

Rebels and Slaves: Reinterpreting the  
First Sicilian Slave War  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to rethink the history of the First Sicilian Slave War in the second century B.C. by reassessing the main literary source for the conflict, Diodorus Siculus, and introducing numismatic evidence for the conflict as a corrective to his testimony. Diodorus' narrative of the First Sicilian Slave War is discussed, and found to be a composite of two different narratives, each of which stresses different aspects about the First Sicilian Slave War. It is suggested that Diodorus combined the two narratives together in order to create his own, and that this knowledge allows us to read between the lines of his history and understand the history that lies behind it better. A case study of Diodorus' literary skills is presented, which discusses the ancient literary stereotypes and *topoi* that he used to describe the two leaders of the First Sicilian Slave War: Eunus/King Antiochus and Cleon. The conclusion reached is that Diodorus' descriptions of Eunus and Cleon, of a charlatan magician and a bandit herdsman respectively, achieved literary aims, and were not historical descriptions and cannot be used as such. As a way around the difficulties presented by Diodorus, a detailed study of the coinage of Eunus/King Antiochus is provided in order to assess how he wanted himself to be seen. This concludes that the coinage of Eunus/King Antiochus does not support the evidence of Diodorus about the First Sicilian Slave War, and that another understanding of the conflict must be considered: that it was not a slave rebellion, but a rebellion against Roman rule on Sicily.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

All classical authors are, wherever possible, abbreviated according to the Oxford Classical Dictionary system, and all translations used are from the Loeb Classical Library unless noted otherwise. Apart from the exceptions listed below, no modern author is abbreviated.

|                         |                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>CIL XI</i>           | = Bormann, E. (1901), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XI</i> , Berlin.                                                           |
| <i>ILS</i>              | = Dessau, H. (1902), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin.                                                               |
| <i>OCD</i> <sup>3</sup> | = Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (eds) (2003), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> edition revised, Oxford. |
| <i>SNG 3</i>            | = SNG ANS 3, (1975), <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society Part 3</i> , New York.       |
| <i>SNG 4</i>            | = SNG ANS 4, (1977), <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society Part 4</i> , New York.       |
| <i>SNG 5</i>            | = SNG ANS 5, (1988), <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society Part 5</i> , New York.       |

Front Page Picture is the Obverse of Figure 13: British Museum Collection 1868-0730-156.

*'All knowledge is partial – infinitesimally partial. Reason is a net thrown out into an ocean. What truth it brings is a fragment, a glimpse. A scintillation of the whole truth.'* LeGuin (1997), 133.

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## INTRODUCTION: Romanes Eunt Domus?

*'Others, pointing to participation in the uprisings of people who were not slaves, have denied that the rebellions were slave rebellions at all and have argued in favour of more broadly based forms of opposition to Roman authority.'* Bradley (1989), xiii.

*'Eunus, having stationed his army out of range of their missiles, taunted the Romans by declaring that it was they, and not his men, who were runaways from battle.'* Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.46.

In a fragmentary text of the thirty-fourth or fifth book of his *History*, Diodorus Siculus records a slave war on the island of Sicily in the 130's B.C. (34/5.2), the first of two to rock the island in the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup> His work stresses the poor treatment of the slaves on the island and the figure of a magic-working slave named Eunus as the principal catalysts for the uprising, creating a tale of slave mismanagement and fire-breathing miracles that opens around the citadel of Enna with a night-time assault by furious slaves, and culminates in the mass slaughter of the rebelling slaves either in or around their sole remaining stronghold of Enna. In the intervening narrative Diodorus describes how the war escalated, leading to the slaves controlling, at one point, at least three cities. The narrative, owing to the interest of ancient historians with only the politico-military events of history, i.e. wars, does not, however, provide a long preamble to events, which would have provided the context for the war, but rather launches into the story of the war with a short description of massive influxes of slaves into Sicily and rampant mistreatment of slaves as the background. The stress on slavery has meant that in the past the interpretation of the war stood out with the surrounding historical context of Roman and Sicilian history. What studies there are that have tried to connect the history of

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<sup>1</sup> The war under discussion will hereafter be referred to as the First Slave War.

the First Slave War to the historical context from which it arose have found serious problems with understanding the narrative of Diodorus in this context.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, understanding the events recorded by Diodorus as part of Sicilian history has only been rarely attempted. In a recent work on the slave wars, Urbainczyk (2008: 42) criticised Verbrugghe (1973; 1974; 1975) for dismissing any of the evidence of Diodorus as unreliable, claiming that '(i)f one challenges so much of Diodorus then one has to justify the parts one accepts since, if he were so abysmally ignorant of the history of his own birthplace, it makes little sense to accept any of his narrative. And if we reject all of it, or even most of it, then we are left with very little.' The tendency expressed by Urbainczyk is a dangerous one, as it implies that because Diodorus is our only detailed source for the First Slave War we cannot question his evidence, even if there is good reason to do so. Other authors have chosen to take comfort in the well-accepted argument that Posidonius is the main source for the information of Diodorus at this point.<sup>3</sup> Owing to this reluctance to challenge the authority of Diodorus, scholars have either tried a number of different approaches to understanding the features of Diodorus' narrative that are problematic, or alternatively have not engaged with his narrative critically. Both Green (1961) and Bradley (1989) tried to create a 'straightforward' narrative of the First Slave War, and consequently created narratives that read very like that of Diodorus. Bradley (1989) also wanted to place the study of the slave wars into the context of modern slavery studies, with a strong focus on the maintenance of the rebellions and the

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<sup>2</sup> Manganaro (1967; 1982; 1983); Verbrugghe (1972; 1973; 1974; 1975). The same approach brought similar results in a study of the Second Slave War on Sicily: Rubinsohn (1982) 444-51.

<sup>3</sup> Vogt (1974), 41; Verbrugge (1974), 48; Bradley (1989), 134; Sacks (1990), 142-54; Shaw (2001), 27; Urbainczyk (2008), 82-6.

‘maroon’ aspects of the rebellions (1989: 123), in order to show that the rebellions were essentially aberrant forms of normal slave resistance, and therefore did not contain ‘grandiose objectives’ (1989: xv), i.e. abolition or a provincial rebellion against Roman rule. As a result, when Bradley did connect Diodorus to the historical context surrounding the First Slave War, he did so merely to confirm the impression provided by Diodorus’ narrative, concerning such matters as the agricultural situation on Sicily (1989: 50).

A similar method has been adopted by Urbainczyk (2008), although for a different purpose to Bradley. Urbainczyk’s professed aim in her book is to show not only that slaves *did* rebel (2008: 1), but that they planned to rebel, and did so more often than is supposed in modern accounts (2008: 29-50). This aim is noble, but entails the aforementioned reluctance to question the testimony of the sources about the veracity of the mention of slave revolts.<sup>4</sup> While she acknowledges the problems that the literary sources entail (2008: 83-5), she does not take advantage of the opportunities offered by other evidence, i.e. archaeological evidence, for the First Slave War, devoting only a paragraph to the coinage of King Antiochus (2008: 42),<sup>5</sup> but does choose to interpret evidence of a highly politically charged nature as evidence of ‘slave cities’ (2008: 36).

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<sup>4</sup> Connected to this is her insistence in discussing the revolt of Aristonicus in 133 B.C. as a slave revolt, in spite of the *clear political* element for the assignation of ‘Slave War’ as the term of referral to the conflict with Aristonicus in the ancient sources. See Urbainczyk (2008), 14-6, 36, 43, 60-3, 87-8, and Chapter 2 below.

<sup>5</sup> King Antiochus is the title that Eunus assumes on becoming king of the rebel slaves, see Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.24, 42.



The aim of this study is to correct this imbalance in the study of the First Slave War. I will reassess the literary *and* numismatic evidence for the First Slave War in order to assess *how* the narrative of Diodorus was constructed, and *why* it was constructed in such a way. The work will be split into three chapters. The first chapter will initially focus on the link between Posidonius and Diodorus and will argue that this link has been over-used in previous scholarship to avoid dealing with the problems of Diodorus' history. The chapter will then study Diodorus' narrative construction. It will show that Diodorus' narrative was based on two different narratives, and that the differences in these two can provide an insight into how differing groups of people conceptualised the war. I will also show in the first chapter that at specific moments where the accuracy and logic Diodorus' narrative construction can be challenged, scholars have chosen to ignore the opportunity because of the problems of interpretation that this challenge causes.

The second chapter will present a detailed case study of a specific aspect of Diodorus' narrative construction: the characters of the First Slave War's leaders. This chapter will be split into two sections, the first dealing with Eunus, the principal leader of the First Slave War, and the second dealing with Cleon, the 'right hand man' of Eunus, and the military muscle of the partnership. Each section will provide a detailed look at the literary context for the descriptions that Diodorus provides of the two figures in order to understand what literary stereotypes he was deploying, and what these stereotypes mean for understanding the description. It will be shown that the stereotypes employed, i.e. a charlatan *magos* and a Cilician herdsman, invoked a set of predisposed reactions *against* the two leading figures of the First

Slave War, *and* served to undermine the threat that the rebellion posed in the minds of the ancient reader. The chapter will therefore conclude that they are not historically accurate representations, but were designed to achieve precisely what they achieved.

In order to balance the conclusion of the second chapter, the third chapter focuses on a greatly under-appreciated body of evidence for the First Slave War: the coinage of King Antiochus. The chapter will place this evidence in a different context, that of Sicilian numismatic history, in order to understand what King Antiochus hoped to invoke or achieve through his coinage. The study will show that the way in which the coinage has been used in previous studies of the First Slave War has underplayed the significance of the evidence. Furthermore, it will be shown that by understanding the historical context that the types of the coinage rose from and referred to we can see that the coinage does *not* support the evidence of Diodorus about the First Slave War. Furthermore, studies recently undertaken on Sicily under the Romans, mainly based on archaeological and epigraphic analysis, have suggested that Sicily was a vibrant culture,<sup>6</sup> and this, in conjunction with the evidence of the coinage, raises questions about the status and origins of the people involved in the war, allowing it to be suggested that the First Slave War was not necessarily purely, or even primarily, a slave rebellion, but a rebellion against Roman rule involving Sicilian participants and an ideology invoked from Sicily's past.

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<sup>6</sup> Wilson (2000), 134-60, and Campagna (2006), 15-34, looking at archaeological evidence; Manganaro (1979), 415-61, Prag (2007a) 68-100, and Prag (2007b), 245-72, using epigraphic evidence; Frey-Kupper (2006), 27-56, arguing from numismatic evidence.

## I. DIODORUS' HISTORICAL NARRATIVES: Reading Between the Lines of History

*'...the position adopted [in this work] is that it requires too great an act of faith to believe that the excerpts [of Diodorus] now extant preserve evidence of literary ingenuity' Bradley (1989: 136)*

### Introduction

The study of the First Slave War on Sicily forces the historian of the war to engage with the fragmentary history of Diodorus. Because of the difficulties created by the nature of his presentation, scholars have tried to understand his work through the ancient source postulated to be the one from which he worked: Posidonius.<sup>7</sup> Owing to the high regard in which Posidonius is held amongst ancient historians as a supplier of accurate information, the majority of scholarship has tried to focus on accounting for, and understanding, the peculiarities of the narrative preserved in Diodorus by reference to other points in history: either ancient or modern.<sup>8</sup> In this chapter I will argue that it is possible to understand why and how Diodorus wrote his narrative by engaging *directly* with his narrative, and I will show that by so doing we can break down his narrative into its constituent parts and assess their importance to the narrative as a whole. This approach will foreground the problems that Diodorus poses, and force us to consider new ways of tackling his *History*.

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<sup>7</sup> Forrest and Stinton (1962), 88; Vogt (1974), 41; Verbrugghe (1974), 48; Bradley (1989), 135-6; Sacks (1990), 142-54; Shaw (2001), 27; Urbainczyk (2008), 82-6.

<sup>8</sup> Green (1961), 20-4, through reference to Jewish Messianic tradition; Vogt (1974), 65-9, through reference to Syrian cultic practices linked to Atargatis; Bradley (1989), 1-45, 102-26, through comparison with modern slave rebellions, especially maroonage.

This chapter will be split into three sections. The first section will discuss why Posidonius has been linked with the narrative of Diodorus for the First Slave War. I will argue that this link is tenuous at best, and that some of the evidence often used to attest the link is not sound. Furthermore, I will suggest that this link also deflects interest away from a detailed study of how Diodorus wrote his history, a study that is often avoided by seeking shelter in the knowledge that Posidonius is the source for Diodorus' account. This section will finish with a study of how his history has been preserved to this day, suggesting that the preservation of the history in the excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>9</sup> are closer to the original text of Diodorus and preserve more of the salient details of his narrative. The second section will focus on Diodorus' narrative about the background and beginning of the First Slave War. Through a detailed study of certain passages of Diodorus, and an analysis of his anachronistic historical thinking, I will show that he used two different historical ideologies about the First Slave War to construct his own narrative, and that this blend of ideologies is traceable because of his use of an anachronistic historical concept to explain his narrative. In the final section, I will show that the knowledge gained from the study of the opening of Diodorus' narrative can be used to piece together the more fragmentary latter half of his narrative, and that the understanding of the two narratives that he used in his construction can enlighten us to deeper historical problems behind his surface narrative. The chapter will end with the suggestion that the problems foregrounded in this chapter can only be answered with a detailed understanding of Diodorus' narrative construction techniques in other parts of his narrative that can be compared to other, independent, historical data. In short, I

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<sup>9</sup> Hereafter referred to as Constantine.

will show the following three main points: 1) We cannot, with any certainty, suggest Posidonius as the source from which the *majority* of Diodorus' information for the First Slave War comes, and we should therefore look more closely at the way in which Diodorus composed his history. 2) This different approach reveals that Diodorus' narrative construction is based on two different narratives, superimposed on one another, each putting the majority of the blame on a different group of people. 3) By understanding this, we can better assess the more fragmentary parts of Diodorus' narrative in order to appreciate their importance to revealing the political and moral undertones involved in the narrative of the escalation and conclusion of the war.

#### *Posidonius: A Source for Diodorus?*

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there is a tradition in the scholarship on the First Slave War that takes comfort in the knowledge that in spite of the difficulties that the narrative of Diodorus brings in interpretation, his history is at least based on a 'good' lost source, Posidonius. I would like to argue against this notion because I think that in taking this particular attitude to the source of Diodorus' knowledge, modern scholars think there is less of a need to question what Diodorus tells us in his narrative. This attitude extends to suggest, until comparatively recently in the majority of scholarship, that Diodorus himself was incapable of creative writing when composing his history. It should be stressed that this attitude is dangerous for any hope of understanding the purpose of Diodorus' narrative.

Furthermore, I will argue that there is little reason beyond wishful thinking to decide that the *majority* of Diodorus' information for his narrative comes from Posidonius.

A good place to start this discussion is with the comments of Bradley (1989: 135-6). He rather pessimistically took the position that '[...] it requires too great an act of faith to believe that the excerpts now extant preserve evidence of literary ingenuity [...]' while also stating that (134): '[...] if the generally high opinion of Posidonius's history held by classical scholars were considered valid and if Diodorus followed his usual methodological procedures when using it, the latter's account of the slave wars could be assumed to be reasonably accurate, reliable, and comprehensive'. This view of Diodorus is echoed by a number of other scholars. Vogt takes the view that (1974: 41): 'Posidonius [...] in his introduction to the story of the first Sicilian uprising, [is] preserved for us in the 34<sup>th</sup> book of Diodorus.' Verbrugge (1974: 48) likewise sees Posidonius as the main account for the war, while Shaw (2001: 27) considers it believable that there was critical historical considerations in the narrative of Diodorus, but prefers to attribute them to his source: Posidonius. In a different manner, Sacks (1990: 142-54) argued at great length for Diodorus retaining some critical ability, however he implicitly accepted that Posidonius is *the* source for all the material in the narrative that he does not ascribe to Diodorus. Urbainczyk (2008: 82-6) closely follows the conclusions of Sacks, adding that (86): 'there is no reason to doubt that [Diodorus] used Posidonius as a source.' There has been, therefore, a change in modern scholarship that at least *acknowledges* that Diodorus had positive abilities at writing history, but they nonetheless insist on finding Posidonian aspects in Diodorus in order to keep

Posidonius as a source. It will now be useful to consider *why* Posidonius is linked to Diodorus.

The link is actually completely correct, inasmuch as Posidonius, here preserved in Athenaeus, describes an episode in the First Slave War in a very similar way to Diodorus. The following passage is preserved by Athenaeus (12.542):

Posidonius too in the eighth book of his Histories says of the Sicilian Damophilus, who caused the stirring up of the slave war, that he was addicted to luxury and writes as follows: “He was therefore a slave to luxury and vice, driving round about over the countryside in four-wheeled carts, with horses and handsome grooms and a retinue of parasites and lads dressed as soldiers swarming beside him. But later he, with his whole household, ended his life after an outrageous fashion having been grievously outraged by slaves.”

This is similar to how Diodorus describes the same events, although the version in Diodorus is significantly longer (34/5.2.34-6). There is, clearly, agreement between the two sources about the tale of Damophilus, and it is generally considered that Diodorus drew on Posidonius for this description.<sup>10</sup> We must be careful, however, not to infer too much from this comparison. In Athenaeus the passage is quoted in a list of examples of excessive luxury, and gives no indication of the context of Posidonius from which the passage was drawn. Diodorus’ passage contains far greater detail than that of Posidonius, and the passage of Posidonius does not completely confirm that he wrote *in depth* on the Slave Wars, as is so often

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<sup>10</sup> Momigliano (1975: 33-4); Brunt (1980: 486); Sacks (1990: 142, 145).

suggested; it merely intimates that he might have done. As an example of inferring too much, it is suggested that Posidonius' history had an unusual interest in social issues, which can be traced through Diodorus' history.<sup>11</sup> This is backed up by quoting a passage from Diodorus (34/5.2.33) in which he stresses that heavy-handed treatment of slaves or people of lower status can lead to factional strife and revolts of slaves. There is another potential reason for Diodorus to write this passage, however. One of Diodorus' self-professed aims with his history was to allow people to learn from the mistakes of history and through accomplishing this aim he would be acting as a servant of divine providence in bringing the affairs of the world to order (1.1.3). We could therefore see a passage advising those in power to treat their subjects well in case of revolt to be part of Diodorus' overall aims in his history, rather than a moral message copied from his source. The other alternative is to suggest that Diodorus copied, without thinking, the moral messages of his sources.

There is not sufficient evidence of Posidonius to state, without doubt, that he was the major source of Diodorus for the First Slave War. I would argue that searching for the Posidonian influence behind the work of Diodorus deflects us from properly considering what Diodorus was trying to achieve in his history. Bradley's suggestion (1989: 135-6) that we should not even try looking for literary aspirations and achievements in Diodorus is not only incorrect, but it is dangerous to any good interpretation of the First Slave War, and any effort to come to terms with the clear difficulties that the preservation of Diodorus presents us with. With this decision in

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<sup>11</sup> Bradley (1989: 134).



mind, I will now consider some of the problems that we are presented with when reading Diodorus' fragmentary history of the First Slave War.

*Diodorus' Narrative: The Rise of the War*

The first problem we encounter is in trying to understand from Diodorus who and what was to blame for the rise of First Slave War. The problem has several facets, and so I will have to discuss them separately. To begin with I will consider the difficulties we face in understanding the role of the Sicilian, Italian, and Roman landowners in the narrative of Diodorus. I will then discuss a problem of historical factuality in Diodorus: an anachronism in the narrative of Diodorus that, when fully understood, sheds important light on the manner of his composition. Before either of these two discussions, I must address the issue of Diodorus' transference down to the present day.

Diodorus comes down to us in two separate books and only by excerpt and fragments. On the one hand we have the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, and on the other we have the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>12</sup> It has been noted that the two works preserve quite different extracts, and that the work of Constantine is more political in character.<sup>13</sup> There is more difference than merely that. Photius' work retains more about the continuation of the war after the initial assault on Enna, whereas Constantine's work preserves far greater detail in the moralistic passages of the history. This means that the two sources do not always overlap, and so are useful

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<sup>12</sup> Hereafter referred to as Constantine.

<sup>13</sup> Urbainczyk (2008: 84).

for quite different purposes. Sacks noted (1990: 144), however, that when a comparison of the two works is possible, for example where the work that Diodorus himself used is still preserved, then Constantine's work appears to retain the finer details of the passage that Photius omits.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Rubensohn (1982: 441) also observed that, when comparing the narratives of the Second Slave War in Constantine's and Photius' extracts, once again Photius is guilty of omitting important details about the events of the war.<sup>15</sup> I would add to these observations that when comparing the same basic passage present in both Photius and Constantine, that is the passage about to be discussed below, the version preserved in Constantine retains far greater precision of detail and is also far longer, which surely suggests that the Photius version was reduced in size.<sup>16</sup> Because of this, I will aim, whenever possible, to use the extracts preserved by Constantine, as they would appear to preserve in a much better manner the original language of Diodorus.

*The Rise of the War: The Role of the Landowners*

It must be stressed that this next discussion requires a detailed inspection of passages of Diodorus. The passages about to be discussed are confusing and no doubt partially corrupt, but I think we must attempt to make sense of them in order to understand Diodorus' narrative. As will become clear, there is evidence in Diodorus of several historical narratives interwoven in his interpretation, and I will propose a solution to the problems this poses. Diodorus opens his narrative about the First Slave War by

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<sup>14</sup> Diod. Sic. 31.5 compared to Polyb. 30.4.

<sup>15</sup> Diod. Sic. 36.6 (Photius) compared to Diod. Sic. 36.11 (Constantine).

<sup>16</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.1-3 (Photius) compared in length to Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.27-31 (Constantine). In terms of English translation, Photius' is under a page of Loeb, whereas Constantine's is two full pages.

creating a background context in which to understand the detailed narrative of the specific events that led to the revolt. The passage is quite long, but it clearly demonstrates the difficulties that Diodorus presents his reader, ancient or modern, and benefits from full exposition (34/5.2.27-31):

In like fashion each of the large landowners bought up whole slave marts to work their lands; ... to bind some in fetters, to wear others out by the severity of their tasks; and they marked all with their arrogant brands. In consequence, so great a multitude of slaves inundated all Sicily that those who heard tell of the immense number were incredulous. For in fact the Sicilians who had acquired much wealth were now rivalling the Italians in arrogance, greed, and villainy. And the Italians who owned large numbers of slaves had made crime so familiar to their herdsmen that they provided them no food, but permitted them to plunder. With such licence given to men who had the physical strength to accomplish their every resolve, who had scope and leisure to seize the opportunity, and who for want of food were constrained to embark on perilous enterprises, there was soon an increase in lawlessness [...] So every region was filled with what were practically scattered bands of soldiers, since with the permission of their masters the reckless daring of the slaves had been furnished with arms. The praetors attempted to hold the raging slaves in check, but not daring to punish them because of the power and influence of the masters were forced to wink at the plundering of the province. For most of the landowners were Roman knights in full standing, and since it was the knights who acted as judges when charges arising from provincial affairs were brought against the governors, the magistrates stood in awe of them.

The basic conceptualisation of the narrative context being given is simple: there was

an increase in slave numbers, and because of the arrogance of their masters, there was also a simultaneous decrease in slave living standards. This basic problem led the herdsmen of the province to plunder in order to provide what they needed, a problem that was compounded by the inability of the *praetores* of the province to react to the plunder, owing to the status of the landowners. In this passage Diodorus has set out the background to the war, and also the logic of how it came about. I want to leave, for the moment, the problem of the *praetores* and the herdsmen, and concentrate on the landowners in the passage.

Above I showed that at first glance the passage is quite simple in its own logic of how events moved on. The first problem arises when we try to understand the role of the different origins of landowners. In the passage above, Diodorus claims that it was the Italians ‘who owned large numbers of slaves’ who had caused their herdsmen to run riot. Another passage confirms this impression, stating clearly that (34/5.2.32): ‘The Italians who were engaged in agriculture purchased great numbers of slaves, all of whom they marked with brands, but failed to provide them with sufficient food, and by progressive toil wore them out’. Later in the previous passage, however, he then claims that it was because the owners were Roman knights that the praetors could not act. He does, however, imply that Sicilians were also involved in this treatment, by his statement that ‘the Sicilians who had acquired much wealth were now rivalling the Italians in arrogance, greed, and villainy.’ The story of the start of the war also places the blame at the feet of a Sicilian, Damophilus (34/5.2.10, 34-7), while the names of the other slave owners that are

mentioned are also all Greek.<sup>17</sup> Therefore three separate groups were supposedly involved; although in the general terms of the narrative the Italians appear to be the major players, in specific terms only Greeks are mentioned by name. The question that arises is this: were all three of these groups implicated in this mismanagement by the same historical narrative, or different ones? If they are different, is it possible to trace these narratives through Diodorus, and what does this mean about Diodorus' narrative?

Sacks (1990: 144-51) concluded that this narrative actually comprised two separate narratives, one blaming Sicilians preserved from Posidonius and the other blaming the Romans and Italians either invented by Diodorus or drawn from his Sicilian sources. Through this divide, Sacks implied, despite his efforts to avoid doing so,<sup>18</sup> that the evidence of Posidonius is more accurate, claiming that the 'concrete' evidence (i.e. the stories of Damophilus and the other Sicilian slave owners) all points to Sicilian involvement. Sacks's other suggestion for why Diodorus is the source of the Roman and Italian information is that he reads the information as apologetic for the Sicilian involvement in the start of the war. The danger of his interpretation is that it places unnecessary importance on one of the traditions because of the implication that the passage *may* be of Posidonian origin. For reasons that I shall make clear in what follows, I would like to agree with Sacks that there is more than one narrative, but disagree as to what this represents and means about the narrative.

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<sup>17</sup> Antigenes: 34/5.2.8; Megallis, Hermeias, and Zeuxis: 34/5.2.14; Pytho: 34/5.2.15.

<sup>18</sup> 'Whatever Diodorus added or expanded upon *could* have as much worth as the Posidonian material' Sacks (1990), 148, my italics. The implication is that the Diodoran material does *not* have as much worth as the Posidonian material. It equally implies that it is indeed Posidonian material.

The evidence for the duplicity of narratives comes, partially, from a comparison of Photius and Constantine's differing preservations of the account of Diodorus. A read of Photius provides no references to Italians. The only people from the peninsula of Italy to be mentioned by Photius are Romans, either as *equites* preventing the *praetor* from acting against the slaves (34/5.2.3), or as generals commanding the forces opposing the slaves (34/5.2.16, 18, 20-3). This can be contrasted with the account preserved by Constantine, where the Italians feature regularly, although not prominently, not only in the basic abuse of the slaves noted above (34/5.2.27-31), but also as influencing the behaviour of the Sicilians in general (34/5.2.27) and as the people whose behaviour was specifically imitated by the man who caused the actual revolt itself, Damophilus (34/5.2.34). The difference between the two accounts is that Photius, as I argued above, misses details. In that respect we can see the influence of the Italians on the narrative as a detail that *could be missed*. Photius notes that it is important to the narrative that the *praetores* were prevented from acting (34/5.2.3), and also that the story of Damophilus is important to the narrative (34/5.2.10), but clearly he did not think about, or notice, the importance of the subtle strand of Italian influence that is carefully insinuated into the details of the war. More careful examination of this influence reveals its purpose.

The narrative can make sense without the Italians, as it does in Photius, and so it is suggestive that the Italian role in the narrative is overlaid onto a previous narrative, much as Sacks suggested. An examination of the parts of the narrative which include the Italians shows that they were either mentioned in general terms as

the owners of the slaves, as noted before, or as influencing Sicilian landowners by their practices. At two points in the narrative Diodorus shows that the behaviour of the Sicilians was influenced by the Italians' behaviour:

Sicilians who had acquired much wealth were now rivalling the Italians in arrogance, greed, and villainy. (34/5.2.27)

There was a certain Damophilus...who...emulated not only the luxury affected by the Italian landowners in Sicily, but also their troops of slaves and their inhumanity and severity towards them. (34/5.2.34)

Sacks (1991: 147) interpreted these passages as examples of Diodorus excusing the behaviour of the Sicilians, but that is rather too simple an explanation. It does, in a sense, excuse the Sicilians, but it also condemns the Italians as not only influencing the Sicilians, but also causing the Sicilians to act in the same way as them. A passage from Constantine's preservation of Diodorus will perhaps illustrate what Diodorus is accusing the Italians of. In the passage Diodorus describes how the slave war came about in moral terms (34/5.2.25-6):

To most people these events [the First Slave War] came as an unexpected and sudden surprise, but to those who were capable of judging affairs realistically they did not seem to happen without reason. Because of the superabundant prosperity of those who exploited the products of this mighty island, nearly all who had risen in wealth affected first a luxurious mode of living, then arrogance and insolence. As a result of all this, since both the maltreatment of the slaves and their estrangement from their

masters increased at an equal rate, there was at last, when occasion offered, a violent outburst of hatred.

What Diodorus is stating here is a moral judgement. He attributes the causes of the war specifically to the moral corruption of the slaves' masters. Therefore the influence of the Italians was also of a moral nature, and in the narrative that Diodorus was overlaying onto the narrative of Sicilian culpability the Italians represent a terrible moral influence and a corrupting presence in Sicily that led to the events of the First Slave War. In this respect, the two narratives represent two differing ideologies of the war. Perhaps most importantly, one of the ideologies of the war views the influence of the Italians on Sicily as a terrible moment in Sicilian history. The full importance of this aspect of the narrative will only become clear once other facets of the narrative as a whole are investigated. I would now like to discuss the feature I mentioned at the start of this section of the chapter, which is Diodorus' statement about the inability of the *praetores* to act on the rampaging of the herdsmen through the province.

#### *The Rise of the War: Sicilian Bandits, Equites and Law-Courts*

We should now return to the passage quoted at the start of the previous section of the chapter, of which the relevant section to this discussion will be repeated here (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.27-31):

The praetors attempted to hold the raging slaves in check, but not daring to punish them because of the power and influence of the masters were forced to wink at the



plundering of the province. For most of the landowners were Roman knights in full standing, and since it was the knights who acted as judges when charges arising from provincial affairs were brought against the governors, the magistrates stood in awe of them.

In the passage Diodorus' envisions a situation on Sicily in which the *praetores* of the island were unable to act against the rampaging herdsmen because their masters were *equites*, who controlled the law-courts for extortion cases against governors, giving the *equites* great leverage against the *praetores*. The passage contains a notorious anachronism that I will discuss here, which I feel will shed important light on the narrative composition of Diodorus. In discussing this anachronism I will also consider the role of the herdsmen in the narrative of Diodorus, which play a pivotal role in the development of the war in history as described by Diodorus.

The anachronism of the passage lies in Diodorus' statement that the *praetores* of the island could not act because of the *equites* controlling the law-courts that tried the cases of extortion. For Diodorus, writing in the first century B.C., this had undoubtedly been the case, but in the 130s B.C. this was not so; the problem is one of historical timing. The first court to be permanently established for trying cases of extortion was enacted in 149 B.C., which is before the time of the First Slave War, but this court was not composed in the manner in which Diodorus describes it for his narrative. Rather than having a jury composed of *equites*, the court took place in front of a board of senators, after an appeal had been made to a *praetor*, believed to

be the *praetor peregrinus*.<sup>19</sup> It could not have been this court that Diodorus was referring to, and so we must look to later history of the courts for extortion. The next major change to the system of extortion courts that we know took place at the earliest in 123 or 122 B.C. The *lex Acilia* set up a court in which the provincials themselves could bring extortion cases against governors, either with or without a Roman *patronus*.<sup>20</sup> The case was then brought before a jury of fifty men chosen from a standing panel of four hundred and fifty selected by the *praetor*.<sup>21</sup> The selection of this jury is the most interesting, and pertinent, part of the *lex Acilia*, and relates directly to the account of Diodorus.

The text of the *lex Acilia* stipulates very stringent limitation on the composition of the jury. The selected individuals had to be between thirty and sixty years old, could not be or have been major or minor magistrates, and could not be senators or the fathers, sons or brothers of senators.<sup>22</sup> The text of the *lex Acilia* does not, however, provide any positive qualifications. The account of Appian about the reform of the extortion courts states that C. Gracchus gave control of these courts to the *equites* (*B Civ.* 1.22). A passage from Pliny the Elder, however, suggests that the people to whom the courts were given were merely a group of people who came to be known as the *equites*, but were first known as *iudices* (*HN* 33.34). Jones (1972: 86-90) argues that this indicates that the positive qualification of the law was one of

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<sup>19</sup> Jones (1972), 48-9; Stockton (1979), 139; Mitchell (1986), 1; Lintott (1992), 14-6; Lintott (1993), 99-100.

<sup>20</sup> I agree with the arguments put forward by Lintott (1992), 166-9 and Crawford (1996), 49-50, that the *tabula Bembina lex repetundarum* records the *lex* of a colleague of C. Gracchus, rather than a later *lex* by C. Servilius Glaucia in 104 or 101 B.C. For this reason the following discussion is based on the reconstruction of the *lex Acilia* from the *tabula Bembina*.

<sup>21</sup> *Lex repetundarum* 6-8,12-5 (Crawford). See Jones (1972), 49-50; Stockton (1979), 141; Mitchell (1986), 2; Lintott (1992), 20-2; Lintott (1993), 101-2; Crawford (1996), 97.

<sup>22</sup> *Lex repetundarum* 12-8 (Crawford). See Jones (1972), 49; Stockton (1979), 142; Mitchell (1986), 2; Lintott (1992), 21; Lintott (1993), 101-2; Crawford (1996), 98-100.

census qualification of owning 400,000 sesterces, which is the required census qualification to be part of the eighteen voting centuries that were given the public horse. In time, this body became thought of as part of the *equites*, and were thought of as such by the late Republic.<sup>23</sup> It can clearly be seen, therefore, that Diodorus' narrative contains an anachronism in two senses: not only were the extortion courts changed in the manner described by Diodorus at the earliest in 123 or 122 B.C., and therefore a full ten years after the end of the First Slave War, but it was also the creation of this new court that led to the creation of the greater body known as the *equites* that Diodorus sees as so important to his narrative.

This anachronism has been noted before, although no scholar has questioned how this could affect the interpretation of Diodorus' narrative. For the most part they choose to accept that while Diodorus is guilty of the anachronism, the information presented can still be accepted with the emendation that it was aristocratic pressure of any type on the *praetores* preventing them from acting.<sup>24</sup> Having dismissed the anachronism as essentially accurate in concept if inaccurate in detail, the scholars then continue with their discussions of the war. I propose that this anachronism can show how Diodorus conceptualised the start and continuation of the First Slave War, and that this also throws doubts on the validity of his narrative in certain details.

First, I would like to return to the point made in the previous section of the chapter. I showed that the Italians mentioned in the narrative feature as part of a

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<sup>23</sup> Badian (1972), 82-4.

<sup>24</sup> Green (1961), 13-4; Verbrugghe (1972), 544-5; Vogt (1974), 46-7; Bradley (1989), 54; Sacks (1990), 146-50; Shaw (2001), 13; Urbainczyk (2008), 11. Finley (1968), 139-44 makes no mention of the anachronism in his discussion of the war.

second narrative overlaid onto another narrative that places the culpability for the First Slave War at the feet of the Sicilian landowners. The anachronism concerning the extortion courts is directly linked to the narrative in which the Italians take prominence, coming, as it does, after the description of how the Italians treated their slaves, and being directly linked to this description. This implies that it was the Italians who were supposed to be members of the *equites*, and they who controlled the extortion courts. The anachronism is therefore directly tied to the narrative that sees Italian influence as morally corrupting, and it is this Italian influence that causes the enormous problems of banditry in Sicily. It is, consequently, an extension of the moral corruption of the Italians on Sicily: not only were they corrupting the Sicilian landowners, they were also immorally using their control of the extortion courts to ensure that their corruption went on uninhibited. Diodorus was constructing the opening to his narrative not historically, but morally.

This moral tone can be traced by reference to Diodorus' own age. In the first century B.C. it was a *topos* of political invective to brand your opponent as brigands and leaders of slaves.<sup>25</sup> Cicero used the slur regularly (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.55; 2.5.114; *Phil.* 2.87; 5.18; 13.16. 20; 14.27), as did Cassius (Cic. *Fam.* 12.12.2), while Sextus Pompeius was branded by hostile sources as a 'slave to his slaves' (Vell. *Pat.* 2.72). It was also a typical feature of historical invective to accuse the antagonist of the piece of inciting slaves to war; e.g. during the Catiline conspiracy the conspirators, according to Sallust, incited the slaves of Apulia and Bruttium to join their forces (*Cat.* 42.1-2; 46.3); during the civil war Caesar accused Pompey of turning herdsmen

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<sup>25</sup> Watson (2002), 215-6.

into cavalry units while at Brundisium (*B Civ.* 1.24); finally, Tacitus records that in A.D. 24 a renegade Praetorian Guard member led an uprising of herdsmen around Brundisium (*Ann.* 4.27).<sup>26</sup> In this period it was not unknown for herdsmen to engage in violent activities; evidence from Cicero's *Pro Tullio* shows that herdsmen were sometimes used by owners to attack their political enemies (17-21). Roth (2005: 291-2) argues, with a passage from Festus as evidence (392L),<sup>27</sup> that an accepted part of slave maintenance was accrued from exploitation of the *saltus*, which she links to the comments in Diodorus about the herdsmen engaging in banditry, suggesting instead that the herdsmen were engaging in small scale embezzlement of their pastures in a recognised system of slave maintenance, an act that Diodorus saw as entirely undesirable. Diodorus' account, then, is a version of the political *topoi* based in the background of his own times, which has been anachronistically placed onto an earlier period, and his views of the brigandage of the herdsmen were based on a clear misunderstanding of a system of slave maintenance, a confusion made clear by Diodorus' representation of the herdsmen: because of their 'experience of life in the open', the herdsmen were (34/5.2.28): 'naturally all brimming with high spirits and audacity', a description quite at odds with Diodorus' highly moralistic condemnation of their treatment.

Bearing in mind this conclusion about the introduction of Diodorus' narrative, how does this affect our understanding of his references to herdsmen in the other parts of his narrative? The conclusion above suggests that we must be more

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<sup>26</sup> It was also an accepted form of invective to associate an enemy with piracy, and therefore render him as debased as the pirates; see De Souza (1999), 131-2. This strategy was used by ancient authors to de-legitimise Mithridates; see App. *Mith.* 62-3, 92, 119.

<sup>27</sup> Festus 392L: *saltus est, ubi silvae et pastiones sunt, quarum causa casae quoque; si qua particula in eo saltu pastorum aut custodum causa aratur, ea res non peremit nomen saltui.*

careful in giving a prominent role to the herdsmen in our narrative of the First Slave War, and this care extends to the most prominent mention of a herdsman in the narrative. When describing the second uprising of the First Slave War, under the leadership of the slave Cleon, we would expect, given the background of Cleon, for the disaffection of the herdsmen of Sicily to be the reason for his rising up in rebellion. Cleon only features briefly in Diodorus, and the salient parts of his narrative are quite short (34/5.2.43):

There was, in addition, another revolt of fugitive slaves who banded together in considerable numbers. A certain Cleon, a Cilician from the region about Taurus, who was accustomed from childhood to a life of brigandage and had become in Sicily a herder of horses, constantly waylaid travellers and perpetrated murders of all kinds. *On hearing the news of Eunus' success and of the victories of the fugitives serving with him*, he rose in revolt, and persuading some of the slaves near by to join him in his mad venture overran the city of Acragas and all the surrounding country. (my italics)

Cleon is clearly described as a fellow herdsmen of the mistreated slaves mentioned in the opening of Diodorus. However, his reason for rising in rebellion has nothing to do with the background of rampant banditry described by Diodorus. He rises in rebellion only *after* hearing of the success of Eunus; it was this success that was the catalyst, *not* the background of poor treatment and brigandage. This separation between actual causes of the war in the main narrative of Diodorus, and the herdsmen foregrounded by the Italian narrative, is also present in the story of the cause of the initial rebellion: the villain Damophilus.

The narrative of Damophilus breaks into two halves.<sup>28</sup> The first is a general description of his degeneracy, detailing his peculiar extravagances and excesses. It is in this section of the story that Diodorus links Damophilus to the Italian narrative (34/5.2.34-6):

There was a certain Damophilus, a native of Enna, a man of great wealth but arrogant in manner, who, since he had under cultivation a great circuit of land and owned many herds of cattle, emulated not only the luxury affected by the Italian landowners in Sicily, but also their troops of slaves and their inhumanity and severity towards them [...] Purchasing a large number of slaves, he treated them outrageously, marking with branding irons the bodies of men who in their own countries had been free, but who through capture in war had come to know the fate of a slave. Some of these he put in fetters and thrust into slave pens; others he designated to act as his herdsmen, but neglected to provide them with suitable clothing or food.

The passage is rather rhetorical in nature, also claiming at one point that Damophilus (34/5.2.35) ‘surpassed even the luxury of the Persians in outlay and extravagance’. It does, however, clearly link Damophilus to the alternate narrative that focuses on Italian influence and herdsmen as the most damaging feature of slave ownership on Sicily. The second half the Damophilus story focuses quite differently, and shifts in detail to the domestic slaves (34/5.2.37-8+24b):

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<sup>28</sup> I use here the story preserved by Constantine, not Photius, as the account of Constantine is not only longer, but preserves far greater detail.

On one occasion when approached by a group of naked domestics with a request for clothing, Damophilus of Enna impatiently refused to listen. “What!” he said, “do those who travel through the country go naked? Do they not offer a ready source of supply for anyone who needs garments?” Having said this, he ordered them bound to pillars, piled blows on them, and arrogantly dismissed them.

Because of his arbitrary nature and savage humour not a day passed that this same Damophilus did not torment some of his slaves without just cause. His wife Metallis,<sup>29</sup> who delighted no less in these arrogant punishments, treated her maidservants cruelly, as well as any other slaves who fell into her clutches. And because of the spiteful punishments received from them both, the slaves were filled with rage against their masters, and conceiving that they could encounter nothing worse than their present misfortunes began to form conspiracies to revolt and to murder their masters.

The difference in the two narratives is not startling, but it is very interesting. The second half is far more closely connected to the actual instigation of the war, leaving the impression that the reference to the herdsmen made in the first half of the story, as well as the reference to the Italians,<sup>30</sup> was not connected originally to this story of Damophilus: this aspect of the story of Damophilus is another example of Diodorus’ use of two narratives laid over each other to construct his own narrative of the First Slave War.

I have now shown that in constructing the opening of his narrative Diodorus created a composite of two different narratives. The basic narrative, from which the

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<sup>29</sup> Here the excerptor of Diodorus has incorrectly recorded Damophilus’ wife’s name, which is more accurately preserved in the account of Photius (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.10) as Megallis.

<sup>30</sup> Connections that, we should note, were not made by Posidonius in his account of Damophilus. See Ath. 12.542.



majority of the finer details about the conflict come, firmly places the culpability for the conflict on the shoulders of the Sicilians. Overlaid onto this narrative is another that described the situation on Sicily as having come from the influence of morally degenerate Italian landowners on Sicily, whose influence caused a great rise in banditry among the slaves, and eventually the outbreak of rebellion. This suggests very strongly that there was a very divided opinion in the ancient world about what the First Slave War represented: was it just an internal matter of Sicilian mismanagement, or was it a greater problem of Italian meddling in Sicilian matters that led to the disaster? I would now like to investigate how this dichotomy of narratives reflects on later passages from Diodorus' narrative, focussing on two problems of interpretation in Diodorus' narrative.

#### *Diodorus' Narrative: Escalation and Conclusion*

After the lengthy excerpts preserved about the causes of the war and the opening of hostilities, the preservation of Diodorus becomes rather patchy for the escalation of the conflict and the end of the war. Considering that the process of the war's escalation and conclusion could have taken from four to six years,<sup>31</sup> this is a considerable loss of Diodorus' narrative. This also demonstrates rather forcefully the interests of the excerptors, and suggests that the latter stages of the narrative became less focussed on moralistic episodes of the kind that the excerpts of Constantine tend to preserve. In general the remaining narrative, preserved, as it mostly is, by Photius,

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<sup>31</sup> There is great debate about the dates of the first war, and there is no clear way in which to end the debate due to the conflicting and problematic nature of the evidence. For the debate see Green (1961), 28-9; Forrest and Stinton (1962), 89-90; Bradley (1989), 59, 140-1; Shaw (2001), 79; Urbainczyk (2008), 10. For this work, however, it is entirely unimportant how long the war lasted.

is too compressed to yield to any direct analysis looking for evidence of conflicting narratives. The excerpts of Constantine become, from the end of the opening narrative, scattered and unconnected, in spite of their greater detail when compared to Photius' preservation. For this reason two episodes in Constantine can provide a way toward a better understanding of what the details that Photius' compressed narrative missed out may have been, which then allows us to recreate, to an extent, how Diodorus' narrative may have been constructed. These two episodes will be discussed separately below: the first records noteworthy details about the fighting between the slaves and the Romans, while the second contains seeds of information about internal conflict on Sicily during the First Slave War that is very suggestive about the nature of the struggle.

#### *Escalation and Conclusion: The Fighting*

I will start this discussion with Photius' narrative of the escalation and conclusion of the war. In two passages Photius narrates first how the war escalated in size, and then how the tide turned against the slaves once Rupilius took command of the opposing forces. It is important to note the language in which Photius casts the conflict:

Then, since he (Eunus) kept recruiting untold numbers of slaves, he ventured even to do battle with Roman generals (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.16)

Soon after, engaging in battle with a general arrived from Rome, Lucius Hypsaeus, who had eight thousand Sicilian troops, the rebels were victorious, since they now

numbered twenty thousand...and in numerous battles with the Romans they acquitted themselves well, and failed but seldom...Cities were captured with all their inhabitants, and many armies were cut to pieces by the rebels, until Rupilius, the Roman commander, recovered Tauromenium for the Romans (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.18-20)

What should have become clear is that the conflict is cast in terms of a war between the slaves and the *Romans*. The only mention of the Sicilians comes from a reference to them fighting under a Roman commander. Of particular note is that Tauromenium was recovered *for the Romans*, not the Sicilians. There is a definite distinction between the armed Roman combatants defending their possession, i.e. Sicily, and the Sicilians who are only mentioned once in terms of combat, and are otherwise only mentioned as being slaughtered by the slaves. What is remarkable is that this distinction between the martial Romans and the docile Sicilians is also preserved in a passage from Constantine, in which Diodorus describes the actions of the slaves when they were besieging an unnamed town (34/5.2.46):

Eunus, having stationed his army out of range of their missiles, taunted the Romans by declaring that it was they, and not his men, who were runaways from battle. For the inhabitants of the city, at a safe distance (?), he staged a production of mimes, in which the slaves acted out scenes of revolt from their individual masters, heaping abuse on their arrogance and the inordinate insolence that had led to their destruction.

The slaves taunt the Romans, specifically the Romans, for running away from battle. The Sicilians, on the other hand, are taunted for how they had brought the disaster on

themselves. The passage confirms the impression, given by Photius' compressed narrative, that Diodorus separated the Romans and the Sicilians when describing the fighting of the conflict into martial and passive elements. It is also at odds with the earlier narrative that claimed the Italians were the chief influence and cause of the war. This narrative element can therefore be placed with the narrative outlined in the first section of the chapter that placed the culpability for the conflict with the Sicilians. This particular narrative is, therefore, even more ideologically loaded than I previously suggested: not only are the Sicilians directly to blame for the conflict, they are also incapable of defending themselves against the slaves once they had rebelled; all direct action comes from the Romans, even if it is, at first, quite ineffective. The impression being reinforced through this narrative is that Rome saved Sicily, although there is perhaps a subtle rebuke of their actions in the statement that Rupilius recovered Tauromenium 'for the Romans' (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.20) as opposed to for the inhabitants of the town, as we might have expected. This narrative is undercut, however, by the second passage to be discussed, a passage that suggests that there is more than a single narrative in Diodorus' construction of the escalation of the war.

#### *Escalation and Conclusion: Internal Problems*

This other passage, preserved in Constantine, records details about the actions of the poor of Sicily during the conflict. It records a, perhaps surprisingly, malicious and deep divide in Sicily between the rich and the poor (34/5.2.48):

When these many great troubles fell upon the Sicilians, the common people were not only unsympathetic, but actually gloated over their plight, being envious because of the inequality in their respective lots, and the disparity in their modes of life. Their envy, from being a gnawing canker, now turned to joy, as it beheld the once resplendent lot of the rich changed and fallen into a condition such as was formerly beneath their very notice. Worst of all, though the rebels, making prudent provision for the future, did not set fire to the country estates nor damage the stock or the stored harvests, and abstained from harming anyone whose pursuit was agriculture, the populace, making the runaway slaves a pretext, made sallies into the country and with the malice of envy not only plundered the estates but set fire top the buildings as well.

If this passage is noted at all in scholarship,<sup>32</sup> it is either noted because it seems to reflect implicit support for the rebels from the poor of Sicily,<sup>33</sup> or because it reflects a division in Sicilian society, which is only made plain in times of conflict.<sup>34</sup> I would like to suggest two things about this passage. First, that it represents another narrative line in the work of Diodorus, linked back once again to how he described the opening of the war. Second, that this passage also represents a challenge to the picture of Sicily described by Prag (2007a), as it describes a moment of breakdown in the internal order of Sicily that suggests major internal problems on Sicily at this point in history.

I argued in the first section of this chapter that Diodorus, through the interweaving of two different narratives, implicated the Italians in the atrocities

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<sup>32</sup> Green (1961), Verbrugge (1972, 1973, 1974, 1975) and Bradley (1989) all fail to mention the passage entirely.

<sup>33</sup> Urbainczyk (2008), 13, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Vogt (1974), 54; Perkins (2007), 47.

committed by the landowners of Sicily. By this he also implied that the Italians were landowners on Sicily, and that they were rich. They were, therefore, part of the group that were being targeted by the attacks of the common people of Sicily. This creates a moment of contrast to the previous description of activity during the First Slave War: in the previous passage Diodorus showed that the Sicilian people were passive participants in the war while the Romans actively fought against the slaves, whereas in the passage just mentioned the people of Sicily become active combatants, but against the rich of Sicily, *not* the slaves. Diodorus does, however, try to explain why the poor acted as they did: envy of the inequality between themselves and the rich of Sicily. This explanation, however, is undercut by Diodorus' own concept of how historical causality works, as he describes during the First Slave War narrative (34/5.2.33):

For heavy-handed arrogance leads states into civil strife and factionalism between citizens...Anyone whom fortune has set in low estate willingly yields place to his superiors in point of gentility and esteem, but if he is deprived of due consideration, he comes to regard those who lord it over him with bitter enmity.

By this statement we would expect that the actions of the poor must have been spurred by the arrogance of the rich; could it have been the actions of the rich that led their slaves to turn to banditry that caused the hurt to the common people of Sicily? In spite of this criticism of the rich, there is also an implicit criticism of the poor of Sicily in the passage, based on the way in which Diodorus describes their burning out buildings and looting estates while in contrast the slaves made every effort not to damage property. Considering that in previous parts of Diodorus' narrative he

emphasised the damage that the slaves had caused everyone on Sicily (34/5.2.2, 25, 28-30), it would appear that Diodorus was attempting to understand an aspect of his narrative that defied his comprehension. Regardless of whether just the poor of Sicily, or the poor of Sicily *and* the slaves caused destruction on Sicily, this part of the narrative still preserves evidence of considerable internal conflict on Sicily, something that conflicts with the settled and self governed image of Sicily argued by Prag in recent years (2007a; 2007b). In the third chapter I will suggest another way to interpret this episode, but for the moment I would suggest that the passage reflects the problems of Diodorus' narrative, as the influence of two different narrative strands complicates attempts to understand the history from which they arose. When taken with the previous passage discussed in this section of the chapter (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.46) we can see that the two narratives that Diodorus used to create his narrative of the First Slave War were ideologically loaded with judgements on the participants, especially moral, and potentially concealed deeper grievances in Sicilian history at this point.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to address several features of Diodorus' history that have hitherto been ignored. The link between Posidonius and Diodorus has been over-used by previous scholarship to simplify discussion of Diodorus' narrative structure, which I have shown should be no simple matter. His narrative breaks down into two separate ideologies about the war: the first considers the Sicilian landowners to be specifically to blame for the rise of the slave revolt, while the second, which Diodorus interwove through the first ideology, subtly implicates the Italian

landowners on Sicily with the mistreatment of the slaves and the influence of Sicilian landowners. These two narratives can only be identified because of Diodorus' anachronistic use of the extortion courts as an historical tool to explain the rise of servile banditry in Sicily at this point in history. By understanding this aspect of his narrative construction we can also gain a better understanding of how the latter half of the revolt was viewed by Diodorus. Through this comparison, I have shown that elements of his narrative concerning the escalation and conclusion of the First Slave War were heavily influenced by the politically and morally loaded narratives that he used to construct his opening narrative of the war. The latter parts of his narrative also suggest that Sicily was not as internally stable as has been suggested<sup>35</sup> and that the political and moral views one had about the First Slave War had grave consequences for how one viewed not only how the war came about, but also who fought who and why. I do not want to answer, for the moment, which of the two narratives I think is the more historically accurate, or why the narratives are so loaded politically and morally, but I would suggest that the answers to these questions lie in a better understanding of how Diodorus constructed other aspects of his history, and their relation to historical data.

One aspect I have not touched upon so far is his depiction of the slave leaders. In the next chapter I would like to investigate, as a case study of Diodorus' historical writing, how he constructed the major figures of his narrative, Eunus and Cleon, and how this reflects on how and why he created his narrative of the First Slave War.

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<sup>35</sup> Prag (2007a).



## II. THE HISTORICAL STEREOTYPES OF DIODORUS: Magicians, Bandits, and Diodorus' Imagination

*'It is difficult to say anything definitive about the individuals who led the revolts, but we can say that the sources attributed to them all the powers, abilities, wisdom, and cunning that challenges to the status quo had to have had in order to succeed. This meant that once that individual had gone, the regular slaves need not be feared, or at least not feared more than necessary.'* Urbainczyk (2008), 74.

### Introduction

In the previous chapter I attempted to re-think the way in which we should read Diodorus' narrative about the First Slave War. One of the case studies I presented showed that the way in which Diodorus understood the inter-relationship between herdsmen and brigands was heavily informed by the history of his own times and his own method of narrative construction. In doing so I touched upon the two central figures of the slave rebellion, the magician-king Eunus and the herdsmen-brigand Cleon. In this chapter I want to focus in much greater depth on those two leading figures of the First Slave War in Diodorus. My principal aim will be to correct a fundamental mistake of interpretation in previous scholarship on the First Slave War by re-reading Diodorus' history as a literary work, and by reconnecting his writing with the literary types and norms that he was drawing on in his depiction of the slave leaders. By doing so I want to suggest that the way in which the two leaders were introduced and represented, Eunus as a charlatan wonder-worker and Cleon as a bloodthirsty brigand, was a literary ploy designed to create a desired reaction from the ancient reader. Furthermore, I will argue that the reaction created was important

to the way in which an ancient reader was manipulated into thinking about the First Slave War and the protagonists, considering, in particular, the role of the depiction of the leaders in achieving this aim. Owing to the separate literary nature of the two character types employed by Diodorus, I, too, will discuss Eunus and Cleon separately, starting with the senior of the two figures, Eunus.

At the beginning of each section of this chapter I will first show how Diodorus described the leader being discussed. I will then discuss the ways in which Diodorus' descriptions of the leaders have been used by scholars to interpret the events and characters involved in the First Slave War, trying to show that the discussion surrounding the figures has focussed on validating the description provided by Diodorus rather than trying to understand how and why he depicted them as he did. After that, I will then describe the context in which I think the passages of Diodorus should be read, the context being literary. I will show that by being sensitive to the context within which Diodorus was writing we are able to understand far better how to read him, and consequently how to interpret the events that lay behind his history of the First Slave War.

### *Eunus: Diodorus' Description*

A great deal has been made of Diodorus' description of Eunus in his history.<sup>36</sup> Before even considering how scholars have read the account it is necessary to show, without interpretation at first, how Diodorus described Eunus. For the description of Eunus we rely almost entirely on Photius' epitome, as Constantine's work only

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<sup>36</sup> Green (1961), 21-4; Vogt (1974), 65-9; Bradley (1989), 55-7; Shaw (2001), 12; Urbainczyk (2008), 52.

mentions Eunos briefly, and only once in terms of his wonder-working. When he is first introduced Diodorus describes Eunos in quite full detail (34/5.2.5-8):

There was a certain Syrian slave, belonging to Antigenes of Enna; he was an Apamean by birth and had an aptitude for magic<sup>37</sup> and the working of wonders. He claimed to foretell the future, by divine command, through dreams, and because of his talent along these lines deceived many. Going on from there he not only gave oracles by means of dreams, but even made a pretence of having waking visions of the gods and of hearing the future from their own lips. Of his many improvisations some by chance turned out true, and since those which failed to do so were left unchallenged, while those that were fulfilled attracted attention, his reputation advanced apace. Finally, through some device, while in a state of divine possession, he would produce fire and flame from his mouth, and thus rave oracularly about things to come. For he would place fire, and fuel to maintain it, in a nut – or something similar – that was pierced on both sides; then, placing it in his mouth and blowing on it, he kindled now sparks, and now a flame. Prior to the revolt he used to say that the Syrian goddess<sup>38</sup> appeared to him, saying that he should be king, and he repeated this, not only to others, but even to his own master. Since his claims were treated as a joke, Antigenes, taken by his hocus-pocus, would introduce Eunos (for that was the wonder-worker's name) at his dinner parties, and cross-question him about his kingship and how he would treat each of the men present. And since he gave a full account of everything without hesitation, explaining with what moderation he would treat the masters and in sum making a colourful tale of his quackery, the guests were always stirred to laughter, and some of them, picking up a nice tidbit from the table, would present it to him, adding, as they did so, that when he

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<sup>37</sup> The Greek word here is *μάγος*, the importance of which will be made plain later in the chapter.

<sup>38</sup> Atargatis is the goddess identified with the 'Syrian Goddess'. Her chief shrine was in the Hierapolis-Bambyce.

became king, he should remember the favour. But, as it happened, his charlatanism did in fact result in kingship, and for favours received in jest at the banquets he made a return of thanks in good earnest.

Naturally this is not the only mention of Eunus,<sup>39</sup> but it contains the seeds of the character of Eunus that Diodorus paints. The basic ideas are clearly there in this passage; Eunus is a ‘wonder-worker’ with a magical aptitude, but most importantly, he is a fraud. Language like ‘charlatan’, ‘pretence’, and ‘quackery’ abounds in the passage and clearly signals the fraudulent nature of Eunus’ wonder-working. The other sections of Diodorus’ narrative confirm this impression. When the slaves go to Eunus to ask if they should rebel he resorted (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.10) ‘to his usual mummery’ while on being elected king Diodorus harshly states that (34/5.2.14): ‘Eunus was chosen king, not for his manly courage or his ability as a military leader, but solely for his marvels and his setting of the revolt in motion, and because his name seemed to contain a favourable omen [...]’ Finally, on being captured Diodorus (34/5.2.22-3) damningly describes Eunus’ flight as ‘cowardice’ and states that his end was one that ‘befitted his knavery’. Florus (2.7.4) confirms the impressions, not only that he counterfeited the religious frenzy, but also that it was in favour of the Syrian goddess. The impression is clear: Eunus was a fake, and through his fakery achieved much, but suffered the end he deserved. As ever with Diodorus, things appear quite simple, but are not.

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<sup>39</sup> See Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.10, 14, 22-2.

*Eunus: The Modern Scholars*

Modern scholars do not leave the interpretation at just this though. They are very keen to see beyond the connections that Diodorus makes, and understand what Eunus' faked religious manias and wonderworking could mean to the First Slave War. Key to this understanding is historical context; in this case the context of widespread belief in the miraculous in antiquity is often invoked to explain the character of Eunus, especially in order to *justify* Diodorus' description of Eunus as historically accurate. Vogt's interpretation of how to read the slave wars is an excellent case study of this particular way of reading Diodorus.

Vogt (1974: 65-9) sees the Syrian goddess as the key to understanding the importance of the description of Eunus, and so he sees Eunus as a 'divinely inspired...prophet and warrior'; pinning this interpretation on the fact that Eunus was elected king because of his wonderworking. As a backdrop to this he describes how the cult of Atargatis was associated with slaves on Delos, and imagines a situation on Sicily where the Syrian slaves brought the cult of Atargatis to Sicily and then engaged in a nationalistic uprising under the religious sanction of Eunus.<sup>40</sup> I think the problems with this idea begin with Vogt's reliance on there being a large number of 'Syrian' slaves on Sicily. First, Vogt does not acknowledge that in Greek and Roman writing the names 'Assyrian' and 'Syrian' could be roughly interchangeable and that either term could indicate people from anywhere in the Syro-Palestine region, hardly

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<sup>40</sup> In his work, Shaw (2001), 9, also accepted Diodorus' contention that the majority of the slaves on the island were eastern, arguing for this by pointing to the collapse of the Seleucid control of the east as an opportunity for wholesale enslavement of the inhabitants of the region by Romans, and Rome supported slavers.

a politically or ethnically settled area.<sup>41</sup> We can be in no way sure of what the designation ‘Syrian’ meant unless it was clarified by a place name, which it is not in this instance.<sup>42</sup> We cannot, therefore, be sure that all the slaves shared the same ethnic and political history that would allow them to create a Syrian national uprising, given how unspecific that word could be in the ancient world. How we deal with the passages in Diodorus (34/5.2.25; 8) that mention the slaves as being called ‘Syrians’ is hard to work out, and will deserve treatment on another occasion, but ascribing it to some short lived nationalistic Syrian uprising is perhaps not the best method to use. This is especially the case for Vogt’s argument as it relies heavily on assuming similarities with the Maccabean war of liberation. It seems to me to be rather too much to see similarities between a Jewish nationalistic revolt and a slave revolt comprising a diverse group of nationalities.<sup>43</sup> Regardless, however, of the historical realities of the revolt, Vogt’s idea of a religiously sanctioned nationalist rebellion is grounded in reading Diodorus literally, and specifically assuming that when Diodorus is doubtful of Eunus’ religious credentials, we should ignore his doubts and believe in Eunus’ credentials. As shown above, Vogt went to lengths to show the viability of Atargatis as a religious presence on Sicily, but he also focuses on the fire-breathing trick of Eunus. These two themes, it would seem, appear often in modern scholarship, as a few other short examples will show.

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<sup>41</sup> Dickie (2001), 110; Millar (1993), 227, 454-5.

<sup>42</sup> Which is different from the case of Eunus where it is made quite explicit which town it is he comes from, Apamea. See Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.5.

<sup>43</sup> See Verbrugge (1974), 50-2 for a discussion of the possible nationalities present in the slave population. His argument is based on a conception that in order for Syrian slaves to outnumber other slaves they must have been enslaved through piracy on a massive scale. For this argument he draws on the large number of people enslaved in wars by the Romans, and their diverse backgrounds. While his argument is quite short, the basic idea is sound. See also Toynbee (1965), 171-3 for the figures of the enslaved between 262 B.C and 133 B.C.

Like Vogt, Bradley (1989: 55-7, 113-4) delves into the background of the goddess Atargatis, and also the concept of a *magos* in ancient society, in order to construct a framework within which he could understand Eunus' description. Bradley quite skilfully describes how the shows and tricks of Eunus could well have garnered the support that Diodorus attributes to him, and so Bradley chooses to see the charades of Eunus as central to the instigation and maintenance of the revolt. Green, too, credits Eunus with genuine intentions (1961: 21-4). He again reads the fire-breathing trick as having a genuine religious precedent, drawing parallels with Messianic traditions, suggesting that Eunus drew on the syncretism of the times to use his religion as the unifying factor of the revolt. By this synergism of ideas Green creates in Eunus an actual messianic figure. The most recent work on the Slave Wars (Urbainczyk, 2008: 52) does not discuss the implications of the description, although she does accept that the account is generally correct, even if the testimony of Diodorus doubts the authenticity of Eunus' abilities. Other, shorter, accounts merely confirm Eunus' designation as a 'wonder-worker' with little or no discussion, e.g. Toynbee (1965: 405), Finley (1968: 140), Yavetz (1988: 8), Shaw (2001: 12).

As I discussed above, the purpose of this brief overview was not necessarily to criticise scholars for the way in which they approached the problem, but to show that so far scholars have been quite united in their approach to the problem. Put simply, they dive in to the historical background in order to show that what Diodorus wrote *was* true, having first implicitly *accepted* that it was true. For my part, I think that before we can hope to assess how Diodorus' work fits into any historical context we must understand *how* and *why* Diodorus wrote what he wrote. For that, we must

delve into the literary background first, before the historical, in order to assess what the language of Diodorus' writing was designed to draw from its reader.

*Eunus: A Literary Background*

To start this background, we should start with the word *magos*, highlighted twice before, once in the passage introducing Eunus, and again in Bradley's interpretation. It is useful to see how Bradley (1989: 113-4) deals with the meaning of the word. He does acknowledge that the word *magos* is laden with meanings, ranging from (originally) the priestly caste in ancient Media to all kinds of magicians and sorcerers in the Greek and Roman world, including fraudulent magicians.<sup>44</sup> The trouble with this quite direct explanation is that it is just that, a direct explanation. What Bradley continues to do after this brief exposition of the meanings of the word is to construct a history of *magoi* who gained a following to show how they could be historically realistic personages. He therefore chooses to ignore the meaning of the word as used by Diodorus.

This meaning can be shown if we consider a wider context of literary works in the Graeco-Roman world. By the archaic period the terms *goês*, *epodos*, *magos*, and *pharmakos* were all used synonymously to mean, in a disparaging sense, any magic-worker, with little distinction between the terms.<sup>45</sup> In particular the terms *goês* and *magos* were almost entirely interchangeable. It is especially notable that there does not appear to be any particular distinction as to what type of magic each of

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<sup>44</sup> As a term for actual Median priests see Nock (1972), 309. As a magician, fraudulent or otherwise, see Nock (1972), 323-4; Gordon (1999), 99, 104; Dickie (2001), 14-5; Janowitz (2001), 9.

<sup>45</sup> Nock (1972), 323-4; Dickie (2001), 13-6.



these groups actually practised. It is only natural that as Eunus is described as being Syrian he would be described using the word *magos*, but beyond that it is important to remember that the word had only a generic meaning, and constructing too much of a background from it assumes too much about Eunus. The term *goês* also carried certain expectations of trickery. Dickie (2001: 75-6) noted that in a story of Herodotus about the Neuroi people who claimed to be able to change into wolves, Herodotus termed them *goêtes* not because he believed it was magic that they were doing, but because he doubted the truth of their magical abilities, expecting them to be fake (Hdt. 4.105.2). Dickie cites further examples in ancient literature where the expectation attached to a *goes* is for trickery rather than actual magic.<sup>46</sup> It has also been noted that the terms *magos* and *goês* were used to ‘stigmatize (sic) socially deviant, and therefore undesirable, views and behaviour’.<sup>47</sup> It should be noted here that even though the terms describe a certain expectation of charlatanism, it does not rule out that the charlatan in question would or could be successful with it. Examples of successful magicians who were considered fraudsters can be found in abundance in Greek and Roman literature; to name but a few we have Simon Magus from the *Acts of Peter*, Alexander the False Prophet from Lucian’s *Alexander*, and in the spirit of being contentious, Jesus of Nazareth.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, I think we would hardly expect the idea of charlatan magicians gaining widespread followings to be so prevalent in ancient literature if there were not some historical background to the idea.

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<sup>46</sup> The examples cited are a Phrygian slave in Euripedes’ *Orestes* (1493-9) and Euripedes’ portrayal of the expectations of the magic-working of Dionysus in *Bacchae* (233-4; 273-313; 434-52).

<sup>47</sup> Flintermann (1995), 67.

<sup>48</sup> According to Mk. 3.22, Lk. 11.15-20, and Mt. 10.24-5, the scribes saw Jesus as a magician. Justin *Dial.* 69.7, 108.2 also preserves evidence of Jewish claims that Jesus was a magician. For a discussion of the varied views of Jesus in the ancient world see Smith (1977).

Another aspect of the intellectual concept surrounding the terms *goês* and *magos* should be noted at this point. In the Roman mind, foreign peoples and their religions were often associated with witchcraft, and different regions held different expectations of their specific craft. For example, the peoples of the Marsi were thought to have abilities to charm snakes, among other magical abilities (Hor. *Epod.* 17.29, *Sat.* 1.9.29; Juv. 3.169; Plin. *HN* 21.78, 25.11, 28.19.30; Sil. *Pun.* 8.495).<sup>49</sup> For Holy Men from the east of the Mediterranean there was an expectation, in both the Greek and Roman world, of an ability at prophecy, but this expectation was tempered with a reality that the eastern Holy Man credited as such was only considered an ‘inspired seer’ so long as he avoided using his prophetic abilities in order to enhance his authority, otherwise he was considered a lowly magician.<sup>50</sup> In Roman literature there is also a clear distinction between ‘state’ religious practices, which are acceptable, and magical rites of a foreign and dangerous nature.<sup>51</sup> What is understood behind all of this is that the person whom an ancient author would term a magician is regularly someone outside their own society, and as such constitutes an ‘other’. In both Greek and Roman society there was a clear opinion in the literate class that the dubious magical practices of other religions and those of con artists were aiming to alter the course of nature and were implicitly wrong.<sup>52</sup>

It is with this backdrop of intellectual and literary thought in mind that we should now consider the case of Eunus. I do not think it advisable to chase the

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<sup>49</sup> Dench (1995), 154-74.

<sup>50</sup> Dickie (2001), 112. Furthermore, the Romans also implicitly believed, at least in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. that the religious observances of the actual *magoi* of Persia were suspect. See Catull. 90 and Graf (1996), 37-8.

<sup>51</sup> Cic. *Vat.* 14; Hor. *Epod.* 5.8; Ov. *Ars am.* 99-107.

<sup>52</sup> Dickie (2001), 137-41.

historical figure of Eunus without first appreciating what the literary figure we are working with was designed to do to the readers' expectations and interpretations. In the next section of this chapter I will argue that if we apply these literary concepts to the character of Eunus we will be forced to reconsider his historical character.

### *Eunus: A Reinterpretation*

A useful, and very thought provoking place to start this reinterpretation of Eunus is with the way in which he is seen by a scholar interested, not in slavery, but in magic and magicians in the ancient world. Dickie (2001: 113) describes the depiction of Eunus in the most interesting terms: he says that 'the account we have of Eunus' career will be in some measure an imaginative recreation on Posidonius' part based on patterns of behaviour with which he was familiar.' Leaving aside the mention of Posidonius,<sup>53</sup> the description is fascinating for our purposes. Dickie does not see it as a problem in ascribing to Diodorus a creative imagination about what Eunus was like and what he would have done, which is precisely what scholars of the First Slave War have tried not to allow Diodorus.<sup>54</sup> In one case I mentioned in the previous chapter, Bradley (1989: 135-6) advises against even considering that there might be literary ingenuity present in the remains of Diodorus. There is, in this case, a degree of differing motives. Dickie has no concern for the motives of the slaves or trying to piece together anything accurate about the rebellion, he is instead concerned with how the literary constructions of magicians could provide a glimpse of what real

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<sup>53</sup> Dickie accepts that the account of Diodorus is basically the account of Posidonius, hence the mention of Posidonius in the quotation.

<sup>54</sup> See above, the insistence to assume that what Diodorus says is true, but that his interpretation is not.

magicians were like. There is no doubt in my mind that we need to understand the text before the history.

There is another point to be considered. If the 'imaginative recreation' is based on 'patterns of behaviour with which [Posidonius] was familiar' then it follows that his audience was familiar with them too. In an excellent work on how the structure of jokes can help us to understand the structure of arguments Conley (2004: 269) makes the point that in order to tell a joke, or make an argument, the teller and the listener must share the same background of information. In this case it means that unless Diodorus' audience shared his own idea of the 'patterns of behaviour' on which he based the portrayal of Eunus, the portrayal would, in the language of jokes, fall flat. We can, therefore, be sure that the package of meanings with which Diodorus loaded the character of Eunus was understood by his audience, and that they understood the purpose of those meanings. Otherwise we must assume that Diodorus was unaware of the meanings surrounding the word, something that is unlikely given how read in literature he must have been in order to write a universal history.

Having accepted that Diodorus understood what the package of meanings that he used to describe Eunus meant, it is now sensible to consider the description of Eunus, bearing in mind the literary background outlined before and the consideration that Diodorus was writing his description fully aware of the connections in the minds of his readers. I showed above the character that Diodorus constructed for Eunus; a combination of cheat, coward and, quite bizarrely, king. I have also just described the

complex mix of meanings that came with the term *magos*. We should now apply those meanings to the basic description of Eunus. By so doing we can see that not only was Eunus a cheat and a coward, he was also being branded, through the term *magos*, as socially deviant,<sup>55</sup> and implicitly he represented a danger to the standard religious order of the Greco-Roman world<sup>56</sup> over and above the threat he posed to the social order of the world because he incited slaves to revolt. There is no doubt that it is the negative connotations of *magos* that are intended, as Diodorus leaves the reader in no doubt that Eunus' prophecy and magic is all trickery. Through all these nuances associated with *magos* Eunus is being placed outside of the normal society by yet another remove beyond his status as a slave. He is not merely a member of the lowest social status: he also damns himself still further by being a practitioner of wrong and false magic. The full importance of this position that Eunus holds becomes clear when we consider the implications this has for the rest of the narrative; in other words, when we consider how Eunus' status reflects on those he associates with, and how it alters the opinions of those reading Diodorus.

As we saw above, Diodorus leaves the reader in no doubt as to Eunus' credentials as a magician: they are completely dubious. Diodorus is immediately turning the ancient reader against Eunus. There is, however, a grudging admiration expressed for Eunus; Diodorus (34/5.2.5) credits him with a 'talent' for his deceptions, a talent that allowed him to deceive many. Despite this, Diodorus keeps himself, and the reader, above the level of the deceived by leaving the reader in no way confused as to why Eunus was successful: it was not the fact that his prophecies

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<sup>55</sup> Flintermann (1995), 67.

<sup>56</sup> Dickie (2001), 137-41.

always worked, but that when they did they attracted notice (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.6). It may be very useful now to consider Eunus' affiliation with the slaves whom he eventually leads as king.

The peculiarities of the relationship between Eunus and the other slaves on Sicily in Diodorus' narrative are best shown by looking at how Diodorus conceptualised their differing treatment. Two passages amply demonstrate how Diodorus saw the treatment of the slaves that rebelled:

But they treated them (the slaves) with a heavy hand in their service, and granted them the most meagre care, the bare minimum for food and clothing. (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.2)

As a result of all this, since both the maltreatment of the slaves and their estrangement from their masters increased at an equal rate, there was at last, when occasion offered, a violent outburst of hatred. (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.26)

It is clear that their treatment featured two aspects. The first aspect was a lack of clothing and food, the second aspect was an estrangement from their masters. This is quite different from the account that Diodorus gives of the treatment of Eunus. His treatment differs from the other slaves' treatment in the two major aspects shown above. Eunus is described as being given 'tidbits' of food from the table at his master's dinner parties (34/5.2.8). When compared to the slaves mentioned above, Eunus has access to another source of food, above the meagre rations allowed to the other slaves. He is also described as an entertainer for his master at dinner parties (34/5.2.8-9). This role allowed him close access to his master, and the passage

implies that Eunus' master, Antigenes, was rather fond of him. His position as a domestic slave in Diodorus' narrative meant that he avoided the mistreatment that Diodorus thought the herdsmen went through. Eunus is described in a social role that is quite different from that of the other slaves on Sicily. In Diodorus' narrative there is little reason for Eunus to side with, or feel a part of, the other slaves' troubles, and the description is carefully designed to place him outside of the society of his own social equals.

Bradley (1989: 55) tried to understand this peculiarity of Diodorus' description by supposing that Eunus had had some experience of the *ergastula*, although the only evidence that he could advance for this is a passage from Ammianus Marcellinus (14.11.31-3) in which he describes Eunus as an *ergastularius servus*.<sup>57</sup> The description is intelligible, however, as a device for separating Eunus from the slaves that he eventually ruled over as king. Because of this, we have to question, in my opinion, what Diodorus was suggesting that Eunus' motives were in leading the revolt. Diodorus did not give a very good impression of the manner in which Eunus gave his pseudo-religious sanction to the war; in Photius' version he is described as resorting to his 'usual mummery' before approving the slaves' revolt (34/5.2.10), in the Constantine version the slaves do not immediately state their reason for asking divine approval, and it is only on finding out their aims that Eunus gives approval with a display of 'inspired transports' (34/5.2.24b). Diodorus then

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<sup>57</sup> Given the late date of the author, and the fact that this term for describing Eunus is used by *no* other ancient author, I would be inclined to err on the side of caution before accepting the passage as evidence of Eunus' experience of the *ergastula*: the description could be understood as a derogatory term of abuse to describe Eunus, rather than an exposition of historical fact. It has been argued recently by Kelly (2008), 231-55, that Ammianus regularly supplemented his source for his history with either other sources, or his own embellishments, and the use of the phrase *ergastularius servus* could be understood as another example of this habit.

describes how, having been convinced to start the revolt immediately, the slaves believed, because of Eunus' false efforts at prophecy, that Providence was with them (34/5.2.24b). Given the description of Eunus' character from Diodorus and the difference in situations between Eunus and the slaves, it would not be credible to believe that Diodorus is implying in this passage that Eunus genuinely believed in the slaves' venture. It seems much more credible that Diodorus is representing Eunus in this instance as taking advantage of the situation of the slaves for his own gain, a gain clearly highlighted later in the narrative: kingship.

Eunus' kingship is won in the light of the successful attack on the city of Enna. At this point in the narrative Diodorus leaves the reader with no uncertainty about what they are to make of Eunus' election as king; he is elected (34/5.2.14):

[...] not for his manly courage or his ability as a military commander, but solely for his marvels and his setting of the revolt in motion, and because his name seemed to contain a favourable omen that suggested good will towards his subjects.

This description of Eunus' election mirrors the acclamation of Hellenistic Kings by their armies; chiefly for military achievements although in some cases the acclamation could be the moment at which a military ruler *became* King.<sup>58</sup> The description is not, however, achieving the objective one might expect. The lexicon *Suda* preserves a description of what monarchical power was based upon (*Suda* s.v. *Basileus* (2)):

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<sup>58</sup> Chaniotis (2005), 62-3.



Monarchy. It is neither descent nor legitimacy which gives monarchies to men, but the ability to command an army and to handle affairs competently. Such was the case with Philip and the Successors of Alexander. For Alexander's natural son was in no way helped by his kinship with him, because of his weakness of spirit, while those who had no connection with Alexander became kings of almost the whole inhabited world.<sup>59</sup>

This description finds support in other evidence. Warfare in the ancient Greek world was a specifically masculine world,<sup>60</sup> and a leader who lacked the ability in the military sphere, especially a cowardly leader, was seen as unmanly and feminine. The account of the actions of King Prousius preserved in Polybius shows this attitude clearly (32.15.9):

For after doing nothing worthy of a man in his attacks on the town, but behaving in a cowardly and womanish manner both to gods and men, he marched his army back to Elaea.

Eunus' election serves to highlight his deficiencies as a King and to emasculate him as a leader, while also leading any ancient reader to question whether the rebellion had any chance of succeeding due to the choice of leader. The significance of Eunus' cowardice is also clear in the manner of his death. Diodorus again leaves absolutely no room for interpretation about what the reader is to make of Eunus' end. Not only is he caught in a cave having fled like a coward, but the end he receives is one of

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<sup>59</sup> Translation taken from Austin (2006).

<sup>60</sup> Beston (2000), 316-7.

imprisonment, where he dies a death that ‘befitted his knavery’ (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.23). It was not important, necessarily, for a King to succeed in military affairs, but it was necessary for him to at least lead his army, and preferable to die at the head of an army.<sup>61</sup> Later in the chapter I will discuss the rebels’ other leader, Cleon. His description, despite its bad aspects, does foreground his martial prowess, and it is noteworthy that Eunus is so contrasted by his subordinate partner in the rebellion in terms of military prowess. Diodorus, through reference to Hellenistic expectations regarding the role of the King in society, has carefully made clear that Eunus was not a suitable choice for leader.

Clearly his kingship was not won through military merit, but we must also consider the implications of the slaves’ choice of leader for the view it gives of the rebellion. I outlined above the status that Eunus occupied in the ancient readers’ mind. His position of being completely outside the social order of the reader also places the rebellion he led outside of that social order. Shocking though the events of the First Slave War would have been to an ancient reader, they were not an unavoidable series of events. In Diodorus’ narrative there are clear indications of how the conflict or personal disaster might have been avoided: these range from the story of Damophilus’ daughter who is spared for her good treatment of the slaves (34/5.2.13, 39) to the general description of treatment which it is made clear caused the war (34/5.2.1-9, 25-7). These indications also include implicit warnings about false wonder-workers influencing slaves who are mistreated,<sup>62</sup> and even suggest that

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<sup>61</sup> Chaniotis (2005), 60-1.

<sup>62</sup> These warnings come through in the description in Diodorus of the rise of Eunus to prominence, and in his role in the start of the rebellion (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.5-10, 24b). These misgivings about

the slaves only acted as violently as they did because of their treatment (34/5.2.13, 33, 40). The events were also stimulated by the presence of an outsider, Eunus, and so the threat came, not from within the society as it normally stood, but from an aberration in that society. Eunus' involvement in the conflict as king forces the reader, aware of his separation from the plight of the slaves before the revolt both in treatment and access to his master and aware of his blatant charlatanism in his religious abilities, to question the function of the revolt after the initial bloodletting at Enna. The kingdom of Eunus becomes a moment of supreme opportunism by a very successful confidence trickster; the rebellion ceases to be about rebelling slaves and becomes one about the figurehead: a figurehead who has been painted in the most negative light, away from slavery.

There is another, crucial, element of Eunus as both magic-worker and king. His character is described in such a way as to give him a very capricious and vicious nature. He is described as personally killing his own master (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.15) despite, during his foolery for his master's dinners, having described how leniently he would treat masters if he became king (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.8). In spite of this cruel punishment of his master, Eunus did spare those who had supplied him with 'tidbits' from the dinner table for his performances, behaviour which, according to Diodorus, was most surprising (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2. 41). Immediately on taking Enna, Eunus is described as ordering all the citizenry of Enna to be put to death except those skilled at weapon making, a decidedly cruel act to commit (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.15, 41). The story of the appointment of Achaeus also shows a capricious element to Eunus; in the

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allowing slaves to see magic-workers are also expressed in the Roman farming manuals, see Cato, *Agr.* 5.4 and Columella, *Rust.* 1.8.6.

story Diodorus expresses that it was contrary to expectations that Achaeus was rewarded for his outspoken words, not punished (34/5.2.42). This shows that Diodorus was suggesting that there was no way to predict the behaviour of Eunus. It is possible that Diodorus was hoping to contrast this behaviour with the fact that the slaves (allegedly) chose Eunus as king for the good omen of his name, meaning as it does in adjectival form ‘friendly’ or ‘well-disposed’, though it appears that there was no guarantee that Eunus always showed himself thus (34/5.2.14).

It is with the theme of titles that we should end this study of Eunus. In spite of the fact that he took the title King Antiochus, a fact attested through surviving coinage, which shall be discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, Diodorus insists on calling him by the name Eunus. It is true that Diodorus remains in only a very fragmentary form, but there are only two occasions in the remaining text where Eunus is called Antiochus, once in an addition to a passage that was almost certainly made by the excerptor,<sup>63</sup> and once in a short passage from Photius of very unsure placing.<sup>64</sup> The other sources also without exception name him Eunus,<sup>65</sup> and without the coinage of King Antiochus we would be sincerely forced to doubt the truth of the two statements in Diodorus; as it stands, the two statements in Diodorus confirm that the ancient world *was* aware that Eunus took the title King Antiochus, and therefore confirms that they *chose* to repress the title in their histories. This action represents a

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<sup>63</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.42. ‘Achaeus, the counsellor of King Antiochus, being far from pleased at the conduct of the runaway slaves, censured them for their recklessness and boldly warned them that they would meet with speedy punishment. So far from putting him to death for his outspokenness, Eunus not only presented him with the house of his former masters but made him royal counsellor.’ The addition of the phrase about King Antiochus was clearly made later, as it ascribes to Achaeus a rank that he gained later in the passage.

<sup>64</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.24. ‘Eunus, king of the rebels, called himself Antiochus, and his horde of rebels Syrians.’ It is hard to place this passage in any place in the narrative in context.

<sup>65</sup> See Strabo 6.2.6-7; Livy, *Per.* 56; Flor. 2.7.4; Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 36.

repression of the political aspirations of the leader of the revolt. By refusing to use his title, the ancient sources deny him the legitimacy that he was attempting to claim for the movement that he led. This strategy was adopted for other leaders of movements that were disapproved of by the central authorities of the time. Aristonicus, a contender for the throne of Pergamum, fought against Roman forces from 133-29 B.C. that claimed he was not the rightful heir to the throne. The majority of the sources are hostile to him, and claim that he was a usurper who fought to claim a throne that was not his.<sup>66</sup> Other sources attest that this might not have been how the situation was seen universally, and that Aristonicus *may* have had a right to make his claim.<sup>67</sup> What is more interesting for our purposes is the evidence that he minted coins on which he bore the title King Eumenes III, not Aristonicus.<sup>68</sup> It is clear from the history of the period that he posed a significant threat not only to Rome's control of Asia Minor, but also to their claims that they were the rightful owners of the area. The insistence on naming him Aristonicus, a character that they also associated with encouraging slaves to fight for him when he started to lose support (Strabo 14.1.38), was an important aspect of the historical tradition's delegitimisation of him. Another character that was painted in a similar light was Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. In the 30's B.C. he posed a significant threat to C. Octavianus through his control of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. This control was also solidified through his appointment to the position of *praefectus orae maritimae et classis* by the senate in 43 B.C., an office that C.

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<sup>66</sup> Just. *Epit.* 36.4.5-12, 37.1.1-3; Strabo 13.4.2, 14.1.38; Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.26, 34/5.3; Livy, *Per.* 59; Oros. 5.10.1-5; Eutr. 4.8.21-9, 4.9.1-23; Vel. Pat. 2.4.1; Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 21.6; Flor. 1.35.1-7.

<sup>67</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 184b; Sall. *Hist.* 4.69.8-9.

<sup>68</sup> Habicht (2006), 233; Robinson (1954), 1-8. The dating is suggested from the year numberings on cistophoric tetradrachms bearing the title *Basileus Eumenes*, which would fit into no other system of dating unless Aristonicus was Eumenes III.

Octavianus rescinded from him later in 43 B.C. (Dio Cass. 47.12). In the *Res Gestae*, however, Augustus (as C. Octavianus had then become known) referred to his struggles with Sextus Pompeius as a slave war (27.3), effectively portraying Pompeius as a slave himself, and denying him the legitimacy that he claimed through his official title. The insistence on calling the leader of the First Slave War by the name of Eunus meant that any interpretation of his rule was always made in light of the literary character created for him by the ancient authors, a character that was designed to skew the perceptions of the reader against the leader of the First Slave War, and consequently against the slaves themselves. In the examples above, however, there was a definite political motive for *why* they chose to skew the perceptions of their readers. I will save discussion of why they may have chosen to do this for King Antiochus until I have analysed his coinage in the next chapter, but for the moment it is enough to note that there was an ancient strategy through which historians would twist their readers' interpretations of events because of political considerations.

### *Eunus: Conclusion*

The character of Eunus, as described in the most detail by Diodorus, is essentially a literary construction. Every element of the description is designed to condemn Eunus in the eyes of the ancient reader. His background is carefully crafted to separate him from the rest of society. His status as a slave makes him socially the lowest possible status, and his religious activities are clearly shown as outside of the approved limits of the society for which Diodorus is writing. Diodorus' audience would have been

aware of the implications of the term *magos* and they would have followed the direction that Diodorus was leading with his description. Diodorus is also explicit in making sure that the reader understands that despite what Eunos claimed, he was in fact a charlatan with a skill for trickery. This background cannot be ignored, as it quite clearly stems from a shared knowledge of stereotypes between Diodorus and his readers. That the description comes from this shared knowledge of stereotypes means that it is very unlikely to be a truly representative historical description. Eunos' character is so carefully made to be unfit as a king that it must have been created for the sole purpose of undermining the actual historical figure of the war, King Antiochus, so much so that even his title was denied him by all the historians who mention the war.<sup>69</sup> I showed above that modern scholars take great efforts to look beyond the connections that Diodorus made in order to connect the description of Eunos with actual historical realities, suggesting that Diodorus himself is incorrect in doubting the abilities that Eunos claimed to have. I would now suggest that the opposite is the case. By looking at the connections that Diodorus made we can see that the Eunos' character is so clearly an interweaving of stereotypes that we must be very wary of accepting anything in the description as historical fact.

There was, of course, more than one leader in the First Slave War. The next section of this chapter will focus on the leader named Cleon and his brother Comanus. Owing to the reduced nature of the source material about Cleon and Comanus this will be a shorter section, but add to our discussion as they are significantly different from Eunos in their depiction by Diodorus.

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<sup>69</sup> With the two minor exceptions noted in Diodorus earlier.

*Cleon and Comanus: Diodorus' Description*

As with Eunus, I will start this discussion with an un-interpreted look at how Diodorus introduces Cleon and Comanus, and how he represents them in his *History*. Due to the scarcity of the sources for Comanus and Cleon I will be compelled to use sources other than Diodorus to demonstrate some of the points, as I believe that the stories of Cleon and Comanus were quite universal to writers in antiquity, their descriptions being so similar, as we will see below. I have already highlighted the introduction of Cleon in the previous chapter, but the quotation bears repeating. Diodorus describes Cleon thus (34/5.2.43):

There was, in addition, another revolt of fugitive slaves who banded together in considerable numbers. A certain Cleon, a Cilician from the region about Taurus, who was accustomed from childhood to a life of brigandage and had become in Sicily a herder of horses, constantly waylaid travellers and perpetrated murders of all kinds. On hearing the news of Eunus' success and of the victories of the fugitives serving him he rose in revolt, and persuading some of the slaves near by to join him in his mad venture overran the city of Acragas and all the surrounding country.

The description, as ever, is quite simple on first viewing. Unlike Eunus, this is the only description that we find of Cleon in Diodorus as far as his character goes, apart from Cleon's end which is described as coming after a 'heroic struggle' against P. Rupilius' forces (34/5.2.21). The description sets Cleon up as a man who clearly has lived as a brigand for most of his life, even from childhood accustomed to being a



brigand, and once on Sicily he continues in the same vein, even committing murders. Again, unlike Eunus, Cleon is not credited with any particular religious abilities, although another passage in Diodorus depicts Cleon in terms of Eunus' general, and therefore complementing the clear deficiencies that Eunus is portrayed as having (34/5.2.17). Comanus is also described with a certain respect by Valerius Maximus, who describes his honourable death while being interrogated (9.12.Ext. 1); what we have of Diodorus on the other hand barely even mentions Comanus, merely referring to his capture (34/5.2.20). I would add that, given the nature of how Diodorus remains, it is entirely possible that the story told in Valerius Maximus was held in Diodorus before Photius had summarised Diodorus. It is perhaps notable that Photius' passage says of the capture of Comanus that: 'It was on this occasion that Rupilius captured Comanus, the brother of Cleon, as he was attempting to escape from the beleaguered city' (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.21). The passage reads as though Photius is assuming that his reader knows the story of Comanus, and it can therefore be assumed to be a well accepted story in at least Photius' reading circle. It is also possible that it was also in Diodorus but that Photius felt that it did not need to be explained in full, given the ubiquity of the assumed knowledge of the story. For this reason, I consider it valid to discuss the story told by Valerius Maximus despite the fact that this chapter focuses so wholly on Diodorus. The question that remains before going into the literary background to these descriptions is to see how modern scholarship has viewed and used these descriptions in their historical constructions of the First Slave War.

*Cleon and Comanus: The Modern Scholars*

Cleon and Comanus do not contain quite the material to work with that Eunus provides for a modern scholar. Especially Comanus, who having taken up a few lines in the ancient authors takes up roughly the same amount of space in the modern scholars. The little information we have does not, on the the surface, allow for much interpretation. For this reason modern scholarship does not create around the figures quite such an historical background in order to understand them. One point that stands out in modern scholarship is that they do not seek to question Diodorus' version of events, nor Diodorus' description of Cleon or Comanus; something quite in contrast to how Eunus is dealt with by modern scholars. So Green (1961: 15-6) accepts without question that Cleon was indeed a herdsman with a '[...] profitable record of murder, brigandage, and highway robbery [...]' Likewise Vogt (1974: 53) accepts the version of events given in Diodorus. Both scholars, however, place their understanding of Cleon's role in the rebellion in the context of widespread brigandage discussed in the previous chapter, which I showed to be unconnected to the rise of the rebellion. This context allowed Vogt to comment on the manner in which Cleon must have become a leader of his gang in order to capture Agrigentum, basing this claim on the idea that the gangs of bandits were politically active in Sicily at this time.<sup>70</sup> This concept can be shown to be false by simply looking at Diodorus, where it is clear that Cleon only gained his following just prior to attacking Agrigentum; there is no indication that he was operating with a gang before this

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<sup>70</sup> Vogt (1974), 82. Vogt concludes that Cleon must have gained control of the group in a manner typical of brigand groups of antiquity.

point, nor that he gained the following through his own strength and deeds (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.43).

Other scholars do not create the same background around Cleon, but they do implicitly accept that he was as Diodorus describes him. Bradley (1989: 47; 59-62) discusses Cleon's role in the escalation of the war, but does so in complete acceptance that Cleon is simply a brigand from Cilicia who herded horses. Likewise Finley (1968: 140), who merely remarks on the surprising behaviour of Cleon in responding to Eunus when Eunus ordered him to obey him. Both Shaw (2001: 12) and Urbainczyk (2008: 54, 56, 58) hardly mention Cleon, Shaw only to name him, and Urbainczyk to state that he was a loyal lieutenant for Eunus, and died bravely, in contrast to Eunus; the same treatment is found in Toynbee (1965: 326-7). As for Comanus, little needs to be said about how he is used by modern scholars. They merely refer to his death as being honourable and move on to discuss matters more interesting to them about the First Slave War.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, it could be argued that the roles played by Cleon and Comanus were more complex than has been recognised by modern scholars, and that their interpretation cannot merely rest on accepting *what* Diodorus<sup>72</sup> said about them, we must question how and why Diodorus said what he said. Once again I feel the answer lies in the literary types and norms used by Diodorus to *construct* their characters.

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<sup>71</sup> See Green (1961), 18; Toynbee (1965), 327; Vogt (1974), 77; Bradley (1989), 59, 61; Urbainczyk (2008), 139. Finley (1968) and Shaw (2001) do not mention Comanus.

<sup>72</sup> Including, in this case, Valerius Maximus for Comanus.

*Cleon and Comanus: A Literary Background*

The literary term that dominates the description of Cleon is in Latin *latro* and in Greek *lēistes*, which could range in meaning from its basic meaning of ‘robber’ or ‘bandit’. I will, however, use the term *lēistes* when writing this section of the chapter whenever referring to historical figures termed as such, as it contains in it a greater variety of meanings than those offered by the English terms ‘robber’ or ‘bandit’, whereas the term banditry shall be used to describe the action of true ‘bandits’.<sup>73</sup> The idea of banditry has been shown by Shaw (1984: 9) to have been considered endemic in the ancient world; further evidence was given for this by Grünewald (2004: 18-25) showing that the violent acts of true ‘historical’ brigands were commonplace in the ancient world. In this respect then, the term *lēistes* carries with it a commonly understood knowledge that it spoke of someone who engaged in violent robbery; the term was predicated on the concept of the ‘ubiquity of banditry’.<sup>74</sup>

The term is more complicated, however. In legal terms the Latin *latro* meant a robber, but it could also mean someone who fought against the Roman state by unconventional means, therefore meaning that they could not be termed *hostis* and were instead termed *latro* or *praedo*.<sup>75</sup> This distinction was extended to the manner in which war captives were treated under law depending upon who captured them: if it was *hostes* then the captive, if ransomed, became free again on being ransomed, whereas if they were captured by *latrones* then they never lost their freedom, even

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<sup>73</sup> Although it should be noted that the terms *latro* and *leistes* are written about synonymously by modern authors who discuss the concept of banditry in the ancient world as a whole, e.g. Grünewald (2004: 2-3).

<sup>74</sup> Shaw (1984), 9.

<sup>75</sup> Grünewald (2004), 15-6; Mommsen (1899), 629 n. 4.

during captivity (Ulp. *Dig.* 3.21 pr.; 49.15.24 pr.). The term could even extend to cover an act that one considered to be particularly evil but was not necessarily banditry: an inscription from Tuder in Italy shows that a slave guilty of *defixio* was considered to have perpetrated the crime *infando latrocinio* (CIL XI 4639 = ILS 3001).<sup>76</sup>

In an historical context the matter becomes yet more complex. Where the term may have strict legal definitions, it does not follow that it has a strict definition in historical terminology. The conflicts termed as *latrocinium* or *lêisteria* ranged from the war with Viriatus (App. *Hisp.* 71.301; 73.310), the fight against Tacfarinas (Tac. *Ann.* 2.52; 3.20, 32, 73; 4.23-6; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 2.3) to the constant wars and battles in Judaea from 64 B.C. to the Jewish War.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the terms *latro* and *lêistes* were used to describe a great range of people, from political opponents like Cicero's branding of L. Sergius Catilina and M. Antonius (Cic. *Cat.* 1.9.23; 1.10.27; 1.13.31; 1.13.33; *Phil.* 3.11.29),<sup>78</sup> leaders of guerrilla opposition movements against Roman authority like Viriatus or Bulla Felix (Livy, *Per.* 52; Flor. 1.33.15; Dio Cass. 76.10), to Cleon himself (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.43). These leaders are all clearly quite different people, and in each case the terms *latro* and *lêistes* means something quite different. What these descriptions implied was better founded by the greater context of the history surrounding the characters.

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<sup>76</sup> Grünewald (2004), 17. CIL XI 4639: *pro salute coloniae et ordinis decurionum et populi Tudertis iovi opt max custodi conservatori quod is sceleratissimi servi publici infando latrocinio defixa monumentis ordinis decurionum nomina numine suo ervit ac vindi cavit et metu periculorum coloniam civesque liberavit L. Cancruius clementis lib primigenius sexvir et augustalis et flavialis primus omnium his honoribus ab ordine donatus votum solvit.*

<sup>77</sup> Josephus consistently uses the term *lêistai* to refer to the different rebel groups of the Jews. See Rhoads (1976), 159-62.

<sup>78</sup> By no means is this an exhaustive list, Cicero refers to Antony as a *latro* almost 40 times, and even compares him to Spartacus; see Cic. *Phil.* 4.6.15.

As a case study we shall look briefly at Viriatus. Viriatus was termed a *latro* or *lêistes* because of the way in which he fought the Romans, and because he was originally a herdsman (Livy, *Per.* 52; Flor. 1.33.15). However, his character comes across as quite noble in the narratives of his history.<sup>79</sup> This nobility was used by authors in their histories to demonstrate the degeneracy of the Roman commanders that Viriatus fought against, and part of his nobility was that he ended his life militarily unbeaten, requiring a dishonest poisoning to end him.<sup>80</sup> The impression required of the reader about each person labelled a *latro* or *lêistes* is provided by their context within the historical work itself, and so while the terms may carry certain meanings upon being read, they could be used to construct a noble or a common figure.<sup>81</sup> With this in mind, we should now reconsider the character created by Diodorus for Cleon, and then consider what this is achieving in the narrative.

#### *Cleon and Comanus: A Reinterpretation*

At this point I think it would be useful to reiterate the position that Cleon assumes in the rebellion. On being summoned by Eunus, Cleon becomes Eunus' *strategos* (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.17). Diodorus makes quite clear, however, that this was not his official title, he was merely acting 'as it were' in the function of a *strategos*. Cleon was, therefore, clearly the second most important member of the rebellion and in charge of the military matters; we have seen how Diodorus made quite clear Eunus' ineptitude in that department (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.14). I think that the way in which

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<sup>79</sup> Grünewald (2004), 42-5.

<sup>80</sup> See Flor. 1.33.17 for Viriatus' reputation as unbeaten even in death.

<sup>81</sup> Grünewald (2004), 162-3.

Cleon is described by Diodorus will, as with Eunus' character, reflect on the movement that he led.

So what type of general were the slaves led by? We saw above the brief introduction to his character, and it is quite instructive. Again, like Eunus, his description makes him stand apart from the slaves that he led. In the previous chapter I discussed the way in which Diodorus describes how the slaves were forced into brigandage because of their lack of support from their masters (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.1-3, 28-31). Cleon, on the other hand, is described as being accustomed to brigandage from childhood: Diodorus gives no indication that this behaviour was forced upon Cleon and this was certainly before he came to Sicily, as chronologically the account reads that Cleon came to Sicily and then became a herdsman, meaning that he became used to brigandage before ever coming to Sicily.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, Cleon is described as constantly waylaying travellers and perpetrating murders of all kinds. The basic character of a *lêistes* is overlaid with a vicious extra layer, and the reader is left in no doubt about what they are supposed to think of Cleon: he is clearly a bloodthirsty *lêistes*, and does not, at this point in the narrative, embody any aspect of nobility. The main difference between Cleon and the slaves that he ended up leading is that Diodorus gives no indication that Cleon was *forced* into his actions by circumstance, unlike the other slaves. This description contrasts starkly against Diodorus' statements elsewhere that the slaves were only driven to their brutal actions by the circumstances that they found themselves in (34/5.2.13, 33, 40). For

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<sup>82</sup> Diod. Sic.34/5.2.43: '[...] [Cleon] was accustomed from childhood to a life of brigandage and had become on Sicily a herder of horses [...]']

the slaves then to be led by Cleon, a figure so clearly designed to be disliked by the reader, is quite at odds with how we would expect the slaves to act.

Two further aspects of his description above should also be noted. Cleon is described on two counts as being a typical brigand. He is first described as a Cilician. During the second century B.C., the area of Cilicia had become rife with piracy, a situation that was encouraged by the participation of the pirates as mercenaries in the wars of the Hellenistic kings.<sup>83</sup> Through this, an association had built up in the Roman and Greek mind-set to associate Cilicians with brigands on principle: De Souza (1999: 97) has shown that Strabo (14.3.2), Appian (*Mith.* 92), Dio (36.20-3), and Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* 24) presented a picture of Cilicians and Panphylans as ‘dyed-in-the-wool pirates’.<sup>84</sup> This association is clearly represented in Diodorus’ statement that Cleon had been accustomed to being a brigand from childhood. This expectation is consistent with the way in which Greek and Roman authors often described peoples considered to be barbarian. An example, from many possible, is the Roman attitude towards the Lusitanians, who were also supposedly accustomed to brigandage from childhood (Sall. *Hist.* 2.88 Maurenbrecher). What is more, as I noted above, Cleon is described as becoming a herder of horses on arriving on Sicily. Through his narrative of the First Slave War Diodorus makes implicit that on Sicily in this period to be a herdsman is also to be a bandit (34/5.2.2-3, 28-31). As I argued in the previous chapter, part of the system of slave maintenance for herdsman could include licence to exploit the *saltus*, an act that was seen as an act of brigandage. I also argued that it was a literary *topos* to link your political opponents with herdsman

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<sup>83</sup> Rostovtzeff (1941), 783-5.

<sup>84</sup> The association was long lasting, even into the Byzantine period when the area also produced the finest soldiers of the Byzantine army. See Ormerod (1924), 192; De Souza (1999), 97.



as an accusation of their being a brigand, and so the link in the readers' mind between herder and brigand would have been made from the context not only of Diodorus' history, but also the wider context of the ancient view of herdsmen. It has been suggested that the two main features of Cleon's character, those of being Cilician, and therefore a pirate, and a herdsman, would have created in the mind of the ancient reader a combination of the worst character traits, and Cleon would have become a "'bandit" *par excellence*',<sup>85</sup> a description backed up by the extremity of Diodorus' description of Cleon's behaviour.<sup>86</sup>

By considering these implications of the description of Cleon, we can see that for him to be the *strategos* of the rebels is not complementary to the rebels' movement. We can be fairly sure that he was a successful general, at least at first, as the rebels did end up with a strong position holding at least three citadels<sup>87</sup> and won a number of battles against Roman commanders (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2. 18-20; Flor. 2.7.7-8). Nevertheless, Cleon's success as a general is not necessarily an indication that he was considered a suitable man to have leading an army.<sup>88</sup> We need only look to other successful figures in Roman and Greek history who received strong admonishments for their characters or manner of success either in the historical records or from their contemporaries. We have, as examples L. Sergius Catilina,<sup>89</sup> and Q. Servilius

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<sup>85</sup> Grünewald (2004), 60.

<sup>86</sup> As noted above, Cleon's description of perpetrating murders 'of all kinds' Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.43.

<sup>87</sup> Enna, Tauromenium (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.11, 20), and Morgantina (Oros. 5.9.4-8: allowing for a textual emendation of the town name of Mamertium).

<sup>88</sup> See below for the notion that Cleon's success was not through his skill, but the through the lack of skill in his opponents.

<sup>89</sup> Despite his character being represented as '[...] evil and depraved [...]', and as a person that '[...] revelled in civil wars, murder, pillage, and political dissension [...]' (Sall. *Cat.* 5.1-2) he is later credited with considerable skills as a general (Sall. *Cat.* 59; 60.4-5) and bravery in death (Sall. *Cat.* 60.7).

Caepio,<sup>90</sup> both of whom were severely censured for the manner in which they gained either their wealth or their victories. Cleon's character is clearly censured as violent and his description of having been a brigand from childhood confirms his barbaric character; whatever aims the rebels may have had, the appointment of a brigand to be a leader of men is clearly a damning indictment designed to turn the ancient reader against them. Much as Grünewald noted (2004: 36-7) about the career of Spartacus, Cleon's career goes from a poor beginning as a *leistes* to an even worse calling, the leader, in a military sense, of rebel slaves. As for Cleon, so for the slaves: having already appointed as king a charlatan conman with no true military credentials, the slaves are then led into battle by a man who, unlike them, was not forced into banditry but had acted so by choice.

In one respect, however, Cleon, and his brother Comanus, come across through Diodorus, and Valerius Maximus, as impressive figures: that is in the manner of their deaths. Cleon's death is briefly described by Diodorus as taking place after an 'heroic struggle' in which he was 'covered with wounds' (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.21), in a passage that is clearly missing a lot of detail, summing up as it does most of the remainder of the war in very little space. There is also an indication that in parts of Diodorus no longer remaining to us it was shown that Cleon was considered very valuable to the rebellious slaves, as after his death his body was displayed to the city that was being besieged by the Romans. This implies that it was intended to have an effect on the possessors of the city, and it is hardly a gesture likely to have been done to the body of someone deemed unimportant. The relevance

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<sup>90</sup> He was heavily criticised for the murder of Viriatus. See Val. Max. 9.6.4; App. *Hisp.* 69.295-300.

of this will be discussed in a moment. Comanus, on the other hand, while almost not mentioned by Diodorus in what remains, is described in a significant passage by Valerius Maximus. In a section of his book on deaths that are out of the ordinary, Comanus, called *Coma* in Valerius Maximus, is praised for his willingness to part with his life through his own action, rather than holding out through torture in order not to give away details of the rebels efforts (Val. Max. 9.12.ext. 1). This is notable, as Valerius Maximus then goes on to discuss, with a clear distaste, examples of people who had held an excessive craving for life. He comments quite harshly on the actions of Romans and others who had desperately sought to delay their death (Val. Max. 9.13.1-3, ext. 1), and so in this light the praise of *Coma* is marked. It is evident in the cases of both Cleon and Comanus that they gained quite a lot of regard for the way in which they ended their lives, which is possibly a reflection of Greek and Roman attitudes towards the ‘noble savagery’ of barbarian peoples who were simultaneously held in disregard for their ‘barbarous customs’.<sup>91</sup> If, at this point, we consider Florus then perhaps some light can be thrown on the reason for this manner of describing the two brothers.

From Florus we can see that there existed an historical tradition that lambasted the incompetent previous commanders before the arrival of a competent commander, who then completed the war on Sicily in the space of his command (Flor. 2.7.7-9). In the case of Florus this heroic figure is a *Perperna* who even requested only an ovation so that ‘he might not sully the dignity of a triumph by the mention of slaves’. This character of a commander so completely different from

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<sup>91</sup> An attitude shown well by Strabo who admired the Iberians in precisely this manner (3.3.6-8; 3.4.5, 13, 15, 17-8; 4.4.2).

previous commanders is also present in Valerius Maximus, for whom the general is L. Calpurnius Piso (4.3.10), although he also credits P. Rupilius with having freed Sicily from the First Slave War (6.9.8). In Diodorus the character is P. Rupilius, who recaptures both Tauromenium and Enna, and who moreover cleared the whole of Sicily of bandits very quickly after the war, a surprising act to many people, according to Diodorus (34/5.2.20-3). In this respect it is hardly surprising that Cleon and Comanus are credited with brave deaths: they are being used in another literary capacity. A general can be judged as much by the enemies that he defeated, or that defeated him, as by his achievements. In this case, P. Rupilius defeats Cleon, who fights bravely (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.21); Cleon comes across as a worthy opponent, which is in contrast to his character as it is first described (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.43). Comanus also ends his life in a heroic way directly in front of the victorious general P. Rupilius (Val. Max. 9.12.ext. 1); in a certain respect these heroic literary deaths serve in the same manner as a captive enemy general displayed in a triumph: they augment the victorious general's brilliance.<sup>92</sup> There is also, in this overall conceptual framework about the Roman commanders, a further slight on the dangers that the First Slave War represented. In the first chapter I discussed the way in which Diodorus minimises the involvement of the Sicilians themselves in fighting the war. What we can also see in this framework is a denial of the danger posed by the rebellion. In claiming that the generals who failed to quell the rebellion were incompetent, the ancient sources are implying that, had P. Rupilius been present from the start of the conflict, it need never have escalated to the proportions that it did. In

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<sup>92</sup> Flower (2004), 339-40; Beard (2007), 12-3, 120-2. Ancient authors also noted the role of the displayed captives in glorifying the victorious general; see App. *Mith.* 116-7, Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 45.4, and Dio Cass. 36.19 for reference to Pompey's triumph's as an example, other examples could be extensively furnished.

other words, it was not the ability of the slaves at fighting, nor their general's skill, that gave them success, it was the lack of skill of their opponents. Once a competent commander was involved, there was no cause for concern.<sup>93</sup>

### Cleon and Comanus: Conclusion

As with Eunus, I think it is clear that the characters built up around the historical figures of Cleon and Comanus were designed for a literary purpose in Diodorus' historical narrative. The character of Cleon is so carefully constructed from different aspects, all of which reinforce the basic concept of him as a *leistes* and therefore reflect so poorly on the leadership of the slaves, that I think it is difficult to accept the description as historically accurate. I also find it very strange that, again like Eunus, Cleon is so separated from society by his background: separated even from his fellow slaves by the way in which his own personal brand of brigandage is motivated. For an historical interpretation, the construction of his character as the bandit *par excellence* should be questioned rather than accepted. We saw in the first part of the chapter that Eunus is described as not being elected as king for his military abilities (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.14), and by describing Cleon in the manner that he does Diodorus completes the slaves' leadership by giving them a *strategos* from the worst possible background.

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<sup>93</sup> In an interesting piece Martínez-Lacy (2007), 35-8, argues that the inaction of the Roman leaders does not represent a literary strategy by Diodorus, but reflects the disdain that the Roman generals felt toward fighting slaves, a disdain that Martínez-Lacy suggests should have been replaced with fear. Martínez-Lacy does, however, acknowledge that the stories of Diodorus from which he constructs his argument were essentially moralistic tales.

Where the brothers Cleon and Comanus are given credit, in the manner of their deaths, again we can see a literary intention in the descriptions. There was clearly an historical tradition that conceptualised the war in terms of the skill of the Roman commanders rather than the talent of the men in charge of the slaves, and so the way in which Cleon and Comanus died was fitted into this framework to provide adequate enemies for the greater military commander to defeat. As with Eunus, we must be very careful in constructing any kind of historical framework to support Diodorus' characterisations before we have properly assessed the literary intentions behind the descriptions.

### Conclusion

This chapter is essentially negative in its findings, at least concerning the historicity of the discussed characters. I have argued that these characters, the leaders of the First Slave War, were essentially written from literary *topoi* and stereotypes to create easily recognisable figures who fulfilled specific roles in influencing the ancient reader. By associating these characters with the vital roles of leadership in revolt Diodorus sought to discredit the movement. The king was a fraudulent trickster with dubious credentials who played on the situation described by Diodorus on Sicily for reasons of personal gain. The man appointed to cover the major lack in this king's abilities, military skills, is described as an incredibly base character: a vicious lifelong brigand from a turbulent and dangerous part of the ancient world. It is very notable that, after these two characters come into the narrative of Diodorus, it ceases to be about the slaves who fought the rebellion, and becomes about the characters

who led it. Most importantly, Diodorus skilfully used the characters that he created around the leaders of the rebellion to reduce the appearance of actual threat from the revolt. Not only were the leaders described as completely outside of normal society, but their military threat was discredited by an historical tradition that gives credit for the longevity of the revolt to the fact that the initial commanders of the Roman forces were incompetent.

In sum, I argue that Diodorus' depictions of the slave leaders is too heavily weighted toward certain literary objectives to provide any real opportunity for understanding the leadership of the First Slave War in an historical context. Diodorus cannot provide us with any idea of how the rebel leaders saw themselves, or how they wanted to be seen. There is, however, a body of material that can provide an insight into how the leader of the First Slave War wanted *himself* to be seen. In the next chapter, then, I will discuss the coin issues of King Antiochus, aiming to correct the context in which they are typically interpreted in order to link them to Sicilian numismatics, rather than the slave context normally used.

### III. THE COINAGE OF KING ANTIOCHUS: Speaking in the Tongues of Sicily

*'Each coin was made for a purpose and the devices placed upon it were consciously chosen to express the authority of the issuer. Through these myriad of designs we can look back into the Greek world to search for the stories behind the coins and for the people who made and used them.'* Carradice and Price (1988), preface.

*'Thereupon Eunus was chosen king, not for his manly courage or his ability as a military leader, but solely for his marvels and his setting of the revolt in motion, and because his name seemed to contain a favourable omen that suggested good will towards his subjects.'* Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.14.

#### Introduction

I have argued in the previous two chapters that Diodorus presents great challenges as a source when we want to understand the First Slave War in an historical context. In the first chapter I have shown that the relevant books of his *History* were written through combining two politically and morally loaded narratives to create a composite narrative, which I suggested implied that the First Slave War was seen in two different ways. I also suggested that the best way of approaching the narrative composition of Diodorus was to better comprehend how he constructed other aspects of his history. In the second chapter I presented a case study of this by discussing the literary depictions of the leaders of the slaves in the First Slave War. Through the study I showed that the characters created by Diodorus should not be seen as historically accurate due to the literary *topoi* and stereotypes used to describe them. I therefore concluded that Diodorus' descriptions are not suitable to be used as a basis for an *historical* study of the so-called slave leaders. In this chapter I want to complete my case study by suggesting an alternative approach that we can use to



investigate the enigmatic King Antiochus of Diodorus' First Slave War: namely to investigate his coinage. While these coins have been discussed previously in other works on the war, they have never been adequately appreciated for their historical value for understanding the war, and have consequently been underused in previous discussions of the war.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, discussion of the First Slave War has generally subsumed discussion of the coinage into a greater theme, to be discussed below, and there has been little or no effort to place the coinage in its historical *or* numismatic context.

In this study of the coinage of King Antiochus I would like to undertake the investigation completely separately from the history of Diodorus. I want to imagine, for a moment, that Diodorus' *History* does not exist, in order to free us from the preconceptions that that work creates.<sup>95</sup> By so doing I hope to liberate the image of King Antiochus from the imagination of Diodorus, and understand how he wanted himself to be seen. This method will also allow us to reconnect the coinage of King Antiochus with the Sicilian numismatic and historical context from which it arose, and it will allow us to question the way in which Diodorus described not only King Antiochus, but also the course of the war itself. To start with, I will describe the coinage to be discussed, and in so doing I will attempt to identify, if possible, the background from Sicilian numismatics to which each coin's design relates.

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<sup>94</sup> In fact, of three source books, Wiedemann (1981) on slavery in general, Yavetz (1988) and Shaw (2001) on the slave wars specifically, Wiedemann's does not mention the coinage as a source at all, while Yavetz and Shaw only mention the coin depicting Demeter on the obverse and an ear of barley on the reverse (Figure 13).

<sup>95</sup> I will, however, retain certain information about the rule of King Antiochus, which comes from Diodorus in order to avoid unnecessary complication of the arguments. I will, for example, implicitly accept that King Antiochus ruled in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. so as to limit my discussion of precedents for the designs of coinage to towns and cities of Sicily that were still inhabited during the reign of King Antiochus.

Following on from there, I will discuss what the collective imagery of the coinage suggests about the ruler who issued the coinage and the people for whom the coinage was issued: was this a ruler displaying his servile origins and subjects, and his connection with eastern divinity as Diodorus tells us,<sup>96</sup> or was something else being implied? I will then return Diodorus' account to the discussion and consider how the information of Diodorus might be challenged by what the coinage suggests, throwing into doubt the interpretation of the war based on Diodorus. Throughout this final discussion reference will be made to the previous uses made of the coinage in scholarship, and I hope to show that because modern scholars have tried to understand the coinage from the context of Diodorus' history they have missed the greater importance of this body of evidence. Finally, I want to show that by linking the evidence of Diodorus, and the evidence of the previous history of the Sicilian towns involved with King Antiochus, a quite different interpretation of the events of the First Slave War might be suggested. Before any of this, however, I want to demonstrate, with reference to the previous scholarship on the coinage of King Antiochus, why it can be so dangerous to connect the coinage with the history of Diodorus and the First Slave War without first investigating the coinage itself. There are four different coin types of King Antiochus to be discussed, with images ranging from the heads of Demeter, Zeus and Dionysus, to ears of barley and bunches of grapes (Figures 1, 6, 11, 13).

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<sup>96</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.11.

*The Coins: The Modern Scholars*

There is a tendency in the scholarly debate, tied as it is to the evidence of Diodorus, to adapt the evidence of the coinage to fit into the scholars' *own conceptions* of what the aims of the slaves were, rather than using the evidence of the coinage to understand what the aims were *of the slaves themselves*, in minting the coinage.<sup>97</sup> For example, Vogt (1974: 53) sees one of the coins, with Demeter on the obverse and an ear of barley on the reverse (Figure 12), as part of an attempt to integrate Seleucid monarchical practices into the court of King Antiochus, and therefore views the coinage as part of the nationalistic efforts of the slaves he describes elsewhere (52-3, 65-9). This view is very like that held by Finley (1968: 114) who sees the coin as no more than a further piece of evidence of the royal ambitions of King Antiochus. Green (1961: 16) sees the imagery chosen as obvious and appropriate to the slaves' choice of stronghold: Enna. He views the coin, however, only as a statement of the established status of King Antiochus, noting it as an indicator of, and in that sense, confirmation of, the development of the war; Shaw (2001: 84) sees the coin as an affirmation of the autonomy of the 'slave state'. Urbainczyk (2008: 42), on the other hand, uses the coin as evidence to argue against the view of Bradley (1989: 120-5) that the slaves were only *running away* from their masters on a massive scale, and had not intended to go to war against their masters in the first instance. She perceives the coin as evidence that the slaves were planning ahead and wanted to attract new recruits. This idea fits into her overall argument that slaves in the ancient world planned their rebellions and aimed at wide scale rebellion (2008: 29-50). Finally,

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<sup>97</sup> With the exception of Bradley (1989), 116, 120, all the authors now mentioned discussed only the coin with the image of Demeter and the ear of corn (Figure 12).

Bradley (1989: 116, 120) sees the coins he discusses (Figures 6 and 12) as representing the need of the slaves minting the coins to secure the goods they displayed: corn and grapes. As a secondary aim, the coinage also created the aura of kingship around King Antiochus. Bradley's aim in this is to show that the creation of the kingship of King Antiochus, and the attendant coinage and regalia that went along with it, were used to prolong the slaves' rebellion, and were not 'an end in themselves but a means to an end: the preservation of the slaves' tenuously held freedom acquired by acts of revolt and flight' (120).

Numismatic studies have not provided much discussion on the imagery of the coinage either. Due to the nature of his work, Campana (1997: 155-8) provides only a description of the coins. Berk and Bendall (1994: 7-8) give brief consideration to the way in which the coins were intended to be used, concluding that because the coinage was produced in bronze this would have meant that it was designed to '[...] have kept Eunos' name before his subjects'. I regard Manganaro's (1982: 240-3) approach to coinage as the most helpful. He considered the possibility that the rebel slaves used the images of Herakles and the Mother Goddess<sup>98</sup> in order to provoke sympathy for their cause amongst the Sicilians, since worship of these deities was widespread in Sicily. Manganaro also claimed this appeal was successful in both Slave Wars, citing the examples given in Diodorus for the behaviour of the free people (34/5.2.48). He later argued (1983: 405-7), having cleaned the coin he discussed in his 1982 article and seen the image to be of grapes, that the coins of the slaves revealed an interest in the culture of the lives of the people of Sicily, resulting

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<sup>98</sup> The article also dealt with the Second Slave War, for which there is evidence from sling-shots of reference to the Mother Goddess.

in their aiding the rebellion. In this way he attempted to connect the coinage of the rebel king with the historical context from which it arose. In order to do this properly, however, we must actually investigate the coinage itself, and understand what exactly it represents.

*The Coins: The Issues*

There are four issues of bronze coinage that can be attributed to King Antiochus, although only two of these issues have attracted any significant mention in scholarship.<sup>99</sup> For this study I have been unable to examine myself the coins shown in Figures 1, 6, and 11, owing to limitations on available resources and time.

FIGURE 1 (Campana, Enna 11)

Obv: Male head right, with beard and diadem.

Rev: Winged thunderbolt; BACIAEOC ANTIO.

a. 10.05g Cammarata 1 = Calciati 9

There is only a single example of this coin in any catalogue. The head has been identified as that of King Antiochus, although Campana also suggested that it could be Zeus or Herakles as there is no legend.<sup>100</sup> The poor quality of the coin means that a more definite identification is not possible and it is tempting to identify the head as

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<sup>99</sup> See Appendix 1 for a discussion of the two gold issues ascribed to King Antiochus. See Manganaro (1990), 181-3; Berk and Bendall (1994), 7-8; Campana (1997), 157-8.

<sup>100</sup> Campana (1997), 155.

that of Zeus because of the lightning bolt design on the reverse.<sup>101</sup> This parallels one known otherwise for Sicily: the towns of Centuripae and Syracuse both minted coins featuring Zeus on the obverse and a winged lightning bolt on the reverse (Figures 2 and 3). Both these towns minted these types until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., if not later.<sup>102</sup> However, there is another potential candidate for the male head, that of Silenus. His head on the obverse, coupled with a winged lightning bolt on the reverse, was a design used by the town of Aetna/Catana (Figures 4 and 5).<sup>103</sup> It would seem unlikely to be an image of Silenus on two counts, however. First, there are considerable differences between the noses of the head on Figure 1 and of Silenus on Figures 4 and 5, and second, neither design was continued much past 420 B.C. Regardless of which of the two designs it is, it is certain that both are peculiar to towns of eastern Sicily.

FIGURE 6 (Campana, Enna 12)

Obv: Male head right, with diadem.

Rev: a) Bunch of grapes; BACIAEOC on the left, ANTIOXOY on the right.

b) Bunch of grapes; BACIAEO on the left, ANTI on the right.

Var. a. *CNG* 37/1966, 98, 10.00g; Cammarata 2a, 7.60g; Cammarata 2, 7.40g;

Cammarata 2b = Calciati 10, 7.35g; Cammarata 2c, 4.80g.

Var. b. Cammarata 4, 5.40g; Cammarata 4b, 5.00g; Cammarata 4a, 4.70g;

Cammarata 4c, 3.75g.

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<sup>101</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 'Zeus', 1638.

<sup>102</sup> Centuripae continued this type till some point after 241 B.C. according to Head (1911), 135, while Syracuse continued this type past 212 B.C. according to Head (1911), 187.

<sup>103</sup> Note should be made at this point that Aetna and Catana are in fact on the same site. See Rizza (1976), 442.

Both series, of which Series A has five examples and Series B four examples, have a reverse design that is difficult to identify. Campana (1997: 156) describes it as a lit torch on a pedestal, while Manganaro has variously identified it as a club (1982: 237) and as a bunch of grapes (1983: 405). Manganaro's preference for a bunch of grapes is the more convincing, since the shape of the design appears to be very much like the grapes on the coins of Naxos, Calacte, Enna, and Tauromenium (Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10). The obvious identification of the diademed male head is with Dionysus, given the god's clear association with grapes and their products.<sup>104</sup> Because the head appears to be male I do not agree with Manganaro's suggestions of either Demeter or Hera as the identity, although I accept that the imagery could suggest Apollo or Silenus<sup>105</sup> (1983: 405). I would propose, however, that the best identification is with Dionysus given the precedent in the coinage shown above of the cities of Naxos and Calacte (Figures 7 and 8) which both have very similar designs. We should perhaps favour the precedent of Calacte in this case, owing to the fact that Naxos minted coins of this style in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., while Calacte continued this type of coinage down to 210 B.C.<sup>106</sup> There is also possibly a shade of reference to a series of coins from Enna, which have on the obverse Demeter, and on the reverse a bunch of grapes, which were minted after 258 B.C. (Figure 9).<sup>107</sup> Tauromenium also minted a coin depicting grapes on the obverse in the period from 275 to 210 B.C. (Figure

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<sup>104</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 479.

<sup>105</sup> Again, with a reservation due to the depiction of the nose.

<sup>106</sup> Head (1911), 128.

<sup>107</sup> Head (1911), 137. Although, as noted in the figure list, comparison with Calciati (1987), 235, would suggest a date around 357-4 B.C.

10).<sup>108</sup> Regardless of the specific precedent, the coin's imagery is clearly arising from an Eastern Sicilian context.

FIGURE 11 (Campana, Enna 13)

Obv: Head right, helmeted.

Rev: Club; BACIAEOC on the left, ANTI on the right.

a. Cammarata 3, 5.7g; Cammarata 3a. 2.6g.

Campana (1997: 156-7) suggests that the obverse head on this series, of which two examples are attested, is Ares because of the helmeted design, while he suggests that the club invokes Herakles. However, I would suggest there are other possibilities. The town of Agyrium had historical links with Herakles,<sup>109</sup> and if the head on the obverse were to be female, and the quality of the coins do not completely rule out this possibility, then a series from Agyrium bearing a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse, and the club of Herakles on the reverse does provide a precedent, although the date, c. 339 B.C. for the series, is rather early.<sup>110</sup> Another coin from Agyrium has been suggested to show the helmeted head of Ares on the obverse, and a club on the reverse (Figure 12). The quality of this coin is very poor though, and the date is again rather early, i.e. 345-00 B.C., and so this precedent cannot be taken without reservation, although the club on the coin of King Antiochus would seem to

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<sup>108</sup> Head (1911), 188; Calciati (1987), 213-26. Calciati also shows that this type continued after Roman rule in Tauromenium.

<sup>109</sup> Bell (1976), 18-19.

<sup>110</sup> Head (1911), 125.



be suggesting a link to Herakles.<sup>111</sup> For Figure 11, then, a precedent is more difficult to find in the numismatics of Sicily, although Agyrium offers a possible link. There is, however, a better, more general precedent. If the head on the obverse is identified with Athena rather than Ares, given the goddess' links in mythology to Herakles,<sup>112</sup> then the general importance of Herakles to Sicily could be seen as the reason for the choice of the imagery. This is a far more intelligible reason for choosing the images on the coin, as opposed to a specific precedent like Agyrium.<sup>113</sup>

FIGURE 13 (Campana, Enna 14)

Obv: head of Demeter right, with crown of barley ears.

Rev: ear of barley; BACI on the left, ANTI on the right.

a. Cammarata 5 = Calciati 11, 3.65g; London, *BM*, 3.43g.

There are two examples of this coin. Owing to a similar coin type from Enna minted at some point after 340 B.C., which also has a head of Demeter obverse and an ear of barley reverse, the identification with Demeter is sound.<sup>114</sup> Cicero confirms the identification with Enna by describing a major shrine to Demeter present at Enna (*Verr.* 2.4.111-2). If we were not to know Diodorus' account of the First Slave War then the most sensible attribution of this coin would be to a town in the famously

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<sup>111</sup> *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 684-5.

<sup>112</sup> Grimal (1985), 195-206.

<sup>113</sup> Malkin (1994), 207-17); Diod. Sic. 4.23-4. The coin could even be a reference to Sicilian poet Stesichorus' poem *Geryoneis*, which it is argued (Dunbabin. 1948: 330) was an effort for the '[...] glorification of the brave Greeks who were winning new lands for Greek settlements', suggesting that Antiochus himself was achieving the same goal.

<sup>114</sup> Head (1911), 137; Robinson (1920), 175-6. I have been unable to obtain a picture of this coin from the catalogues I had access to.

fertile grain lands of south western Sicily, and in this sense the coin is completely intelligible in the context of Sicily.

In sum, all four bronze issues of King Antiochus can be independently traced in terms of their imagery to either a precedent from previous Sicilian coinage or a wider Sicilian context. What is more, the imagery of three of the coins is not indicative of certain generic types of Sicily that we might expect; there are no images of a *quadriga* that so often were coined in Sicily because of the influence of Syracuse's coinage (Figure 14).<sup>115</sup> At this point I will turn to discuss as to how King Antiochus' coinage fits into a wider Sicilian context, i.e. how his coinage relates to the greater context from which he did *not* draw his imagery. From this perspective other important features of the coinage can be seen.

#### *The Coins: The Greater Context*

As just noted, the image of a *quadriga* that one might expect from a Syracusan monarch is *not* present in the coinage of King Antiochus. What is not present in the imagery allows us to understand not just the intentions of King Antiochus' repertoire of imagery, but also to understand the extent of his control. In this section I would like to analyse how the greater context of Sicilian numismatics reflects upon this new Sicilian monarch, and to then consider how his imagery indicates the way in which he wanted to be viewed.

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<sup>115</sup> Kraay (1976a), 279.

I would first like to consider how (the coinage of) King Antiochus looks from a Syracusan perspective. Historically Syracuse had been the major player in terms of monarchies on Sicily from the fifth century B.C. and it developed a set of images that defined the monarchy based there. I mentioned before the *quadriga* design (Figure 14), which was copied across Sicily by most cities and was minted until the end of Syracuse's monarchy in 212 B.C.,<sup>116</sup> but there were other designs that also defined Syracuse. Common to obverse designs was the head of Arethusa surrounded by four dolphins (Figure 15), regularly combined with the image of the quadriga, although later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Arethusa was often substituted for Persephone.<sup>117</sup> It is quite clear that Antiochus was not invoking any kind of Syracusan link with his coinage, as none of it even alludes to the basic designs of Syracuse. I would further suggest that Syracuse was not the only major town of Sicily that is specifically avoided in allusions by King Antiochus. In the eastern half of Sicily, in which most of the major Greek settlements of Sicily existed, the most recognisable designs were those of Messana, Agrigentum, and Tauromenium. While each of these mints did produce coinage of a generic nature,<sup>118</sup> each town had its own clear set of imagery associated with it. Messana's distinctive imagery was a mule cart on the obverse with a hare on the reverse, often with a dolphin symbol below the hare (Figure 16). This design was introduced to Messanian coinage in the 480's B.C., but the image of a hare continued on Messanian coinage until 288 B.C. when the Campanian and Oscan mercenaries put the inhabitants of the town to the sword.<sup>119</sup> After this point, the coinage of Messana was only made in bronze, and ceased to be especially

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<sup>116</sup> Kraay (1976a), 293.

<sup>117</sup> Head (1911), 184-5; Kraay (1976a), 290-1.

<sup>118</sup> See the coin from Tauromenium (Figure 10) with grapes on the obverse.

<sup>119</sup> Head (1911), 154-5; Kraay (1976a), 285.

noteworthy.<sup>120</sup> The coinage of Agrigentum typically bore designs, mixed between obverse and reverse, of the crab design and eagles (Figure 17); the crab design later became a symbol placed below a quadriga, and similar designs continued until 241 B.C.<sup>121</sup> Tauromenium's distinctive coinage featured imagery associated with Apollo, such as the tripod design (Figure 18), or imagery of a bull on the reverse, often coupled with the head of Herakles on the obverse, and these types continued after 216 B.C. when Tauromenium became under Roman rule (Figure 19).<sup>122</sup> Outside of these major mints there are no other sites from which to draw comparisons; many of the sites that had previously minted coinage of unique types were destroyed in the wars between the Greeks and the Carthaginians on Sicily in the late fifth century B.C.<sup>123</sup>

What should have become clear through this limited survey of the wider context of Sicilian coinage is that King Antiochus was very specific in his choice of types. The coinage does not suggest that King Antiochus controlled all of Greek Sicily, and we have to conclude that he was not a Syracusan monarch; otherwise we would expect to find images of Arethusa or *quadriga* on his coinage. Furthermore, now that we can suggest that King Antiochus did *not* control Syracuse, we can narrow down the potential precedents for the first coin of King Antiochus (Figure 1), for which I had left two possible interpretations, if we were to choose one. Clearly it cannot be Syracuse, for we would not expect Antiochus to choose such an unusual design from the repertoire of Syracuse if he were invoking the city on his coinage; it

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<sup>120</sup> Head (1911), 156-7.

<sup>121</sup> Head (1911), 124; Kraay (1976a), 296.

<sup>122</sup> Head (1911), 188-9; Calciati (1987), 221-2.

<sup>123</sup> Selinus, Himera, and Gela were all destroyed long before the rule of King Antiochus.

would have been far easier to achieve that with different imagery. Therefore the remaining option for the precedent is Centuripae. If we accept the precedents for the imagery of his coinage as roughly indicative of where his kingdom was based, then we can see that he controlled a tract of land from Enna in the middle of Sicily, and then perhaps across to Centuripae in the east, and north either to Calacte or northeast to Naxos (Map 1). We cannot, of course, know the extent of his control between these locations purely from the coinage, or even that he necessarily controlled all these towns at precisely the same time. This area does, however, represent a considerable kingdom, and near Enna the town of Agyrium controlled routes of communication to both the east (Catana) and the south (Morgantina), while it also controlled the northern valley called the Kyamosoros.<sup>124</sup>

In a sense I have already answered one of the first questions I posed: how would the imagery of King Antiochus' coinage have reflected on his kingship on Sicily? There is, however, an important point to be made here. King Antiochus' coinage reveals that he wanted to be seen to have had a deep understanding of Sicilian tradition. Contrary to some scholars' opinions (as shown above), the imagery does not reflect on his position or personality as a king; it reflects on the area and people over which he ruled. Each coin can be traced back to a precedent in Sicilian coinage; in most cases the precedent is startlingly similar to the type of Antiochus (Figures 1, 6, and 13). It is the traditional nature of the images that is most striking: the only addition to the coin types is that of his regal title, while the only omission is of the names of the towns for which he is minting coins; we must remember, after

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<sup>124</sup> Bell (1967), 18.

all, he was a king. Perhaps most importantly, the fact that he kept so rigidly to traditional imagery suggests very strongly that he was minting coinage for people who *also* appreciated the coinage's significance, i.e. local people who would have understood the imagery present on the coins and related it to their surroundings. Of particular note is the specific types chosen. While Figures 1 and 11, with their types of Zeus/thunderbolt and Athena/Club could be seen as only specific to an eastern Sicilian, or even more widely Sicilian context in the case of Figure 11, and Figure 6 could refer to several towns in the north-east of Sicily, the type chose on Figure 13 is very interesting. The coin, with the head of Demeter on the obverse and an ear of Barley on the reverse, is such a clear reference to Enna that it stands out among the other coin types chosen for just this reason. While the other coins read as generically Sicilian, or eastern Sicilian, this coin cannot refer to anywhere else. Carradice and Price (1988: *preface*) suggest that the devices on coins were chosen to 'express the authority of the issuer', and from this it is then clear that Antiochus was stating that while his authority arose from the eastern regions of Sicily, Enna specifically was important to him. The political importance of this choice will become plain once the history of Enna is considered. For the moment, it is also interesting to note that, in quite a different mould from other Hellenistic kings, King Antiochus did not place his own image on the coinage, at least going by the evidence currently available. It is possible that this is due to the metal from which the coinage was made; as bronze coinage had only a limited circulation he may not have had to put his image on them for his subjects to be well aware of their significance.<sup>125</sup> It appears that Antiochus was keen to stress not his kingship so much as the people and places that made up his

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<sup>125</sup> Kraay (1976b), 252-3.

kingdom, with a special stress on Enna. He emerges, when viewed through the lens of coinage, to be a man of tradition.

*The Coins: Diodorus and the Historical Context*

So far with the coinage; now let us reintroduce Diodorus and the greater historical context to the discussion. I have tried to show that King Antiochus, when viewed exclusively through his coinage, appears to be a king who emphasised his links to, and understanding of, eastern Sicilian history and numismatics. It is this view of the king and his kingdom that I want to compare and contrast with Diodorus' description. To start, I will compare two views of the king himself: that created by Diodorus of a magic-working charlatan that I argued against in the previous chapter, with that created by the king himself. I would also like to contrast what the coinage of King Antiochus suggests about the make-up of his kingdom with what Diodorus, and other authors, said about this. These two comparisons will also provide an answer to the final question to be considered: *why* did King Antiochus choose the images that he chose?

At no point, when examining the coins of King Antiochus, do we come upon any aspect of his character as described by Diodorus that we might expect to come across. In the previous chapter I showed that Diodorus' description of King Antiochus' character focussed on his ability to fake wonderworking and his own self-professed link to the goddess Atargatis (34/5.2.8). The other standout feature of his description was his fire breathing (34/5.2.6). It would not be reasonable to expect

King Antiochus to have evoked certain of these character traits on his coinage, and so with no precedent for us to call upon we must ignore the fire breathing and the wonderworking. However, the image of Atargatis was used as a type on coins by places and people that had some connection to the goddess. The city of Hieropolis in Cyrrhestica minted coins with Atargatis on the reverse from 332 B.C. until the reign of King Antiochus IV, the example dates from the reign of Alexander the Great, and shows his name in Aramaic characters, while Atargatis rides a lion on the reverse (Figure 20).<sup>126</sup> Demetrius III, a pretender to the throne of Syria from 95-88 B.C. minted coins with his head on the obverse and Atargatis facing on the reverse, depicted in an archaic style (Figure 21). These connections were even exploited into the Roman Empire: Caracalla, among other members of his family, minted coins that featured his portrait on the obverse, and Atargatis seated on a lion on the reverse (Figure 22). A coin bearing the image of Atargatis would therefore be intelligible for King Antiochus, given his supposed link to the goddess and his origins in Syria, and yet in his coinage there is no indication of this relationship; there is not even any use of symbols that might relate to Atargatis, such the lions on Figures 20 and 22. I think we must strongly question the relevance of what Diodorus and the other authors on the slave war felt was important to the rebels considering that the evidence from the rebels themselves points to a quite different emphasis in what was important. A further point related to this must be made: consistently King Antiochus labels himself by his regal title, in spite of Diodorus' insistence that it was his name Eunus that partially caused his initial rise to kingship (34/5.2.14).<sup>127</sup> I would draw attention to one of Florus' statements that we, the later readers of history, only know Eunus'

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<sup>126</sup> Head (1911), 777.

<sup>127</sup> Commented upon by Urbainczyk (2008), 56, but with no discussion of the importance of this.



name because of the defeats that he had inflicted upon the Romans (2.7.4); it seems from his coinage that King Antiochus made no effort to be remembered as Eunos, and neither does it seem that the Romans made any effort to remember King Antiochus as anyone *but* Eunos.<sup>128</sup> Therefore I think that the coinage questions the testimony of both Diodorus and Florus that the name Eunos was so important to King Antiochus and his subjects; if it had been, we would expect it to be *used* rather than *avoided* by King Antiochus. In the previous chapter I argued that the title of King Antiochus was avoided by ancient authors, and I have now shown that King Antiochus avoided the name Eunos. Comparison with other evidence from the ancient world suggested that there was a politically motivated reason for the avoidance of official titles in ancient histories, and the reason for this, in respect of King Antiochus, lies in the other aspects of how his coinage reflects on the literary evidence.

I have shown above how the coinage of King Antiochus can be used to make some suggestions about his sphere of power on Sicily (Map 1). This evidence can be compared with the evidence of Strabo, Diodorus and Orosius. Through these three authors we learn that the slaves came to hold Enna, Tauromenium, Morgantina, and Catana, while they attacked and overran Agrigentum (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.20-2, 43; Strabo 6.2.6; Oros. 5.9.5; Map 2).<sup>129</sup> If we compare the towns named above as potential precedents for the imagery of King Antiochus' issues then there is a small

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<sup>128</sup> I discussed in the previous chapter the reticence of ancient authors to use any title other than Eunos, including a discussion of the two occasions when Diodorus names Eunos as King Antiochus.

<sup>129</sup> A fragment of Diodorus seems to imply that the slaves also attacked Syracuse (34/5.2.9): 'Those who ate of the sacred fish found no relief from their pains. For the Divine Power, as if with the intention of holding up an example to deter the others, left all those who had acted so madly to suffer unsuccoured. And since in keeping with the retribution visited on them by the gods they have also received abuse in the pages of history, they have indeed reaped a just reward.'

amount of overlap with the towns mentioned in the sources and the areas covered (Map 3). The imagery of Enna corresponded to one of the choices made by King Antiochus, while Catana was suggested before as a precedent, despite being later rejected on stylistic grounds. Naxos, one of the suggested precedents for Figure 6 is within the area covered by the testimony of the sources, and this could suggest it is a firm precedent (Map 2). It is worth bearing in mind at this point that the towns mentioned in the sources are not a complete list; given the truncated nature of Diodorus' history it is entirely possible that other towns were captured, and indeed certain passages of Diodorus suggest this to be the case.<sup>130</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the coinage gives evidence of how widespread the control of the rebels had become, evidence not readily forthcoming from the literary sources.

There is, however, a problem with this picture. If we are to believe the literary sources then King Antiochus controlled three towns that I have shown were not invoked in his coinage, in spite of the clear and recognisable imagery associated with them. I also suggested above that King Antiochus seemed to be minting coins that were to be recognised by the people he ruled. This then begs the question: why didn't he use the imagery of Morgantina, Tauromenium or Agrigentum if he controlled those cities, considering how recognisable their coinage was? The answer to this problem lies, I think, in the history of Sicily during a quite different war: the Second Punic War. Livy records in some detail the fates of the cities of Sicily in their efforts to support Carthage against Rome, or at least to secede from the control

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<sup>130</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.20: 'Cities were captured with all their inhabitants, and many armies were cut to pieces by the rebels [...]'; 34/5.2.25: '[...] whereby many cities met with grave calamities, innumerable men and women, together with their children, experienced the greatest misfortunes, and all the island was in danger of falling into the power of fugitive slaves [...]'

of Rome. In total Livy mentions indirectly, and not, frustratingly, by name, some sixty-six towns of Sicily that had to be recovered after revolting (26.40). Outside of these sixty-six, he also mentions several cities by name: Morgantina (24.36; 26.21), Enna (24.37), Leontini (24.30), Megara, Helorus, and Herbesus (24.35), Heraclea Minoa (25.41), Ergetium, Hybla, and Macellum (26.21), and, of course, Syracuse (25.25). It is quite a list, especially once the sixty-six other towns are added, and one that suggests a widespread and heartfelt dislike of Roman rule amongst Sicilians.<sup>131</sup> This evidence needs to be born in mind while discussing the specific histories of the cities held by King Antiochus.

If we connect this previous history of Sicilian cities with the narrative of Diodorus and the evidence of the coinage of King Antiochus, we see that out of the cities mentioned by Livy King Antiochus controlled Enna, Morgantina, and Agrigentum. Of these three cities, Morgantina and Agrigentum were both repopulated after their recapture (Liv. 26.21, 40),<sup>132</sup> and it is not unreasonable to assume that the repopulation was done with pro-Roman inhabitants given the troubles that had recently taken place on Sicily. While Enna was subject to a brutal slaughter of its citizens, there is no record of any repopulation after this event. This act also triggered widespread indignation amongst the Sicilians, causing more cities to defect (Livy 24.39).<sup>133</sup> Tauromenium was not mentioned by Livy, and according to Cicero, was a firm ally of Rome, and held a special treaty with Rome down to his own day; clearly, therefore, it was pro-Roman (*Verr.* 2.2.160; 2.3.13; 2.5.49-50,

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<sup>131</sup> Finley (1968), 117-21 considered that the dislike of Roman rule would have been widespread and heartfelt even in Syracuse among the ‘commons’.

<sup>132</sup> Toynbee (1965), 211; Verbrughe (1974), 56; Bradley (1989), 63; Goldsworthy (2000), 267; Longo (2004), 236.

<sup>133</sup> Finley (1968), 118-9.

528).<sup>134</sup> Catana, on the other hand, is not mentioned by Livy and Cicero in the same manner as Tauromenium or Agrigentum, and there is no direct evidence to really suggest a political leaning for the city. Perhaps, however, an alignment might be inferred through not only the coinage of King Antiochus, but also shared religious ties. Both Catana and Enna held important shrines to Demeter (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.99-100, 111-2), and it was apparently because the people of Sicily felt that this goddess in particular had been affronted by the slaughter of citizens at Enna during the Second Punic War that they rebelled (Livy 24.39). Evidence from Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.106-8) also confirms the status of this shrine at Enna as central to the religious life and identity of the Sicilians. White (1964: 261-279) argues that the cult of Demeter on Sicily had been used, since its inception onto the island, for political purposes. He considers (272-277) the cult central to Sicilian resistance during the Second Punic war, noting in particular the brutal treatment of the shrines to Demeter in Morgantina as evidence of Rome's retribution against the cult. It is tempting, given the history of the cult of Demeter as a tool for political gain *and* its history in the Second Punic War, to read Cicero's description of a deputation of priests sent to placate the 'most ancient Ceres' as linked not only to the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, but also to the First Slave War.<sup>135</sup> The cult of Demeter at Enna, because of its history and political importance to the people of Sicily, was a very ideologically loaded choice of cult to invoke on coinage. Most strikingly, the city of Morgantina, the leading city of the rebels in the Second Punic War, minted coins with the head of Demeter on the

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<sup>134</sup> Jannelli (2004), 166. Prag (2007a), 93-4 comments on the unusually excellent *gymnasion* in Tauromenium and the presence of a Hellenistic library there. Earlier (73) he notes that Rome also decided against placing a garrison in Tauromenium in 212 B.C.

<sup>135</sup> This link is also made by White (1964), 278.

obverse.<sup>136</sup> It is not credible to think that King Antiochus was unaware of the history of this image when he chose it, and it must be considered that King Antiochus' aim, partially achieved through his invocation of this cult, was informed by these ideological and political implications of the cult.

We can finally begin to see not just what King Antiochus was trying to say with his coinage, but also *why* he wanted to say these things. The town of Enna, and its associated cult, were symbols of resistance against Roman domination, albeit last invoked in the struggle of the Second Punic War. If he was invoking such a political message through his reference to Demeter (Figure 13), Herakles (Figure 11) and the Greek people of eastern Sicily (Figures 1 and 6), it is understandable that he would *not* refer to towns that had subsequently been either repopulated, or that had been pro-Roman all along, even if he controlled them in his territory: Morgantina, Agrigentum and Tauromenium. It could even be suggested that certain towns were taken by the rebels, while others were part *of* the rebellion. Diodorus reinforces this suggestion with his testimony that Agrigentum was stormed by the rebels (34/5.2.43), while Valerius Maximus also implies that Tauromenium was taken *from* a Roman commander (2.7.3). In contrast, it is difficult to tell what actually took place at the beginning of the revolt, which started with the capture of Enna, as Diodorus' description of this event is so tied up with his creation of the character of Eunus and his efforts to reduce the perceived threat of the rebelling slaves.<sup>137</sup> It can be seen, however, that King Antiochus' political message, which we are only able to trace through his coinage, was chosen to invoke symbols of resistance to Roman rule on

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<sup>136</sup> White (1964), 272. Again, due to time constraints, I have been unable to obtain a picture of this coin.

<sup>137</sup> See Appendix 2.

Sicily. At this point questions posed in the previous two chapters, but never answered, can now be reassessed in light of the evidence provided in this chapter.

In the first chapter, I argued that by including a passage about the poor people of Sicily ravaging the property of the rich in revenge for wrongs against them during the First Slave War, Diodorus indicated that there was considerable political strife on Sicily at the time (34/5.2.48).<sup>138</sup> I would now suggest, in light of the evidence discussed above, that what Diodorus *may* also have been doing was politically loading his words. King Antiochus was at first successful in his war, the testimony of the ancient sources as to the length and difficulty of the war against him confirms this, and this implies that his efforts to garner support through his propaganda were successful. If we accept this assertion, and there is little reason not to, it can be suggested that Diodorus' reason for politically loading his words was to disguise the fact that there had been considerable strife between upper class factions on the island of Sicily, divided along lines of those pro-Roman and those anti-Roman rule. In this respect the passage is intelligible: just as King Antiochus was denied his legitimacy by ancient authors through their naming him Eunus, those in the upper classes that supported him on Sicily were denied their legitimacy by being equated to revenge-hungry poor people, and their behaviour was equated to that of the poor: wasteful burning of properties and wanton destruction. Furthermore, the first chapter

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<sup>138</sup> Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.48. 'When these many great troubles fell upon the Sicilians, the common people were not only unsympathetic, but actually gloated over their plight, being envious because of the inequality in their respective lots, and the disparity in their modes of life. Their envy, from being a gnawing canker, now turned to joy, as it beheld the once resplendent lot of the rich changed and fallen into a condition such as was formerly beneath their very notice. Worst of all, though the rebels, making prudent provision for the future, did not set fire to the country estates nor damage the stock or the stored harvests, and abstained from harming anyone whose pursuit was agriculture, the populace, making the runaway slaves a pretext, made sallies into the country and with the malice of envy not only plundered the estates but set fire top the buildings as well.'

showed that different narratives for the war would have considered the landowners attacked to have been of different ethnicities: they could have been either Italian or Sicilian. If we read the passage as suggesting attacks against landowners that were pro-Roman, then the previous narratives provide a suggestion that the landowners attacked were both Italians *and* the Sicilians who sought to imitate the Italians' behaviour. It is not that surprising that the people of Sicily may have hated Rome: the evidence of Livy certainly suggests that Roman rule was not welcomed by many of the cities of Sicily, and Roman conduct had not always been that tactful.<sup>139</sup> This divide would also explain, in some sense, why, immediately after the First Slave War, when Sicily was reorganised legally by Rupilius (Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.39-40), the reforms did not include a law forbidding slaves to carry arms, a law that was instituted after the *Second* Slave War, not the First (2.5.7).

We can now also provide an answer for why the ancient authors repressed King Antiochus' title. The understanding provided above for the coinage of King Antiochus, the only remaining voice that exists for his view of himself from antiquity, stresses the eastern Sicilian nature of his emphasis. The choice of images focussed on an ideology that was counter to the Roman rule of Sicily. His success in invoking this ideology is shown by his repeated military successes in the so-called First Slave War. Like Sextus Pompeius, King Antiochus represented a threat to the central Roman control of their first overseas province, and he suffered in the historical record just as Sextus Pompeius did. Sicilian culture and autonomy were encouraged by King Antiochus, and, in this case, it can be argued that the province

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<sup>139</sup> The conduct of Marcellus on taking Syracuse caused such hatred against him in Sicily that he had to be replaced through pressure from the people of Sicily; see Livy 26.40.1-15; Finley (1968), 119; Goldsworthy (2000), 266-7.

responded. Recent studies of Sicily in this period have stressed the Hellenistic nature of the province,<sup>140</sup> in spite of Roman rule. Despite the different approach taken here, this study in essence agrees with the conclusions of these scholars: Sicily was a vibrant Hellenistic culture, and this culture was capitalised on in order to create a movement that led to a rebellion against Roman control of Sicily. It is perhaps of primary importance that the character described in the ancient literary sources as leading the rebellion, Eunus, is not only a slave, but also foreign to Sicily, both through his religious connections and his birth. The evidence of the coinage of King Antiochus questions this description, and reveals the true reason for the ancient sources' discomfort about the so-called First Slave War.

### Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate that the evidence of King Antiochus' coinage does not support the interpretation of the First Slave War that is normally created from the testimony of Diodorus. It has also attempted to show that by subsuming the study of the coinage of King Antiochus into their own ideas of what the First Slave War represented, modern scholars have underplayed and under-valued the numismatic evidence for assessing the meaning and role of the First Slave War in Sicilian history *and* Republican Roman history. While the coinage cannot on its own provide a completely unique and original narrative it does question the validity of the literary sources and suggests that how King Antiochus viewed himself and wanted himself to be seen has been suppressed *in* the ancient literary record and *by* the

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<sup>140</sup> Wilson (2000), 134-60, and Campagna (2006), 15-34, looking at archaeological evidence; Manganaro (1979), 415-61, Prag (2007a) 68-100, and Prag (2007b), 245-72, using epigraphic evidence; Frey-Kupper (2006), 27-56, arguing from numismatic evidence.



ancient authors. The fact that this suppression has happened, and by reconnecting the imagery chosen for the coinage to its historical and political contexts, it is possible to argue that the First Slave Revolt was not a slave revolt at all, and that its major elements were distinctly eastern Greek Sicilian in nature. The stories and the people behind the coins of King Antiochus were all distinctly Sicilian, and I would argue that as the only evidence we have of the ethnic origin of King Antiochus either comes from biased sources using literary stereotypes and *topoi*, or from coinage that the man himself minted, we, as historians, would be doing a dishonour in insisting upon forcing the character of Eunus upon King Antiochus.

## CONCLUSION: Romani Ite Domum

*'...the evidence is growing ever stronger for the vitality of Republican Sicily...In Sicily Roman imperialism was inextricably bound up in local culture.'* Prag (2007a: 99)

The aim of this study has been to reassess the literary evidence for the First Slave War. I hope to have shown that Diodorus has been either misinterpreted or used by previous scholars for their own purposes, and that his history contains greater complexities and problems than is normally supposed. The exposition and understanding of these problems in the first chapter has revealed that his narrative was composed of two different narratives that stressed quite different underlying causes and problems for the war: one blames, entirely, the Sicilian landowners for the conflict, while the other implicates the Italian landowners on Sicily as the chief cause of the mistreatment and mismanagement of the slaves. Further investigation of a smaller case study of Diodorus' composition, the construction of the characters of the two leading figures of the war, Eunos and Cleon, revealed that the purpose of a great deal of the narrative of the First Slave War was literary in nature, and was not designed to represent the history of the war accurately, but to colour the mind of the reader against Eunos and Cleon. This led to the conclusion that the literary sources cannot be used to provide any understanding of how the leadership of the rebellion understood its own role in the conflict, or what that leadership was hoping to achieve. For this, we have to turn to the only remaining, relatively unpolluted, voice of the rebels: the coinage of King Antiochus, their historical leader.

The study of the coinage of King Antiochus has presented several problems. First, what little scholarship that there has been on the coinage has almost universally incorporated the discussion of the coins into a greater argument, in which the coinage was not allowed to speak by itself.<sup>141</sup> Second, the coinage is relatively underused in discussions of the First Slave War. In order to overcome these two problems, the coinage had to be considered in the context of Sicilian numismatics *rather* than that of a slave rebellion. This context revealed that the coins' types were linked to a history of Sicilian iconography, and in certain cases (Figures 6 and 12), to the iconography of specific towns. Further investigation showed that the types chosen, especially the type with Demeter on the obverse and an ear of barley on the reverse (Figure 12), invoked an ideology that in Sicily had been involved, violently, with resistance to Roman rule. This, combined with the fact that King Antiochus clearly did *not* want to be associated with Syracuse, and the eastern Sicilian nature of his coinage, suggested strongly that he was *not* a slave, nor that he was attempting to incite slaves to rebel. This evidence should force us to question the evidence of the ancient authors, and it should also force us to reconsider the role of Sicily in the development of Roman provincial history.

The stress of recent work on Sicily in the Republican period has been on the vitality of the culture and identity of Sicily, both local and regional, which was fostered by Roman control of the island. Repeated studies have stressed the signs of

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<sup>141</sup> Green (1961), 16; Finley (1968), 114; Vogt (1974), 53; Bradley (1989), 116, 120; Urbainczyk (2008), 42. The sole exception is the work of Manganaro (1982; 1983; 1990).

this vitality, through a number of expressions.<sup>142</sup> The conclusions of the current study would appear to contradict the recent scholarship, not only on the First Slave War itself, but also on the situation on Sicily in general at this point in history. However, it would be a mistake to ignore the results reached here for that reason. The evidence for the First Slave War is difficult to assess, and even more difficult to draw conclusions from, but the fact that these conclusions are unsettling should not reduce their importance. The First Slave War represents a unique moment in Republican history in which Sicily once again commanded the attention of the ancient authors, and in spite of their fragmentary nature and biases the opportunity to add this evidence to the discussion should not be missed. This evidence, combined with the small amount of numismatic evidence for the conflict, also confirms the vibrancy of the Hellenistic culture of Sicily, albeit in a very different way from the other studies mentioned above. The evidence presented here should be considered as central in the history of Republican Sicily, and help to understand the role of this island in the development of Roman and provincial history. We must also attempt to rescue King Antiochus from the historical slander to which he has been subjected, and try to recover the Sicily that he stirred into action against the forces of Rome.

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<sup>142</sup> Wilson (2000), 134-60, and Campagna (2006), 15-34, looking at archaeological evidence; Manganaro (1979), 415-61, Prag (2007a) 68-100, and Prag (2007b), 245-72, using epigraphic evidence; Frey-Kupper (2006), 27-56, arguing from numismatic evidence.

## Appendix 1: The Gold Coinage of King Antiochus

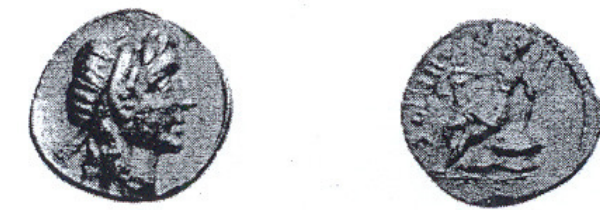
### GOLD COIN 1 (Campana, Enna 15)



Obv: Male head, right, with diadem and long hair.

Rev: Nike standing right, right hand holding a crown (not visible); ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΝ.

### GOLD COIN 2 (Campana, Enna 16)



Obv: Male head, right, with diadem and long hair.

Rev: seated soldier, left hand holds a spear, the right hand a club(?); ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΝ.

These two coins have been published by Manganaro (1990) and Berk and Bendall (1994), and are listed in the catalogue of Campana (1997: 158) as coins 15 and 16 from Enna. They are both made from gold, and appear to be, individually, the only examples of their types. The obverse is similar on both coins. I have been unable to view either coin in person, due to their location in a private collection, but according to Manganaro (1990: 181) Coin 1 was found in the area around Morgantina, although he does not say how he knows this.<sup>143</sup> The coins are attested as being issued by King

<sup>143</sup> Berk and Bendall (1994), 8, claim that both coins were found near Morgantina, but state no evidence for the claim. Considering that the content of the article by Berk and Bendall is mostly a rewrite of articles by Green (1961) and Manganaro (1982; 1983; 1990), it is possible that they

Antiochus because they share, with the bronze issues firmly attributed to King Antiochus, the lunate sigma in their lettering. The unusual legends, which should cause concern, are suggested to have been chosen to confirm to the owner of the coin the value that it possessed was the same value as the famous staters of Philip II of Macedon (Manganaro 1990: 183; Berk and Bendall 1994: 7-8),<sup>144</sup> and Berk and Bendall (1994: 8) also suggested that the coins were designed by King Antiochus for use in overseas trade. Andrew Burnett and Keith Rutter, on the other hand, regard both coins as fakes.<sup>145</sup>

My reason for excluding these two coins from the main body of discussion is twofold. The first aspect concerns the legends. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΝ and ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ are accusative and nominative respectively, rather than the expected genitive. While the nominative could be used on coins, it was normally used when expressing an ethnic identity for the authority of the coin, and even this was rare.<sup>146</sup> It is, however, believable that King Antiochus may have used the legend for the purpose suggested by Berk and Bendall (1994: 8).<sup>147</sup> The accusative legend, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΝ, is rather odd, too, and it is clearly not the accusative of ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ. It does not invoke the staters of Philip at all; it does, however, seem to be a reference to the Philipeion, a temple set up in Olympia by Philip II of Macedon.<sup>148</sup> It is ridiculous to argue that King Antiochus' intention was to refer to this temple, as it is not only a very specific

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considered the find site of Coin 2 to be near Morgantina because of its stylistic similarity to Coin 1, in spite of the fact that Manganaro (1990), 181, is not discussing Coin 2 in his article.

<sup>144</sup> Suggested by Manganaro (1990), 183 for Coin 1, and extended by Berk and Bendall (1994), 8 for Coin 2.

<sup>145</sup> Personal Comment, July 2008.

<sup>146</sup> Kraay (1976b), 6.

<sup>147</sup> A claim made on the strength of Manganaro's suggestion for Coin 1 (1990), 183.

<sup>148</sup> Nicolaou (1976), 651.

reference, but also a rather obscure one to place on a coin circulated in Sicily, and this causes problems for the reason that Manganaro (1990: 181) gave for the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΩΝ to read as it does. The fact that the legends are different on the two coins throws doubt on the suggestion that both were designed to achieve the same purpose, and the very unusual legend on the first coin throws doubts on its legitimacy.

The second problem concerns the attribution of the two coins to King Antiochus. There are only two reasons given for this attribution. First, that the coins were found near Morgantina, and second, that they share the lunate sigma with the bronze issues of King Antiochus. The first point may be discounted quite easily. Only one coin is claimed to have been found near Morgantina, and that is the Coin 1, with the legend reading ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΩΝ (Manganaro 1990: 181). As the other factor that links the coins to King Antiochus, the lunate sigma, is *not* present on this coin, it is too great a leap of faith to believe that because the other coin *has* the lunate sigma, and looks on the obverse like the former coin, the two coins are related, and that they were both found in Sicily. There is no reason to link Coin 1 to King Antiochus, and the find site of Coin 2 is unknown. Furthermore, they are not stylistically similar to the bronze coins of King Antiochus, and do not share any types with them either. If we also consider that the coins have been considered fakes by both Andre Burnett and Keith Rutter, it seemed better to err on the side of caution and exclude the two coins from the overall debate.

## Appendix 2: The Capture of Enna

Immediately, therefore, they brought together four hundred of their fellow slaves and, having armed themselves in such ways as opportunity permitted, they fell upon the city of Enna, with Eunus at their head and working his miracle of the flames of fire for their benefit. When they found their way into the houses they shed much blood, sparing not even suckling babes. Rather they tore them from the breast and dashed them to the ground, while as for the women – and under their husbands' very eyes – but words cannot tell the extent of their outrages and acts of lewdness! By now a great multitude of slaves from the city had joined them, who, after first demonstrating against their masters their utter ruthlessness, then turned to the slaughter of others. When Eunus and his men learned that Damophilus and his wife were in the garden that lay near the city, they sent some of their band and dragged them off, both the man and his wife, fettered and with hands bound behind their backs, subjecting them to many outrages along the way. (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.10-3)

At once, therefore, they set free those in bonds, and collecting such of others as lived near by they assembled about four hundred men at a certain field no far from Enna. After making a compact and exchanging pledges sworn by night over sacrificial victims, they armed themselves in such fashion as occasion allowed; but all were equipped with the best of weapons, fury, which was bent on the destruction of their arrogant masters. Their leader was Eunus. With cries of encouragement to one another they broke into the city about midnight and put many to the sword. (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.24b)



So reads the story of the capture of Enna by the slaves, the former account preserved by Photius, the latter by Constantine. There are considerable problems with this description as an historical document of the attack. These difficulties make it hard to understand what was taking place during the attack and imply that the purpose of the story was not historical, but literary.

The first problem is one of historical knowledge. Diodorus is clearly creating a scene in which to place the attack on Enna, and subsequently we must be careful not to allow ourselves to suspend our disbelief too much. Owing to the violent end that awaited all the slaves bar Eunus (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.20-3), it is not credible that Diodorus could have known what the slaves did before they attacked the city. It is also stressed that Eunus put to death all of the citizens, except those who could make weapons, and so the body of potential witnesses is further thinned (Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.15). The passage is highly dramatic in nature in any case, but specific knowledge, such as the slaves exchanging pledges sworn over sacrificial victims, which it is highly unlikely that Diodorus could have known, point up the dramatic nature of the passages and shows that Diodorus was setting the scene for what follows. Furthermore, as I showed in Chapter 2, the fire-breathing trick was an aspect of Eunus' character created by Diodorus to demonstrate his charlatan nature; we can, therefore, discard that aspect of the narrative.

The problems do not end with this, however. The description of the attack is highly rhetorical in nature, containing many of the features that Quintilian later

stressed *should* be included in a description of an attack on a city (*Inst. Orat.* 8.3.68-9). This should cause us to be wary of the description: was it that way because those events actually occurred, or because Diodorus felt that those events *should* have occurred given the overriding assumption that the town was sacked? While we cannot know the answer to this question directly, I would argue that it is the latter case, considering the arguments put forward in Chapter 3. The fact that this description plays a prominent role in Diodorus' tactic of disarming the threat of the slaves (see Chapter 2) further calls into question the account. Diodorus is explicit that the behaviour of the slaves was driven by the arrogant treatment that they had received from their masters, not by some 'innate savagery' (34/5.2.13, 40). This explanation is given after the actions of the slaves in the attack on Enna, and the implication of this elucidation on the matter is that *if* slaves are not treated as abominably as they were in Sicily, and Diodorus is quite adamant that the treatment was exceptional (34/5.2.1-4, 25-8, 40), then they would never have acted as they did, therefore rendering the rebellion itself, and other slaves, less threatening in the ancient readers' mind. The account of the brutality during the attack on Enna is central to Diodorus' portrayal of the slaves as violent through treatment, not nature: it is not an historical description, but a literary device.

The same problem, in a different guise, affects the latter half of Diodorus' narrative about the attack on Enna. The passage, only preserved in Photius, reads (34/5.2.14-5):

The men appointed to the task, having dragged Damophilus and Megallis into the city, as we said, brought them to the theatre, where the crowd of rebels had assembled. But when Damophilus attempted to devise a plea to get them off safe and was winning over many of the crowd with his words, Hermeias and Zeuxis, men bitterly disposed towards him, denounced him as a cheat, and without waiting for a formal trial by the assembly the one ran him through the chest with a sword, the other chopped off his head with an axe. Thereupon Eunus was chosen king, not for his manly courage...

We should note first the location of the events. Symbolically, for surely this was not unintentional and Diodorus could not have missed the significance, the scene for the passage is set in the theatre, the same theatre in which the Romans had slaughtered the citizens of Enna during the Second Punic War (Liv. 24.39). Second, we should note what follows the 'trial' of Damophilus and Megallis: the election of Eunus to king. The two events are linked, both by their location, and by the people involved. We should start with the 'trial'. That it never became a real trial is because of two features: the rhetorical skills of Damophilus, and the continuing air of brutality pervading the scene. It appears that Damophilus was succeeding with his efforts, and this suggests that had it gone to trial then he may have been successful in escaping punishment; it should possibly elicit surprised comment that it could have gone to trial at all, considering the punishment meted out to all the other slave owners at this point. This makes the slaves come across as rather malleable to anyone capable of manipulation, and it is quite telling that this same group of malleable slaves, having just finished a 'trial', elected Eunus to king. The events surrounding the election of Eunus to king create a backdrop of chaos and brutality, and fit into the overall theme

that Diodorus worked for Eunus of an unsuitable king ruling over an unsuitable kingdom.

The narrative of the capture of Enna by the slaves serves two purposes. The first is to depict the threat of the slaves as insignificant in the Roman and Greek slave societies as a whole, and the second is to create a background of incompetence and disorganisation for the election of Eunus to king. Given the literary nature of both of these objectives, and the problems posed by Diodorus' factual inventions, we should not rely overly much on the narrative of Diodorus to understand what took place at Enna.

FIGURES

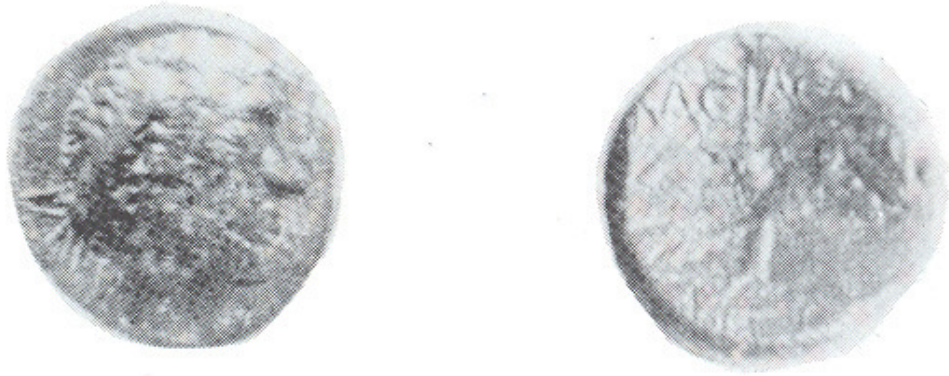


Figure 1: Calciati (1987), 237 no. 9.



Figure 2: *SNG 3*, Plate 37 No. 1307 (undated in Catalogue).



Figure 3: *SNG 5*, Plate 16 No. 470 (undated in Catalogue).



Figure 4: Kraay (1976a), Plate 11 No. 34 (c. 470 B.C.).



Figure 5: Kraay (1976a), Plate 15 No. 45 (c. 420 B.C.).



Figure 6: Calciati (1987), 237, 10.



Figure 7: Kraay (1976a), Plate 3 No. 10 (420-03 B.C.).



Figure 8: *SNG 3*, Plate 34 No. 1199.      Figure 9: *SNG 3*, Plate 38 No. 1336      Figure 10: *SNG 5*, Plate 35 No. 1125.  
**Figures 8, 9, and 10, were all undated in the catalogue. Comparisons with Calciati (1987), 214-226, 235, would suggest a date around 357-4 B.C. for Figure 9, and around 336-201 B.C. for Figure 10.**



**Figure 11: Campana (1997), 15 No. 13.**



**Figure 12: *SNG 5*, Plate 41 No. 1304 (undated in Catalogue). Comparison with Calciati (1987), 135, would suggest a date for Figure 12 between 345-00 B.C.**



Figure 13: British Museum Collection: 1868-0730-156.



Figure 14: Kraay (1976a), Plate 48 No. 134 (317-289 B.C.).



Figure 15: Kraay (1976a), Plate 41 No. 117 (c405 B.C.).





Figure 16: Kraay (1976a), Plate 18 No. 56 (430-10 B.C.).



Figure 17: Kraay (1976a), Plate 59 No. 170 (460-20 B.C.).



Figure 18: SNG 5, Plate 35 No. 1127 (undated in catalogue). Comparison with Calciati (1987), 221, suggests a date after 336 B.C. for Figure 18.



Figure 19: SNG 5, Plate 35 No. 1107 (undated in Catalogue). Comparison with Calciati (1987), 225-6, suggests a date before 344 B.C. for Figure 19.



Figure 20: British Museum Collection: 1899-122-1. c.331 B.C.

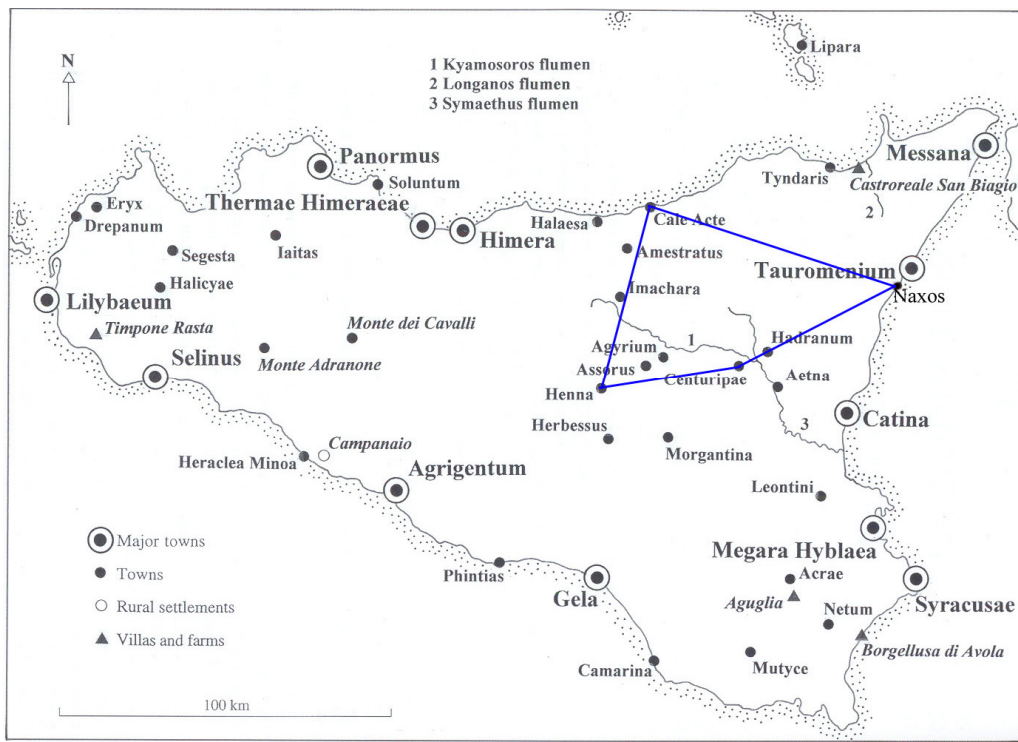


Figure 21: British Museum Collection: Demetrius III 4. 95-88 B.C.

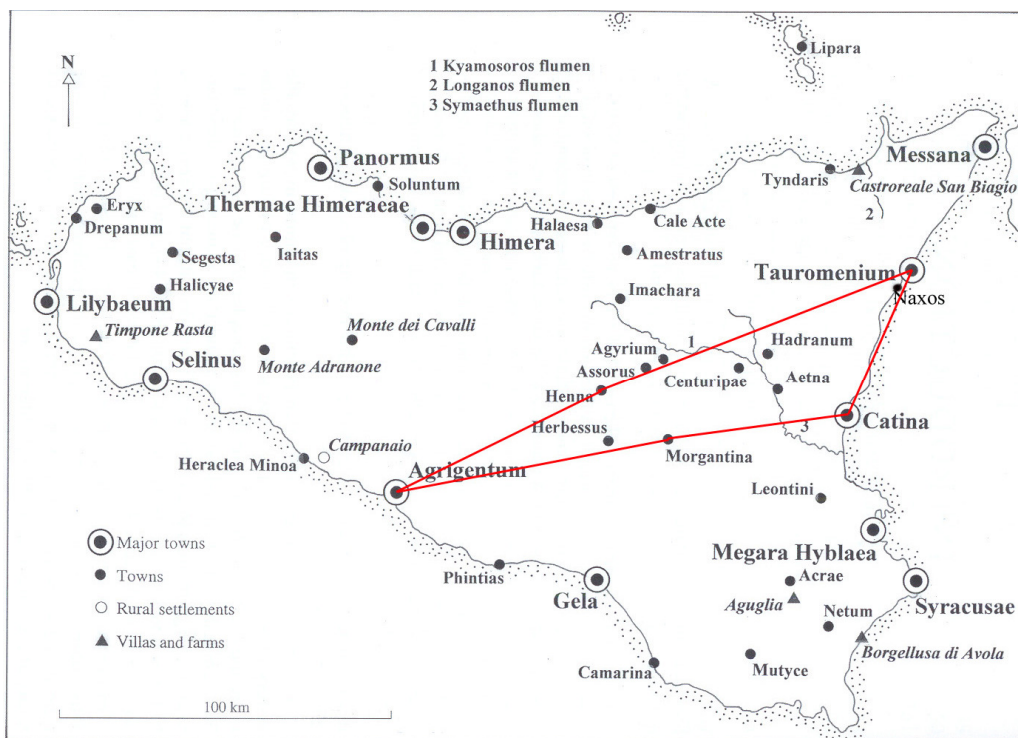


Figure 22: British Museum Collection: Hieropolis 51. 196-8 A.D.

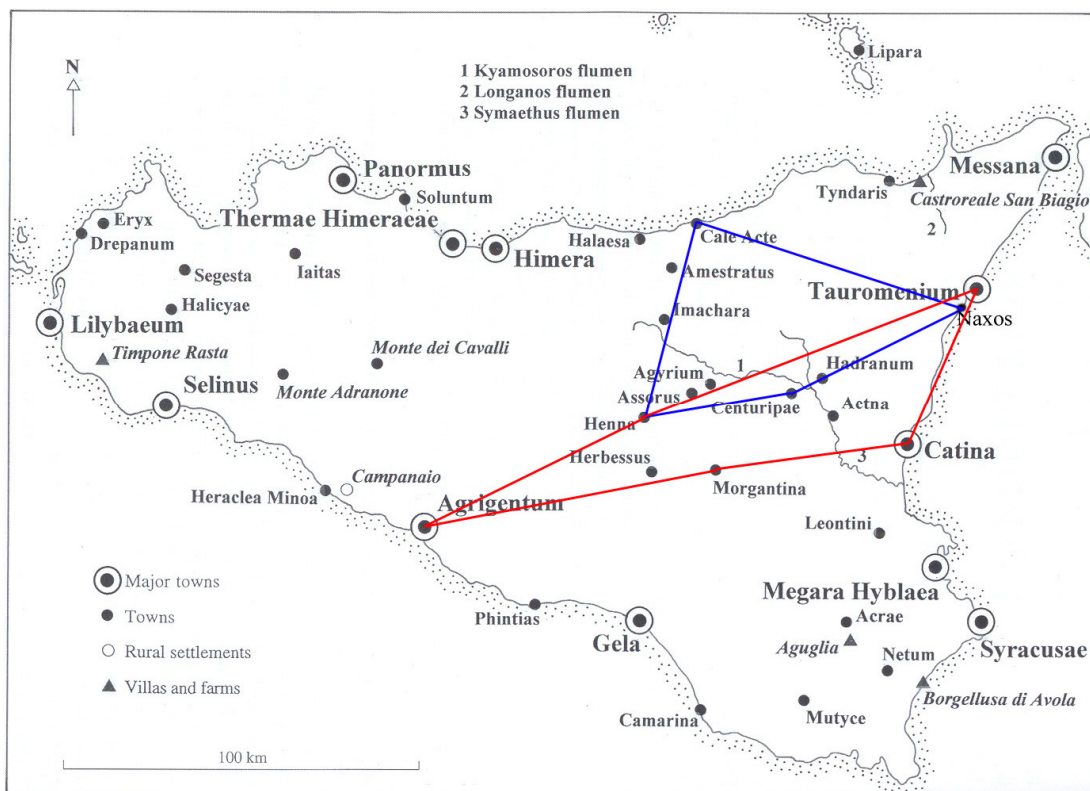
MAPS



Map 1: All maps adapted from map in Smith and Serrati (2000), 2 Fig 1.1. Map shows the extent of control of King Antiochus implied from coinage.



Map 2: Map shows the extent of control of King Antiochus implied from literary sources.



**Map 3: Map shows a comparison of the two maps above. The blue line indicates the extent of control implied from coinage, the red line indicates the extent of control implied from the sources.**

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