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Shouting at the World and One Another: Punes, Latins, and Hellenism as an International (Visual) Language

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*This is draft. It is fuller as well as rougher than the text to be pronounced; but for fellow speakers and audience whom I'd like so much to debate with me, it seems productive as well as honest to lay out the reasoning behind what will turn sometimes into compressed statements of fact on the day. Footnotes here are partial; the final version will have more thorough annotations for people to keep. I regret that legal restrictions on 'publishing' images upon the open museum website mean I can't share visual data in advance; one aspect of length is that I've worked here to make verbal descriptions that images will put across more succinctly. Some source texts are appended, to back up arguments, and stand in for the presentation PPT's text excerpts.

My title speaks to the operation of Hellenism in the Roman West Mediterranean by drawing attention to the fact that the Hellenistic West belonged to two great non-Greek powers, not one, in addition to the Greeks of Italy, Sicily, Provence, North Africa. In my academic lifetime, at long last the Italo-Roman achievement of the last centuries BCE has entered discussion of where it belongs, the Hellenistic achievement broadly speaking -- lending luster to not taking it away from its local, and non-Greek character. In parallel, the enormous contribution of the non-Greek peoples of the East to the 'Greek' amalgam of sophistication high culture, in the arts not least, is also at last being recognized by Hellenists and Romanists as well as specialists in those peoples. That discourse has opened up a realization that in calling Greek visual and verbal rhetoric a *lingua franca*, we should take seriously the meaning of the modern metaphor, taken from the long era when French was the language of politics and culture alike across a host of peoples and tongues. Many Greeks fussed enormously about the relation of non-Greeks to Hellenism; but everyone else in the world had one another on their minds, as much or more; when they 'spoke Greek' in any medium, they talked for a globalized, polyethnic world. But there has been one ethnic community left out of these revolutions, demographically an enormous one, economically and politically an extremely causative one: Phoenicians, in their homeland, and in their western Punic diaspora.

This panel talks of Rome, so its Punes I most speak of, though their links with eastern homeland were real as those of the eastern Italo-Roman diaspora of the 2nd-1st c. BCE with its own home in the west. Carthage and Italy, and in particular Carthage and Rome, were friendly for centuries, with a strong Punic presence in the city, up to the explosion of the Punic Wars, persisting even during them; the great struggles brought them as such situations do, forcibly, qua cultures, to one another's attention. An enormous problem with discussing Hellenism, Greeks, as such, is that it totalizes Greek culture; combine that with crippling inattention to the cultural prepotence of the western Greeks by Hellenists themselves, and you end up where we are now: very badly placed to understand the civilization of the Hellenistic west Mediterranean, and the operation in it of 'Greek-ish' creation, recurrently drawn as art historians and historians - Anglophones especially - to repeat that it took the invasion of Syracuse to introduce Romans to 'Greek art', and that Republican dialogue with Hellenism has to do with the centers of the East Mediterranean. But in turning back West, Carthage is vital. The extraordinary flowering in the 3rd-2nd c. of the art, architecture and letters of the *res publica* (itself a conglomerate of Italic peoples), the domain of Philhellenism scholarship, took place during, and in aftermath, of a tangled wrestling with Carthage, and of both with the West Greeks, culturally as militarily and politically. But how can we begin to recuperate Punic Hellenistic high culture? Punic specialists themselves are more interested in an earlier period, seeking more authentically Oriental-looking stuff. The cities and sanctuaries are barely excavated; prime sites remained so, thus as overbuilt continuously to our day as an Alexandria, or a Rome, and so as hard to know. The Punic West's own version of Urbs Roma was utterly destroyed in 146; paradoxically, its Imperial Age resurgence means later creation further erased pre-Imperial remains. And there is no Pliny or Pausanias extant to fill in a scanty material record - and god knows it would cripple Greek and Roman art history themselves to lack such gazetteers.

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But - there *are* telling documents, even if we must turn to archaeology of the text very often, even in the core canon of Greek and Roman letters - that is, if one cares to ask in the first place about Punic monument behaviour, as we've learnt in my Romanist circles to do the hard forensic work to imagine back a body from a bit of bone, monuments from a sentence. I come ill-equipped in some ways, tapping Punic studies from the outside; but what someone like me can give, is the Mediterranean context the Greco-Romanist village raised me in. That is no small gift to give our colleagues, because it draws attention to distinctively Punic practices by comparison - this kind of enquiry is not a condescending willingness to look for the 'classical' in the 'non-classical'. Hellenism, acted out by the non-Hellene, is a matter both of visual and of verbal communication: in the public monument we have always utterances guaranteed to be endowed with deep intent, and to discuss identity. Like Greek ones, Punic and Italo-Roman monuments consistently incorporated text - which is why we have, from those in durable materials, and from texts about inscriptions, the historians' epigraphic record. It is fascinating to probe how language choice for linguistically mixed audiences, Greeks included, acted in combination with visual language - especially, with the bilingual monument inscription so much a feature of my period.

King at Gades

My opening excursus raises up front key issues about what we address when we discuss Hellenism: content, or form? subject, or execution? Understanding what in its day gestured at Greekness is contingent absolutely on location in the space and time of the act of making, receiving, reading, as it is on thinking about all peoples who shared that moment, and their apprehension of the normative and the idiosyncratic, among their own kind and among the Others. One of the most important of those norms is 'genre' of artifice: that one would make or write x kind of thing in the first place - and where.

It is 68 BCE, and the place is Gades, Gadir, Cadiz, the greatest sanctuary of Phoenician Melkart in the western Mediterranean, pride of the Carthaginian empire til Rome took it in 206 ; for centuries Greeks and Italians have identified Melkart and Hercules, and since the Punic Wars it's a place of international pilgrimage and tourism to Greeks and Roman, for its strange landscape, the fascination of its antiquities, and as the spot where one could come be baffled by the appearance here where world-encircling Ocean meets our lands of an enormous tide, that puzzler to people of the tideless Inner Sea. It commemorated where world-subduing Hercules celebrated his west-most conquest, over the triple-bodied Geryon, symbolically taking Spain: on his way home with Geryon's cattle, Italians and West Greeks believe mythic thieves of their peninsula tried to steal those cattle, and the god founded shrine where he murdered those bandits, whether in Rome (if you listened to Latins) or at Croton (if you listened to Hellenes of Magna Graecia, the Italic Bruttii). A young Latin-Roman in his early 30's, who thinks himself to be like the Punic inhabitants descended from an eastern people (Phrygians), honors his national god and plays tourist, on his roving duties as quaestor; going to salute Hercules, *apud templum*, 'at the shrine' he comes upon a lifeless face familiar from its cousins which he knew - that 2nd c. conquerors of Macedon had brought to Rome, and around the east Greek world in which he has already spent much time: Alexander the Great. "He groaned, and, as if maddened to exasperation by his own insignificance, because nothing worth historical memory had been achieved by him yet at the very age when Alexander had subjugated the lands of the globe, he burst out calling to be dismissed from his post, to go home and seize the occasions of greater affairs of history in the *Urbs Roma*." (Suetonius, I.7). Be patient, Julius Caesar - you'll get the biography that passes us this statue, like so many ancient works preserved in but one random textual comment¹.

What the hell is a statue of Alexander the Great, who never went to the west Mediterranean before his death in 323 BCE, doing in the Punic precinct of Hercules Gaditanus, put there in the ca. 120 years between the 320's, and the 206 fall of Gades to Rome. None care to wonder - not Punic/Phoenician specialists, not Hellenists. A principal study of Alexander portraiture does note it, but assumes it was "in Punic style"². We know what the high 'style' of Punic art was, and Alexander, at a Punic equivalent of Delphi, would be imaged in nothing less: the polished elegance of the 4th-c. international elite, extremely Greek visual modes. Indeed by the 5th c., the enigmatic statue from Sicilian Motya shows, for fine honorifics one hired in Greeks who could do

the work, in this culture which used sculpture sparingly enough that it brought in the technicians. The sample is scant, but telling. Here, for instance, is the visage of Carthage's founder Elissa of Tyre, to give the bastardized version of her Punic name, not the Greco-Roman one Dido, on a coin from a short commemorative run exuberantly issued in Sicily in the late 4th c. by Punic forces. It reports the statue in her temple-grove in the heart of the Carthage she founded. Sculptors would have been hired Greeks, given specific instructions as for the dynastic tomb portraits Karian Mausolos asked from his Greek master artists, to make the person look not-Greek: to give her historical authenticity as Tyrian-stock ruler Dido's been put in the then-modern princely costume of male rulers in Phoenicia, the floppy *tiara* crown-cap borrowed from Iranian royal regalia; the straying loose hair is not any recognizable Greek coiffure of life or art³. The famous Apollo 'Caelispex' that would be brought to Rome as booty in the 2nd c. was pure 4th-c. Praxitelean style, the evidence shows, eg this copy from Carthage of what is shown as a marker at Rome on this Imperial arch; the Melkart of this very sanctuary, coinage indicates, was an expressive 5th-4th c. piece.

In fact, it is highly implausible that star-struck Punes fabricated an Alexander image on their own account: rather the statue has to have been acquired from Alexander's court artists, or (less likely) artist was brought for a visit West, by the Carthaginian ambassadors who, with delegates from 'Libyans' and 'Spaniards' attended Alexander's governing audiences at Babylon in the scant time between his return from India and his death (Arrian Anab. 7.15.4) Alexander had at last time and place to turn his mind directly to administering his domains. All the merchant princes of the mesh of Punic and Phoenician entities had good reason to come calling, about the governance of the Levantine Phoenician ports and all their outliers. Greek sources, moderns following them, present this as the glamour of Alexander reeling in the crowds. Not so. Carthage needed to turn up, and was supported; Arrian's 'Spaniards' are not fans from Celtiberian tribes, but legates from Spain's Punic cities (Gades certainly there!). One of Carthage's regular delegations to the ancient mother city Tyre had been in place when Alexander descended: the legation worked to stiffen Tyre's will to bar its gates, promised it aid (which did not come, but it's the thought that counts) and hosted refugees from the famous siege that ended spectacularly in 332 with Tyre's destruction, enslavement of 30,000 of its people⁴. Passionate with unalloyed admiration to put up the killer's face - not likely. The portrait is a negotiation. Bars on access between the western cities dominated by Carthage, and the eastern ones, would have been difficult for the broader Phoenician world; Sidon can perhaps have interceded, as its king basked in the favor of Alexander who had installed him. (In a parallel art-act, he used access to Alexander's workshops for his own royal sarcophagus, Alexander's battle against Darius upon it.) Alexander had requested recognition from Tyre as asking to sacrifice at its Melqart temple -- whose priest was also king, no innocent request. What better ameliorating gesture now than for Tyre's guilty daughter to request from a conqueror addicted to playing Hercules, an image for the pan-Punic Melkart sanctuary of the western Phoenicians? Gades thus received the hottest new kind of Greek art: the ruler portrait, as Alexander worked hard to confect it, a tool of implied presence, visual rhetoric of power -- and a witness to agreements, benefactions.

For the statue demands explanation *qua* portrait, not only as one of an erstwhile enemy. On the extant record, Punes and Phoenicians rarely permitted themselves to be portrayed in any medium, for tombs or votives and even for honorifics; that social controls exerted by the group government of their cities meant no one person normally could step forward to place such things, as happened re 5th c Greek cities, could matter; but even Phoenician kings kept off to a surprising extent. There is no record of aniconism absolute, but this Semitic people seems to have had something of the deep reserve about divine images as others, and/ or found their holy, abstract-form stones sufficient as 'cult statues', though those do occur. But rarity of honorific and even votive portrait statues is a phenomenon that needs remark. Even the 2nd Punic War Barcid princely generals Hannibal, Hasdrubal, did not place 'graven images' though they turned at last to the vehicles of national and personal pride Greeks used like coin portraits and to self-aggrandizing major monuments of other kinds, below, on the terrain where Greeks, and Romans, would have used them; Roman collectors of relics of historic portraits would have been fascinated to have a Hannibal - there are none. Alexander would have been one of very few if any portraits at the sanctuary, utter contrast to a Greek one of the same stature. Ambassadors would convey (though the king knew well Phoenician practices by now) what special admiration and abjection

were expressed. Alexander in turn would have been thrilled by fictive presence, world fame in the land of his patron Hercules' furthest Western feats at an oracular sanctuary of immemorial age; was not the amuletic statuette that accompanied his campaigns the Banqueting Hercules, drinking after returning from procuring the Apples of the Hesperides?

The portrait was a masterwork doubtless - but not symptom of Philhellenism. Ornament for Melkart as lovely as the documented masterpieces Carthage took from Greek sanctuaries it chose selectively to plunder for its own shrines, primary power was as a sort of radioactive lump of history. Alexander's pedestal was inscribed certainly in Punic: would it have been inscribed also in Greek? (Yes, I think ...⁵) Punic politicized discourse to this Macedonian seized on his culture's image practice and his own novel twist upon it. How did the Punes 'feel' about Alexander? He certainly represented a brand-new kind of Greek power, who would embrace non-Greeks, literally - Karian dynast by adoption, husband of Baktrian and Persian women, who hunted lions with the king of Sidon; what he had done to Tyre, extreme trauma for Carthage that makes one query why anyone in their empire would honor him, was balanced by liberation of Phoenician as of Greek centers from Persia. Greeks accepted Alexander's charismatic images, and cult of Alexander, as a way of making sense of events so enormous that ordinary humanity could not explain the one who caused them; perhaps Punes could so react too. In place, the display spoke also to those Greeks who would most care that the glamorous import existed, so far from Macedon and its new realm: West Greek allies and enemies of Carthage. No late 4th-early 3rd c. Greek civic or religious space of the west had as the Carthaginian empire now did, an Alexander portrait monument, even though their peoples were, with other Italians, fascinated to quote Alexander's monuments and also his portrait style in their own art, ceramics and funerary sculpture show; what they made of the Macedonian's willingness to engage with recognizing Punic gods is very interesting to speculate upon.

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This excursus is very uas prologue to what happens in the later 3rd and the 2nd c. BCE, because on the Roman side of the equation you either are familiar with or can easily be made so about Roman habits of self-portrayal (in the case of tombs, and triumphalist images whose opportunity was awarded as normal when triumph was voted to X), and honorifics by cities and Senate(s), Italo-Roman, then in the age of expansion, Greeks too. Differences in evidence, and in practice of analogous genres, contrast so very strongly with linked Punic and Phoenician prowess in the language arts, and obviously in spoken rhetoric therefore. To be authors of sophisticated histories and of treatises of all kinds was not a result of Hellenism - but it converged with it. Exemplary is the case of the great Punic and Phoenician philosophers - who also were like many sophists critics of religion, Greek literature, and other realms of quintessentially cultural forms of Greek identity its authors served. We know these men from the late Imperial period, the Lives of Philosophers of Diogenes Laertius (DL), fascinated by biographic data. Writing about Greek-realm prowess, he gives the Greek use-names of Phoenicians and Punes; without him, we'd not know the ethnic, raising sobering thoughts (as for Anatolians, Mesopotamians et al.) how many analogous figures are screened under Greek and Latin nomenclature in the only sources we now have on them. Without these Semitic leaders, Greek philosophy would have been fundamentally different, Roman with it. Stoicism owes its shaping to the great Zeno of Phoenician Kition (ca. 334-226), founder and head of its main school in Athens: throughout, DL's data recur to Zeno's self-identification as the Phoenician that, like many from Cyprus, he was, both honored and teased as such in his life and after, with evidence to suggest he retained sometimes Phoenician dress; he came of an elite mercantile family trading in purple, and the Athenian book-stall browsing that made him think to change careers passes for natural diversion. The Phoenician net looked after its own: In middle age when Athens voted him a stunning tomb and gold crown (not, statue) a brilliant Phoenician poet, the Greek epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon, stepped forward to write the epitaph. A Greek Stoic stepped forward too, interestingly making far more of the ethnic, hailing Phoenician civilization itself as mother of letters via the Kadmos who founded Thebes⁶. One Apollonios of Tyre wrote a biography; fellow citizens inscribed their own votives with the note he was their countryman he was struck by the idea to change careers when, as a natural amusement, he browsed philosophy in a book-store in Athens, calling at the Piraeos harbor, Striking to me is that western Punic speakers as well as Eastern came to learn, Peraios of

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Sidon (who ended court adviser to King Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon), Zenos of Sidon - and Herillos of Carthage.

The equally catalytic Kleitomachos, who is responsible for transmitting Carneades as Plato wrote Sokrates, came as Hasdrubal to Athens in 163. Eventually heading the Academy; both he, and his teacher Carneades before him, launched an intense rapprochement with Rome, and made Roman friendships. It's Carneades who first lectures on philosophy at Rome in the embassy famous to Romanists, and Kleitomachos dedicated books to Censorinus the consul of 149 - and to the Roman poet Lucilius. It was his pupil Philo who taught Cicero, who wrote Rome's first systematic Latin philosophy books. Yet he also wrote the ancestor of that most famous lament and consolation for the fall of a great capital, North African Augustine of Hippo's *On the City of God*. Though he complimented Scipio Aemilianus otherwise, to his own people at large, in Greek to sing to Romans and Greeks, he addressed his *On the Destruction of Carthage* [by Scipio] after Rome destroyed it and poisoned its very fields for all time (so intended) in 146; as Augustine would do he exhorted to look beyond to the world of the spirit, culture not dependent on built cities, citing, we hear and only hear, Carneades - 'the man of wisdom ought not to be devastated by the capture of his city', apt for in its own time for Greeks who knew the terrible wasting of Thebes by Alexander, and a consolation for contemporary Greeks on the Roman destruction of Corinth simultaneous with that of Carthage. The ethnic and regional network shows, too: Carneades was for Kyrene, a thoroughly mixed Libyo-Greek entity prod since the archaic age of its autochthonous Libyan aspect; Carthage's natural engagement with Greeks via the Cyrenaica, not just Sicily or Alexandria, is neglected utterly in our field. (Eratosthenes of Kyrene (276-194), head of Alexandria's Library, countered Aristotle's claim all non-Greeks are barbarians, citing the constitutions of Carthage as of Rome, cf. pseudo-Aristotle's *Politics* describing them. Note in these filiations of education how Greek intellectuals happily took Punic and Phoenician pupils themselves.⁷ Calling this Hellenization seems paltry, and misguided: Phoenicians had spoken Greek since the Greek Dark Age in order to make profits off Greeks, as they seem to have easily mastered all languages of their client peoples, and Hellenists know well what Phoenicians did to spark Greek art and affect early Greek religion. The Hellenistic peoples of Phoenician origin interpenetrated the fountainheads of Greek thought, I would say, as Irish and Americans like like James and Shaw, made the great English 19th c. literatures in England. We would hardly call this their nations' Anglicization. With this difference: Punic wrote in their own language too, for an enormous user community: Kleitomachos of Carthage lectured on philosophy at home, in Punic, as Mago wrote an enormous treatise on agriculture and its institutions in 28 books in Punic that, after the libraries of Carthage were pillaged by Rome, was translated by decree of Rome's Senate as a treasure beyond price (Pliny HN 18.22) - that is, better than anything in Greek, though, Pliny's source sardonically added, Cato the Elder (who so worked to have Carthage destroyed) had written on the same subject - i.e., the tiny book we still have. The translator was a Greek from North African Utica, who studied Punic therefore; from that, the Roman noble Decimus Silanus handled the Latin version, that is generic ancestor to the social/technical agricultural treatises of Varro, Columella. It was in Punic that Teucer of Carthage seems to have written on mechanics, because the Greek architect Archytas (See DL, on the homonymous philosopher) cites conversation with him, not reading him, as source: His opening line on his own mechanical treatise was, 'This is what I heard from Teucer the Carthaginian'.

This intellectual network is illustrative of others, based significantly in regional affiliation on the one hand, the trans-Mediterranean web of west Phoenician strong contact with the eastern Phoenicians, that had profound socio-political as well as artistic ramifications. That Punic architects and planners worked for and taught Greek and Italian apprentices shows in the very well-known evidence for house construction on the one hand (signinum floors, and the wall-making mode *opus Punicum*) that reached the Oscans by the 4th-3rd c. in Pompeii and all over Sicily, as the far grander Punic built market (and the administrative structures that went with it), *macellum*, was a Punic form adopted by the Republic, to the enduring profit of Roman design. Easy appropriation of Greek fine domestic display, to claim equal culture, shows in the 'Masonry Style' of house decors from African Kerkouan (one of the few excavated Punic cities, *drat*) to the superb house of Delos that are our principal source for Hellenistic Greek house forms, and their

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high arts; it is the tagging by Tanit symbols (the Phoenician equivalent of amuletic mezzuzah) in mosaic floors that at 2nd c. Delos as in Sicily distinguish Phoenician/ Punic houses otherwise indistinguishable from those of Greeks - or the Italians at Delos, and we should think hard about the fact that some of these Phoenician houses probably housed North African and Spanish Punes too. This is no more Hellenization, than the fact that no distinguishable material trace documents the strong presence in Rome of Punic artisans and merchants in the 4th-2nd c. that Palmer's seminal 1997 *Rome and Carthage at Peace* laid out, with its impact on Roman religion, even letters (Terence was an African slave, that is, via Libyo-Punic traders.) The vector that tied Punic and Phoenician-headed schools at Athens intersected the courts that subvented the schools, which sent them advisors; that strong Macedonian communication manifest in the career of Zeno of Kition's pupils, is precursor to Hannibal's pacts with Philip of Macedon against Rome; it gives background to Numidian appropriation of Macedonian elite and royal tomb forms in famous monuments like these [the Numidian tombs with weapons art, and Dion, show] - that model came on the pipeline of Numidian autopsy in Macedon accompanying Punic delegations to Philip, and its exemplars have much to do with Scipio's friend and ally Masinissa and his clan - Masinissa who left Carthaginian service for a Roman one. Here is the Numidian-Roman triumphal base from Rome, that is one of the few extant fine examples of lost 2nd-c. republican art, the 'Bocchus monument' so-called: it clearly transports Numidian allies' honorifics to a Roman commander. It was found in the San Omobono precinct of twin temples, that is, by the Forum Boarium where the leaders of the 2nd Punic war erected Hercules shrines that competed for the god's backing with Carthage. Hellenization? Hmm. At the birth of autoonomous Numidian nation and kingship, workshop prototypes spoke for the fact of royal domain, in Hellenistic 'Greek' forms that were however heavily inflected by indigenous Anatolian ones, those paradigms still visible in a syncretic landscape! the marker in Rome references the Numidian synthesis (origin tied by that odd blue-stone base, rock from Africn quarries) as much or more. Naturally its currency as admirable display thanks to this whole mesh of ties was legible, to any visitor or emissary, as to Romans who knew the east - as hundreds of thousands did, in this age of 'global' campaign.

I would bet the Forum Boarium base had for its certain Roman triumphal statue adornment Scipio Africanus, though this is not the place to push it! But all the same compare the Tomb of the Scipios, in this reconstruction: applied to it now by Africanus a gorgeous 'Hellenistic' articulated facade, housing statues like templon tomb, of Scipio, his brother the eastern conqueror Lucius Asiagenus - and, a trilingual Samnite intellectual brilliant in the Greek tradition he penetrated, who had joined himself as did the foreign ruler of the 'Bocchus Base' to Scipio's cause and Rome's, epic poet and playwright Ennius. But the older tomb, now expanded, spoke too for syncretic local identity, multi-ethnic rootedness in *tota Italia* that Ennius exemplified - its unique rockcut distinctive doors bespeak Etruscan tombs, while the podium bore now very fragmentary frescoes of Scipionic battles over resistant foreigners (if Punes, why then, images of what Ennius uttered), in the great tradition of Roman history painting! Roman empire, Latin language culture, visual arts, thrive together. A Mercedes is a cool car anywhere, not Anglophilia. Aristocrats then needed tombs that spoke wealth and status as ours need cars internationally. Those of you who know how elites of multiple peoples (Italy too) in the 9th-7th c. competed to import all together the Phoenician goods and the also 'Orientalizing' Greek wares should recognize a kindred phenomenon: non-Greeks of many kinds as well as Greeks, bound by Hellenistic display modes whose Greek pedigree was a brand like the Gucci bags in every part of our bigger globe.

Faces and Bodies

So too with portraits. Rome distinguished its urban landscape by self-population with the exemplary of achievement, each period of intensive warfare especially generating scads of competitive triumphalist display. In portraits we should most be able to speak authentically of intended and received meanings about the appropriated genre, or rhetorical mode (figural style); every image already in place at the time of new commission had acculturated all viewers to reconginize analogy and innovation. And, yes, to portraits Greco-Romanists look especially, for Roman Hellenization; not least, immigrant artists from all over the Greek world joined Italic ateliers to produce them. Is this cultural weakness, alien tradition? Not: its the hallmark of metropoleis always, and 'Greek' ones were the same. The great Hellenistic art and literature

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centers we laud for a discernible and influential 'house style', of Alexandria and Pergamon, like Classical and Archaic Athens before them, or Paris birthing Modernism, were shaped by immigrants pouring in. Whatever their politicians and arbiters said xenophobically from time to time, from the 6th c. on Greek designers in every medium of architecture and image worked cheerfully for all who would pay them, with the 'pure Greek' tradition continually refreshed by generic innovation outside the Greek norm - and the formal creativity spurred by it - that non-Greek peoples offered from their own art practices: i.e., no Greek could offer Pythias the chance for that colossal Mausoleion! and we know well that Roman portraits, verist studies that modelled history of brilliance in deed and insight in battered faces' lines, the chance to make performative stone and metal men who would throw their arms out to speak to imagined crowds and worship the gods turned even Greek sculptors on; the first was not typically how men of high power wanted to appear back home, the second was not Greek practice period.

So, meet the 'Terme Prince': a second century *imperator* so historically famous his image was looked after carefully right down to the moment it was carefully and reverently cached in its modern findspot - that is, a period when the city was under threat in Late Antiquity. He exemplifies the stranglehold of Hellenist art history on Italo-Roman that says if it's good it must not be for Romans but Greek loot, and desperate for royal statues, wow a king - a fascinating historiography: but my side has won the war at last, the staunchest Hellenist voices, even Ridgway's conceding. We can date him to a precise epoch and precise context: looking at the Attalos I of the royal heroon at Pergamon beside his face, it is very clear this is made by an artist gift-loaned as texts and other monuments document elsewhere, to the intimate Roman allies with whom they split masterpiece booty and shared tents as Pergamon and Rome teamed up to take down the world of the other Diadoch kingdoms, the Greek East. But someone's given instructions: that face has the kinesthetic action I find in portraits of Romans alone, a momentary 'pose' of intense shrewd attention contracting all muscles inwards - the Republican 'frown'. No diadem; and, Roman only, not only a beard but a stubble beard, as the Mid-Republican elites wore them - the 'Brutus', the Flamininus staters circulated around the east Greeks after F. smashed Macedon for Rome (again), this probably Flaminus from Delphi. So, an outstanding leader of the age of the alliance with Attalos I, undertaken in nerves about Punic conflict not least, and Eumenes II, ca. 220-170. Bucknaked, it startles intensely, for that heroizing self-aggrandizement: and it appeals to inbuilt art knowledge visual sources attest was available in Italy partly. Two of the most famous masterworks of Lysippos, whose Italian output by the way was significant, are syncretized: the father of all such images, Alexander with the Lance, and the 'Weary Hercules', here in the Baths of Caracalla replica, whm coins show was known in Rome of the age. The hand-behind-back of the stylized massive Herculean body was unique to that image in the Greek canon. It held the apples of the Hesperides; beaten down but not beaten, by that last Labor in furthest West Hercules completed his world-conquests and won immortality, the enmity of Hera - Juno - abolished for good. Victor of the west, this says: and that means a general on the Western front.

The eclectic syncretism and Lysippan mode speak for the latest in the manifestos of Pergamon's art critics and artists: modern best excellence, and the synthesis in a portrait statue of collaged icons looks like creative invention for a Roman too (ask me why later). Just like the great temples of the Forum Boarium, this shouts from Rome at Carthage, direct at the Barcids and their Hercules postures, to satisfy at least a Roman fury. Just so, the great trophy of mourning, relief, final triumph against all odds from the most vicious siege on Italian soil was another Lysippan Weary Hercules, a colossos of rare scale hauled by Fabius Maximus to the Capitolium from the precinct of Zeus at Tarentum where a Roman garrison had held out to starvation point til they could be relieved in the victory that perhaps did most to break pro-Punes of Magna Graecia, and the city that had called in the Punes to start the first Punic War, a Hercules so beaten down he crouched minus club and lionskin, even, on his upturned apple-basket. The stunning techno-wonder of its transport snarled to Punes and all who would go with them of the power of the Roman machine; comparable is the case of Scipio's showcase booty statue (the evidence suggests generals singled out a particular statue among ll their booty, fter Roman triumphs, for special votive installation). Not by accident did he choose a colossus, the bronze cult statue called Caelispex, that must be from Carthage's Temple of Apollo. To transport it, and, even more, to get it up onto the lofty column on which it stood in Rome, was a polemic feat of military

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engineering too, overseen by the military master of works, *praefectus fabrum*. (It stood quite close to Flamininus' bilingually inscribed 194 BCE triumphal portrait.)

Yes, this portrait Hellenizes, in the sense it appeals to what the post-4th c Greek world considered their Michelangelo, as it were, best of sculptors for all time. That though raises the salient issue: older art *was* often Greek, as our art roots are explified in every museum by European products centuries old - or, you could say, the grandparents of the American novel are 18th-19th c. Russians, Brits, French; or drama around Anglophonia, but also for Germans in translation, begot by Shakespeare. Is a masterwork replica about `Greek', or about the fact of inovation in known tradition ..? Greekness in design was never an issue in the Republic, in utter contrast to the Roman debate over cultural weakness or not shown by linguistic imitation; not once is visual Greek style condemned, and how cold it be? since the 6th c. Italian art kept up with Greek styles. Rather, `Greek art' as suspect was a sociology of art: master-artist adulation and the obscnely priced auction culture it often spawned, with it the greed to own not share (which Erich Gruen seminally emhasized!); that Greek look was good for everyone is shown, in fact, precisely by that stern exhortation to public ownership. I have always found it curious that persons themselves torn by admiration for unique creators, disgust with market excesses, anxiety over private ownership, should in our century have so taken Romans to be boors because they worried .. The tendency of Italyn artists and architects not to sign, meant their work could not be fetishized collectible in the same way.

The Terme General quotes a canon: and a public canon, in a rhetoric of metaphor analogous to written panegyric. If it was critiqued, and no doubt some attacked the subject via his image while others clapped, this would have been for iconographic features - `naked' - not a mimng of Greek people, by contrast to the image of Scipio's brother Lucius, for instance, that rivals carped at because it wore, the texts say, Diadoch chlamys not Roman general's palaudamentum cloak, and Greek boots not Roman soldiers' *caligae*. In other words, this was a documentary mode image of Lucius in military dress, ie in the `Hellenistic' cuirass worn by Roman generals too, in art and reality. It's the social and homiletic literature of resentment that so often gives details; political and religious carping document always, of course, just like laws against X, something people chronically did or enjoyed. Asiagenus was sure many would not carp, or he would not have so commissioned: what he meant and they understood is an effect of being dressed in *spolia*, and/ or a miming of historical typology akin to period theory of the succession of empire - a hypostasis of the proud Republican dictum that Romans have not a king but a Senate where every peer is equal a king. Just so, known 2nd and 1st c. aristocrats put their heads on replicas of the `Granikos' Group, purloined from beaten Macedon, of Alexander and his officers. If one knew the codes, the Terme General's Alexander *imitatio* spoke the same. Greek readers were even more literally imagined, in the Macedonian Flamininus' triumphal portrait of 194: it had, said Plutarch in chapter 1 of his 2nd c. CE Life, a Greek inscription. That means it was bilingual, for it obviously hd a Latin one too. It assumed persons - Greeks, but also many bilingual foreigners, who read Greek more easily than Latin, as the Term fe bronze assumed Greek elite connoisseurly readers of visual codes. Is that abjection? hardly. It stresses that Greeks pour into Rome because they must, from kings on down (and even kings did), because of Rome's power over them. To allies, of course, this is meant like any politely affable formal reception to assert cousinship, natural alliance; formal *translatio* offers, one might say, something like the Villa Publica offered to visiting kings and ambassadors, a residence comfortable for them.

`Friendly' Hellenic resonance is illuminated if we look at hostile resonance. Both Punes and Romans, who were not from autocracies, waged such coin wars, looking at the same phenomenon - dynastic Greek coinage; the cases mutually confirm one another's agenda. Here are the first, and the last, historic portrait coinages of Carthage: the issues of Hasdrubal and Hannibal, imaging themsleves and perhaps their father. They come from the Barcid domain in Spain, where Hasdrubal founded New Carthage and opened its extraordinarily productive silver mines: the coins speak that walth, which means military power. The Barcids are like the charismatic generals of Rome; caught up in extraordinary military events, important in their own and others' eyes in ways that strained their anti-autocratic societies. They lived, truly, lke princes, though never calloing themselves *basileus* and remainign subjct to the magistrates of Carthage. But Hasdrubal built Cartagena dominated by a palatial residence overlooking its stunning naval

harbor, his most obvious model, Syracuse's stronghold of despots and kings recurrently: Ortygia, dominating Syracuse's harbor. Rome and Carthage were not yet at war, but the Barcids represent those who clearly saw the peace as Cold War, as will have many Romans: beaten once, the Barcid citadels and formidable new military resources - now, two Carthages! - were threatening deterrents to Roman aggression in the Carthaginian zone; they also threatened, overtly so, the enemy Greeks of Sicily in constant hostility with the, above all royal Syracuse under the dynasty of Rome's ally Hieron II. The coins address exactly the same audience by imitation of its badges of power though no one's bothered to remark (much as no history of Hellenistic architecture, urban planning or palaces even indexes Hasdrubal's city). Here: the first portrait coinages of any Sicilian leader, Hieron, his wife, his son, his grandson, with royal titles, and diadems. The coins lived in the same purses often, in Sicily and Magna Graecia at least, of Greek, Punic, and indigenous peoples!

But look further at the young princes, whose coins bear Punic language as their features have been cut with ethnic markers in those profiles: at their youth, their luminous intense gaze. Models are not the more verist Syracusan types; they hark back to the famous Alexander stater, here; it is telling that historians narrated the aspect of those Barcids in terms that echo Alexander descriptions as well. Remember our Alexander, at Gades? The threat/promise of superiority over Greek cities bluntly told Greek enemies a truth, or promised to; they invited pride in loyal Greeks of the Punic cities, and there were many, as they invited the admiration of Greeks who flocked to the Barcid court salons like the Spartan historian Sosylus, Hannibal's tutor, and the Sicilian Silenus, the court historian used explicitly by later Greek and Roman sources. Analogous as provoked by the same Greek habit, though to more subtle self-aggrandizing aims, are the Flaminus staters, the first Roman portrait coinage, and the last to show a living man till Caesar: the lack of inscription is itself polemic. These contemptuously insult the Macedonian coins of the kings now beaten; to the liberated Greeks for whom the standard-stater - was valid, two things spoke the end of kingship, federation with a republican power. One was the lack of any name inscription, which like the non-Roman denomination had complex messages for Flaminus' armies too (ask ...!); the other, Flaminus' appearance as non-Greek, bearded, general in the field too busy to shave as his soldiers knew him, non-idealistic features exaggerated. Both issues are, interestingly, locally specific: outside Spain, at other Carthaginian mints, the Barcids suborned no other currency to their own portrayal; Flaminus issued these coins, in Greece only, for one particular occasion both practical and symbolic.

I close, with two radically understudied monuments that ought to enliven 'Hellenization' debate; both represent, equally, the foreign peoples' 'Hellenization' of Greek city states in Magna Graecia - Hannibal's great altar and *res gestae* bilingual Punic-Greek inscriptions at the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia at Kroton in S. Italy, the 2nd c. public library of Sicilian Taormina and its advertisement of owning the Roman Fabius Pictor's Greek-language history of the origins of Rome right through the Punic Wars. Their natural comparandum is a case much cited, Scipio's installations in Sicilian cities of statues iconic of cities' identity and religion that he brought back from the Carthage that had spoliated them - but with his narrative, in his language, on their new bases. I'd like to consider the fact of native language display in Greek territory, as also to consider what it means to show Greek to Greeks, and to complicate some of the easier answers in the Philhellenism to the intended messages of Scipio's actions.

All three invite Greeks to look to the foreigners as guardians - best guardians - of their own cultural identity, collectively as Hellenes, and also particularly as communities whose autonomy other ones might threaten - enemies Greek and also, in the case of Kroton, non-Greek neighbours. And finally, I contend strongly to fellow Romanists we should entertain the hypothesis that competition with Hannibal's enduring construction informs some very significant Republican commissions at Rome. Bitter enemies tend historically to shout at one another by competitive monumental emulation, dialectically driving one another's cultural evolutions; the socio-cultural historian does well to look for potential footprints of that phenomenon. Without the Punic Wars, the history of both Carthaginian and Roman art would be different: intense national fears and joys observably worked as a kind of pressure chamber, to over-determine developments in the forms

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and sociology of artifact practices that in Rome's case at least were seminal to the Western tradition. For I first began to think about the effects of mutual partnership in Hellenistic culture of Carthage and Rome in reference to Roman history art: the striking fact that the appended timeline document delineates, that documented masterpiece Roman history painting in its first half-century or more is about the Punic War campaigns, informing and reassuring a center that the spectacular losses to Hannibal continually menaced with annihilation that it had successful saviour-generals; the Barcid cases of 'Hellenic imitation' seem to me to speak to the same aim to motivate by information the will of armies and nation with narratives explaining action both close to home and very far away. And narrating a society to itself inflects the very nature of the image and the iconically charged construction. Think back, to the discussion of Alexander art .. Histories invite comparison to earlier events. Visual histories must signal that by play with older forms. When this pre-occupation with visual history occurs in the context of a highly complex culture aware of continuous centuries of tradition, a historicized, deeply temporally layers visual environment, it will encourage the tendency (quite visible in the Hellenistic and later Mediterranean) to visual 'intertextuality' that long tradition encourages anyway, the phenomena we call eclecticism, collage, academicism, mannerism - and art history, and 'museums'. None of those are ever free of socio-political cognitions (like 'identities'), whether overt or deeply buried in matrix social formation.

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Hannibal's Bilingual Res Gestae of 205 BCE: the monumental Altar, bronze history-tablets, golden calf-column for the South Italian sanctuary of Hera Lakinia at Kroton

This section outlines the grandiose conception by which Hannibal inscribed expansionist migration and conquest into a Greco-Italian sacred space in territory which he expected, not irrationally, to remain from now on a province of the Carthaginian empire. The sources on it have been available always, in the authors standard to Hannibal studies, Livy, Polybios and Cicero, but never queried for the sake of the monument program by Punic or Greek studies - in my explorations for this project, the outstanding example of the blindness consequent upon deep imprinting that X (Hellenistic Punic culture) is a non-subject. A master list of sources for this discussion are appended.

The sanctuary of Hera Lakinia stood on a promontory guarding Kroton and its superb harbor on the S. Italian coast, recognized by art historians as perhaps the most magnificent temple of Magna Graecia; what's left, here, gives the post-antique name Capo Colonna⁸. It served broad geographies of confederation, Greek and Italic; connection to the mythos of Herakles exemplified that myth-history's exploitation for Achaean expansionist ideaology in the Archaic period, just as it would serve the imperialist Punic mythos of Melkart. Here Pythagoras taught, immigrating from Samos (Punic Pythagoreans are documented by Iamblichus); here, among what must have been showcase always to exemplars of the highest Greek art, Zeuxis installed his lastingly famous visual manifesto on the nature of artifice, the image of Helen synthesized from the most beautiful parts of many beautiful bodes; south Italians could wear its Hera as personal badge, as on this unprovenanced ring of perhaps Tarentine make here at the Getty that imitates the coins of Kroton that depicted the cult statue's head. After Cannae in 216 BCE, Kroton went over to Hannibal, who wintered here three years (Castrum Hannibalis (Terina) is close), and continued to spend prolonged periods, using it to engage alike the Bruttian League, federated Italians, and Greek groups, not incidentally playing off their mutual fears of one another as arbiter of peace. In 205 BCE he dedicated a project that must have been awhile building:

Livy 28.46.16: Hannibal spent the summer near the Temple of Juno Lacinia, and there, he founded and (himself) dedicated an Altar, carved into it an enormously long inscription of his *res gestae* (the history of his campaigns) in Punic and Greek characters (language).

Propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicauitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graccisque litteris insculpto.

Not lightly does Livy mention monuments: he only names those of scale, visual impact. By the late 4th c., an altar worth gifting meant, a 'great altar' making a new binary religious space with new or ancient temples; the chance to add one gave competitive benefactors a unique chance to complexify, and endow new beauties of order upon, the major sanctuaries. At the Heraion, it remedied the poverty of the altar tiny enough to stand in the porch that Livy reports. This commission like his brother Hasdrubal's place at Cartago Nova belongs in mainstream history of Hellenistic architecture. Common by now in Ionia and the Aegen islands, only one other Great Altar stood in West Greece, recent too: the spectacular Zeus altar of Hieron II at Syracuse, outstanding for its enormous length. Unquestionably Hannibal's Altar was recognized to upstage enemy Syracuse. It would be lovely to know if this ara resembled the mini-buildings of the east, or Hieron's; I'd opt for the former, as attuned to Punic religion's use of chambered sacred spaces of ostentatious access wherever possible. But where other Great Altar enclosures took figure sculpture, or else had chastely smooth sides, this one is unique, among Greek, or Punic, *arae*: it was a personalized trophy, bearing Hannibal's authored historical autobiography, telling all humans, and thanking Carthage's reigning goddess Tanit/ Juno for, the events that brought Carthaginian empire to this place and time. (*Ingens*, of an inscription, is unique in Livy, and it signals too an altar of great scale to take it.) Language bore that history out, and mapped envisioned futures, with the first, and last, Punic monumental inscription on the peninsula; as with Latin-Greek displays, the textures of of visibly different alphabets spoke even to the illiterate, and the nearsighted, of double-language - note it is as visual icon, 'alphabetic characters', Livy singles out the inscription. If Hannibal had put a portrait in the sanctuary with this dedication, as any Greek would have, Livy would certainly tell us; his self-portrait is his authored history. With this Altar, he dedicated something else, inside the temple: a great bronze tablet, inventorying his forces it seems as if dedicating his arms and forces to the goddess, for that kind of data is what Polybios quoted from the brazen text. He quoted its Greek; there was certainly Punic as well. Altar, and history-tablet, must be recognized as two separate things, not conflated as all modern commentators have done; and their interest has been only abstract, in the sources of Livy and of Polybios. The lovely 2006 commentary of Mary Jaeger⁹ gives the first ever extended attention to what Livy means by posing where he does his descriptions of the sanctuary, then of a narrative within a narrative, historian within another historian; she shrewdly remarks too on the difference between Polybios, and Livy, the Roman highly sensitive to the import of the dual language display and the Greek uncaring for aught but Greek.

The consummation of a Hannibalic landscape at the sanctuary now triangulated to a dedication made around 216, when Hannibal came as predatory foe: and that is reported by Cicero, in a passage historians here will know as 'Hannibal's Dream', *de Divinatione* 1.48; the source is explicitly named as Hannibal's companion and historian, Silenos of Kale Akte, as paraphrased by Coelius Antipater - a lineage that documents repeated Roman attention. Livy describes (appended sources) a strange magical landscape, of holy meadow among trees, where the goddess' cattle roamed unsupervised and brought themselves home at night; the passage must be lifted more or less intact from a book of sanctuary marvels:

"Six miles from the famous city, was the temple of Juno Licinia, more famous (*nobilius*) than the city itself, sacred to all the surrounding peoples (*sanctum omnibus circa populis*). There a grove, hedged in with a dense wood and lofty silver-fir trees, had fertile pastures at its center (*lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit*), where a herd of every kind of cattle, sacred to the goddess, fed untended by a shepherd. And the flocks returned to the fold every night, separately, each according to its kind, never attacked by the ambushes of wild beasts nor by human treachery. Consequently, the profit (*fructus*) from the stock was great, and from it was made and dedicated a column of solid gold, and the temple was gloried for its riches as well as for its sanctity (*inclitumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit*). In addition, some wonders are imputed to it, as is usual for such famous places (*ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur ut plerumque tam insignibus locis*): there is the story (*fama est*) that there is an altar in the temple's vestibule and that its ash is never stirred by the wind."

And here is Hannibal's dream - the first part of Cicero's chapter that contains the obsessively studied dream of a Baal or Jove who gives Hannibal a snaky portent of the conquest of Italy at

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the outset of the war. But there are two dreams: I have found no one yet who talks of the first:

Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.48

"Let us go back to dreams. Coelius writes that Hannibal wished to carry off a golden column from Juno's temple at Lacinium, but since he was in doubt whether it was solid or plated, he bored into it. Finding it solid he decided to take it away. But at night Juno came to him in a vision and warned him not to do so, threatening that if he did she would cause the loss of his good eye. That clever man did not neglect the warning. Moreover out of the gold filings he ordered a(n image of) a calf to be made and placed on top of the/ a column.

Both passages are corrupted to some extent by transmission, but added they show, there was a column with a heavy outer layer of gold (solid it could not have supported its own weight): Hannibal, surely when first come to Kroton, aimed to take one of those opportunistic 'loans' from one's god ancient generals often took, for he must have felt his Juno would tolerate it. (The source, Silenos, must have mentioned somewhere nb that Hannibal had damaged one eye). His reparation fascinates: the gilt-bronze calf (and this one was, gilt only be sure, a core sample not being enough for a whole statue) was a Greek kind of votive, a bovine sacrificial victim, but in this case picture of the sacred herd; to put it on a column, though, Hannibal's whim not a Greek column statue type. A holy pillar, idol or votive, he'd honor from his own culture particularly. Silenos must be source too for a more detailed account of the vowing, and dedicating, of the Altar: Livy's emphasis on the dual process, founding and consecrating, is unusual in his texts of Roman manubial markers; to give undying fame to his marker (Livy hoped to last) is in interesting contrast to its pendant episode, the account of Perseus' intended victory trophy at Delphi whose prepared material Aemilius Paullus spoliated for his extant 'Column' after trouncing the hubristic king, and also the account of a vicious 2nd c. Roman magistrate, Flaccus, who spoliated the roof of the shrine for one of his own, as the penitent Senate hastened to remedy. (Another much-studied event, but whose discussion never takes in, til Jaeger, Hannibal's gift to the sanctuary's splendor.) Indeed, we see from Cicero that Livy must deliberately have left out Hannibal's initial slide into near sacrilege, to heighten the contrast.

What the texts don't show, but myth history and the city's coin badges do, is that Hercules/Melkart was prominent here, and for cattle, and shrine-founding. On his way home with Geryon's cattle from Spain - Labor that was the key Punic mythos for Spanish domination - Hercules made landfall here; accounts varied, but the locally preferred one was that a bad dynast of Kroton stole the cattle; after Hercules slew him in single combat, he it was who founded the first Heraion, and he left his bow here - it is prominent in the coin image. Those document a major votive, an outdoor installation (it sits on a 'landscape lump', so not a cella display), obviously for the grove, whose cattle remind of the Cattle of the Sun, image their descendants. Hannibal, in other words, impersonated Hercules here, all could see, in killing Italy-dwellers, making sanctuary as trophy. His *res gestae* were aimed at Greeks, and anyone else of culture, Romans included; word would get around fast what Hannibal meant to sacrifice upon. The stark display of Punic told people, start learning: most Punic of all was the genre of both inscriptions, the bronze in the temple porch, the story on the Altar, and Hannibal did not care if only Punes knew it. He collaged three dedicatory, autobiographic paradigms¹⁰. One is the 5th c. Hanno's so-called *Periplus*, the story of the great exploration of the W. African coast beyond the pillars of Hercules, set up on bronze tablets in Carthage's sanctuary of the king of gods Baal Ammon¹¹ - the story of the traverse of the Alps, its match now. He also used a trophy practice whose roots lie in the most ancient Near East: the king's narrative of his wars, documented by the 392 BCE trophy of Milkyaton of Kition and Idalion, that narrates in compressed form triumph over rebels and their Paphian allies, set up to god. Finally, we know that Phoenicians came as pilgrims to Melkart's shrine at Gades and recorded on the temple's metal columns their itineraries, and the materials and persons used in them, in thanks to the world-traveler for safe passage long or short, analogue for the temple porch bronze account of Hannibal's armies; it must have been a privilege of the great, whether commanders or heads of state delegations to the shrine or important embassies internationally. (Like that of the Carthaginians to Alexander at Babylon.) These first-

person narratives, as they seem all to have been contrast strongly with limits on Greek practice, for it seems that long stories - and there are some very long ones - epigraphically occur as record of paper decree narrated about honorand by the city that honors him; even a king like Eumenes was stuck, when he wanted history on a statue base, with the subterfuge of making a royal letter that quoted back to the Ionian League what it had written about him. Hannibal wrote Greek, alright, and he wrote to affect history not just record it: in the last part of his life when he wandered the East and worked with various courts he addressed to the Rhodians a history of the Galatian Wars of Manlius Vulso, known now as Eumenes II's Galatian campaign that was the glory of his propaganda. Written, its plain, to stir up anti- Attalid sentiment in always suspicious Rhodes, it will have trashed Vulso, also an enemy of the Scipios with whom Hannibal in exile had a curiously respectful amity; Romanists wonder about the sources for the hostile Roman record of a greedy corrupt general waging a pointless war for loot (so different to Attalid versions), and they'd do well to remark Hannibal's pamphlet. Hannibal knew, too, he was stirring up Roman civil discord, weakening them before helping Prusias of Bithynia assault their ally Pergamon if that plot was already afoot.

Think hard about this polemic, impressive monument, and Hannibal's self-stylization in it as Hercules, at a sanctuary honored by Romans fervently, too. It made the sanctuary and its city more splendid (see above on Great Altars) in Greek terms; it will have aimed to awe Italic peoples too; and Punes would glory in the magnificent elaboration of their homeland practice here on alien soil. To them, at least, the artful interweaving with Greek rhetoric visual and verbal would be a concession allowed the alien, not concession to them. Romans claimed to have the Altar of Hercules, themselves, the Ara Maxima in 'Cow Forum' celebrating the slaying of the cattle-thiving ogre Cacus; I'd suggest its renovation in grand Great Altar form in the 2nd c., perhaps by the Scipiones themselves after the 2nd or 3rd Punic War, not least in its day fought back at murderous marker of Roman mass death, a monumental gloating triumph too over the reversal, now, of the height of good fortune Hannibal's narrative recorded. For no Roan would have damaged the Altar or the tablet(s): votives are sacrosanct, altars absolutely so. The monuments beg comparison as parallel case study for the votive, triumphalist, bilingual inscription of the 187 BCE Monument of Aemeilius Paullus at Delphi. Honoring Greek cult as well as local art splendor, the Heraion's Hannibalic program is interesting to put beside what we hear of Scipio Aemilianus' dedications throughout Sicily after the sack of Carthage in 146 BCE, of historical votive statues of gods and other subjects returned whence they had been taken after Punic conquests of Sicilian Greek towns. They are detailed in Cicero's 1st-c. BCE prosecution of the corrupt governor Verres, who pillaged a number of these (alas, we therefore don't hear of ones Verres did not steal). Cicero gives the invaluable datum that they weren't given back to the townspeople to dedicate themselves, they were dedicated by Scipio personally, so recorded on bases inscribed in Latin. Thus as Cicero presses his jury to think over, monuments to Scipio's full historical achievement that were Roman triumphalist markers too. There has to have been Greek on the bases as well, and so, a bilingual visible texture highlighting the displays' dual nature as complex statements about cultural pride - and the proper relation of Hellenism to Romanitas, among Greeks governed by a Rome now sharing its distinctive cultural practice of giving war booty to citizen communities Think last; of Augustus' *res gestae* monument: it's not out of line to think of influence by Hannibal's innovation, the only thing like it, and highlighted by an Augustan writer.

Fabius Pictor and the 2nd. c. BCE 'Public Library' of Taormina (Tauromenion, Tauromenium)¹²

History texts, as monuments, in Greek both as local and international language, written by non-Greek overlords, and in their monument frame showcasing/ inviting fealty to a non-Greek guardian of local greatness against (Greek) aggression: the Library of Taormina is fitting pendant. It gives a fitting twist: it was most likely put up at Tauromenium by its *Greek* citizens. It is precious testimony of the point of writing national history Roman or Punic in Greek, for an author who is also a statesman-commander serving national interests in a time and place of competing for Greek subservience/ alliance: Hellenism as a tool to bend Greeks towards one's culture, not inslate them from it. Writing history in Greek has special point, when it is about neighbours

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themselves described in those accounts. (For Hannibal's narrative surely took care to list allied cities of Magna Graecia, whether on the Altar, or on the history stele when it got to the listing combined forces of Italian battlefields).

Fabius Pictor was from one of several noble Roman *gentes* with a tradition of *paideia* going back to the 4th c. or 3rd c. BCE, when his ancestor, who could paint his own public history paintings (hence the gens' cognomen Pictor) will have had those tutors in drawing recommended by Aristotle for children of the elite¹³. Born before the mid-3rd c., he fought in the 2nd Punic Wars; the fluency in Greek apparent in his *Histories* (we call them his *Annals*, but they were more than a dry list) made him useful of the embassy sent to Delphi to beg divine aid after Roman forces were so colossally erased at the Battle of Cannae. His project was like that which his coeval Ennius took up in epic: to write to his own day (we think the work is sometime ca. 200), but in the frame of a narrative of the Roman people that began with Trojan Aeneas' successful invasion of Latium. He wrote in Greek, as soon as the 2nd Punic War ended; looking broadly to address the known world in its lingua franca, from Phoenicians to Bithynians, and also very specifically to address the Greeks of South Italy and Sicily whom Rome intensively re-ordered on the War's conclusion. And it worked.

It's not just that Polybios, his contemporary, and as enmeshed in the fall of Carthage, used him as a source - Polybios could have hacked his way through Latin. No, a fascinating document of instant trickle-down, interested Greek acquisition of his text in its intended location, is the 'Room of History Books' at Sicilian Taormina, in a fine if enigmatic compound raised in the 2nd c. BCE beside the theater (a court with a three-room suite) when Pictor's history was still 'modern' bibliography. It mimicked the great *mouseia* of the Hellenistic courts, like the Mouseion of Pergamon also beside a theater, with a room in which imitation *pinakes*, author catalogue tablets on the model we hear of for the Alexandrian *Mouseion*, painted on its wall plaster - presumably, over scroll cabinets against the walls. The most direct referent was the royal library at the palace compound Ortygia in Syracuse, which, unlike the two Eastern *Mouseia*, was not 'public'. Legible fragments include three author references: Philistos of Syracuse, one Kallisthenes - and, 'Kointos Phabios surnamed Piktorinos, a Roman, son of Gaios [...]. He wrote history about the coming of Herakles into Italia and his return, and about the military alliance of Lanios (Lanuvius, var. of Latinus) with Aeneas and Askanios; and how, eventually, Romulus and Remos came to be born, and Rome's foundation by Romulus, he who first reigned as a king [.....]

The Taorminian benefactor who made and stocked this little 'library' in a place that seems to have offered the study resources of a gymnasium made it for Greeks, of a splendid city resurgent after the Punic Wars and the arrangement of Sicily into a province. His benefaction is striking as putting emphasis on history, so proposing itself as a truly civic gift to train those who as citizens would be responsible for historical choices. We know what Philistos of Syracuse wrote (d. 356), as a 5th-4th c. powerful courtier, general and admiral of the tyrants of Syracuse, Dionysios I and II: Sicily's history in 11 books, 1-7 from its myth history and Greek origins to the 446 BCE sack of Akragas by Carthage, and the last 3 books, the great age of Syracuse under the Older and Younger Dionysios up to 363 BCE. A very large theme will have been the conflict of Greeks and Phoenicians in the island's history, and his own city's and rulers' part in beating Carthaginians. (His own wars, too.) It was an extraordinary act to advertise in this library - which will have held many, many more authors than those singled out for exemplary mention on the walls - the analogous historical works of a great Roman who was a general-politician like Philistos, whose history ran too from mythic origins to recent world events in which Sicily was intensely embroiled. As Philistos celebrated Syracusan hegemony, which Taormina had recently lived through under Hieron, so Fabius denoted the advent of that Rome under which the benefactor's Taormina flourished, elevated in Sicily among the sole 3 communities given the precious status, *civitas foederata*. The conquest of Sicily, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212 and his triumph parading the art treasures of Syracuse (did Fabius push that bit?!) will have made a triumphant climax to the Roman *History*; it no doubt narrated positively about the graceful submission Tauromenium seems to have made to Marcellus. As polemic is the choice of what hunks of Pictor to single out for indexing: Rome's mythic origins. There can be no question this library will have had a *pinax* for the city's famous son, the great historian Timaios, first of the Greek historians to explain Rome's origins at length: it matters that the reader-citizen is directed to Fabius *Romaios*'

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authentic voice, for the important need the choice of summary propounds for a modern Taorminian to understand Rome. That reference to Aeneas is telling - for Sicilian cities, as is well-studied, liked to cozy up to Rome as Greek cities did to any power by citing myth-historical ties, using Aeneas' Sicilian sojourn and its link to the island's great Venus of Eryx.

The modern, 2nd-c. elite Taorminians, and rich cultured visitors there, were now Italo-Roman as well as Greek. Meditate, that we have no way of knowing who paid for this fascinatingly thematized public collection - Greek citizen, or Roman resident! Good to think with. If Greek, a man of the elites well hooked into current politico-economic powers, giving his city a fine advertisement to any other Roman dignitaries; if Italo-Roman, looking to please such elites with the same useful tool. (How does one get a copy? at Rome? obtrusively asking a Roman magistrate or nabob or new resident to copy his possession or to help procure the book?) One would kill for a tighter dating on the structure, within the 2nd c. than is currently available ...

That is why a Fabius wrote in Greek: to get into the Greek libraries, to impress Greeks with his Republic's greatness known, as well as gain intellectual currency for himself. Interest in the Fabius Pictor inscription at Taormina has been as just that: witness to a book, and some of the author's directions in myth history. I stress to you this monument *is* a monumental display, an important building affording virtuous leisure at the heart of the cultural topography of Taormina. It is given iconographic charge by applied inscription, in a way that mimics the author portraits of the Pergamon Mouseion, and looks forward to polemic author-portrait displays as we know them for villas with libraries and public libraries in the Late Republic and Augustan age. It is indeed our first documentable public bookroom put up for a city not a court, long before Asinius Pollio gave his library to Rome under Augustus, prominent module of an elaborate kind of gathering place fundamental to Greek civic identities.. The purported educational component isolates one element of the function and forms of a Greek civic *gymnasion*, which Taormina must have had. The compound has been identified as such; "situated on a sloping terrace, it has a central peristyle, behind which are rooms on at least three sides. On the N is a larger room at a higher level [the book-room]" - observe the governance of gymnasion profile by elevated library, whose roof peak would have advertised in the urban panorama, as well as the dominant horizontal scale. This building speaks for the freedom of self-governing citizens (Romans left civic institutions to run cities for them), under a new banner stolen from Hellenistic autocrats: power as cultural capital and access to it. For Roman library politics in the aftermath of the Sack of Carthage, we need look no further than the endowment of Carthage's rich libraries to the allied kings of Numidia, now safe from aggression. A city ruled for long ages by the autocrats of Syracuse, now a self-sufficient monad under Roman ward, has something that elsewhere in its Greek world kings made you come to palace complexes to use. In the assimilationist view, Fabius' book helped explain how Rome brought that freedom and new prosperity to pass. Taormina's Library-Gymnasion makes the same ideological point that Scipio's statue benefactions did, that Rome gives Greeks the freedom to be culturally Greek. Scipio's benefactions were very ancient masterpieces, returned from their stay in Carthage, and inscribed in the Roman giver's own Latin. Taormina showed off both long past and recent genius in Greek cultural practice; one would love to know if in fact Fabius was the most recent author advertised, as he might well have been. Whether Roman moneys went into this installation and so joined/took over Greek practice, or Taorminian Greeks showed off their choices, welcoming Romans in, are two different stories; both hypotheses are very good to think with.

In a larger project, much of the exploration here of the relation of Rome and the Punic West in Hellenistic 'Greek' discourse would ask the aftermath my opening story hints at: the foundational encouragement of Punic identities, time redeemed, Carthage itself rebuilt, under Caesar and the nephew he imprinted to think similarly. Punic bilingualism switched its codeswitching to Latin. The western Phoenicians embraced the Roman practices in art and architecture of the last generation of the Republic, the first of Empire and never looked back. The enthusiasm of the builder-suffetes of Lepcis, signing all their benefactions in Punic, to model their Ammon/Saturn forum temple on that of Caesar that governed Rome's own Forum was real; among the elites of Hadrumetum who owned three extant Actium cameos, at least one is, by the odds, a Punic elite person of the cultured merchant clans who had served Agrippa's fleets, and been rewarded with access to the court cameo makers that let him show off trendy modern art; the Punes who

swarmed to Carthage rising anew put up altars that showed Aeneas hastening to Dido's hospitality. Vergil told Rome that Punic art and architecture that equalled Rome's modern splendors went back to the age of Homer - and that it gave the vital inspiration and instruction to Aeneas about how to make a city in the first place. Punic military genius shone again, this time acclaimed by the once-enemy, when Gades' Cornelius Balbus (his Latin use-name) triumphed over the savage African Garamantes under Octavian's auspices, a stunning award to a foreigner as our sources remark. One of Caesar's most important generals in the civil wars against Pompey in Spain, intimate of Cicero who argued for Roman esteem in the *Pro Balbo*, he was Latin author of the last known Republican-mode history play in a drama that mourned his fruitless attempts to avert Roman deaths and reconcile Caesar and Pompey. He endowed Gades, and contributed simultaneously to the making of Augustan Rome with a theater that the *Aeneid* compliments via Dido's theater Aeneas sees abuilding, while Augustus brought Gades to Rome with a Melkart installed in the Portico of Pompey. Juba II of Numidia, raised by Caesar and Octavian, was heir to the material as to the linguistic authorship of Hellenistic Carthage, writing effortlessly both in Latin and Greek, exploiting the Carthaginian library he owned, while milking books in any language to tell Greeks and Romans about Roman antiquities. When we discuss Augustan Hellenism, its roots in the Punic achievement need remembering. But that is another story.

¹ Suet. Life of Divine Julius, 1.7.1: As quaestor it fell to his lot to serve in Further Spain. When he was there, while making the circuit of the assize-towns, to hold court under commission from the praetor, he came to Gades,.... *animadversa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitavit ad captandas quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in Urbe.*

² See Andrew Stewart, 1993: *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics*, at 181, remarking it among the witness of extraordinary farflung knowledge of Alexander, citing the embassies that came to him at Babylon 'to ask for his friendship', along with Celts and Italians - Libyans and Carthaginians and Spaniards; the image was "perhaps [as] a preliminary acknowledgment of Alexander's unstoppable power? ... the statue must have been in Punic style"; 266, 266 "it might have been a propitiatory offering by the Phoenician colonists there, connected with his last plans of 324/323". Bt on those plans, the 'Testament of Alexander', nn. below.

³ In the sloppier bronze versions, it fascinates to see her hair was made 'ethnic' also, corkscrew curls, and she has an aquiline profile breakig with ideal Greek faces- one wonders which coin follows the statue more closely.

⁴ The Sicilian 1st-c. BCE historian Diodoros (18.4) transmits the so-called Testament of Alexander as a codicil left for his generals that detailed instructions for taking over Carthaginians N. Africa and Spain (not, nb, 'liberation' of Gree Sicily, nor taking the Cyrenaica; supposedly, the successor generals thought better of the impractical, costly venture with so much on their plate already. Indeed. Carthage was no Persia; these were deadly efficient navies and armies well-generalled. If this least dim of generals did not already know that, the embassies Arrian describes would put it across, backed hard by the Phoenicians of Cyprus and the Levant. I come down hard on the side of those who think the Testament fiction. I'd guess, dreamed up about their principal foe by Greeks of Magna Graecia and Sicily (who'd have hated submitting to the live Alexander); the likely moment of formation, perhaps, around the invasion of N. Africa by Agathokles king of Syracuse, who did try to take the Carthaginian West and almost pulled it off. There is a chance that some of his coinage adduces Alexander as model, cf Stewart 1993 ; the comparison would have been obvious in any case.

⁵ On bilingualist display of the Roman era, and the case of the Punes in particular cf James Adams, 2003: *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 207 f; the cases are analogous, with the twist of Greek blingualist shows in the era of frequent independence of Phoenicia and Pune-dom.

⁶ [ex Loeb; final text, include standard epigram refs.] Antipater of Sidon: **Here Cittium's pride,** wise Zeno, lies, who climb'd / The summits of Olympus; but unmoved / By wicked thoughts ne'er strove to raise on Ossa / The pine-clad Pelion; nor did he emulate / Th' immortal toils of Hercules; but found / A new way for himself to th' highest heaven, / By virtue, temperance, and modesty. -- Zenodotos the Stoic, pupil like Zeno of a Cynic (Diogenes; Zeno went to Krates of Thebes): You made contentment the chief rule of life / Despising haughty wealth, O God-like Zeno. / With solemn look, and hoary brow serene, / You taught a manly doctrine; and didst found / By your deep wisdom, a great novel school / Chaste parent of unfearing liberty. / **And if your country was Phoenicia / Why need we grieve, from that land Cadmus came / Who gave to Greece her written books of wisdom.**

⁷ Cf. as well, DL on Euklides of Gela who followed Parmenides, that the eventual mutations of the Megarian school were characterized as the Dialecticians by what must have been one of their own, Dionysios the Carthaginian.

⁸ Roberto Spadea ed., 1996: Il tesoro di Hera. Scoperte nel santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna di Crotona. Roma, Museo Barracco, 28 marzo - 30 giugno 1996; Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, 2004: An inventory of archaic and classical poleis, 268-70 at 268.

⁹ Mary Jaeger, 2006: Livy, Hannibal's Monument, and the Temple of Juno at Croton, TAPA 136., 389-414.

¹⁰ For 'in your face' Punic from Hannibal in a text constructed in the context of formal religion, and formal political action, compare the oath sworn by named Carthaginian gods including the Daimon of Carthage, the hypostasized city, of contract to proposed treaty, with Philip V of Macedon, sent from here, but captured with its bearers Punic and from Philip's court fortuitously (or history could have been different). Polybios (7.9) had it translated from state archives - thus, the bearers had not a Greek version. See Elias Bickermann, 1952: Hannibal's Covenant, AJP 73.1, 1-23, brilliant analysis of the NE legal forms discernable in the Greek. when Hannibal insisted on sending Philip a Punic text he could not read, he resembled governors and generals fluent in Greek who, in official proclamations to Greeks, reverted polemically to Latin. It's on Hera's altar these oaths will have been sworn.

¹¹ See Jerker Blonqvist, 1979: The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus: with an edition of the text and a translation: we have the text only in a Greek epitome, names emended and details lost, of uncertain date: the authentic header (see appended sources) specifies the place and occasion in the third person, before switching to first person plural, like the structure of Milkyton's trophy inscription. Hannibal's was surely alike.

¹² Greg Nagy, 2001: Greek Literature, at 370

G.M. Bacci, 1997: Taormina, EAA suppl. 5: 1971-1995, 526-7 (site bibl.)

Barbara Tsakirgis, 1990: The Decorated Pavements of Morgantina II: The Opus Signinum, AJA 94.3, 425-43 at 438

R.M. Ogilvie, 1978: Early Rome = rev. of *Römische Frühgeschichte: Kritik und Forschung seit 1964* by Andreas Alföldi, Class. Rev. 28.1, 116-17 at 117 [giving the Greek text of the description of Fabius]

G. Manganaro, 1974: Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P. Oxy.

1241, Parla del Passato 29, 389-409

- *ibid.*, 83 ff. in Andreas Alföldi, 1976: *Römische Frühgeschichte: Kritik und Forschung seit 1964*

P. Pelagatti, 1967: Fasti Arch. 22, 29-68 [excavations of the compound]

This bibliography gives little, in fact: In English, only Ogilvie and Nagy are interested in the library qua library, and their purview alas was brief; Manganaro's lead has not been followed up in

any study of Greco-Roman libraries, nor does its existence (and Pictor in it) figure in any work on Roman-Greek cultural relations, Sicilian or otherwise.

¹³ At the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal, vowed by C. Junius Bubulcus in 306, dedicated 303; paintings (als no subject given) Pliny, HN 35.19, Valerius Maximus 8.14.6

Hannibal's Bilingual *Res Gestae* of 205 BCE: the monumental Altar, bronze history-tablets, golden calf-column for the South Italian sanctuary of Hera Lakinia at Kroton

Bibliography:

Scholarship bypasses: the monuments as such which Hannibal put at this temple, referenced in the authors below; understudied also are Hannibal's Dream (calf-statue) and Hannibal's history of the Galatian wars of Manlius Vulso and Eumenes II of Pergamon.

On how Livy uses his description of the garden- sanctuary at Croton to narrative ends, and his authorial play with a cited text of Hannibal in contrast to Polybios' usage, Mary Jaeger, 2006: Livy, Hannibal's Monument, and the Temple of Juno at Croton, TAPA 136., 389-414.

On the value of the data in Polybios as the closest we can come to Hannibal's utterance besides his negotiation with Philip V of Macedon transcribed by Polybios, Dexter Hoyos. 2003: Hannibal's dynasty: power and politics in the western Mediterranean, 247-183 BC, 213.

Sanctuary of Hera Lakinia at Kroton:

Roberto Spadea ed., 1996: Il tesoro di Hera. Scoperte nel santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna di Crotona. Roma, Museo Barracco, 28 marzo - 30 giugno 1996; Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, 2004: An inventory of archaic and classical poleis, 268-70 at 268.

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Lipinski, 1995, 273; Maria Eugenia Aubet, 1993: The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade, 260 ff., 275 ff.

- Apollonios as source, Andrew Fear, 2005: A Journey to the End of the World, in Jas Elsner and Ian Rutherford ed., Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods

Jas Elsner, 1997: **Hagiographic Geography: Travel and Allegory in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana**, JHS 117, 22-37

The worship of Dido/ Elissa at Carthage and her temple-grove and cult image: Lipinski 1995, 407-10, on Silius at 407.

TEXTS

Livy 28.46.16: Hannibal spent the summer near the Temple of Juno Lacinia. **There, he founded and dedicated an altar, into it cut an enormous inscription narrating his accomplishments in both Greek and Punic letters.**

Propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique **aram condidit dedicavitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graccisque litteris insculpto..**

Polybios 3.33.18

[A lengthy list of Carthaginian forces ...] No one need be surprised at the accuracy of the information I give here about Hannibal's arrangements in Spain, an accuracy which even the actual organizer of the details would have some difficulty in attaining, and I need not be condemned off-hand under the idea that I am acting like those authors who try to make their misstatements plausible. The fact is that I found on the Lacinian promontory this text inscribed in bronze [graphen en chalkomati katatetagmenen] **a bronze tablet** on which Hannibal himself had made out these lists during the time he was in Italy, and thinking this an absolutely first-rate authority, decided to follow the document.

3.56.4 [More lists] .. as he himself(Hannibal) states in the inscription on the *stele* at Lacinium relating to the number of his forces.

Cicero, De Divinatione 1.48: Hannibal's dream and the cow column at the Sanctuary, ex Hannibal's court historian the Greek Silenos of Kale Akte via the history of the Punic Wars of L. Coelius Antipater (late 2nd c. BCE)

48 "Let us go back to dreams. Coelius writes that **Hannibal wished to carry off a golden column from Juno's temple at Lacinium, but since he was in doubt whether it was solid or plated, he bored into it. Finding it solid he decided to take it away.** But at night Juno came to him in a vision and warned him not to do so, threatening that if he did she would cause the loss of his good eye. That clever man did not neglect the warning. Moreover **out of the gold filings he ordered a(n image of) a calf to be made and placed on top of the/ a column.**

49 Another story of Hannibal is found in the history written in Greek by Silenus, whom Coelius follows, and who, by the way, was a very painstaking student of Hannibal's career. After his capture of Saguntum Hannibal dreamed that Jupiter summoned him to a council of the gods. When he arrived Jupiter ordered him to carry the war into Italy, and gave him one of the divine council as a guide whom he employed when he being the march with his army. This guide cautioned Hannibal not to look back. But, carried away by curiosity, he could refrain no longer and looked back. Then he saw a horrible beast of enormous size, enveloped with snakes, and wherever it went it overthrew every tree and shrub and every house. In his amazement Hannibal asked what the monster was. The god replied that it was the desolation of Italy and ordered him to press right on and not to worry about what happened behind him and in the rear. 50 "We read in a history by Agathocles that Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, during his siege of Syracuse heard a voice in his sleep telling him that he would dine the next day in Syracuse. At daybreak the following day a serious conflict broke out in his camp between the troops of the Carthaginians and their allies, the Siculi. When the Syracusans saw this they made a sudden assault on the camp and carried Hamilcar off alive. Thus the event verified the dream.

1.48 Haec de Indis et magis; redeamus ad somnia. Hannibalem Coelius scribit, cum **columnam auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Laciniae**, auferre vellet dubitaretque utrum ea solida esset an extrinsecus inaurata, perterebravisse, cumque solidam invenisset, statuisse tollere. Ei

secundum quietem visam esse lunonem praedicere ne id faceret, minarique, si fecisset, se curaturam ut eum quoque oculum, quo bene videret, amitteret; idque ab homine acuto non esso neglectum; itaque ex eo auro, quod exterebratum esset, **buculam curasse faciendam et eam in summa columna conlocavisse**. 49 Hoc item in Sileni, quem Coelius sequitur, Graeca historia est (is autem diligentissime res Hannibalis persecutus est): Hannibalem, cum cepisset Saguntum, visum esse in somnis a love in deorum concilium vocari.....

Livy 24.2.10-3.9

[Loeb] Thus the Carthaginians marched back from the straits amidst the protests of the Bruttians, who complained that the cities which they had marked for themselves for plunder had been left unmolested. They determined to act on their own account, and after enrolling and arming 15,000 of their own fighting men they proceeded to attack Croton, a Greek city situated on the coast. They imagined that they would gain an immense accession of strength if they possessed a seaport with a strongly fortified harbour. What troubled them was that they could not quite venture to summon the Carthaginians to their aid lest they should be thought not to have acted as allies ought to act, and again, if the Carthaginian should for the second time be the advocate of peace rather than of war, they were afraid that they would fight in vain against the freedom of Croton as they had against that of Locri. It seemed the best course to send to Hannibal and obtain from him an assurance that on its capture Croton should pass to the Bruttians. **Hannibal told them that it was a matter for those on the spot to arrange and referred them to Hanno, for neither he nor Hanno wanted that famous and wealthy city to be plundered, and they hoped that when the Bruttians attacked it and it was seen that the Carthaginians neither assisted nor approved of the attack, the defenders would come over to Hannibal all the sooner.** In Croton there was neither unity of purpose nor of feeling; it seemed as though a disease had attacked all the cities of Italy alike, everywhere the populace were hostile to the aristocracy. The senate of Croton were in favour of the Romans, the populace wanted to place their state in the hands of the Carthaginians. This division of opinion in the city was reported by a deserter to the Bruttians. According to his statements, Aristomachus was the leader of the populace and was urging the surrender of the city, which was extensive and thickly populated, with fortifications covering a large area. The positions where the senators kept watch and ward were few and scattered, wherever the populace kept guard the way lay open into the city.

[after Mary Jaeger's 2006 translation:]

The deserter acting as commander and guide, the Bruttians surrounded the city with a cordon of troops and, admitted by the plebeians, took all of it by the first assault, except the citadel. The aristocrats held the citadel as a refuge prepared in advance for such an emergency. Aristomachus fled to the same place, as if he had been the person behind handing the city over not to the Bruttians but to the Carthaginians. The city of Croton had a wall twelve miles in circumference before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. After the destruction caused by that war barely half the city was inhabited. The river, which had flowed in the middle of the city was now flowing past outside the places built up with houses, and the citadel was at a distance from the inhabited areas.

Six miles from the famous city, was the temple of Juno Licinia, more famous (*nobilius*) than the city itself, sacred to all the surrounding peoples (*sanctum omnibus circa populis*). There a grove, hedged in with a dense wood and lofty silver-fir trees, had fertile pastures at its center (*lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit*), where a herd of every kind of cattle, sacred to the goddess, fed untended by a shepherd. And the flocks returned to the fold every night, separately, each according to its kind, never attacked by the ambushes of wild beasts nor by human treachery.

Consequently, the profit (fructus) from the stock was great, and from it was made and dedicated a column of solid gold, and the temple was gloried for its riches as well as for its sanctity (*inclitumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit*). In addition, some wonders are imputed to it, as is usual for such famous places (ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur ut plerumque tam insignibus locis): **there is the story (*fama est*) that there is an altar in the temple's vestibule and that its ash is never stirred by the wind.**

But the citadel of Croton (sed arx Crotonis), looming over the sea on one side, sloping down to the plain on the other, once fortified by only the natural situation of the place, afterwards was also girded by a wall (situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est), where through the cliffs at the rear it had been captured through a strategem by Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily. In that citadel safe enough, as it seemed, the aristocrats of Croton were holding themselves while their own plebeians together with the Bruttians, surrounded them.

Cornelius Nepos, De Viris Illustribus: Life of Hannibal, 13.2-3: Hannibal's Greek histories and Greek historians

13.2 This great man, though occupied in such vast military operations, devoted some portion of his time to literature; for there are some books of his written in the Greek language, and among them is one addressed to the Rhodians on the acts of Cnaeus Manlius Vulso in Asia.

13.3 Of the wars which he conducted many have given the history; and two of them were persons that were with him in the camp, and lived with him as long as fortune allowed, **Silenus** and Sosilus the Lacedaemonian. It was this Sosilus Hannibal used for tutor in Greek literature.

13.2 Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus nonnihilo temporis tribuit litteris. Namque aliquot eius libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti, in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asia rebus gestis.

13.3 Huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex his duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quamdiu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosylus Lacedaemonius. Atque hoc Sosylo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.

Hanno, Periplus,, 5th c. BCE [anon. Greek redaction of the Punic original]

Record of the voyage of King Hanno of Carthage round the lands of Libya which lie beyond the Pillars of Hercules. It has been engraved on tablets hung up in the Temple of Chronos [= Saturn = Baal Hammon].

It pleased the Carthaginians that Hanno should voyage outside the Pillars of Hercules, and found cities of the Libyphœnicians. And he set forth with sixty ships of fifty oars, and a multitude of men and women, to the number of thirty thousand, and with wheat and other provisions.

After passing through the Pillars we went on and sailed for two days' journey beyond, where we founded the first city, which we called Thymiaterium; it lay in the midst of a great plain. Sailing thence toward the west we came to Solois, a promontory of Lybia, bristling with trees. **Having set up an altar here to Neptune,** we proceeded again, going toward the east for half the day, until we reached a marsh lying no great way from the sea, thickly grown with tall reeds. Here also were elephants and other wild beasts feeding, in great numbers. Going beyond the marsh a day's journey, we settled cities by the sea, which we called Caricus Murus, Gyta, Acra, Melitta and Arambys. Sailing thence we came to the Lixus, a great river flowing from Libya. By it a wandering people, the Lixitæ, were pasturing their flocks; with whom we remained some time, becoming friends. Above these folk lived unfriendly Ethiopians, dwelling in a land full of wild beasts, and shut off by great mountains, from which

they say the Lixus flows, and on the mountains live men of various shapes, cave-dwellers, who, so the Lixitae say, are fleet of foot than horses. Taking interpreters from them, we sailed twelve days toward the south along the desert, turning thence toward the east one day's sail. There, within the recess of a bay we found a small island, having a circuit of fifteen stadia; which we settled, and called it Cerne. From our journey we judged it to be situated opposite Carthage; for the voyage from Carthage to the Pillars and thence to Cerne was the same. Thence, sailing by a great river whose name was Chretes, we came to a lake, which had three islands, larger than Cerne. Running a day's sail beyond these, we came to the end of the lake, above which rose great mountains, peopled by savage men wearing skins of wild beasts, who threw stones at us and prevented us from landing from our ships. Sailing thence, we came to another river, very great and broad, which was full of crocodiles and hippopotami. And then we turned about and went back to Cerne. Thence, we sailed toward the south twelve days, following the shore, which was peopled by Aethiopians who fled from us and would not wait. And their speech the Lixitae who were with us could not understand. But on the last day we came to great wooded mountains. The wood of the trees was fragrant and of various kinds. Sailing around these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea, from either side of which there was level ground inland; from which at night we saw fire leaping up on every side at intervals, now greater, now less. Having taken in water there, we sailed along the shore for five days, until we came to a great bay, which our interpreters said was called Horn of the West. In it there was a large island, and within the island a lake of the sea, in which there was another island. Landing there during the day, we saw nothing but forests, but by night many burning fires, and we heard the sound of pipes and cymbals, and the noise of drums and a great uproar. Then fear possessed us, and the soothsayers commanded us to leave the island. And then quickly sailing forth, we passed by a burning country full of fragrance, from which great torrents of fire flowed down to the sea. But the land could not be come at for the heat. And we sailed along with all speed, being stricken by fear. After a journey of four days, we saw the land at night covered with flames. And in the midst there was one lofty fire, greater than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. By day this was seen to be a very high mountain, called the Chariot of the Gods. Thence, sailing along by the fiery torrents for three days, we came to a bay, called Horn of the South. In the recess of this bay there was an island, like the former one, having a lake, in which there was another island, full of savage men. There were women, too, in even greater number. They had hairy bodies, and the interpreters called them *Gorillae*. When we pursued them we were unable to take any of the men; for they all escaped, by climbing the steep places and defending themselves with stones; but we took three of the women, who bit and scratched their leaders, and would not follow us. So we killed them and flayed them, and brought their skins to Carthage. For we did not voyage further, provisions failing us.

The Trophy of King Milkyaton, Kition (Cyprus, 392 CE). CIS I.15; tr. from the French of Lipinski 1995 at 316

This is the trophy which was erected by King Milkyaton, King of Kition and Idalion, son of Baalrom, and the whole populace of Kition, to their Lord, to Baal the Mighty. When our enemies, and their auxiliaries the Paphians, issued forth to engage us in combat, on day [X .] of the month Zib in the Year One of his reign over Kition and Idalion, the army of the men of Kition came forth against them to give battle at this place, here, on the sea, where I have constructed it [the trophy]. And Baal the Mighty gave strength to me and to all the people of Kition, and I have triumphed over all our enemies, and their helpers the Paphians. And I have erected - I and the whole people of Kition - this trophy to Baal the Strong, my Lord, for he has listened to their voice. May he be sanctified!

The inscribed metal columns and the metal altars of the Sanctuary of Melqart/ Hercules at Gades

Philostratos, Life of Apollonios 5.5:

..In the shrine they say there is maintained a cult both of one and the other Herakles, though there are no images of them; **altars however there are, namely to Herakles Aigyptios (of Egypt) two of bronze and perfectly plain, to Thebaios, one of stone; on the latter they say are engraved in relief Hydras and the Mares of Diomedes and the twelve labours of Herakles.** He [Damis, the scribe of Apollonius of Tyana] says that the pillars in the temple were made of gold and silver smelted together so as to be of one colour, and they were over a cubit high, of square form, resembling anvils; and their capitals were inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any kind which he could decipher.

Strabo 3.5-6

But the Iberians and Libyans say that the Pillars are in Gades, for the regions in the neighbourhood of the strait in no respect, they say, resemble pillars. **Others say that it is the bronze pillars of eight cubits in the temple of Heracles in Gades, whereon is inscribed the expense incurred in the construction of the temple, that are called the Pillars; and those people who have ended their voyage with visiting these pillars and sacrificing to Heracles** have had it noisily spread abroad that this is the end of both land and sea. Poseidonius, too, believes this to be the most plausible account of the matter, but that the oracle and the many expeditions from Tyre are a Phoenician lie. 3. 6 .. the argument that refers those pillars which are in the temple of Heracles at Gades to the Pillars of Heracles is less reasonable still, as it appears to me..... "the inscription" which they speak of, since it does not set forth the dedication of a reproduction but instead a summary of expense, bears witness against the argument; for the Heracleian pillars should be reminders of Heracles' mighty doings, not of **the expenses of the Phoenicians.**

The Temple-Grove of Dido/Elissa at Carthage

Silius Italicus, Punica, I.81-121

81 Vrbe fuit media sacrum genetricis Elissae
manibus et patria Tyriis formidine cultum,
quod taxi circum et piceae squalentibus umbris
abdiderant caelique arcebant lumine, templum.
hoc sese, ut perhibent, curis mortalibus olim 85
exuerat regina loco. stant marmore maesto
effigies, Belusque parens omnisque nepotum
a Belo series, stat gloria gentis Agenor
et qui longa dedit terris cognomina Phoenix.
ipsa sedet tandem aeternum coniuncta Sychaeo. 90
ante pedes ensis Phrygius iacet, ordine centum
stant arae caelique deis Ereboque potenti.
hic, crine effuso, atque Hennaetae numina diuae
atque Acheronta uocat Stygia cum ueste sacerdos.
immugit tellus rumpitque horrenda per umbras 95
sibila; inaccensi flagrant altaribus ignes.
tum magico uolitant cantu per inania manes exciti,
uultusque in marmore sudat Elissae.
Hannibal haec patrio iussu ad penetralia fertur,
ingressisque habitus atque ora explorat Hamilcar. 100
non ille euhantis Massylae palluit iras,
non diros templi ritus aspersaque tabo

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limina et audito surgentis carmine flammās.