

SICILY AND THE HELLENISTIC MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

In Sicily and the Hellenistic Mediterranean World, D. Alex Walthall investigates the royal administration of Hieron II (r. 269–215 BCE), the Syracusan monarch who leveraged Sicily's agricultural resources to build a flourishing kingdom that, at one time, played an outsized role in the political and cultural affairs of the Western Mediterranean. Walthall's study combines a historical overview with the rich archaeological evidence that traditionally has not been considered in studies of Hellenistic kingdoms. Exploring the Hieronian system of agricultural taxation, he recasts the traditional narrative of the island's role as a Roman imperial "grain basket" via analysis of monumental granaries, patterns of rural land-use, standardized grain measures, and the circulation of bronze coinage – the material elements of an agricultural administration that have emerged from recent excavations and intensive landscape survey on the island. Combining material and documentary evidence, Walthall's multidisciplinary approach offers a new model for the writing of economic and social history of ancient societies.

D. ALEX WALTHALL is an associate professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin. He has worked for more than two decades in Sicily, much of which has been spent directing archaeological campaigns for the American Excavations at Morgantina. His research has been sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, the American Academy in Rome, and the Loeb Classical Library Foundation.



SICILY AND THE HELLENISTIC MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION DURING THE REIGN OF HIERON II

D. ALEX WALTHALL

University of Texas at Austin







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316511053

DOI: 10.1017/9781009036474

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by CPI Group Ltd, Croydon CRo 4YY

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Walthall, D. Alex, 1982- author.

TITLE: Sicily and the Hellenistic Mediterranean world: economy and administration during the reign of Hieron II / D. Alex Walthall, University of Texas, Austin.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2024. | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023020303 (print) | LCCN 2023020304 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316511053 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009005234 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009036474 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Hieron II, Tyrant of Syracuse, -215 B.C.? | Hellenism. | Agriculture, Ancient–Italy–Syracuse. | Syracuse (Italy)–Kings and rulers. | Syracuse (Italy)–Politics and government. | Syracuse (Italy)–Economic conditions. | Sicily (Italy)–Civilization–Greek influences | Sicily (Italy)–History–To 800.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC DG55.89 W35 2024 (print) | LCC DG55.S9 (ebook) | DDC 937/.801–dc23/eng/20230516

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023020303

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023020304

ISBN 978-1-316-51105-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

This publication is made possible in part from the Barr Ferree Foundation Fund for Publications, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.



For Poppy and Sloop



CONTENTS

List of Figures		
Acknowledgments		
INTRODUCTION	I	
PART I FASHIONING A KINGDOM		
1 FROM GENERAL TO KING	Ι7	
2 FASHIONING KINGSHIP	44	
3 CITIES IN THE KINGDOM	82	
PART II MEASURING A KINGDOM		
4 SEEING THE HIERONIAN STATE	113	
5 STANDARDS AND THE STATE	I 57	
6 MONUMENTAL GRANARIES	201	
7 THE HIERONIAN MINT	244	
8 INSTITUTIONS AND MARKETS IN HIERONIAN SICILY	296	
CONCLUSION	3 3 8	
Bibliography		
Index Locorum		
Index		

vii



FIGURES

I.I	Map of Sicily showing locations mentioned in the text	page 20
I.2	Top: Gold hemistater of Hiketas, ca. 288-279 BCE; bottom: gold	
	hemistater of Hieron II, ca. 276–269 BCE	27
1.3	Top: Silver stater of Agathokles, ca. 317–289 BCE; bottom: silver	
	octobol of Hieron II, ca. 276–269 BCE	28
2.I	Inscribed base for an honorific statue dedicated by the citizens of	
	Tauromenion to Hieron II in the panhellenic sanctuary of Zeus	
	at Olympia	49
2.2	Bronze coin of Hieron II, ca. 269–215 BCE, with portrait of the	
	king wearing a laurel crown	50
2.3	Bronze coin of Hieron II, ca. 269–215 BCE, with portrait of the	_
	king wearing a broad cloth diadem	53
2.4	Inscribed limestone miniature altar, Giardino Spagna, Syracuse, 1948	55
2.5	Plan of Syracuse showing location of Hieronian interventions	
	in the urban layout of the city	57
2.6	Aerial view of the Hieronian theater at Syracuse	58
2.7	Schematic plan of Hieronian theater at Syracuse, showing the names	
	(known and hypothesized) inscribed on the nine cunei of the diazoma	59
2.8	Axonometric projection of the Hieronian theater and altar	
	complex at Syracuse	60
2.9	Axonometric projection of the agora at Morgantina, showing the	
	monuments associated with the public building program of the third	
	century BCE	61
2.10	Obverse type of silver coin struck by Hieron II (ca. 230–215 BCE),	
	showing portrait of Queen Philistis wearing royal diadem	66
2.11	Fragmentary stone inscription from the Neapolis district of Syracuse	69
2.12	Silver coins struck by Hieron II, ca. 230–215 BCE, bearing portraits	
	of the royal family	70
2.13	Silver portrait coin of Hieronymos, struck ca. 215–214 BCE, with	
	the young king wearing a broad cloth diadem	72
3.1	Fragmentary inscription of letter from Hieron II to the Syracusans,	
	third century BCE (IG XIV 7)	83
3.2	Map showing the hypothetical extent of the kingdom of Hieron II	
	after 263 BCE	86
3.3	Plan of Herbessos (Montagna di Marzo)	91
3.4	Plan of Morgantina (Serra Orlando)	92

ix



X LIST OF FIGURES

3.5	Plan of Kamarina	95
3.6	Silver 2-litra and 4-litra coins of the Sikeliotai, ca. 213–211 BCE	102
4. I	Sketch of the Syrakosia by Pirro Ligorio	114
4.2	Plan of the Public Office at Morgantina, third century BCE	133
4.3	Building VI A at Megara Hyblaia	134
4.4	Measuring grain on the threshing floor at el-Bīre, Palestine,	
	early twentieth century	138
4.5	Two cretule from Morgantina, each bearing the impression of papyrus	
	fibers and the stamp of an identical signet	146
5.1	Stone weight inscribed with name of the Sumerian king Shulgi,	
	ca. 2094–2046 BCE	159
5.2	Official terracotta dry measure from Athens, ca. 450-425 BCE	160
5.3	Lead mina weight produced during the reign of the Seleucid king	
	Antiochos IV Epiphanes, r. 175–164 BCE	161
5.4	Type 1 dry measure from Morgantina, third century BCE	166
5.5	Type 2 dry measure from Morgantina, third century BCE	166
5.6	Type 3 dry measure from Morgantina, third century BCE	167
5.7	Line drawing of liquid measure from Megara Hyblaia, third century	
	BCE; official liquid measure from Athens, fifth century BCE	168
5.8	North Suite of the Central Shops at Morgantina, destroyed	
	ca. 250 BCE	170
5.9	Remains of two standardized measuring vessels recovered from the	
	Hellenistic agora at Kamarina, third century BCE	172
5.10	Remains of standardized measuring vessels recovered during	
	excavations around Syracuse, third century BCE	174
5.11	Locations where standardized measuring vessels of the Hieronian	
	type have been discovered	175
5.12	Typology of Sicilian dry measures with conjectural units and subdivisions	177
	Title page of Codice metrico siculo (1812)	183
	Standards plaque affixed to the façade of the church of San Francesco	
	d'Assisi, Petralia Sottana	184
5.15	Fragments of three Type 3 measures, each stamped with the same	
	die, which reads ΑΚΡΙΒΑΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ	185
5.16	Detail of the stamped measure from Morgantina	186
5.17	Detail of the stamped inscriptions found on the measures from	
	Morgantina and Kamarina	187
6.1	Veduta of the lower agora at Morgantina, ca. 240 BCE, looking south	202
6.2	Plan showing the location of the monumental granaries in	
	Morgantina's lower agora	203
6.3	Plaster coating on the exterior of the West Granary	204
6.4	Excavations of the East Granary in 1960, looking south	206
6.5	State plan of the East Granary	207
6.6	Detail of ashlar construction of the East Granary, showing the	
	separation of the northern and southern suites of rooms	208
6.7	Reconstruction of the East Granary; section, looking south	210



LIST OF FIGURES xi

6.8	East Granary, plan of the northern suite of rooms (C–F) with preserved	
	wall elevations below	211
6.9	State plan of the West Granary	213
6.10	Reconstruction of the East Granary, showing west elevation along	
	the northern suite of rooms	215
6.11	Silver litra coin of Morgantina, ca. 450 BCE	217
6.12	Plans of Roman military granaries from forts at Corbridge (England,	
	third century CE) and Castillejo (Spain, second or first century BCE)	22 I
6.13	Plan of the acropolis of Pergamon, showing location of the	
	monumental granaries and arsenal buildings	222
6.14	Excavation of the Pergamene granaries	223
6.15	Plan and reconstruction of the Upper Castle at Mount Karasis	225
6.16	Map showing the course of the Gornalunga, Dittaino, and Simeto Rivers	229
6.17	Remains of the monumental granary at Mount Karasis, view from the	
	south, overlooking surrounding territory	235
7.I	Illustration of a Hieronian coin from Castelli di Torremuzza's	
	Siciliae et objacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio, 1769	246
7.2	Gold hemistater of Hieron II, ca. 276–269 BCE	248
7.3	Silver octobol of Hieron II, ca. 276–269 BCE	249
7.4	Bronze coinage struck during Period I, ca. 276–269 BCE	250
7.5	Large-denomination bronze coinage struck during Period II,	
	ca. 269–241/230 BCE	253
7.6	Ptolemaic Zeus/Eagle imitation diobols; top: "West Greek" style coin;	
	bottom: "Alexandrian" style coin	256
7.7	Small-denomination bronzes struck during Period II, ca.	
	269–241/230 BCE	258
7.8	Silver coinage struck during Period III, ca. 240/230–215 BCE	260
7.9	Gold decadrachm of Ptolemy III, ca. 246–222 BCE, with portrait of	
	Berenike II	263
	Bronze coin of Pyrrhus, ca. 278-276 BCE, with portrait of Phthia	264
7.II	Chart comparing the number of Syracusan coins found at Morgantina	
	and Kamarina arranged by minting authority	269
7.12	Map showing the locations of known hoards containing silver coins	
	struck by Hieron II	273
	Silver octobol of Tauromenion, ca. 276–269 BCE	276
7.14	Map of eastern Sicily showing cities subject to Hieron II that operated	
	a civic mint before, during, and after the period of Hieronian rule	279
, -	Halved Poseidon/Trident coins of Hieron II	281
7.16	Halved Short Cross silver penny, minted 1180 CE in York, England	283
8.1	Gilt silver pyxis lid from Morgantina with seated woman (Eirene?)	
	holding a cornucopia and child (Ploutos?), third century BCE	300
8.2	Limestone sculpture of female figure from the agora at Morgantina,	
	third century BCE	315
8.3	Plan of the agora at Morgantina with the location of the macellum and	
	Central and South Shops indicated	319
8.4	Distribution of coin finds by mint, Central and South Shops, Morgantina	321



xii LIST OF FIGURES

8.5	Distribution of coin finds from floors and fill layers in Central	
	Shops, Morgantina	323
8.6	The macellum at Morgantina, ca. 175-35 BCE	325
8.7	Distribution of coin finds by mint, macellum, Morgantina	326
8.8	Bronze coin of Katane, second century BCE	327
8.9	Totals of site-wide coin finds from the American Excavations at	
	Morgantina	327
8.10	Map showing possible divergence of trade patterns in southeastern Sicily	
	between the third and second centuries BCE, as evidenced by coin	
	finds from Morgantina and Kamarina	330
С.1	Mosaic representations of standard dry measures from the Piazzale delle	
	Corporazioni, Ostia, second century CE	343
C.2	Bronze coin of Kentoripe with a plow as reverse type, second	
	century BCE	345



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is a book long in the making and along the way I have benefited immensely from the guidance and support of many individuals and institutions.

My colleagues with the American Excavations at Morgantina (AEM) have certainly provided the greatest source of inspiration. I owe my deepest gratitude to Malcolm Bell III, who first gave me the opportunity to take part in the Morgantina excavations – an experience that changed the course of my life – and who has fostered my growth as an archaeologist ever since. Carla Antonaccio, Shelley Stone, Barbara Tsakirgis, Hal Sharp, Sandra Lucore, Lars Karlsson, Ingrid Edlund-Berry, Monika Trümper, and Holger Baitinger have all shared generously of their time and unmatched knowledge of Morgantina, its history and archaeology. Many of the ideas that appear in the following pages were refined in conversation with friends and colleagues from the AEM: Contrada Agnese Project, who have long humored my ardent enthusiasm for ceramic measuring vessels and corroded bronze coins. Most of all, I am grateful to Jared Benton, Nicole Berlin, Caroline Cheung, Ben Crowther, Steve Gavel, Ben Gorham, Luke Hollis, James Huemoeller, Katharine Potts-Dupre Huemoeller, Leigh Lieberman, Christy Schirmer, China Shelton, Mali Skotheim, Randall Souza, Andrew Tharler, Annie Truetzel, and Elizabeth Wueste. I have benefited immensely from our conversations on site, in the magazzino, and around the dinner table at the Expedition House in Aidone. For nearly two decades now, the town of Aidone has been a second home to me; I have cherished the relationships built with the entire community, especially those with Angelo Minacapilli, Emilia Trovato, Serena Raffiotta, Filippo La Tora, Bruno Cristiano, and Filippo Campanella.

In the storerooms and archaeological museums around Sicily, my research was supported by Paola Pelagatti, Giovanni Di Stefano, Beatrice Basile, Concetta Cuircina, Maria Musumeci, Maria Costanza Lentini, Laura Maniscalco, Rosario Patané, Henri Tréziny, Enrico Caruso, Brian McConnell, Liborio Calascibetta, Carlo Staffile, Federica Barbarino, Giancarlo Filantropi, and Raffaella Greca, among many others. The *custodi* of the Museo Archeologico di Aidone kept my spirits high with coffee, camaraderie, and the occasional admonition in dialect. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Angela Maria Manenti at the Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi"

xiii



xiv ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

of Syracuse, who helped me time and again with gaining access to all manner of material essential to my research.

In matters of advice, guidance, and constructive feedback, I am first and foremost indebted to Nino Luraghi, who has been a wellspring of inspiration and encouragement over the years. Even long after my time at Princeton, Michael Koortbojian, William A. P. Childs, Michael Flower, Harriet Flower, Alan Stahl, and Michael Padgett remained brilliant advisors and interlocutors. In its final form, this book profited from the expertise and insights freely shared by a great number of individuals, including Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Hayley Barnett, Deborah Beck, Emma Blake, Jesper Blid, Sophie Bouffier, Kim Bowes, Greg Butler, Lorenzo Campagna, Kathleen Coleman, Steven Ellis, Paul Kosmin, Kevin Lee, Leigh Lieberman, Neil MacDougall, Clemente Marconi, Catharine McNall, Simon Oswald, Jonathan Prag, Adam Rabinowitz, Timm Radt, Sam Ross, Christy Schirmer, Rob Schon, Richard Thomas, Annie Truetzel, John Tully, Caroline Veit, Héctor Vera, Dan Wolf, and two anonymous reviewers. Above all, I wish to express my utmost gratitude to my colleague Rabun Taylor, who offered valuable comments on most every chapter and who, along with Beatrice Rehl, helped me to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

My research was made possible thanks to the financial support of numerous institutions, including the Archaeological Institute of America, the Center for Hellenic Studies, the John Anson Kittredge Educational Fund, and the Center for European Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. Additionally, subvention funding for this publication was made in part from the Barr Ferree Foundation Fund for Publications, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, and from the College of Liberal Arts, University of Texas at Austin.

Last but certainly not least, the support of friends and family was paramount from start to finish. My parents, Christina and Denton, and brother, Nick Danger, have been an unwavering source of support and encouragement. Finishing this book would not have been possible without the help of our incredible and indefatigable childcare providers, especially Giuseppa DiDomenico. None of this would be possible without the incomparable Lauren Dearing Russo.