, Miles, and Quinn (see 1.3.2), in showing the personal choices of different individuals, should not be limited to those who could afford commissioned objects, frequently made overseas. This misplaced habit was identified in 2.2.1 from the selections made in *LIMC* and its source catalogues. By considering the mass-produced items discussed above and the local products revealed by, especially, excavation reports, we can broaden our understanding of the ways in which international and commissioned trends are adopted in local communities; and therefore of the groups and institutions at which different strata of society might interact. Repeated examples of representations give us an indication of their relative popularity; this can be identified in object catalogues.

Scholarship on the identification of communities through objects has emphasised the importance of the contextualisation of the objects, and consideration of communities on Sicily has shown the varying experiences of individuals at different sites. This summary of the publication of objects bearing Herakles has demonstrated that examples catalogued by object or image may not include the relevant details, or may assume a similarity of practice at several stages of objects' biographies to a cultural centre through a perceived association in representation. Some cultural groups may be less visible in the examples catalogued.

2.3 Methodology

In addition to the identification of examples, this research will also contextualise the full object biography of data, drawing on the importance of this established both for consideration of objects in imagining communities in 1.3.3, and for the diverse communities and their various socio-political situations of Sicily noted in 2.1.2. This will also show how post-depositional choices have informed our understanding of ancient communities.

2.3.1 Collection of data

As indicated in 1.1, the focus of this research is the response of Sicilian communities to the arrival of the new power of Rome, whose troops first arrived on the island in 264 BC. In order to contextualise the choices made in the objects depicting Herakles, examples from the century before and after this date were chosen. Since the most precise dates attributed to objects are within decades, all examples of objects depicting Herakles within the years 370-170 BC have been included. Very few objects dated after 200 have been published; therefore in order to provide better context for the period after the Roman takeover, some objects dating after 170 from the third case study site at Morgantina were included.

Further research that considers objects dating after 170 would augment this research.

Data were collected initially from the sources cited in *LIMC*. Further examples were then sought from the publications available in the libraries of the University of Leicester and the Institute of Classical Studies. All examples of objects bearing the image of Herakles or his equivalents dating to 370-170 BC and found on Sicily have been recorded. This included examples of objects from museum collections on Sicily which lack details of their find-spot. All objects were mapped in terms of their find-spot, locating this as a museum where no other details were forthcoming, and then compared by object type, material, site, representation, and deposition context. By including all the data in these comparisons, including unprovenanced material in museum collections, it was therefore possible to identify trends in the selection of material by both ancient Sicilians and modern collectors and scholars of iconography. The inclusion of unprovenanced material from this period also allowed the understanding of wider trends of choices in the ancient Mediterranean and relationships between different levels of society.

Since this research is focused upon individual choices, objects that are the result of civic, joint decisions, such as coins or public architectural decoration, were not recorded within the data-set, although they were considered, as were written texts, as sources against which

representations may be compared, rather than as illustrations of them. Inscriptions now published on the *I.Sicily* database appeared after data collection had been completed; thus they do not appear in the gazetteer and require further integration into this data-set. The implications of cataloguing by database differ from discussion in 2.2 above and await further consideration.

2.3.2 Presentation in a gazetteer

Individual objects bearing representations of Herakles are recorded in a gazetteer, identified by the initial letter(s) of their find-spot and a number. Wherever available, entries include an image of the object, although in some cases this is restricted to the representation on the object. In order to place the object's deposition in as much context as possible, details of where and with what it was found are recorded. To contextualise the choices made in terms of wider trends, other examples of the object, representation, and deities found on that object are recorded, followed by the object's type, material and state of preservation. The latter includes the size of the object, any visible or recorded damage, which may inform our understanding of its use, as well as any personalisation of the object after the end of its production stages. The representation is then described to identify elements which may recur in other examples, that is the pose and appearance, to include an idea of the figure's age, followed by elements which could be culturally affected: hair, dress, weapons and accessories. Any additional features which might imply narrative elements of the myth, companions and details of the background or field, are noted. Evidence of other images on the object, which might provide further context to its use, are also recorded.

The discussion in 1.3, 2.1.2 and 2.2 above has demonstrated that even in recording what seem basic facts about an object, scholarly interpretation of production methods, object forms, and the function of the object have been applied. This also extends to the reading of the representation on the object and the date assigned to it. As indicated in 2.2.1 above for Ag2&3, an object with two images may be awarded two dates in iconographic catalogues. Recording the inventory numbers of objects can reveal their post-depositional ownership, as well as details about their find-spot or interpreted form. Finally, references are given to publications where the individual object is cited to track how differing interpretations may arise.

While this method compiles all known information for an individual object effectively, it does not necessarily show the different stages of each object's biography explicitly, the

value of which was demonstrated in 1.3.3. Therefore, for each object an individual biography has been drawn up, which tracks the source of our information for each stage of every object's pre- and post-depositional life, thus making clear the extent of our knowledge of the differing stages and the individuals associated with the object at each stage. This is set out with a description of events at every stage, the people involved, the precise reference for the source of our knowledge in scholarship and then 'notes and queries' about each stage. Some entries are necessarily conjecture, but this is made explicit, and some may remain unanswerable. Since precise references may be found in this way, they are not cited in the main text. By presenting the information in this way, it has been possible to identify more effectively contextual details which inform our understanding of the individuals and institutions, both ancient and modern, associated with different stages of objects' lives. Historical sources informing this context are collated in an appendix, arranged by site. The initial conclusions arising from this methodology for the whole data-set are discussed in Chapter 3.

2.3.3 Investigation of case studies

As demonstrated in 1.3.3 above by the analogy with pupils and their possessions within schools, far greater understanding of the varying trends, groups, and institutions relevant to an object can be attained by looking at concrete examples of the contexts in which they were created, used and deposited. The brief sketch of the different communities on Sicily in 2.1.2 shows that assuming the same conditions for producers, user and depositors in, for example, 249 BC at Lipari, Selinunte, and Morgantina, is problematic. Moreover, the different concerns of excavators and scholars summarised in 2.2 can profoundly affect interpretation of individual objects. Chapters 4-6 therefore act as case studies arising from the conclusions of Chapter 3 in which greater focus is placed on the context of a group of objects in an attempt to bring out fully the groups, institutions and trends which informed artistic choices and identity for those associated with the objects.

Joy has drawn attention to both the circularity of object biography (2010: 10), as established by scholars such as Appadurai and Strathern, and the value in assessing individual objects against their usual life-path (see 1.3.3 above). Therefore, in addressing case studies where objects of the same type recur, composite object biographies have been compiled from the individual examples in the gazetteer. From the identification of the different stages of objects' lives it has been possible to trace common examples of external influence, helping to show the extent to which Sicilian communities were 'on the edge', and the impact of post-depositional events on our understanding of them. The composite

biographies are thus arranged in cycles which meet at the point of deposition and excavation, where the cycles of pre-depositional production, use, and deposition encounter post-depositional excavation and display, and are surrounded by the influential cycle of post-depositional publication. Particular attention has been given to the impact of a focus on object or image in the latter cycle. The importance of this in museum display has now been established by Sweetman and Hadfield (see n1, p. 9). The final case study, which features a greater variety of object types from one site, cannot be accommodated coherently in one composite diagram, but material has been discussed in broader themes, based on the grouping of Gosden into form, genealogy, source and effects (2005: 198), developed by Peña (2007: 7) for pottery with addition of manufacture and distribution, use and deposition. This methodology permits the consideration of each individual object in its context, without assuming similarity of experience due to object type, theme of representation or site.

2.3.4 Conclusions informing Research Questions

The individual treatment of objects by contextualised biography described in this methodology has permitted me to address the research questions outlined in 1.1. By drawing together broader evidence from Chapter 3 with the contextualised case studies of Chapters 4-6, trends in the choice of object type and representation of Herakles have been addressed, and explanations offered. The methodology of identifying the stages of objects' biographies within contextualised case studies has then allowed me to assess the extent to which individuals within communities remained, or did not remain, 'on the edge' of empire in terms of artistic choices and identity as a new external power's influence developed, by considering the groups, institutions and broader trends within which choices at different stages are repeated. From this examination, the importance of the outer cycle of modern publication has become apparent in assessing the potential and limitations of objects bearing a representation of Herakles for our understanding of artistic choices and identity in Sicily during 370-170.

Chapter 3: Data Analysis

3.1 What picture emerges from new data of the

i) objects ii) material iii) context on/in which Herakles appeared?

i) objects

This research has identified 560 objects on which Herakles was represented (either as an image or as a name) which are recorded as coming from Sicily during the years 370-170. (See 2.3.1 for dating criteria and the inclusion of unprovenanced objects from museum collections.) The vast majority of these are a cache of clay sealings found on the steps of Temple C at Selinunte, 459 of which feature the figure of Herakles or the club associated with him in a number of different schemes of representation (see Chapter 5). Note that due to the difference between these 459 examples and other examples, the vertical axes on some charts below have been restricted to show the detail of the less frequent examples; the totals for the examples are given in numerical form above the relevant bar. The remaining 101 objects are striking in the variety of their form, as demonstrated by figure 3.1.1 below. The largest examples are an inscribed bench from Agrigento and a marble statuette from Syracuse measuring 50 cm; and there are seven vessels which are 30-50 cm in height, but the vast majority of these objects are under 20 cm and could be carried easily in the owner's hand.

Data published in excavation reports reveal the range of objects (figure 3.1.1) on which Herakles was found as an image or as an inscription (Ag6, G3, G5. See 2.3.1, further examples from the *I. Sicily* database are discussed below) in addition to those selected as examples of iconographic types discussed in 2.2.1. Several objects were created as images of Herakles, namely masks, figurines, statues, statuettes or their moulds, an antefix, and a vessel moulded into the form of Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion (Cef1). The remaining objects were elaborated, and sometimes personalised, by the addition of an image of Herakles: unfigured vessels, *terra sigillata* vessels, altars, scarab sealstones, and a mirror. Data from excavations at Lipari and Morgantina contribute 44 additional objects to the data-set which is dominated by the examples from Selinunte. A further 24 objects are unprovenanced objects from museum collections (see 3.1.iii below for further discussion of the implications of this); 14 of these were not selected on the basis of their imagery for inclusion in *LIMC*. The recording system employed by iconographic catalogues, by their nature, means that items are recorded according to scholars' reading of

the image an object bears. Some objects may therefore be included under entries for other mythological characters since their identification is debated, such as the antefix G6 and the two Solunto altars, Sol1-2 (see Chapter 5 for implications of such cataloguing).

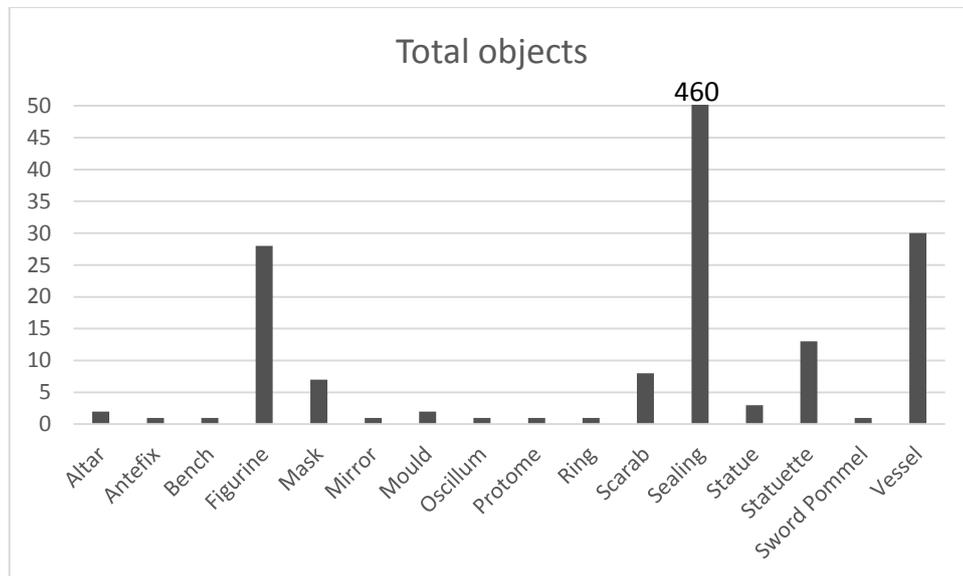


figure 3.1.1. Objects bearing a representation of Herakles

As discussed in 2.1.1-2, at the start of the study period, Sicily fell broadly into two spheres of influence, known to scholars as eparchies, that of Carthage in the west and that of Sicilian Greeks in the east, often dominated by Syracuse. Objects depicting Herakles come from across Sicily, the Aeolian Islands and the island of Cossyra (figures 3.1.2-3.1.3); apart from Selinunte, they occur most frequently at Lipari and Morgantina, with museum collections at Catania, Palermo and Syracuse replacing original find-spots for their unprovenanced objects (see 2.3.1). The distribution of Herakles therefore initially appears unaffected by the two eparchies.

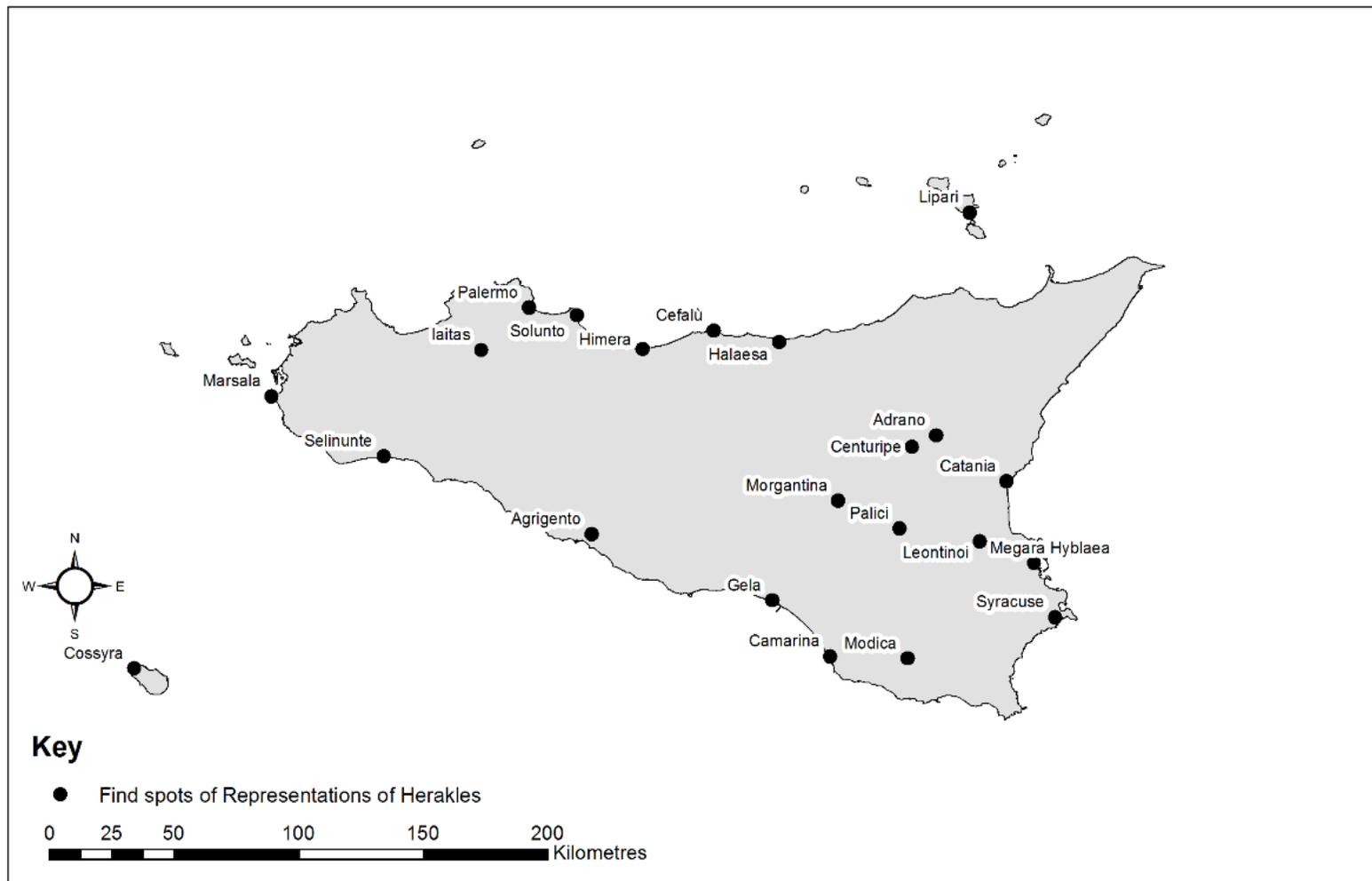


figure 3.1.2. Find-spots of Herakles objects on Sicily

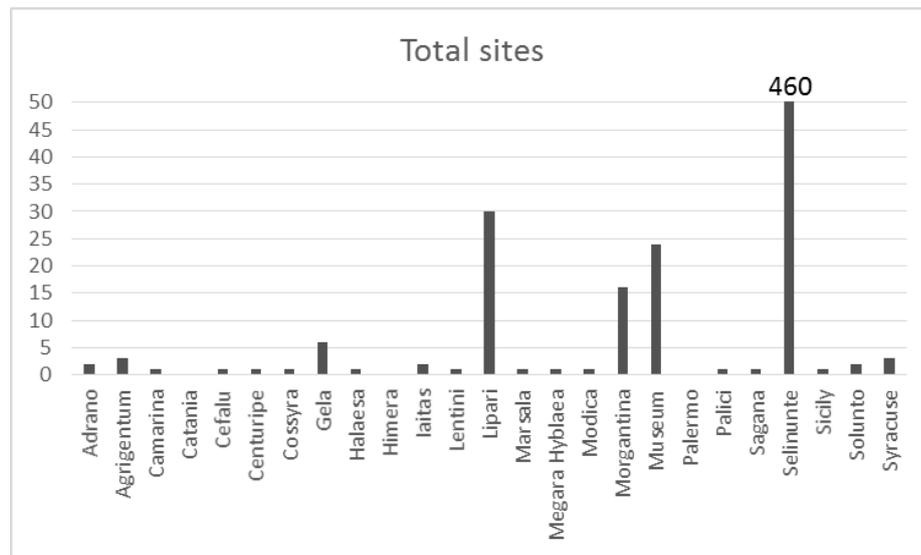


figure 3.1.3. Sites

The data below are discussed by century to show the overall trends in the century of the Roman takeover and those before and after it. Detailed consideration of the find-spot of these objects appears in 3.1.iii.

Evidence from excavation reports and object and museum catalogues reveals (figure 3.1.4) that a wide range of objects, namely vessels, masks and scarabs depicting Herakles were created on Sicily in the fourth century, in addition to a number of figurines and statuettes, and one-off examples of a mirror and an administrative sealing. There are frequent examples of objects made from moulds, implying a demand for several examples of objects such as masks and figurines, as well as some vessels which were either made entirely from a mould or decorated with moulded features. The scarabs and statuettes derive from the same museum catalogue as examples selected as iconographic types in *LIMC* from Catania, Palermo and Syracuse.

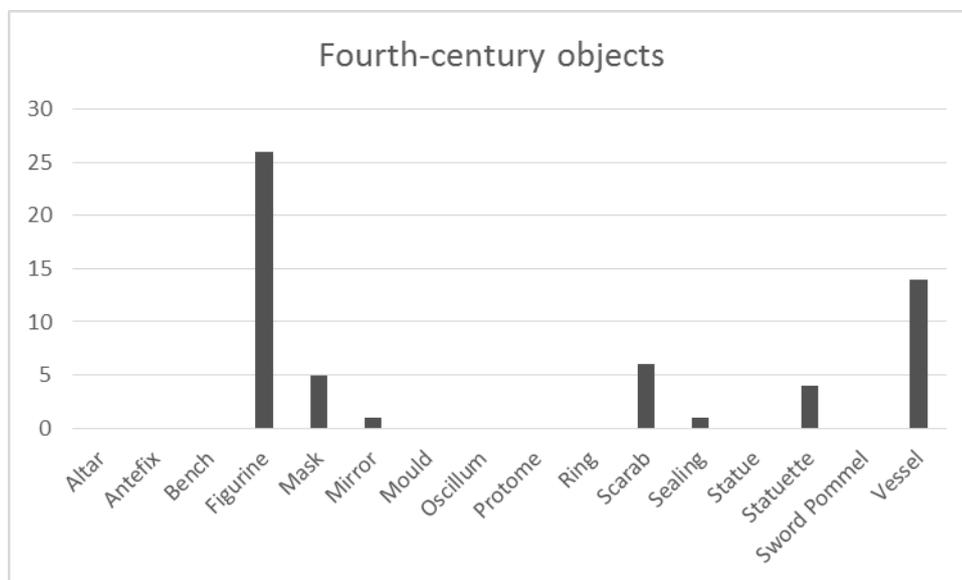


figure 3.1.4. Fourth-century objects

As indicated by figures 3.1.5-6, data from excavation reports and object catalogues demonstrate that a significant number of examples from the fourth century have been found on Lipari, and that Herakles appeared at a range of sites across the south-east and north coasts of Sicily. Investigation into the object biography of objects selected as iconographic representations in *LIMC*, H1 and Cam1, in their source object and museum catalogues associates these examples with Himera and Camarina respectively, rather than regional or museum designations.

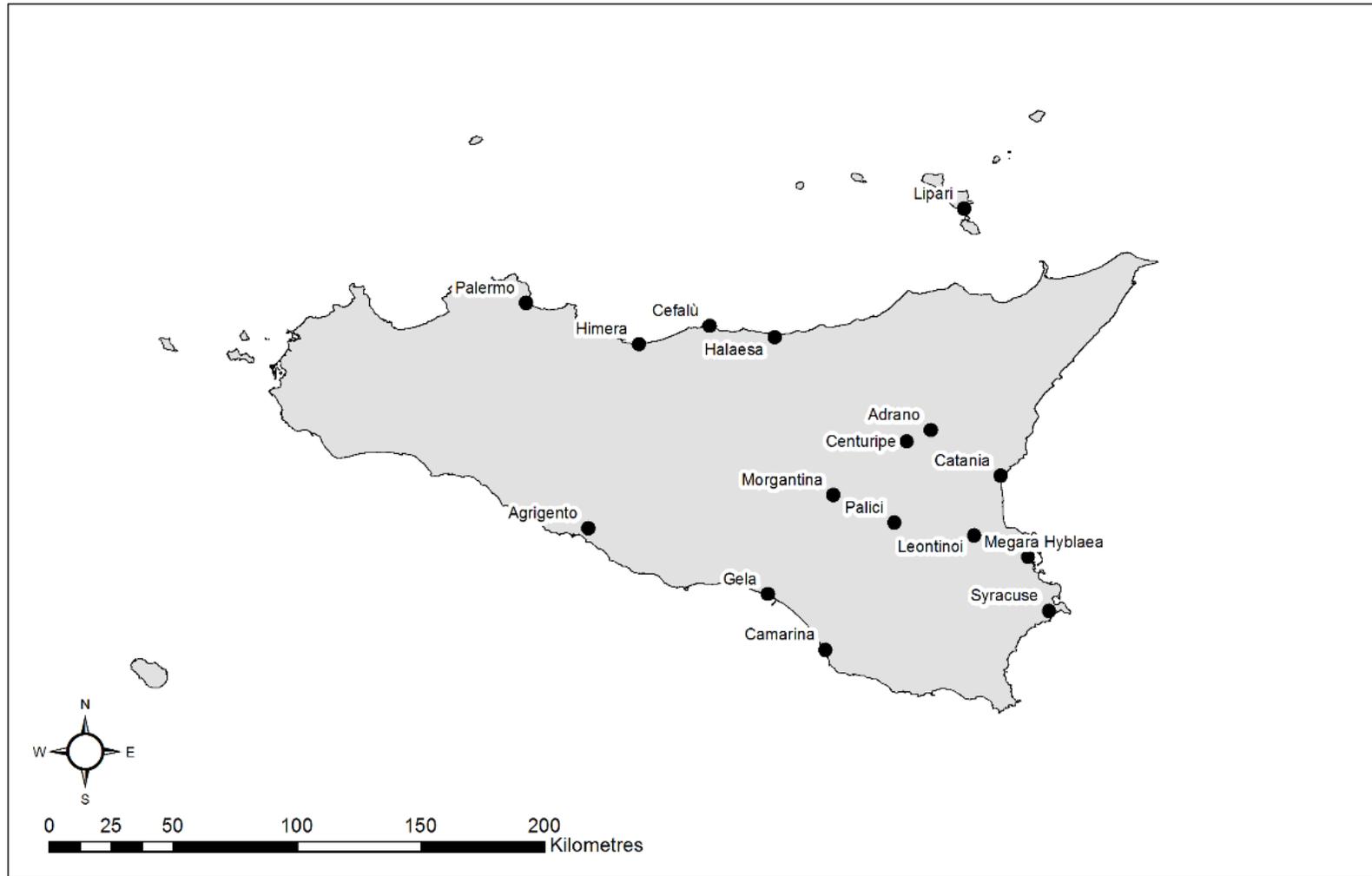


figure 3.1.5. Find-spots of Herakles objects on Sicily dating to the fourth century

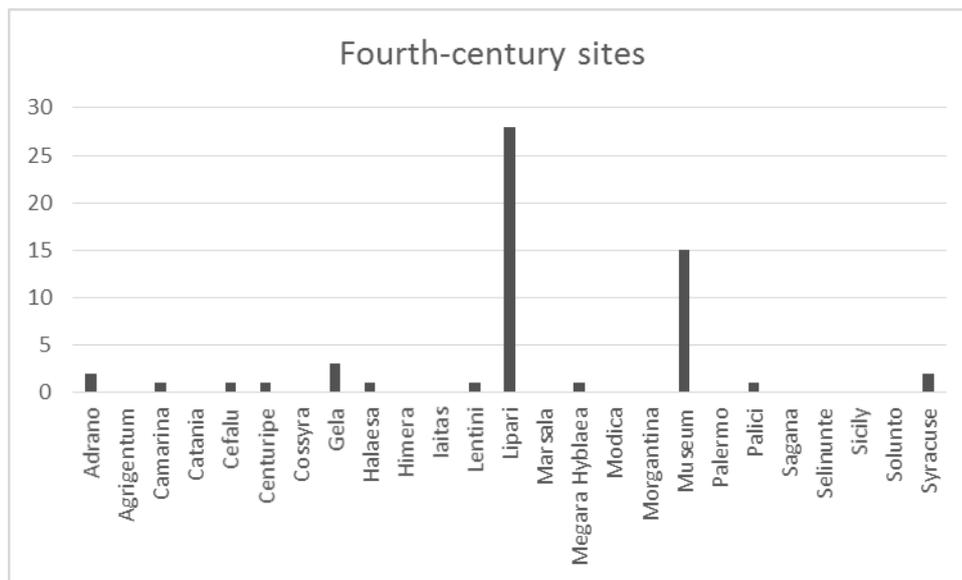


figure 3.1.6. Fourth-century sites

Section 1.3.3 established the importance of considering the date, site, and method of objects' production. Close dating of objects is not possible for all object types; of the museum examples, scarab seal-stones may date to the fourth or third century, while statuettes are dated either to the fourth century themselves or by association with a prototype produced externally. The figurines and masks, all produced locally to where they were deposited, are considered to have been created in the second half (Webster: third quarter) of the fourth century, with the earliest examples of figurines deriving from Syracuse (for discussion of Syracuse as the centre of Sicily, see 2.1.2) and followed by examples of similar form from Palici, Megara Hyblaea and Gela. The excavations at the Contrada Diana necropolis on Lipari have revealed multiple examples of three 'types' (i.e. from the same mould) dated by Webster (1978: 139) to 350-325; the three types occur 7, 3 and 7 times respectively. Vessels are dated to the same period.

Almost all of the objects are attributed to Sicilian production and the exceptions are those which appear in smaller numbers and invariably derive from museum collections, chosen as examples of iconographic types in *LIMC*; the bronze statuettes from the Palermo collection, and the Etruscan scarabs from the Palermo and Syracuse collections. A mirror found in tomb 1328 on Lipari (L2) is also of Etruscan origin. L29 had the Greek letter beta engraved underneath the base and the cover after its production. L1 features several figures labelled in Greek by the creator of the pot. With the exception of the vessels and

mirror, all the objects in this data-set not selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC* measure less than 12 cm. Cef1 is unique in its form in the objects collected here. It measures only 8.9 x 5.4cm. The remaining vessels of fourth century production are large, figured vessels.

In addition to the objects chosen as examples of iconographic types - all of overseas production or stylistic influence - therefore, evidence from excavation reports and object catalogues demonstrates that Herakles was represented along the north and south-east coasts of Sicily, notably at Lipari. Here we can see Etruscan imports, as well as personalisation of objects in Greek. He was found on a range of objects, the majority of them small, produced in Sicilian communities and in the second half of the fourth century, in addition to the large-scale red figure vessels previously identified.

The picture in the following centuries is rather more patchy and it should be emphasised that further excavation at Sicilian sites may change these findings (see 3.1.iii p. 67 for discussion of small numbers and an example of the impact of new findings). Leaving aside the cache of sealings from Selinunte, there are seventeen examples from the third century (figure 3.1.7), in addition to the five scarab seal-stones, probably imported from Etruria, noted above which are dated on stylistic grounds 350-200. Evidence from excavation reports shows that Herakles is found personalising a range of objects of the following types; antefix, oscillum (see footnote p. 80 for the suggestion that this example was a loomweight), protome, statue and sword pommel, in addition to the mould and ring selected as exemplars of iconographic types in *LIMC*.

The objects collected from the third century frequently give a direct indication of the existence of other objects which featured Herakles; most notably the sealing devices of semi-precious stones, glass, or metals which effected the sealings from Selinunte (see Chapter 5). The existence of mould-made objects such as L14 or M3, which suggest the production of other objects from the same matrix, was already established on Sicily from the evidence of the collection of fourth-century objects discussed above. All of the 459 sealings, as well as Ag5 (the mould for a statuette) must either have created or have been created from other objects, adding to our view of the choices made in representing Herakles on Sicily in the period of Rome's takeover of the island. The publication of excavations at Lipari and Morgantina indicates the local production of 9 non-figured vessels bearing an image of Herakles.

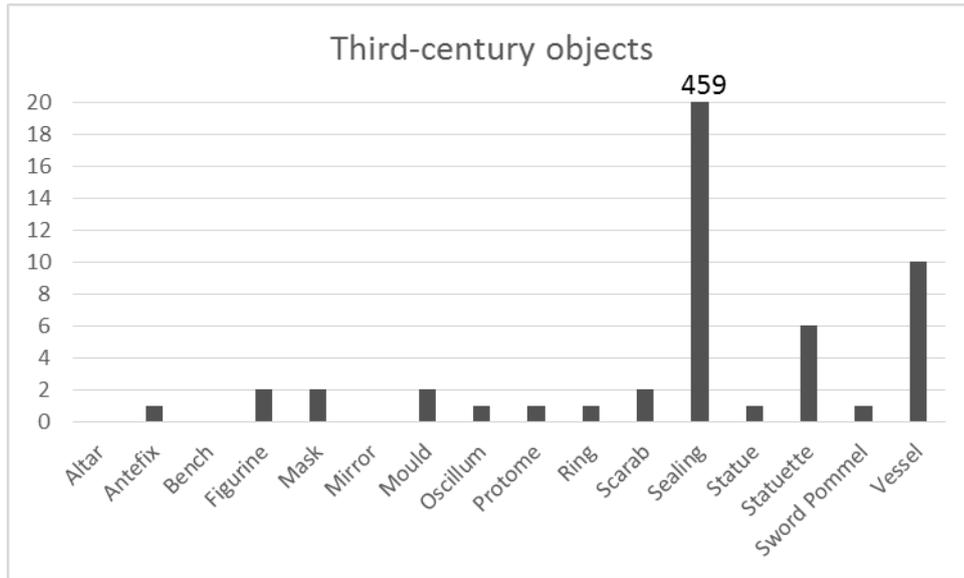


figure 3.1.7. Third-century objects

The number of sites (figure 3.1.8) is much reduced and, with the exception of Morgantina, restricted to coastal sites, predominantly on the long south-west coast, apart from museum examples from Palermo and Syracuse. Further investigation into the object biography of examples in the Palermo Museum collection emphasises the cache of sealings from Selinunte, as well as a statuette with a provenance of Marsala, located, with Selinunte, in the Carthaginian eparchy at the start of the third century.

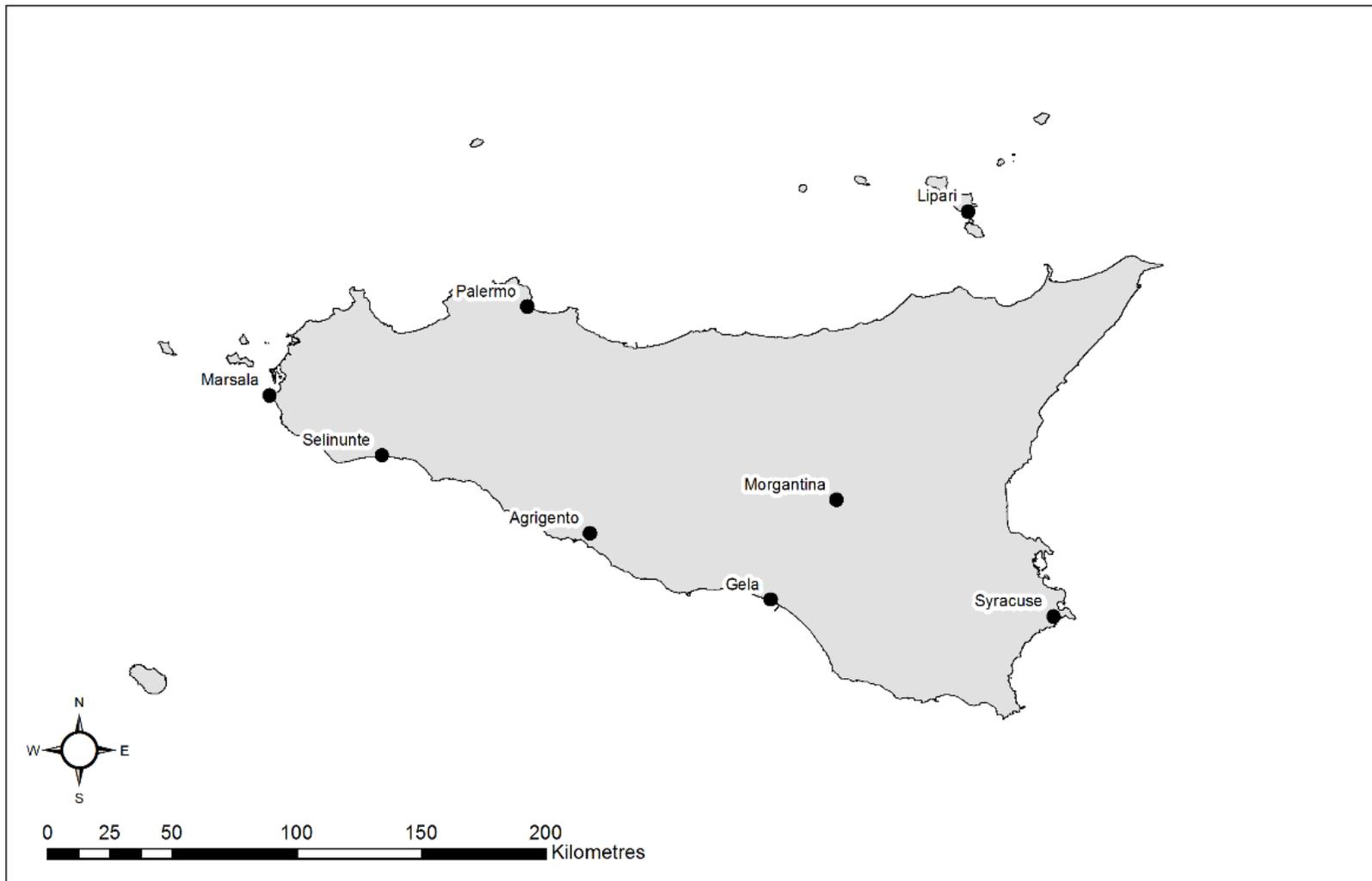


figure 3.1.8. Representations of Herakles found on Sicily dating to the third century BC

In terms of production, only the objects held in Sicilian museums (Ag1, an Apulian vessel, the scarab seal-stones, and the bronze figurines P6 and P9) are considered likely to have been imported to the island. G6, a clay antefix, was probably produced locally, but is considered to have been created from an imported Tarantine mould and M3, a late example of a figurine, is considered to derive from an Attic prototype. It is also possible that some of the sealing devices which created the Selinunte sealings were not created on Sicily. Two of the objects, both from Gela, have been personalised with inscriptions to Herakles created after production, written in Greek. In terms of size, once again the majority of these objects are small, measuring less than 10 cm in length. The example which bucks this trend is the domestic antefix G6, which measures 20 x 20 cm.

Three objects (sword pommel G5 and statuettes P9, 33) are dated on stylistic grounds to a two-century span with other statuettes P1, P6, Ma1 also associated with other objects to determine their dating to the beginning of the third century. Scarab Sy6 and statue Ag5 are dated to the century span by similar methods. By contrast, other examples have been dated by associated finds to specific periods; G3, G6 to the period 311-282, L14 to 300-250, while the *terminus* for the Selinunte sealings is 249 BC, the date of the fire which baked the clay of the sealings. Some of the sealings may well have been held at the temple for more than fifty years and thus represent objects from the fourth century or even earlier. (See Chapter 5 for more detailed discussion.). All these latter objects can therefore be associated with particular historical situations.

Investigation into archaeological reports has identified a range of small objects as bearing representations of Herakles and dating from the third century on Sicily, notably the large cache of sealings from Selinunte and the sealing devices whose existence they imply. Several of the objects from this century therefore permit us to consider the personal artistic choices of individuals, since many of the sealings and the scarabs represent the marker chosen by individuals to display their identity, while the two Geloan objects provide evidence of individuals electing to add Herakles' persona to objects not otherwise bearing his image, namely a sword pommel and an oscillum or loomweight (cf footnote p. 80). Examples still derive from across the island; external influences from south Italy, Greece and North Africa have been proposed for some objects of local production, but none from Rome in the century in which she took control of Sicily.

As noted in 2.1.3, relatively little material evidence survives from Roman Sicily in the last two centuries BC; unusually two inland sites, Morgantina and Iaitas, provide much of the available evidence. Further finds will have a significant impact on the following discussion. In addition to the two statuettes selected as examples of iconographical types in *LIMC*, the few examples from this period present a range of objects including the new types of altars and a bench.

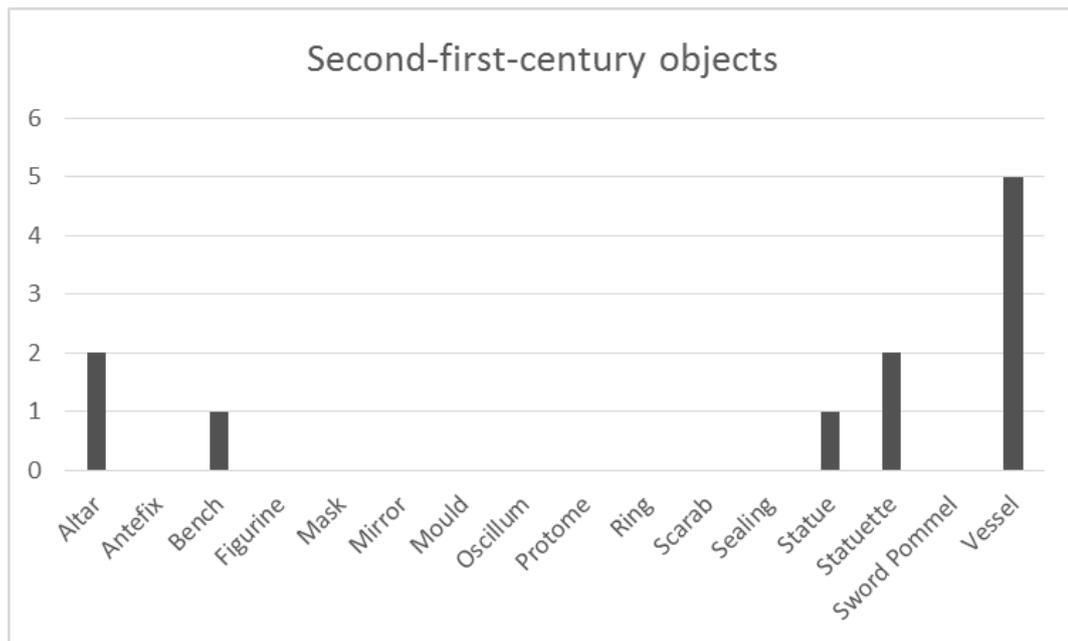


figure 3.1.9. Second-first-century objects

Evidence from two sites (figure 3.1.10) is derived from excavation reports; the island of Cossyra, situated between Sicily and Carthage and later used by Roman emperors for the disposal of colourful relatives, and Solunto on the north coast. Further investigation of the object biography of Mod1 in excavation reports places its findspot at the interior southern site of Modica.

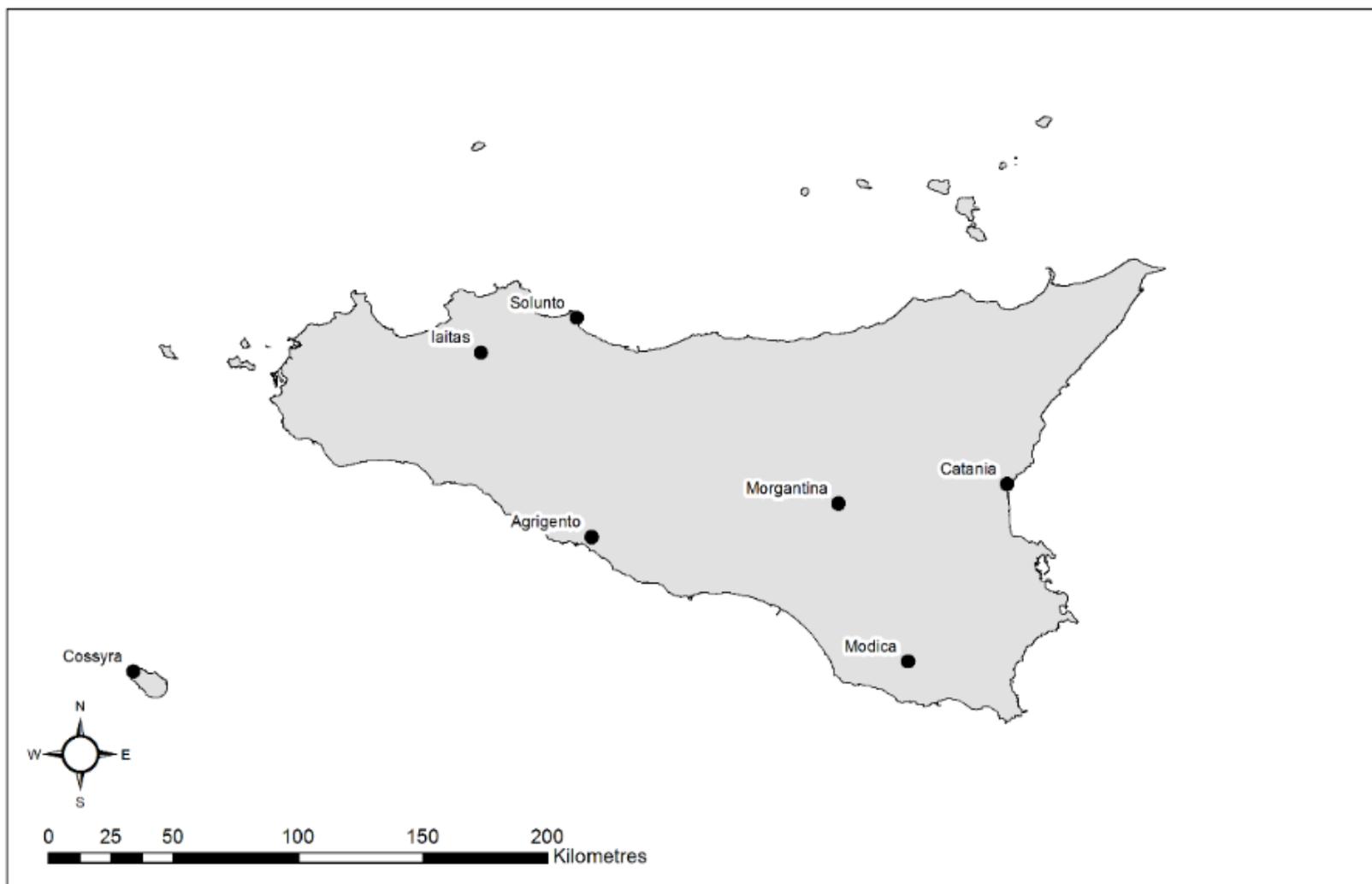


figure 3.1.10. Representations of Herakles found on Sicily from the second-first centuries BC

Although this represents a very small sample (see further discussion, p. 67), it is noteworthy that all the vessels are attributed to foreign production, M15 in Anatolia and the others in north Italy. The statue was almost certainly imported to Cossyra and the statuettes are invariably attributed to Italian craftsmanship. While ‘north Italy’ is associated with Rome in understanding of the vessels’ production, this community is not usually attributed to the statuettes, although mercenaries are cited with Mod1. The bench bears an inscription to Herakles and Hermes written in Greek (see further discussion p. 67), but dedicated by a man with a Roman name, Lucius. The two altars and the statue are associated with Melqart, implying Punic-Phoenician associations. Apart from the small statuette, Cat3, all these objects are on a larger scale than those discussed above.

Dating of these objects, along with the three outstanding additions to the data-set, L13, Cat4 and Par1, varies between precise dating of the vessels (see Chapter 6) to the use of very broad terms, ‘Hellenistic/ Roman’ for Par1 and Ag6. The two altars are given a range of 200-30 BC, associating them with a precise historical episode as their *terminus*; Mod1 is dated to the second century.

The objects collected here bear out the infrequent representation of Herakles in the second-first centuries selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC* on the available examples but does indicate important evidence of both Punic-Phoenician and Roman influence on his appearance during this time, as well as new object types bearing his image.

Summary of conclusions

The data collected here give a full and varied picture of the range of objects on which Herakles was represented in Sicily from 370-170. In addition to the handful of imported or commissioned large vessels and statuettes, or seal-stones selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC*, Herakles appeared on a plethora of invariably small, locally produced objects. In the third century in particular, these objects were often personalised or represented an individual's public identity. The evidence from archaeological reports shows the relatively high numbers (in this data-set) of examples from Lipari and, in particular, the cache of sealings from Selinunte. It is ironic that the representation of the one example of a sealing selected as an iconographic type in *LIMC* is contested, see 3.2 below.

Some trends do emerge from the evidence collected here. In terms of the types and sizes of objects, a change can be identified rather earlier than the First Punic War, in the final quarter of the fourth century. Prior to this change, the majority of objects depicting Herakles were figurines, masks or vessels, of small size (except for imported vessels), produced locally and invariably from moulds. Although there are three runs of identical examples, most objects on this evidence reveal different choices being made by creators and buyers in the form and use of the object. This warrants further investigation of the simplistic labels applied to these objects. Those objects attributed to overseas production, figurines, scarab seal-stones and figured vessels, tend to come from museum collections and may reflect the choices of modern collectors, rather than ancient Sicilians. The only examples of writing noted in this earlier period come from Lipari.

Around the end of the fourth century, the emphasis shifts from objects created to depict Herakles (such as figurines and masks) to those on which he is represented, with objects still tending to be produced locally and of small size, with some external artistic influences suggested. On several of the objects a choice must have been made to create or purchase an object on which Herakles stands as the identifying character for an individual as owner, in particular objects for sealing such as the Selinunte sealings. On other objects, such as G3 and Ag2&3, an area of the object has been selected to feature Herakles in a way which eloquently demonstrates a personal choice, either through writing or the depiction of a chosen scene which does not contribute to the practical function of the object, although it may have been believed to enhance it.

Thus, although the collection of objects from third-century Sicily may be patchy, the striking comparison between the breadth of evidence from the cache of sealings from Selinunte and the handful of other objects from the century in which Roman power on Sicily became established warrants further investigation, especially in light of the insights which these objects afford into production and personal and artistic choices on the island (see Chapter 5).

The objects collected thin out at the end of the third century, and from this point, albeit with a very small sample, imported objects predominate. Rome's presence did not wipe out the opportunity for individuals to make personal choices in the objects they created and bought, although it may have added new markets from which to acquire them. One Roman in Agrigento wanted to display and emphasise his choice of dedication to the local literate individuals in their own language.

ii) materials

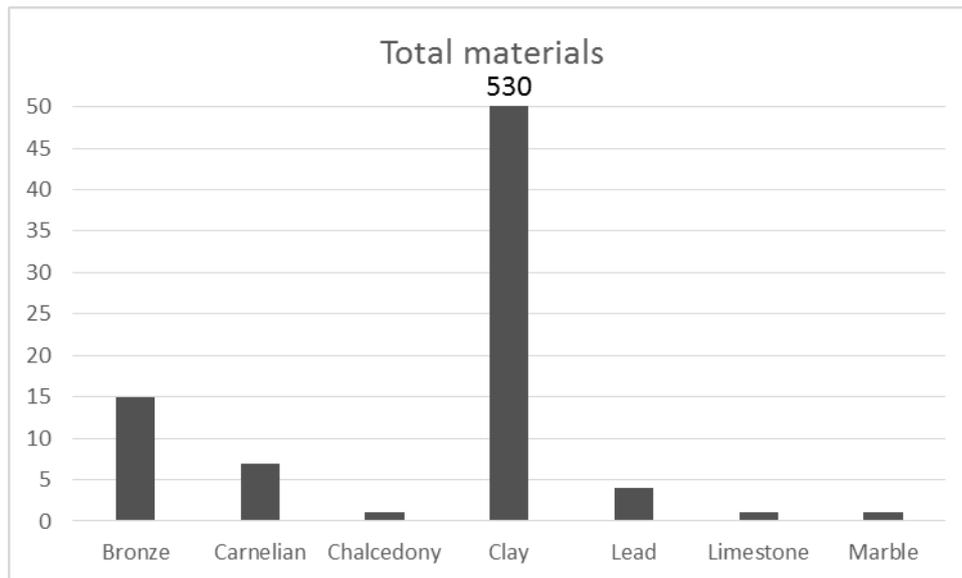


figure 3.1.11. Materials

Herakles was most usually depicted on clay objects on Sicily in the years 370-170, according to the sample collected here (figure 3.1.11). Many of these objects, however, imply the existence or creation of other objects bearing his representation which are likely to have been made from other materials (see p.51 above and p. 59 below). The most obvious examples are the cache of sealings from Selinunte, which imply the existence of sealing objects for their creation, but there are also some moulds such as Ag5, which may have produced metal objects. As noted in 2.2, some scholars doubt that production of bronzework took place on Sicily; this raises the question of why moulds should be found. It is notable that clay objects tend to be dated more precisely than those of other materials, although this dating is often subjective and can be affected by external factors; this may affect dating conclusions such as those proposed in the previous section. The question of re-use of moulds and its effect on dating is discussed at 4.2. Although objects made of more expensive materials such as bronze or marble are frequently selected as exemplars of iconographic types, 3.1.11 shows that they survive in much lower numbers than clay objects and that in ancient Sicily they were chosen alongside objects made of lead, chalcedony and limestone, as revealed by material from excavation reports and object catalogues.

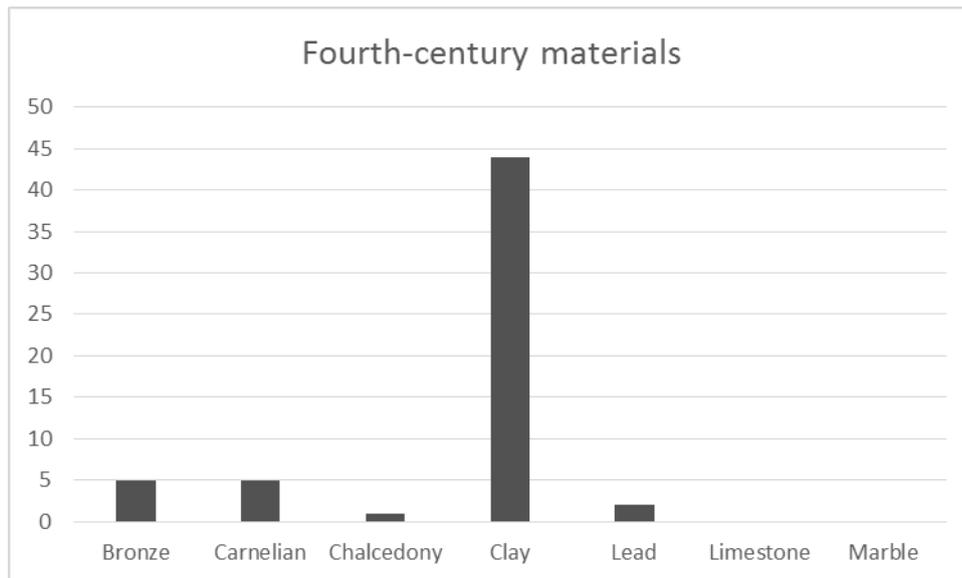


figure 3.1.12. Fourth-century materials

Data from excavation reports, combined with object, museum, and iconographic catalogues, show that it was considered suitable to represent Herakles not simply on clay and imported carnelian on Sicily in the fourth century, but on bronze, chalcedony and lead too. All objects made from the latter materials in this period measure 10 cm or less, which may suggest they were relatively low-cost. The carnelian and chalcedony objects from this period are attributed to Etruscan production, and bronze-working (see above) is also assumed to be external.

With the exception of the imported, wheel-made vessel Sy7 from Athens and L29-30, all the clay examples from this period recorded in excavation reports and object catalogues were under 15 cm and made from local clay in moulds (see Chapter 4). This again implies their low cost. In the case of Cef1, the object was found alongside objects of the same clay and glaze, suggesting either local origin, or that a set of objects made from the same material was imported. L29-30 were made from local clay but are listed as ‘terracotta imitations of silver’; traces of gilding remain on L30, a material which would have been imported to Lipari.

The objects from this earlier period not made from clay derive from museum collections of long standing and are not considered to have been produced on Sicily; these are the small bronze statuettes from the Palermo Museum and the scarab seals from Syracuse and Palermo, which are all made from carnelian with the exception of P4, of chalcedony. L2, a

bronze mirror, is the only exception. The other object which bucks the clay trend is H1, a lead sealing from Halaesa.

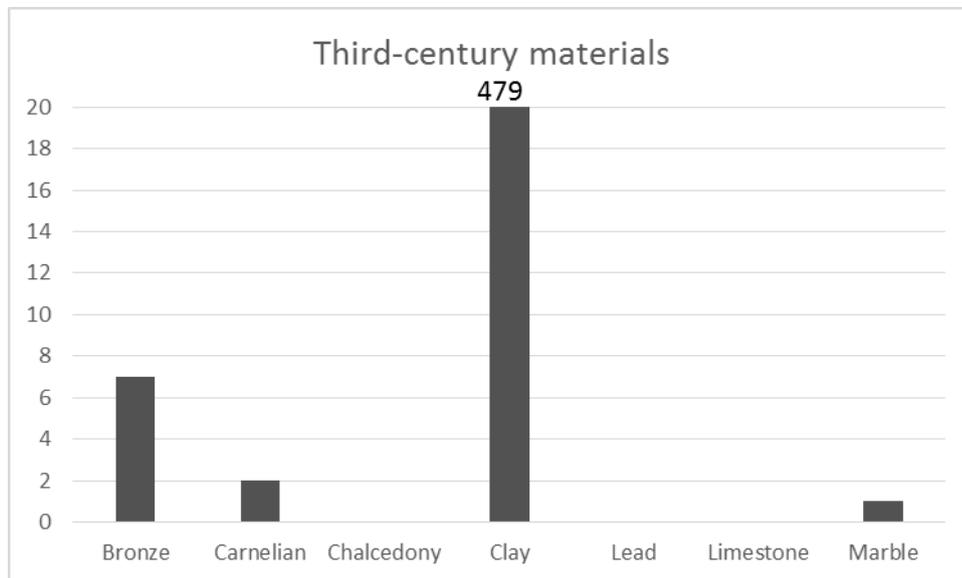


figure 3.1.13. Third-century materials

The surviving evidence from the third century shows the frequency of Herakles' representation on clay objects, when data from excavation reports are combined with iconographical, object, and museum catalogues. As discussed above (see 2.2), objects of more expensive materials are more likely to be selected for inclusion in a catalogue of iconographic types. We should note, however, that the nature of the examples from this period implies the existence of objects made from different materials (see p. 51, 57 above). This study has recorded the objects as they are now found, but we can confidently propose the existence of a minimum of two official seals at Selinunte not made from clay, as well as 28 rings or personal seals bearing the image of Herakles before or in 249. These are likely to have been made from semi-precious stones combined with a metal such as gold for the band of a ring. The mould from Agrigento (Ag2&3) implies the production of at least one other object featuring Herakles; while Ag5 may have been a mould for clay, bronze or perhaps even lead figurines or statuettes.

Clay remains the most common material on which Herakles appears in the third century from the data collected. The majority of the pieces are made from local clay, including the antefix from Gela (G6) for which a mould from Taranto is suggested. The analysis from the Morgantina finds shows that local clay was used there for a range of objects; several of

the vessels from this site present a metallic gloss. Three of the bronze statuettes are associated with external production; P1 to a Peloponnesian prototype, P6 and 9 to Etruscan and Sabine creation respectively. Sy6 is also attributed to Etruscan production. All the examples not made from clay from this period are known from museum collections.

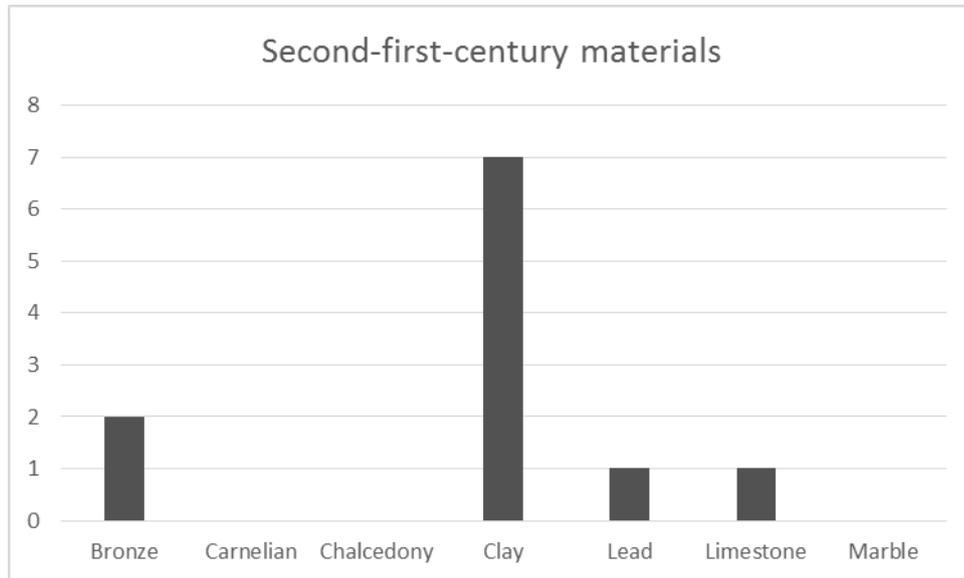


figure 3.1.14. Second-first-century materials

The small sample from the later period of study shows that Herakles still appeared on a range of materials in this period, in addition to the two bronze objects from museum collections selected as exemplars of iconographic types in *LIMC*. As noted in 3.1.i, the 5 clay vessels from this period contrast with those of the previous centuries by being made of clay local to their production in Anatolia and Arretium. I can find no indication of the source of the two clay altars from Solunto, nor the limestone of Ag6, which is the only example of this material in the data-set.

Finally, we should note the presence throughout the period of a small number of lead objects, which vary in their form; the sealing Hal1, the comic figurine from Palici noted above, the head of a statuette from Parthenicum and the club from the statue of Melqart on Cossyra. Lead is a relatively cheap material and is easy to melt down for re-use. The breadth of object types in this material, albeit small in number, along with the fact that it is

easy to re-use, may suggest that this material was more commonly used than is visible in the archaeological record.

When considering the trends shown in the surviving objects it is important to consider why objects may not appear in the published record. The re-use of metals by melting down objects is as relevant to bronze as it is to the lead objects discussed above. Objects made from precious metals are more likely to be kept for the benefit of individuals as much in the modern world as the ancient. The realities of the art market, where precise provenance is not always required, mean that objects found in illicit excavations may find a lucrative market for the finder (Marlowe, 2013: 38). The account of a nineteenth-century inspector of antiquities, Sgr Sclarici, included in the Appendix demonstrates a further problem in that early excavations did not always identify, keep, or record all finds. As indicated in Chapter 5, small objects, such as jewellery and scarabs, were easy to transport discreetly and are likely to have been brought away from Sicily by collectors. The number of examples of seals bearing images of Herakles from Selinunte implies that he may have appeared regularly on sealing objects made from precious metals and semi-precious stones, as well as materials such as glass.

Summary of Conclusions

The data collected show that the majority of surviving objects on which Herakles would have been seen on Sicily in the years 370-170 were made of clay, usually local clay, although we should bear in mind the survival issues discussed above. Clay objects made from non-local clay tend to appear in museum collections, suggesting that at some point in their biography they were considered of greater value than their local counterparts. Given the higher numbers and presumably popularity of objects made from local clay, particularly in the earlier period of the study, further investigation into when, why and by whom this judgment has been made seems warranted. There are also examples of objects made from local clay which either show, or are considered to show, influences from further afield, as well as those implying the existence of other objects, either further examples in the same material or those in a more expensive material. Sometimes these appear alongside objects identical in form, but of different fabric. This interplay of local and external deserves more attention. When combined with the presence of lead objects, the question of the use of cheaper materials is raised. The balanced picture of materials shown by the entries selected as exemplars of iconographic types in *LIMC* is not borne out by the data collected

here, and it appears that most objects, which invariably derive from museum collections, not made from clay are considered to have been created off the island, despite the presence of moulds in the archaeological record. Therefore, in order to consider the choices being made by Sicilians in their representations of Herakles, we need to look at the full biography of these objects, as well as their contexts.

iii) contexts

As indicated in 2.2., iconographic, object, and museum catalogues do not always include the find-context of the objects they list, although they always cite a context in the modern world, be that museum or auction sale. This section identifies the find-context of the objects in the data-set according to the published data; further discussion of the fuller biographies of objects bearing a representation of Herakles and the implications for his appearance these imply appears in 3.3.

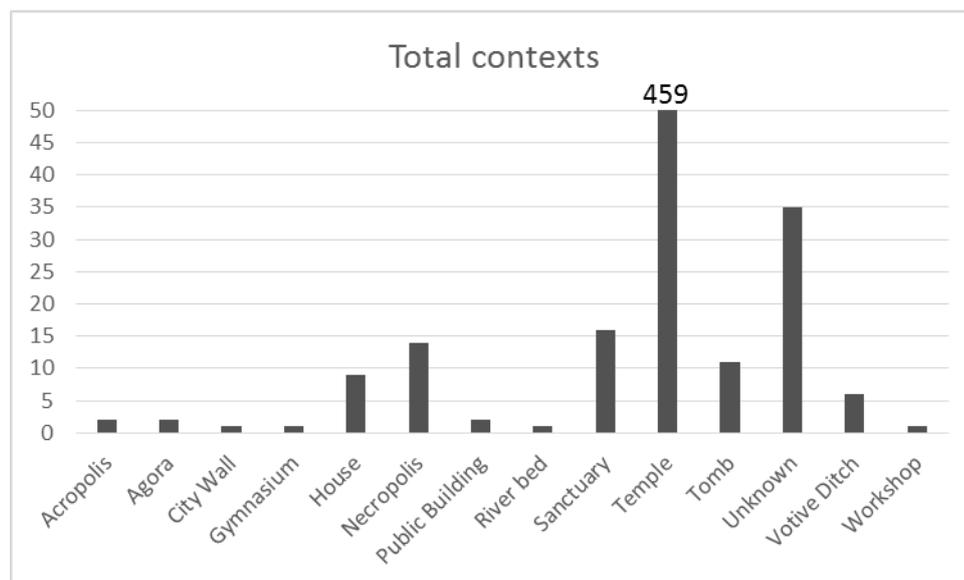


figure 3.1.15. Contexts

The evidence from the data presented in this research shows that Herakles was deposited in a variety of contexts on Sicily during 370-170. There is some fluidity between the labels listed here; tombs and votive ditches may be found within areas described as a necropolis or a sanctuary. Here the most immediate context has been used, for example L4 was found in a votive ditch, within the Koreion sanctuary on Lipari and appears in 3.1.15 in the votive ditch total. Although it is considered likely that some objects, especially vessels, were found in tombs, I have listed these as unknown when direct evidence of their deposition is lacking.

Items of unknown context are either wheel-made vessels, figurines and statuettes, or small objects: a mould, ring, scarabs or sword pommel. This category includes the second-highest number of objects in the data-set, an issue of considerable concern for research

which seeks to contextualise objects within the communities which produced, used, or deposited them. The result of this decontextualisation is that objects are more likely to be associated with a community on the basis of the stylistic appearance of the image they bear (Marlowe, 2013: 40), such as H1 associated with Himera, or with the modern community in which they reside as part of a museum or private collection. This museum context applies to 26 of the 35 objects in the 'Unknown' category above, emphasising the centrality of Catania, Palermo, Syracuse and Agrigento in the objects' post-depositional biography. With the exception of Cam1 and Ma1 no indication of the communities associated with the pre-depositional biographies of these objects is available. Marlowe has shown (*ibid.* 38) how a lack of context may give an object greater status in being considered as 'art', something now demonstrated in practical terms by Sweetman and Hadfield's findings that objects in a museum case are more likely to be considered as art, rather than objects, by visitors (*loc. cit.*: 1). Thus, the pre-depositional communities associated with the objects may be overlooked.

Figure 3.1.15 shows that Herakles was rarely deposited in a house, however we should bear in mind how few examples of interior permanent decoration have survived and the possibility that objects were used in houses before being deposited elsewhere.

The discussion above has indicated where external communities may be associated with objects by their form or the materials from which they were produced. It is also important to identify groups within a 'home' community with which they would be associated in explaining why Herakles was considered an appropriate representation on different objects. The contexts listed in figure 3.1.15 imply associations with groups comprising family, friends, neighbours, work colleagues, co-worshippers and those with shared interest, as well as the wider community living at one site.

Several of the categories are associated with contexts of religion or ritual, as we would perhaps expect for Herakles or Melqart, who were considered both human and divine (see 1.3.2, p.5) by different communities. Herakles' role as an intermediary between humans and the gods, seen in his descent to the Underworld in his eleventh Labour and in his institution of divine rites to Demeter and Persephone on Sicily (see 2.1.1), raises the possibility of his association with funerary rites. These data show objects bearing Herakles' image in sanctuary and temple contexts, although there is no evidence in this research of his image on objects dedicated at a site of worship to Herakles himself. See Chapter 5 for the appearance of Melqart-Herakles on objects archived in a temple

dedicated to the god. Objects from tombs and votive ditches, as well as those from a city wall context (see further discussion of L29-30 in Chapter 4), imply an association with ritual undertaken by smaller groups at the tomb and by larger parts of the community at a votive ditch.

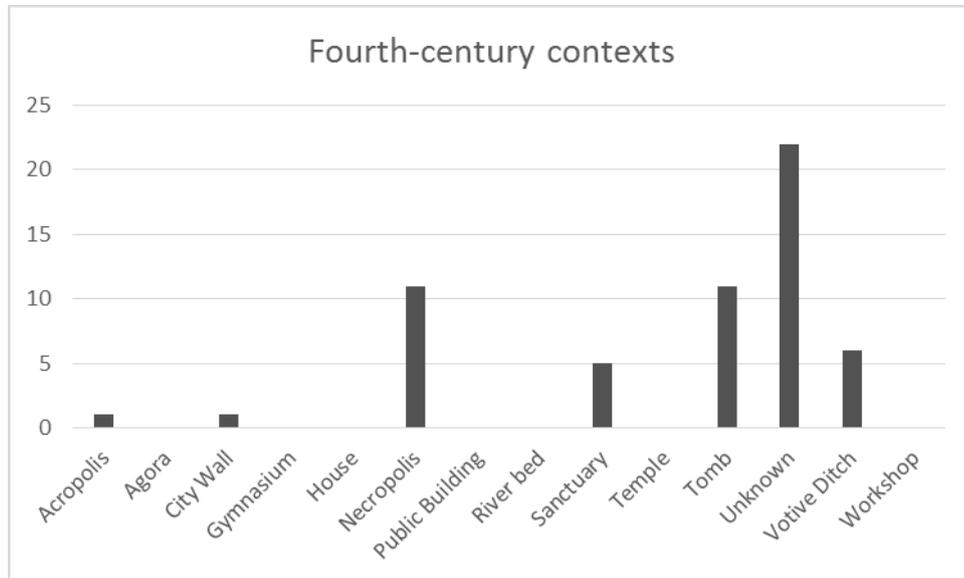


figure 3.1.16. Fourth-century contexts

Deposition context is lacking for nearly one third of the objects from the fourth century (figure 3.1.16), much higher than for later centuries. Of the remaining examples, 21 were deposited in contexts associated with burial and therefore with groups of family and friends involved in activities to mark or commemorate the death of an individual. All these examples come from communities in eastern Sicily, predominantly from the tombs and necropolis of Contrada Diana on Lipari, but also the necropolis at Centuripe and tombs at Leontinoi and Syracuse, as well as the northern site of Cefalù. Objects from votive ditches all come from Lipari, where they are located outside the city wall, in the Koreion sanctuary, and the necropolis. Items found in sanctuaries imply a group of co-worshippers. The examples deposited in the fourth century also come from east Sicilian sanctuaries, at Palici and outside the city of Gela.

All the objects representing Herakles which were deposited in sanctuaries and votive ditches were produced locally from clay or lead. Three examples of external production are found in tombs in this period; a vessel from another Sicilian community at Leontinoi, an Athenian vessel in Syracuse and an Etruscan mirror in Lipari. Another vessel from the

same Sicilian community as that deposited at Leontinoi was found in a necropolis at Centuripe.

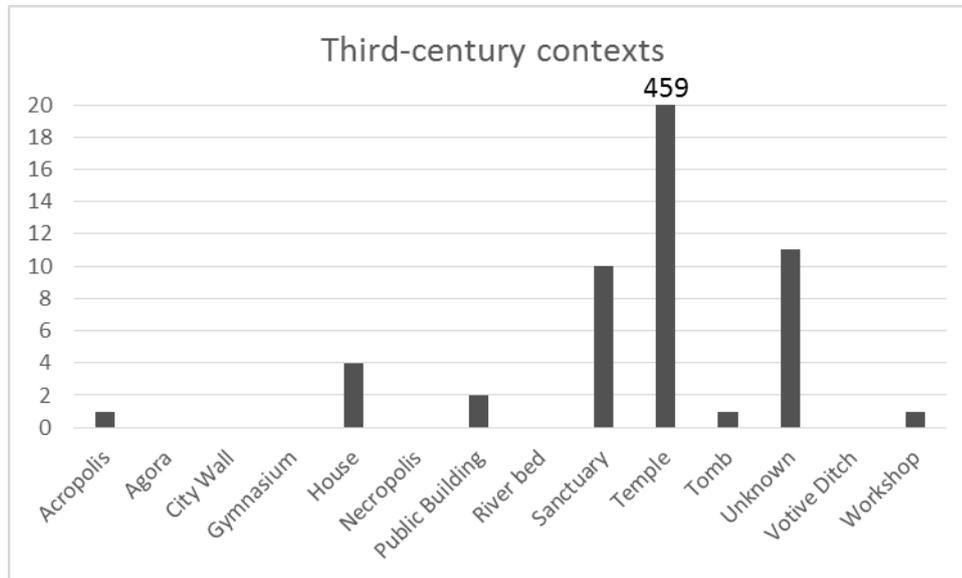


figure 3.1.17. Third-century contexts

Deposition contexts of objects bearing a representation of Herakles in the third century on Sicily (figure 3.1.17) show a marked contrast to the earlier period. Only one example now comes from a tomb and there are no examples from necropoleis or votive ditches.

Assuming the reliability of the dating of these objects, this implies a considerable change in practice in east Sicily in the third century. The sanctuaries at Agrigento and Morgantina did still receive objects, as, in overwhelming numbers, did the temple at Selinunte in the Carthaginian west and this requires further investigation (see Chapter 5). Items from unknown contexts correspond in their form to those identified in the fourth century.

The objects from sanctuaries and the temple were all made locally, although some examples from Morgantina are linked to matrices produced externally in Syracuse or Athens; G6 is similarly linked to a Tarantine mould. Prototypes or moulds from Italy and the Peloponnese are proposed for the bronze statuettes from the Palermo Museum. These, along with the other museum examples, Sy2,6 and Ag1 are all of external production and unknown context.

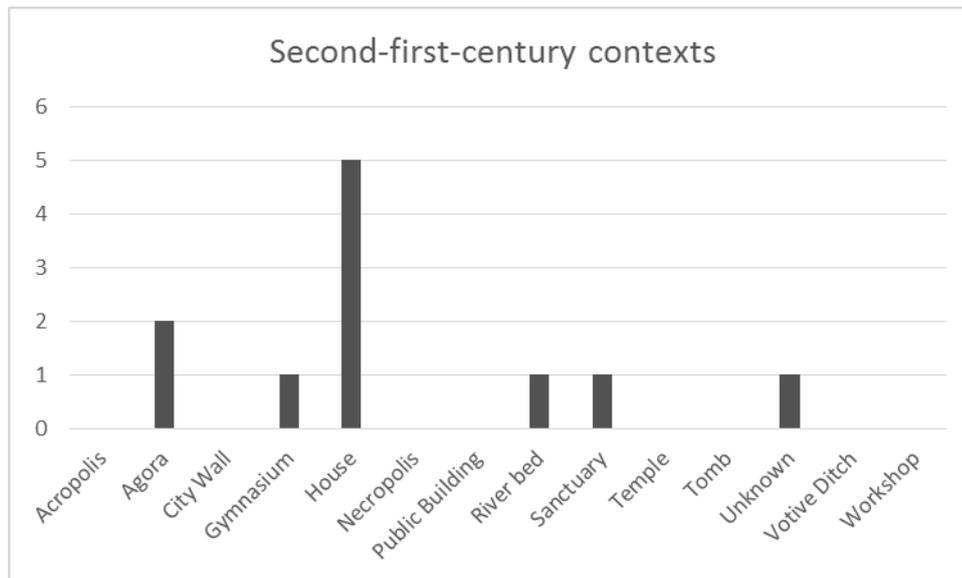


figure 3.1.18. Second-first-century contexts

After the Roman takeover, the few items representing Herakles (figure 3.1.18) are found most frequently in houses. At least three of the objects found in houses at Iaitas and Morgantina, as well as those from the agora at Morgantina and the gymnasium at Agrigento are associated with Roman production or commission. Examples from necropoleis and tombs, as well as votive ditches, are completely absent and there is only one example from a sanctuary; this is an imported lead statue to the neighbouring island of Cossyra.

As noted above, new finds and re-assessment of dating can add significantly to the small numbers of objects in the existing data-set. Prag (2007: 95) dates Ag6 to the Augustan period and would therefore remove this example from the data-set. The publication of inscriptions on the *I. Sicily* website after the completion of data collection for this research now adds 3 further examples with the name Herakles surviving in the text, all given the status of ‘draft’ or ‘unchecked’ on the website in September 2018: ISic1171, ISic1257, and ISic4370. These do not appear in the appendix or data of this research. All examples are dated after 200 BC. None of the examples are given an object type (ISic4370 is described as a fragment). In terms of materials, ISic1171, from Cephaloedium, is listed as stone; ISic1257, from Tauromenium, as marble, and ISic4370, from Centuripe, as limestone. All inscriptions are in Greek; none feature in their surviving text the Roman names noted on Ag6, the inscription which appears in this data-set on a limestone bench. Both ISic1257 and ISic4370 present the names Herakles and Hermes together, as found on Ag6, with

ISic4370 attributed to a gymnasium context from the mention of the fragment [---] $\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\rho\chi$ [---], reconstructed as a reference to the office of gymnasiarch. This context corresponds with that attributed to Ag6. New data in the very small numbers of second-first century examples therefore now show 4 of 14 objects as inscriptions on stone, 3 of which present the combination of Herakles and Hermes. Evidence from Delos showing that this combination of gods was most likely to be used by Roman merchants for ‘administering oaths in a commercial context’ (Rauh, 1993: 166) provides evidence for the choices of another group in contemporary second-first century communities. Further research on the group within communities at Agrigento, Centuripe, and Tauromenium will therefore add further to our understanding of the dynamics of Sicilian societies after the Roman take-over.

Summary of Conclusions

The consideration of deposition contexts of objects bearing Herakles on Sicily reveals a clear shift between the fourth and second centuries, subject to the dating criteria noted above. Before the end of the fourth century, objects of local production and cheap materials were deposited in sanctuaries and votive ditches by communities in eastern Sicily. Burials received similar examples, but also some external products. In the later centuries, the burial and votive ditch contexts disappear completely, and only one object is found in a tomb. There is almost no evidence of Herakles from domestic contexts until the second century, when he appears at Morgantina and sites from the former Carthaginian eparchy. Objects whose only known context is a museum collection are invariably of external production in more expensive materials.

3.2 How was Herakles represented?

Herakles is unusual among figures, both divine and human, in the number and variety of ways in which he is represented on Sicily from 370-170. This can be demonstrated by comparing the different figures represented on the same object as those in this data-set, such as sealings or statuettes. On the 688 sealings from Temple C at Selinunte, Herakles or his club appears on 459 examples, in 30 different representations; the next most popular representation of human or divine figure, a bearded head sprouting horns, grapes and a *modius*, appears in 13 representations. In fact, Salinas (1883: 484) in his publication of the sealings comments on the scarcity of divine representations, identifying a handful of examples of Pallas, Venus and Eros, Diana, Ceres, Mercury and Apollo, as well as possible references to Astarte (no figure appears more than 7 times). A comparable cache of sealings from Carthage, organised by type of representation in the catalogue, shows 92 examples of Herakles or Melqart, with the next most popular figures those described as 'Flying figures and Erotes' ("Flugelwesen und Erogen") with 28 and Hermes with 27 (Rakob, 1997). A similar pattern emerges from the much smaller catalogue of Palermo bronzes (di Stefano, 1975, see 2.2), where the next most popular figure, Hermes, appears 14 times to Herakles' 31, and in the catalogue of Etruscan scarabs (Zazoff: 1968), in which we find 238 examples of Herakles to 16 of Hermes and Paris; a figure labelled Silen appears 47 times, although some may be Herakles too. While figures such as Demeter and Kore and Athena Lindia may appear in large numbers on Sicily, they do not appear with the same variety of representation as Herakles.

As stated in 2.3 above, this research catalogues all the examples described as Herakles in the available literature. There are some examples, discussed in the appendix, where this identification is disputed. Wherever possible, an image of the object has been viewed and included in the gazetteer, however there are some examples where no image was available (L23-28, P4-5, Sy4-5, Sy7, Sy11-12: see 2.3 for full discussion). An image of Sy4 was viewed and recorded in the ICS Theatre Archive, otherwise the recorded representation of the objects noted above are assumed from the descriptions of scholars in their respective catalogues, with the subjective judgments each scholar has made as they compile works for different purposes. This issue is further complicated by the fact that when a 'type' of either object or representation has been established by the cataloguer, some objects are assumed to be identical to an earlier example in the list and the entry may omit details, such as the pose or weapon, given for other examples. This is the case not only for the Lipari figurines, which are allotted to the types E1-3 identified in the *MTL* (the catalogue

of Lipari theatre objects) on the basis of the matrix from which they were created, but also for the one-off creations represented by the scarab seals S11-12 and P4-5. The latter are listed under a type of representation, for example ‘Herakles with the hind’, and simply described as, at best, ‘similar to the above description’ (also unillustrated) or even with no description at all. In this case I have assumed a similarity to the types described in the same section of the catalogue.

Where there is doubt over the identification of Herakles or another figure, for example ‘Herakles or Silen’, I have assumed that the figure identified as Herakles lacks the distinguishing features of lionskin or club, which are invariably taken to be confirmation of Herakles’ identity.

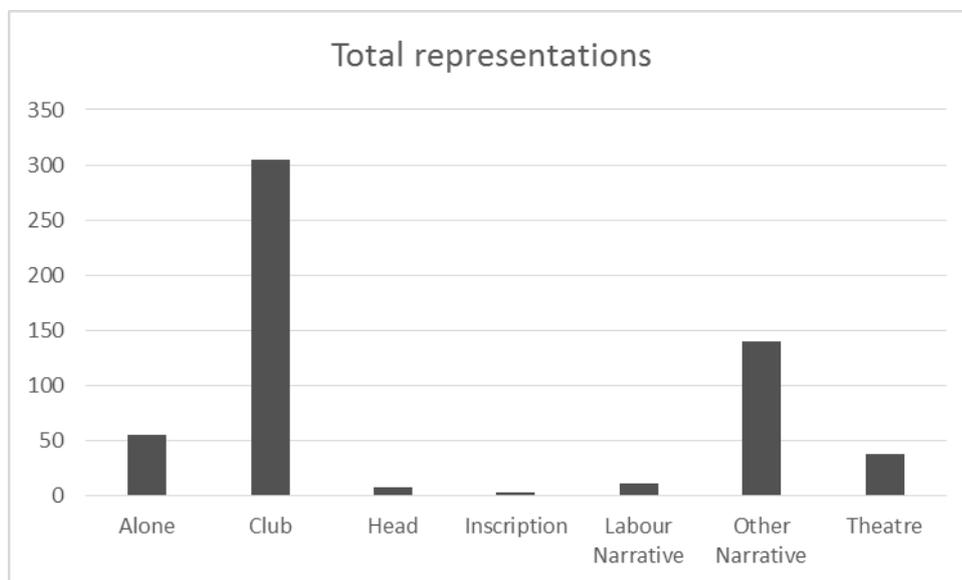


figure 3.2.1. Representations

Explanation of the methodology for labelling representations can be found in 2.1.1 (p. 16). In terms of the temporal spread of objects, the scarab seal-stones (P5, Sy6, Sy10-12), the statue head from Sagana Parthenicum and several of the bronze statuettes (Cat4, Ma1, P1, P33) are dated over a period of more than a century and therefore can only add to the picture very broadly.

The inclusion of data from archaeological reports alongside examples from iconographic, object, and museum catalogues in this research shows that Herakles was represented on Sicily as a head, as well as by his club and on inscriptions. Equal numbers of images of him alone, in labour and other narratives and associated with the theatre, are selected for inclusion from Sicily by LIMC as iconographical types. The totals for club and other narrative representations are dominated by the repeated examples of a club and dolphin

(305) and Herakles leading a bull (129) on sealings from Selinunte. Mould-made objects imply the existence of other objects with the same representation. Data below are again considered by century to establish the choices made by individuals in the representation of Herakles in the centuries before, during, and after the Roman takeover of Sicily.

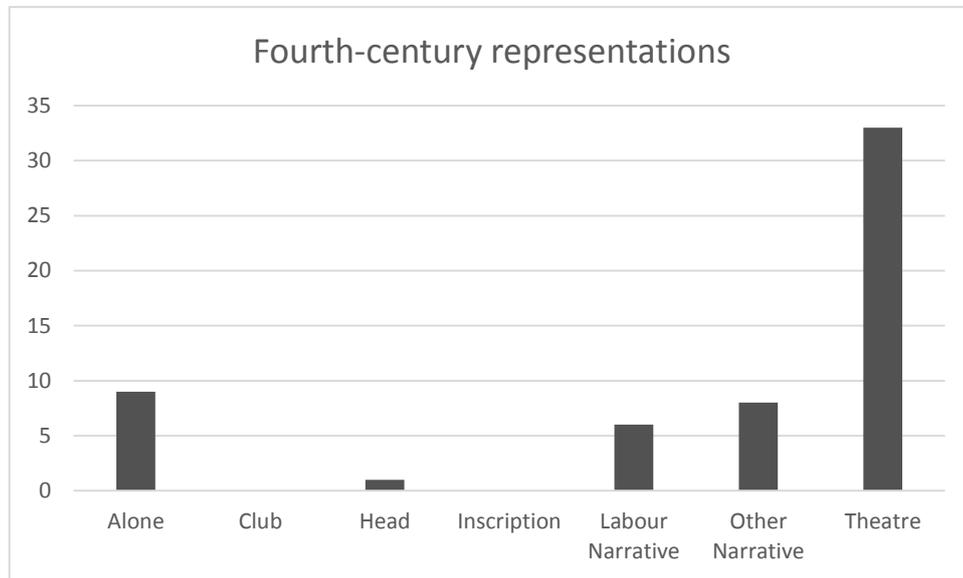


figure 3.2.2. Fourth-century representations

The data in this research show that in the fourth century Herakles was most frequently represented as a clothed figure in a theatrical performance on local clay objects comprising tragic and comic masks, and comic figurines. In addition to the theatrical scenes already selected in *LIMC* from Lipari and the vessels from the central eastern sites of Adrano, Centuripe and Leontinoi recorded in Trendall's vessel catalogues, other comic figurines of Herakles made from clay are recorded in excavation reports and object catalogues from Adrano, Gela, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse, and one of lead from Palici. Theatrical representations therefore cluster around the centre of Sicily's east coast, with the exceptions of the island of Lipari to the north and Gela on the eastern part of the south coast. Detailed discussion of these objects can be found in Chapter 4, but here it should be noted that fragments of figurines from matrices of four different representations of Herakles (one contested) have been recorded at Lipari, as well as three different representations on masks. While the figurines from Palici, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse share a similar pose, other details of their representation, notably the facial features, varies. No theatrical representation of Herakles is recorded west of Gela. These representations are often associated with Syracusan or Athenian prototypes.

Herakles appears as a decorative element on around one third of the objects; the other two thirds take the form of a representation of Herakles. Labour narratives are found on a variety of objects and materials, albeit in very small numbers, from sites around the island or uncontextualized museum examples, but, with one exception, are attributed to external production. While Cef1, a vessel moulded into the shape of a powerful, naked Herakles wrestling the lion, was made on Sicily, the mirror showing another naked Herakles wrestling a naked young woman described as an Amazon, and 3 scarab sealstones, 2 depicting him with the hind and 1 beside the tree of the Hesperides, are all of Etruscan production. A figured vessel depicting Herakles wrestling a bull is attributed to Attic production. Both the contextualised examples were found in tombs.

Examples of other narrative scenes, all on figured clay vessels, appear in Trendall's vessel catalogues, one of the main sources from which examples in *LIMC* were selected. The additional examples, L29-30, vessels of pyxis form both containing a representation of naked Herakles gripping the wrist of a young woman, are listed in *LIMC*, but under the character Auge. She is also found on the vessels Le1 and Cen1, selected as examples of iconographical types in *LIMC*, on Sicily in this century, but also, in an extremely similar representation to L29-30, on a mirror from Elis and a black-glazed skyphoid krater found in Corinth. Close inspection of these examples reveals variation in the representation in terms of the sobriety and aggressive stance of Herakles. The Lipari examples were made on the island of local clay; however, they are recorded as imitating silver examples and L30 retains traces of gilding. They were found in a votive ditch and the city wall respectively.

Representations of Herakles alone in the fourth century comprise statuettes, figurines, and scarab seal-stones. In addition to the Etruscan seal-stone of a kilted Herakles carrying an amphora from the Syracuse museum, two further examples of Herakles alone on this object survive, one perhaps standing, the other seated on a raft. These and the bronze statuettes are uncontextualized, from museum collections. The small bronzes all depict a well-muscled, naked figure, in three-quarter *contrapposto* stance, with a raised right arm and an outstretched left hand. Details of the hair, face and accessories vary; the suggestion that P20 carries a drinking horn associates it with the 'Herakles Bibax type', of which other examples are noted in *LIMC*, and therefore with a Greek prototype. Non-theatrical clay figurines of local production are found at Lipari, displaying varying features. L11, from a tomb, depicts a rather chubby naked baby Herakles strangling two snakes, while only the furrowed brow of a head covered by a toothless lionskin survives of L12, found in the Lipari necropolis.

The only example of Herakles' head from this century, Hal1, is a lead sealing from Halaesa on the north coast, probably struck from a bronze coin die from the same community. It shows the head of Herakles wearing the lionskin, in profile, with another faded human figure on the reverse. The broken-off sides of the object may have borne other representations, as found on the Selinunte sealings.

It was considered appropriate on Sicily to choose a theatrical representation of Herakles on an object of local production most frequently in the fourth century. However, the influence of external cultural centres on the creation of this representation and those of Herakles alone and in other narratives is invariably cited for objects of local production. Although representations may be grouped together under the broad labels used here, or as 'types', which imply the existence of identical or similar representations, only those examples produced from the same mould result in Herakles appearing identically in multiple examples; even here the use of colour may have differentiated different objects. Herakles was rarely chosen in a narrative by fourth century Sicilians.

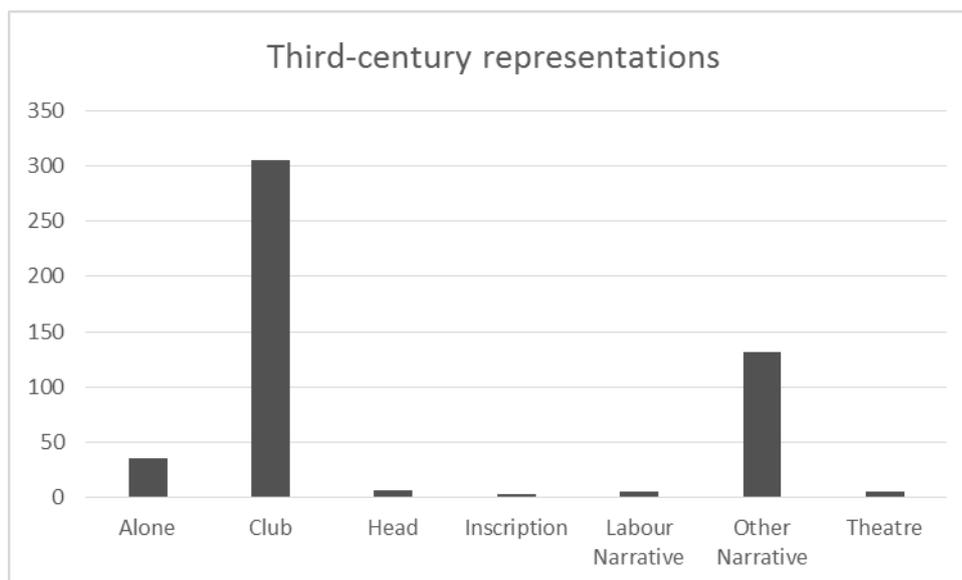


figure 3.2.3. Third-century representations

The choices made in the content of representations change markedly in the figures dating to the third century, with only 5 theatrical examples made of local clay, 1 comic figurine, 2 tragic masks and 2 bowls decorated with comic masks from one site at Morgantina, among the representations recorded. Our understanding of the range of representations of Herakles (and other images) available in this period when Rome took over Sicily is dominated by the sealings from Selinunte. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, in particular the striking difference between the popularity of Labour Narratives on Sicily

and elsewhere, notably on sealings from Carthage. Here it should be noted that no theatrical representations of Herakles are chosen for the sealing objects which produced these sealings, although other theatrical objects appear on a handful of the cache, and that there is only one example of one of the canonical Labours, Sel460, depicting Herakles wrestling the lion. Otherwise, Herakles is shown on the sealings both in person and represented by his club, and on a number of the sealings there are variations of a similar representation. There are several examples of images associated with Egypt, north Africa and the eastern Mediterranean in the cache.

In addition to the four examples of Labours on three objects selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC* on objects from the third century (Ag2&3, Sic1, Sy2), evidence from object catalogues and excavation reports indicates the choice on Sicily of a carnelian scarab seal-stone Sy6 from Etruria, depicting a naked Herakles with the hind, published in the same catalogue as Sy2. Ag2&3 is also attributed to foreign production. All of the objects depicting labour narratives appear on either sealing objects, therefore images which marked an individual's identity in public and thus represent a personal choice, or as personalisation on an object worn on the body. Ag1, a clay vessel imported from Apulia selected for inclusion in *LIMC*, is the only object to fall in the category of other narrative, apart from the repeated example of Herakles leading a bull on the Selinunte sealings.

Herakles' head, identified by its lionskin, appears in different representations from sites across the island. It is found as a moulding on the base of a black-glazed vessel with stemmed handles of local production from a tomb in Lipari, with the curls of hair and parts of the lion's head rendered in deep relief. G6 (whose identification is contested, see gazetteer), an antefix from the residential quarter of Gela perhaps derived from a Tarantine matrix, also shows the lion's head on top of luxuriant curls, while M2, a protome made and deposited in Morgantina, depicts the knotted lionskin at the throat and around the head of a small face, with tight curled fringe, which recalls Punic-Phoenician representations. The range of representations from Morgantina, including the three mould-types of heads of Herakles serving as the supports for clay cups of local production, are discussed in Chapter 6. None of these heads, unlike Hal1 from the fourth century, recall the heads of Herakles found on the coin issues of various Sicilian communities from this century.

With the exception of some images on the Selinunte sealings discussed in Chapter 5, all the representations of Herakles alone in the third century are, or created, statuettes or

figurines. Ag5, a clay mould for a statue, and Sel43, a clay statuette, depict a similar representation of a naked, moulded torso, with the paws of the lionskin crossed at the throat, and a deep indentation at the right hip. Unfortunately, no size is recorded for Sel43 to assess whether the two objects are comparable in this way. The four bronze statuettes ascribed to this period (Ma1, P6, P9, P33) listed in the Palermo museum catalogue, along with P1 from the same catalogue which was chosen as an exemplar of an iconographical type in *LIMC*, all vary in their representation in terms of their appearance, aesthetics, and accessories. P6 has some similarity in pose to P1. All examples are naked. This variety contrasts somewhat to the bronze statuettes from the fourth century, which shared a similar pose (see below for further discussion) although they vary in other details of representation. Ma1 is considered to rely on a prototype created in Greece by Polykleitos and is unique among the bronze statuettes of Herakles in being securely associated with the western community of Marsala. P6 and P33 are attributed to Italian production. Sy1, the object after which other objects selected for inclusion in *LIMC* are named under the type of 'Syracuse Herakles' and thus potentially a trend-setter amongst depictions of Herakles on Sicily does not appear on any other objects in this data-set. The explanation may lie in its workshop find-spot but raises questions about the value of listing objects in this way in terms of their practical impact on contemporary artists and commissioners.

Representations in the third century, with the exception of one site, eschewed the clothed, portly theatrical character of Herakles for a naked, muscular version, or only depicted his head. Narrative scenes are still lacking, or are attributed to external production. As in the fourth century, while the use of 'types' to describe a representation of Herakles alone implies unthinking reproduction of an existing figure, the evidence from Sicily is of local variation of a recurring stance.

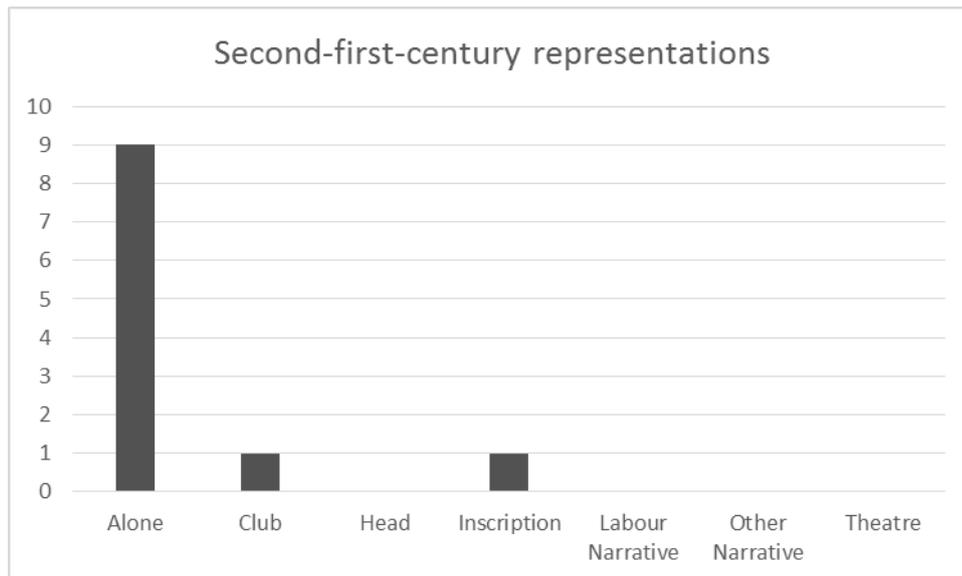


figure 3.2.4. Second-first-century representations

The number of objects dating to the second and first centuries is very small. Five different representations of Herakles from vessels and three objects offering the first glimpse of Melqart on anything other than coins are reported in excavation reports and the Agrigento museum catalogue. Two bronze statuettes were selected as exemplars of iconographic types in *LIMC*. The vessels, which all depict Herakles alone, were found at two inland sites, Iaitas and Morgantina, but are attributed to overseas production. M15, of eastern production, depicts a clothed, hunched figure, who seems older; the other examples which are attributed to north Italy, depict a naked, muscular figure with short hair and the club with snakes around it (M9). On one example from Iaitas Herakles has his head thrown back and holds a narrow object above his head, perhaps playing a musical instrument. Melqart appears on Cossyra, although only the knobby club of the lead statue survives, and at Solunto on two terracotta altars with bands of individual representations, both communities under Carthaginian control before the Roman takeover. There are no representations of narratives from this period. The solitary inscription, to which no precise date has been attributed, appears on an undecorated bench from Agrigento. The names of Herakles and Hermes appear in smaller lettering than the name of the Roman responsible for its erection (see further discussion p. 67).

Summary of Conclusions

This summary of the objects containing representations of Herakles from Sicily, which combines data from excavation reports with iconographical, object, and museum catalogues, demonstrates a broad geographical spread of examples. It demonstrates that representations of the canonical labours were not as popular as individual representations of Herakles, particularly in the fourth century, in a theatrical context on masks, figurines and unfigured vessels. This trend deserves more detailed attention, in particular the consideration of the objects' differing find contexts and biographies and will be discussed in Chapter 4 below.

In addition to the figured, often imported, vessels showing mythological or theatrical representations in the examples chosen by *LIMC*, mould-made, local choices are frequently in evidence. As noted above, one form of clay vessel which does not appear in the published scholarship representing Herakles is the Megarian bowl, although these are known with different decoration from the site at Morgantina (*M.S. VI: 274*). Typically, the bowls of this type found in Greece for the length of this period feature multiple small figures, forming a band of continuous detailed decoration around the bowl. This format allows several different scenes to be shown and, in the case of Herakles, allows for the representation of some or all of the canonical Labours series to be shown on one object. The fact that this object does not appear on Sicily with representations of Herakles therefore reduces the opportunities to show the whole Dodekathlos on objects, although a series of Labours can be found on monumental architecture, such as the metopes of Temples C and E at Selinunte.

The range of representations on the same object, sealings of seal rings, from the same site at Selinunte will provide insights into the choices on one object available to individuals in Selinunte in the third century and will be discussed in Chapter 5. This summary also identifies the range of representations available from the systematic excavations at individual sites, such as Lipari, Gela and Morgantina, which bear further investigation to give a realistic idea of the choices of objects bearing Herakles available to the inhabitants of one site over the period in question.

The examples identified here serve to emphasise that most representations of Herakles were seen by Sicilians on clay objects, often ones produced as one of a series of objects, rather than as individual commissions. In the fourth century the representation was very often linked to theatrical performance, in the form of a mask of Herakles or a full-length

representation of him in a dramatic context, although objects in the same series might also show a non-theatrical version. These objects with theatrical representations are all found on the eastern side of the island and almost completely disappear from the record after the last quarter of the fourth century. From the beginning of the third century to the end of our period clay objects from across the island depict a wide range of representations of Herakles when viewed in detail, although they could very broadly be categorised under 'head of Herakles' or 'standing Herakles'. He rarely undertakes one of the canonical labours and is only represented as Melqart at the end of the period. Objects not made from clay are invariably found in museum collections and lack provenance; bronze statuettes always depict a standing Herakles, although again details of the representation differ markedly. Semi-precious stones, with one exception, depict a scene from a narrative.

The surviving examples of Herakles which appear most frequently are clay objects recorded in excavation reports and those showing Herakles' head or Herakles alone. To gain a realistic picture of why Sicilians in this period made the choices they did, it will be necessary to study the range of representations provided by objects which share a theme of representation, a form and appear at one site, and these will be discussed in the case studies in Chapters 4 to 6. The very broad range of representations on objects of the same material, which are reduced to, at best, a single example by object type, prevents us from interrogating this evidence for individual choices to reveal whether these communities remained 'on the edge'.

3.3 Why was Herakles represented on different objects on Sicily?

The discussion in the sections above has identified issues concerning the use and publication of objects bearing representations of Herakles which have informed modern understanding of his depiction on Sicily before, during, and after the Roman takeover. This section will briefly address these for the whole data-set and identify some reasons why Herakles was represented on objects from Sicily in this period. It will then compare this to the picture which emerged from the selections made of iconographical types in *LIMC* in 2.2.1, seeking to establish how and why differences between the two may have emerged, and what further information is needed to address the research questions in light of this.

Although the deposition of objects provides some clues into their use at one stage of their biographies, as discussed in 1.3.3, objects have multiple uses, even if the details of these are not always clear to modern scholarship. The recurring representation of Herakles as a theatrical character on objects from the fourth century might indicate that the institution of the theatre would provide clues into the use of these objects. The figurines, masks and vessels portrayed in this way, however, are not deposited in theatres, but in necropoleis and sanctuaries. Some bear evidence of holes suggesting that they were suspended. Further investigation of these objects is therefore necessary to establish what uses were made of these objects bearing similar representations, and why these representations disappear at the end of the fourth century in all sites except Morgantina. The function of vessels is associated with their form; all the examples in this data-set, with the exception of the pyxis L29-30, therefore imply use for drinking or feasting. This may imply a change in function from the deposition context, which further investigation of their object biography can reveal.

The personalisation of objects by the addition of images or inscriptions to a common form can provide clues into the use of objects. The moulded figurines, masks and statuettes are created as common representations of a particular figure; none of the examples of Herakles from the fourth century bear any evidence of personalisation to the representation, suggesting that this was sufficient for the primary use of these objects. Mirrors and vessels, by contrast, do not require a representation of Herakles to perform their function of reflecting images or containing liquids; the addition of an image of Herakles is therefore a deliberate choice in decorating that form of object. By considering why the same choice of image appeared on commissioned vessels as the masks and

figurines which were deliberately created in a common representation, we can therefore identify what use this implies on the part of those choosing these theatrical representations in fourth-century Sicily. Does an interrogation of these objects' biographies reveal that this repeated theme of representation equated to a common use at sites across Sicily, with the unanimity in personal choices that this implies?

By contrast to the fourth century, the vast majority of objects in the third century were personalised. Any object which seals another or has received the mark of a seal provides an indication of the decision of an individual to project their public image. All the sealings from Selinunte, as well as scarab seal-stones and rings, fall into this category. They are therefore particularly well suited for the investigation of personal choices in the representation of Herakles and early examples such as Hal1 and the seal-stones, which may date to the fourth or third centuries, should be considered in light of the conclusions reached in this investigation (see Chapter 5).

Other examples depicting Herakles from the third century were used in the presence of danger. The owner of a sword pommel scratched Herakles' name onto it in association with his own name, Botakos, in Gela, and the wearer of a helmet in Agrigento opted to decorate the cheek-pieces with images of Herakles in combat. Both these objects may inflict damage on an opponent or prevent danger for their owner. A protome (M2), antefix (G6) and an oscillum may also ward off danger before a fight; as for G5, the oscillum G3, which already bore another apotropaic image of Medusa, had an inscription scratched upon it which called upon Herakles to prevent evil entering the premises². The evidence from the third century therefore suggests that, pending further investigation, Herakles' image was considered an appropriate choice to represent individuals as a public image and as an apotropaic device.

By the second-first centuries BC, the potential uses associated with theatrical representations and sealing are lacking in the current archaeological record. Investigation of the small number of vessels from Morgantina from this and the early imperial period provide a small snapshot on the different uses to which the same form of object was put before, during, and after the Roman takeover of the site.

² Comparison of this object with examples from the region of Herakleia in southern Italy now suggests that the object being personalised was a loomweight (Meo, 2011: 5). This example therefore also demonstrates the impact of scholarly labels on our understanding of artistic choices. Note that this information is not included in the G3 appendix entry. I am grateful to Michaela Senkova and Jen Beamer for the reference.

Consideration of the way in which objects bearing representations of Herakles were used on Sicily before, during, and after the Roman takeover suggests that their function could change during their pre-depositional biography. The frequency of theatrical representations on objects not associated with theatres at excavation begs further questions about why this theme recurred so frequently in the fourth century, but later disappears at all but one site. In the third century, Herakles was added to objects used to mark an individual's identity, or to enhance the object's ability to ward off danger.

Publication of objects bearing a representation of Herakles in the *Lexicon* is invariably dependent on museum or object catalogues. All of the wheel-made, figured vessels depicting theatrical or mythological scenes from the fourth century are selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC* (see 3.3.1 below), with the exception of Sy7, recorded, unillustrated, in an excavation report, not a catalogue. These are all found in Trendall's vase catalogues, from which no examples are omitted. These catalogues, produced in the tradition of Beazley's catalogues of Attic vases, do not discuss the function of different vessel types, implying that they were used in the same way as Athenian examples. This suggests that the vessels discussed under function above should be considered as having a symposiastic context within houses and further reinforces the need to examine the full object biography of these objects to explain their theatrical representation and deposition context in tombs.

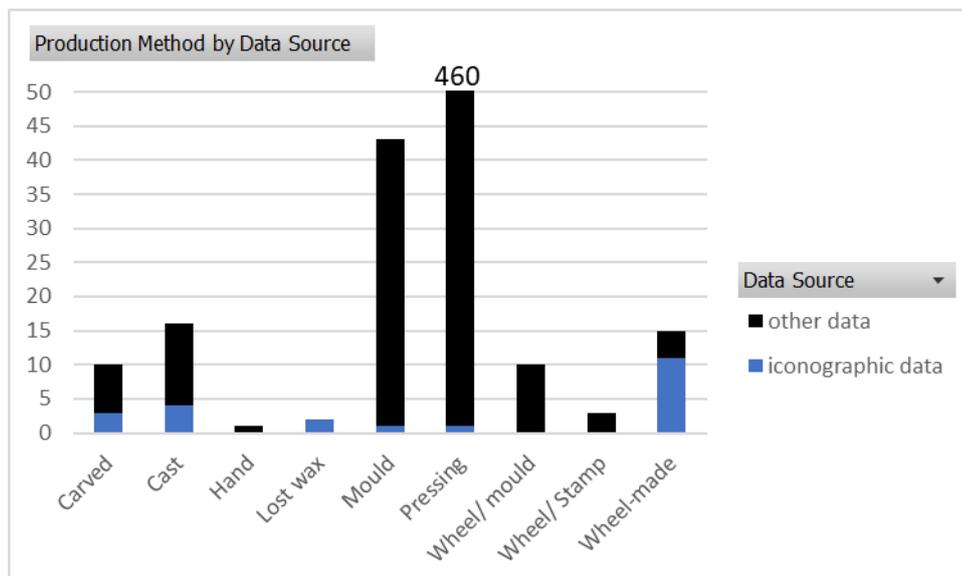


figure 3.3.1. Production method by data source

Figure 3.3.1 demonstrates the extent to which wheel-made objects dominate the selections made in the iconographical types of Herakles listed in *LIMC*. Of the 1,758 narrative

examples given for Herakles, 850, or 48%, are wheel-made figured vessels, representing 24% of the complete Herakles entry (see Lapatin, 2003: 74-5 for the scholarly promotion of figured pottery). Those methods which involve production of more than one object from the same original are rarely selected as exemplars of iconographical types. Of the Selinunte sealings and the theatrical masks and figurines of the fourth century, which appear in an object catalogue organised and published in the same manner as theatrical vessels of the same period, one mask and one sealing are selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC*. This suggests that the publication of iconography has focused on the choice of objects made individually, perhaps on commission, and infrequently, rather than the reality where objects produced in batches dominated everyday choices. Furthermore, the publication of the former examples as part of museum collections, without any find-context, further removes them from the objects alongside which they would have been seen in antiquity.

The other objects selected as exemplars of iconographical types in *LIMC* are selected from larger selections of contemporary Sicilian examples in museum catalogues (L21, Cat2-4, P1), or object catalogues (Sy2-3, Sel160). Isolated examples are cited from the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Mod1), an auction catalogue (Sic1) and a treatment of a mythological character (Acheloos, not Herakles) (Ag2&3). As noted above, some objects are selected as exemplars of other mythological characters in *LIMC* under other characters, such as Auge and Nessos. 6 scarab seal-stones and 9 bronze statuettes from the source object and museum catalogues, as well as all the Selinunte sealings recorded in archaeological reports, are included in this data-set, providing further examples of the choices made by Sicilians in acquiring objects bearing images of Herakles in antiquity and the modern world.

This research, in addition to adding the objects from source catalogues of iconographic selections, has included the finds published in excavation catalogues of Sicilian sites. By doing so, and identifying objects by their find-spot, greater focus is placed on the deposition choices of Sicilians from 370-170 for objects bearing representations of Herakles. However, this limits the data-set to objects which remained on Sicily between production and deposition.

Almost all of the objects collected in this research are now kept in museum collections on Sicily, with the exception of Sic1 and H1 which were sold at international auction, and the theatrical examples Ad1, Cen1 and L22/32 which are held in international museum collections. Examples in the most recent excavation catalogues often lack precise details

of their storage or display, such as Pal1 and Sel163. Three examples from excavations in the first half of the last century could not be traced, although they may well be in the local museum stores, namely G5, Sy4, 7. As indicated above, examples from auctions and museum collections abroad or from the museums established in the nineteenth century at Catania, Palermo and Syracuse often lack a confirmed find-spot, are less likely to be made of clay unless they bear figured representation and are invariably ascribed to overseas production. Since 1946, however, any archaeological object found on Sicily belongs to the region in which it was discovered (Campo, 2013: x) so those objects displayed in regional museums on the island, including examples from Gela, Leontinoi, Lipari and Modica, have known find-spots.

This regional collection of material ties all post-1946 finds from accredited excavations to their place of deposition, but does not guarantee that all finds are displayed, or the way in which they are displayed. Objects may therefore be grouped in cases by subjective criteria, as L12 at Lipari, or emphasised by their position as individual objects in a case, such as Le1 at Leontinoi. Some finds from Morgantina are displayed according to their deposition context, thus finds from individual houses at the site appear together. Any data gathered from museum catalogues are therefore likely to follow the display organisation, strengthening associations between objects and their region, as well as between individual objects in displays. By contrast, the loan of objects to international exhibitions associates objects with the themes highlighted by the curators. We therefore find representations of Herakles used in the Getty exhibition entitled “Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome” associated automatically with those two cultural centres. Within this, Mod1, G3, and L2 are exemplars of Greek Myth and Religion; L3 of Ancient Greek Drama; G6 of Classical Greek Architecture; and Sy1 of Sculpture in Sicily. The close association with Greece is at the expense of indigenous, Carthaginian or Roman communities. Sol1-2 were considered evidence for the influence of Punic culture in the ‘Rise of the Tyrants’ section of the British Museum’s “Sicily: Culture and Conquest” due to their representation of a figure recognised as Melqart.

This brief consideration of the display of objects bearing Herakles demonstrates the extent to which the choices of modern individuals can affect our understanding of his representation on Sicily. By including the post-depositional biography of objects, we can therefore track the modern associations made between objects and communities from Sicily in 370-170.

Initial conclusions and justification of case study topics

The initial findings presented in this chapter show that several factors could explain the choice of Herakles as a representation on objects from Sicily in the centuries before, during, and after the Roman takeover. The range of objects, materials, representations and contexts in which he appeared seem to supersede any other iconographical figure.

Consideration of these factors, as well as issues of objects' functions in the ancient world, and their publication and display in the modern, demonstrate that it is necessary to track objects throughout their pre and post-depositional biographies in order to account for how, on what forms of object, and why Herakles appeared on Sicily. This method will also identify how and why associations between the objects and various communities have been made, providing evidence of both external and internal groups to address whether communities remained 'on the edge' as Rome's power over the island developed.

Data presented here have drawn attention to the volume of local production of objects in relatively cheap materials, overlooked by scholarly selections of iconographic types on the island. It has noted that, contrary to these findings, in the existing scholarship the use of image 'types' and the concentration on examples of wheel-made or carved objects from older or international museum collections and attributed to external production, encourages a top-down, colonialist view of the institutions and society from which representations of Herakles derived. Artistic creativity is consistently ascribed to external production. This is further complicated by the lack of attention to the information provided by historical sources on the situation in the different communities throughout this period, summarised in 2.1.2. Therefore, in order to identify the personal choices inherent to understanding of the research questions, and to explain why, for example, Sicilians appeared to eschew the trend for narrative representations on Megarian bowls evident from trends in Greece and southern Italy, close examination of groups of evidence is necessary.

Consideration of the evidence dated to the centuries before, during, and after the Roman conquest of Sicily has revealed three pertinent themes; the representation of Herakles as a theatrical character, his appearance on sealing objects, and the choices made by those living at the site of Morgantina. The latter site is the only one at which objects can be found dating to before and after the Roman takeover. Even though some of these date to more than a century after the 211 conquest, they will allow the appraisal of the effect of external communities on the choices of inhabitants of Morgantina; notably assessment of

why this external centre is considered to provide new markets, rather than artistic or cultural influence. The sealings from Selinunte, which were markers of personal identity, will allow comparison of the choice of image closely associated with individuals on objects from one site, discussed in its archaeological and historical context. Initially, focus will fall on the objects bearing theatrical representations from different sites across eastern Sicily in the fourth century to examine the extent to which our understanding of external cultural influences on local communities accounts for their choice of representing Herakles.

Chapter 4 – Case Study 1: The theme of the theatre

4.1 Why has this case study been chosen?

Of the data described in Chapter three, 37 objects dated to the period before the Roman takeover of Sicily represented Herakles in a manner associated with the theatre, thus forming the most popular method of representation in this period. This chapter will therefore interrogate the object biography and context of these objects from different sites in eastern Sicily in order to understand how the theatre affected the realities of life and artistic choices of those creating, using, and depositing these objects in the century before the Roman takeover. Identifying the various communities with which these objects were associated at different stages of their biographies will provide indications of the extent to which the customs of east Sicilians in this period correlated with those cultures of which the island lies ‘on the edge’. These comprise the Greeks who had colonised the area in the preceding centuries, Punic-Phoenicians with whom they traded and made alliances, and the different Italian peoples, including the growing power of Rome. This chapter also considers how the lens of the theatre may be useful to scholars intent on cataloguing these objects within a predominantly literary understanding of contemporary Sicilian society.

Historical Context of eastern Sicily c. 370-250

Theatrical representations of Herakles are found across eastern Sicily during this period, with some correspondence between the various representations. The same correspondence cannot be found in the lives of the different communities from which they derive, however, since the political history of, for example, the islands of Lipari, consistently allied with Carthage (Polybius I. 24-5) and engaged in maritime trade, differs from ‘the city of mercenaries’ (Frasca, 2009: 121) of Leontinoi on the east coast and the southern communities in the area of Gela, both directly affected by events at Syracuse. Thus, Gela had already been deserted c. 282 after conflict between the Mamertines and Phintias (D.S. XXII.2) thirty years before Lipari experienced a violent takeover by Rome in 251 (Polybius I. 39); the treaty between Hieron II and Rome delayed this until Leontinoi became the focus of Roman reprisals against local unrest in 215/4 (Livy XXIV.21). Despite this well-attested variance in experience, and the day-to-day impact on local communities it implies, scholarship on objects representing Herakles in a theatrical fashion from Sicily in this period assumes consistency in the performance of drama across the

region, in all cases reliant on the cultural centre of Athens for both scripts and conventions.

Archaeological context of eastern Sicily c. 370-250

The majority of objects depicting Herakles recorded in this research from the century before the first appearance of Roman soldiers on Sicily are associated with the theme of the theatre. The survival of a number of ancient theatres on the island, many of which were reconstructed during the opera boom of the early nineteenth century (Marconi, 2012: 175-207), as well as the classical textual tradition based upon Athenian drama, has encouraged scholars to focus on objects which apparently enable them to reconstruct the action that took place in theatres. Many of these objects are presented as evidence for the development of the Greek and Roman theatre, of which Bieber's work is the chief authority. This places emphasis on the centres of Athens and Rome and the popularity in the provinces of works written there (Trendall/ Webster, 1971: 3), rather than considering the local context of dramatic performance. In some cases, vases with representations of figures not wearing masks or appearing on a stage are nevertheless considered to be representations of theatrical productions, such as Calderone's association of G1 with a fragmentary Sophoklean satyr play (1977: 275), or the presentation of L3 and its accompanying Hades mask as a lost comedy of Aristophanes (Spigo in Bosher, 2013: 111). The result of this is to focus attention on both the evidence of the representation for recreating the ancient theatre and its aesthetic quality as art, divorced from its original context. When the function or find-context of an object is discussed, the association with Dionysos as god of wine, drama and mystery religion 'who promises a better afterlife to his initiates' is considered sufficient to justify the presence of theatrical references on drinking vessels and objects found in tombs (Trendall/ Webster, 1971: 2-3).

Theatres are traditionally associated in scholarship with periods of Sicily's independence and economic prosperity and in their relationship to Athenian drama; thus the first stone theatre on the island was constructed at Syracuse for the visit of Aeschylus to Hieron I in the mid-fifth century, with the rest of the island eagerly following this precedent (Bieber, 1961: 129; Marconi, 2012: 175-207). Much of the discussion of the coroplastic industries which produced the theatrical vases, masks and figurines treated here is associated with Timoleon's control and re-settlement of communities in the south-east of Sicily in the last decades of the fourth century (Trendall, 1967: 577; Breà, 1976: 294). This scholarly

tradition describes a lack of investment and popularity of theatres following the First Punic War, when Sicily was under Roman control.

A significant number of the objects were found on the island of Lipari, on which no evidence for a theatre has been identified (Breà, 1976: 21). The excavations of the necropolis on this island, lying between Sicily and southern Italy, have revealed vast numbers of objects of theatrical subject, which are frequently used as exemplars of Greek theatre. These objects appear in tombs and votive ditches and are understood as votive offerings in the worship of Demeter-Kore or Dionysos (Breà, 1976: 11), with masks understood as 'shorthand' for beliefs about the afterlife (ibid. 22).

If the objects whose biographies are interrogated in this chapter are viewed as a part of social institutions understood to reflect the cultural influence of external centres, they provide a case study suitable for consideration of the choices made by individuals in representing Herakles in East Sicily before the Roman takeover.

4.2 What picture emerges from tracing the contextualised biography of objects depicting Herakles placed under the theme of ‘theatre’?

Data Summary

Objects bearing an image of Herakles placed under the theme of ‘theatre’ number 37. With the exception of four examples from Morgantina (to be discussed in Chapter 6), all of these objects can be dated to the fourth century and thus comprise over half of the 57 examples from that period. All were found in the eastern part of Sicily, with no examples being found further west than Gela. 22 objects were found on the island of Lipara, which lies off the north-east coast of Sicily. Apart from one lead figurine from the sanctuary at Palici, every object is made of clay. Only four of these objects are listed as Herakles in *LIMC*, the mask L21 and four vessels (Ad1, Cat1, Cen1, Le1).

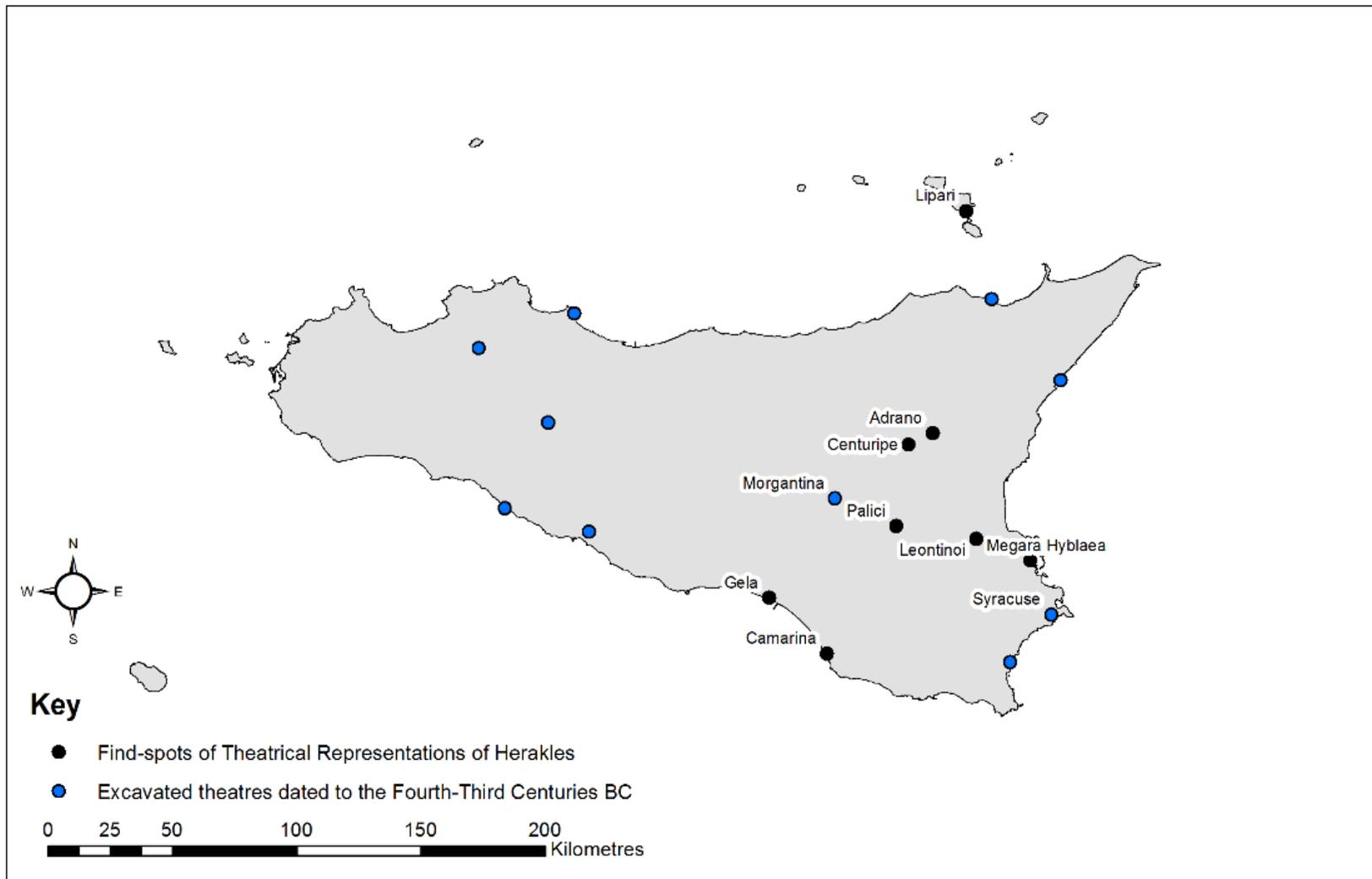


figure 4.2.1 Find-spots of Theatrical Representations of Herakles

The examples comprise the following types:

24 figurines (Ad2, G2, MH1, M3, Pal1, Sy4-5, L4-9, L16-19, L23-28, L32)

7 masks (L3, L10, L20-2, M4-5)

6 vessels (Ad1, Cat1, Cen1, Le1, M10-11) of which the Morgantina examples feature Herakles as a moulded decorative foot while the remainder are painted scenes.

In addition to these examples, some additional objects feature scenes from Greek mythology which may also be associated with the theme of theatre, such as L1 about which Trendall notes 'it would have made an admirable poster for the play' (1971: 71) or the following representations on painted vessels of satyrs and/or papposilens: Cat2, H1, P2, Ag4, G1. These are not considered in this research under this theme, since the representations do not depict a theatrical setting, but it is notable that scholarship nevertheless makes this association.

The following sections trace the pre-depositional object biography of vessels, followed by mould-made figurines and masks. These early stages of the objects' lives are insufficiently similar to discuss coherently together. The situation changes after their deposition, when the biographies will be combined.

4.2.1 Object Biography of Theatrical Representations of Herakles

As discussed in 2.3.3, data from the biographies of individual objects detailed in the appendix have been used to create a composite object biography for vessels and moulded objects bearing theatrical representations of Herakles. The inner circle, printed in blue, shows the stages of pre-depositional biography. Labels on the diagram are printed either side of the circle for the sake of clarity of presentation only; they are all part of the pre-depositional circle. The circles of pre- and post-depositional biography coincide at their deposition and excavation. The red circle shows the stages of the objects' biographies in museums, the black circle the publication stages.

Pre-depositional Object Biography of Vessels

The stages of the two outer rings of the diagram are treated together in this chapter, but with different numbering due to the differences in the pre-excavation biography of vessels and moulded objects.

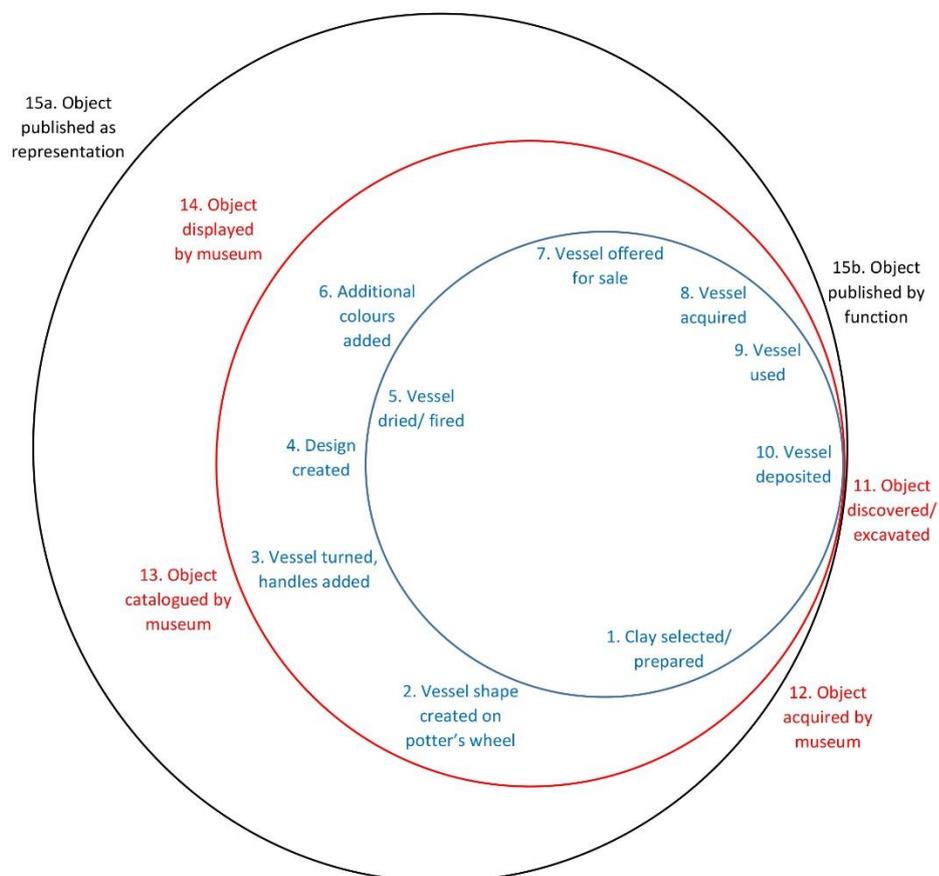


Figure 4.2.2 Object biography of vessels bearing theatrical representations of Herakles

The post-excavation and publication biography of these objects has placed considerable focus on the theatrical nature of the image each object bears, as the emphasis on the left-hand side of the flowcharts indicates. The positioning of stages 2-4 (Vessels) and 1-2, 5-6 (Moulded Objects) on the outer edge of their circle demonstrates how museums and scholarly preoccupation with the theatrical image have drawn attention away from the full pre-excavation biography of the objects, especially their use and deposition context. By contrast, scholarship on the objects as funerary equipment does not address the specific image represented on the figures. This chapter seeks to combine these approaches by discussion of objects bearing a representation of a theatrical Herakles.

Stage 1 Clay selected and prepared

All the surviving vessels depicting Herakles in a theatrical context from Sicily are made from clay; as we shall see in Chapter 6, this represents a conscious choice, since there is evidence for metallic bowls bearing theatrical images, most commonly of silver. Clay is a more readily accessible material and therefore cheaper to produce than metal equivalents, suggesting that clay vessels would have been lower-status objects than metallic ones. Initial preparation of the clay to purify it would take place some months before the pot was thrown; when a potter had selected the clay, this would be worked to remove air bubbles (Noble, 1966: 9).

Decorated clay vessels are recorded in the catalogues and supplements of Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia, The Red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* and *Phlyax Vases*. The first two publications (hereafter *RVAp* and *LCS*) allot individual vases to a master, working within a group or school of a regional area, in the tradition of Beazley's catalogues of Attic Vases. The third (hereafter *PV*) is a catalogue of the vases depicting *phlyax* drama, drawing on the identifications made in *LCS*.

Sicilian vases are generally considered to be made from clay local to their place of production; however, this is not always securely established, thus Cen1 can be found variously described as being of Sicilian (*LCS* I: 595 no. 68) or Campanian (Rizzo, 1900: 264; *LIMC* 542 no. 1538) fabric. Cam1 is attributed to Apulian production by Trendall (*RVAp* I: 100 no. 250) but to Campanian by Rizzo (1900: 269). This indicates that the vessel is of production external to Sicily, but not to the community to whose goods the owner of the vessel had access. Both Le1 (in Leontinoi) and Ad1 are attributed to local

fabrics, although Trendall listed Syracuse, Leontinoi or Gela as possible production sites for vessels produced by the Adrano Painter. A further complication in the identification of clay sources and the production sites allocated to different vessels by this method is that new vases were identified during the period of Trendall's scholarship, which in some cases caused him to re-assess the master and therefore the production site of particular vessels. This necessitated three supplements to *LCS*. Thus, we find Ad1 originally designated by him as Campanian, highlighting scholarly tendencies to attribute the production of provincial objects to external centres without repeated evidence to the contrary.

It seems most likely that the vessels portraying Herakles were all made from local clay, with the exception of Cam1, a vessel imported from mainland Italy. There is no contemporary evidence to determine whether the individual who produced them was considered a 'master' or an artisan, with the difference in value that might imply for the sale of the object; however, we can conclude that a choice was made to buy a clay vessel, rather than the more expensive metal (see stage 2 below for the opportunities for decoration offered by clay).

Stage 2 Vessel shape created on a potter's wheel,

All of the vessels were produced on a potter's wheel, but they vary in their size and shape, as well as the date assigned to their creation. While Trendall's catalogues allow us to compare these characteristics with other painted pots, he does not include typical measurements or shapes of metal or unpainted vessels, such as the black glaze ware which is frequently found in comparative contexts during this period on Sicily. The shape of the vessel would be created by a potter on the wheel, before being left to harden overnight. In a second stage, also on the wheel, the potter removed unnecessary clay and smoothed the surface, before adding the foot of the vessel, and any other sections which had been made individually, by luting this to the main body (Noble, 1966: 10).

The four vessels are of relatively large size (height cm x diameter cm): Cam1 27.4 x 31, Le1 49 x 47, Cen1 22.3 x 22.7, Ad1 32 (no diameter recorded). This is consistent with the painted vases attributed to the respective masters by Trendall, as well as other Sicilian painted vessels of the same period. Lucanian and Campanian vases of the same shape from this period are also large, often measuring more than 50 cm. The large size allows considerable space for decoration, particularly for the multiple characters and details of scenery and accessories necessary for representing theatrical scenes in full. However, it

would also make it difficult to move the vessels without damage, especially if they were filled, and would restrict the space in which they were kept.

The vessels are all of different shapes, the terminology for which depends on understanding of the Athenian symposium. Trendall makes no explicit comment on the function of different vessel shapes, implying that Athenian rules apply. Cam1 is a bell krater and Le1 a calyx krater, both forms associated in Athens with the mixing of water and wine at a symposium. Cen1 is a skyphoid pyxis, the lidded drinking cup into which mixed wine and water would be poured using the oinochoe or olpe form of Ad1. Both forms of krater provide two large quadrangular spaces between the two handles for detailed decoration, implying that they were best viewed from the centre of each side. Cen1 shares similar viewing characteristics with the kraters, but is of a slightly smaller size, appropriate to a vessel which was used by an individual rather than for communal use. Ad1 has only one handle and therefore offers a longer, narrower field for decoration, with only one break in the scene; this example depicts one scene only on the vessel. The implications of these shapes for figured representation will be considered below.

Production dates of the vessels are also assigned according to the master to whose work each vase is ascribed. This can depend on the painter's place within the overall framework of painters, schools, circles and regions. If a painter is perceived to show a style that has 'developed' from an earlier painter, their work is placed later in the established chronology. The discovery of a vessel with a dated context - such as the vessels from Manfria with whose work Cen1 and Le1 are associated, which were found alongside coins dating 338-310 - may establish dating criteria or cause a re-think of the framework. In this case, we should remember that the coins offer a date for the deposition of the vessel, but not its production; associating or conflating these dates presumes that the vases were produced for their immediate use in the tombs in which they were found, rather than for use in a household beforehand. This has implications for the representation on the vases, as discussed in stages 3-4 below. Cam1, due to its Apulian production, is generally dated to 370 BC, nearly forty years earlier than the other three theatrical vases, which are all associated with the period of Timoleon's rule from 330 BC; however, comparison with a vase in Palermo brings Cam1's date closer to that of other examples, with one scholar dating it to c. 350 BC.

The creation of the vessel on a wheel and its consequent size and shape demonstrate that individuals on Sicily around 370 were prepared to obtain a vase representing a theatrical

portrayal of Herakles that had been produced in Italy. By the 330s, however, vases produced on the island were favoured, of large size and in the calyx krater and skyphos shapes (Panvini, 1996: 115). On Sicily, there is no evidence of vessels of this size and shape representing Herakles in a theatre context being produced outside the central and south-eastern areas, nor on the island at all after the fourth century.

Stage 3 Vessel turned, handles added

The vessel was turned on the wheel, before the handles were added by luting and the completed form of the vase was cut from the wheel at the base with a cord (Noble, 1966: 10). The position of the handles is the only way to differentiate between a bell krater such as Cam1, with small handles just under the rim, and a calyx krater such as Le1, whose handles are placed at the bottom of the vessel's main body. They help to create two 'sides' of a vase by acting as stop points when viewing the image, while shapes such as the oinochoe of Ad1 with one handle encourage the creation of one continuous scene with the handle as its beginning and end. The choice of shape therefore often dictates whether a vessel will have one or two scenes represented on it; thus, the choice of a theatrical scene for Ad1 suggests that this was a more attractive choice for craftsman and consumer than the scenes of individuals featured on the opposite sides of other similar vessels. The positioning of handles is consistent on vessels in Sicily with those from south Italy and Greece.

Stage 4 Design created

Red figure vases were decorated by sketching the scene onto the vase with charcoal or lead. Figures would then be outlined with a thick band of black glaze which left unpainted (reserved) those areas which were to be decorated, such as the figure of Herakles, the stage on which he stands or decorative elements surrounding these. The remainder of the scene was filled in with black glaze. Details of the figures were added with a relief line and a dilute glaze (Noble, 1966: 50). This technique is the same as that used for Attic vases, and is not explained in *RVAp* or *LCS*, presumably as it is considered common knowledge. Noble notes that it was inadvisable to sketch a plan on a flat surface for a curved vessel and we may note how this affects the reproduction of completed vessel images in publications (see Stage 15/17a).

The subject matter of the images created on the vessels representing Herakles is one criterion by which Trendall attributed vases to individual painters, thus drawing conclusions about other aspects of the object's biography such as production site as

detailed above in Stage 1. This method identifies Cam1 within the Apulian tradition (Trendall, 1982:100), while Cen1 and Le1 are associated with the same Manfria Painter in the south-east of Sicily (Trendall, 1967: 595), and Ad1 with another Sicilian painter local to its find-spot, perhaps from Centuripe (ibid. 577). Placing these vessels under these regional labels, which corresponds to the choice of clay detailed in stage 1 above, suggests that we should consider different regional contexts for the scenes they represent if they are to be considered as evidence for theatre and everyday life; thus, Cam1 would represent an Apulian theatrical scene from c. 370 and the Sicilian vessels scenes from Manfria and Adrano c. 330. Bieber's discussion of Cam1, Cen1 and Le1 treats the three vases as evidence for three performances of a standardised *phlyax* drama, with no mention of the variance in date or production site; Cam1 is here (Bieber, 1961: 133) associated with its place of deposition, not creation. There is no discussion of the image on the other side of vessels Cam1, Cen1 or Le1, nor of its relationship with or effect on the interpretation of the vessel's iconography.

Herakles appears on all four vessels in a theatrical action scene which includes two or more other figures. Cen1 and Le1 both depict a stage platform, while all four vessels represent stage props and scenery. On the opposite side of the vessels, Cam1 shows two figures standing at a monument mirroring the symmetrical arrangement of the theatrical scene, Cen1 presents one seated and one standing woman offering a vessel, and Le1 depicts one seated and two standing figures. All representations fill the entire space available for decoration, with decorative borders above and below. Although this is possible on metallic vessels, the process is far more complicated and therefore would increase labour costs, making painted pottery a more accessible choice to those wishing to purchase a vessel where the detail of the theatrical scenes was desirable.

It is impossible to ascertain who decided upon the final design which was outlined on the vessel. Changes could be made before firing using a damp sponge or by scraping out any unwanted feature (Noble, 1966: 53). While the scenes of figures on the opposite side of the vessels recur on examples by the same painter, individual theatrical scenes do not repeat. This could suggest that they were painted for a specific reason, perhaps a request by a commissioner, in which case we might suggest that the commissioner was particularly interested in this theatrical representation. We should therefore consider the context in which theatrical performances took place at the different production sites of these vessels, including establishing which sites had permanent theatres in the fourth century.

Decorating the vessel in this way represented a choice for the craftsman with whom Cen1 and Le1 are associated. The large workshop near Manfria on the outskirts of Gela at Mangiatoia of 66 x 24 m making vessels like these produced other painted vessels with theatrical themes of the same shape and dimensions as Cen1. It also produced vessels painted with other subjects such as Dionysos and a satyr, but also unpainted, black glazed and stamped wares, as well as lamps. This suggests that the same craftsmen were confident of selling clay vessels with varying types of decoration or none, with particular emphasis on certain shapes for vessels decorated in a certain way. Adamesteanu notes the consistency of Dionysiac themes on the painted vessels and also the appearance of figurines of deities associated with Greek and Egyptian mythology, as well as comic actors, in the same dated contexts around Gela, suggesting that similar subjects to those on painted vessels were produced in other clay media during this period.

Stage 5 Vessel dried, fired

Once the vessel had completely dried, it would be fired, along with several others, in the kiln. The firing took place in three stages: oxidising, reducing and re-oxidising, which resulted in the glazed areas of the background and details within the outline of individual figures remaining black, while the remainder oxidised to a red colour (Noble, 1966: 31-2). Fragments of vessels that had been badly fired were found in the rubbish dump of the factory associated with the Manfria Painter (Orlandini, 1957: 60), providing further evidence for on-site, local production of these vessels.

Stage 6 Additional colours added

Additional details on Sicilian vases were added after firing, with colours being added to a white slip (Noble, 1966: 65). This allowed the vessel's creator to produce the detailed representations of dress, scenery and decoration which gave Trendall further criteria for attributing particular vases to particular painters. Thus, the Manfria Painter is characterised by use of added white and yellow colour, such as the use of white to outline the stage, while the Adrano Painter is identified by the use of additional blue and pink (LCS: 603). This would suggest that characteristic elements of dress and scenery were due to the style of a particular painter, rather than realistic renderings of a staged play, something for which they are used as evidence by those studying the history of the theatre, as Trendall notes in his Introduction to *Phlyax Vases* (1959: 10). The necessity to record a specific theatrical performance on a vessel, identifiable by its characters and scenery by these methods, rather than the depiction of elements which evoke the theatre in general,

must be considered against the reason for the vessel's use insofar as it can be established from its find-context. The evocation of a particular performance could imply a direct commission from someone wishing to associate themselves with the spectacle represented on the vessel. While different metals can be used on metallic vessels to vary the colour on representations, they do not provide the polychrome effect achieved by paint as described here, suggesting that this use of colour was a conscious choice by craftsmen and consumers. A further elaboration is the use of lettering, found on L1 where mythological characters are named on the vessel; this does not appear on any of these vessels.

In this use of additional colour, Trendall draws comparison to the Kerch style of pottery at Athens (*LCS* I: 579), although giving no suggestion of the sources for the pigments. This tendency appears to be a tradition local to eastern Sicily, with increasing use of colour as time went on; however, there is a danger of circular argument in identifying a painter by the use of colour, which is perceived to be common to painters from a group identified by their use of colour.

Stage 7 Vessel offered for sale

Without additional written evidence, it is impossible to determine the process of sale for these vessels. However, we can pose questions which could be answered by evidence from comparative material or by further understanding of the vessel's context. Were vessels offered for sale to specific commissioners, or did they appear on general sale? Cam1, Le1, Cen1 are all understood to have been produced at a site different from their place of deposition. Were they commissioned from craftsmen from a distance, were vases brought to different communities by traders, or had the owners moved from one place to another? The possibility of an exchange of gifts between households in different communities should also be considered. We should query in addition whether the vases were offered for sale for initial use within a household or directly at the grave.

Frasca (2009: 140) notes the presence of kiln valves and fired material near the Contrada Caracausi necropolis, at which Le1 was discovered, which might suggest that vessels were locally produced for use at the necropolis, even if external vessels were in fact placed there. As discussed in stage 4 above, the attribution to the Manfria Painter of the Herakles representations on Cen1 and Le1 associates them with the workshop discovered by Adamesteanu at Mangiatoia, where painted vessels attributed to the same painter were found, along with a variety of other vessels, as well as Campanian imports and coins dating to the Timoleontic period of 338-310. This suggests that in Manfria at least, vessels both

made at the site and imported from mainland Italy were sold from the same premises but brings us no closer to identifying how Cen1 and Le1 reached their points of deposition. If Campanian vessels were sold by a workshop in Manfredia, it is possible that Cam1, produced in Apulia, was also sold by a local importer in Camarina.

Stage 8 Vessel acquired

At Camarina, Centuripe and Leontinoi, a decision has been made to acquire a vessel from the external centres of Apulia and Manfredia respectively or from other major ceramic production centres such as Athens or Campania, rather than one of local production. However, if the vessel was sold alongside vessels in a variety of styles produced locally, as suggested above, we might query whether it was recognised by the buyer as an external choice.

Vessels depicting Herakles in a theatrical context, which imply transactions between communities, are therefore known from Camarina on the south coast around 370, where an international transaction is proposed, with internal Sicilian transactions at Leontinoi on the east coast and Centuripe further north on the Cymamosorus River around 330. A vessel from Adrano, between Centuripe and the east coast, was bought locally in the same period.

Stage 9 Vessel used

The shape and circumstances of deposition of Herakles vessels imply two different uses. All four vessels, following the understanding of Athenian vessel shapes, were designed for use at a banquet; Cam1 and Cen1 as mixing bowls for wine and water, Ad1 for pouring the mixture, and Le1 for drinking it. The deposition context, however, as detailed below, suggests that Cen1 and Le1 were grave-goods, perhaps therefore serving as a combination of these two ideas as vessels at a funerary feast.

The large size of the vessels suggests that they would be difficult to lift when filled with liquid. While the mixing bowls may not have needed to be moved in use, the shape of both Ad1 and Le1 was designed to be lifted by an individual. The skyphos shape of Le1 invariably included a lid. In 1900, Rizzo observed a much-restored lid of different decorative content to that of the body with the vessel in Catania, but no lid is recorded with the vessel subsequently (1900: 260).

No description of any of the vessels includes details of the inside of the vases. It is impossible, without further analysis, to tell whether these were used in a household before being deposited in a tomb.

Stage 10 Vessel deposited

Two of the vessels were deposited in tombs, but not at the sites to which their production is attributed. There is no evidence for the deposition of Ad1 or Cam1 beyond the general site at which they were found. Cen1 was deposited in the necropolis at Centuripe with other small or lesser vases of the same period and fabric; thus, its stylistic attribution to the Manfria Painter suggests that an object made by an external community was chosen for the grave in which it was placed. This was also the case for Le1, which was deposited in a tomb in Leontinoi in the area now known as Contrada Caracausi, a rocky, peripheral settlement of the community possibly used by new settlers brought to Leontinoi, close to the necropolis.

These contexts therefore indicate that vases representing Herakles in a theatrical context from an external community were considered by the associates of the deceased as appropriate as grave goods for individuals in Centuripe and Leontinoi, perhaps also in Camarina, even though the former communities are believed to have produced vessels of this subject themselves.

Pre-depositional Object Biography of Moulded Objects

See 2.3.3 and p.92 (above) for explanation of the object biography diagrams.

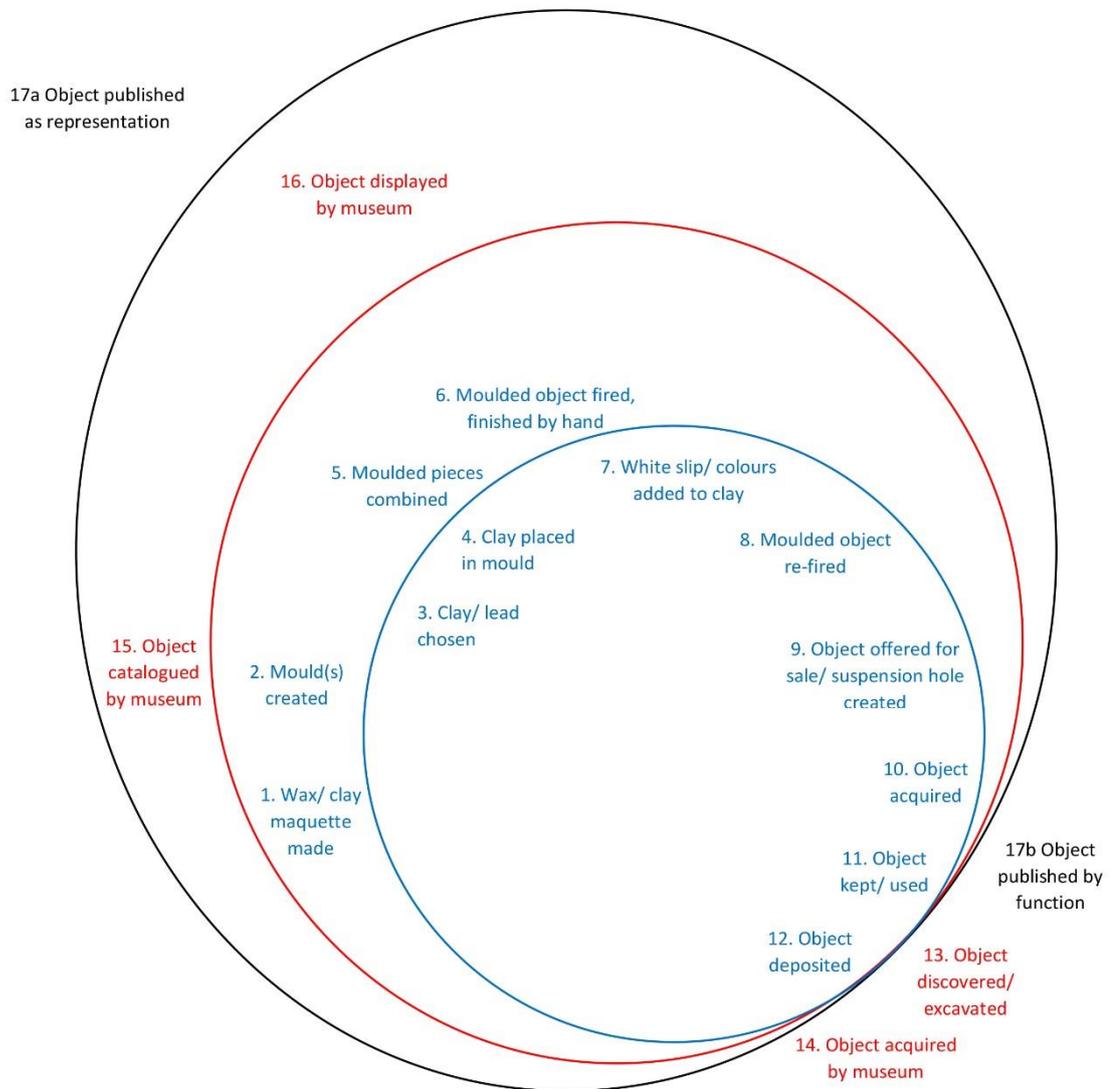


figure 4.2.3. Object biography of moulded objects bearing theatrical representations of Herakles

Stage 1 Wax/ clay maquette made

In order to create a mould, a maquette of the desired figure must be created freehand. This may be an existing figurine (Higgins, 1976: 106). Wax and unfired clay are both suitable materials for this, since their surface is malleable and small details can be added easily with tools or even fingernails, with mistakes easily rectified. The appearance of Herakles on individual figurines and masks collected in this research varies, although all comic examples are listed under the 'mask J' type by Webster in his theatrical catalogues, which depend on Pollux' *Onomasticon*, a description of comedy masks. The Lipari excavation reports continue to use this label (*ML* II: 302). This implies that all of the

masks listed in this way were associated with the same type of comedy. The masks in this dataset differ from those found in Punic-Phoenician contexts in Carthage and west Sicily in their appearance; the latter include fewer facial features and repeated indentations on the cheeks.

Of the representations of Herakles collected here from Sicily, 3 masks (two further examples from Morgantina will be discussed in Chapter 6) are considered to depict his character in tragedy (L20-22), while the rest of the moulded objects feature the more exaggerated gestures or expressions associated with comedy. The figurines are invariably free-standing objects, but G4 appears to be in relief against a background; this, along with the lack of exaggerated features noted above, may suggest that this was not a theatrical representation and may explain its absence from Webster's catalogue where objects from the same find-context as G4 are listed.

No evidence remains for the context of the creation of these maquettes. The excavators at Lipari, while emphasising their local production, suggested that masks or figurines were sent out from Athens to be copied (*MTL*, 1976: 19), which would imply that the representations were direct derivatives of plays performed in Athens, and not of the regional drama identified in the vessels described above. Pal1 and G2/4 are associated with what the authors term *phlyax* drama. If local representations were created, it is important to consider when the maquettes were made in relation to the performance of the play when assessing their realism, as assumed by scholars seeking visual evidence for the ancient theatre, as well as examining their function (see 4.3.4 below). If moulded objects were commissioned, any agreement on the appearance of the object would have to be secured with the commissioner at this early stage.

All of the clay masks depicting Herakles are below life-size (see Stage 4 below). The figurines all measure 12 cm or less in height; although some are fragmentary, the measurements suggest that none would exceed 12 cm by more than a few centimetres.

Webster based his assessment of figurine types on find-context and clay type wherever possible (1978: 1), although stylistic considerations were also taken into account. His catalogue includes only L4-9, Sy4-5 and G2. He considered Sy4-5 to be a Sicilian type; G2 was originally designated Sicilian but changed to Attic. The L4 maquette series is compared to an Athenian type of which G2 is an example, although there are considerable differences in the pose and rendering of the face between these figurines. However, Webster does not consider any of the Lipari maquette series to be Attic, placing those of

the same series as L7 furthest of the three from Attic originals (*ibid*). This maquette series is not found outside Lipari. Breà attributes MH1 to the work of a local master, although he notes stylistic similarities with Syracusan examples, which he considers under Attic influence, while the Geloan figurines are considered to be a local style, thus reflecting a local type of performance. He considers Geloan examples to be closer to the representations of vase paintings than Syracusan ones.

This stage suggests the association of these objects with local production, when considered as object types; when their image is considered, they are associated with local or Athenian theatre communities, according to scholarly judgment.

Stage 2 Mould(s) created

Unfired clay was placed around the maquette and then fired to create the mould (Higgins, 1976: 106). Moulds for figurines survive from Lipari, Morgantina and Palici, although no moulds of Herakles figurines survive.

In some cases, the sharpness of detail and size of the object in relation to others from the same mould series can indicate whether the object was made from a new or old mould, with old moulds tending to lose their clarity with re-use. This can affect the understanding of a figurine's representation; Breà notes that the age of the mould of G4 makes it difficult to assess whether the object between Herakles' legs is the characteristic phallos of comedy, or one of the lion's legs. With no other evidence than the costume to associate the object with comedy, this has caused uncertainty over this object's representation and therefore its function. Some smaller examples suggest that second generation moulds were made from existing objects, rather than investing the time in creating a new maquette (see Stage 4 below), perhaps because the mould-maker was engaged on other projects. This implies local production and demand for the same representation.

For moulded objects to be realistic renderings of the mask and costume in a particular performance, they would need to be created contemporaneously with the spectacle.

Without a complete set of characters and the script of the play they were performing, it is impossible to judge whether a complete set of characters (masks and figurines) was made for each play. However, the cast lists from Athenian and New Comedy examples, for which these objects are used as visual evidence, include at least ten characters per play, which would necessitate twenty maquettes per play if a mask and figurine were made for each character. There is no evidence to suggest that these plays were anything other than one-off performances, thus for the mould-maker to have ready for sale at a performance

all possible character representations in realistic form, at least twenty moulds would have been required. This implies the mould-maker had access to the rehearsals of the play and perhaps had been involved in the creation of some of the masks or scenery.

This stage implies the demands of the local community in the use and creation of new moulds of the same representations, which had to be met by local mould-makers.

Stage 3 Clay/ Lead chosen

The choice of material for all but one of the moulded objects is clay, with Pal1 being made from lead. Both of these materials are relatively cheap and easy to work for an experienced craftsman; the process here corresponds with Stage 1 for Vessels (above). Unlike clay, lead can be melted down and reused and this may account for the scarcity of other examples in this material; the Palici example is the only one of this type found in lead at the site. As discussed in Chapter 3, small figurines of bronze are also known; those from Sicily are not of theatrical subject, although there are examples of this kind from Athens (Bieber, 1961: 39), on whose influence the Sicilian examples are perceived to depend, as well as Corinth and Olynthos. Webster used clay type as a means of establishing whether figurines were of local production, on which grounds the use of local clay should be assumed for Sy4-5, as well as the Lipari examples. However, he considers G2 an Attic type, contrary to Adamesteanu's description of its clay as the 'pale red of Manfria' and its find-spot with G4 at Butera. No information about the clay of MH1 is given in the scholarship.

The clay chosen for all of the moulded objects from Lipari is pinkish-red clay from the north coast of Sicily, which had been used by potters on the islands since prehistoric times (*MTL*, 1976: 19; Webster, 1978: 139). The sheer volume of terracotta objects made from this clay on the islands suggests that this was a particularly lucrative business if the clay was shipped in bulk. It would necessitate safe shipping lanes between Lipari and Sicily, which historical sources suggest was often not the case during the First Punic War and therefore suggests the importance of the trade in clay to those taking the risks to secure it.

The choice of material in all cases suggests production of moulded objects of Herakles within the local community, although making use of imported clay on Lipari.

Stage 4 Clay placed in mould

The clay chosen was placed in the mould, which would be used repeatedly until the details were insufficiently clear, or damage occurred such as the splintering to the chin of L21.

The three masks L20-22 appear to derive from the same mould, since their features are identical, such as the slightly raised left eyebrow, and their measurements correspond within 2 mm. Three groups of figurines from Lipari also derive from the same mould, here the types of L4, L6 and L7; further examples are noted in the gazetteer. Objects which appear to derive from the same original maquette may not be of the same size, however, e.g. L25 and L26. This could be caused at the firing stage, see stages 6 & 8 below, but may also have been due to the use of later-generation moulds, created not from the original maquette, but from either new moulds or those created using older figurines as the maquette. Thus, figurines become smaller with later generations of moulds, such as L17 and the examples found with it (*ML VII*: 122). No evidence for the use of the same mould for a representation of Herakles is recorded outside Lipari in this research.

The re-use or creation of new moulds of existing objects raises the question of the function of the figurines. If they were commemorating a particular performance, then the existence of masks or figurines dating to two different periods, such as those from 350-300 and 275-250 found with L16 and L19, suggests that performances were repeated with the same staging and costume. However, if these figurines were re-issued due to demand on the part of the craftsman or audience, as proposed for L18, then it calls into question the association of figurines with particular performances, and thus their use as photo-realistic evidence for them. New moulds are noted by the excavators for figurines L4, L18, and L23 and mask L21; worn or tired ones for figurines L7, L16 and L28.

As demonstrated by the figurines in the Stevenson Collection in Glasgow, at Lipari both figurines and masks were only modelled at the front from one matrix, having featureless reverse sides which were smoothed flat (see L22, L32 in gazetteer), a characteristic of masks and figurines from Adrano as well, although a double matrix is found there (Lamagna, 2000: 222, 225). The implications of this for their use are discussed in stage 11 below. Small ridges on the Stevenson Lipari objects, at the top of the head and the shoulders and centre of the back of both L22 and L32, show the finger or palm prints of the craftsman as the clay was pushed into the mould, demonstrating that each object was moulded individually; again, this is noted on examples from Adrano (Lamagna, 2000: 222). The right-angled finish to the reverse of L32 suggests that a flat surface was placed on the back of the mould and that a degree of care was taken to retain this when the figurine was taken out of the mould, although L32 shows areas such as the bent arms where the figurine was manipulated from the mould, especially when viewed from the side. Details of the back of the figurine are unrecorded for all examples except L22 and L32, but Bieber

illustrates examples from Athens which are moulded in the round (1961: 42) and the seated Sy5 implies the same choice.

This stage calls into question the association of moulded representations of Herakles with specific performances of Athenian or regional comedy owing to the re-use of moulds after a gap of around 25 years. Regional variations in the form of moulds may imply a different use or way of viewing objects on the part of different communities, on objects again shown to be of local production in communities in East Sicily.

Stage 5 Moulded pieces combined

Some masks were created in two moulds, with additional features of the hair or headdress created separately, such as Herakles' lionskin on L3. The two sections would have been combined and additional features, such as the prominent eyeballs of L3, added before firing. It is impossible to tell whether aspects of this production stage were carried out by slaves or the mould-maker, although we might bear in mind the time constraints suggested in stage 2 above.

Stage 6 Moulded object fired, finished by hand

The moulded objects were fired initially to fix the shape and details, before further details were added as described below (*MTL*, 1976: 18). Final shaping would occur by hand, perhaps accounting for the flattened left side of L22's lionskin in comparison to its mould-mates. The time taken for each object to be dried, fired and cooled should be considered in relation to the timetable already proposed.

Stages 6-7 imply the importance of local choices, which could be effected by the mould-maker.

Stage 7 White slip, colours added to clay

Objects from Lipari, Gela, and Adrano were initially painted in a white slip, before additional colours were added to elaborate details of the representation (*MTL*, 1976: 18; Lamagna, 2000: 222). Objects from Lipari feature a characteristic glaze made from the island's kaolin which helps to identify their local production (*MTL*, 1976: 17). The finish of G2 prompted Webster to change its designation from Sicilian to Attic. Images of the objects are invariably in black and white; therefore, identification of these colours is reliant on the description in excavation or subject catalogues and comparison between examples is difficult. No details of this are provided for Sy4-5, G2/4, MH1, Pal1. Details of white slip are discernible on figurines L7-8, L28, G4, and Ad1, also masks L20 and L22. Mask

L3 features red colour on the face, orange for the lionskin and strikingly white teeth and eyeballs. L22 also shows red colour on the cheeks. Ad2 shows a violet-red colour on the ears and mouth. Cen1, attributed to production near Gela, depicts Herakles in an orange mask, while the female figure on the same stage wears a white mask, however the disappearance of overpaint from figurines G2/4 prevents a direct comparison of these examples made in the same area.

The state of preservation of objects does not allow us to judge whether objects from the same mould were painted in the same colours, or whether objects drawn from moulds re-used after some time shared the same colour-scheme. A report on the colours of the masks in the Stevenson Collection (GMRC Lipari resources) noted that L22 and the other two tragic masks in the collection were all painted in pale pink over a white slip, with no signs of overpainting, while male comic figures presented an orange skin. The report found evidence of nineteenth-century repainting of some objects, although a later letter to the curator in the archive noted that this had not been observed by Cavalier for the examples remaining in Lipari.

Some continuity in practice can be found in the use of white slip and overpaint on moulded representations of Herakles, a convention which also appears on vessel representations. The examples from Lipari present a characteristic local production method not found on other examples.

Stage 8 Moulded object re-fired

A second firing of the object fixed the glaze and colours chosen (*MTL*, 1976: 18) at the end of the production process. The dating of completed moulded objects invariably relies on the objects with which they are found, thus associating the date of production with the date of deposition and removing the possibility of objects being curated before their deposition. As indicated above, the dating of material from Lipari has been contested owing to its reliance on the subjective judgment of pottery dating, which can vary by up to half a century and thus places objects into a very different socio-political context. The association of objects with types of mask or figurine considered to belong to New Comedy, which is dated from around 275, further affects dating.

Webster considers the Lipari figurines to date 350-325 (1978: 139), while the excavators extend this to 350-300 (*ML* II: 303) or even 275-250 by the association of some figurines with New Comedy types (*ML* VII: 112). The Lipari masks are dated to 340-330 (L3) and 340-300 (L20-2). Similarly, at Gela, G2 can be dated 375-350 by association with the other

examples of its type, or 350-300, while its find-context with G4 is dated to the period of Timoleon's control, 338-310. MH1 is likewise dated to the period of Timoleon's control at Megara Hyblaea. Finds from elsewhere may be dated by association with the upper date of the Lipari figurines; thus Sy4-5 are dated 350-325, Pal1 to 350-300, and Ad2 to the end of the fourth century; Lipari has thus become the centre in terms of our understanding of theatrical objects, despite being considered an outpost of Greek theatre.

Stage 9 Object offered for sale, suspension hole created

Several masks from both Lipari and Morgantina feature a suspension hole at the top of the object. This may have been created at the point of sale by the craftsman (or at Stage 11), since the three masks L20-22 which derive from an identical maquette do not all have the hole, suggesting it was created on the demand of the owner. No details of suspension holes are noted for figurines.

No evidence remains of the point of sale to compare with that of Mangiatoia for vessels. While it can be demonstrated that items from Lipari were created and deposited on the island, such evidence is not forthcoming for other examples. It is impossible to establish who distributed the moulded objects, perhaps the craftsmen who created them, a client who commissioned them, or traders who bought selections or individual types of objects for re-sale, possibly in the vicinity of a theatrical performance.

Customisation at this stage of the object's life suggests personal choices in the use of moulded representations of Herakles at Lipari and Morgantina, not found elsewhere in east Sicily. Evidence for the sale of the objects is reliant on subjective judgment of the image and association with literary texts which invariably derive from Athens.

Stage 10 Object acquired

The range of terracotta objects found at Lipari and Gela suggests that a choice was made to acquire a theatrical version of Herakles in the form of either a figurine, mask or a painted vessel; chapter 6 suggests that individuals at Morgantina had an additional choice of a vessel with moulded decoration of Herakles. There is no evidence to account for the choice. There is no direct evidence that those who acquired moulded objects bought them directly from a craftsman or trader, rather than being given the objects as a gift.

The identification of objects from an identical maquette or subjective judgment of stylistic similarities between different mask or figurine types can be used to suggest the same acquisition point for some objects. Thus, the similarity in style of mask L3 with the mask

of Hades found in the same context has been taken to mean that the two were produced and sold by the same craftsman, and further that these derived from the same theatrical production (*ML V*: 57), an idea repeated for the three tragic masks in the Stevenson Collection (Kelvingrove Museum display case, see stage 14/16 below). Breà attributed MH1 to a local workshop in Megara Hyblaea due to its deposition with 13 other comic terracottas of similar style.

We can identify at this stage a choice to acquire a particular form of object bearing a theatrical representation of Herakles, in the case of L3, a mask rather than a figurine or a vase, and in the case of Pal1 in lead rather than the clay figurines with which it was found. In all cases moulded objects were acquired locally. There is no evidence to suggest that the representations were associated with Athenian theatrical productions by those acquiring them.

Stage 11 Object kept/ used

The evidence of the suspension ring on some masks mentioned above suggests that those objects were kept on a wall, perhaps for display, as is suggested by some vase paintings; other images show similar objects propped against walls on shelves (Schwarzmaier, 2012: 204). The Lipari figurines and Ad2, with their unmoulded backs, also suggest that these were designed to be displayed from one angle only, and the bases found on L7-8, L16-17, L32 and Pal1 imply that they were stored upright, as does the description of Sy5 as seated and the apparent relief of G4. Mask L22 has an unmoulded diagonal slope which would have lain flat against a wall if the suspension ring was used, but is moulded at the front and sides, suggesting it could be viewed from the side and frontally. M4-5 have suspension holes, as do masks found with Pal1 (Maniscalco, 2008: 211).

This stage suggests that communities across east Sicily displayed moulded objects depicting a theatrical Herakles in different ways, in contexts discussed in stage 12 below.

Stage 12 Object deposited

Many of the objects found outside Lipari are chance finds with no known context (e.g. Ad2), making it difficult to judge regional variations at this stage of the biography of theatrical objects. The discovery of ‘sets’ of figurines in a tomb in Athens has been taken as evidence for their association with a particular performance as a cast list, and that such a practice may have existed elsewhere (Bieber, 1961: 45), although this is not the case for the 13 terracottas with which MH1 was found. G2 and G4 derive from a votive deposit in a

rural sanctuary at Butera, alongside hundreds of other terracotta figurines and a vase with the graffito 'Polystephanos'. Examples from Morgantina area are found in sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore, discussed further in chapter 6. Figurines and masks appear in various combinations in the Lipari tombs and votive ditches, but it is in the tombs that the choice to deposit certain objects together can be identified, and thus the suggestion of an association of the characters in a performance could be proposed. The fact that objects in the Stevenson Collection were already in Glasgow well before the excavations of Breà and Cavalier raises the possibility that other material may have been removed from the island with no record being kept.

The deposition of objects represents a choice of the form of object to be deposited, as well as the representation; for example Mask L3 was deposited with another mask, measuring 15 x 15 cm, which has an additional wolf-skin headpiece interpreted as Hades, and a small red figure calyx krater outside the sarcophagus of tomb 1986; the sarcophagus contained the skeleton of a baby, a gold ring depicting Dionysos and three black glazed vessels. A similar combination occurred in tomb 1287, where mask L21 was deposited with a mask perhaps representing Admetus, as well as a black glazed patera with the letters ΓΑ inscribed on its base. If these masks were representations of characters from the same play, then the deposition of these two objects must represent a choice to select those as the most suitable characters for acquisition and then deposition by the family of the child. In this case the choice of two deities, one who returned alive from the underworld according to myth and another the god of the dead, might seem more appropriate than other characters from the play, but this combination appears to be unique on Lipari, and would not explain the deposition of the mortal characters of especially New Comedy in other tombs. The burial of these objects alongside a baby, who could not have used the objects or selected them in life, invites further questions about the choices made to deposit particular items and their relationship to theatrical productions. The combination of a ring, lamp and black glazed vessels within a sarcophagus, with theatrical objects and painted pottery outside it, is a common one on Lipari (*MTL*, 1976: 24). Some tombs may have contained more elaborate assemblages, as the inspector's report of the Stevenson Collection's excavation suggests (Appendix of Historical Sources).

In addition to tombs at Lipari, moulded objects were deposited in areas labelled 'votive ditches' by the excavators (*MLII*, 1965: 158), along with scores of terracotta objects, including figurines and moulds, suggesting that several members of the community were involved in the co-operative digging and use of the ditches. It was considered appropriate

for multiple examples of the same maquette series and of the same character to be deposited in the same ditch. Objects from the ditches may have been of lower quality than those in the tombs (Schwarzmaier, 2012: 205). Objects drawn from the same mould were deposited in different contexts; L20 was found in a votive ditch, L21 in tomb 1287.

One ditch was found alongside a large altar dedicated to Demeter and Kore, dated to 350-300, in which L4-6 and L8-9 were found along with 101 masks, 159 figurines of 80 types and 1 mould, although see Stage 13 for caveats about Lipari find-contexts. Another, containing L18-19, was located outside the city wall of the Greek period, containing terracottas of both sacred and theatrical content, as well as weights and black glazed pottery. A third deposition tendency is represented by L16, which was deposited among scattered, broken, offerings of terracotta in the area of the necropolis. All of these ditches are characterised by the fragmentary nature of the objects found there. This again suggests a communal decision to end the life of these objects and to associate them in these different contexts by members of the Lipari community, as it does for the two Geloan examples. The deposition of moulds alongside figurines and masks implies the participation of mould-makers in the practice at the votive ditch.

Where evidence is available for this stage, it indicates that moulded objects representing a theatrical Herakles were found in different contexts in east Sicily, even at the same site. There is no evidence of associations with theatrical or Athenian communities at deposition, rather the local community is evoked. This can be on a large scale, as suggested by sanctuary and votive ditch deposits, or at the level of family and friends implied by grave deposits, but always with objects of local production being used. Schwarzmaier proposes associations with Dionysos at funeral banquets at Lipari, while many other examples at Lipari and Morgantina are linked at this stage with Demeter and Kore.

Post-depositional Object Biography of Theatrical Objects

The post-depositional stages of these objects' biographies can be traced in the same steps, as discussed below.

The correspondence of the three circles in the diagrams at the point of the objects' deposition, discovery and acquisition by museums indicates the impact that the individuals involved in those stages of an object's biography can have on the broader understanding of the objects. Sweetman and Hadfield's work has demonstrated that the display of

objects in cases by museums encourages viewers to focus on the image as art and not the object and its function (2018: 13). The fact that museum collections are cited before, or even instead of, deposition or excavation contexts in object and exhibition catalogues and scholarship on the theatre indicates the level of influence held by those responsible for the objects between their discovery and display. The following stages therefore highlight this cycle of the objects' lives, with particular focus on the objects from the Stevenson Collection in Glasgow, since this includes a variety of objects from a known find-context, thus showing the particular trajectory of objects bearing theatrical representations, including two identified as Herakles. A key factor is the display of the examples as objects or images.

Stage 11/ 13 Object discovered/ excavated

Details of the excavation of objects found after 1946 are, in general, well recorded. Those theatrical objects found before this time appear in the scholarship without details of their precise find-spot, although an area of a town or a context such as a tomb is often described. It is unclear whether Ad1 was found at Etna or Adrano. All four vessels, mask L22 and figurines L32 and Sy4-5 were found in this way, and we may add the more recent chance find of Ad2. Of these objects, only Le1 and the Syracusan finds have stayed in the area of their discovery. There is no record of the objects with which these examples were found, preventing us from identifying the choices made by the last owner of the objects. While it is not possible to recreate the contents of the individual tombs in which L22/ L32 were found, a translated report of the finds in general, including all types of pottery, lamps, iron and copper and faunal remains, is kept in the records of the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow (see transcript in the Appendix of Historical Sources). The tombs had been identified by the Inspector of Excavations and Monuments at Messina, although much of the excavation may have been carried out by the local landowner and untrained workers, whose carelessness the inspector regrets.

The objects from Lipari, Gela, Megara Hyblaea and Palici, by contrast, were uncovered in systematic post-war excavations and allow us to identify such choices in most cases. Deposition contexts from Lipari are, however, recorded inconsistently across different publications when objects derive from votive ditches. It is possible that the use of Roman numerals for the designation of trenches has caused these problems, since the repetition or omission of an X or I may escape the attention of the sharpest copy-editor, as well as the

sheer volume of objects found in these ditches. We find L4 attributed to trench XXII, XXIII and XXIII, III, the latter two designations appearing in the same publication (*MTL*, 1976: 73/ 304) and similar inconsistencies occur elsewhere. Although a list of theatrical objects not found in tombs was compiled in *MTL* (pp. 303-309) it is not always possible to associate this with the excavation report, nor are non-theatrical objects from each trench recorded; compare the Inspector's report discussed above and transcribed in the dossier.

Stage 12/ 14 Object acquired by museum

International museum collections: Cen1, Ad1, L22/32

Sicilian museum collections: Cam1, Sy4, Ad2

Sicilian museum collections local to find-spot: Le1, G2/4, Sy5, all Lipari bar L22/32

Unknown: MH1, Pal1

The individuals who found the vessels are not recorded, but it is clear that those Sicilians of means who were interested in ancient objects could acquire them for their collections in the 1800s. Ad1 appeared in the collection of vases and terracottas from the local area belonging to Placido Canfarelli, described as a 'Bürger' of Adrano, before this was split up in 1867 and the vase acquired by the Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg and then the Hermitage; Cam1 was acquired at Camarina by Count Biscari; Cen1 was acquired for further sale by the antiquary Derio Pappalardo in Catania.

Objects were not only available to locals, L22/L32 were part of a collection of material found in 20 tombs on Lipari and bought wholesale in 1879 by James Stevenson from Glasgow when he was directing his chemical business on the neighbouring island of Vulcano. After their transportation to Glasgow in 1885, they were loaned to the Glasgow Museum, and were formally acquired in August 1903 on Stevenson's death. The acquisition catalogue of the museum notes the honorary law degree awarded to Stevenson, who had already matriculated in 1834, by the University of Glasgow in recognition of his various donations to the museum, evidence of Victorian patronage systems. Three of the individuals acquiring theatrical objects (Canfarelli, Biscari and Stevenson) therefore made their objects available for public viewing and emphasis is placed on the 'Greek vases' of these collections, from which other objects gain value by association.

Objects found post-1946 were all acquired by local museums, notably the results of the systematic excavations at Gela and Lipari. The Lipari museum is named after the chief excavator of the site, Bernabo-Breà.

This stage highlights the likelihood that objects bearing representations of Herakles would have been valued by collectors and museums for their association with classical Greek theatre and vases in the years before 1946, while their association with the local community became more important from this time onwards.

Stage 13/ 15 Object catalogued by Museum

Initial cataloguing of objects is often by date and order of acquisition, revealing nothing about the nature of the object. Thus, L22 and L32 form part of the 03-70 entry to the Museum of Glasgow, where they formed the 70th entry in the year 1903, preceding the acquisition of a medallion awarded to the ‘defender of Derry 1688’ from the Apprentice Boys Club. The Geloan, and Syracusan examples follow a consecutive numbering system, from which we might suppose that G2 and G4 arrived together from their respective catalogue numbers of 6347 and 8. Le1 is unusual in being catalogued as Grab 658 by the local museum, implying its deposition context in a tomb.

Subsequent cataloguing within museums groups together objects for storage and display, thereby creating associations on grounds of donor, provenance, object type or theme. The Stevenson Collection was broken down into 35 objects or groups of objects under the title ‘Greek Vases from tombs in Lipari’; vases and female figures appeared as individual entries with brief descriptions, while 16 masks, 9 terracotta figurines and objects such as 16 stone hatchets appeared as group entries, implying the relative value of different objects. From this point, objects were placed into different boxes; in a 1936 catalogue we find L22 in 03-70 dt box 18 as mask 2, labelled ‘Greek Antiquities in Store’ and a month later as ‘Greek Objects in Egyptian Room’, along with the other 15 masks. The box inventory notes that masks 1-3 ‘seem to be a set: 3 actors of a specific tragedy’, although there is no evidence in the documentation or the Inspector’s report to suggest that they were found in the same tomb. We may compare the box of ‘Greek’ masks, from which the association with Stevenson, Lipari and Sicily has now disappeared, with box 16 from the same collection, which includes objects such as the stone hatchets described above, labelled as ‘Europe, Aegean/ Italy, Prehistory inc. Lipari’. The two boxes derive from the same tombs, but their labelling has moved them into associations with different communities.

Liparan objects now in the local museum seem to have been catalogued at excavation. Examples such as figurines L4-5 appear with consecutive numbers, although this does not always indicate that they were found together. Similar grouping to that seen above can be found from some tomb assemblages; L21 was found in tomb 1287 and is inventoried as 10774A along with another mask, 10774B; remaining objects from this tomb, of different, non-theatrical types, are all given the number 10774, implying a greater value for the theatrical objects.

Interrogating the cataloguing system therefore demonstrates how relative values, labels and communities may be attributed to objects within a museum system with no documentation of the criteria used. In the case of objects bearing the image of a theatrical Herakles, L21 is tied closely to its tomb context, of which it is considered a highlight as a theatrical mask, while its mould-mate L22 has become part of the Greek antiquities. L22 may even have acquired an association with masks that did not occur pre-deposition, due to the grouping of masks from one collection without records of the individual tomb assemblages from which they derived.

Stage 14/ 16 Object displayed by museum

The museums in which objects bearing a theatrical representation of Herakles are displayed fall into three categories, as indicated in stage 12/14. Those objects displayed in regional museums, as for those published in excavation reports (see stage 17b), emphasise the object's place in the local community on East Sicily, thus, Le1, and the Lipari, Gela and Syracuse examples, are displayed in and with objects used and deposited by members of the same wider community. Within this broad association, however, Herakles may be displayed as an object or as an image. Le1 is placed in a central case, allowing 360-degree view of its decoration, with no accompanying objects, while L21 is shown with masks from different tombs, grouped under the theme of 'tragedy'. The former shows Le1 as a singular piece in the local community, while the latter emphasises associations with one genre of theatre in the 'classical' room which is described as part of the Greek world (Bernabo Breà, 1977: 138).

The three other vessels discussed in this chapter are displayed as part of wider collections. Cam1, now in the local museum at Catania, was part of the Biscari Collection displayed in the prince's palace as part of 'the largest collection of ancient relics in Sicily', as described in three pages in Dennis' *Handbook to Sicily*. Dennis notes that, when he viewed the collection in the Vase Room, many of the best pieces had been stolen, but that Cam1, to

which he assigns a provenance of Girgenti (mod. Agrigento), is one of those remaining and worthy of notice, despite being ‘of late style and poor art’. It appears along with Italian vases from Nola. No reference is made to images on the reverse of the vase, suggesting they may have been placed against a wall. A different type of collection is that of La Scala Museum of Theatre, which acquired Cen1 as part of the Sambon Collection in 1911 (Scala, 1971: 27); the vessel was displayed, without the lid described by Rizzo in 1900 and with a provenance of Cumae, as part of the archaeological examples of the history of the theatre in the same building as La Scala Theatre. It is therefore associated with other Italian examples of theatrical heritage, rather than the more usual Greek links, in a building and collection closely tied to the Italian nationalist movement; King Victor Emmanuel III and the Italian government were instrumental in securing Sambon’s collection for the new museum.

By contrast, two displays in overseas museums in the last decade both combine masks as images from Lipari, associating them with literary texts as illustrations of Greek theatre. L3 was displayed with the mask of Hades found in the same tomb as a ‘lost comedy’ in the Getty ‘Art and Invention’ exhibition (Bosher, 2013: 111); no mention was made that the occupant of the tomb was a baby, focus instead being placed on the aesthetic execution of the masks and their similarity to the extant text of Aristophanes’ *Frogs*.



figure 4.2.4. Display case of L32 and L22

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The mask L22 and figurine L32 are currently displayed in an exhibition of masks at the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow, where they appear in a case displaying all the figured vessels, masks and figurines of the Stevenson Collection as ‘Slapstick and Tragedy’, with associations made to Greek and Sicilian literature, as well as to the writing of Menander.

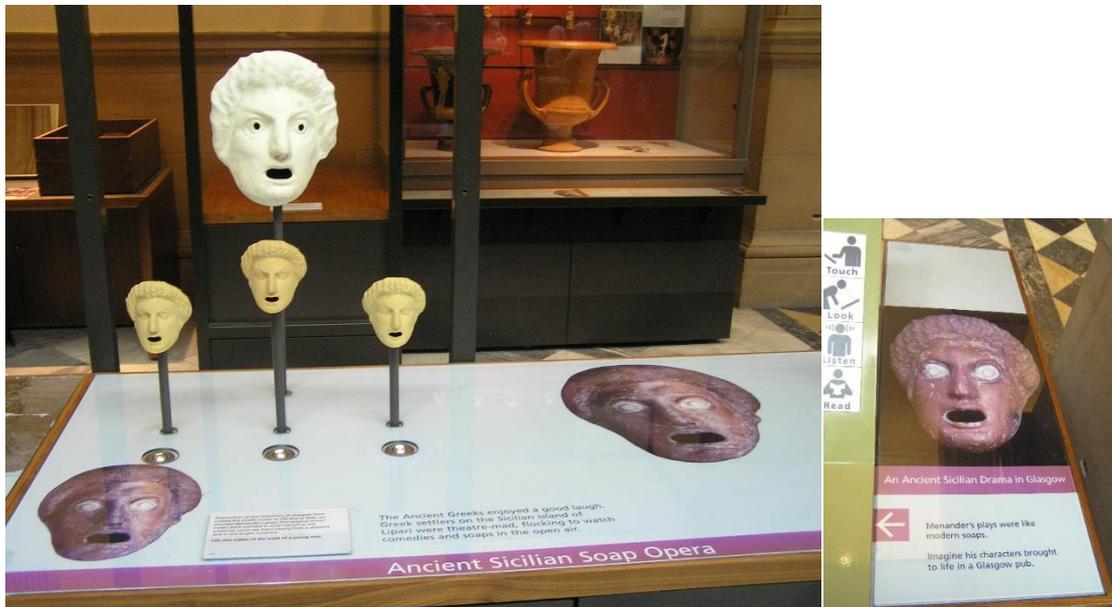


figure 4.2.5. Displays of theatrical masks around case containing L22 and L32 (seen in background)

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This forms a contrast with the remainder of the exhibited masks, from South Asia and the Americas, whose functions as objects in ritual practice are displayed. The association of the Stevenson Collection objects as a collection is not mentioned, nor are the other items from the same tombs which Stevenson donated.



figure 4.2.6. Masks from South Asia and the Americas displayed next to L22 and L32 as objects

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This stage demonstrates that objects bearing theatrical representations of Herakles are associated with local and national communities, as well as that of the Greek theatre by their displays in museums, but not with their function.

Stage 15a/ 17a object published as representation

Vessels, masks and figurines representing Herakles all feature in catalogues where focus is placed on the scholar's judgment of an image in establishing the object's place within a universal system based on the evolutionary principles of Darwin and Mendel (Kubler, 2008: 4). All four vessels appear in Trendall's catalogue of regional Italian vase production, which was based on the methodology of Beazley's Attic vase publications, invoking the influence of Athens on the creators of the vessels, as well as that of the regions to which they are allotted: Apulia for Cam1, and Sicily for the others, although Cen1 was originally designated Campanian. Although the ongoing excavations in South Italy and Sicily during Trendall's career allowed him to give greater consideration to

questions of clay sources and find contexts in his assessment of vases than Beazley's Attic examples permitted, Trendall's identification of vases was still predominantly guided by subjective judgment of characteristic figured elements. He followed Beazley in establishing a framework of master vase painters, with followers and associates, which presupposed an Italian Renaissance workshop system, focused on figured pottery. While this allows comparison of subject matter and vessel shapes across and between regions, it prevents comparisons with non-figured vessels or vessels in other fabrics, which were sold together at Mangiatoia near Gela. When vessels were re-attributed, such as Cen1, the initial tendency was always to allocate them to a cultural centre, until contextualised evidence tied them to a provincial community. Aesthetic judgment on the images – one chapter in *LCS* is entitled 'barbarism' – may affect scholarship on the value attributed to these vessels.

Masks and figurines from Lipari appear in a catalogue of Liparan theatrical terracottas compiled by Lipari's excavators Breà and Cavalier, where they are identified by their representation, established from the mask descriptions in Pollux' *Onomasticon*, written nearly half a millennium after the objects are dated. The identification of characters from literary texts, both tragic and comic, has contributed to the tendency to discuss the objects as illustrations of theatrical productions, with no other purpose. Catalogues of both vessels and terracotta place their emphasis on the images the objects present as part of a common aesthetic attitude across the 'Greek world', with questions of context and function overlooked. The impact of this on scholarship is to emphasise the aesthetic appeal and literary associations of theatrical objects from Sicily as part of a wider Greek, or Athenian, culture of which they were 'provincial' examples. As well as the agency of local craftspeople, this overlooks the local associations invoked by the creators of the objects for those who acquired and deposited them and restricts our understanding of the choices from different communities available to Sicilians to that of the Greek homeland.

The second major strand of publication for objects bearing a theatrical representation of Herakles is within works on the ancient theatre, notably the work of Bieber, Trendall and Webster, and Breà. Trendall's catalogues of South Italian and Sicilian vases enabled him to identify the recurring theatrical theme in the region as *phlyax* drama, a term which had been applied by art history since the 19th century and is used by Rizzo and Libertini in their descriptions of Cen1 and Cam1. The theatrical catalogues of *phlyax* vases and theatrical terracottas bring together themed representations from the same region, while Webster's publication of comic monuments places them within a survey of such objects from across the Greek world. All are predicated on the centrality of Athens in defining literary and

artistic choices, which is demonstrated by the object's representation, not taking into account its production, context, or the way in which it was used by individuals not in Athens. Bieber also focuses on representations on the objects as photo-realistic illustrations of a universal 'Greek' theatre, which developed into that of Rome, using cropped photographs or line drawings of the relevant part of vessel representations such as Cam1 (see gazetteer). This use of cropped, tidied-up or idealised images recurs in the art-historical or mythological catalogues, with vessel scenes viewed around the curving belly of a vase rendered as flat landscape scenes (see figure 4.2.7 below); this places focus on the aesthetic quality of the image and omits scenes on the reverse of the vessels.



figure 4.2.7. Idealised rendering of the representation from Ad1, from Benndorf (1869, tav. 44)

We have already noted in stage 14/16 the association of masks with literary texts in museum displays. This approach is most recently demonstrated in the work of Taplin, Csapo and Hughes. Taplin and Csapo consider the representation on figured vases as evidence for the performance of Attic drama in Sicily and South Italy, with Csapo (2010: 38) in particular concluding that the focus on the importance of Athens has in fact been underplayed in scholarship. Hughes applies the evidence more widely and with emphasis on the practicalities of masked performances for the actors. These publications associate theatrical representations of Herakles on Sicily with a theatrical community, which is understood from references to Greek, particularly Athenian, or Roman literary texts. The

mechanics of commissioning, performing and watching the drama in local Sicilian communities during the fourth and third centuries is overlooked apart from the idea of travelling actors, as are the ways in which these objects were created, used and deposited. These compendia of visual evidence have been influential in our understanding of ancient theatre, but as flowcharts 4.2b and c indicate, this focus on selected images places them a long way apart from the way in which individuals in fourth-third century Sicily used and deposited these objects.

Stage 15b/ 17b object published by function

As demonstrated by map 4.2, only two sites on Sicily from which theatrical representations of Herakles have been found possess theatres identified in the archaeological record. At both of these, Morgantina and Syracuse, the theatre complex is dated later than the archaeological representations. The likelihood that theatrical performances took place on temporary or wooden stages is discussed below, but only serves to emphasise the different experiences of the theatre from that of Athens which recurs in the publications of the previous stages. Two other strands of publication, in excavation catalogues and as funerary objects, follow a different trajectory in their treatment of objects bearing representations of a theatrical Herakles.

By their nature, the excavation reports and catalogues associate objects with the communities which deposited them. The loss of this context for the vessels bearing Herakles, Adrano and Syracuse figurines, slightly mitigated for Le1 by its curation in the local museum as grave 658, makes reconstruction of stages 7 to 11 of the objects' biographies particularly problematic. To a certain extent, this problem also occurs for Lipari examples; as noted in stage 13, precise information about the non-theatrical objects, especially in the votive ditches, was not always published and we may note the range of objects described by Granata in his report in comparison. However, the excavation reports for objects from Gela, Lipari, Megara Hyblaea, Morgantina and Palici allow these theatrical objects to be given approximate dates and contextualised within the history of their respective communities, as indicated in stage 11/13. Excavation publications therefore describe and illustrate these examples as objects, in the context of local choices by the communities in eastern Sicily who deposited them. These communities are shown to be making associations with theatrical communities in contexts of votive dedication at Gela, Lipari, Morgantina and Palici, and of funerals at Centuripe, Leontinoi, Lipari and Megara Hyblaea. At Leontinoi the object bearing the representation of a theatrical

Herakles placed in the tomb was made and purchased from an external community in east Sicily; all other examples were of local production.

Recent work on theatre in south Italy and Sicily, often dubbed 'the West' in relation to Greece, has emphasised the need for an interdisciplinary approach (Bosher, 2012: 1). The work of Schwarzmaier and McLachlan discusses the function and deposition of these objects, with less focus on the details of the representation. Ironically, McLachlan discusses L1 (not included in this chapter since the representation does not show a masked Herakles) as evidence for the association between theatrical objects, the Lipari Koreion, and death rites. Both authors, with differing emphases, establish the importance of objects discussed in this chapter as part of cult and funerary practices, thus associating them with those communities who worshipped Demeter and Kore, and/or Dionysos; a link also suggested for Le1 owing to the necropolis in which it was found. This work, with its focus on reconstructing the practice associated with rituals, not only allows us to identify individuals and groups within and across Sicilian communities, thus including the frequently overlooked 'home' community in the lives of these objects, but Schwarzmaier especially also differentiates the experiences of different genders and ages using and depositing them. What they do not do is to address why the details of particular representations of Herakles appear as they do, with three different comic and one tragic, in addition to L1, Herakles types evident at Lipari alone.

4.3 How did Herakles appear on these objects?

4.3.1 How does Herakles appear on individual theatrical objects from Sicily?

Herakles is recognised as appearing in a theatrical representation by the exaggerated facial features which represent the mask attested in the Greek, Egyptian and Phoenician ancient theatre. These most notably comprise disproportionately large eyes and eyebrows, and sometimes a wide mouth, intended to convey emotion or expression to audience members viewing the stage from a distance. In addition, these objects differ from all other examples from Sicily in this research since they depict him clothed. While the majority of examples in this dataset represent him with the lionskin, this rarely covers anything more than his throat or left arm. Here we find Herakles consistently represented in a belted tunic and leggings, with either bare feet or sandals. All the examples discussed here would originally have been multi-coloured (although compare M10-11 in chapter 6) either through additional colours added to painted vessels or, as noted in stage 7 above, with the addition of paints to a base layer of white slip on masks or figurines. The best example of these colours is L3, where the red and orange of the face make clear the features of face and lionskin, but this survives on few other examples, which are invariably published in black-and-white photographs, and with little description of remaining colour. The effect of this loss of colour can best be seen by comparison with the eighteenth-century painted figures displayed in La Scala Museum in Milan (compare the effect of figures 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 below). Not only does the lack of colour detract from the realism of the figures discussed here, but it prevents us from judging whether objects from the same mould would have appeared as similar as they do today when only the base clay or white slip remains.



figure 4.3.1 La Scala (1971) 107



figure 4.3.2 La Scala (1971) 113

The most reliable identifier for Herakles in theatrical representations is his lionskin, which appears on every example collected here. With the exception of G4, this is shown in the form of the lion's head appearing as a cap, with the rest of the pelt acting as a cloak, often with the forepaws tied at the throat. This feature allows identification of the terracotta masks, where the absence of the remainder of the body can cause problems with identification in other examples. Herakles' other identifier, his club, is therefore missing from the masks, but also from the L4 set of figurines deriving from the same mould. The fragmentary state of some figurines means that we also cannot guarantee the club's appearance on Ad2 or Sy4-5. Le1 and Cen1, attributed to the same painter who may have rendered a club in a similar fashion, both feature a long, thin, knobbly object, but while its appearance in the left hand of a figure wearing the lionskin in Cen1 suggests a club, its position behind the equivalent figure and the figure of an old man in Le1 makes it unclear whether this is Herakles' club or the old man's walking stick. Only G4 bucks the trend of the theatrical Herakles established here, showing a figure with a pointed hat and without the exaggerated features of a mask, carrying a dead lion without a club. The remaining four examples, all vessels, fall into the 'Other Narrative' description, since none of them are associated with the canonical 12 Labours (see 2.2.1). There are no depictions of

Herakles as a child or as Melqart in a theatrical context, nor is he identified by an inscription or label on any of these examples (although see 4.1 on L1).



figure 4.3.3. Webster's mask J (1978: 13)

Webster's catalogue of theatrical monuments identifies Herakles in comedy by his mask, J, represented in figure 4.3.2 above with a high, wrinkled forehead under the lionskin, wide eyes and mouth, with a beard. Breà suggested that hair and beards may not have been included in the fabric of the masks used on stage and may not necessarily have been reproduced on figurines or masks. As noted above, Greek theatre, to which all these objects are ascribed, is conventionally associated with three genres; tragedy, comedy and satyr, with masks designed for particular genres. Tragic masks were intended to convey deep emotion or horror, with the face rendered realistically, as shown on the masks L20-22. L10 is listed as a tragic mask in the excavation report, but its wide eyes and damage to the lower part of the face make this difficult to confirm. The remaining representations are all considered to be comic ones, featuring the lionskin and pronounced, over-sized eyes (rendered more striking by the use of colour); beyond this, however, it is not possible to identify a consistent form of 'mask J'.

While the three series of figurines from the same moulds found on Lipari share the same features within their series, the only other examples of similar facial features are on Cen1 and Le1, which could be explained by their attribution to the same artist, perhaps rendering the same performance. Variations occur in the shape of the mouth, from the pillar-box opening on G2 and of the open-mouthed grin of Pal1 and Sy4, to the small, closed-mouth versions of MH1 and the L4 and L7 Lipari series. L3 reveals a gapped row of front teeth and Ad2 a rather more ferocious set of dentures. Further changes occur

with the beard, not found on the tragic examples, L3 or Sy4, but present in different lengths and variously groomed elsewhere. Ad2 favours a splendid handlebar moustache, perhaps a local variant, since an archaic figurine also from Adrano displays the same feature. The other example from Adrano, a vessel, renders Herakles' face realistically with no mask and a beard. Thus, the comic mask types compiled by Webster, based on Pollux' second century AD list, as evidence for the universality of Greek drama and its characters, show rather that different masks were created at different sites in Sicily, including 5 different comic and 2 separate tragic examples from Lipari alone. The correspondence between masks from Sicily and external examples will be considered below.

Descriptions of Herakles in theatrical representations are provided by scholars to identify characteristics of individual artists (usually those creating vessels) or to note details of theatrical costume and staging. Both these strands tend to identify similarities rather than differences. As noted above, the examples gathered here vary more than they agree in these aspects and would have been rendered more strikingly different by the use of paint on the same mould series. In terms of clothing, some similarity can be established in that Herakles is consistently dressed in a short, belted tunic over narrow leggings, with bare feet or sandals, with the exception of Ad1 in which he appears naked. Both Cen1 and Le1 depict the tunic as white. Some examples (the L4 series, G2, perhaps L7) show horizontal lines on the legs, suggesting wrinkly tights, perhaps to emphasise the comic appearance. Sometimes a cloak is worn, of varying lengths; Cen1 and Le1's details allow us to differentiate the long lionskin from the rest of the costume, but the lack of colour, especially on figurines, makes this more difficult. Nevertheless, a long cloak seems to appear on the L6 series and L32. Cam1, attributed to a Campanian artist, presents a thigh-length tunic, rather longer than other examples. The short tunic on the local Sicilian versions allow us to see the false phallos associated with Old and Middle Greek comedy. This also varies in appearance, being looped on the L4 and L7 series and G2, but straight on MH1 and Cam1, and perhaps tied up in the manner of Greek athletes on the L6 series. The appearance, or lack, of this feature should be considered in light of the context in which the plays were performed.

A final consideration is the manner in which Herakles' physique and pose are portrayed on the examples of theatrical representations, since these may contribute to our understanding of the function of the objects. Although there are consistencies in Herakles' costume between both the examples from eastern Sicily recorded here and in the male comic costume found on vessels, it cannot be said that two examples display the same figure in

the same scene, or even the same play, with the exception of Cen1 and Le1. Clear differences can be seen in the bodies and gestures of the actors wearing Herakles' costume. Ad1 is the most obvious example, since it portrays the details of a muscular torso in a realistic fashion, with the character depicted lying down with his arm flung upwards. While the pose of one hand on club at the right hip may be shared by MH1, Pal1 and G2, the body performing that pose is different in all examples. Pal1 has noticeably shorter limbs than MH1 and G2. Both Pal1 and G2 are stiff in pose, unlike MH1 who leans on his club casually at the non-striker's end, perhaps rather proud of the shapely legs this pose allows him to display. Sy5 is the only seated example. Several examples show Herakles with a padded belly, often described as part of Greek comic costume, but this also varies in bulk. Variations can also be identified in the inclination of the eyes and head, from the interrogative twist of the L4 series to the bulbous forward stare of L3, or the upward twist of L32. Even in the representations of Le1 and Cen1, proposed as the same performance, we see variations in the physique (note the length of the arms), as well as other key aspects of staging, such as the altar and statue found in Le1, but absent from Cen1. It seems, therefore, that whether or not these images were intended as photo-realistic representations of staged performances, those creating the images of Herakles have taken care to differentiate him in aspects of dress, pose or physique, even from examples found within the same community. There are no examples of Herakles represented in other theatrical traditions, such as those of Egypt or Phoenicia.

4.3.2 How else does Herakles appear at this period?

i) in east Sicily ii) on fourth-century Sicily iii) on 'theatre' objects elsewhere?

Herakles' appearance on theatrical objects was identified in 4.3.1, with a distinction being drawn between the younger, beardless head of tragic representations such as L20-22, and the comic figure shown on other masks, figurines and vessels. These were shown to be differentiated; however, we can note the consistent appearance of a beard, a lionskin worn as a cap, and an older appearance, along with padded clothing conveying the idea of a paunch apparently worn by a number of other male comic figures (cf Cen1, Cam1). Here these representations are compared with other images of Herakles produced by the same communities in eastern Sicily (no theatrical image is found in the western eparchy), as well as other communities on the whole island, before considering theatrical objects depicting Herakles from external communities.

As discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail, Herakles appears in a non-theatrical representation on six more objects from Lipari, two from Syracuse and one from Gela in the fourth century, as well as on examples from other communities at Catania, Cefalù and Halaesa. In terms of the theatrical representation of Herakles described above, his appearance differs in several aspects, most notably the realistic rendering, with no mask. The only example to wear a beard or appear older is L29, which is considered by some scholars to represent the same story of Auge as Cen1 and Le1; all other examples are clean-shaven, with a youthful and muscular appearance made clear by his nakedness in each example except the kilted Sy3, attributed to Etruscan workmanship. The lionskin is not shown consistently, only Hal1 wearing it as the cap described above.

These characteristics are also evident in the western examples from Himera, Palermo and Agrigento, although we should note the lack of contextual information for all these Palermo examples, with P2 and P4 attributed to Campanian and Etruscan creation respectively. Only P2 shows Herakles clothed, in a cloak and boots, with no examples of a beard, the lionskin worn as a cap, or the comic paunch found among the western objects.

Further consistencies should be noted in the characters with whom Herakles is portrayed and images appearing on the opposite side of vessels. Herakles twice appears without a mask or costume with Deaneaira; with an old, bearded individual, frequently described as Papposilenos, thrice; and once with a maenad and a satyr. Maenads, satyrs and Papposilenos also appear as images on the opposite side image of fourth-century vessels depicting Herakles, although never on both sides of the same vessel. Four vessels, three of

them attributed to Italian, rather than Sicilian production, represent two or three draped young men on the opposite side to a Herakles scene. There are no other examples of Herakles masks appearing as moulded features on black glazed vessels, unlike those seen at Morgantina in the next century.

Theatrical images from communities with whom Sicilians were in regular contact in the fourth century BC have been recorded from Carthage and its colonies, Greece and the colonies of its *poieis*, as well as the communities of central and southern Italy, although we should bear in mind the focus on objects found at Athens or major centres in Webster's *Monuments* noted in 4.1. There is no indication that any of the Carthaginian masks were identified with Herakles or Melqart, but we should note the custom of placing masks in tombs in the Carthaginian necropoleis at Dermech and Douime as apotropaic devices, and protome masks in the colonies at Motya and Tharros (Lancel, 1995: 340). The two main sources of information for the wider Hellenic and Italian material are the catalogues of Trendall and Webster, not updated since 1995. In this section the frequency of Herakles' representation on different objects from external communities is addressed; comparisons are drawn between different representations of both Herakles and scene in which he appears; finally, the appearance of other deities is noted.

Trendall notes 14 painted vessels which portray Herakles in a theatrical context, three of which (Cam1, Le1, Cen1) are included within this dataset. Stylistic reassessment of one vessel, *PI*66, may now suggest that this was produced on Sicily. With the exception of a late fifth-century Attic example found in Cyrene, all the vessels are of Italian production. Kraters of 27-35 cm in height predominate, emphasising the unusual capacity of Le1 at 49 cm, although oinochoai of 18-26 cm showing Herakles are also found. The Sicilian oinochoe Ad1, not listed in Trendall's catalogue, is also noticeably larger than those recorded, at 32 cm. See Chapter 6 for discussion of other types of vessel decoration.

Webster records 15 types of terracotta comic figurines of Herakles from 375 to the end of the fourth century and beyond, of which 5 are considered Sicilian types, with varying degrees of Athenian influence. G2 is considered to be a local Sicilian production of an Attic type. All other Herakles terracottas are considered to be Attic, with the exception of examples from Naples, Messenia, Corinth and Asia Minor. Tragic masks are not found in these publications.

4.4.1 Why did Herakles appear on these objects?

In order to address why Herakles appeared on terracotta and lead vessels, masks and figurines with theatrical subjects on Sicily as he did, some consideration needs to be given to the theatrical performances themselves. This research is focused upon objects bearing Herakles' image; therefore, it will not consider the literary texts in which he appears in detail (for this, see Stafford 2012), except where it is necessary to note consistencies of description with the objects collected here. Rather, in order to address why these particular objects were selected as appropriate carriers of Herakles imagery and what this tells us about communities on Sicily in the centuries around the Roman takeover, it is the appearance of Herakles in a theatrical guise during the different stages of these objects' biographies that will be interrogated. Why did a theatrical Herakles appear on clay or lead objects, in the form of vessels, masks or figurines, which were deposited in tombs, sanctuaries or votive ditches in the fourth century?

The appearance of a theatrical Herakles on clay or lead objects implies both widespread demand and the importance of making the figure recognizable. Both these materials were readily available on Sicily and were suitable for use with moulds to make numerous examples of near-identical representations in a relatively short space of time. Clay could also be used to create vessels of large size, with opportunities for level areas of detailed, painted decoration on a reasonably large scale, and could withstand re-use. We should also note, however, that clay can be broken relatively easily, and lead may be melted for re-use. Objects created from moulds, and/ or painted, provide opportunities for the inclusion of considerable detail, whether three-dimensional features such as teeth or wrinkled tights rendered by the tensile strength of fired clay or lead, or two-dimensional painting of the pelt of a lionskin. Both materials also allow this detail to be heightened by the use of different colour paints, a tendency particularly characteristic of vessels made on Sicily, as 4.3.3 demonstrated, and the kaolin glaze found on Liparan terracottas. We should therefore conclude that the rendering of the individual features of Herakles on the objects collected here, as described in 4.3.1, was important for the sale and initial use of these objects. Were this not the case, then we would indeed have only one 'mask J' image, in the same pose, with the same accessories and companions. Different communities depicted a theatrical Herakles in different ways on the same objects across eastern Sicily, even varying within their community, on relatively cheap material that could be easily dispensed with if desired, or elaborated on a large scale.

Existing scholarship on the individual examples collected here overwhelmingly focuses upon explaining the particular genre, myth and even scene of a performance with which the object can be labelled (see Spigo on L3 in Bosher, 2013). This focus draws the attention away from the broader context of the object's function and context. Here I suggest that, while the details of individual performances in particular communities may well have a specific impact through the association of Herakles with an identified text and the nuances of that characterisation, we may also learn about the wider dynamics and institutions of those communities by considering the reason for a theatrical Herakles' appearance on vessels, masks or figurines, rather than other objects. Unfortunately, this element is not well understood for masks and figurines at this stage of their biography, while the use of vessels is influenced by Athenocentric assumptions. (See stages 11 and 9.)

Different communities may well have used different objects in different ways, but two elements recur when considering the evidence of the form of these objects: display or suspension and performance. As discussed in stage 5, the shape of vessels has an impact on the way in which they are decorated, particularly the placement of handles. In depicting a theatrical Herakles on the broad belly of a painted vessel, an artist is focusing the viewer's attention on the details of the figured scene, rather than the overall shape of the vessel. In the cases of the three kraters Le1, Cen1 and Cam1, the large size of the vessel suggests that it was intended to be kept in one place for a long period of time, allowing a viewer to observe the details of its two scenes. It is impossible to tell whether these vessels were used in a household context, such as the symposium understood from Athenian sources. Similar conclusions about the importance of viewing and display can be drawn for several masks and figurines. All the Lipari examples are undecorated on the reverse side, as is Ad2, suggesting that the objects were intended to be viewed from the front only. In addition, several examples of masks from Lipari and Morgantina show suspension rings, implying that the objects hung on a wall, returning the viewer's gaze.

On a basic level, this therefore suggests that the objects were designed to be viewed, but this applies to any sort of decorated object. Here it is the performance that is displayed, which immediately places the viewer in the context of the community viewing that performance, and by extension the dynamics of the society that staged it. The frequency of the occurrence of masks or figurines from the same mould sequence such as L20-22, L4/6/7 series, could suggest that the viewers of these objects might associate themselves with owners of others in the same series. By contrast, the intricacy of painted vessel scenes might suggest their unique nature and thus focus the viewer's attention on the artist

or owner. Thus, by considering the appearance of a theatrical Herakles on a type of object, we can surmise that it is the shared experience of a particular event evoked by this representation, and the individuals involved within that, to which viewers of these objects from eastern Sicilian communities responded.

While authors such as Spivey (1991: 131-150) have proposed that the final deposition of Athenian vases in Etruscan tombs informed their iconography, little consideration until recently has been given to the deposition of vessels, masks and figurines depicting theatrical characters. The examples from Sicily bearing Herakles, where a deposition context is known, fall into three categories; objects deposited in tombs, votive ditches, and sanctuaries. Vessels are only known from tomb contexts, but both masks and figurines may derive from either votive ditches or sanctuaries; both of these find-spots can also vary in their context. Interrogation of practice at these different sites should be considered alongside the objects' function and fabric to determine why a theatrical Herakles was considered appropriate for objects found in these spots.

When the tomb context of vessels is discussed, the explanation often given is that of 'the dead man's [sic] service and devotion to Dionysos [the god of drama], who was also the god of the underworld and afterlife' (Csapo, 2010: 44), the sheer number of tombs containing theatrical objects on Lipari having put paid to the idea of their marking actors' tombs. Vessels as a form therefore constituted either equipment for a funeral banquet at the tomb for the living, or equipment for the dead in the underworld. This presupposes that Dionysos was associated with drama and the underworld by those burying the dead on Sicily, in the way the dedication of a theatre to him suggests he was in Athens. Several of the theatres in Sicily are associated with areas sacred to Demeter and Kore or 'chthonic' deities (Wilson, 2007: 354). It has been proposed that the opposite images on vessels make them appropriate to the tomb, with vessels from southern Italy showing young male figures in conversation on the reverse of Herakles images, while in Sicily we see young women in a chamber or sacrifices of a piglet at an altar. Both Breà (*MTL*: 24) on the richest tombs at Lipari and Bell on Le1 at Leontinoi (in Frasca, 2009: 140) suggest that these tombs were used for individuals initiated to the Mysteries, which in Sicily focused on Demeter and Kore, rather than Dionysos as in southern Italy (McLachlan, 2012: 361). We should also note the fact that all these vessels depict Herakles in the costume associated with comedy.

No Herakles figurines can be securely associated with deposition in tombs. Masks are found in the tombs at Lipari, located at the body's head in a vessel or clay mound along with other vessels and a lamp (Breà, 1976: 24). Schwarzmeier, interpreting the evidence in light of South Italian vase painting, associates them with a Dionysiac symposium and does not consider that they may have been used by actors or performers at the grave, owing to their small size (2012: 205). This does not preclude the possibility of any performance at the graveside. Their position in the grave suggests that the suspension hook must represent an earlier stage of use. The fact that these objects would have disappeared from sight after burial suggests their form and function were more important than their representation, but, as outlined above, any performance of ritual at the graveside would have prompted the participants to recall the circumstances of the theatrical performance shown on the objects. Some communities in eastern Sicily therefore considered it appropriate to bury members of their community with vessels depicting a theatrical Herakles and images associated with the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore or Dionysos.

The remaining theatrical representations on figurines and mask L10 which have a known deposition context were found in votive ditches or sanctuaries. It is important to differentiate between these contexts across Sicily and within individual communities.

Figurines are found at sanctuaries near Gela, and at Palici and Lipari, all sacred to different deities; perhaps the 'Polystephanos' of a vase grafitto found with G2 and G4 at Butera Fontanacalda, the eponymous sanctuary at Palici, and the Koreion at Lipari, from which 5 figurines from 3 mould series derive. It is significant that theatrical figurines were considered suitable offerings to all these deities, and that practice at the different sites seems to vary in its detail; Pal1 comes from the inhabited area of the sanctuary, while both it and G2 and G4 from Butera are not recorded as deriving from a votive ditch at their sanctuary, as the Koreion examples are. Lipari has revealed at least 6 votive ditches across the community in a sanctuary, a necropolis and civic contexts, all of which include not only theatrical figurines (although these are the ones best recorded), but other terracottas which have been smashed before the votive ditch was closed, a feature of Ad2 as well, although its find-spot is uncontextualized. We can therefore see a continuity of practice at different sites across at least the Lipari community, where the number of objects in the ditches (more than 200 at the Koreion) suggests considerable numbers of individuals taking part in the same decision to break and deposit theatrical, sacred and other terracotta objects, including moulds, at the same time. How this practice was differentiated by

accompanying ritual practices at the Koreion or the ditch at the City Wall is impossible to judge, but the varying functions of sacred and civic defensive sites is striking.

It seems clear, then, that representing Herakles in theatrical form on clay or lead objects was considered appropriate by communities in eastern Sicily in the fourth century in a number of different contexts. The fact that we see him with varying poses and features suggests that the creators of these objects were confident of a market for specific representations, but at some stages of the objects' biographies the character may have been less important than the broader reference to a specific theatrical performance. These performances were evoked in contexts that brought together groups within a community, perhaps sometimes, as in the case of the Koreion deposit at Lipari, a considerable percentage of the community. The following section considers who these may have been and what this might suggest about the realities of life for those creating, acquiring and depositing these items.

4.4.2 With what communities was Herakles associated on these objects? Does this suggest the choices were 'on the edge'?

Section 4.2 demonstrated that traditional scholarship on theatrical objects from Sicily has placed considerable emphasis on outside centres in explaining representations of Herakles and other characters. Considering the phenomena under the label of either Greek or Athenian drama, the influence of Athens as the source for poetic and artistic inspiration has been stressed, along with the intermediary artistic input of southern Italy (notably Taranto), which eventually found a local centre at Syracuse, from which influence spread across the island. In fact, we have seen this influence focused on eastern Sicily. The discussion of object biography demonstrated that this influence derives only from consideration of the artistic merit of decoration on the objects, at best downplaying their local production and the questions of form, function or deposition discussed above. Here I discuss which communities are associated with the objects by addressing the evidence for the type of performances a particular representation of Herakles would recall, the organisation required for that performance, and the venue in which it would have taken place.

Athenocentric readings of drama would emphasise its performance in the formal surroundings of a civic theatre with actors delivering a choreographed, scripted play.

However, the work of McLachlan and Kowalzig, drawing on the evidence of ancient writers perhaps transmitting the Sicilian author Timaeus (c. 350-260), has drawn attention to the differing types of festival on Sicily at which comedy especially might have featured. These include the Thesmophoria and Koreia at which the ‘coarse banter’ of male and female participants in Syracuse is remarked upon, as well as evidence at Lipari and Morgantina for performances at perhaps more regular, ad hoc, festivities celebrating rites of passage by recalling Kore’s underworld wedding (McLachlan, 2012: 347, 350; Kowalzig, 2008: 138). Performances in these contexts should be considered alongside more formalised events at civic level, and evocation of these through particular representations would therefore link the viewer to the members of the community present at each festival, evoking the importance of those involved in the cult within that community, as well as more personal memories.

The titles of plays known by Sicilian authors are often names in the plural, suggesting a group of characters integral to the plot, such as a chorus. There is very little evidence for choruses from Sicily when vessel images are considered to be the most reliable source of evidence, prompting polarised assertions about their status, including by those who assume that provincial Sicilians would not have grasped the complexities of the language and metres found in Attic drama. In response, Wilson (2007: 358) cites Pausanias’ description of a bronze honorific statue erected at Olympia to honour a chorus of 35 *paides*, a *didaskalos*, and an *aulos* player drowned on their way to performing at Rhegion. It is not possible to draw widespread conclusions from such scanty evidence, but the existence of a chorus in Sicilian plays would have meant those viewing representations of such a performance would be reminded not only of the group participating in and viewing it in one place, at one time, as a community, but the individuals who comprised the chorus, those involved in their training and whoever funded the chorus’ performance, as well as the actors – local or travelling – who were the protagonists. If the actors were local, they may even have been choosing representations of themselves!

Consideration of the different types of performance, at cult or dramatic festivals, should lead to consideration of the organisation and the individuals involved in putting on these performances. Any event involving sections of a community requires agreement between those taking part about its date, conventions, venue, and changes in routine necessary to allow the participants time away from their normal roles. Even the most communal of festivals involves investment to provide food and drink, costumes and any equipment not available to those involved. The statue cited above and two other historical sources imply

that some festivals may have been more elaborate in eastern Sicily. Although we should note the earlier date of one as a caveat, later evidence for Sicilian theatres (see below) and guilds of actors at Syracuse in the 2nd and 1st centuries suggests there at least some continuity of practice (Wilson, 2007: 354 n17). Writing in the fourth century, Plato notes in his *Laws* that prizes for theatrical competitions in South Italy and Sicily were awarded by how loudly the audience applauded, implying both that more than one performance was required to justify a competition and that sufficient numbers watched all the performances to constitute the audience. It also suggests similar practice across Sicily and south Italy, although we may allow for an Athenian perspective. Before this, c.470, a curse tablet attributed to Gela by the dealer selling it and by scholars considering the alphabet characteristics, describes the existence of rival *choregoi* (chorus leaders or even backers) in different contests (Jordan, 2007: 336). The writer curses his rivals and their male family members and identifies one of these with a particular shop or tavern. This again suggests a competition with multiple performances in south-east Sicily, which required the input organisationally, and, by implication, financially, of *choregoi* and which produced sufficient rivalry among groups in local meeting places to provoke the investment of time, energy and resources in the creation of the curse tablet. We can therefore propose that dramatic performances, commemorated on the objects described in this chapter, may also have taken place in competitions attended by groups from within different Sicilian communities, where individuals invested resources as *choregoi*, provoking some local rivalry and affiliations.

External communities were also invoked by the objects in more direct ways than the literary or artistic influence proposed by some scholarship. Taplin has proposed the existence of groups of ‘travelling players’ (2012: 236) as protagonists in performances; should this have been the case (see above on later guilds), then any representations of an actor as Herakles would have called to mind not only the character but the travelling actor who performed the role of Herakles. More secure evidence exists for two of the communities from which objects in this dataset derive. The opposite side of the lead tablet cited above is a record of a financial transaction by the same Apellis who wrote the curse, in which he is described as a *proxenos* from Leontinoi. Should the Geloan origin of the tablet be correct, this would indicate the presence of an individual from Leontinoi involved in the drama competition of *choregoi* at Gela in the fifth century. Another theatrical link between Gela and Leontinoi is represented by Le1, associated with Geloan production, yet found in a tomb at Leontinoi, dating to the fourth century. This evidence

from Herakles representations shows how personal ties between different communities existed around the dramatic performances, but it is as yet sparse, and we should note the lack of such evidence for the community on Lipari from which the majority of this data derives. It is clear, however, that consideration of the organisations required for performances commemorated by the objects under discussion here reveals that these objects would have evoked associations with not only personal experiences and milestones for the Sicilian individuals creating, using and depositing them, but also social institutions involving local and external communities and their dynamics.

A final consideration for theatrical objects is the venue for the performances and the communities associated with it. As noted above, some performances may have taken place at festivals or rites of passage in an informal fashion either at set local permanent sites, perhaps the Polystephanos sanctuary of G2 and G4 at Butera or the Koreion at Lipari, or throughout a settlement as Diodorus suggests for Syracusan festivals. The latter requires the co-operation of a large part of the community to allow everyday business to be stopped or exist alongside festival activities. Sanctuaries, along with stages, may be temporary, leaving little trace in the archaeological record, or permanent structures suggesting communal involvement. If vessel images give a realistic idea of one option, a stage, on which performances took place, then they suggest temporary stages, which involve in some ways more effort to arrange than monumental ones, since the wooden platform would have to be constructed or repaired for use regularly and by specific craft workers from either communal funds or the donations of individuals. Such temporary stages would explain the lack of a permanent performance site at Lipari, but it must be stressed that this should not automatically imply any lack of community co-operation or opportunities for social influence by individuals through euergetism or patronage. A votive ditch containing 101 masks and 159 figurines still requires many individuals to dig, offer votives and re-fill it. Even if Schwarzmeier's proposal that masks and figurines from Lipari had no link to theatrical performances at all is correct (2012: 219, but n.b. McLachlan: 350 on rites of passage), the group involved at the graveside or votive ditch was still part of a group decision to invest time and resources into the ceremony and grave or ditch, especially notable for the baby buried in L3.

Of the communities from which theatrical Herakles objects have been found, Morgantina and Syracuse have revealed stone theatres, both dating to the third century BC. An inscription including Herakles' name (*IG XIV.12-13*) from the theatre at Syracuse has been used to date it to 238-215 and directly identify Hieron II and his family as those

responsible for funding the structure. A large stone building with a central focus can be used for more purposes than simply dramatic performances, and we should therefore consider the associations made by theatrical objects with activities in which the community filling that space took part. The location of theatres next to the agora at Morgantina (Marconi, 2012: 187) and of temples to Apollo Termitis and Demeter and Kore at Syracuse (McLachlan, 2012: 346) reinforces this fact. Marconi has demonstrated the potential of theatres in Sicily both to draw together communities against an external power and to provide opportunities for new powers to demonstrate benefaction, such as Timoleon at Hippana or Iaitas, or Roman-period theatrical construction at Akrae, Segesta and Soluntum (Marconi, 2012: 175, 207). Prag's work has shown that the value of euergetism in Sicilian communities was well understood by communities in which local magistrates and priests were influential (2015: 173). We might compare Ag6, the donation of a gymnasium bench by a Roman, Lucius, in a smaller influence group (other inscriptions to Herakles and Hermes listed in the *I. Sicily* corpus now reinforce this point, see 3.1.iii). Consideration of the venue in which theatrical performances represented on Herakles objects took place therefore places the individuals who made, used, and deposited these objects into the context of activities which both brought communities together, but also allowed the opportunity for those with influence to reinforce and exploit this on a grand scale.

Finally, by placing vessels, masks and figurines with theatrical representations of Herakles into this performance context, it is possible to make suggestions about the function of these objects at certain stages of their biography and therefore to propose the reasons why Herakles appeared as he did on these objects. Both Trendall and Webster suggested that painted vessels might have been commissioned for those associated with the plays represented on them at a victory celebration. The evidence cited here strengthens that likelihood, but the importance of this differs from their reading. Rather than showing reliance on or continuity with Athenian dramatic or symposiastic practices, we should focus upon the social ties - for example, between communities as physically removed as Leontinoi and Gela - that these festival performances fostered under the auspices of the local deity in whose honour they were held. Demeter and Kore are often, but not always, the likely deities. As the curse tablet demonstrates, however, competition might divide, as well as unite, communities. I propose that the specific representations on masks and figurines of Herakles, or other characters, were created to remind people of a particular performance and the person or group organising that performance.

The terracottas were created by an artist given access to the rehearsals of the performance, allowing them to create, fire, and paint the different representations required for the day of the one-off performance, and these were distributed by the organisers or backers to those watching. While the intentions of the organisers or backers of the varying performance contests may have included a desire to strengthen influence within their community, this function also permits euergetic and even pious motivation on their part in differing measures and emphasises the personal associations with rites of passage or group celebrations made by those receiving them. These associations, both personal and as a member of a local community, would be reinforced by their dedication at tombs or as votive offerings.

4.5 Did individuals from communities using these objects remain ‘on the edge’ during this period?

Communities in eastern Sicily in the late fourth and early third centuries are revealed by the object biographies discussed in 4.2 as producers and consumers of a range of objects that represented a theatrical Herakles, but that had a range of functions and uses with local resonance. Rather than the passive recipient of external (especially Athenian) influences indicated by the existing scholarship in 4.1, the individualised representations identified in 4.3 and the local practices highlighted in 4.4 have shown that these communities were dynamic foci for their own festivals, worship and socio-political competition. 4.1 also noted that the political context of these communities varied enormously, making any generalisations about external influences dangerous or, at best, problematic. Thus, Lipari’s position on the edge of southern Italy and as an ally of Carthage for most of this period contrasts with that of Syracuse, with its long-standing tradition of theatrical production, often created under tyrants, or Leontinoi, the ‘city of mercenaries’ (Frasca, 2009: 121) at the mercy of outside leaders. This section, therefore, aims to draw out what the objects representing Herakles can tell us about the different types of influence bearing on the different communities of eastern Sicily before, during, and after the Roman takeover, rather than attempting to identify each specific phenomenon across the region.

The different stages of the object biography of 4.2 have shown that, although the complex stories of these objects indicate a variety of opportunities for external influence, such as production, decoration, display or deposition, in practice, it is modern scholarship, rather than the evidence of the objects, that highlights the external. Only the vessels whose production has been determined by the subjective judgment of connoisseurs are attributed to creators from external communities in southern Italy or Sicily. We may note the re-attribution of Cen1 to a Sicilian creator upon the discovery of further contextualised examples, suggesting that initial judgments were made on assumptions of cultural centres. At the stage of decoration, again, we find external influences, such as Athens or Syracuse, attributed subjectively to the theatrical elements of vessels, masks and figurines, although no attempt is made to explain why, in that case, the buyers did not go straight to the source for the objects themselves, too, by buying objects of Athenian or Syracusan production (as the buyer of Sy7 did). Thus, aesthetic judgments based on artistic and literary criteria about the theatrical elements of the objects invariably imply external influences. An explanation for this will be offered in 4.6.

The fact that performances on a stage are considered to have been originally composed in Syracuse, Taranto or Athens as part of a tradition conceived and institutionalised in far-away centres mattered far less to the individuals creating, acquiring, and depositing these objects than the local and personal associations they evoked. We may compare a similarly globalised spectacle today. Association Football and its codified rules derive from nineteenth-century England, but only a few of the fans travelling to games around the world, whether local leagues or the World Cup, would identify themselves with England today; it is the performances of their team and the community with whom individual fans experience their performance with which associations are made. It is Jamie Vardy, not the Football Association's, victory party which Leicester City and their fans will remember from 2016 (Cooper, 2016). The pervasive influence of imagery relating to specific football clubs may now be found, like Herakles, on vessels, suspended on walls in people's homes and even on football shirts or scarves worn at funerals of those choosing to be buried in a shirt or coffin in team colours or to have their ashes scattered on a pitch.

We should therefore consider what the equivalent stages in the biographies of objects reveal about influences, internal or external, on those in ancient Sicilian communities. These comprise the theatre and choregic competitions, the individual sanctuaries and different festivals or rites of passage, and the worship of Demeter and Kore, or perhaps Dionysos, indicated by funerary practice. The individuals who organised, sponsored and competed in these different activities are the people most likely to have influenced the creators, users and depositors of these objects, and these are overwhelmingly local influences. They might, however, create local tensions or provide a mechanism by which external individuals could exert influence on a community, just as sponsorship of football teams is now a multi-million-pound opportunity for companies to influence the actions of individuals from a distance.

In light of these observations it is notable that the production, use, and deposition of objects representing a specific theatrical representation of Herakles appears not to continue at any site after the Roman takeover. As indicated above, the date of this takeover varies at different sites – 252/1 at Lipari, but not until 211 at Syracuse or Morgantina – which explains some concerns over dating objects by comparison with sites with similar objects but differing histories. Given the different functions of these objects at various stages of their biographies and the range of influences - indicated above - that their deposition contexts represent, we should consider what it is that stops at the Roman takeover. Marconi's work on Sicilian theatres has shown that theatre as a practice, was, if

anything, encouraged under Roman rule. The epigraphic evidence discussed by Prag from theatres shows that individuals in Morgantina, Iaitas, and Segesta understood the value of euergetism in this area of community life (2015: 182). Therefore, we should consider whether it is deposition practices that are changing and ask what changes Roman rule brought to the local sanctuaries, festivals and worship, and, by extension, the individuals who had been involved in them.

4.6 How does this case study relate to Sicily's excavation history and been shaped by it? How does understanding of object biography and context change scholarly labels? What can these new conclusions add to our understanding?

Consideration of objects with theatrical representations of Herakles has demonstrated the recurring tendency to consider objects from the island in light of artistic and historical sources before examining material culture comparanda, and to interpret them as evidence for Sicily's place 'Between Greece and Rome' in developmental accounts of the classical world. Perhaps ironically, they highlight the excavation focus on 'Greek' Sicily, ended by destruction at the hands of Rome, with particular emphasis given to the importance of Gela, Lipari and Morgantina in establishing chronologies and typologies of ceramic objects. This case study has demonstrated how object biography and context can place a greater focus on the changing functions and associations of the different networks of influence which operated within Sicilian communities at the time of the Roman takeover.

The publication stage of the composite object biography demonstrates the tendency to use the representations of Herakles in particular on vases and masks (occasionally figurines) to illustrate accounts of Greek mythological and theatrical subjects. The latter category may be further sub-divided into comic or regional farce. In all these cases, the focus is on the figured scene, to the extent that the reverse or the remainder of the object on which it appears is omitted, and little or no attention paid to the archaeological context or function of the object. This has resulted in a focus on the aesthetic quality of the representation and thus subjective judgments of art historical criteria being applied (Sweetman & Hadfield, 2018: 1), sometimes to contribute to knowledge about the date and production contexts of the objects, in particular the tendency to 'flatten' curved vessel images as landscape images. In the case of the *LIMC*, figurines are omitted altogether from the catalogue as less aesthetically pleasing examples; the offshoot *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece* does include figurines, but lists their frequency by type, rather than the reproductions of each type. The vessel representations in particular have been associated with scenes of similar characteristics on vessels from southern Italy, and then with masks and figurines, as a corpus of evidence for the existence of '*phlyax* drama', a term which has now been dismissed, although debate continues about the general corpus' value as evidence for a regional theatrical tradition.

Both artistic and historical sources are thus combined to place the representations on these objects in our understanding of the development of ancient theatre during its shift from Athenian drama to Roman New Comedy, without addressing the implications for societies of differences within different communities. Where consideration is given in recent scholarship to the ritual or functional use of the objects, a tendency can be detected also to link this to the development of cults of Ceres and the Bacchanalia in Rome, which informs understanding of Roman attitudes to local religions and cults. Selective use of theatrical or mythological representations on objects excavated from fourth-to-third century Sicily as uncontextualized illustrations has therefore encouraged the tendency to focus on their value as evidence of ‘development’ in the story of the Greek and Roman world as the balance of power shifted between them, rather than considering the long-standing local traditions and institutions that the objects represent.

More recent publications, where greater focus is placed on objects rather than representations, such as Lamagna’s publication of the Adrano figurines, demonstrate a shift to understanding new finds in terms of local or Sicilian traditions. The thorough excavations and subsequent publication at Gela, Lipari and Morgantina have established them as centres of influence in scholarship, gradually superseding in practice the influence of centres such as Athens or Syracuse, whose influence was assumed from literary and historical sources. The terminus offered by datable contexts of pottery production at Gela has created a chronology for dating of painted vessels, such as Cen1 and Le1, and the association with the historical sources for the reign of Timoleon continues to inform understanding of the importance of the role of the theatre in Sicilian society, as highlighted by Marconi. Breà and Cavalier’s publications on the Lipari material have established these as the point of comparison for masks and figurines from Sicily, rather than Webster’s catalogues with their focus on Athens. However, their publication as a closed set of theatrical objects, without full reference to the other objects found with them in all cases, has restricted their full potential as evidence for the mechanics of contemporary society. As Chapter 6 will demonstrate, the finds from Morgantina allow us such insights for non-figured pottery, removing the focus on aesthetic connoisseurship highlighted above. The overwhelming spectre of Roman destruction incidents, however, has retained its influence on understanding of local communities.

This case study has demonstrated, through its investigation of object biography and context, that the objects depicting a theatrical Herakles require a variety of labels, in particular their function in their deposition context requires further consideration. The use

of 'phlyax' or 'comic' labels has been slow to change. In fact, Schwarzmeier has proposed that the theatrical label is not relevant to masks or figurines at all. I have proposed the importance of patronage and choregic or euergetic practice in the understanding of these objects in this chapter. Certainly, the importance of these objects within the votive and funerary practices of individual communities needs to be considered. The evidence of the Herakles examples discussed here suggests a change in these practices at the period of the Roman takeover of individual sites, but this requires broader contextualisation within the study of Sicilian terracottas, a matter outside the focus of this research. There is, however, increasing evidence for the continuation of, and investment in, theatres at several sites across Sicily after the Roman takeover. By considering the full biography of the objects bearing representations of Herakles, along with the contextual information of 4.4, we can begin to see how communities on fourth-and-third century Sicily functioned as local centres, rather than viewing them as passive recipients of culture and practice from cities such as Athens. Viewing the full biographies and context of these objects, therefore, allows us to appreciate the range of social institutions impacting on the lives of the individuals who created, used, and deposited these objects in eastern Sicilian communities and enables conjecture that the monumentalisation of theatres in Roman-era Sicily would have provided a pre-existing network of performers and supporters in establishing and reinforcing control in eastern Sicily, a network of which Rome could have made use.

Chapter 5 – Case Study 2: The Sealings from Selinunte

5.1 Why has this case study been chosen?

Data presented in chapter 3 demonstrate that the surviving object on which Herakles appeared most frequently in Sicily in the third century was a sealing object, most notably the collection of seal impressions found on the steps of Temple C at Selinunte and dated to 249BC. This chapter investigates the artistic choices and realities of daily life for individuals whose seal impressions are found at Selinunte by contextualising these objects with comparable collections of seals from Greece, Carthage and the Phoenician world to address whether the community remained ‘on the edge’ of these worlds. Consideration of the object biography of the sealings, found in a city which experienced takeovers by two different communities within a century and a half, can shed light on the effect such a change may have on the images with which individuals choose to identify themselves in public affairs in relation to civic choices. It also identifies how scholarly focus on individual images, particularly depicting aspects of Greek mythology, has narrowed modern understanding of the artistic choices available in CIII western Sicily and the ancient Mediterranean.

Historical Context of Selinunte in CIII

Selinunte (see figure 3.1.2) is located at the western end of the long, south-western coast of Sicily at the mouth of Fiume Modione, with an area of high ground which served as a citadel during its occupation in the ancient world. It was founded by colonists from Megara Hyblaea in 658 (D.S. V.9) or 628 (Thucydides VI.4.2), and is therefore considered to have been a Greek settlement until 409, an impression impressed on modern visitors by the temples standing on the acropolis, which have been reconstructed in the Greek fashion. The ‘victory inscription’ of 500-450 (*IG*, XIV, 268) in the adyton of Temple G, places the city within the remit then of a Greek pantheon which includes Herakles, Zeus, and Apollo, as well as deities venerated locally, Malophoros and Pasistrateia. Coinage minted during this period, notably a tetradrachm with a bull, features the realistic style used by Greek-Sicilian die-makers and includes Greek lettering.

In 409 the city was besieged for nine days and captured on the tenth by Carthaginian troops under a certain Hannibal, a period described in epic detail by Diodorus Siculus

(XIII.43, 54, 57-9). The emphasis on emotional description in Diodorus' account and the fact that the siege ended on the tenth day has been highlighted by Cusumano (2010: 13-14) as drawing comparisons with the siege of Troy, as Diodorus tries to emphasise Carthaginian barbarity to his Greek and Roman first-century BC readers. This has led to several scholars treating 409 as a disastrous end to civic life at Selinunte, with only a cursory mention afforded to events after this.

After 409, the city survived, without its walls, under Carthaginian control, for a period often dubbed 'Selinunte Punica' after the 1972 publication of that name by Tusa. This Carthaginian control extended until the First Punic War; in 250 Diodorus describes the city's inhabitants being moved to Lilybaeum for safety, followed by the destruction of the city by Roman forces in 249. This event is believed to have included the fire at Temple C which preserved the clay seal impressions under discussion in this chapter, while destroying the documents to which they were attached. By the time of Strabo, writing at the turn of the millennium, the city was apparently deserted and abandoned to shepherds.

Archaeological Context of Selinunte in CIII

Selinunte was already known to tourists in the early nineteenth century when English architects Harris and Angell arrived there on their Grand Tour in 1822. The pair, considering the 'difficulty and great uncertainty of obtaining a permission to this effect from the Sicilian Government' (Angell, 1826: 7) too onerous a task, proceeded to clear the acropolis and measure the temples dubbed A-F without authorisation. These results, along with their renderings of the metopes of Temple C, were published in London in 1826, in a lavish, polychrome, edition that did not compensate for the unhappy end of the project. The authorities in Palermo, despite Harris and Angell's patriotic appeal to Sir William Hamilton at Naples to acquire the metopes for the British Museum (ibid: 9), brought the sculpture to Palermo and Harris succumbed to malaria. From this point, the site fell under the remit of the various national archaeological commissions (see 2.1 and Crisà, 2012: 6-7). By the 1880s excavations had begun under, first, Cavallari and then the new director of the Palermo Museum, Antonio Salinas.

Investigation at the temple focused upon the identification and recovery of the recognised elements of Greek temples, for example pronaos, colonnade and decorative elements such as metopes, in order to add to contemporary understanding of Greek temple architecture in this period, but ignored elements that did not fit known exempla, such as the walls built

between columns of Temple C during the Punic period and the fourth century AD church within them. For continuing focus on the temple in this way, see Booms and Higgs (2016: 96-103). Much of the excavated material was taken by Salinas as director to the Royal (later National) Museum at Palermo, where it formed an integral part of the collection.

Recent excavations at Selinunte have revealed a more nuanced picture than that provided by especially historical sources of the city up until the Roman destruction of 249, with Salinas' publication of the different cultural influences seen on the sealings underlying a readiness to accept the city as having been under Carthaginian control as a centre for trade, administration and the diffusion of ideas, including artistic influences (Greco, 2010: 9; De Simone: 2008a, 38). Recently Álvarez Martí-Aguilar (2018: 113) and Quinn have identified a network associated with Melqart in Phoenician-speaking communities in the western Mediterranean which resonated particularly with those settling abroad (2018: 112, 120). Cusumano (2010: 18) notes the epigraphic evidence for a variety of cultures dating back to the pre-409 'Greek' period: for example, the list of names on a *defixio* from 475-450 which includes Greek, Punic, indigenous, Etruscan and Asian individuals. We should also note that publications on Carthage, for example the Karthago excavation catalogues of Berges (Rakob, 1997) and Redissi (Rakob, 1999) and the *Hannibal ad portas* exhibition catalogue of Maas (Peters, 2004) include Selinunte in general, and the sealings in particular, as part of the Carthaginian world. The German excavations have identified Punic redevelopment of the acropolis, along with a *cocciopesto* pavement depicting a sign of the Carthaginian deity, Tanit, near Temple A and evidence for betyl cults (De Simone, 2010: 184). Mazza (2016: 299) has emphasised the importance of Selinunte's status as an international port and the dynamic communities such a context would contain.

The sealings from Selinunte were discovered 1876-1882 on the steps of Temple C. They represent a cache of 688 clay strips, the majority of which feature the images of between 1 and 3 seals on one side of the clay and the impressions of papyrus or wood on the other. After initial publication, along with other excavations at Selinunte by Cavallari in *Notizie degli Scavi* (1882: 461-6), the definitive publication of the sealings, including a catalogue of individual seal images with accompanying line illustrations, was produced by Antonio Salinas in the *Notizie* of 1883. The sealings feature images attributed to Greek, Egyptianising, Phoenician and Punic traditions, with the figure of an athletic male figure holding a club, or a club and dolphin, appearing more frequently than any other figure. Both the athletic figure and the individual club are identified with Herakles in the existing

scholarship, but Selinunte's association with the Carthaginian world, especially now in light of Quinn's work (2018: 127) on his role as a mediating figure between colonial cultures, makes an identification as Melqart-Herakles more appropriate. The frequency of Melqart-Herakles' appearance, on objects which are understood to bear images of the seals which represent the personal markers of individuals, among images of varying traditions, in the context of a community understood by scholarship as being 'on the edge' of different powers in the ancient world, makes this a highly suitable case study for this research.

5.2 What picture emerges from tracing the contextualised object biography of the Selinunte sealings?

5.2.1 Object Biography of the Selinunte sealings

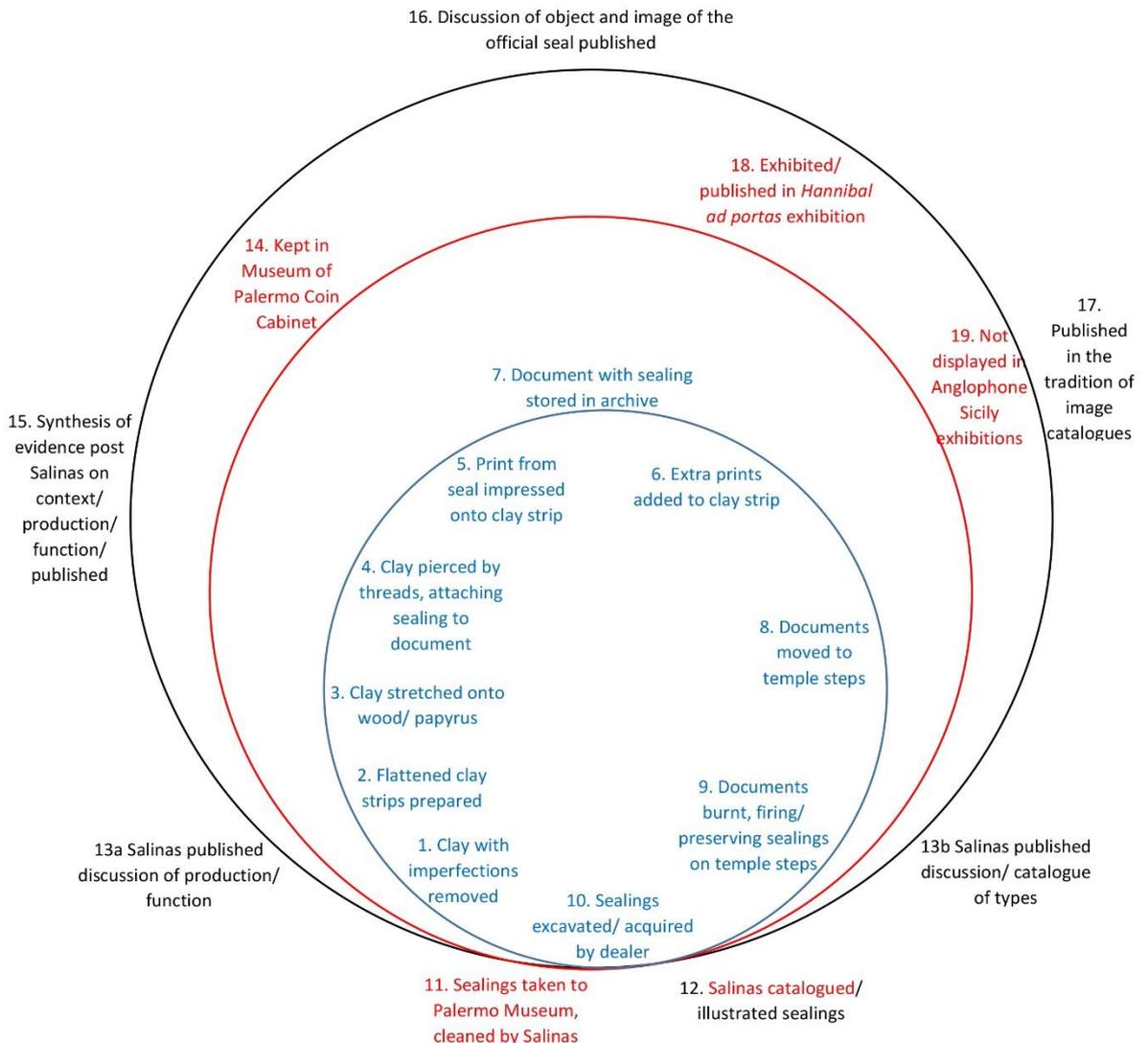


figure 5.2.1. Composite object biography of Selinunte sealings

As discussed in 2.3.3 (see also p. 92), data from the biographies of individual objects detailed in the appendix have been used to create a composite object biography for sealings bearing representations of Melqart-Herakles. The inner circle, printed in blue, shows the stages of pre-depositional biography. Labels on the diagram are printed either side of the circle for the sake of clarity of presentation only; they are all part of the pre-depositional circle. The circles of pre- and post-depositional biography coincide at their

deposition and excavation. The red circle shows the stages of the objects' biographies in museums, the black circle the publication stages. Numbers follow the chronological events of the sealings' biographies, thus, stages 18-19 appear in the museum circle although the events took place after those in the stages numbered 15-16 which appear on the publication cycle outside the museum circle.

5 2 Trace the object biography of sealings depicting Herakles from Selinunte.

In recreating the object biography of the sealings from Selinunte we are faced with two initial problems: the difficulty of the circular nature of object biography, as identified in section 2.3, and that of tracing what we know about individual sealings, rather than assuming that each object's biography was the same. The following section aims to show by means of figure 5.2.1 the different stages of the object biography of a sealing, both in the ancient world and the modern one, to make clear how our understanding has been affected by key moments in the object's life. It is argued here that Salinas' publication of the sealings has resulted in the cache being considered as a single collection since 1883.

It is clear that Salinas' publication of the sealings as a discussion of the sealings as objects, along with brief discussion and catalogue of the images on the sealings, has had a profound effect on our understanding of their biography, and consequently the evidence they provide for everyday artistic choices in the community of Selinunte. In reconstructing the different stages of the pre-depositional biography of the Selinunte sealings from the evidence of the objects themselves, he provided an explanation for the production method and function of the sealings (Stages 1-6 below) which remains essentially unchallenged in modern scholarship. In short, evidence from the objects themselves can provide a picture of details of the production and function of the sealings which may be extended across the whole collection, but in addressing why these objects appeared as they did, carrying an image of Melqart-Herakles, the evidence of complete individual objects has been disregarded.



figure 5.2.2. Examples of sealings illustrating pre-display biography stages

all images Salinas (1883, tav. IV) except Sel4, Sel8 (De Simone, 2008b, tav. 14, 16), Sel13 (De Simone, 2008a, fig. 17)



figure 5.2.3. Further examples of sealings illustrating pre-display biography stages

Sel23-24 (Salinas, 1883: tav. V), Sel158-159 (De Simone, 2008a: fig. 9-10), Sel160 (De Simone, 2008b: tav. 12), Sel163 (Helas, 2011, Ab. IV.16), Sel166 (Salinas, 1883: tav. IV)

Stages 1-12: Pre-display Biography of Selinunte Sealings

Stage 1 Clay with imperfections removed

All of the sealings are made from clay. Salinas does not describe the clay of each sealing, since they are catalogued by image, not object; Berges and Redissi record the colour of each sealing's clay in their publications of the Carthage sealings, using the methodology of *Farbenführer* (Rakob, 1997: 186). However, Salinas does state that the same clay was used across the cache with the exception of two sealings of dark red clay (1883: 478-9), from which he concludes the use of local clay for the creation of all but two of the sealings in the cache. Petrographic analysis of the sealings would enhance our understanding of this stage, or published colour descriptions as used by Berges and Redissi.

No features representing external influences are noted in this stage, with the two exceptions noted above.

Stage 2 Flattened clay strips prepared

This and stages 3-13 were enabled by stage 10, Salinas' cleaning of the sealings described in his discussion (1883: 477). Both Salinas' publication of illustrations such as Sel9 and De Simone's photographs such as Sel4 show that the sealings consist of small, rectangular, flattened strips of clay, which were prepared to receive between one and three seal impressions. Zoppi notes the discovery of a prepared strip with no impressions upon it (1996: 332). The sealings from both Carthage and Delos are roughly circular in shape and rarely feature more than one sealing, while those attached to papyri from Elephantine are also circular but feature a number of sealing impressions. A sealing at Selinunte therefore would represent the seals of up to three parties on the flattened strip attached to one document as standard practice, with one seal marking the individual agreement of one party in a way which differentiated that party from all others without confusion, as seen at Elephantine. The Carthaginian and Delian seals rarely represent more than one individual.

There are, however, infrequent suggestions at Selinunte of multi-party deals, as also known from sealing at Babylon and Seleukeia, and more complex questions about the identification of individuals from impressions raised by the form of some sealing strips, all illustrated and described by Salinas, but not picked up by other scholars. Sel7 shows three

faces rather than one of the object either side of the central image, creating the space for a similar number of individual seals to be recorded on the other side of the sealing now broken away. Sel11, with two faces and space for other impressions, also suggests this possibility. Sel10 features the same impression repeated on different faces around the central image. Salinas, the only scholar to discuss this example, offers no explanation. It may be that members of one household, represented by the authority of the same seal, made their mark on this object. Plantzos (1999: 20) notes the existence of descriptions relating owner to seal which were written on the outside of sealed documents preserved at Elephantine for the benefit of the archivist; a similar explanation may be proposed here.

The process revealed by this stage implies a similarity in practice with another contemporary temple in Upper Egypt, and communities in the Near East, but differs from that of the Carthaginian political centre and a Greek trading community.

Stage 3 Clay stretched onto wood or papyrus

Salinas' detailed, illustrated explanation of the function of sealings remains unchallenged and appears as the basis of the explanation of comparative caches, such as that of Carthage (Berges, 1993, 2002; Rakob, 1999) and those recorded in Plantzos (1999: 23-32). At Selinunte, prepared clay strips were fixed to either papyrus documents or wooden tablets, with the impression of the material appearing on the reverse side of each sealing. Papyrus documents seem to have been the norm; the examples illustrated with both the back and front of the sealings shown (Sel4-6, 9, 12) all display the fibres of the papyrus, as does the photographed reverse of Sel163 in Helas' publication of the Selinunte acropolis excavations (2011). These examples also show raised sections either side of the textured surface, suggesting that the papyrus was folded into this area. Impressions of papyrus documents are also found at Carthage, Elephantine, Edfu, Cyrene, Nea Paphos and Delos (Plantzos, 1999: 23-32), with linen documents also found at Edfu (Bianchi, pers. comm). Sel1, 2 and 37, of which only the back is illustrated, by contrast, show the evidence of a wooden surface, which Salinas compares with the preserved wooden tablets from Pompeii (1883: 478). By so doing, and placing these as the first examples on his first page of illustrations, Salinas places the Selinunte cache (and perhaps his own scholarship) alongside that of Pompeii as valuable evidence 'for our general understanding of the life of the ancients' (1883: 474, my translation).

Recorded details about the texture on the reverse of each sealing would allow us to draw further conclusions as to why papyrus and wooden tablets were used within the same archive, perhaps reflecting the practices of different groups, as proposed by Bisi (1986: 299), or in safeguarding different types of documents.

This stage demonstrates similarities in the use of papyrus with a number of external contemporary communities from Greece and North Africa, and in the use of wooden tablets with one later Italian community. The combination of papyrus and tablet systems appears to be unique.

Stage 4 Clay pierced by threads, attaching sealing to document

Both papyrus and wooden documents at Selinunte were attached to the sealing with cord, as the examples listed above in Stage 3 demonstrate, and surviving papyri from Elephantine confirm (Berges, 1993: tav. 2). The vacuum left by the thread consumed by the fire is clearly shown on the reverse of Sel1 and 9 as a groove, while Sel12 shows a loop of cord. On several examples, the tips of the thread are shown on the raised sections on the reverse side noted above, namely Sel2, 4, 6 and 9, with Sel7 featuring the tips on the front. Sel166, also illustrated on the first sheet of examples in Salinas' publication, shows that the indentation of the cord could affect the appearance of the seal impression. This raises questions about the importance of preserving a pristine record of the central seal's impression, discussed further in the following stage. As for Stage 3, recorded details or images of each sealing would be beneficial to our understanding of these objects.

There are similarities between this stage of the sealings' life at Selinunte and at Elephantine, suggesting a uniformity of practice.

Stage 5 A print made from a seal impressed onto the clay strip

Each sealing has between 1 and 3 (exceptionally 4, see above Stage 2) impressions. Here we consider the initial creation of the central impression. This usually represents either Melqart-Herakles and the Bull or a club and dolphin, both images being understood as the 'official seal' of Selinunte. The numbers of different sealing combinations are recorded differently by Salinas and Zoppi, since the latter takes into account the sealings bought from a dealer in 1898, after Salinas' initial publication (see Stage 10 below).

Sealing composition	Recorded by Salinas (1883: 481)	Recorded by Zoppi (1996: 330)
Melqart-Herakles & bull alone	94	104
Melqart-Herakles & bull with additional impressions	25	25
Club & dolphin alone	86	86
Club & dolphin with additional impressions	199	216
3 impressions with no official seal	1	1
2 impressions with no official seal	53	58
1 impression with no official seal	89	99

figure 5.2.4. Summary of sealing numbers and composition

Unfortunately, Salinas did not publish the full list of object numbers in his catalogue of image types, meaning that it is not possible to account for all of the sealings which feature Melqart-Herakles or his club as individual objects. Those objects which feature more than one seal impression are listed below with their indicators in the gazetteer.

Information Source	Melqart-Herakles & bull sealings	Club & dolphin sealings	Sealings with neither official seal
Entire sealing illustrated on plate IV of Salinas' publication	Sel1-6	Sel7-12	n/a
Object numbers in Salinas' image catalogue shared by multiple images, illustrated individually on plates V-XII ³	Sel44-58	Sel36, 157-159* ⁴ , 161-2*, 164-7*:	Sel16-7, 20, 22-4, 33, 35, 41, 160
Object numbers deduced from the totals given by Salinas and Zoppi in figure 5.2.4 ⁵	Sel59-156, 433-442	Sel168-432, 443-459	n/a
Individual impressions of seal	n/a	Sel37-40, 163 ⁶	n/a

figure 5.2.5. Summary of object numbers of sealings in this research

The second row here comprises sealings whose individual impressions are illustrated by Salinas and who share object numbers. The complete sealings are not illustrated.

The third column details sealings with multiple impressions, not including the official seals of Herakles or his club. These are identified from sealings where object numbers in Salinas' image catalogue are shared by multiple images. Only illustrations of individual

³ I have not encountered details of the full objects from this group published elsewhere.

⁴ those indicated here with an asterisk appear in photographs in De Simone's articles.

⁵ 433-442 and 443-459 represent the sealings bought by the museum at Palermo in 1898 from a dealer, which Salinas published in *Notizie* that year.

⁶ Sel163 does not appear in Salinas' publication and derives from a different find context near Altar B.

images, not the full objects, are depicted here by Salinas. I have not encountered these full objects published elsewhere, with the exception of Sel160, photographed in De Simone's article.

Discussion of the ramifications of the differing ways in which these sealings have been recorded will appear in the appropriate stages below. The defining aspect of this stage of the objects' biographies is that for those objects on which one of the official seals appears, we can see evidence for the overprinting of the official seal by the adjacent impressions. This was taken by Salinas, and upheld by subsequent authors, as evidence that the central seal was impressed first and by someone with authority. This, along with the perceived similarity of the Herakles (Melqart is not mentioned by Cavallari or Salinas) and the Bull motif to an archaic Selinuntine tetradrachm issue, led Salinas to reject Cavallari's interpretation of the impressions as a register of gems engraved by temple workmen and to identify both repeating impressions (Melqart-Herakles and the Bull, the club and dolphin) as the 'official seals' of authorities at Selinunte (1883: 475), a view refined by Zoppi (196: 330-1) and discussed in Stage 16 below. Moreover, the size of the Melqart-Herakles and the Bull seal, recorded as 34mm by Salinas, is noticeably larger than other examples, which Salinas thought further justification for his interpretation; Sel8 is a notable example of this larger size of impression. Salinas notes examples of the use of official seals from Athens (which uses the initial letter of the city as the Selinunte examples do) and other (unnamed) Greek cities, referring to two inscriptions (1883: 482), although no evidence is given on the practical application of this such as we see on the Selinunte sealings. There is no suggestion of an official seal found on the sealings from Carthage. Plantzos (1999: 29-32) notes evidence from caches at Nea Paphos and Kallipolis of official seals, perhaps also from Doliche in Commagene and Alexandria at Issos. No example of there being two official seals are recorded. Unfortunately, no size is listed for individual images or objects, which would allow further interrogation of this theory. Sel159 is notable in this regard; De Simone's photograph suggests that this image of Aphrodite and Eros, printed at right angles to the central impression, appears to be larger than usual. If Salinas' interpretation that size is an indicator of a civic seal is correct, then this might represent an example of another such seal.

Examples of overprinting of the central seal can be found both on Salinas' illustrations and on De Simone's photographs in the following examples: Sel1-3, 9, 44, 158-9, 161, 164-5. The fact that a complete image of the central, official, seal is not found on these sealings

suggests that the full print of this seal did not have to be recorded and safeguarded on the document, perhaps just enough to demonstrate to those familiar with the official seals that the mark had been made when consulted at a later point. By contrast, the outer seals, which identified individuals and may only have been seen once, needed to be seen in full. This may explain why examples such as Sel23-4, 30, 33, 158-9, 162 and 164 include outer prints with a different orientation to that of the central print. We may infer from this that it was important to include the seal impression in its entirety on the clay strip. A full record of all the complete sealings, rather than images of individual seal impressions would be helpful in addressing this issue.

Two further points would be clarified by publication of images of every full sealing: the need for a pin-sharp image of every seal and the possibility of more than one die/ version of the club and dolphin seal. Comparison with Berges and Redissi's publication of the Carthage sealings (Rakob 1997, 1999) demonstrates that very often the seal impression in that archive was slightly blurred, which could affect the visibility of the details of impressions made from what are very small seals (the Melqart-Herakles and the Bull image is considered a large example at 34 mm). This might indicate that the act of sealing was more important than the subsequent recognition of the image. Comparison of De Simone's photographs with the *Notizie* illustrations reveals that Sel158 certainly appears smudged and there may be other examples of this, since the difficulty of focusing on such tiny details renders some images unclear, especially when reproduced in black and white in print. We have already noted the potential for the print of the cord to mar the mark of the seal in Sel166. Although Salinas noted this latter example within his discussion of the production of the prints, his main concern in publishing the catalogue of the images was to show 'clean' examples of the individual images which could add to knowledge of Hellenistic glyptic types. Berges and Redissi include some examples of seals illustrated with both photographs and line drawings to show the image type. As a result of this, Salinas published one exemplar image of each of the two official seals, which depict a composite image of the seal, rather than individual depictions of the impressions it created, except for those sealings depicted as objects on plate IV. Salinas acknowledges this for the Herakles and the Bull image XI (1883: 482). There is some suggestion that two versions of the club and dolphin seal existed; both illustrations and photographs seem to depict one rather narrow club with points rather than knobs on Sel10-11, 157-8, 162, while Sel7-9, 163-5 show a knobby club and clearer treatment of the dolphin's eye. Whether there were multiple seals to deal with the volume of business being handled, or a new die had to be

cut after a certain period of time, clear recording of individual objects would allow further consideration of this issue.

Interrogation of this stage of the sealings' biography has demonstrated that the recording by idealised image type, rather than individual illustration, encourages the consideration of all examples featuring Melqart-Herakles and the Bull or the club and dolphin as identical repetitions of one image type of a civic choice governing the selection of the Melqart-Herakles image. Since these images are considered to represent a central authority, treating them in this way concentrates the attention on the choice made by civic or temple authorities of the idealised, repeated image, and its possible iconographic readings, rather than also considering the implications for different encounters that the variations noted here imply for the sealing of individual documents. A key consideration is the importance of a clear impression of individual seals, as the following stage demonstrates.

Comparisons between the practice of sealing at Selinunte and at some Greek sites can be drawn in the use of an official seal, notably the use of the initial letter of the community's name at Athens and on one Selinunte seal, but not in the use of two seals. The same practice does not appear on the sealings from Carthage.

Stage 6 Extra prints added to the clay strip

As indicated above, the majority of the sealings depicting Melqart-Herakles or his club feature one of the two official seals with additional impressions made immediately afterwards. Sel160 is an exception, being 1 of 53 examples of sealings featuring no impressions of either official seal. In terms of this research, stage 6 of the sealings' biography is a key stage, since it opens up two opportunities. First the addition of 28 seals depicting Melqart-Herakles or his club to these sealings allows us confidently to project the existence of 28 further sealing objects, either rings or seals carried or worn pendent on the body, on Sicily before 249. Second, the addition of seals with images other than Melqart-Herakles to sealings depicting Melqart-Herakles or his club allows us to gain a wider impression of the extent to which the community at Selinunte was 'on the edge' in their artistic choices before 249.

It is the objects that created the seal impressions, in a sense forming a prequel to the sealings' biography, which are particularly valuable in addressing these research questions, since the function of a seal is to stand as a visual representation of and guarantee for an

individual's identity to other people (Plantzos, 1999: 19). In this context, the addition of other seals to the original documents held in an archive not stored in a private location (see Stage 7 below) demonstrates that these seals were being used in a public context. We might compare the use of 'avatars' in contemporary social media in projecting an image chosen by an individual to stand as their second self. The fact that these objects were invariably worn on the body, or kept secure within a household (Bisi, 1986: 296; Plantzos, 1999: 18-9), reinforces the importance of the choice of object made. It is important to note that the form of objects on which the image appears is part of the individual's choice (Fiandra quoted in Bisi, 1986, 298); seals might take the form of metal, gemstone or even glass rings or of scarab seal stones, such as those like Sy2 discussed in 3.1i as wider evidence for Sicilian choices in this period. Unfortunately, this part of the choice of object was not recorded for individual impressions by Salinas, although he makes some mention of the images of Sardinian scarabs in his discussion (1883: 486), and has not been considered by any later author. Berges (Rakob, 1997) and Redissi (Rakob, 1999), by contrast, note the object making the impression wherever possible, including a description of the image's border for every entry from which conclusions about the object making the impression may be drawn. The illustrations in *Notizie* 1883 are inconsistent in their rendering of borders, as Sel1 shows; in the individual seal images in the catalogue, no border to the additional print of the female head is shown, yet this is shown as a straight oval on the illustration of the entire sealing on plate IV. Impressions on Sel7, 8, 10, 51 and 158 are noticeably smaller and of different shapes (circular or a triangle with curved sides) to the majority of the other seal impressions, perhaps suggesting that these came from rings worn on the little finger. Sel10 is the seal which appears three times on the same sealing, noted above.

In terms of the choices of sealing objects, therefore, those registering their mark at Selinunte mainly favoured straight or rounded oval forms for seals, so far as we can tell, although there is little indication of whether metal, glass or gemstones were preferred to carry the image. The loss of this information deprives us of the opportunity to base judgment of the cost of the sealing object on anything other than the aesthetic quality of the execution of the image creating the impression, necessarily subjective and invariably culturally informed (Nagy, 2002: 154). By extension, this prevents us from forming opinions on the economic status of those using the objects. Some, however, preferred small seals and others a form of sealing object, the scarab, which may have derived from Sardinian sources, and recalled Egyptian traditions. Scarab seal-stones are suggested for

one of the impressions on Sel2, 17, 20, 23-4 and 54. None of these impressions resemble any of the scarabs featuring Herakles recorded in chapter 3, and none of these scarabs feature Melqart or Herakles, however Sel17, 20, 23 and 24 all feature a personal seal of Melqart or Herakles on the same strip as a scarab. De Simone, in a personal communication, also suggests that there may be some Spanish forms. Further details of individual object shapes would therefore be of enormous assistance in identifying the sources of sealing objects chosen by those whose seals were preserved at Selinunte, and of their economic reach.

Plantzos, in his description of the sealed papyri from Elephantine (1999: 24) includes a cautionary tale about the simple attribution of race and gender to the owners of seals based on the representation depicted upon them. One of the documents kept at Elephantine includes seals of the Egyptian god Thoth and an eagle; we might allot the first seal to a local man and the eagle to a Greek or Macedonian settler in late fourth century Upper Egypt. The papyrus, however, makes clear that the Thoth seal belonged to a lady called Kallista from Temenos, and the eagle to her husband. Another papyrus in the cache lists individuals from Gela on Sicily, the islands of Temnos and Cos, and Cyrene witnessing the marriage of a lady from Cos, which shows the mobility of individuals in the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Unfortunately, we have no details at all of the documents which the Selinunte impressions sealed to provide this sort of insight into the personalities these seals represented. What is possible, however, is to note where sealings show a combination of images reflecting different artistic traditions and where the same image appears on sealings or rings found elsewhere on Sicily and around the ancient world.

Details of these combinations are discussed in 5.3 below and detailed in the gazetteer, but include representations which would have been associated with Greek-Sicilian, Greek, Punic, Egyptian(ising), Spanish and Near Eastern artistic traditions, often with images from different traditions combining on one sealing. It is important to note that, depending on the background of the scholar addressing the images, evidence for different traditions may be emphasised in the scholarship. Salinas' catalogue in *Notizie* only published images of individual seals, so it has not been possible to reconstruct all of the sealing strips (see Stage 12 below). As highlighted in 5.1, Selinunte in the period 409-249 was under Punic hegemony (see 2.2 for Carthage's artistic eclecticism), so the combinations of images described in this gazetteer should perhaps not surprise us, even if they receive little attention in the scholarship. Images and occasionally full sealings which are discussed in

detail are those which feature Greek Olympian deities, some of whom encounter deities from other traditions. It is notable that Olympian deities, recorded in the tradition of mythological catalogues such as Tassie's, encourage the comparison of seal images on the same sealing when they encounter other gods, but rarely when they appear with only an official seal and never with a non-divine additional sealing. We shall return to this point in stages 12-13. While the greater focus on the study of iconographic types of Greek mythology on seals and gemstones in contemporary scholarship allows the origin of such images to be identified more readily, the consideration of object types and non-mythological images, especially animals and symbols, can provide a much fuller picture of the different traditions and the frequency with which they were being chosen.

Several sealings combine representations of Melqart-Herakles with images recognised by Salinas and Zoppi as featuring on contemporary coins from mints both on Sicily and farther afield. The reasons for the appearance of such images is not interrogated. The result of this has been to associate the label of coinage with the sealings, as will be discussed in Stage 15 below.

This consideration of the combinations of seal impressions attached to documents at Selinunte therefore allows us to trace trends in choice of sealing image and, to a lesser extent, object by the individuals using the archive on the Selinunte acropolis before 249. We can identify images familiar from coin images of both communities on Sicily and farther afield, and found on and created by objects from Greek, Near Eastern, Etruscan, Egyptian, North African and Spanish sites, frequently on the same sealing; these should reflect an agreement of some kind between the owners of these seals, often with the authorities of the archive at Selinunte as well. What we cannot identify from the seal impressions alone is the type of agreements being made, the authority archiving them or the status of the individuals taking part in them, for which further consideration of the archive's context is required. The loss of the documents themselves, as De Simone points out, is a considerable obstacle.

Stage 7 Document with sealing stored in archive

Salinas, following Cavallari, established that the sealings were associated with Temple C at Selinunte from their find-context on the temple's steps (1883: 474). The two men, however, disagreed on the reason for their appearance in the temple: Cavallari contending that the prints were a register of the gems created in a temple workshop (ibid. 475),

deliberately fired to create a permanent record (*ibid.* 480), Salinas arguing that they had been attached to documents held in the ‘archive of the temple’ (*ibid.* 481, my translation). Salinas’ view remains unchallenged in scholarship, although it has been nuanced by the information acquired from subsequent excavations at the temple; see, however, Stage 17 for the suggestion that Cavallari’s idea is a better reflection of some scholarship.

The idea of an archive at temple C was arrived at by comparison with sources from the Near Eastern and classical worlds, once Salinas had established the function of the sealings. He notes the placing of sealed documents in Greek temples, where the temple acted as a bank or repository for sealed deeds, and in Roman temples, where sealed wills were preserved (*ibid.* 483). Although there is implicit comparison with Assyrian and Egyptian practices (*ibid.* 480), including in his appendix (*ibid.* 487), Salinas does not discuss the function of sealed documents in Near Eastern temples. Subsequent scholarship has developed this interpretation of the temple archive and we should now consider the temple-network of Melqart which Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn have identified in western Mediterranean, Phoenician-speaking colonies (2018: 113, 112 respectively).

The association of the sealings with an archive of documents, many of which were signed with an ‘official seal’, has led scholars to consider how the understanding of the running of the archive might reveal the realities of Carthaginian control of day-to-day life in Selinunte. All scholars emphasise the multi-cultural nature of life in Selinunte, where archaeological evidence suggests that Temple C had changed (Helas, 2011: 124) or lost (Zoppi, 1996: 328) its sacred function, but they use different methods to arrive at this conclusion, which also varies in the emphasis given to different parts of the community it recreates. Bisi (1986: 302) and Zoppi (1996: 336) both consider this as a Carthaginian archive also used by Greeks, while De Simone considers it ‘in all effect Greek...completely ensconced within the traditions of Greek archives’ (2008a: 31), while being part of the Carthaginian control structure on Sicily. The former authors place more emphasis on the context and object biography of the sealings, while the latter focuses on the choices of individual seal images.

The placement of documents in an archive held in or near a temple has correlations in Near Eastern, Greek and Carthaginian practice, but we should note here that the tendency to place the sealings under the label of an archive of administrative artefacts rests upon

these comparisons, informed by the historical context of Selinunte, and the recurrence of the images of the official seals, rather than any physical evidence for an archive.

8 Documents moved to the steps of the temple

The sealings were found in three groups, all on the steps of Temple C at Selinunte, with the exception of Sel163, which was excavated at Altar B and is not discussed by any author except Helas (see Stage 10 below). Salinas states that the documents of the archive could not have been stored in the open air and therefore must have been moved to the steps of the temple to be burnt. He rejects the idea that they were burnt to indicate the documents' annulment, a custom described by the Athenian orator Isocrates, on the grounds that a member of temple or archive staff would have cleared them away, concluding therefore that they were deliberately burnt outside the archive on the lower steps of the temple (1883: 481). Zoppi and Helas' knowledge of subsequent excavations allows them to suggest that the archive must have been located in a building raised over this area of the temple during the era of Carthaginian control (Zoppi, 1996: 328; Helas, 2011, 126), the walls whose clearance Salinas may ironically have overseen (1883: 474).

9 Documents burnt, firing and preserving the sealings on the steps of the temple/ near Altar B

Clay strips were attached to documents in order to record an impression of the seal images they bore. Cavallari proposed that these were then fired deliberately to create a durable register of gem images produced by a temple workshop. Salinas rejected this explanation of a deliberate firing of the clay by interrogating individual sealings, which he records as showing signs of the inconsistent action of fire (1883: 480-1). While this fire preserved the sealings, it destroyed the documents which they sealed and the cords by which they were attached, leaving the grooves noted in Stage 4 above, some of which Salinas illustrated on plate IV of his catalogue. It is striking that Salinas does include these illustrations with the aim of demonstrating his theory on their production and function, but does not illustrate any details of the fire damage to individual seal images which is visible on photographs of the sealings. This suggests that his focus was on the publication of the production, function and range of seal images found on the objects, especially where it contributed to his own reading of their value for contemporary scholarship.

Damage can be seen in the form of discoloured spots on photographs of Sel4, 8, 13, 161-2 and from the fact that almost all the sealings are fragmentary to a greater or lesser degree. A description of the fire damage on each object might suggest where individual sealings were at the time of the fire, since any outside the walls of a room may suggest an (unsuccessful) attempt to move them away from the fire (Helas, 2011: 126 n12), perhaps the fate of Sel163 found at Altar B (ibid: 127 n15).

As in Stage 8, this stage emphasises comparisons between these sealings and those found in the temple of Baal-Tanit in Carthage and published by Berges and Redissi.

10 Clay sealings excavated/ acquired by dealer

The sealings were discovered over a six-year period, probably in three groups. Over 400 were found in 1876-1877, a further group in 1882 and another smaller group later that year (Salinas, 1883: 474; Helas, 2011: 126). Salinas does not include any further information in his report on how these groups relate to the object numbers mentioned in his report, and Helas (2011: 125-6) notes the discrepancies between the report published by Salinas in *Notizie* and the various reports of Cavallari from the same period. In addition, no detail is given as to how the sealings were recorded or stored from the initial discovery in 1876 to Salinas' cataloguing of them at the museum in Palermo in 1882; thus, we cannot tell at what stage the 45 additional sealings acquired by Salinas from a dealer in 1898 (see Stage 11, below) may have been removed from the rest of the cache; these may account for the discrepancy in numbers noted by Helas (ibid. 126 n10).

In 1898, 45 additional sealings were added to the collection, having been acquired from a dealer in Palermo (Zoppi, 1996: 327). Salinas published the acquisition in *Notizie* of that year (1898: 224), specifying 10 additional Melqart-Herakles and the Bull sealings 'of large size', but not mentioning other impressions; 17 impressions of the club and dolphin, accompanied by one or two prints to the side, undescribed; 5 impressions of two private seals with no official seal; 10 broken examples with only one print; 3 fragments of which the image could not be determined. No details of the images apart from official seals were discussed; however Salinas does note that in their form the sealings resemble those originally published, including on the reverse the impressions of papyrus or wooden tablets (i.e. there were presumably examples of both types).

The lack of accurate recording of the find-spot of the individual examples – we cannot, for example, tell whether all the sealings bearing the club and dolphin were found together – hinders us in establishing any groupings that might shed light on how the sealings and documents were ordered and whether this was informed by the choice of image on a sealing. The fact that these sealings could appear more than twenty years after the initial discovery of the cache raises the possibility that other sealings exist.

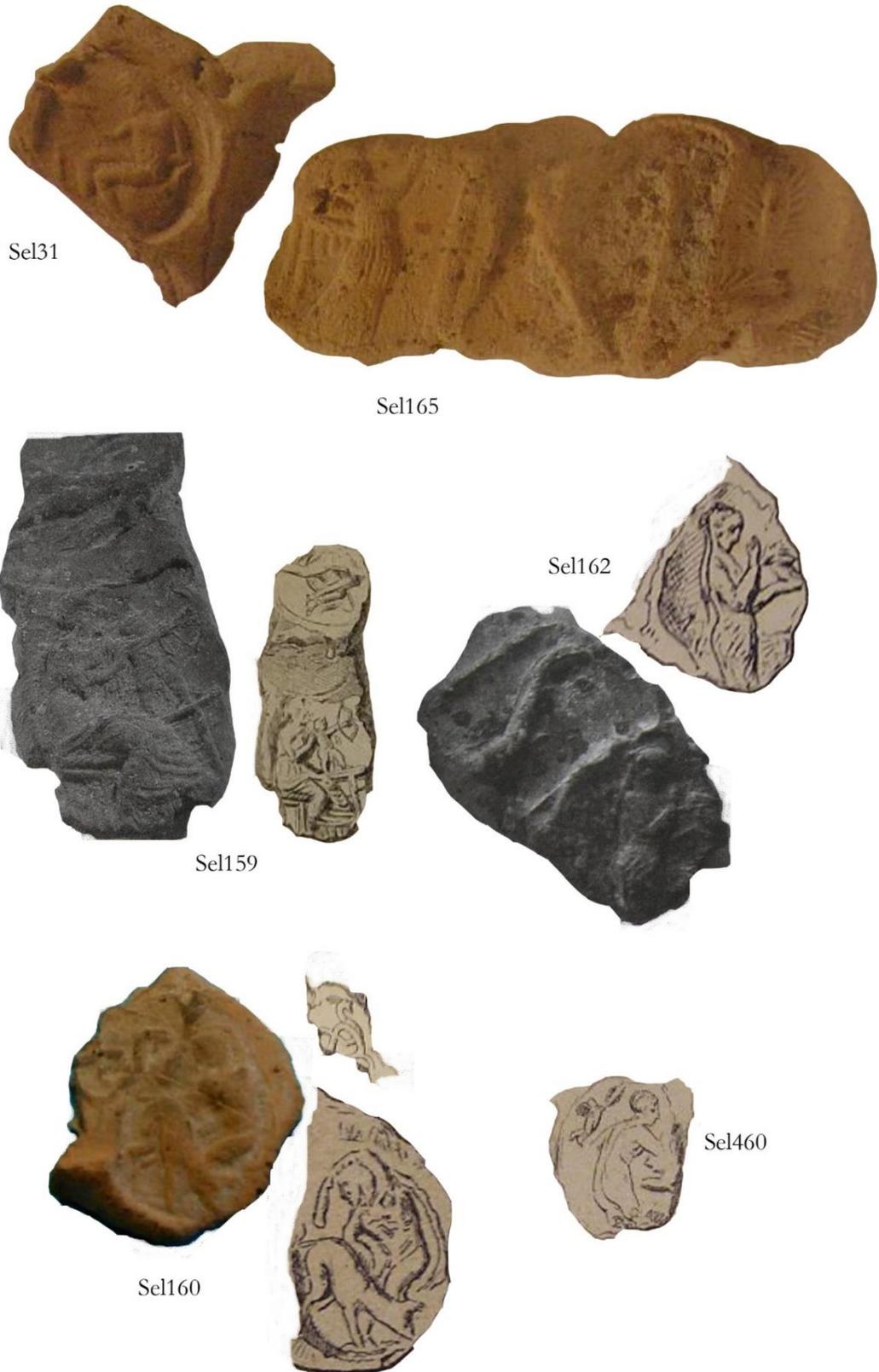


figure 5.2.6. Examples of sealings illustrating display and publication biography stages

Sel31, 165 (Peters, 2004: 245-6), Sel159, 162 (left images De Simone, 2008a: fig. 10, 20; right images Salinas, 1883: tav. IV, VII), Sel160 (left De Simone, 2008b: tav. 12, centre/ right Salinas, ibid. tav XI, V), Sel460 (ibid. tav IV)

Stages 11-12, 14, 18-19: Display Biography of the Selinunte Sealings

Stage 11 Sealings taken to Palermo Museum. Cleaned by Salinas.

Before their publication in 1883, the sealings were taken to Palermo Museum, where Salinas records that he cleaned the dirt from them by ‘taking [it] off myself with a light brush and by using water on all those cases in which the light firing of the clay did not prevent me’ (1883: 477, my translation). It is unclear whether the sealings acquired from the dealer described in the previous stage also required cleaning. No illustrations or photographs of the sealings before this process are recorded, but it is possible to see residual dirt on some of De Simone’s photographs, notably on Sel13, where incrustations remain between Melqart-Herakles’ legs, and Sel157, 165. It is not possible to speculate on how this cleaning may have affected the state of the sealings.

This stage emphasises the importance to Salinas of identifying the images depicted on the sealings, a study of which he wished to publish as a contribution to scholarly knowledge of Hellenistic glyptic images. For him, this represented an opportunity to demonstrate images from the Greek, as well as the Punic, Egyptian and near Eastern traditions. It also allowed him to clarify the process (here Stages 1-6) by which the sealings were produced and how they functioned, thus promoting the objects as examples of sealing and archive practices in the ancient world, similar to the wooden tablets of Pompeii.

Stage 12 Salinas catalogued and illustrated the sealings

Salinas states (1883: 487) that he catalogued the sealings using two methods, Arabic numerals for the objects, i.e. the complete strip of seal impressions, and Roman numerals for the individual images seen upon them. Only the latter list is printed in *Notizie* of 1883 with some numbers alongside, thereby excluding the additional images described in Stage 10.

The illustrations shown on the first plate are examples of complete sealings discussed by Salinas in the article as objects, in order to explain their production and function. Some objects are drawn from both the front (i.e. the side showing the seal impressions) and the back, where evidence of the wood, papyrus and cord once attached to the sealing remains. The remaining eight plates show illustrations as individual images, from the front only, of

all the seal impressions described in the catalogue, except where these were considered too similar to other examples, e.g. Sel15, 19-20, 34-5, or too fragmentary, such as the heads listed under types CCXIII-VI as ‘fragments of various heads’ (cf. Sel57).

The types are ordered with Greek Olympian deities shown first only after two scenes of couples, followed by further human figures and heads, before following biological classes of animal, vegetable and finally symbols. Salinas grouped together images he judged to be Phoenician or eastern at the end of the catalogue (1883: 486). Had the full objects been illustrated, this thematic grouping would have been, while not impossible, far less effective due to the additional images of official seals and other private seals, suggesting that Salinas was applying subjective, aesthetic criteria to the images, a view reinforced by comments about ‘fine’ or ‘very good’ examples of images that occur in his discussion of the images (ibid. 484-5).

The omission of Salinas’ object catalogue, and his methodology for numbering the objects, is far-reaching. Any evidence for the order in which the objects were found, given the three-stage discovery process highlighted in Stage 10 above, is impossible to establish. Thus, we cannot tell if the sealings and their documents were grouped in any way (by age or by seal) at the moment when they were burnt. Maas’ catalogue (Peters, 2004: 245-6) includes another set of additional catalogue numbers to both of Salinas’ systems, not mentioned in any other scholarship on the sealings. A new catalogue might usefully include all three systems to clarify the situation.

This stage begins to demonstrate how the identification of images from other traditions rests on modern scholarship, in this case Salinas’ recognition of a series of images as either Punic-Phoenician, with an Egyptianising tendency, or Near Eastern, with the implication that all others were in the Greek-Sicilian tradition. Some of these images may have been incorrectly rendered or described because of their rarity in the known range of classical images, and some are not illustrated at all.

Salinas’ impact on the biography of the Selinunte sealings has been profound, hence his position at the intersection of the pre-display, post-display and publication cycles in figure 5.2a. The following section describes the post-display life of the sealings, a term which is intended to convey the fact that it covers the biography of the objects after Salinas

catalogued them and arranged for their display in the Museum of Palermo, of which he was director from 1873 (Crisà, 2012: 10). This post-display life has informed and been informed by the two occasionally intertwined strands of scholarship on the sealings, as indicated in the diagram. Thus display in the coin cabinet has informed scholarship on the sealings' production and function, and on the official seal, while the scholarship in the tradition of image catalogues has informed their display in recent exhibitions.

14 Kept in the coin cabinet of the Museum of Palermo

Salinas states that the collection of sealings were in the possession of the National (later Regional and named after Salinas) Museum of Palermo at the time of writing his publication for *Notizie* (1883: 474). Zoppi (1996: 327) states that a collection of sealings was kept in the coin cabinet of the Regional Archaeological Museum at Palermo, but does not specify whether the whole collection was displayed.

In April 2011, a group of around thirty of the sealings were included in rooms opened for the first time at the same museum, where they were displayed alongside other terracotta objects, such as lamps and storage vessels. An example of a roll of papyrus sealed by cord running through a clay sealing was included in the display cabinet; this process was explained on the information board behind the sealings, which also included details of the production and function of the sealings, especially the official seal, and follows Salinas' interpretation. The only reference to the iconography of the sealings was to their contribution to the range of images found in the Hellenic (not the Hellenistic) tradition and the rarity of eastern or Punic representations.

Display in the Palermo Museum has emphasised the association of the sealings with western Sicily, thus, for scholars with a classical focus, placing them as examples of provincial or 'western Greek' art. The recognition of a few Punic or eastern examples has been consistent, thanks to Salinas' cataloguing method.

18 Exhibited and published in '*Hannibal ad portas*' exhibition

Eight sealings from Selinunte were displayed along with sealings from the Carthage cache in the '*Hannibal ad portas: the power and wealth of Carthage*' exhibition of 2004 at the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, including Sel31 and Sel165 from the objects included in this research (Peters, 2004: 245-6). The sealings appeared in the 'Deities,

Sanctuaries and Cults' section of the exhibition, although there is no reference to either Carthaginian or Selinuntine sealings in the discussion of Carthaginian religion and sacred buildings in the catalogue, thus the justification for their inclusion would appear to be the find-spot of the sealings in the temples of Baal and Tanit in Carthage and Temple C in Selinunte respectively.

Both the Carthaginian and Selinuntine examples selected by Maas and De Simone reflect a variety of artistic traditions, a point noted by Maas in his brief introduction as indicative of individual choices by users of the sanctuary (Peters, 2004: 241). Carthaginian examples are explicitly noted by Maas as belonging to Punic, Punic-Egyptianising, Greek, Greek-Sicilian (in the case of a Herakles with the lionskin, and a satyr) and Egyptianising styles. This designation does not appear for the Selinuntine examples (written by De Simone), however the examples chosen all denote connections between different traditions. Sel31 is shown as an example of Herakles 'who was identified with the Phoenician Melqart' (De Simone in Peters, 2004: 245) and the Nike with Trophy from Sel165 is an 'entirely Greek' image, although it was also known in Carthage (ibid. 246). No reference is made to Zoppi's 1996 recognition of this as an Agathoklean Syracusan coin issue (1996: 336), nor is there any reference to the other image on the sealing of ears of corn, recognised again by Salinas and Zoppi as typical of west Sicilian coin issues. Other chosen examples show Punic and Egyptianising symbols. The Marsala curse tablets shown immediately afterwards include Punic, Greek and Latin names, and attention is drawn to the 'multi-ethnic society' which they reveal.

This stage of the sealings' biography associates them with the wider Carthaginian world, owing to the focus on individual images discussed in Stages 13b and 17 below.

19 Not displayed in Anglophone Sicily exhibitions

Two major exhibitions focusing on Sicily's art and peoples have been presented in the last decade by Anglophone museums: *Sicily: Art and Invention* by the Getty Museum (displayed in USA and Sicily) in 2015 and *Sicily: Culture and Conquest* by the British Museum in 2016. Neither exhibition included the sealings on display or in the catalogue, although both emphasised the multi-ethnic nature of the island. In a personal communication, the curator of the British Museum exhibition indicated that practical difficulties with the display of small objects and the reduction in the capacity of the Phoenician section were the primary factors in this decision. This suggests an association of these objects with the

Phoenician-Punic world (a community considered relatively expendable for this exhibition's conception of Sicily), but one insufficient to justify the investment needed for their transportation and display.

Stages 13a, 15-6; 13b, 17: Publication Biography of the Selinunte Sealings

The publication of the sealings by Salinas can be summarised as a discussion of the production and function of the sealings, which he concluded from detailed consideration of the objects' known context and biography (Stage 13a), followed by discussion of the individual images appearing upon them (Stage 13b). These are arranged, catalogued and illustrated, as individual idealised images of artistic 'types', except for examples considered too fragmentary or similar to another type. Salinas does not offer explicit explanation for the manner in which he presents his material in the *Notizie* publication and illustrated catalogue; here the importance of contemporary glyptic catalogues is proposed as an explanation below; (Stages 13b, 17).

Salinas' approach in Stage 13a has been updated in the last 30 years by further excavations at Selinunte (Stage 15), which have further informed understanding of the sealings' function in the context of Carthaginian control of the community. It is only with the scholarship on the official seals (Stage 16), informed by evidence from coinage (Stage 14), context (Stage 15) and images (Stage 17) that these two strands of scholarship combine.

Salinas' attention was drawn away from the evidence provided by examining the complete strips of sealings showing private seal impressions added to the official seals. Instead, he returned to these seals as individual images in a summary at the end of his discussion. Thus the images, the seals which they depict, and the people whom they represent, are divorced from the context of the transactions which the full sealing records. Instead, the images are presented as a collection of images, ordered according to the subjective judgment of Salinas and representative, not of everyday encounters between individuals in fourth-third-century Selinunte, but of a selection of images which add to the known artistic types available to scholarship of Hellenistic art. Hereafter, these images are rarely considered in combination.

13a Salinas published discussion of production and function

The discussion of the production and function of the sealings could easily be described as an attempt to trace the object biography of the sealings. Using a combination of historical sources from both Greek and Latin authors, as well as the objects themselves, along with comparative archaeological evidence from the Near Eastern and Classical worlds (1883: 476-7), Salinas traced the life of a sealing from the clay which produced it, to the

conflagration which fired and preserved the tablets, to their contemporary excavation and interpretation. The illustrations of the complete sealings (see fig. 5.2.2) are integral to his reconstruction of the production and use of the sealings, since much information is inferred from the back of the sealings and the details observed from individual impressions. Although Salinas did not publish his catalogue of the sealings as objects, his discussion of the production and function of the sealings in ten pages of 1883's *Notizie* provides an account on which the greater part of modern scholarship on the objects still relies (the image discussion covers two pages). The description of Stages 1-9 above has demonstrated the extent of Salinas' impact on our understanding of the pre-depositional stages of the life of the sealings.

Once Salinas had dismissed Cavallari's interpretation that the sealings constituted a register of prints created by priests at Temple C working in a workshop for precious stones (1883: 475) by considering the reason for the repetition of the Herakles and the Bull seal impression, he formulated the now-accepted theory that this and the club and dolphin seal constituted the δημοσια σφραγις, or official seal, of Selinunte. This explanation was reinforced by the evidence for cord binding the sealings to documents (Stage 4), historical sources (1883: 476, also dismissing Avolio's theory on the sealings), and comparative evidence from Near Eastern archives. Further justification was provided by the size of the impressions, being larger than other examples on the sealings, and the order in which the different impressions were printed (1883: 482); an approach which also explained the function of all the sealings as objects. In short, Salinas used the object biography of the sealings to establish their function, with particular focus on the civic seal of Selinunte (Stage 16). No link was made between this function and the images chosen by individuals to appear on the sealings.

This stage of the sealings' life finds them associated with the élite, literate worlds of Greece and Rome through Salinas' use of classical texts, and with Assyrian and Egyptian communities by his comparison of archaeological evidence; however, Salinas does not make any association with the Carthaginian control of the community at Selinunte.

15 Synthesis of evidence since Salinas' publication on context, production and function

As indicated in Stage 8 above, the walls between columns of Temple C, which excavations of the 1880s sought to clear away as not fitting the accepted layout of 'Greek' temples, are in fact evidence of changes made to the temple during the period of Carthaginian control. Scholars such as Bisi, Zoppi and Helas have discussed the implications of this altered context for our understanding of the sealings' production and function as part of the mechanics of that Carthaginian control. We should note that this evidence can be used in two ways: Bisi and Zoppi (and those on whose work they draw) use the context of Temple C to understand how the sealings work, while Helas uses an explanation of the sealings in her account of the site of Punic Selinunte to explain the function of the new rooms at the temple. The dangers of circular argument threaten. The altered context has had two main implications for our understanding of the sealings: dates have been proposed for the beginning of the archive, and the archive's role within a specific system of Carthaginian control of her western colonies has been projected. Although Bisi discusses the near Eastern images on the sealings (1986: 300-301) and Zoppi provides a one-paragraph résumé of (mainly) mythological images, the only consideration of the sealings' images by these authors are those containing writing that might contribute to the understanding of the administrative system. There is no discussion of archives in Greek communities.

As a result of the focus on context, this stage places the sealings firmly in the Carthaginian world, which is seen against the backdrop of sealing practices in the wider eastern Mediterranean world.

16 Discussion of object and image of the official seal

The overwhelming emphasis in scholarship on the sealings from Salinas onwards has been the images of Herakles and the Bull (see above, Melqart is not discussed) and the club and dolphin identified as the 'official seals' of Selinunte, with scholars from both the object and image camps including it in their publications. A crucial part of Salinas' discussion was his explanation for the recurrence of these two impressions, which he used to inform his understanding of the sealings in general (see Stage 13a above). These he interprets as the 'official seals' of the authorities at Selinunte, basing this judgment on comparison of the images with earlier illustrated coin issues of the city, along with careful study of the objects themselves. He therefore sought other examples of civic artistic choices to explain the images appearing on the seals. He dismissed the metopes of Temples C and E - which feature images of Herakles - as irrelevant, since a variety of other images are also found

there. Instead he cited and illustrated an archaic didrachma from Selinunte, as well as the initial Σ on the impression (see fig. 5.2.2), as evidence that Herakles and the Bull was an image associated with Selinunte. He does not offer a reason for the club and dolphin image, despite noting its greater frequency, nor suggests any reason for the need for more than one seal. Although there is one reference to Herakles 'taming' the bull, which might imply that this is a description of Herakles' Seventh Labour (D.S. IV. 13.4), Salinas does not specify the 'Cretan' Bull in his text. Part of Salinas' explanation for the function of the official seal therefore was the precise image chosen, for one of the seals at least, alongside the evidence offered by the object itself. This reveals that the seals in question were always printed in the centre of a strip and were invariably overprinted by the surrounding impressions. He concluded that the authority's seal was printed first, followed by those of the individuals involved in the transaction. It is at this point, however, that Salinas finished tracing the life of these individual sealings, concentrating instead on the more general question of the events which fired the sealings, without considering the implications of his interpretation of these objects in the context of fourth-third-century Selinunte.

The fact that the sealings were displayed in the coin cabinet at Palermo may have encouraged a focus on the iconography of the 'official seals' as civic artistic choices in the same way as images on coin issues are treated. While Salinas' publication of the image catalogue has encouraged some scholars to consider individual images on the sealings as part of the collection of Hellenistic glyptic choices (Stage 17), others have concentrated on his discussion of the production and function of the sealings, particularly the official seals. Much of this discussion draws on the context provided by numismatic scholarship and recent archaeological excavation at Selinunte, but changes very little of Salinas' argument.

Bisi (1986: 299-302) emphasises the Carthaginian nature of the archive in the context of other evidence of Punic script from Selinunte and stresses the importance of considering variations in sealing practice within one archive, as at Carthage. This Carthaginian focus is reinforced by Zoppi, who uses the order and frequency of the official seals on sealings to develop Salinas' idea of the official seals, proposing that Herakles and the Bull was used by the authorities to confirm a direct authorisation to individuals, while the club and dolphin officially oversaw an agreement between two private individuals (1996: 331). Despite his Carthaginian focus, Zoppi does not refer to Melqart. Helas - drawing on the work of Bonnet and Berges (*contra* Mertens' caution for Temple C at Selinunte) on the way in

which temples to the syncretised Herakles-Melqart were used as a means of civic control by Carthage in her provinces - uses the evidence from the images of the seals and coinage of the RŠMLQRT mint (which she places at Selinunte, cf Quinn, 2018: 119 who prefers Selinunte's colony, Herakleia Minoa) to further strengthen the association between the Carthaginian authorities and the archive at Selinunte (Helas, 2011: 127-9). A similar conclusion is reached by De Simone, who follows Bisi and Zoppi in downplaying the temple's authority (2008a: 38), but also finds an attempt by Carthaginian authorities to make use of the syncretism of Herakles-Melqart as an image in establishing some continuity of management of the wealthy region of Selinunte (ibid. 39) by focusing on the Greek or Siculo-Punic nature of the Herakles and the Bull image. Crucially, all these scholars combine study of object, context and image in their arguments about the official seal and its suitability on the sealings. No attempt has been made to apply this approach to the other seal representations on these strips.

Comparison between the images depicted on the official seals and contemporary coinage has allowed scholars an opportunity to bridge the apparent gap between Greek seal images and the Carthaginian context by finding in the official seals images that speak to two traditions, which in turn sheds light on the realities of the Carthaginian control system in its colonies.

13b Salinas published discussion and catalogue of types

The order of Salinas' illustrated catalogue is discussed above (Stage 12). The twelve pages of line drawings of the seal images provide an enormously valuable record of the different seal impressions, even if we bear in mind its selectivity and tendency to 'clean up' the images in question. These 'clean', pin-sharp, images recall the fact that, from at least 1746, collectors such as Lippert, Cades and, famously, Tassie had been circulating the images found on ancient gems and seals by means of plaster casts or (in Tassie's case) intaglio casts. Tassie's collection was ordered to show the types of representation of Greek deities, as a visual manifestation of aspects of Greek mythology with the stated intention 'to improve the public taste...correcting the taste of the modern artist...diffusing that universal taste they have been thought capable of inspiring' (1775: v), not to mention that 'the Ladies will not only find a very great variety of intaglios for seals, but cameos for pendants and bracelets, of execution sufficient to gratify the delicacy of their taste' (ibid. vi). This approach of ordering by mythological subject and then type, with non-mythological subjects either ignored or grouped under a general heading such as '*varia*' was

continued by Furtwängler in his monumental work on *'Antike Gemmen'* and is likely to have been used as the model of publication for Salinas. The adoption of this approach placed the focus on the aesthetic quality of the individual seal images, considered more important than Salinas' aim of a greater 'general understanding of the life of the ancients' (1883: 474). Salinas' publication of the sealings, with its catalogue ordered by image and not object, therefore presents the data of the sealing finds in a way which recalls that of contemporary glyptic catalogues, while the discussion focuses on the production and function of the objects and their contribution to wider knowledge of ancient sealing practices, as noted above. The aesthetic quality of the illustrations, which draws the reader's attention to an element of the production process briefly on the first plate, but, more frequently, to the idealised representation of the individual seal impressions, is foremost in the presentation of the data. Further research on any documentation of publication advice from *Notizie's* editors is needed to determine the extent to which Salinas had control of the format of the catalogue's publication. The publication, which first appeared in 1876 under the auspices of the Accademia dei Lincei and the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, included reports of excavations from all of Italy and had already been used to publish Cavallari's earlier excavations at Selinunte. The ordering of the image catalogue, which was in Salinas' control, certainly followed the conventions of contemporary glyptic catalogues in grouping images by theme, firstly by mythological subject from the classical world, then by themes or classes which appear rather biological in order: human, animal, vegetable, mineral and finally symbols. This allowed Salinas the opportunity to present together symbols which he perceived as Phoenician and eastern, and to discuss their similarity to examples from the wider Mediterranean context, notably those Egyptianising examples from Sardinia of which he had heard from the scholars Chabas and King (1883: 486).

Salinas comments only briefly on the aesthetic quality and workmanship of sealings, noting Sel159's Aphrodite and Eros image and Sel460 as worthy of mention on these grounds, although no justification is offered. Sel162's Isis image is considered to be an archaic period image, on grounds of style. The brevity of this discussion, allied with the lack of detail about the objects creating the sealings noted in 5 above, means that criteria on which cost - and therefore economic reach of the owner - could be judged are absent. It is possible that this lack of evidence for luxury items, that were available only to the élite, may have contributed to the idea of this collection of images as demonstrating a 'trivial' iconography, more widely available within communities.

The present research considers the potential of objects bearing an image of Melqart-Herakles for enhancing our understanding of ancient Sicily, in this case, Salinas' cataloguing method has been shown to be initially of considerable benefit. One advantage of grouping similar images together in a system of types is that it allows direct comparison between these examples, which serves to emphasise the small differences between similar images, when they are illustrated. Below I argue that such close study of images of Melqart-Herakles, when combined with interrogation of their full context and object biography, can be used to address the question of image suitability for seals in the same way as the official seal has been analysed.

The implications of this stage for subsequent scholarship are discussed below, but the associations made between some images and communities from Phoenicia, the east (a term Salinas declines to clarify) and Sardinia should be noted, while emphasising that Salinas associated the vast majority of the images with Greek Sicily.

17 Published in the tradition of image catalogues

The publication of Salinas' object catalogue with representations of individual seal impressions shown alongside similar images, rather than alongside the images which accompanied them on the sealings themselves, has encouraged some scholars to view them as image types. These types are then traced by means of catalogues across other media and in other traditions, with the implication that differences between images considered to be the same type are irrelevant. We often see images with different details described 'as above' or *come sopra* (cf. Sel14-15 Salinas, 1883: 488), or even simply with the mark for ditto, " or _____ in older catalogues (Tassie, 1775: 2ff.). Two examples of such catalogues already noted in this research feature isolated examples of the Selinunte sealings; *LIMC* and Webster's *Monuments of New Comedy (MNC)*. The former has also informed later scholarship on the sources for mythological images appearing on the sealings. To my knowledge, no comparable catalogues exist for symbols, heads or animals, making these images more difficult to trace across other media and traditions. Some help is provided by catalogues focusing on one tradition, such as Boardman's *Phoenician Scarabs* (2003), but this also tends to lead to a concentration on one sub-set of images which fall under the same label and whose influence may be given greater prominence than their frequency permits. Images not covered by any of these catalogues, such as the 40 human

heads which form the most popular image on the individual sealings from Selinunte, are therefore overlooked as a choice.

The sealings from Selinunte feature rarely in Anglophone scholarship, as noted in 3.3, only Sel160 features in *LIMC*, where it is recorded as being of ‘Hellenistic’ date, and with no record of the snake image which appears printed alongside that of Herakles clubbing a dog. More detail of the context is provided by Webster’s *Monuments of New Comedy* (*MNC*), which lists images of masks and actors on sealings which do not feature in this research. Plantzos’ discussion of sealing caches in *Hellenistic Engraved Gems* provides the most useful coverage of the sealings, but, in a book dedicated to gems, the clay sealings are viewed as a means by which unusual Hellenistic examples may be checked (1999: 3) rather than as examples in their own right. All these catalogues, following the tradition described above and Salinas’ publication of the catalogue dedicated solely to images, continue to treat the sealings as transmitters of seal images, not objects in their own right with combinations of images. Neither *LIMC* nor *MNC* offer anything other than a list of examples of seal impressions. None of the three address the suitability of images for appearing on this medium.

Bisi and De Simone’s articles concentrate on individual seal images to trace the appearance of these images elsewhere, the former concentrating on near Eastern images, the latter on a greater variety of traditions. However, De Simone repeatedly refers to *LIMC* to give emphasis to the Greek tradition, since much of the discussion again revolves round Olympian deities, including the obligatory reference to lost works of Lysippos (see 1.3.1-2). Photographic illustrations (Bisi also includes more impressionistic line drawings, 1986: 298) depict some full sealings, but there are examples where only the image under discussion is shown, with other parts of the sealing cut out. There is no discussion of combinations of images on individual sealings, except when De Simone shows different deities appearing together, acknowledging that she views the sealings as a collection of images which ‘form an almost composite body’ (2008a: 31, my translation) and that her discussion features ‘a selection of images...offering a framework’ (ibid. 32) from which she draws conclusions about life in Selinunte and the city’s place in transmitting images around the Mediterranean.

The articles of Bisi and De Simone allow the seal impressions to contribute to our understanding of the community at Selinunte and the artistic choices of individuals within

it, something used as evidence for identifying those using the archive as respectively Carthaginian or Greek. This assumes that the tradition of the image equates to the community of the seal user, which, as we have seen from Kallista's example, is not necessarily the case. De Simone's argument that some images had become globalised (ibid. 33) complicates the issue further; since an image that has become globalised would lose its association with a particular tradition. This problem is considered further in 5.4 below. As discussed above, the scholars' consideration of the biography of the official seal is based on Salinas' initial interpretation, but they take into account more recent excavation evidence to consider the everyday realities of Carthaginian control of Selinunte. However, with some exceptions, the full biographies of individual sealings are not considered in the same way, and seal images are considered as the types listed in iconographic catalogues, notably *LIMC* but also *Phoenician Scarabs*; thus, their history as an image is discussed within one tradition, without addressing why these images were selected as appropriate for this particular medium.

We can therefore see that at this stage the selection of individual images which Salinas' catalogue encouraged, and iconographic catalogues continued, restricts the full potential of these objects for demonstrating the everyday realities for those creating and using seals and sealings in third century Selinunte, and their reasons for choosing particular images upon them. They are associated with a number of traditions, notably the Near East and Greece (broadly understood), but also including North Africa and Spain, with some suggestion from De Simone of images representing a globalised image (2008a: 33) that would not necessarily have been associated with particular traditions.

The implications of the object biography of the Selinunte sealings

The existing scholarship, driven by Salinas' publication, has thereby demonstrated how consideration of the object biography of parts of objects featuring images of Melqart-Herakles can provide considerable insights into civic choices of images in a period when a community faced a takeover by two different groups. It also shows a range of artistic choices available to private individuals on one type of object, that used for sealing. However, both of these approaches stop short of considering the full object biography of individual sealings, since the former approach considers all sealings in the same way once they have had the official seal imprinted upon them, and the latter considers the biography

of individual images, but not the remainder of the object on which they appear. The following sections, having established the implications of scholarly labels and how these have been changed by developing understanding of the sealings' context, draws on the individual object biographies compiled in the gazetteer in order to establish why particular images, in this case Melqart-Herakles, were considered appropriate for these objects and whether the complete objects provide an insight into whether the community at Selinunte remained on the edge as new powers took control.

5.3 How did Herakles appear on these objects?



figure 5.3.1. Examples of Melqart-Herakles on sealing objects

All images from Salinas (1883: tav IV-XII, see appendix for individual references) except: Sel4, Sel13 (both right) (De Simone, 2008b: tav. 14, 12), Sel31 (left) (De Simone, 2008a: 16), Delos319-321, 428 (Boussac, 1992: pl. 18, 24)



figure 5.3.2. Further examples of Melqart-Herakles on sealing objects

Sel160 (l-r) (De Simone 2008b: fig.12), (Salinas, 1883: tav. V, XI), all Carthage examples (Rakob: 1997: taf. 59, 94-96, 99) except Carthage3 (Berges, 1993: taf 66), Sel460 (Salinas, 1883: tav. IV)

5.3.1 How does Herakles appear on individual seal images from Selinunte?

Melqart-Herakles or his club appear on 28 individual seal images: Sel9, 13-35, 41-2, 160, 460. Sel33 may feature two individual examples of Melqart-Herakles on the same sealing.

As clearly described by Boardman (1970, 6), viewing and interpreting the images from seals can be very difficult, not least due to their small size. While advances in the reproduction of photographs have allowed images of the quality of those in Berges' (Rakob: 1997) or Maas' (Peters, 2004) catalogues, it can be difficult to make out details in even enlarged photographs. Ironically, the more recent images published in De Simone's articles (2008a, b), often showing the sealings held in the hand, are less clear than earlier examples. Salinas' 1883 catalogue included line illustrations of most, but not all, of the types he identified. The viewer is therefore already seeing the image through the lens of one individual's interpretation, which is necessarily subjective to that individual's experience and education, and which may have been affected by Salinas' interpretation of the images. A comparison of photographs of the sealings with the illustrations does attest to their overwhelming accuracy (compare Sel31 and Sel160 in fig. 5.3.2 above), although see Stages 6 and 12 above. However, we should note that some elements of the sealings appear much more clearly on the illustrations than in photographs, for example the club held by the individual with the dog in Sel160. When the element in question is a defining characteristic of Melqart-Herakles' appearance (the club or the lionskin), it means that we are at the mercy of the judgment of an individual for his identification. This research has

included all those sealings which illustrate or describe one or both of a club and lionskin with a powerful male figure as Melqart-Herakles, in line with the trends identified in 1.3.1. (see now Quinn on the problems of identifying Melqart figures, 2018: 122, 124).

Melqart-Herakles, depicted usually as a very young man in a realistic style, was the most popular choice of human or divine image on sealings from Selinunte; although human heads as a general description feature more frequently, these rarely depict the same features. These figures do not include the civic choice of the official seal. Of the 28 images on individual seal impressions, 24 depict Melqart-Herakles alone (Sel9, Sel13-35), 3 depict his club (Sel41-2; Sel41 has 2 images) and there are individual examples of Melqart-Herakles in Other (Sel160) and Labour (Sel460) Narratives. The Selinunte images of the club represent the only examples of this form found for third-century Sicily in this research. None of the impressions include any evidence of writing. There are no representations of Melqart-Herakles' head, perhaps surprising considering its presence on the fourth-century example of a sealing (Hal1) and the popularity of Herakles-Alexander heads on contemporary coinage. In terms of general themes, therefore, the sealings broadly fit the trends of third-century choices identified in Chapter 3, although the greater number of examples of this object do rather overwhelm the sample for this period.

Looking more closely at the representation of Melqart-Herakles on the impressions, we find that the clubs are accompanied by other symbols of Olympian gods on the same representation, Sel41 shows a short club with spiral grip next to Zeus' thunderbolt, and Sel42 the caduceus associated with Hermes and an indistinct object described by Salinas as a 'garland'. The 'other' seal on Sel41 also features a club, along with a lion. The physical form of Melqart-Herakles is also accompanied on the two narrative scenes, although the identification of both of these is contested. Sel160 is considered by *LIMC* (1990: no. 2675) and De Simone (2008: fig. 18 caption) as Herakles (sic) attacking a dog with his club; Salinas (1883, 485) and Booms (2016, pers. comm.) consider it to be Actaeon. The Labour Narrative of Sel460 (see fig. 5.3.2. above) is identified by Salinas (1883: 484) as Herakles (sic) with the Nemean Lion, accompanied by a winged figure, and listed in his discussion of the images as the first of his mythological examples, where he notes its aesthetic quality. This focus on aesthetic quality is not repeated elsewhere.

Instead of companions, the images of Melqart-Herakles alone include accessories in addition to the characteristic club and lionskin. Unfortunately, not all of the examples are

illustrated, and several are fragmentary, although Salinas' descriptions do include details of accessories. Two groups of similar images can be identified, Sel13-15 and Sel9, 22-28, 31, the rest do not recall other examples. These include two versions of a bearded Melqart-Herakles (Sel17, 32), which serves to make him look older; Melqart-Herakles is standing facing the viewer's left in what survives of Sel17, but with no extant accessories, while in Sel32 he is seated to the right, with catenary drapery over his left arm. A different rendering of rather stiff drapery appears on Sel21, in which Melqart-Herakles regards a lost object in his outstretched right arm. Sel29 appears to show Melqart-Herakles practising his football skills (Dr P. Stewart points out to me that this image is known also from Athens), while Sel30 features him with a shield and, although on the back foot, apparently about to advance the sword in his clenched left fist. Another variation is the form of the club, at its most threatening in Sel16 with powerful cross-hatching; a ground line should also be noted on this example. Sel33-35 are all difficult to describe since they are unillustrated. Sel33 may feature two images of Melqart-Herakles, an illustrated fragment of him reclining with the lionskin and an unillustrated 'powerful male naked figure' (1883: 491). This description, as for Sel34 (club) and Sel35 ('lionskin?' *ibid*) which are not only listed in consecutive image types, but whose object numbers are also very close (139, 141, 143), encourages the association of the images in the mind of the reader, although Salinas does not name Herakles; ultimately, we are dependent on one man's judgment.

The remaining examples of Melqart-Herakles alone require closer attention to differentiate them, but they are nevertheless different representations. Sel13-15 all show Melqart-Herakles facing to the right with a bow, but his pose is markedly different in the two illustrated examples, and there are further elaborations of drapery on the left arm and a detail at the right wrist on Sel14. Sel15 is unillustrated and listed '*come sopra*', but it has a separate object number from Sel14 and must therefore be a different object. Whether or not it is the same seal appearing twice is impossible to tell from the catalogue, although the fact that Salinas does not mention this when he notes other examples of repeated occurrences suggests that this is not the case. We find a similar issue with Sel18-20, where unillustrated Sel19 appears to be the same as Sel18 in showing Melqart-Herakles with a triangular vessel ('rhyton' *ibid*. 488) and has a consecutive object number, while Sel20, also unillustrated, is described as the same but with a vessel described as a kantharos. These examples share tendencies in pose and accessories to the following group. The representations of Melqart-Herakles on Sel9, 22-28, 31 are all similar when viewed as a group especially in the outstretched right arm and club resting on the right hip, but vary in

their accessories and pose, no two examples being exactly alike. All the figures are shown as notably young and slim, just as the Melqart-Herakles of the official seal appears. A cornucopia and vessel appear in Sel9, 22-26, with drapery shown in Sel9, 24-27, and Melqart-Herakles leaning on a column in Sel23-24. Sel25 adds a fillet, Sel26-28 a ground line, but Sel27's appears more as a shadow. In Sel31 we see the same pose and a vessel, but now Melqart-Herakles is seated in a chair ('prow of a ship', *ibid.* 490). To complicate matters further, De Simone identified the latter example as the image type of *Herakles epitrapezios*, but does not comment on the other similar representations (2008a: 35).

The representation of Melqart-Herakles on sealings from Selinunte repays attention to detail. The same mythological figure is shown or symbolised in 28 different ways, some of which present associations with different identities (banqueter, warrior, older figure, athlete) but none of which can be associated with an external community on their stylistic representation. As discussed, contextual information suggests a more complex reception of the image. The similarity of two groups of similar seal images raises questions about why so many individuals would choose an image that immediately creates an association with other examples from the same cache, but which differs so as to make differentiation of each example possible, while also recalling the official seal of Selinunte. This issue will be considered further in 5.4.

5.3.2 With what other images does Herakles appear on sealings from Selinunte?

Of the 28 representations of Melqart-Herakles on private seals, all are represented in the Greek tradition of realistic heroic nudity, however one-quarter are found in combination with seals attributed to either an eastern or Punic-Phoenician tradition. 18 further sealings with one of the official seals can be securely associated with images from these traditions, but more examples would emerge from the publication of Salinas' full object (as opposed to image) catalogue. Melqart-Herakles appears in Sel17 and 20 on private seals alongside seals which Salinas describes as Egyptianising scarabs, probably manufactured on Sardinia (1883: 486), and in Sel23, 24 and 35 with images of animals commonly found in Near Eastern or North African traditions. The rolling horse from Sel24 is found also in the Carthage cache (Berges, 2002: no. 62), where it is dated to the fourth-third-centuries. An image recalling the Herakles image on Sel23 and 25, with the figure leaning back on a column, is also found in the Carthage hoard (*ibid.* no. 713). Another similar image appears on Sel22 with the impression of a female head. Following a traditional classical art-historical approach, it would be tempting to emphasise the encounter between the

naked, powerful, everyman figure of Herakles in the Greek tradition at one end of the sealing and these scenes from other traditions at the other, with the additional possibility of a central seal also depicting Herakles in a Greek tradition. The possibility will be explored further below, but we should bear in mind Kallista's seal (see 5.2 Stage 6) when considering this quarter of the evidence, as well as noting that the Herakles of Sel17 may be a little past his prime. Quinn's assertion that Melqart-Herakles is a shared concept, rather than one setting up an opposition (2018: 127) between communities, is striking in this regard.

Four other representations not associated with external communities appear on the same strip as Melqart-Herakles images. Sel16 depicts a bucranium and vine, an image seen in the background of some Sicilian vase paintings. Sel160 does not feature an official seal with the additional seal, so Herakles clubbing a dog would have appeared alongside a coiled serpent in a private deal between two individuals. Sel33 features two images (both unillustrated) that could be Melqart-Herakles, as noted above, while Sel34 depicts a female head.

As well as combinations with eastern or Punic-Phoenician images, Melqart-Herakles is also found alongside images that Salinas and Zoppi both recognise from Sicilian coinage. Sel9, the only confirmed example of Melqart-Herakles alongside an official seal (the club and dolphin), features a seal of two ears of corn, an image common on west Sicilian coinage of the period, sometimes also found with a plough, as on Sel165. The other seal on Sel165 also features an image from Sicilian coins, Nike raising her arms to a trophy, recognised by Zoppi on Agathoklean Syracusan coinage (1996: 336), although it also features on other media. Sel41, Herakles' club, appears with yet another club and a lion, reminiscent of sealing no. 38 from Carthage and coins from Tarsus (Berges, 2002: 88)

Further examples of sealings showing combinations of artistic traditions are noted when those seals bearing Melqart-Herakles or his club as the official seal are considered. There are two further examples of Sardinian Egyptianising scarabs: Sel2, where the scarab and the Melqart-Herakles seal sit alongside a female head which also finds comparison in the Carthage hoard, and Sel54, with a Melqart-Herakles seal only. De Simone, from Boardman's publication of Phoenician scarabs, notes that the figure of a crouching warrior with a shield, shown with a fragment of wings and the club and dolphin on Sel161, appeared in both eastern and western Phoenician contexts, notably in Spain (2008a: 36).

Two other sealings with Melqart-Herakles and the bull combine this civic image with seals depicting images relevant to Carthaginian religion; Sel3 features a palm and a building Salinas recognised from Solunto on the north coast of Sicily (1883: 486; Bisi, 1986: 301 prefers the Carthaginian tophet), and Sel52 poppies, a half moon and star which may symbolise the goddess Astarte. Sel49-50 both feature images of fantastic beasts, although it is not clear in which tradition we would find them; the ‘winged dolphin’ (Salinas, 1883: 497) of Sel49 sits alongside Melqart-Herakles and the bull and a dog realistically rendered, while a figure astride what Salinas describes as a crocodile, perhaps suggesting a North African link, accompanies the same official seal in Sel50. Salinas attributes an eastern origin to the image of a winged Cupid with a column appearing with Melqart-Herakles in Sel56 (ibid. 486).

As highlighted in 5.1, Selinunte in the period 409-249 was under Punic hegemony, so the combinations of images detailed above should perhaps not surprise us, even if they receive little attention in the scholarship. Images and occasionally full sealings which are discussed in detail are those which feature Greek Olympian deities, some of whom encounter deities from other traditions. It is notable that Olympian deities, recorded in the tradition of mythological catalogues such as Tassie’s (see 5.2 Stage 17), encourage the comparison of seal images on the same sealing when they encounter other gods, but rarely when they appear with only an official seal and never with a non-divine additional sealing. Here we may note the combination on Sel157 of a Bes-Silenus figure, with an object on his head described as a *modius* (often also associated with Serapis) and featuring strands of Greek and Egyptian traditions, with an ‘entirely Greek’ Apollo playing the lyre on a sealing, situated on either side of the club and dolphin official seal. De Simone notes the appearance of the same Bes seal in the Carthage hoard (no. 361), where it is dated to the fourth-third-centuries (2008a: 34).

Five further Olympian deities appear in representations placed firmly within the Greek tradition. Melqart-Herakles and the Bull seals sit alongside Artemis with a dog and torch on Sel46, and between a full-length Athena Promachos and the rear of a bull on Sel44, another suggestion of seals from two traditions on the same sealing. The club and dolphin seal appears with an Artemis carrying two torches on Sel157, an image which De Simone considers a discrete production series in its differences to Sel46 with other examples known from Delos and Cyrene (ibid). This official seal also shares a sealing on Sel159 with images of Aphrodite and Eros, a type which appears widely on Late Hellenistic gems,

along with Hermes putting on a sandal. This image is also found in the Carthage cache (Rakob, 1997: no. 544), who, according to *LIMC* via De Simone, is traceable to a lost Lysippean prototype from Greece (2008a: 34). Why this makes it appropriate for use on a seal is unspecified. Sel45 also shows a mother and child image with the club and dolphin, in an image which finds parallels in Phoenician scarabs (Boardman, 2003: I.11), but also Egyptian statuettes (Metropolitan Museum accession number 55.121.5), Carthaginian hatchet razors (Picard, 1967: pl. XXIII) and Etruscan mirrors (*CSE Italia* 5: 60).

In addition to realistic, Greek figures of deities, symbols associated with Olympian deities in the classical tradition are also found. We have already discussed Melqart-Herakles' club, but we also find Hermes' caduceus appearing with a cornucopia on Sel36, along with the club and dolphin seal and an impression of a dog running alongside one human leg. One explanation of the club and dolphin image is that both symbols stand for Melqart-Herakles, the dolphin being associated with Melqart in Punic coin issues and representations. Here its combination with symbols of a horn of plenty and the caduceus associated with Hermes, a god associated with merchants, something found in both Greek and Punic traditions, could provide as striking a combination as Bes or Silenus with Apollo and the club and dolphin in terms of its international symbolism. (See now Quinn's identification of the caduceus on lower-quality markers in tophets from Carthage, 2018: 109). The cornucopia also appears alongside Melqart-Herakles on Sel9, 22-28, and with two other deities on combination sealings. A lady with a plait identified as a priestess of Isis carries one in Sel162, where she appears with the club and dolphin seal. This image is considered by Salinas to be an older image in the Greco-Persian tradition (1883: 486), while De Simone notes its appearance on seals from Eretria and Megalopolis in Greece (2008a: 36). On Sel8, a Tyche carries a cornucopia in a rounded oval border, an image De Simone recognises as popular in Hellenistic glyptic (*ibid.* 35), alongside the club and dolphin in its rounded square border plus a very small round border encircling the impression of a boot. This repeated occurrence of the symbol of the cornucopia on sealings from Selinunte will be addressed further below, since it is not remarked upon in the existing scholarship in terms of its appropriateness as an image on sealing objects.

It is striking that, although the link between the official seal and coin issue of Selinunte is accepted, and coin motifs from other communities have been identified on individual seals, there has been no suggestion that any of the sealings represent the official seal of a community featuring, for example, the ears of corn found on Sel9 or the horses which

feature so frequently on Carthaginian issues. Other Sicilian coin images comprise the club and thunderbolt of Sel41-2 and the eagle of Sel161. Another suggestion might be that use of an image from a coin identified the owner of that seal with the community on whose coin the image appeared. This might, perhaps, not make an individual using the image of the Agathoklean Nike at a trophy on Sel165 terribly popular in Punic Selinunte. It is notable that here we find both individual sealings using coin images, as on Sel36 which features a dog found on western Sicilian coinage along with a cornucopia found across the island (also seen in Carthage on other media, Peters, 2004: 245) and on Sel50. This choice of image also has implications for the dating of the sealing in question. What can be stated here is that for the following sealings, making use of images found on contemporary or older coinage was seen as appropriate for the selection of the seal impression chosen by an individual to represent themselves on a public document: Sel41 (club, thunderbolt, lion from Sicilian and Tarsus coins), 51 (cornucopia), 161 (eagle), 164 (monstrous figure, recognised from Himeran coinage), 165 (corn, an especially west Sicilian motif).

Salinas' catalogue, following glyptic scholarly tradition, published only individual seal images. Later scholars continued this approach, only addressing the full object when it contained two mythological examples. The discussion above has demonstrated that consideration of the combinations of seal images appearing on the sealings reveals a far more complex picture of encounters between representations associated with different communities or recognised as globalised images. It also highlights the effect of placing the official seal images, both of which represent Melqart-Herakles, next to the choices of private individuals, who often chose another version of Melqart-Herakles as their seal. The implications of these juxtapositions on this form of object will be addressed in 5.4.

5.3.3 How else does Herakles appear at this period?

i) at Selinunte ii) on third-century Sicily iii) on third-century sealings elsewhere?

In addition to Sel43 included in this research, the only other images of Herakles from Selinunte identified are the coinage issues discussed in relation to the official seal and images from temple architecture. Bonnet (cited in Helas, 2011: 127) proposed a cult statue of Herakles-Melqart in the temple, but there is no physical evidence to support this. Were this to be the case, the association with the Melqart network proposed by Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn (loc. cit) would be strengthened. Herakles (Melqart is not proposed for the following examples) is projected as wrestling with the Cretan bull on a fragmentary

metope from temple Y; the position of the bull suggests a strikingly different treatment from that on the official seal (Marconi, 1994: 114). Two further metopes show him wrestling with an Amazon on Temple E (ibid. 119) and on Temple C itself he appears carrying the Kerkopes (ibid. 117). None of these representations appear on seal impressions from the cache in the details of their content, nor in their pose. In terms of Herakles' appearance, the archaic Temple C metope depicts a distinctly chunky Herakles with braided hair, not mirrored on a sealing, perhaps considered too old-fashioned to feature on a fourth-third-century seal. The Temple Y metope is too damaged for comment. The Temple E metope shows Herakles as a short-haired, muscular young man, with lionskin knotted at his throat. Sel43 also wears the lionskin in this way and shows a muscular physique, but on a slim frame. We can conclude that no seal creator or buyer chose to recreate the extant scenes from temple architecture on seals known from the cache. All images suggest a powerful figure, and several (notably the two groups identified in 5.3.1 above) recall the short-haired figure of Temple E in the head. These groups also favour a notably slim, youthful impression of Herakles, perhaps also seen on Sel43, and noticeable on the official seal.

When comparing the representation of Melqart-Herakles on sealings with the other examples of objects from the third century discussed in Chapter 3, little correspondence beyond the general appearance of Herakles as a naked, powerful, usually young man can be found. His appearance with vessels (Ag1 and P6), and on vessels (Ag1, M13-17, L14) recalls Sel9, 18-20, 22-26, 31 and is notable in light of Bobou's recent comments on the increase in the motif of banqueting gods in the Hellenistic period (2017: 189). When comparing other images found on sealing objects (ring Sic1 or scarabs Sy2,6,10-12, P5), we find that all but one of these objects depicts Labour Narratives, a theme which only appears once in the Selinunte cache. Sel460 and Sic1 both show Herakles and the Lion, but the depictions vary in pose and in particular the detail of the winged figure crowning Herakles; all other examples are associated with Etruscan production. The numbers are too small to draw conclusions about the Lion Labour being a popular Sicilian representation.

Site/ Region, information source	Number of Herakles or Herakles-Melqart examples	Next most popular deity, number of examples
Etruscan scarabs Zazoff (1968)	238	Hermes, Paris: 16
Carthage Berges (1997), Redissi (1999)	103 of 4025 sealings	Athena 31, Hermes 28 Isis 19, Bes 16 (numbers of iconographical types, not individual examples)
Phoenician scarabs Boardman (2003)	7 iconographical types, 48 individual examples ⁷	sea deities (various): 63 Bes: 13 iconographical types Hermes: 7
Corycian Cave, Delphi Zagdoun (1984)	7 of 326 seal images	Apollo, Dionysos <7
Delos (Boussac: 1992)	see text below	

figure 5.3.3. Comparison of Herakles examples with other deities on seal images

Sealing objects have survived in large numbers from sites across the Mediterranean (cf. Plantzos, 1999: 23-32), with contemporary sealing caches published from Carthage and Delos, Etruscan and Phoenician scarabs published by Zazoff (1968) and Boardman (2003), and a number of rings surviving from the Corycian Cave at Delphi (Zagdoun, 1984). With the exceptions of sites associated with Greece, Delos and Delphi, Herakles (Melqart is again not mentioned) is by far the most popular human or divine figure on surviving representations (see figure 5.3.3). At Carthage we find 103 of the 4,025 (Rakob, 1997: 12) sealings depicting Herakles or Herakles-Melqart in Berges' catalogue of the 'Greek' sealings (1997: 79); however, these numbers are much smaller than the numbers of Egyptian and Egyptianising sealings which include deities such as Horus, Isis (19 Egyptianising types) and Bes (16 types) in Redissi's catalogue of the 'oriental' sealings (Rakob, 1999: 4-92). Boardman records 48 examples of 7 Herakles (sic) types appearing on Phoenician scarabs from sites across the Mediterranean, although he notes that those listed under the titles 'warriors' (158 examples) or 'hunters' may also have been inspired by Herakles images (2003: 92). Although there are 63 examples of sea deities, these depict a variety of different mythological figures, Bes appears in 13 types. Apart from Hermes (cf 3.1.3 where his association with Herakles is noted), who features on 9 examples apparently in the same image, Herakles is the only figure from classical mythology who appears on these Phoenician scarabs (ibid. 17)

⁷ Boardman notes that 158 types of 'warrior' and 'hunter' may also have been inspired by Herakles images (2003: 92).

The Corycian Cave at Delphi reveals the rings, rather than the sealings they created, but includes 326 examples of seal images from fourth to third-century Greece. Herakles or his club here feature 7 times, more popular than other deities (even Apollo and Dionysos to whom Delphi was sacred), but less frequent than images of human figures, male or female (Zagdoun, 1984: 210-250). At Delos, another site sacred to Apollo, Herakles does not appear in the list of deities detailed in the project's prologue, perhaps suggesting that he does not appear as frequently as elsewhere (Boussac, 1992: xi). However we do find a familiar scene on sealings of Apollo, discussed below. Comparison of sealing objects from contemporary sites around the Mediterranean therefore suggests that Herakles appeared consistently on sealing objects, in a variety of representations. He appears more frequently on objects associated with the Etruscans and Punic-Phoenicians, along with the deities Bes, Isis and Horus, than he does at sites in the Greek world. Despite the contexts attributed to these examples, the figure is consistently recognised as Herakles, rather than Hercle or Melqart.

Herakles/ Herakles-Melqart image	Comparison 1 Site/ Region	Comparison 1 Reference	Comparison 2 Site/ Region	Comparison 2 Reference	Other
with lion Sel460	Phoenician	Boardman 32A	Carthage 8 examples	Rakob 594- 601	31 of 48 further Phoenician examples
with hind, no Selinunte example	Carthage (Etruscan)	Rakob 574	Syracuse Mus (Etruscan)	Sy6	
at lion-headed fountain no Selinunte example	Palermo Mus (Etruscan)	Zazoff 55	Carthage (Etruscan)	Rakob 573	Etruscan mirror <i>CSE It I</i> : 39, Sicilian sculpture Marconi, 1999: 293
with hydra, no Selinunte example	Carthage	Boardman 32G	Utica	Boardman 32G	
with Amazon, no Selinunte example	Carthage	Rakob 593			
running/ sparring Sel	Carthage 8 examples	Rakob 578-585			
standing Sel13-15, 17	Carthage 27 examples	Rakob 603-629			
seated Sel32-33	Carthage 6 examples	Rakob 630- 635			
head, no Selinunte example	Carthage 4 examples	Rakob 266- 269			
leaning back with accessories Sel9, Sel22-28, Sel31	Delos 58 examples of Apollo				

figure 5.3.4. Comparison of Herakles/ Herakles-Melqart sealing images

As noted above and in chapter 3, there are some examples of Labour Narratives on the extant Etruscan scarab-seals from Sicily, and this trend is also found on Punic-Phoenician examples, although the manner of rendering the images is rather different. Etruscan examples of this period invariably use a schematic style, named *a globolo*, consisting of dots and lines; Punic-Phoenician examples are less consistent in approach, varying from upright, stiff examples with a triangular body on Phoenician examples from the sixth-fourth centuries such as Herakles (sic) with a Lion (Boardman, 2003: no. 32/35) to more realistically rendered fifth-century Punic examples of a Herakles-Melqart whose powerful torso is emphasised (Rakob, 1997: no. 592). Examples of Etruscan *a globolo* style images are found in the Carthage hoard, such as Herakles pulling back the hind's antlers on an example reminiscent of Sy6 (ibid. no. 574), as well as an image of Herakles at a lion-headed fountain (ibid. no. 573), reminiscent of Sel22, which also appears on an Etruscan scarab seal-stone dating slightly earlier than the research period, now held at the Palermo Museum (Zazoff, 1968: 55), as well as on different media; Etruscan mirrors (*CSE Italia 1*: 39) and an archaic aedicola from Colle Madore on Sicily (Marconi, 1999: 293-305).

31 of the 48 Phoenician examples recorded in Boardman's catalogue⁸ depict Herakles fighting a lion, in a variety of poses, sometimes already wearing the lionskin (Boardman, 2003: 32A), which suggests that the need to identify him was more important than what modern scholarship would consider the canonical artistic representation of scenes of the Labours. The popularity of lion combats on other representations in this tradition may well have contributed to this scene's predominance (ibid. 38-39). The only other Labour Narrative featuring on these examples is the Hydra. The Labours are less frequent on examples from Carthage, with 8 examples of Herakles (sic) wrestling the lion (Rakob, 1997: nos. 594-601) and one example of Herakles and an Amazon (ibid. no. 593). More popular is Herakles alone, often running or perhaps sparring (ibid. nos. 578-585), standing (ibid. nos. 603-629) or seated (ibid. nos. 630-635) in poses for which statuary prototypes, sometimes via coin issues, are proposed (ibid. 171, 176). There are also 4 examples of Herakles' head (ibid. nos. 266-269), three of which are considered to derive from coin prototypes, with two recalling Herakles-Alexander issues (ibid. 125). Although we find similar examples grouped together in the catalogues under types, no two sealing images from the Etruscan or Punic-Phoenician examples are identical, with small elements of the pose or accessories being used to differentiate images. It is also notable (cf Stage 5 above) that it is the rule, rather than the exception, for Berges (in Rakob 1997) to catalogue the Carthage sealings as indistinct or smeared, suggesting that a clean, pin-sharp image of the sealing was not required for the sealing process. Herakles appears on 4 of the 24 examples from the 'Greek' Carthage sealings which include more than one impression; the majority are single impressions, which implies a difference in sealing practice to Selinunte. Herakles and Herakles-Melqart are two different designations in this material.

The cataloguing of sealing objects in the tradition of Tassie's catalogues invariably still ensures that the reader is at the mercy of the cataloguer when comparing images, which are grouped under mythological themes and even by deity. The group of sealings Sel9, 22-28, 31 discussed in 5.3.1 above and identified as Melqart-Herakles by the appearance of his club and sometimes a lionskin find a number of comparisons in sealings from Delos (Boussac, 1992: nos. 318-375). These, however, are listed as Apollo, not Herakles, due to accessories such as the tripod and the luxuriant hair characteristic of Apollo. The two sets of images recall one another in the pose of the main figure, in three-quarter view, facing to the viewer's left, with the weight on the back leg and often leaning on a support. It is the

⁸ examples are listed from Ibiza, Tharros, Carthage, Cagliari, Ibiza and Monte Luna

details of the pose and accessories that vary. An explanation for this phenomenon will be offered in 5.4 below. A comparable split is apparent in the Carthage sealings, which were divided into two groups, 'Greek' ones published in *Karthago II* by Berges (Rakob, 1997) and 'oriental' ones in *III* by Redissi (Rakob, 1999); both catalogues include examples of Herakles-Melqart, although only one example (*ibid.* no. 211) is noted in Redissi.

This evidence suggests that Herakles (*sic*) was represented far more frequently on sealing objects associated with Etruscan and Phoenicio-Punic traditions than Greek ones, in a wide variety of poses and with different accessories. He was more likely to be depicted alone than as a head or in a narrative scene; with one exception from Delphi (Zagdoun, 1984: 244), there are no examples of his club alone being shown, such as we see on Sel41-2 or the official seal of Selinunte. When Labour Narratives are depicted, invariably the Lion is the one chosen, often in a manner that recalls other eastern traditions on Phoenician and some Punic examples. Those using seals in Selinunte did not choose representations associated with the iconography on the acropolis temples, but there is some consistency in the youthful, slim figure who appears on two groups of sealings with the official seal and the statuette Sel43. The manner of sealing practice at Selinunte appears to contrast with that at Carthage. The cataloguing tradition has restricted the modern view of sealing image choices by grouping images under the labels of individual mythological figures, arranged within different traditions. There is some evidence that certain image frameworks, such as the Apollo or Herakles leaning on a support, may have been considered particularly suitable for the medium of sealing objects.

5.3.4. With what communities was Herakles associated on these sealings? Does this suggest the choices were 'on the edge'?

As outlined in Stage 2-3 above, associations with different communities can be made by interrogation of more than the image chosen on a seal. The material and nature of the sealing object and the way in which it was used could also create associations with other traditions. In reconstructing the realities of life in Selinunte during the Punic control of the fourth and third centuries, scholars have made use of the function and imagery of the official seal, as well as choices of individual seal images, by considering pin-sharp, idealised versions of the different images catalogued according to the principles of glyptic catalogues.

The vast majority of the Carthage sealings show individual images; only 24 feature two images (Rakob, 1997: 79) and these do not appear to share the same form of flattened clay strip as the Selinunte examples. The Carthage examples also lack a repeated image comparable to the official seals of Selinunte. This suggests that the archive system of Selinunte did not recall that of its colonial controller, Carthage. Without an illustrated catalogue of the Selinunte sealings it is impossible to gauge whether the proportion of blurred or indistinct impressions noted in the Carthage catalogues matched that of Selinunte, and thus whether it was the act of impressing the seal or the precise record of the seal impression that was more important at the two archives.

Rather than focusing only on individual seal impressions, further consideration of the entire sealing objects from Selinunte reveals associations between communities previously overlooked. 5.3.2 above shows how images associated with particular traditions combine on the sealings, giving an impression of greater interaction between different communities than can be achieved when the impressions are considered separately. This, however, is to assume a simple correlation between an impression and the tradition which is perceived to have created it; as demonstrated in 1.3.3 and by the story of Kallista. This may not work in practice. Bisi notes that sealings of Thutmosis III in the Carthage hoard might create associations of 'antiquity and sacred nature' in the viewer (1986: 297) which could supersede any association with Egypt. De Simone has demonstrated that a number of the sealing images had become globalised images (2008a: 33); this would suggest that someone choosing them was not making an association with (usually) the Greek community, but with other factors, such as élite or trade networks. It may even be, in practical terms, that some representations were simply more suited to being used on the small space of a sealing object, as the discovery of similar images in different caches of sealing objects suggests. In this light, how do we read the group of Sel9, 22-28, 31, rendered in the Greek tradition and found on Delos, but there in association with another deity and bearing the different symbol of a cornucopia? Furthermore, the figure on this group recalls the figure of the Selinunte archive's official seal in its appearance. It is easy to overlook the 'home' community when looking for associations between groups, but we should note that the owners of any seal depicting a club, a dolphin, or Melqart-Herakles are immediately making the same choice as that made by the civic authorities of Selinunte for their personal marker. Often viewers would see the marks of these two seal impressions alongside one another on the same strip of clay, encountering the mark of a third impression as they did so.

Choices of both practice and representation must be interrogated when considering the associations made with different communities by creators and buyers of sealing objects, not overlooking the home community. These communities may be different from the ethnic communities so far proposed in scholarship.

5.4 Why did Herakles appear on these objects?

Scholarship on the ‘official seals’, which depict Melqart-Herakles and the Bull or a club and dolphin, has used the information from individual object biographies to explain the production and function of the seals. This has been combined with numismatic evidence to demonstrate how these two images form the choice of the governing Carthaginians in representing their authority over legal and business transactions in Selinunte in the fourth-third centuries BC. Whether or not Temple C was a temple to Melqart forming part of a Carthaginian system of control over western colonies (compare, now, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn, 2018), which made use of the syncretism between Herakles (already established as a symbol of Greek Selinunte) and Melqart, it has been established that the choice of image on the official seal stands for Selinunte to those using the facilities of the archive.

I contend that by applying a similar approach to the sealings as objects, we can draw conclusions about the choices of those using these facilities. This opportunity has so far been overlooked because of the tendency of scholars to consider the sealings as a collection of individual images of arguably trivial iconography (Plantzos, 1999: 24) contributing mainly to our knowledge of the images available to Sicilian Hellenistic sealers, a tendency encouraged by the publication of Salinas’ catalogue of images, rather than objects. Melqart-Herakles, the most popular figure in the cache, provides a valid case study to investigate this issue, with the further possibility of examining the relationship between his appearance on private and public seals, thus giving an insight into the relationship between individuals and the authorities of Selinunte.

5.3.3 established the popularity of Herakles’ image on sealing objects associated with communities across the Mediterranean. A sealer offering this figure would be confident of a sale from mainland Greece to North Africa and on islands in between. Encouraged by the art historical scholarly tradition of glyptic catalogues and typologies of mythological representations, some image frameworks have been identified which sealers may have considered particularly suitable for use on the small space of sealing images. Here the function of seals must be emphasised. As demonstrated by the interrogation of the imagery on the official seal of Selinunte, which depicts Melqart-Herakles and the Bull or a club and dolphin, along with its function as a mark which represented the civic authority of the community on public documents, a private seal exists

to embody one individual's personal authority. It is therefore crucial that the image on the seal can be individually identified; this precludes exact repetition of the same image on seals held by different people. Thus we find variants in pose and accessories even when an image may be popular as a framework for sealsmiths or consumers, something overlooked when these images are listed under types.

As this research has shown, however, sealsmiths were not struggling for ways to differentiate images of Melqart-Herakles at Selinunte, hence we find examples such as Sel460, 160, 16-17, 21, 29, 32-35 where the only points of comparison are his standard identifiers; powerful physique (even when older, cf. Sel17, 32), club and lionskin. Here we may posit artistic creativity or the projection of aspects of personal identity by the consumer as reasons for the choice, noting the different identities of warrior, athlete, or older figure mentioned in 5.3.1. Given the available variety, which must include the form of the sealing object as well as its representation, the two groups of images sharing a framework identified in 5.3.1, as well as Sel42, represent a deliberate choice on the part of those using the seals in the context of the public archive at Selinunte to evoke one of the official seals in their representation of a notably slim, youthful Melqart-Herakles or the knobby club. This evocation would have been emphasised by the juxtaposition of the two seal impressions on the sealing strip, a feature which is overlooked when the individual images are published in image catalogues, and would have, by extension, underlined the difference of any other sealing on the strip in image and execution. The other elements in the image added to or varied from the standard framework then stand out: vessels, cornucopiae, and a caduceus. These may be popular, globalised images, but the choice of these particular images could evoke feasting, plenty and the god of commerce. When seen in the context of a public archive at an international port which acted as a centre for the collection of tithes by Carthage, it is possible to suggest that some users of the archive were choosing to align themselves with the authorities who chose the official seals in gratitude for the trading and economic benefits the Carthaginian authorities provided, perhaps celebrating this bounty at feasts.

5.5 Did individuals from communities using these objects remain ‘on the edge’ during this period?

There are two elements cannot be addressed from the current state of the published evidence: diachronic trends and Roman influence. No attempt has been made to consider the date of the individual sealings nor of the creation of the object effecting the impressions upon them, as Berges and Redissi have attempted in the Carthage publications. It is impossible to judge how long documents would have been curated by the archive without the evidence of the documents themselves. Prof D. Mattingly observes that the curation of documents under seal suggests the need for them to remain with seals and string unbroken to be consulted at a later date. The use of older seals would therefore imply use within – rather than across- - generations. It is therefore prudent to consider the cache as evidence for the archive as it existed in 250/249, with the system and users at that date, rather than for the entire period of Carthaginian control from 409. No scholar has proposed that any sealing suggests Roman influence; this must therefore comprise the association made between the destruction of the archive by fire and the abandonment of Selinunte by its population in the face of Roman advances in 250/249.

This interrogation of the sealings’ object biography and the comparison with similar examples has indicated that, in terms of the sealings as objects, the community at Selinunte did occupy a position on the edge of external powers in the third century, a position best emphasised by the association with western Sicily that was established by Salinas’ display of the objects in the museum at Palermo. Stages 3, 5, 7 and 15 above suggest that a dual or combination system existed in the archive, encompassing two official seals and two types of document. An alternative explanation is a change in system⁹. This system is not consistent with the system found at the temple of Baal-Tanit in Carthage, despite the control exerted over Selinunte by Carthage. Comparison of the seal images of Melqart-Herakles from the two temples also reveals differences in choice of image and execution.

Consideration of the choices made on individual seal images has been encouraged by the publication of Salinas’ image, not object, catalogue. This has resulted in some scholarship (see 5.3.2) in external associations being identified by the assumption that a ‘Greek’ image was chosen by a ‘Greek’ individual, while isolated examples indicate the presence of individuals from Phoenician, Punic and near Eastern communities in the archive, along

⁹ I am grateful to Prof. D. Mattingly for this suggestion also.

with some examples of globalised images, which indicate Selinunte's role in the transmission of images from the east to west Mediterranean. To an extent, this has encouraged a Greek-Carthaginian polarity in the scholarship, perhaps still reflecting the influence of Diodorus' narrative and found in the tendency of museums to label the objects as 'Phoenician/ Carthaginian'. The combinations of images and their relationship to the official seal have rarely been considered. This research has suggested that a more nuanced approach should be adopted, problematising the question of external influences which was originally raised by Salinas in his identification of Sardinian-produced, Egyptianising seal images: would these seals have indicated the owner was Egyptian, Sardinian, someone with access to goods traded internationally or having another identity? Comparison with images from other caches in 5.3 suggests that images may have been chosen as appropriate to a particular medium, rather than indicating an artistic tradition, and that Melqart-Herakles is the most striking example of images which appear across the Mediterranean. As demonstrated by stage 12, it is modern scholarship which has identified external associations on the images of individual seal impressions, but without fully integrating the evidence of the complete objects, their biography or context.

This research suggests that the context of the Selinunte sealings and the combination of systems suggested by their object biography together indicate that the users of the archive at Selinunte worked within a local system that was part of a wider Carthaginian control system (again, compare now, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn, 2018, on the network of Melqart temples as the mechanism for this system). The system implies literacy, and thus education, along with access to international trade, factors which may have been considered more relevant than the community to which users combining their seals belonged, when placing their avatars on documents recording transactions. One group of users, however, chose to emphasise their group identity by aligning themselves with the authorities controlling this system by their choice of a Melqart-Herakles image.

5.6 How does this case study relate to Sicily's excavation history and been shaped by it? How does understanding of object biography and context change scholarly labels? What can these new conclusions add to our understanding?

The sealings from Selinunte emerged during efforts to 'clear' material considered extraneous to the accepted understanding of the layout of one of the Greek temples which formed a key part of Sicily's contribution to knowledge of the classical world. In this case, evidence of non-Greek occupation of the temple was quite literally cleared away. While the need to establish Sicily's position as part of the Greek world shows no signs of abating, as demonstrated by the two most recent Anglophone museum exhibitions, the sealings represent an example of the more complex reality of life in ancient Sicily. This complexity and diversity was well understood by the sealings' publisher, Antonio Salinas, whose knowledge of both the Punic-Phoenician and classical worlds allowed him to show how these objects were uniquely placed to inform the modern world of practices in different communities, not simply classical ones. His 1873 speech *Del Museo Nazionale di Palermo e del suo avvenire*, delivered at the start of his directorship of the museum, highlighted the diversity (*quella mirabile diversità*) of the communities and history across Sicily which new finds could bring to light (Crisà, 2012: 11), a speech we may take as evidence for Salinas' approach to the study of - and the potential offered by - the material in his remit at a time when Sicily was seeking to establish its identity as an equal part of a newly-unified Italy. It is striking how consistent appears Salinas' approach of broadening 'our general understanding of the life of the ancients' (1883: 474) with the aims of both excavators at Selinunte (cf. Greco and Cusumano in Tusa, 2010: 9, 11) and recent collaborations between the Assessorato dei Beni Culturali and the British Museum, which highlight *'the ability to communicate with different peoples and cultures'* (2016: 6) as Sicily's unique selling point in classical heritage and Selinunte's role as a 'tra mondi e identità culturali differenti' (Cusumano, 2010, 11).

This focus on the life of the city stands in somewhat ironic juxtaposition with another tendency in Sicilian excavation history, that of focusing on the destructive encounter between civilisations, already noted for Selinunte at the start of this chapter, and consistent with the other two case studies in this research. This focus invariably emphasises the destruction of the familiar, easily catalogued, aesthetic world of Greek settlers, their attitude to indigenous settlers notwithstanding, by Carthaginians or Romans. The

publication and subsequent scholarship of the Selinunte sealings can be seen to encapsulate this approach in the way in which it focuses on the idealised catalogue of individual seal impressions and the imagery of the official seal as a rather beautiful collection of images which reflect simple aesthetic choices. Cavallari's register of images may have been an incorrect reading of the sealings themselves, but it accurately reflects modern scholarship's attitude to them.

As indicated by flowchart 5.1, the scholarship on the sealings revolves around Salinas' excavation and publication of the cache, but can send scholars in one of two directions which only combine in the discussion of the official seal as object and image, revealing civic artistic choices in the context of Selinunte's destruction in 249. For those scholars considering the sealings as objects, greater understanding of their context has emphasised their place in an archive, labelled either as a temple (De Simone 2008a: 31) or as Carthaginian (or both) (Zoppi, 1996: 333). Studies of the images have generally maintained the idea of the predominance of the Greek tradition, and therefore of Greeks using the archive, but have adjusted this to take account of the Carthaginian context by considering labels such as syncretism and globalisation (De Simone, 2008a: 31), without moving away from the idea of artistic tradition indicating the individual's community. The present research proposes the importance of the catalogue's publication context in establishing this tendency. The different contexts of the sealings' discovery and publication have therefore resulted in a greater understanding of the personal artistic choices of individuals and the function and civic artistic choice of Selinunte in the third century BC. This material evidence for the choices of individuals using the Selinunte archive can therefore provide evidence for the local adoption of the 'network of Melqart' through his temples proposed recently by Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Quinn (2018) from the civic choices documented in literary and numismatic evidence.

This research proposes that consideration of the object biography, the inner circle, of the sealings can also inform our understanding of why individuals making use of the Selinunte archive chose particular images for their seals, and how this archive system worked. It has established that the sealings represent encounters between individuals choosing seals with images from a variety of traditions, in transactions which reflect international practice in an international port, recorded on documents that imply at least functional literacy. The question of what, if any, association was made by the creator or buyer of a sealing object displaying globalised execution of imagery should be interrogated more carefully.

Evidence in this chapter has suggested that the sealings reflect a complex reality, just as the events surrounding the destructions of Selinunte involved more complex machinations within the community than a simple reading of ancient historical narratives might suggest, so the biography and context of the sealings reveal a more complex system of artistic choices, control and transactions between individuals using the archive. This is more in keeping with the diverse picture of Carthaginian-controlled Selinunte revealed by the most recent excavations, too often overlooked as a period of decline after the destruction of the Greek settlement with its beautiful temples. New research, which considers the evidence of each sealing for the system it used and combination of seal impressions it bears, without focusing on cataloguing an idealised representation against a known bank of images, can therefore shed further light on the realities of life for those buyers of seals who used the archive, as well as the demands this placed on those producing the seal images they carried. The importance of contextualising humble clay representations of Herakles from eastern Greek-Sicilian communities was demonstrated for mould-made objects in the previous case study; here the insights offered by impressed clay strips have been highlighted for the Carthaginian west of the island. The final case study will consider what the clay objects bearing Herakles reveal about the inhabitants of an inland settlement under the aegis of Syracuse during the Roman takeover.

Chapter 6 – Case Study 3: The site of Morgantina

6.1 Why has this case study been chosen?

The 16 objects bearing representations of Herakles from the site at Morgantina have been chosen to allow consideration of the choices made by individuals at one site, across the centuries either side of the Roman takeover (see 2.3.1, 3.1.i and 3.1.iii for the implication of small numbers in the data-set). The theatrical objects discussed in Chapter 4 interrogated a themed representation recurring in sites across eastern Sicily as part of social institutions; the sealings at Selinunte from Chapter 5 identified the choices for one type of object at one site in western Sicily which was part of international networks. Morgantina allows us to demonstrate different themes and objects at one site. It is of particular value due to two factors: its identity, as a community under the aegis of Syracuse during the reign of Hieron II, as a ‘friend and ally’ of the Roman people during the third century BC, and its excavation in the last few decades as, initially, the graduate training dig for Princeton University, published in the *Morgantina Studies* series. Despite the scholarly tendency identified in 2.1.2 to view Sicily as a bridge between Greece and Rome, relatively little focus has been placed on material culture from the period after the Roman takeover. Morgantina provides some evidence of this nature depicting Herakles, in contrast to sites such as Gela, Lipari and Selinunte where community life is considered to have ceased with Rome’s arrival.

Historical Context

Morgantina, or Murgantia/ Murgentia in Livy, appears in Greek and Roman historical sources in extended passages owing to its role in Douketios’ Sikel movement in the fifth century, supporting Agathokles’ rise to power in Syracuse in 317, and the events of 215-211 which saw Rome eventually taking control of Hieron II’s Syracusan sphere of influence in eastern Sicily. The latter events have a direct bearing on this research.

Livy (XXIV.36.10) mentions that in 215 the community ‘betrayed’ a Roman garrison occupying Morgantina, which served as a storage facility for Roman grain, after its ‘capture’ by the Carthaginian forces of Himilco. The Roman general Pinarius shortly afterwards describes the garrison’s treatment there as butchery (ibid. XXIV.38.4) as he

incites his troops, in a speech which directly invokes Ceres and Proserpina, to the slaughter of local people in the theatre at Enna, an event which prompted neighbouring communities to side with Carthage (ibid. XXIV.39.10). In 211, after the Roman capture of Syracuse, Morgantina again sided with the Carthaginians following Marcellus' return to Rome, and was subdued, along with other rebellious cities, by the praetor Marcus Cornelius. Thereafter it was 'selected' as the land awarded to Rome's *Hispani* allies under Moericus (ibid. XXVI.21.15-17).

With the exception of fleeting references in Strabo and Pliny to founding heroes of Morgantina and its disappearance as a community, just as Strabo describes Selinunte, there are no further direct references to Morgantina in historical sources. Our understanding of its political situation is therefore based on an assumption that it was subject to the same conditions as other communities under Syracuse's influence before the Roman takeover in 212/1 (see Prag, 2007: 72 for further scholarly examples of assumptions of the Roman control of Sicily), and afterwards under the jurisdiction of Moericus and the *Hispani* under Rome. No explicit account of the means by which Syracuse, and later Rome, influenced or controlled eastern Sicilian communities on a day-to-day basis is extant in the ancient sources, aside from references to specific events involving armed forces or garrisons. We are therefore reliant on the evidence of civic buildings and numismatics (no public inscriptions have been found) for information about the institutions which existed during this period in Morgantina, with the assumption that these relied on the patronage of contemporary external historical figures. Thus, the granary in the southern agora of the early third century is associated with Agathokles (*M.S.* VI: 8).

Archaeological Context

Morgantina is located in the hills of eastern central Sicily, in the modern region of Aidone, not far from Enna, one of the sites associated with the capture of Kore/ Proserpina by Hades and 50 miles from the east coast. Situated on the plateaux of two hills, the site was inhabited from prehistoric times until the first century AD, the initial site on the hill known as Cittadella until 459, followed by a Hellenistic community focused on the Serra Orlando hill (Stone, 2014: 7). The area between the two hills, now known as San Francesco Bisconti, features two sanctuaries (Raffiotta, 2008: 109). Springs rise on both hills. The site was initially dug briefly by Paulo Orsi's team from Syracuse in 1912 and was

recommended as a site of potential archaeological interest to Princeton by Luigi Bernabò Brea in the 1950s, when Sjöqvist and Stillwell were seeking a suitable location for training their graduate students (Antonaccio, 2015: 53). Its identification as the Morgantina of historical sources was not made until 1958, being established in an article in *AJA* by Erim on the basis of coin legends, a view now accepted in scholarship. Although a theatre and several public buildings have been identified, no monumental temple corresponding to those on the acropolis of Selinunte or other sites in Sicily has been located.

By tracing the biographies of objects from Morgantina bearing a representation of a figure of power, Herakles, in the period of its control by Greek Syracusan, Carthaginian and Hispanic Roman mercenaries, we may gain some insights into the artistic choices made by individuals in this context, and the identities these imply. This permits interrogation of the realities of living under a ‘friend and ally’ of the Roman people and the implications for local people when such a personal political link was ended. Prag has demonstrated the importance of the *gymnasion* as an example of an institution in which pre-Roman practice continued as a means of supporting the new Roman control (2007: 69). By considering the objects within the artistic, trading and social institutions and networks from which they derive, we can identify snapshots of the influences considered important on the ground in Morgantina during this period by those creating, using and depositing these objects.

Study of the objects from Morgantina therefore allows a critical evaluation of material from across a well-understood site, which includes objects dating from after the Roman takeover, at a site occupied by individuals from different communities. Consequently, it will address some of the questions raised by the previous two chapters concerning the importance of social institutions and votive practices, particularly with regard to the worship of Demeter and Kore, as well as the range and reach of artistic and trade influences on individuals in one inland community. Unlike the previous chapters, there is also the opportunity to look beyond a destructive Roman takeover.

6.2 What picture emerges from tracing the contextualised biography of objects depicting Herakles from Morgantina?

Unlike the data from the previous chapters, published objects from Morgantina depicting Herakles, although all made from clay, employed a range of production techniques, so compiling a composite object biography of the type used above is unrealistic. Individual biographies are provided in the Appendix. The following discussion therefore follows the methodology of Peña (2007) in discussing the objects' biographies in broader stages: manufacture and distribution, use, and deposition, with the addition of publication and display. The different influences are still identified within these broader stages.

The material from Morgantina comprises two terracotta figurines (M1, M3), two appliqué decorations for vessels (M2, M15), two terracotta masks (M4-5) and fragments of ten clay vessels of varying types (M6-14, M16). M9 and M16 are *terra sigillata* vessels dated to the first century AD, included here to show choices during the Roman period. Two types of vessel (M6-8, M10-14) recur. It should be noted that Herakles does not appear on the silver vessels from the Morgantina hoard, nor have catalogues of objects made from materials other than clay been published. *MS II* catalogues the coins, which, as civic choices, are not considered individually in this research (see 2.3.1).

Stage One Manufacture and Distribution

Fabric

As already noted, all of the objects representing Herakles from Morgantina are made from clay. The majority were created from what is described by the excavators as Fabric I, almost certainly local clay, although it is possible that it derived from Leontinoi or Catania (Stone, 2014: 409). The three vessels dated to the Republican period (i.e. after 211) were of imported fabric: a 'soft fine yellowish-brown' for M15 consistent with vessels from Anatolia, while clay from Arretium is assumed for M9 and M16 from the vessels' attribution to *terra sigillata* workshops. M15 was previously associated with Pergamon. This serves to place the objects of local clay under the label of provincial manufacture, while the Anatolian and *terra sigillata* objects are considered as part of a workshop system influencing or defining artistic choices across the Mediterranean. No attempt has been made by Stone to identify 'masters' of vessels M6-8 or M10-14 within Morgantina.

While figurines and masks only appear at the site in locally made terracotta, the vessels M6-8 and M10-15 all have silver counterparts in the Morgantina hoard, which is understood to have been buried in 211 (Stone, 2014: 458). They therefore represent a choice to buy the cheaper, terracotta version of these vessels. One mask from the site not representing Herakles was made of Syracusan fabric (Bell, 1981: 69), suggesting that the option of purchasing imported versions of this object was available before 211.

The raw materials used to create objects bearing Herakles at Morgantina therefore suggest that individuals were creating and acquiring objects with his image made locally in the years before 211, but the slight evidence after this date is all of external provenance.

Form and Decoration

The forms of the objects in this dataset, along with their decoration and external finish, were effected in a different order depending on the individual objects, as indicated above. All necessitated the use of a stamp or mould at some stage, which suggests that multiple copies were made and in demand. Here the implications of the different forms and decoration chosen are discussed, without implying uniformity of practice. The production of masks and figurines may be compared with that outlined in Chapter 4.

Masks and figurines were created from moulds, which Bell attributed to Syracusan matrices or the use of Syracusan objects to create moulds (*M.S. I: 4*), eventually deriving from Athenian prototypes. However, he also draws comparisons between figurine M3 (unfortunately headless, but identified as Herakles) and both the L4 series from Lipari and a figure on Le1. Without the crucial head, comparison is very difficult, but we should note that the L4 series is considered to be a local Liparan type, thereby contradicting the notion of Syracusan influence, and that the figure with its legs crossed on Le1 is not Herakles. Unfortunately, no size is recorded for either the masks or the figurines, nor are the backs of the objects described or photographed, making comparison difficult with other examples in those aspects. The masks are fragmentary, but in their current state seem to be flat rather than curved in form, thus differing from the Lipari examples which appear deeper. M1 is not a theatrical representation but was also produced from a mould. The discovery of moulds for terracottas at Morgantina, along with the use of local clay, indicates the local production of these forms in the third century (*M.S. I: 24*).

Vessels M6-8 are recorded as medallion cups, having a stamped image of Herakles in the centre of the base, with grooves around this tondo image. This form appears in three silver examples in the Morgantina hoard (with different tondo images), as well as in terracotta in eastern Sicily after c. 250; it is considered to derive from Alexandria, with which Hieron II had close ties (*M.S.* VI: 232). This form is considered to have been a luxury vessel used in domestic or votive contexts (*ibid.* 237). Stamps for medallion cups of a gorgoneion have been found at Morgantina, suggesting local production of the type (*ibid.* 408). M10-14 likewise share a form with differently decorated vessels from the silver hoard as deep hemispherical cups with moulded feet. Twelve examples of this form have been found at Morgantina (*ibid.* 91), along with moulds for the shell feet used for this form, implying local production (*ibid.* 408). The moulded feet vary in their representation (discussed below) as well as their position on the base of the vessel, to which they would have been attached by luting. M11 has the mark of a stamp on its base, not found on other examples, suggesting that M10-14 may have been made by different craftsmen. This form appears at many sites in Greece, southern Italy and Sicily, without any origin being ascribed to it, and is understood to have been used for serving or drinking wine (*ibid.* 91, although see below on Use).

It is likely that M2 and M15 were appliqué decoration on vessels. No form is proposed for M2's vessel. M15 is described as coming from a kantharos, characteristic of metallic vessel forms from Anatolia, which would have been used for pouring wine. The *terra sigillata* vessels M9, 16 are both described in the *Conspectus* of this pottery's varying forms as a chalice or crater, which is used to date the vessels. Again, metallic precedents are understood (Bartoli *et al.*, 1984: 13). Vessels for pouring wine were available in the Republican red-gloss and Campania C wares produced in Morgantina and found alongside M15; however, local pottery production is believed to have ceased by the time M9, 16 were chosen.

The form of vessels can therefore be seen as one means by which external communities are evoked in scholarship. The fact that silver versions of two types of vessel representing Herakles have been found at Morgantina raises the question of whether those creating or acquiring clay versions of the forms were making connections with external or internal luxury trends. Comparisons between external examples of masks and figurines may be drawn, but differences have been identified in the form used for these local clay objects.

Decoration was added to all the vessels by means of a mould or stamp, while the masks and figurines acquired their individual features from their mould. As noted above and in Chapter 4, the production of the mould may be attributed externally; thus the terracotta figures M1-5 are associated with Syracusan production, M15 with Anatolian and M9 and M16, from both its mould and stamp, with Arretine production. Users of the mould and stamp for vessels differ between those attributed to the Hellenistic period (M6-8, 10-15) and the *terra sigillata* forms associated with Roman control; while the identification of stamps with names of workers on *terra sigillata* has demonstrated the presence of slaves in a workshop system, producers of Hellenistic vessels are more likely to be understood as 'local coroplasts', suggesting independent workers (*M.S.* I: 4). The details of the representations on the objects are discussed at 6.3 below. The variety of medallion stamps and moulded feet available suggests that Herakles was a conscious choice by the creator and user in Morgantina, but it is not possible to tell whether particular stamps or moulded feet were commissioned or selected from a range of options on sale (see 6.3.3).

All the objects from Morgantina would have been finished with colour or glaze before being fired. M3 retains some of the white slip which would have formed the base for further colours on the figurine, although those are now lost. Along with M1, M4-5 and examples from elsewhere in east Sicily from Chapter 4, these colours would have evoked the details of fabric and costume of the figures. Of the medallion and hemispherical bowls, all but one (M6) were dipped in a black gloss which presented a metallic appearance when fired; M6 has a red gloss, although it is made from the same stamp as M7-8. M10-14, unusually at Morgantina (*M.S.* VI: 84) were double-dipped to ensure the base was covered.

Once dried, objects were fired, at which stage differences in the slips and glosses used in the production process would produce different finished articles. Wasters of medallion cups have been found in contexts indicating production of pottery at Morgantina in the third century (*ibid.* 408-9). Evidence for the production of pottery at the site in the last two centuries BC is detailed in *M.S.* III. This stage emphasises the local production of all types of clay objects representing Herakles at Morgantina both before and after the Roman takeover of the community, although the three vessels dating after 211 are attributed to overseas production for their object types. External associations are made for the creation of moulds for terracottas and masks, specifically the influence of Syracuse, although no direct comparisons are drawn with examples from that site.

The evidence noted above for the production of terracottas and vessels at Morgantina implies that the objects were then stored and sold at the site, and raises the possibility of direct contact and commissions between creators and buyers for all objects except M9 and M15-16. As stage three will indicate, half of the objects derive from sanctuary contexts, and therefore suggest that the worship of Demeter and Kore may have contributed to the demand for such products, as well as driving the choices of those creating them. M9, 15-6 were imported from Anatolia and Arretium, implying the existence of trade networks to Asia Minor in the first century BC and northern Italy at the turn of the millennium (see Distribution, below). Stone links the appearance of *terra sigillata* to Roman army veterans of the Battle of Actium settling in Sicily (*M.S.* VI: 175) who may have brought examples with them or arranged the supply of Italian products to sites on the island. All three objects would have required the transfer of the object from its producer to at least one trader, transport overseas to Sicily, and thence to Morgantina. Peña proposes trade in a variety of products by shopowners or travelling craftsmen and, from the evidence of shipwrecks like Cala Culip 4, shows that *terra sigillata* bearing different workshop stamps were carried together in a cargo that was sold off in small lots as the ship docked (2007: 36-7). The discovery of vessels created by C. Annius (M16) and the Perennii (M9) at Iaitas, Catania, and Syracuse as well as at Morgantina (Malfitana, 2004: 309-336) could indicate a trade route for products from these workshops.

The distribution of objects bearing Herakles at Morgantina therefore suggests the importance of the local community, particularly those worshipping Demeter and Kore, in the third century. By the first century, traders and creators overseas, as well as the Roman army, have become influential.

Stage Two

Use

Evidence for the use of the objects representing Herakles can be deduced from the form, display and wear of the objects themselves, although this should be set against the evidence of their find-spots discussed below. The implications of the form of the objects for their use were discussed above, but we should note the possibility that objects may have changed their use between sale and deposition. As noted in chapter four, masks M4-5 both have suspension holes, suggesting that they were placed on display against a wall at

some point in their biographies, although it is not suggested that they were suspended in the sanctuaries in which they were found. Bell proposed that figurines M1 and M3 stood on bases, as found on several figurines of goddesses and Eros from the site as well as other theatrical examples, which implies these objects were displayed for frontal viewing, but not suspension. Further evidence for their use requires discussion of the deposition of these objects (below).

The display of the image of Herakles on vessels can also inform our understanding of their use. The medallion vessels, M6-8, considered by their form to be luxury drinking vessels, feature the stamped representation of Herakles in the base of the bowl; the image would thus not have been revealed until the vessel had been drained. The deep hemispherical cups with moulded feet, M11-14, also considered to be for drinking or serving wine, depicted Herakles as the foot on which the vessel rested, but at this point he would appear upside-down, so the representation could only be viewed in detail when the cup was turned over. The later vessels, M9 and M16, both depict Herakles on the side of vessels, viewed with the rim uppermost. It is not possible to tell whether M2 and M15 followed the practice of the earlier or later vessels.

The relief nature of all of these objects has resulted in a degree of wear to all the representations, but it is particularly noticeable on the outer part of M2 and the foreheads and noses of M11-14, where the vessel would have rested on another surface. The same abrasion is not evident on M6-8, the inner part of a cup. This suggests that M11-14 had been repeatedly placed feet-down before their deposition.

This stage of the objects' biographies is the least clear, but we can suggest that the masks and vessels M6-8 and M10-14 had all been used before their deposition; perhaps the figurines as well. The details of that use remain conjectural based on the objects themselves, but point to a demand for theatrical objects that were displayed permanently by suspension and for luxury vessels used in a context where a liquid, probably wine, was offered or drunk in some quantities by individuals using the same form of vessel in the years before the Roman takeover.

Stage Three

Deposition and Excavation

Image removed for copyright

figure 6.2.1 site plan of Morgantina (Stone, 2014: figure 1)

The find-spots of several of the objects representing Herakles imply a use different from those identified in the previous stage, although we should note that it is not always clear that objects were deliberately deposited in the places from which they were excavated. Half of the examples were found in sanctuaries: M1, 3-4, 6-8, 10-11 in the North Sanctuary and M5 in the intramural San Francesco sanctuary. They are therefore understood as votive dedications at these sanctuaries in the third century, although we should note that all but M1 and M4-5 derive from material dumped over the North Sanctuary during what Stone describes as ‘clean-up’ operations after the events of 211, among which some later material is found. The terracottas M1 and M3-5 are explicitly discussed as ‘votive terracottas’ by Bell in *M.S. I* and Stone also associates the medallion wares of the type of M6-8 as votive offerings owing to the number found in this context (Stone, 2014: 245). A

further example of a hemispherical bowl with Herakles represented as the moulded foot was found in a tomb dating to the first half of the third century, but was not published in the catalogue (Stone, pers. comm.). Unlike the comparable objects at Lipari, there is no suggestion that these votives were deliberately smashed by the community who offered them; rather, the damage to them and their find-spot is identified as the result of ‘the events of 211’, that is the Roman recapture of Morgantina and its handing over to the control of the Hispani under Moericus.

Bearing in mind the caveats of the dump contexts, we can identify choices in the deities and theatrical objects depicted on objects in the sanctuaries before 211. M1 and M4 were found in rooms 5 and 7 respectively of the North Sanctuary, both of which were undisturbed after 211; therefore they can be directly associated with cult practice. M1 was found with 15 terracottas of Persephone, as well as individual examples of Artemis, unidentified goddesses and perhaps Hades; M4 with terracottas of Persephone and a female head. The vessels are not assigned to rooms in *M.S.* VI, so we can only associate these in the wider context of the North Sanctuary with medallion wares of Dionysos and Eros. M5 at the San Francesco sanctuary can be associated with terracotta depictions of Persephone (12 examples), 3 nymphs, Hades, and comic actors (2 examples); there were no depictions of deities on the pottery found there. The comic figurine M3 and vessels M6-8, 10-11 are found in the same dump of material over the North Sanctuary and its annexe as figurines of Eros and a comic actor and the same type of medallion ware as M6-8, representing Isis and Serapis (5 examples of different type), Dionysos (7 examples of different type), Eros (11 examples of different type), Aphrodite, Nike and a comic mask. Choices of representation will be discussed in 6.3 below, but here we should note the variety of other deities depicted on offerings at shrines attributed to Demeter and Kore, including the Egyptian Isis and Serapis, alongside representations of Herakles.

Three objects derive from domestic contexts: M2 and M15, both decorations for vessels, and M16, which comprises fragments of a *terra sigillata* chalice. These, along with the other late vessel, M9, from a commercial complex in the north-west agora (there is no attempt in *M.S.* to change the terminology to the Latin *forum*), therefore retain the use implied by their shape as functional vessels (or by their decoration) for serving liquids, probably wine.

Comparison of the objects found in the houses can give us snapshots of the choices made by those living in the houses at the moment of and after the Roman takeover. M2 was

found in a complex of four houses destroyed in 211, considered to be part of the city's development under Hieron II. The object itself is dated to the third century or later by Bell (*M.S.* I 174). Here 46 terracotta figurines were found, over half of which represented either Persephone or female heads, as well as 3 comic actors, in addition to 1 medallion vessel, 20 pieces of black gloss ware and a handful of the East Sicilian polychrome wares usually found in sanctuaries at Morgantina (*M.S.* VI: 133). The emphasis is therefore on locally produced objects, whose form and lids suggest their use for liquid contents.

M15 from the House of the Doric Capitals and M16 from the House of the Arched Cistern both contained large amounts of pottery that was either imported or made locally with the appearance of imported pottery. The kantharos decoration of eastern imported ware, M15, is dated c. 150-50 BC little more than a century after the Roman takeover of Morgantina under the Hispani. The House of the Doric Capitals, in contrast to M2's find-spot, was reoccupied and extended with service quarters after 211; shops were also added to the complex, including a bakery. By the time it burnt down c. 35 BC, the owners had accumulated pottery from the local fabric, including several examples of Campana C, Republican Red Gloss, and thin-walled wares, as well as smaller numbers of Eastern Sigillata and medallion wares of the type of M6-8, depicting Dionysos, Eros, a gorgoneion and flowers. The types are dominated by flat vessels. This suggests the decorated vessels such as M15 and the medallion vessels had been kept by the owners before the fire, but were not considered worth rescuing afterwards. 10 terracottas were found which may be associated with the house, including a theatrical mask.

The House of the Arched Cistern may act as a coda to domestic choices. It was repaired both after 211 and following a fire in the late first century BC and, at the time of its abandonment c. AD 30-40 had a system of lead water-pipes, a peristyle remodelled as a garden and, presumably unbeknownst to the final occupiers, a hoard of silver denarii from before 56 BC in a silver box. M16 is one of 20 pieces of Italian *terra sigillata* found along with 1 piece of black gloss ware and 2 figurines of Persephone and a female head. The majority of the pottery consists of flat vessels, invariably decorated, and showing stamps from seven different workshops in Italy. Both of these two later domestic contexts therefore both show the greater frequency of imported styles and objects by the end of the century of Roman control, although the choices of terracottas and medallion wares from the House of the Doric Capitals suggest some consistency with the period before 211. It has been suggested that the change in vessel shapes from deeper ones to flatter plates

reflects a change in foodways over this period (*M.S.* VI: 142). This could point to different choices of foodstuffs being available to the community or to a choice by an external community to retain practices familiar from their previous homeland.

The remaining three examples, the deep hemispherical cups M12-14 with varying representations of Herakles on their moulded feet, were excavated from mixed fills over the Public Office, the House Walls on the East Hill and the North Stoa respectively. M13's find-spot may have been used as an 'open-air service area' for the House of Ganymede in the third century, from which two cups of the same type with theatrical masks for the moulded feet derive. These find-contexts do not suggest a change in use for the vessels from the functional one of drinking or serving wine. Their mixed nature makes it difficult to say definitively whether the vessels were used after 211; Stone states that they were not (*M.S.* VI: 92), adding to the impression of the change in practice marked by the Roman takeover under the Hispani at Morgantina.

This stage associates the majority of objects with the Roman destruction of Morgantina in 211 by Rome's Hispanic mercenaries, with particular emphasis on the votive nature of the objects on which Herakles appeared, as well as associations with feasting. Objects dated later imply the popularity of imported types from the trends found at their find-spots, although local production of vessels for feasting is still evident in the first century BC.

Stage Four

Publication

Our detailed knowledge of Morgantina relies upon the data produced by the American universities which have worked at the site since the 1950s, initially Princeton under the leadership of Sjöqvist and Stillwell, latterly the Wesleyan and Virginia. This has been published in detail, initially in *AJA*, of which Stillwell was editor, as a series of preliminary reports and from 1981 in a series of six *Morgantina Studies* volumes on the terracottas (by Bell, who has published numerous articles on the site), the coins, the protohistoric settlement on Cittadella, the kilns, the archaic cemeteries and the fine pottery. A further study of other pottery and lamps is forthcoming. To my knowledge, the Herakles examples have not been published outside the *M.S.* volumes.

The thorough publication of the finds, based on the methodology of American excavations at Corinth and the Athenian Agora, includes comparison of objects of the same type with examples from elsewhere on Sicily and farther afield through the individual object catalogues. Unlike, for example, terracotta theatrical objects from Lipari, objects from the various deposits and contexts are listed almost comprehensively, although Antonaccio notes that early excavations did not record coarsewares or roof tiles, according to the prevailing archaeological methodology of the period (2015: 56). A comparison of the different editions of *M.S.* from 1981 to 2014, as well as the preliminary reports, gives important insights into the contemporary priorities of scholars. Thus, there is a strong focus on the influence of the Syracusan shops in Bell's catalogue of the terracottas as evidence of an artistic centre on a provincial community (*M.S.* I: 43-4), although the majority of comparata in practice come from Lipari or Athens, while Stone's fineware catalogue seeks parallels across Sicily and the northern Mediterranean, many from more recent excavation such as Iaitas, but still with recurring reference to finds from Gela and Lipari (*M.S.* VI: 81). By 2015, Antonaccio could note that 'Morgantina's material culture is a complexly hybrid assemblage that resists interpretation not simply along the lines of Sikel and Greek, or Ionian and Dorian, but participates also in a discourse of indigeneity' (2015: 60).

A change in the publication methodology occurs with the advent of evidence designated as *terra sigillata*, when comparisons are made not by object type as described above, but by the workshop which produced them, based on signature stamps. The vessel form is listed in

terms of Ettliger's 1990 *Conspectus*. M9 and 16 do not bear a stamp and are therefore identified as belonging to the workshops of Perennius Bargathes and C. Annius by comparison of representations. Fragments with no comparanda are listed after workshop examples, with priority given to those with human figured scenes. This system follows the cataloguing system by workshop of Dragendorff, which was based on consideration of objects in museum and private collections, often lacking provenance, and with focus on identification of examples through subjective judgment of representation and stamps. As noted by Bartoli (1984: 13) attributions have often been reliant on the aesthetic ideals of scholars, with the latter stages of the Perennii workshop receiving less attention due to its 'provincial' appearance, which is associated with a lack of technical skill.

The publication of the Morgantina examples of Herakles, in the tradition of previous catalogues, therefore demonstrates the local choices of globalised trends of the northern Mediterranean in clay and metal forms found across object types at the site. In most cases this makes associations with trend-setting creators or users in cultural centres such as Alexandria, Taranto and Syracuse, but the shift in emphasis of *terra sigillata* cataloguing highlights the impact of the workshops of Arretium in creating an enforced mass-produced material culture associated with Roman control.

Stage Five

Display

Major finds were initially held by the Princeton museum, one of the chief considerations when seeking funding for the project from the university (Sjöqvist, quoted in Antonaccio, 2015: 52); since 1984 a local museum has received finds, with more striking objects such as the 'Morgantina hoard' of silver vessels being returned to Sicily from overseas museums (Stone, 2014: 458). It is therefore possible to identify examples of objects bearing a representation of Herakles with a secure context in the relevant period from across the site, although it was not possible to study the lamps for this research.

The post-depositional biography of objects bearing Herakles from Morgantina, therefore, allows us to place them in a broader context of artistic choices and identity for a wide range of object types within Sicily and the central Mediterranean (Pfundner, 2015), including comparata in different materials. Stone, however, does note the possibility that the desire to illustrate differing examples of certain finewares in full, while others are

recorded as exemplars only, can lead to an erroneous impression of the relative frequency or importance of some classes, such as mouldmade wares (*M.S.* VI: 229).

6.3 How did Herakles appear in Morgantina?

6.3.1. How does Herakles appear on individual objects from Morgantina?

Herakles and his club appear as individual representations at Morgantina, with no extant evidence showing him in a narrative scene before an early Imperial lamp depicting him in his labour with the hydra, kindly made available to me by Professor Stone, but of too late a date to include in the gazetteer.

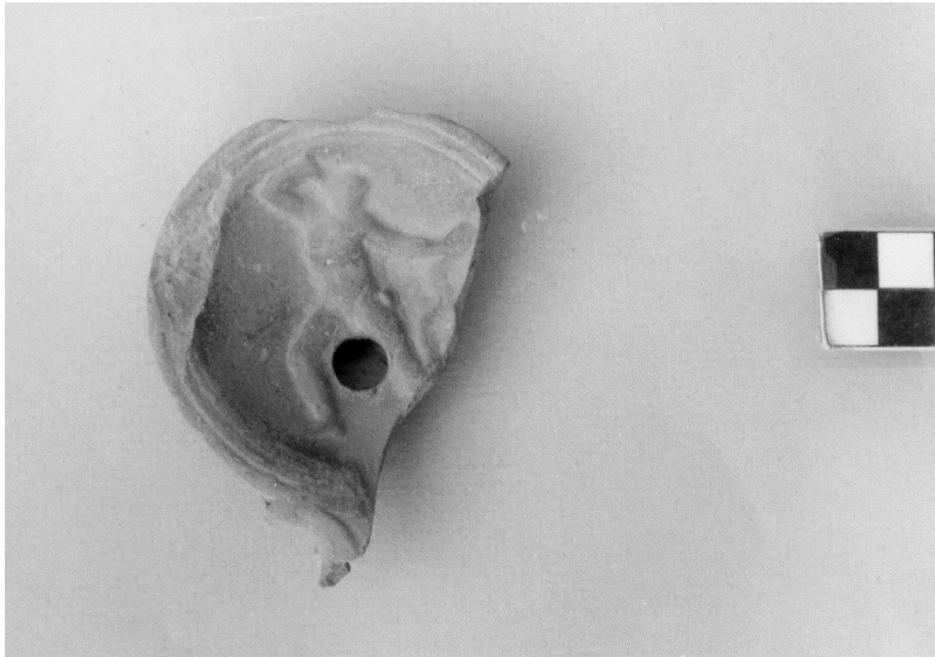


figure 6.3.1. Early Imperial lamp Herakles fighting the Hydra

There are no inscriptions naming him, nor decorative reliefs from civic or domestic architecture which have survived in the same way as the Ganymede mosaic representation, which gives its name to a house in the settlement. The evidence of this mosaic, however, gives us an indication of what has been lost and of the considerable potential for decorative scenes on which Herakles or other figures may have appeared. No examples of Herakles as a child, or as Melqart, have been recorded from Morgantina; his image is invariably rendered in the realistic fashion associated with Greek art, although M2 may suggest Punic influence.

Half of the recorded examples depict Herakles' head, recognised in all cases by the lionskin, although this is difficult to make out on M10-11. Within these examples, there is some variation, even within objects of the same form. All examples were created from moulds, suggesting that other examples of these representations existed in antiquity, using

local clay. M4-5, both in the form of masks and in a fragmentary state, are identified as Herakles from moulded features of animal nostril and jaws, and as a tragic representation of him by the frazzled hair (the 'high onkos', *M.S. I*: 217). The bottom part of the head is lost; therefore, it is impossible to say whether a beard was depicted. No evidence of colour remains.

The five examples which take the form of moulded feet for hemispherical bowls are striking in the variety of their representation; two (M10-11) are considered to be theatrical masks with a beard, three (M12-14) are clean-shaven, with M12-13 featuring a headband around the forehead suggestive of an athlete. Although the objects have suffered damage to the features, I do not believe they share a representation. M14 depicts the lionskin reaching to the bottom of the chin, a feature not seen elsewhere in this research. None of these examples would have been seen while using the vessel, unless the vessel was upturned. M2 has its head surrounded by a low-relief rendering of the lionskin, with the paws crossed at the throat, and may have been attached to the side of a vessel as an appliqué or acted as a protome (Bell, pers. comm.). Here the hair is shown as a heavy fringe of repeated curls, overhanging the face, whose prominent eyes are out of proportion to the small mouth. The nose is wide and flat, features which can be associated with the North African artistic tradition, also found on protome representations of the Punic deity, Tanit (Bell, pers. comm.). No beard is shown. These examples, all produced from local clay, therefore vary in their representation of Herakles' head in all aspects but the inclusion of the characteristic lionskin, although the details of this are also rendered in different ways. Objects of the same form also vary in their representation of Herakles. One example suggests production in the Punic artistic tradition.

The examples of Herakles alone also vary in their representation across the different objects, although M6-8 appear to show examples derived from the same mould. The figurine M3 lacks its head but has a moulded area at the top of its padded tunic which may be the lionskin and another to its right side where a club might stand. The leggings do not appear to be wrinkled. M1 has been damaged on its exterior, making fine details difficult to discern, however the *contrapposto* pose, with a bent right arm resting near the right hip, perhaps on a club, and broad shoulders, along with symmetrical moulded curves over the pectorals taken as the lionskin, has established the identification. The deep curves at the forehead suggest the lionskin was worn as a cap, not on Herakles' shoulders. It is unclear

whether he wears a beard. These objects, produced from local clay, were free-standing and would have been seen in isolation.

The remaining examples, along with M9, were decoration on various vessel forms and would therefore have been viewed in different ways. M15, also tentatively proposed as a comic figure by Stone (Stone, 2014: 393), was an appliqué decoration on a vase from Anatolia (Stone, pers. comm.), now missing so we cannot assess how prominent the figure would have been when viewed by the user, or whether it was associated with any other figures. The representation, again with details abraded, is shown in profile, with a beard, seated on a rock and holding a club. The additional moulding at the back of the head and the shoulders is understood as a lionskin and a short tunic is also represented. M16 formed part of a decorative frieze around a vessel of north Italian production, underneath a lion's head, whose position on an otherwise empty field draws the eye to the figure of Herakles below. He is shown naked, with a powerful physique and short hair, beardless. He carries his club in the crook of his left arm and has his right arm outstretched, in the same pose as that on the official seal of Selinunte. The figure is lost below the waist, precluding further comparison. The gaze and outstretched arm would have pointed the viewer towards any decoration to the left of Herakles, where there is space for a more complex scene with additional characters or narrative. No colour is evident on these objects.

By contrast to these examples, M6-8, which were produced locally, present their decoration on the inside of a vessel. The image would therefore not have been seen except by someone holding the empty vessel. The three images share features and are understood to come from the same mould. M6 is the fullest picture, showing Herakles' head twisted back over his naked left shoulder. The head is modelled in some detail, with eyes appearing to gaze directly at the viewer. He has a flattened nose and a full beard and moustache. His hair curls in full locks, which contrast with the shorter style seen on most of the examples in this dataset. The individualised features could suggest a portrait. Herakles carries a club visible (although carried in his right hand) over his left shoulder, which is notable for its powerful appearance; a straight band or strap runs from his neck down his chest. On his right pectoral are moulded features with repeated curves and three points, perhaps the paw of the lionskin. M7 shows only the shoulder and tip of the club in the same detail, with three points above the club not visible on M6, which appear to be part of his lionskin. M8 is difficult to understand without M6; it shows the bottom left area of the image, with three parallel strips holding a rectangular object at right angles,

perhaps the right hand gripping the club. The creator of the scene has therefore opted to show Herakles encountering the viewer from the bottom of the cup, with a focus on his face, which displays individualised features, and on the power of his physique.

M9 depicts only Herakles' club, surrounded by snakes, on another vessel of north Italian production. The handle has a moulded grip, while the other end presents moulded segments rather like a leather football, broader than the knobs found on other examples. The club points downwards and occupied a frieze on a vessel, perhaps drawing the viewer's eye towards another scene now lost.

Herakles therefore appeared at Morgantina in a variety of guises, but always with his lionskin. The club appears on all the representations of Herakles alone. Several examples recall theatrical representations of Chapter 4. All other representations are naked, demonstrating a powerful physique, or show the head with attributes of an athlete. Two representations, M2 and M6-8, gaze directly at the viewer and appear aggressive as a result; these examples display individualised facial features. The following sections will compare representations of other figures on the forms of objects discussed here, as well as other representations of Herakles from this period to establish with which communities Herakles was associated on these objects.

6.3.2 What other images appear on individual objects from Morgantina?

6.3.1 demonstrated the range of objects and representations of Herakles at Morgantina. This range of appearances is unique at the site. While comic actors and Gorgoneion images recur on several different objects, no image appears on all the object types featuring Herakles. This section considers the other objects chosen by producers and buyers of terracottas and finewares at Morgantina to demonstrate what other choices were created by craftsmen for the buyers in Morgantina during the third to first centuries BC.

Several other deities are found on figurines from Morgantina, although none are in the guise of actors. Female deities are more popular than males; Persephone appears at least three times more frequently than the other goddesses Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena, and Nike, as well as an unidentified figure for whom a mould also survives. Persephone, Aphrodite and Artemis all appear in multiple mould types. Eros and Hades were the most popular male deities, the former represented in two mould types, with single examples of Hermes, Dionysos and Pan also being found. In comparison to M3, the comic figurine, 36 other comic actors have been found, as well as 11 examples of Papposilenos. The appearance of these figures may be explained by their association with the cult of Demeter and Kore, in whose sanctuaries several were found. Diodorus (V.3.4) states that both Artemis and Athena were present at the capture of Persephone by Hades, believed to have taken place close to Morgantina at Enna, and (IV. 23.4) that Herakles ordered the Sicilians to hold annual sacrifices to Persephone and Demeter (*M.S. I*: 91, 94).

The two tragic masks, identified as Herakles by their rendering of a lionskin covering to the hair, are an unusual find. Only 4 other tragic masks have been catalogued, along with one miniature version. Comic masks are more popular, with 21 male and 17 female examples catalogued, along with an appliqué of a comic mask, however no example of Herakles or other deities in this form have been found to date. The appearance of masks, including Herakles, as decoration on vessels is discussed below. They appear in public, domestic and sanctuary contexts across Morgantina; 7 were found in the North Sanctuary and a further 3 in its annex.

All these terracottas are dated to the late classical and early Hellenistic period in *M.S. I*, although they are found in association with objects dating to the second and first centuries, such as the House of the Doric Capital. This would suggest that these objects were being

curated for some time, beyond the takeover of Morgantina by Hispanic mercenaries under Rome.

There is some similarity between the deities found on non-theatrical figurines and medallion vessels such as M6-8 made in Morgantina, but the options for the deep hemispherical cups like M10-14 and vessels M9, 15-16 show contrasting choices of decoration. Medallion vases, several of which come from the same sanctuary contexts as the non-theatrical figurines, also correspond in their representation choice of Dionysos (4 types), Eros (4 types), Aphrodite, Athena and Nike (3 types). However, we do not see the same representation across the two object forms. The tondo decorative area of medallion vases allows more space for elaboration than other forms, thus multiple figures are also found, including the deities Sarapis and Isis, and a Nereid on a hippocamp. Combats between non-divine figures, such as an Amazonomachy, are also found, along with individual figures or symbols, including a Gorgoneion (3 types) and comic mask; the latter also appear on other forms of relief appliqué (cf. M15) and moulds from the third century onwards. There is no evidence of colour or decoration on the outside of the medallion vessels. This suggests that the potential to show Herakles in an action or narrative scene was eschewed by the local producer of these vessels.

Three silver cups, part of a group of silver objects known as the 'Morgantina hoard' (although the details of their discovery are unclear, cf Guzzo, 2003: 85) are in the form of medallion vessels; here the central medallion is floral, with a garnet decorating two examples. All three vessels bear punch-dotted inscriptions and monograms, which may indicate ownership and the weight of over 400 g (ibid. 71). The dimensions of clay and silver examples correspond closely, 6-7 cm in height and 20-22 cm in diameter. Unlike M6-8, the interiors of their silver equivalents are elaborated with up to 12 zones of non-figured, gilded decoration, a tendency reproduced on one clay example through incision and overpainting (Stone, 2014: 388). By contrast, their external faces are plain, as are M6-8, with the exception of one example where a flower is also found on the base of the cup (ibid. 47-50). Both silver and clay versions of the same form at Morgantina therefore present an undecorated exterior of metal or metallic gloss, with an interior depicting action or narrative in clay and gilding and garnets, in silver. The choices made about decoration were therefore for the benefit of the vessel's user, aspects of which may have been emphasised by punch-dotted marks on the silver vessels, created as prominent, permanent symbols. From the outside, therefore, clay and silver medallion vessels were created for the

user to experience in similar ways, albeit with differing budgets; the decoration, however, reflects more narrative, engaged, choices in clay vessels with their representations of deities or action scenes, created by local craftspeople. While the silver vessels, literally, speak their weight and expense, the clay vessels, often deposited as votives, convey the more personal choices of their purchasers.

The deep hemispherical cup with moulded feet (M10-14) appears at Morgantina with two variations, two different forms of comic mask and four examples of clamshells, one of which has overpainting inside the vessel. Otherwise the foot of these cups represents the only form of decoration on the metallic glaze. Once again, we find the same vessel shape in the group of silver objects discussed above, although here the size differs markedly between silver and clay forms. M10-14 are 8-9 cm in height and 11-14 cm in diameter; the silver examples are 18-19 cm in height and 26 cm in diameter, weighing over 800 g, perhaps indicated by a punch-dotted, permanent inscription on the base of one of the cups. The two silver examples feature three different masks, with evidence of gilding, as the foot; one has a decorated and gilded band around the outer rim, which is matched by the only surviving-rim of a clay example with clamshell feet. Both examples also present punch-dotted monograms, as well as dotted and incised inscriptions on the second example (*ibid.* 67-69). Otherwise the decoration on the vessels, metallic or covered in metallic gloss, is limited to the feet, which would not be visible to the person using the object unless it was upturned. The form of these vessels and exterior appearance, of metal or metallic gloss with decorated outer rim, again suggests similar choices by creator and user in clay and silver, although belied by the size difference. The choice of masked characters for the decorative feet is also consistent and is found at other sites (see 6.3.3 below); this emphasises the unusual choice of Herakles for this form on M12-14 as another more personal choice on the clay vessels. This form is found in sanctuary, domestic, civic and tomb contexts around Morgantina, and one clay version was found in the house of Eupolemos, the probable site at which the silver vessels were found. This would indicate that the same form was owned by the householders in both silver and clay.

Vessels from northern Italy of the *terra sigillata* designation of M9 and M16 show repeated examples of satyrs and maenads (one attributed to the same producer as M16), as well as another Gorgoneion, otherwise figured scenes are restricted to hunting and the tantalising glimpse of reins of a chariot. The majority of scenes in this production type are decorative, including the other examples from the producer of M9. Both examples are of

the chalice form, which forms the most popular form at Morgantina of *terra sigillata* (Stone, 2014: 284), imported to the small community still occupying the site in the early imperial period (ibid. 25).

Considering the choices of images on objects of the same form as those bearing representations of Herakles at Morgantina therefore demonstrates the unusual popularity of Herakles on clay objects at the site. By comparing other representations on the object forms on which he appears, in two cases across two different materials; we can see that personal choices affect the image chosen on both clay and silver, but not the form or other decoration. The use of a metallic gloss on clay objects may have been intended to associate them with more expensive metal versions. The weight of silver objects is emphasised, perhaps for the same reason as the increased size of the hemispherical bowls in this material. Herakles does not appear on the more expensive silver objects. In all forms, the object bearing Herakles is found in the same context as other representations, suggesting that the form, not the representation, was considered important in the use of the object. The exception is M12 and 14, which were found in civic contexts, with their unusual representation of Herakles as an athlete.

6.3.3 How else do objects bearing representations of Herakles appear at this period?

The organisation of *Morgantina Studies* in the same format as the Athenian Agora publications allows comparison of types, especially ceramic, with examples from elsewhere in Sicily and further afield. Particularly for the terracottas, however, this tends to focus on associations with the Greek world; comparative examples from, for example, Taranto are not always listed, never mind the Punic-Phoenician world. Thus, some areas of influence can be overlooked. In this section, the object types bearing representations of Herakles from Morgantina are compared to examples of the same type elsewhere both in Sicily and beyond in the third and second centuries. This will enable discussion of the extent to which those making choices at Morgantina were ‘on the edge’ of different cultural centres.

i) Third-Second Century Sicily

Chapter 4 demonstrated the range of sites on east Sicily at which figurines and masks of theatrical representations of Herakles have been found. To this we should add the polychrome examples of masks from Centuripe, dating to the third-second centuries (Atack, 2017: 42). Masks found on Sicily in this period are either associated with the theatre, or are associated with the Punic tradition, such as the examples from Palermo of Astarte on a throne and with a child (Tamburello, 1979: 55). Terracotta figurines also derive from this site. We should note in light of chapter 4 that these examples are discussed in terms of funerary objects.

Figurines representing non-theatrical subjects are found across Sicily in clay and bronze, notably at Agrigento, where a number of moulds have been found, establishing the local production (NS, 1930: 73ff.), and from the same sanctuary complex at Gela as G2 and G4, as well as the acropolis (Orlandini, 1962: 350). The subjects may be Greek Olympian divinities, or those from Egyptian and Punic-Phoenician traditions, exemplified by the examples from the Palermo Museum’s bronze collection: Harpocrates, Bes, Hadad, Isis-Fortuna, Isis and Horus, Osiris, and Ptah. Bes appears frequently across Sicily, including at the same Gela site cited above, and the variety of his appearance across different media, including the sealings of Selinunte, suggests comparisons with the popularity of Herakles as a figure on the edge of cultures. Figurines of divinities are closely linked to the sanctuary in which they are found, as noted in 6.3.2 above; the key difference with Herakles is that he may appear in a variety of representations, while divinities such as

Persephone or Athena follow a limited number of mould types. Athena, for example, is commonly represented on Sicily as the Athena Lindia type (de Miro, 2000: 190). Non-divine representations are also represented in clay by the polychrome examples known as ‘Tanagra’ figurines, mainly of female subjects, whose function as objects is as rarely interrogated as the theatrical examples (Naerebout review of Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller, BMCR, 2017). Consideration of other masks and figurines from Sicily at this period therefore suggest that the forms of these objects were popular choices across the island, particularly at sanctuaries and tombs of local production, with Persephone the deity most frequently represented. Herakles is unusual in the variety of representations and contexts in which he appears.

It is assumed that craftspeople creating clay medallions to decorate vessels followed the tradition of those working in metals (Stone, 1992: 368). Rizzo (1900: 281-3) records examples of a Gorgon and Silenus masks used as medallions, but unfortunately without a precise find-spot on Sicily. Other clay examples of the medallion bowls are found at Syracuse, Termini Imerese and Licata with varying decoration (Stone, pers. comm.), as well as inland at Iaitas with a youth’s head. (*M.S.* VI: 231; *Studia Ietina* IV: 164). Both Termini Imerese and Iaitas lie in the Carthaginian eparchy in Sicily, with the latter site demonstrating evidence of Phoenician engineering (Perkins 2007, 42). No further metallic examples are known. This form of vessel was therefore found in areas of Carthaginian control, as well as Syracusan in the late third and early second centuries. A variant on the form is represented by L14, with its small head of Herakles underneath the base of the black glaze vessel in the stirrup jar form; the deposition of this example is dated to 251, earlier than the other examples cited here.

Deep hemispherical cups with moulded feet are also found across the island, with the same two forms of moulded decoration found on the silver forms from Morgantina noted above, that is clam shells and theatrical masks. No other metallic forms are known from Sicily. An example with a clam shell foot was found at Messina, with overpainted decoration of a circle and rosette on the interior (Bacci & Tigano, 1999, 211). Also from the Punic-Phoenician area, examples with masks have been found at Iaitas (*SI* IV, 1991: 105, pl. 5) and Lilybaeum with an overpainted tondo (Bisi, 1970, 548 no. 77 fig 38). Another example with a mask as the foot was found at Lipari (*ML* II 93-4 pl. 137: 2a). The choices found elsewhere on the island reinforce the unusual depiction of M12-14 of Herakles as an athlete on this form.

As noted in stage one, trends in *terra sigillata* are traced by the identification of producer's stamps, since, as Stone notes (2014: 283) the number of decorated vessel types were small. 19 of the 23 fragments of decorated *terra sigillata* were of the same chalice shape as M9 and M16, almost all of which derive from the House of the Arched Cistern. Objects stamped by both C. Annius and M. Perennius Bargathes are rare on Sicily in comparison to those of Cn. Ateius, however they do also appear at Catania, Iaitas, Soluntum and Syracuse with the former's stamp, and at Augusta (north of Syracuse), Catania, Iaitas, Syracuse and Tyndaris with that of the latter (Malfitana, 2004: 319-336). This suggests that the vessels of these workshops were chosen by communities around the Sicilian coast or at least by the supplier of the ship trading them, as well as being chosen by communities of the internal sites of Iaitas and Morgantina. It is possible that the excavation bias towards coastal sites excludes further sites in the interior. Choices of the form of *terra sigillata* vessels at Morgantina were therefore consistent with those of other communities across the island, while the external production of these vessels and their method of manufacture limited the representational choices available.

ii) elsewhere third-second century

Figurines and masks in the form of theatrical representations occur frequently at Greek sites during this period, notably in Athens, Boeotia and Corinth, as well as sites further east, such as Myrina on Lemnos and Panticapaeum in the Crimea. The majority of objects are made of clay, but bronze examples of figurines are also known from Athens (Bieber, 1961: 39). As indicated in Chapter 4, such representations are invariably associated with Athenian prototypes. As noted in Chapter 4, masks of a different type are found in tophefts at Salamambo and Motya, as well as in tombs at Carthage, where they are treated as funerary objects linked to ritual, and we should note Picard's association of them with deities in this context (Picard, 1967: 89). Masks of both traditions are found on sealings from Tel Kedesh in northern Israel in this period (Herbert, pers. comm.), suggesting their use as the marker for individuals in business, as discussed in Chapter 5. Such examples correspond to the discovery of M1, 3-5, 11-12 in sanctuary contexts at Morgantina and potentially to the hemispherical bowl discovered in a tomb at the site (see Stage 3, above) should that representation be of a mask.

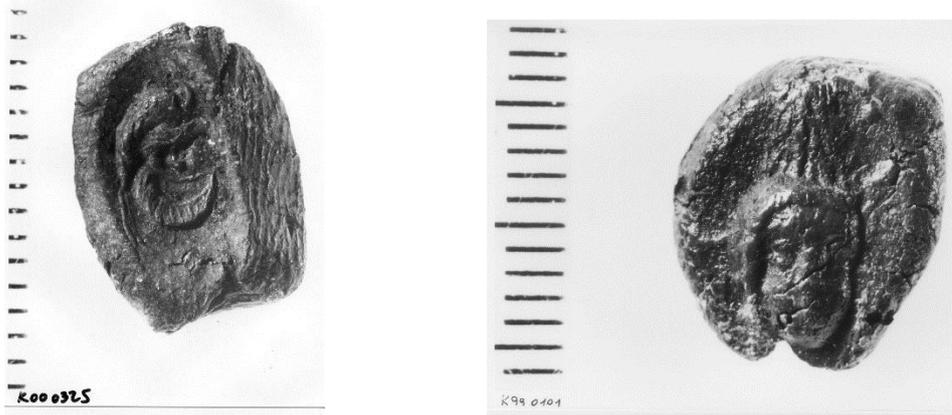


figure 6.3.2. Sealing representations of masks from the Greek (left) and Carthaginian (right) traditions from Tel Kedesh, by permission of Prof. Herbert

Masks used as decorations on metallic vessels are found on a silver gilt phiale of 29 cm diameter, associated with Taranto, on which eight pairs of high-relief theatrical masks encircle a scene of a young couple inside the vessel. The masks, which include Herakles, are believed to have been worked individually and are of the same type as those used as feet for objects in the Morgantina hoard. This vessel is dated to the middle of the third century; if associated with the ‘Taranto hoard’ it may be dated to 270 by comparison with numismatic finds. Both Macedonian and Alexandrian influence have been associated with this vessel, now lost, although Green attributes it to Tarantine production. As noted in 6.3.3i, figurines and masks were a frequent choice in clay in tomb and sanctuary contexts in North Africa, Greece and the East Mediterranean at this period, as well as being used as personal seal markers, and decoration on expensive metal vessels attributed to cultural centres such as Taranto.

Medallion bowls made of clay are also found in Greece, from Athens, Corinth and Sparta, and Spain, from Emporion. Examples from Corinth are dated to the second century, as late as 150, and their medallions present heads of a satyr and Athena, as well as a scene of a male figure hunting with a dog. The man is identified as Eros in the report, but the upraised feature in the crook of his left arm and his beard may well indicate Herakles. One example from Corinth of the same form features painted decoration inside the vessel, with a painted floral design in place of a moulded medallion (Edwards, 1975: 92, pl. 55). Similar decoration is found on vessels of the same form from the Athenian Agora, dated to the same period; here too the outer walls of the vessel are plain, except for two lines around the outer rim on examples 328-9 (Rotroff, 1997: plate 33). On the examples from Sparta,

Hobling proposed that the use of yellow and white paint for this decoration imitated gilding on metal versions. Here, medallions depict low relief heads of Athena and a frontal Herakles with the lionskin surrounding him (1925: 296). Another head of Herakles from a worn mould in deeper relief appears as the medallion surrounded by painted decoration on one example from Athens; other heads are of Dionysiac subjects, Pan and two examples of heads understood as portraits of Ptolemy I (ibid. 117). Other images show narrative scenes, including a Tritoness and Eros (ibid. 118). Scholars draw associations with the bowls' introduction from centres at Cales in south Italy, Alexandria (Stone, 2014: 231) and Macedonia, as well as from Persian metalwork via Memphis (Rotroff, 1997: 113). The representations of Herakles from Morgantina do not recall the examples from Greece, and their portrayal of the head and shoulders suggests a local choice.

Hemispherical bowls with moulded feet are also found frequently outside Sicily, in Greece, the Aegean and Asia Minor, as well as on either side of the Adriatic Sea. The feet appear in the same shapes as found on Sicily, that is shells and theatrical masks. Terracotta examples with masks are known from Butrint, as well as Minturnae, Jesi and Rome in Italy. The Athenian vessels present shells as the moulded foot and have a decorative rim like the complete terracotta and silver examples from Morgantina. By contrast, their exterior is decorated with overpainting of delicate garlands and cavorting dolphins. Rotroff notes that their production is of "superlative quality", with very thin walls and high-quality glaze; she dates the production of vessels in Athens to 275-225. Examples from Corinth raise a further possibility for this form. While two examples survive of examples with shell supports (Edwards, 1975: 88), as found at Morgantina, there are also fragments and the lower part of bowls of the same shape, with moulded feet in the shape of masks, but with bands of moulded decoration on the outside of the body of the vessel, in the 146 destruction contexts (ibid. 171). Moulded bowls, sometimes called Megarian Bowls (see 3.2), allow the rendering of an extended narrative sequence around the exterior of the cup and several examples depicting Herakles' Labours are known from Greece. Although 17 examples of this form were found at Morgantina, none feature Herakles. Two fragments depict female fighters understood as Amazons, which could indicate a reference to one of Herakles' Labours, so the possibility of such narrative examples should not be ruled out. No suggestion is offered of the associations made by this vessel in scholarship. The comparison of hemispherical bowls suggests that the examples from Morgantina, with their plain exterior of metallic glaze, differed from Greek examples; the existence of Herakles as the moulded foot is also unparalleled elsewhere.

The later imported wares at Morgantina came from Anatolia and the *terra sigillata* workshops at Arretium of C. Annius and M. Perennius Bargathes. The fragmentary nature of M15 makes comparison with external examples impossible. Objects from Bargathes' workshop were found at Haltern (*M.S.* VI: 286 n268), placing Morgantina in a different trade network to that of the east Mediterranean and south Italian centres indicated by the discussion above. Examples of this workshop's output collected in Dragendorff (1948, plate 5, 8, 10) represent a fragment of a mature Herakles with curling beard and repeated drapery folds over his left shoulder along with a number of draped women on separate fragments; one plays the double pipes, and these are listed as 'Herakles and the Muses'. Other fragments from two vessels portray a bearded, muscular male in female dress. These are identified as a representation of Herakles and Omphale. A third group represent a bearded muscular man in profile, once with a lionskin knotted around his neck, striking another figure, described as a Centaur. Thus, the workshop produced narrative scenes involving Herakles, as well as the club with snakes shown on M9. The only other deity found on the work was Dionysos with Ariadne (*ibid.* 105). Dionysos also appears on the work of C. Annius, from whose work Herakles is otherwise absent (*ibid.* 148). The representation of Herakles on Arretine *terra sigillata* is therefore paralleled on other examples, as are the satyrs and maenads who appear on other examples from Morgantina; Herakles' appearance on M16 differs from those described above in his nudity and youthful, beardless appearance.

6.3.4 With what communities was Herakles associated on these objects? Does this suggest the choices were ‘on the edge’?

The appearance of Herakles in Morgantina consistently places him in the realistic aesthetic associated with Greek and Roman art, with the exception of the theatrical representations, where the exaggerated features indicate the medium of masked theatre, and the north African features of M2. There is no evidence in the visual record to associate him with Melqart at Morgantina.

Objects M3-5, 11-12, 15 all associate Herakles with the theatrical community in their representation, although, as chapter 4 has established, this community does not necessarily indicate influence from an external community such as Athens on those creating or buying them. Rather, we should look to local associations and further interrogate the deposition context of the objects when identifying the communities invoked by these objects. In common with communities across east Sicily, south Italy and the north-eastern Mediterranean, choices were made by local craftspeople and their clients to represent theatrical masks as decorative elements on clay hemispherical cups. This choice mirrors that made by the creators of more expensive, silver vessels probably found at Morgantina and Taranto; in one case, cups of the same form but of the two different materials and sizes were found in the same house at Morgantina. This raises the question of the relationship between metal and clay vessel production, and the choices lying behind the purchase and use of these vessels. The choice not to decorate the exterior of these cups, as occurred in Athens and Corinth, suggests that the metallic gloss of M10-14 was designed to evoke objects available in silver to wealthy inhabitants of Morgantina, thus associating the owners of the masked examples M10-11 with local élites.

The external appearance of M6-8 also evokes élite vessels, including those found in the Morgantina hoard, with the same use of metallic gloss and undecorated exterior. In these examples, however, the representation of Herakles in the vessel’s interior contrasts with the unfigured decoration of the silver objects, as does the unparalleled use of Herakles as an athlete on hemispherical cups M12-14. Further discussion of these objects in their use and deposition contexts below will explore these choices further, but we may note here the appearance of deities such as Isis and Serapis, Dionysos and Eros on the same form of object as M6-8.

Objects dating after the Roman and Hispani takeover at Morgantina in 211, M9, 15-16, would have signalled external associations by their fabric and form. It is difficult to assess whether the representation of a comic actor of familiar appearance, but not necessarily specifically known in Morgantina, would have overridden the imported nature of M15 in the choice to buy it, nor whether its creation in Anatolia would have been recognised. The widespread appearance of *terra sigillata* pottery in the archaeological record is frequently used as a marker of Roman power, especially because of its use by the Roman army. Those importing and choosing M9 and 16 in Morgantina may have made that association or thought the stamp of the respective Arretine workshops made the objects desirable. The post-takeover examples representing Herakles are very few, but when seen in the context of the other objects of the same form and representation, they suggest that objects produced outside Morgantina, perhaps seen as prestige goods, became increasingly popular in the smaller community after 211.

6.4 Why did Herakles appear on objects from Morgantina?

Consideration of the objects representing Herakles at Morgantina in terms of their forms and decoration, enabled by their publication in object catalogues by *M.S.*, allows us to view the choices made by craftspeople and buyers as part of wider fashions in Sicily and parts of the Mediterranean world. 6.3.3 established that the range of representations of Herakles at the site across different object forms was greater than any other decorative feature. By interrogating the use and deposition of these objects, this section seeks to establish why Herakles was considered an appropriate image on the objects found at Morgantina and to identify communities, not evident from 6.3.3, with which they were associated.

As established in Chapter 4, it is unclear how the function of masks and theatrical figurines is linked to the institution of the theatre as practised in third-second-century Sicily. 4.4 proposed their association with the *choregos* funding the performance evoked on the object. Morgantina is unusual in this dataset for the existence of a theatre contemporary with the production of the theatrical objects; Marconi dates the theatre to c. 250 and notes its physical link to the agora (2012: 187), which emphasises the civic function of events at the theatre. All of the objects with theatrical representations from Morgantina (M3-5, 10-11) were deposited in sanctuaries, M5 at San Francesco and the others at the North Sanctuary, ‘the richest and largest sanctuary excavated at Morgantina’ (*M.S.* VI: 41), where theatrical objects represented the most frequent votive offering (Hinz, 1998: 128). The North Sanctuary was one of ten sanctuaries located in the different residential quarters of Morgantina (Bell, 2013: 89) that were associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore in the manner of Christian parish churches. The deposition of terracotta objects in the sanctuaries, where they were displayed on benches (Hinz, 1998: 126), thus reinforces the link between local ritual and festivals and the theatre noted in Chapter 4. Theatrical representations of Herakles at Morgantina were therefore considered appropriate for use as votive objects in the local sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore, which may have formed a focus for groups within the larger community of Morgantina who would have come together at the theatre. The hemispherical cup found in a tomb cited above, on similar lines, would therefore represent the suitability of Herakles to accompany a family or group member into the Underworld.

M6-8 were also deposited in the North Sanctuary. Like M10-11, these vessels can be identified by their object type as drinking vessels, used at feasts. Their presence in the

context of Demeter and Kore worship at the sanctuary associates them with votive offerings, perhaps used in feasts by the community using the sanctuary to celebrate the goddesses. Along with the non-theatrical terracotta, M1, the comparison of the images found on these objects in 6.3.2 demonstrated the range of deities represented in a sanctuary attributed to the worship of Demeter and Kore. The majority of these deities, invariably Olympians, appear at other sites on Sicily, and Bell associates them with the story of Kore's marriage to Hades, as related by Diodorus Siculus, with Eros only appearing in the third century (*M.S.* I: 91, 94). The deities who are not explained by this theory are Sarapis and Isis, found on medallion vases in four different representations. While we have seen Isis appearing on objects such as the sealings (cf 5.3.2), Sarapis is unusual and has a specifically Alexandrian association in his creation by the early Ptolemies (Baines & Málek, 1996: 55). The relative frequency of their appearance in the sanctuary therefore suggests an external association, perhaps attributable to the close relationship between Hieron II and the Ptolemies (Lehmler, 2005: 250), as evidence of the former's influence at Morgantina. It was considered appropriate by the community that used the building to dedicate vessels and figurines representing Herakles, and other deities, at the North Sanctuary to Demeter and Kore. Hinz proposes that food may have been prepared in the building for celebratory feasts from the storage, milling and pressing equipment found in rooms 1-4 (1998: 129). The combination of finds at the sanctuary therefore suggests a local community within Morgantina coming together to feast, making use of the more personalised representations of different deities identified in 6.3.2, perhaps as intercessors, as they drank and offered libations.

M2 and M12-14, along with the objects discussed above, are given a deposition date of 211, which historical sources indicate as the final takeover of Morgantina by Rome and her Hispani allies. The objects representing Herakles provide evidence of sites around Morgantina at which destruction took place, although it is not necessarily always clear whether this is attributable to 211 or to the wider period of uncertainty of 214-211 described in the historical sources, when the city was occupied by successive Roman and Carthaginian garrisons (*M.S.* VI: 10). M2, with its north African representation of Herakles can now be considered alongside evidence of Carthaginian presence at Morgantina, such as the die bearing a representation of Tanit and religious symbols alongside a Greek monogram of the city's name found in the North Sanctuary (Amata, 2013: 147), in drawing attention to the presence of Carthaginian influence within the community. M12-14, with their unparalleled representation of Herakles as an athlete on

hemispherical cups may point to another group within the community, those training at a *gymnasion*. Prag, noting the importance of *gymnasion* activities in preparing young men for military activity on behalf of their community, has proposed the importance of this institution on Sicily in providing local groups of trained soldiers to both Hieron II and later Roman governors (2007: 92). The implications of these different groups at Morgantina within the events surrounding the deposition of the majority of objects representing Herakles will be addressed in the succeeding sections.

M9 and M15-16, as well as the lamp illustrated in 6.3.1, are all dated after the Roman takeover of Morgantina, thereby providing a small window into the realities which lay behind the choice of Herakles at the site during this period. All three objects in practice provide more evidence of the choices of those decorating and bringing goods together in Anatolia and Arretium respectively for trade overseas than of those choosing them in Morgantina. However, Stone's identification of the M15 figure as a comic actor might suggest the continued importance of that institution in the lives of those living in the House of the Doric Capital in the early first century BC (*M.S.* VI: 273). The vessel's shape, a high-rimmed kantharos for pouring liquids, implies use at feasts, where the presence of an imported, decorated object may have stood out in comparison to the unfigured, local Republican Red Gloss, which forms the majority of the fineware ceramics found in the house. The chalices M9 and 16, along with the hydra lamp, appear to be relatively rare as figured scenes on the *terra sigillata* from Morgantina and may thus have appeared as an unusual choice in the early imperial community. They both demonstrate a choice of Herakles in narrative scenes not found before the Roman takeover.

The appearance of Herakles on objects from Morgantina was due to various factors and makes associations with a number of internal communities up to the Roman takeover under the Hispani in 211. There is also some evidence of links to Carthage and Alexandria. The evidence is scanty after 211 but demonstrates the impact of traders' choices on the community, which was still considered worthy of a place on international trade networks, and the continued association of Herakles with vessels used for feasting.

6.5 Did individuals from Morgantina using objects representing Herakles remain ‘on the edge’ during this period?

From 270-214, Morgantina was closely associated with the rule of Hieron II in Syracuse; several building projects within the agora at the site during this period are attributed to his patronage (Stone, 2014: 5). As an outlying part of a kingdom who were considered ‘friends and allies...under the protection of the Romans’ (Polybius I.16) during the First Punic War with Carthage, Morgantina could therefore be described as ‘on the edge’ of a number of communities before being placed under the direct rule of Rome’s Hispanic mercenaries in 211. Here the relationship of creators, users and depositors of objects bearing the image of Herakles with different communities, notably worshippers of Demeter and Kore, élites and the Hispani, is discussed.

Over half of the objects bearing representations of Herakles from Morgantina were found in sanctuary contexts associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore, as discussed in 6.4. The nature of the sanctuaries, located in different neighbourhoods of Morgantina, suggests that this institution was at the heart of life in Morgantina to such an extent that ten sanctuaries were required within the city before 211. The Herakles objects, and those of the same form, demonstrate that within these sanctuaries, individuals could make offerings in different ways and by associating themselves with different deities, including Herakles and the Alexandrian pair of Isis and Sarapis, as well as the Carthaginian Tanit. Both the representation on and function of the objects points to the importance of the theatre and feasting to the neighbourhood using the San Francesco and North Sanctuaries in day-to-day life before 211.

Eight vessels bearing Herakles perhaps shed light on relationships within this neighbourhood community. The existence of the Morgantina hoard, a rare example of expensive gilt and jewelled silver vessels, allows us to compare the choices across the price-range of objects available to local buyers before the Roman takeover. From the evidence available, Herakles was not required on silver vessels; medallion cups from the hoard have floral decoration with a central garnet, while the hemispherical cups favour theatrical masks not identified as Herakles. However, we do find him on smaller, clay versions of the vessels, whose plain exterior dipped in metallic gloss recalls the more expensive versions. Both the personalised appearance on M6-8 and the unusual athletic version on M12-14 on cups made from the local clay could suggest choices produced by

the local craftspeople to be used as votives in the worship of Demeter and Kore, at feasts or in a tomb in response to demand in Morgantina. This might include association with the institution of the *gymnasion*, whose importance, as noted by Prag (2007), was discussed above. Comparison with other sites of the objects' forms bears witness to their popularity in the Hellenistic world, indicating that access to such items was possible in Morgantina for those who could afford them. Both those using silver and those using clay versions of the medallion and hemispherical vessels at Morgantina were making some choices in common with individuals in Spain, southern Italy and Corinth, bought from local producers who were confident of selling this form of object. Consideration of the Herakles examples from Morgantina allows us to see the local preoccupations of those depositing them and the different resources at their disposal.

The different communities within Morgantina identified in 6.4 by their association with the various objects representing Herakles all experienced the Roman takeover and subsequent rule by the Hispani mercenaries. Objects deposited in the sanctuaries, as well as M2 in a house on the edge of the city, provide evidence of targeted destruction of buildings within the community; of the 10 sanctuaries to Demeter-Kore in Morgantina, only the Central Sanctuary in the agora continued to be used. White (1950: 273) suggested that the neighbourhood networks which these sanctuaries represented may have formed a resistance to the Romans and were consequently targeted at the takeover. This can only remain supposition, but the removal of the sanctuaries which offered a focus for neighbourhood communities must have left the producers and users of the objects which were formerly deposited there bereft of institutions which had formed a central part of their day-to-day lives.

Morgantina is the only case study which permits examination of choices after the Roman takeover, due to the paucity of the evidence discussed in Chapter 3. Even M15 is dated to beyond a century after 211 - Stone dates it to the early first century - and M9 and M16 represent examples from the imperial period. We should note that as far as the written evidence suggests, the site was controlled by Hispanic mercenaries, not Romans, and the choices post-211 should be considered accordingly. The evidence from the deposition of M15 initially appears to indicate a major change in choices, with the predominance of Republican Red Gloss and Campana C at the House of the Doric Capital. However, as the methodology of the catalogue allows us to see, both of these pottery forms were produced locally at Morgantina (*M.S.* VI: 153, 171). In this sense, M15's discovery,

alongside locally-produced ceramics in shapes for feasting that are paralleled in sites across Sicily and southern Italy, along with some theatrical terracottas and 4 medallion vases, shows choices driven by contemporary trends in the first century similar to those associated with objects dated before the takeover. By the time of M9 and M16, the choices appear to have been limited to imported goods from Arretine workshops, used by those in a site with less accommodation and fewer amenities, but nevertheless still on the edge of mainstream trade routes.

6.6 How does this case study relate to Sicily's excavation history and been shaped by it? How does understanding of object biography and context change scholarly labels? What can these new conclusions add to our understanding?

At first glance, this case study seems to correspond with other excavated sites on Sicily in showing a flourishing community destroyed by Rome, plundered by Verres and gradually dwindling to the extent of Strabo's description "it used to be a city but now it does not exist" (VI, 2, 4) in the early Imperial period. This tendency can even be detected in the first object catalogue at the site, Bell's 1981 consideration of the terracottas, which placed Morgantina as a provincial recipient of artistic trends from cultural centres such as Syracuse, before the Roman takeover brought to an end terracotta production, and the habitation in certain areas as part of "a steady decline in urbanization, which was accompanied by markedly lower standards of craftsmanship and taste" (*M.S.* I: 6-7). As such, it contributed to the focus on the achievements of Syracusan leaders, in this case particularly Hieron II, and the Roman actions after his death, with less focus on the Carthaginian presence that is noted in the historical sources. However, the continuing study of the site at Morgantina has revealed that the realities of life at the site were far more complex. The most recent object catalogue, compiled in the same way as those for the Athenian Agora and Corinth, has placed the finewares from before and after the Roman takeover at the site in a wider context of trends in the northern Mediterranean, and a focus on specific finds has revealed the Carthaginian presence at the site. The display of objects, including the Morgantina Hoard, by find-spot in the local museum has contributed to our ability to understand the changing community at Morgantina on its own terms, although emphasis on the archaic and third century still persists. As in chapter five, the comparison in this case study of objects with those found across the Mediterranean has identified the particular local trends and institutions present at Morgantina.

This case study has underlined the conclusions from Chapter 4 that the full biography of objects bearing a representation of Herakles needs to be interrogated to fully understand how the changing function of theatrical objects can reveal the social institutions which affected the lives of the users and consumers of these objects. The votive label is equally, if not more, important than the theatrical one. At Morgantina, the fuller picture revealed by the contexts in which these and non-theatrical representations were found highlights, in particular, the importance of the different components of Demeter and Kore worship in

the neighbourhood sanctuaries, and the presence of individuals with the resources to choose expensive versions of popular vessels; these individuals may have come together as forces of influence in the internal politics of Morgantina, which was instrumental in the events of 214-211. *Gymnasion* communities may have combined for similar influence. Consideration of the distribution stages of the objects' biographies, along with their publication, has drawn attention to the implications of scholarly understanding of local and mass production. By cataloguing *terra sigillata* by workshop, emphasis is placed on the producer rather than the buyer, and the object's (and its owner's) place as part of a globalised system, whose artistic choices may have been dictated by slave craftspeople and middlemen traders, is reinforced for the Roman world. In contrast, the Hellenistic world is seen as one where trends were driven by élites with the economic resources and aesthetic taste to commission prestige goods such as the Morgantina Hoard, but where personal choices played a far greater role for both creators and users.

The objects bearing a representation of Herakles from Morgantina, owing to the figure's popularity across different object types and his suitability as a deity to being offered in the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore has therefore allowed us a series of snapshots on the artistic choices of individuals before and after the Roman takeover of the site in both domestic and secular contexts. We might query how these institutions contributed to the influence of Hieron II on Morgantina from Syracuse, himself influenced both by the Ptolemies and Rome by personal ties, and then to the more direct control of the Hispani, on behalf of Rome. The theatre's influence seems to have continued, although with changes to the way individuals sought representations of it; that of Demeter and Kore's local worshippers, however, was restricted to one, central, facility.

Chapter 7 - Conclusions

7.1 How and on what forms of object were Herakles and his equivalents represented on objects from the edge of the Roman Empire? Why were different forms of objects selected in different regions as appropriate carriers of Herakles imagery?

The figure of Herakles, also recognised by different communities as Melqart and Hercle, appears as a popular artistic choice by individuals in communities on Sicily during the centuries before, during, and after the island became the first overseas province of the Roman Empire. By contextualising the biographies of objects bearing this figure that recur on Sicily during 370-170, this research has demonstrated that accounting for how and on what he was found is very difficult to determine without asking why he was chosen. Evidence presented here indicates his widespread popularity; he appears on a variety of objects in a multiplicity of representations not found for any other deity, as the Morgantina case study emphasises. Especially in the third century, his appearance is personalised to the individual by the addition of his name or image to the existing form of an object, or by the object's function as a personal marker, notably as the image on a sealing object. Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle is typically found on small objects, often made from cheaper materials which served a utilitarian function, frequently with repeated examples of the same type. When objects of the same form in expensive materials are available for study, Herakles does not appear.

Case studies of theatrical objects and sealings bearing the figure identified as Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle in this research have demonstrated how social groups and institutions have informed the appearance of some objects. The institution of the theatre, as festival performances in which all ages and genders of local communities participated and élites invested, was the decisive factor in the appearance of many objects, with Herakles represented as a masked head characterised by the lionskin, or full-length representation in mask, lionskin, club and padded clothing. Despite these common traits, different representations were produced in eastern and southern Sicily and especially on the island of Lipari, suggesting that different performances were commemorated on the objects. This research has proposed that the personal association with individual performances may explain the choice of object, which were used for different functions later in their

biographies. Although theatrical representations occur frequently for other characters, these are not found across other media as Herakles is. The comparison of the recurring figure across different object types and communities allows us to identify the different social groups, institutions, and wider trends at play in Sicily during this period.

In the Carthaginian west of Sicily, a group of sealings preserve the variations on a young, slim, athletic figure from the seal devices of individuals using the institution of a temple or archive at Selinunte. By contextualising these images within the group surviving from Selinunte, and comparing them with examples from Delos and Carthage, this research has argued that the representation of Melqart-Herakles was a deliberate choice by those using the system to align themselves with the Carthaginian controlling power at Selinunte. It has also demonstrated the broader popularity of a figure recognised as Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle on sealing devices across the ancient Mediterranean, with individual representations perhaps indicating personal characteristics of the owners of the devices.

Despite the possibilities indicated by scholars, and proposed in this research, representations identified in publications as Melqart and Hercules remain elusive on Sicily. I suggest that this is due to the lack of defining characteristics established for the figure of Melqart in particular, and the focus on Greek Sicily in excavation and publication. Hercle is restricted to objects assigned by scholars to Etruscan production, in particular scarab seal-stones. The evidence presented in this research suggests that the scholarly traditions of cataloguing divine figures have restricted appreciation of the potential of a figure who could be accepted by different communities to indicate ancient and modern artistic choices, as well as questions of identity.

7.2 Did communities remain ‘on the edge’ in terms of artistic choices and identity as the power and influence of an external group developed and became established?

Interrogation of the biographies of objects representing the figure Herakles/Melqart/Hercle discussed in the case studies has identified the importance of social institutions in Sicilian communities in the day-to-day lives of their inhabitants. When we consider the accounts in historical sources of events leading up to the taking of power in communities on the island, not only by Rome but by indigenous, Carthaginian, Greek, and mercenary groups, it is clear that the situation was far more complicated than a conflict between external force *a* and occupying community *b*. Not only were there communities which included all and more of the groups mentioned above, but the takeover process would have involved debate within each community and diplomacy with external ones. The change of control at Morgantina between 215-211 - Roman, Carthaginian and then Roman again, before delegation to Hispanic mercenaries within four years - implies considerable discussion and debate by those who lived at the site. Similarly, the decision to abandon Selinunte in 249 will not have been taken unilaterally. This research has demonstrated how different groups within communities might represent themselves and be identified by their choice of Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle on different objects: groups associating themselves with the same theatrical patron, who commissioned figurines and masks of the performance they funded; those traders with a sealing object of Melqart-Herakles, whose trading networks benefited or even relied on the Carthaginian administrators at Selinunte; worshippers at the same local sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Morgantina where gifts to Ptolemaic Sarapis and Isis, or Carthaginian Tanit, were also welcomed. Interrogation of these objects cannot show how the crucial political decisions were made, but they can point to the dynamics within the communities that were affected by them. Rather than considering them ‘on the edge’, we should consider the diverse communities of Sicily as operating with their own strong, local traditions which were themselves the result of debate and negotiation between groups and institutions.

When Rome took over at different sites, repeated evidence from Sicily’s excavation history in general, and the objects bearing Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle in particular, bears witness to changes or even the disappearance of some of these institutions. All but one of the neighbourhood shrines to Demeter and Kore in Morgantina were destroyed by 211, affecting not only local religious practice, but the livelihoods of potters who produced

objects for it. Temple C at Selinunte and the archive (or at least system of documentation it housed) were destroyed in 249, causing, if nothing else, the need for a new system of verification for the traders at the port and those in the hinterland with whom they dealt. The deposition contexts of objects representing Herakles as a theatrical figure associate these objects with tombs, votive ditches and sanctuaries in the fourth century, but these practices disappear at sites as Rome takes over, on the current evidence. However, the physical evidence for theatre buildings is increasingly being associated with the period of Roman control, and, in the first century BC at Morgantina, a comic Herakles was still chosen by the owner of a large house as a decorated feasting vessel, M15. Evidence from Solunto suggests worship took place within private houses at altars Sol1-2. The dedication of bench Ag6 and other recently-published inscriptions from *gymnasia* to Herakles and Hermes, a combination of deities associated with Roman and Italian traders on Delos and in the heart of the Rome at the *forum boarium*, suggests that alternative institutions were put in place or developed.

7.3 What are the potential and limitations of data and existing scholarship on representations of Herakles from Sicily?

This research has demonstrated the potential for the interrogation of contextualised biographies of Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle objects to reveal the groups and institutions which formed the dynamics of ancient societies, and the way in which these affected local reactions to takeover by an external power.

Existing scholarship on Sicily has suffered from a lack of contextual nuancing by community in the discussion of this material, partly as a result of the cataloguing system within which much evidence lies. The treatment of the theme of the ancient theatre has therefore dealt with the idea of an institution following the Athenian tradition, acting as the link 'Between Greece and Rome' in the description of its development. This has been compounded by the use of decontextualized images, where focus is placed on the aesthetic quality and consequent cost of commissioned items such as vessels, at the expense of recurring mould-made objects, as well as any consideration of the objects' function. Focus on the image, rather than the object, has been used to show evidence of the staging of ancient drama and scenes from 'lost' plays, as well as establishing by subjective judgment the hands of those individuals creating the vessels. Such approaches compress the biographies of objects into one context, that of the producer or the deposition, without considering either the processes and institutions implied by its biography. For example the use of Cam1, made in Apulia, as evidence for a dramatic performance on Sicily (Stafford, 2012: 62) or any ancient theatre (Bieber, 196x: ref). (This methodology is currently followed by students sitting OCR's A-level in Classical Civilisation.) A more productive way forward is shown by the cataloguing of vessels in the manner of the Morgantina Studies series, where local context and global trends are associated with individual objects.

Similar problems are associated with the cataloguing of sealing objects, where the existence of mythological catalogues has placed the emphasis on the identification of known classical examples from literary texts, and on the straightforward association of subjectively judged 'style' and ethnicity of the creator or owner. As with the theatre, this is further compounded by the omission of examples from different Mediterranean cultures, in particular Phoenician-Punic communities, in object catalogues. By considering the whole object biography of sealings bearing Melqart-Herakles in western Selinunte and motifs on vessels from the site at Morgantina in the east, this research has demonstrated evidence for

co-operation between Sikels, Greeks, Etruscans and Carthaginians that belies the simplistic application of ethnic labels created by modern display and publication.

This consideration of the figure of Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle has sought to look beyond the aesthetic judgments implicit in former iconographic treatments of the divine hero, by considering the individuals involved in all stages of the biographies of the objects bearing his image. In so doing, it has established the potential for understanding the realities of life in Sicilian communities through the groups, institutions and global trends which informed those objects.

As Rome's first overseas province, Sicily provides a formative example of the methods by which Roman power was secured and established on the ground, as experienced by locals, as well as described by a central, external élite. The different communities of Sicily, with their underlying dynamics, have been treated in scholarship as a bridge between the civilisations of Greece and Rome, without affording them the corresponding agency. Herakles, as a figure of power recognised by all these communities, permits us to explore these dynamics. Far from being 'on the edge', as the new power of Rome began to look outwards, the individuals inhabiting the Mediterranean's central island should be at the heart of our understanding of cultural change, as it affected not only those who could commission artistic representations of Herakles, Melqart, or Hercle but of all those who took on his image.

Maguire's image (frontispiece) encapsulates the experience of everyday life in islands at the arrival of a new power. The customs and images familiar to scholars of the newcomers, with their shared cultural background of tea parties and classical Greek education, are placed in a central spotlight, but this does not give the full picture. On the edge is another figure, belonging to a different community, one with its own customs and images. To understand the whole landscape of Sicily as the island became Rome's first overseas province, we must not leave the individuals who lived in it hiding in the shadows.

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