THE DEINOMENIDS OF SICILY

THE DEINOMENIDS OF SICILY:
THE APPEARANCE AND REPRESENTATION
OF A GREEK DYNASTIC TYRANNY
IN THE WESTERN COLONIES

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate and analyze the tyranny of the Deinomenids (491 – 466 BC), a family who controlled several Greek colonies located on the island of Sicily. Modern classical scholarship has often ignored the history and contributions this family has made to the Greek world or has taken a limited view of the family.

I intend to present a comprehensive account of the Deinomenids and to demonstrate how this family, which has received little attention, played a major role in the Greek world. I will look into several aspects regarding their tyranny that have often been overlooked, including the ways in which they invented claims about themselves and manipulated their identities in order to elevate their status as rulers in Sicily. In addition to this, I will use the Deinomenids as a case study to illustrate the tension felt between the mainland and the Greek colonies in Sicily, as well as demonstrating how the West influenced and informed many of the advancements seen on the mainland in later generations.

The first section of this thesis will investigate Greek tyranny and Greek colonization in the West. This will provide the backdrop of my study of the Deinomenids. The next section will present a catalogue of the historical, literary, and archaeological evidence that survives regarding the family. The third section will focus on the various methods that the family used to secure their powerbase in Sicily. This included using poetry, coinage, buildings, and religious cults. The last section will look

at the aftermath of the Deinomenid tyranny and the long-lasting impact their rule had on Sicily and the mainland of Greece.

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Custode, mea avia: Dedico hoc tibi,

meae primae Latinae magistrae,

meae optimae amicae, meae angelicae custodi.

Omnia bona in me est propter te.

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Preface

Cicero once proclaimed that Syracuse was "...the largest city of the Greeks and the most beautiful of all cities."[1] This declaration occurred in the 1st century BC; yet, the beauty of classical Greece still lingered in the minds of men. That beauty, according to Cicero, was best represented neither by Athens, nor by any other city from the mainland, but by a colony in Sicily.

There was a general opinion shared by the cities on the mainland that the Western territories, while a part of Greece, were somewhat marginalized because of their distance and because the colonies had no long-standing ties to the island. Although separated from the rest of Greece, Sicily was a major hub of the Hellenic world and impacted it culturally, politically, economically, religiously, and artistically. The cities of Western Greece were known for their extravagant temples, detailed sculptural decoration, innovative coinage, military strength, and for generally being very prosperous and wealthy. Sicily was also the home of many poets, writers, philosophers, and successful athletes. Much of the splendor of Sicily was a result of the persistent rule of local tyrants on the island, particularly the Deinomenid family.

The Deinomenids established their tyranny in 491 BC and held power until 466 BC. Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos, the sons of Deinomenes, in turn took over the Deinomenid Empire, which included the cities of Gela, Syracuse, and Aitna among others. During their reign, they commissioned major building projects, including massive temples. They played a significant role in the religious cults of the island,

[1] Cicero. *Verrines*. 2.4.117. Vrbem Syracusas maximam esse Graecarum, pulcherrimam omnium saepe audistis. Author's translation.

particularly in the worship of Demeter. They were victorious in athletic competitions, and, to celebrate these triumphs, they made lavish dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries and were immortalized in poetry. They fought in, and won, important wars with foreign invaders. The family's tyranny lasted for almost 30 years, and by the end of it they controlled the majority of Eastern Sicily.

The Deinomenids were not idle rulers. Simply amassing a great fortune and a large expanse of territory was not enough to satisfy their ambitions. They spent a great deal of time, money, and effort to legitimize their power in Sicily and to advertise to the rest of the world that they were not only Greek, but, moreover, superior to all other Greeks. The life and history of the family is mentioned by several ancient authors, yet these descriptions and accounts are often brief and never include a broad range of details. The marginalization of the Deinomenids by ancient writers reflects the marginalization of Sicily by the rest of the Greek world.

The study of the Deinomenid family presents a type of puzzle, one in which passages from several texts and material evidence need to be combined. Although there is no single extensive account of the Deinomenids, their name does appear briefly in a wide variety of texts by ancient writers, historians, and poets, such as Aelian, Aeschylus, Diodorus, Herodotus, Pindar, and Plutarch. Scholarship on the tyrants has focused on only a few aspects of the Deinomenids' rule.[2] An investigation into the family further opens up discussion on the dynamics of Greek involvement in Sicily, the relationship

[2] See Andrewes 1974; Bonanno 2010; Champion 2010; Dougherty 1993; Dunbabin 1948; Finely 1979; Harrell 2002; Holloway 1991; Jenkins 1972; Kowalzig 2008; Lewis 2009; Luraghi 1994; McMullin 2004; Poli-Palladini 2001; Rutter 1997; and White 1964.

between the mainland and the West, the ways in which tyrants used propaganda to secure their power, and the long-lasting impact of tyrants. This thesis will fill the gap that exists in the study of the Deinomenids and their tyranny in Sicily. Not only will a complete picture of the family be presented, but more complex issues regarding the family, many which have been overlooked, will be analyzed and discussed.[3] I seek to create a comprehensive work concerning the Deinomenids, one that employs historical and literary sources as well as archaeological evidence, and one which finally demonstrates that the family contributed to and were responsible for many of the achievements and much of the innovation witnessed in the Hellenic world.

[3] This primarily concerns issues related to the Deinomenids' propaganda program in Sicily. This will be discussed in chapter 3.

Chapter 1: The Greeks in Sicily: Myth, Colonization and Tyranny

1.1 Introduction

In order to begin an examination of the Deinomenids and properly contextualize their tyranny, it is useful to have a clear understanding of the time period and landscape that provided the backdrop to their reign. The ἀποικίαι in Sicily are products of the 8th and 7th century BC colonization movements. The social, cultural, and political process of colonization – the sending of expeditions under the leadership of an *oikistes*, which took land from the indigenous Sikels – had a deep connection with the ways in which the Deinomenids gained and maintained power for themselves. The history of Greek colonization in the West will be explored in order to give context to the investigation of the Deinomenid family. At the same time, the wider history of tyranny in the Greek world must be examined, as it is a phenomenon that did not originate in the West.

1.2 Greek Presence in Sicily before Colonization

Before the Greeks set foot on Sicily and claimed the land for themselves, the island existed to them in myths told by various ancient authors. References to Sicily appear in tales that describe the gods battling with giants, wandering heroes, and monstrous beasts from a far away land. The Gigantomachy is an important battle in early Greek mythology, one that highlights the victory and superiority of the Olympian gods over the barbaric creatures that wish to usurp them. It is also a story that has direct ties to the island of Sicily. During the battle, Apollodorus writes that the goddess Athena

"hurled the island of Sicily on [the giant] Encelados as he fled."[4] Sicily also plays another critical role in this tale, as it becomes the site of the eventual end of the conflict. The monster Typhon was released by Gaia once the Giants had been defeated. The creature is described as being half human and half beast, and he is said to have "launched an attack against heaven itself, hurling flaming rocks at it, hissing and screaming all at once."[5] After a long struggle, Zeus forces the monster under a mountain on Sicily, to be trapped there for all time:

> When [Typhon] set out to flee across the Sicilian sea, Zeus hurled Mount Etna at him, which lies in Sicily. This is a mountain of enormous size, and there rise up from it, even to this day, eruptions of fire.[6]

This tale provides an aetiological myth that explains the beginning of an important geographical feature of the island of Sicily. Since for the Greeks there is no clear distinction between history and myth, this legend includes the island of Sicily early on within the framework of the historic record. There are many examples that illustrate that the Greeks were aware of the island from the earliest times, and the marginalized role Sicily played in the Greek worldview is projected back to the earliest mythological events.

Another deity, Herakles, is believed to have travelled through Sicily and even to have founded a city on the island. After finishing his tenth labour and obtaining the cattle

[4] Apollodorus. *The Library of Greek Mythology*. 1.6.2. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἐγκελάδῳ φεύγοντι Σικελίαν ἐπέρριψε τὴν νῆσον. Trans. Robin Hard (1997).
[5] Apollodorus. 1.6.3. τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Τυφὼν καὶ τηλικοῦτος ἡμμένας βάλλων πέτρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ συριγμῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐφέρετο: πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασσε ζάλην.
[6] Apollodorus. 1.6.3. φεύγειν δὲ ὁρμηθέντι αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Σικελικῆς θαλάσσης Ζεὺς ἐπέρριψεν Αἴτνην ὄρος ἐν Σικελίᾳ: τοῦτο δὲ ὑπερμέγεθές ἐστιν, ἐξ οὗ μέχρι δεῦρό φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν βληθέντων κεραυνῶν γίνεσθαι πυρὸς ἀναφυσήματα. This myth also found recorded in the works of several other ancient authors, including Hesiod' *Theogony* (820 ff), Pindar's *Pythian Ode 1* (13-20), and Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (3.302-305).

of Geryon, one of the bulls broke free and swam to Sicily.[7] Herakles pursued the animal to the land of Eryx, a king of Sicily. The king demanded that Herakles fight him for the return of the bull. As the wrestling match ensued, Herakles triumphantly defeated Eryx, resulting in the king's death.[8] Herodotus also discusses this myth and suggests that Herakles' victory in the fight gave him claim to the land of Eryx. The ancient historian mentions that Cleomenes, a Spartan king in the late Archaic age, was:

> ...advised by a certain Antichares of Eleon, on the strength of the oracles given to Laius [mythical king of Thebes], to found the city of Heracles in Sicily; for, according to this person, all the country of Eryx in Western Sicily belonged to the Heraclids, as Heracles himself was its original conqueror.[9]

The divine command of the oracle of Apollo is described as giving any member of the Heraklids authority over this particular area of Sicily. The previous actions of Herakles make it appear that the Greeks colonists are not taking land that does not belong to them, but are re-claiming land that their ancestors had rightfully won. This theme appears in several myths and was an important part of legitimizing the claims the Greeks made on Sicily.[10]

Herodotus recounts another myth which is set in Sicily, that of the inventor Daedalus. After being imprisoned in Crete, Daedalus is believed to have crafted a pair of

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[7] Apollodorus 2.5.10, Tale also recorded in Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History* (4.22.6 ff), and Pausanius' *Description of Greece* (3.16.4)

[8] Apollodorus 2.5.10

[9] Herodotus 5.43.1. ἐνθαῦτα δέ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἔρυκος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. Diodorus, 4.23.3, also states that Hercules demanded that the natives give the land back if his descendents should come to Sicily. This descendent was Dorieus.

[10] Other Greek heroes also are recorded as founding cities in the West. Often these cities were re-established by city founders during Archaic colonization. Philoctetes is believed to set up a city near what would later become the colony of Croton (Apollodorus Epit.6.15). Nestor, the mythical king of Pylos, also established a city in Italy during his wanderings after the Trojan War. Strabo mentions that the city of Metapontium was founded by Nestor and his men (Strabo 6.1.15).

wings so that he might escape. He lands in Western Sicily, and is pursued by Minos, the king of Crete. Diodorus states that Daedalus was welcomed by a king in Sicily, Kokalos.[11] Daedalus is described as having stayed in Sicily for a long period of time, befriending Kokalos and becoming famous for his artistic skill.[12] Daedalus even established a city on the land that would later become the Greek colony Akragas.[13] King Minos, after learning of this, sailed to Sicily to find Daedalus.[14] When he arrived there he met with Kokalos, the Sicilian king:

> [K]ocalus invited Minos to a conference, and after promising to meet all his demands he brought him to his home as his guest. And when Minos was bathing [K]ocalus kept him too long in the hot water and thus slew him; the body he gave back to the Cretans, explaining his death on the ground that he had slipped in the bath and by falling into the hot water had met his end.[15]

This myth portrays the Greek Daedalus as an individual who brought his great skills to the West, and portrays Minos as a victim of the cruelty of a Sicilian leader. This tale suggests a distrust that the Greeks felt toward foreign populations and the people of Sicily; this suspicion extended to the inhabitants of the Greek colonies on the island.

In Homer's *Odyssey*, the hero Odysseus reaches Sicily on a few different occasions, each one proving to be a frightening experience. Odysseus' encounters with Polyphemus, a Cyclops, and with the Laestrygonians, a tribe of cannibals, occur on Sicilian soil. Polyphemus ends up trapping and killing several of Odysseus' men before

[11] The kingdom of Kokalos had its seat at Kamikos, which is most often identified with San Angelo Muxaro, located above Akragas (Fischer-Hansen 2002, 134).
[12] See Diodorus 4.78.1.
[13] See Diodorus 4.78.2. Diodorus specifically states that this city was built on the bank of the Kamikos river on the territory that presently belongs to Akragas.
[14] See Herodotus. 7.170.1.
[15] Diodorus. 4.79.2-3. ὁ δὲ Κώκαλος εἰς σύλλογον προκαλεσάμενος καὶ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ ξένια παρέλαβε τὸν Μίνω. λουμένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ, Κώκαλος μὲν παρακατασχὼν πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῷ θερμῷ τὸν Μίνωα διέφθειρε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Κρησί, πρόφασιν ἐνεγκὼν τοῦ θανάτου διότι κατὰ τὸν λουτρῶνα ὠλίσθηκε καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐτελεύτησε. Trans. C.H. Oldfather (1961).

they escape.[16] The Laestrygonians, like the Cyclopes, are described as huge monsters: "not like men, but like the Giants![17] At this point also, Odysseus loses men, this time as a result of the Laestrygonians devouring them. Nowhere in the *Odyssey* is Sicily mentioned by name, but other sources help confirm the connection.[18] Thucydides relates that when the Greeks first inhabited Sicily, they found several groups of natives there, including the two groups discussed above:

> It is said that the earliest inhabitants of any part of the country were the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians. I cannot say what kind of people these were or where they came from or where they went in the end...The next settlers after them seem to have been the Sicanians, though according to the Sicanians themselves they were there first and were the original inhabitants of the country. The truth is, however, that they were Iberians who were driven out by the Ligurians from the district of the river Sicanus in Iberia. The island, which used to be called Trinacria, was in their time called Sicania after them, and they still live up to the present time in the western part of Sicily.[19]

In Ovid's account of Achaemenides, one of Odysseus' men who was left behind on the island and is later rescued by the Trojan hero Aeneas, the abandoned man implies that the

[16] Homer. *Odyssey*. Book 9. The conflict with Polyphemus occurs in this book, although the creatures are mentioned earlier in the epic in Book 6. The Phaeacian people who welcome Odysseus after he is washed up on their shore, have ancestors who were forced from their original home by the violent Cyclopes. There is no mention, however, in Book 6, nor in Book 9 of the Phaeacians or the Cylcopes being from Sicily.
[17] Homer. *Odyssey*. 10.120. οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν. Trans. A.T. Murray (2002).
[18] The island of the Cyclopes is mentioned in Homer's *Odyssey* as a place called Hypereia, but it is not known if this indeed was another name for Sicily (6.4). An ancient city for the Laestrygonians has not been suggested in any scholarship or ancient text, although the territory of Leontini has been suggested.
[19] Thucydides 6.2.1-2. ᾠκίσθη δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ τοσάδε ἔθνη ἔσχε τὰ ξύμπαντα. παλαίτατοι μὲν λέγονται ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες οἰκῆσαι, ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε γένος ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὁπόθεν ἐσῆλθον ἢ ὅποι ἀπεχώρησαν... Σικανοὶ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι φαίνονται ἐνοικισάμενοι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοί φασι, καὶ πρότεροι διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι, ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται, Ἴβηρες ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικανοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ὑπὸ Λιγύων ἀναστάντες. καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν Σικανία τότε ἡ νῆσος ἐκαλεῖτο, πρότερον Τρινακρία καλουμένη: οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τὴν Σικελίαν. Trans. Rex Warner (1972).

location of the Cyclopes episode was Sicily. Achaemenides mentions the island's famous volcano in his tale: "the Cyclops stumbled over Mount Etna groaning."[20]

The 'othering' or 'primitivizing' of pre-colonial Sicily by the rest of Greece is further highlighted in Homer's epic poem. Odysseus' father, Laeretes, is described as having an old Sicilian maid.[21] In Book 22, Telemachus, Odysseus' son, invites his father to a banquet with Penelope's suitors. Odysseus is disguised as a beggar, so that he may go unnoticed, but this results in him being abused and insulted by the suitors. They look down on Odysseus, dressed in his rags, and implore Telemachus to get rid of the man, with one stating: "[l]et us throw these strangers on board a benched ship and send them to the Sicilians."[22] Sicily was likely a source of slaves in the early archaic period. Thus art appears to be imitating life in the *Odyssey*.[23] Homer appears to be, "projecting contemporary ($8^{th} – 7^{th}$ century BC) information back into the heroic past."[24] The fact that the only references of Sicily in the poem are of it being an island full of barbaric monsters and slaves demonstrates that Sicily was viewed as a wild and inferior location compared to the mainland.

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[20] Ovid 14.187-189. ille quidem totam gemebundus obambulat Aetnam. Trans. David Raeburn (2004). This story is also told in Virgil's *Aeneid*. 3.570-575. Again, a terrifying picture of Sicily is presented, one that appears to have survived from the time of Homer to Virgil.

[21] Homer. *Odyssey*. 24.211-212, 24.365-67.

[22] Homer. *Odyssey*. 20. 382-83. τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νηὶ πολυκληῖδι βαλόντες ἐς Σικελοὺς πέμψωμεν. Trans. A.T. Murray (2004).

[23] Leighton 1999, 186. Leighton discusses how Laertes' maid and the episode between the suitors and Telemachus "[imply] that Sicily was also a place where slaves were kept" (186).

[24] Leighton 1999, 186. This is only a reflection of an Archaic age practice, but also the Homeric age, as Leighton states that Linear B tablets attest to slaves being bought to Greece from "lands on the edge of the Mycenaean world" (186). For the slave trade in Sicily see De Angelis 2010, 21-53. It is noteworthy that Gelon profited during his rule by selling the poorer section of Syracuse's population into slavery, continuing the tradition of Sicily being a source of slaves for the rest of the Greek world (see chapter 2, 41). Andrewes 1974, 131-32, states that they were specifically sold outside of Sicily.

It is not surprising that some of Odysseus' wanderings would take place in Sicily, as Homer's epics were written in the Archaic age, during the first great wave of Western colonization. Just as Odysseus and other heroes had to face living in a strange new world, so did the Greeks as they expanded their territory westward. This suggests that the colonization parties in the 8th century BC, while embarking on foreign territory, were not travelling to a place that was completely unknown in the Greek mind. These various myths share a common element, as they all describe the island of Sicily to be somewhat of a ferocious place that Greek forces, whether gods, heroes, or colonists, are responsible for taming. This was a tactic that allowed Greeks to show that their coming to Sicily had a positive effect on the island, overlooking the fact that they were taking away land that was already inhabited. For the Greeks, the actions of colonization, even those that were violent in nature, were all a means "...to transform wildness and lack of cultivation into a state of fruitful civilization."[25] In this way, the myths fit into the broader trends of expansion that Greek culture was experiencing in the 8th century B.C.

The myth that creates the tightest bond between the two lands is the tale of the nymph Arethusa and the river god Alpheus. This story receives its most well known treatment in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Alpheus falls in love with the nymph Arethusa and pursues her. She begs the god Artemis for aid, and is turned into water and becomes a spring that resides in Ortygia.[26] In Ovid's tale, Arethusa recounts her plight:

> I changed into water. But now the river-god saw that the stream was the nymph that he loved. He dropped the human guise he'd assumed and reverted to water in order to be united with me. Diana quickly created a cleft in the earth, and I

[25] Dougherty 1993, 9.
[26] Ortygia was a small island off the coast of Syracuse. It is separated from Sicily by only a small channel.

> plunged down through its murky recesses until I arrived at Ortygia, isle that I love, called after my patron Diana and first to welcome me back to the upper air in Syracuse harbour.[27]

The Arethusa spring in Sicily therefore had its origin on the mainland of Greece in the Peloponnese, as Arethusa was originally from there. The waters of this spring also are mingled with the waters of the Alpheus River, which flows from the mainland. It was believed that there was "a natural subterraneous communication between the river Alpheius and the well Arethusa [in Sicily]."[28] This myth becomes a link between Greece and Sicily long before the ships landed on the island in the Archaic age. This tale can also be seen as a metaphor for the process of colonization which was carried out by the Greeks in the 8th and 7th centuries BC in Sicily. Arethusa was a nymph who made Sicily her new home, so that she could escape a crisis; yet, there is still a connection with the mainland by means of Alpheus' waters. Colonization, similarly, involved groups of mainland Greeks setting up new cities in Sicily, often to avert or solve some conflict on the mainland. Through cultural and religious rites, there were constant ties to the mother-colony on the mainland. The metamorphosis of Arethusa is granted and overseen by the goddess Artemis, just as the Archaic colonization expeditions were initiated and guarded by Apollo. This story suggests that an important spring in Sicily had its start on the

[27] Ovid 5.636-41. In latices mutor. sed enim cognoscit amatas amnis aquas positoque viri, quod sumpserat, ore vertitur in proprias, et se mihi misceat, undas. Delia rupit humum, caecisque ego mersa cavernis advehor Ortygiam, quae me cognomine divae grata meae superas eduxit prima sub auras. Trans. David Raeburn (2004). This tale is also recounted by Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (5.7.2-3). His story differs somewhat, saying that Alpheus was a hunter pursuing a huntress Arethusa, but the end result is the same – Alpheus became a river whose waters mixed with Arethusa who became a spring in Sicily.

[28] Schmitz 1873, 133. This historian Strabo (6.2.4) records evidence of this: "a certain cup, they think, was thrown out into the river at Olympia and was discharged into the fountain; and again, the fountain was discoloured as the result of the sacrifices of oxen at Olympia." καὶ γὰρ φιάλην τινὰ ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνόμισαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δεῦρο ἀνενεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν κρήνην, καὶ θολοῦσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βουθυσιῶν. Trans. Horace Leonard Jones (2001).

mainland. This uses a myth to put across the point that the mainland of Greece had a claim to the island and held some superior position over it since mythical times

Sicily provided a backdrop to myths, a backdrop that contained a strange land, monsters (Cyclopes), the sites of battles (Zeus and Typhos), and individuals who were cruel, barbaric, and who used violence and deceit to get what they wanted (King Eryx in the Herakles myth and King Kokalos in the Daedalus myth). The inhabitants of Sicily in myth are non-Hellenized people who create obstacles that must be overcome by Greeks. This "mythological mapping" provided the rationalization that the Greeks had a previous claim to control this land, one that was explored by their ancestors and marked out by Apollo as the site of future Greek cities.[29] This method of using myth to justify actions was used by Greeks setting up colonies in the 8th and 7th century BC. It was also effectively adopted by tyrants in the 5th century BC who wished to legitimize their rule and expand their empire.

The tyrant Phalaris of Akragas, active in the 6th century BC, is the hinge that connects the myths related to Sicily with the island's actual history. Phalaris is recorded by Aristotle as having held a high position in the colony which he then used to raise himself to the role of tyrant.[30] Aristotle also claims that Phalaris held the position of στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα in Himera (which Akragas had control of at the time), which suggests he had absolute power over the people.[31] Polyaenus reports that Phalaris was put in charge of building a temple for Zeus at Akragas and used this role, with the help of

[29] See Antonaccio 2001, 122-24.
[30] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.4. On Phalaris, now see Adornato 2012.
[31] Aristotle. *Rhetoric*. 2.20.5.

labours, to take control of the colony.[32] His ambitions were realized, but he soon lost his power and his life: he was burned alive in the bronze bull he had built to torture others.[33] This tale appears to provide evidence that the myths which painted a barbaric picture of Sicily were based on fact, but the attitude of the mainland and their reasons for colonizing the West in the first place may have influenced this behaviour.

1.3 A Historical Account of Archaic Colonization

The end of the Dark Ages (approx. 1200 – 750 BC) initiated an important new beginning in the Greek world, one which brought with it increased trade, new territories, and advancements in art, literature, architecture, politics, and warfare. Despite being a significant event, very few ancient texts recorded the colonization process of the Greeks in Sicily. The most useful account that survives is found in Book 6 of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (see Table 1.1).[34] Thucydides records the names of colonies, the year each colony was founded, the name of the *oikistes* (city founder), and any details that survive about the foundation of a colony, such as if there were any failed attempts before the city was finally established (i.e. Megara Hyblaea) and if the indigenous Sikels had to be expelled from the area (i.e. Leontini and Syracuse). No reason is given by Thucydides as to why certain Greeks left the mainland to establish new cities in the West. Several ancient authors and myths refer to this subject and suggest it was with great reluctance and at the urging of the gods that individuals left their homes.

[32] Polyaenus. *Stratagems*. 5.1.1
[33] For the bull myth see Cicero. *In Verrem*. 4.73, Diodorus 13.90.4, Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 95, and Polybius 12.25.
[34] Diodorus and Eusebius also cover this subject but not as in depth as Thucydides.

1.4 The Greeks in Sicily during the 8th and 7th Centuries: Reasons for Colonization

There is evidence for trade contact between the Greeks and the indigenous population in the Bronze Age. Crete and Mycenae interacted with the south of Sicily from about 1600 BC.[35] It is not until the start of the Archaic age that Greeks made the decision to expand their territory and establish cities in the West. The reason for the establishment of Greek foundations has been a subject of debate, but regardless of why they decided to expand, it is not surprising that they would pick a location like Sicily. The island of Sicily is described as being "easily accessible by sea on all sides."[36] Its location "occupies a central and crucial position in the Mediterranean world; it is an island at the heart of the many cross-currents of trade, people and ideology."[37] The island also boasts "a variegated and fertile terrain." [38] This landscape is well suited for the plentiful growth of many agricultural products, such as olives, fruits, wheat, and grapes.[39] The vast hills of Sicily also "offered ample possibilities for the pasturage of sheep and goats."[40] Another advantage was that the climate of Sicily was similar to what the Greeks were used to on the mainland.[41] Sicily offered to the Greeks the possibility of gaining new land, spreading Hellenic culture, and gaining important trade routes with

[35] Boardman 1980, 164. Woodhead 1962, 21, states that "[a] cup found at Monte Sallia near Comiso [a city in Sicily] has been recognized as an import of the Middle Helladic period, as has a bone sword-pommel from another tomb at the same site, and these provide evidence of contact between Greece and Sicily at least as early as the first part of the sixteenth century.
[36] Finley 1979, 3.
[37] Smith 2000, 3.
[38] Finley 1979, 3.
[39] Finley 1979, 4-5.
[40] Woodhead 1962, 43.
[41] Woodhead 1962, 43.

other areas of the known world. Such a territory would provide an ideal setting for refuge or for the site of a new city.[42]

Historical, literary, and archaeological accounts present different explanations for why the Greeks of the mainland decided to create an extension of their world in the West. Stories of colonization from the ancient world often begin with a crisis; yet, even the nature of what type of crisis colonization solved is under debate.[43] Dougherty states that the Greeks portray themselves to be "unwilling colonists, driven from home by a myriad of catastrophic disasters."[44] The problems could be those of a whole city (such as overpopulation, lack of resources, complications due to drought, and civil strife), or could be of a private nature (such as an individual being forced to leave his home after committing a murder or one who wishes to escape a family conflict).[45] Many of the myths that surround colonization adhere to this pattern, making the establishment of colonies in Sicily appear to be a last desperate attempt at solving a problem on the mainland. An example of this is seen with the foundation myth of the colony of Syracuse. Syracuse's city founder, Archias, was forced to leave his home in Corinth after his participation in the murder of a young boy, Actaeon:

> Not long afterwards the city was afflicted by drought and pestilence, and when the Corinthians consulted the oracle concerning relief, the god replied that the wrath of Poseidon would not relax until they inflicted punishment for the death of Actaeon. Archias knew of this, for he was himself one of those sent to consult the oracle, and voluntarily refrained from returning to Corinth. Instead he sailed to

[42] Finley 1979, 5: It is not surprising that the region was for "so many centuries a magnet drawing migrants and invaders to itself."
[43] See Dougherty 1993, 16-18.
[44] Dougherty 1993, 16.
[45] Dougherty 1993, 16-17. Dougherty lists possible family crises, such as disagreements over the distribution of family wealth and power, as well as siblings competing for the throne.

Sicily and founded Syracuse[46]

This provides examples of the two major themes that appear in narratives regarding colonization in the West: a crisis on the mainland which needs to be solved and the intervention of Apollo, whose oracle initiatiated the colonization expeditions in the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Other accounts of colonization, however, are different. In Thucydides' record of the establishment of the colonies in Sicily, he does not mention any stories about conflicts on the mainland, whether public or private in nature. Thucydides' version is short and concise and does not include any of the dramatic storylines that appear elsewhere in colonization narratives. In the case of Syracuse, Thucydides mentions that Archias was the *oikistes* of the colony, but makes no mention of the murder of Actaeon or the oracle that sent him across the sea away from his home:

> Syracuse was founded in the following year [after Naxos in 734/33 BC] by Archias, one of the Heraclids from Corinth. First he drove out the Sicels from 'the island' where the inner city now is – though it is no longer surrounded by water. Later the outer city also was taken inside the walls and the place became very populous. [47]

These literary accounts conflict with one another and also fail to discuss an important factor that scholars believe was a major impetus behind colonization, requiring us to investigate further.[48] A survey of the locations chosen by the Greeks for their new

[46] Plutarch. *Morelia*. 773B. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος, ἕως ἂν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν. ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας, αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρὸς ἦν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον ἑκὼν οὐκ ἐπανῆλθε, πλεύσας δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἔκτισε. Trans. H. N. Fowler (1969).
[47] Thucydides. 6.3.2. Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε, Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένῃ ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν: ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ ἔξω προστειχισθεῖσα πολυάνθρωπος ἐγένετο.
[48] Dougherty 1993, 16; Boardman 1980, 162.

colonies in Sicily sheds light on their reasoning for establishing colonies. The process of selecting land for the colonies was not a matter of taking whatever free land was available. Specific factors were looked for, and the fact that a plot of land was already inhabited was an obstacle that could be dealt with, not one that had to be avoided. Good harbours were sought, as was cultivatable soil and the site had to provide a good position of defence.[49] These factors suggest that the reason for establishing a colony was economic in nature.

Economic opportunities in Sicily, however, were not likely to be an advantage to the mother-colony, as trade was a "private enterprise" and "[t]rading profit to a government involved only the volume of traffic entering and leaving the city's own harbour and the amount of goods...sold in its own market."[50] Besides religious and cultural links, colonies were independent and had very little connection or contact with their mother-colony.[51] Neither the 'crisis management' stories offered in myth, nor a desire on the part of the mother-colonies for economic profit appears to be a sufficient enough explanation for colonization.

There was a crisis at home that needed to be dealt with, just as the mythical narratives suggest, but it was not related to the sensational stories of love and death that have been recorded by poets. At this time there was a great need for land: "In a few generations of settled existence the pressure of an expanding population on its resources could become uncomfortable...it is not surprising that a demand for more land should

[49] Boardman 1980, 162.
[50] Woodhead 1962, 33.
[51] McMullin 2004, 6.

have made itself felt."[52] A growing population caused a strain on many resources, but it was how it affected inheritances that may have been the major catalyst: "Subdivision of family plots among many sons reduced the third or fourth generation to a dangerously low level of subsistence."[53] It was this desire for land, also mixed with the dissatisfaction of aristocrats who began to feel trapped by the emerging city-state, which appears to have propelled individuals to find a new home overseas.[54] Colonization was a venture initiated by "motivated and mobile individuals," who wanted to seek economic advantages for themselves, not for their country, as well as a refuge where they could focus on their individual goals.[55] This is why it was important to not simply set up a trading post but to create a new Greek city, one that was like their original home, but was not undergoing the political changes seen on the mainland. This theory is also aided by the fact that the *oikistai* (city founders) are believed to have been aristocrats, as only wealthy individuals would have the power and money to lead expeditions.[56] Colonization was motivated by economic forces, but not for the benefit of a whole city, just for a handful of individuals who sought to increase their own wealth. The strong aristocratic tradition that was present in the foundation and early history of the colonies established the custom of

[52] Woodhead 1962, 31.
[53] Woodhead 1962, 31.
[54] Holloway 1991, 48. This period saw the old order of "ancient privileges" for aristocrats and "inherited authority" being attacked.
[55] See McMullin 2004, 7; Osborn 1998, 256-9; Holloway 1991, 48. He states that: "[o]ne must not assume that the *oikist[es]* of a colony was carrying out the policy of his homeland in a calculated venture of expansion." Métraux 1978, 26-27, states that the *oikistai* of Syracuse and another colony of Corinth, Corcyra, were "perhaps sons of minor branches of the ruling aristocrats of Corinth, and it is to be expected that they would arrange for institutions in the new colony which would protect an aristocratic or oligarchical system of land-tenure benefitting their class."
[56] Holloway 1991, 48.

Western Greeks being focused on their own success, thus establishing a pattern that was later taken up by the tyrants of the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

The *oikistai* were responsible for establishing the Greek colonies in Sicily and provided an image of effective individual leadership, a form of leadership tyrants would later build on to gain the trust of the people of Sicily. The history of the *oikistai*, however, remains as mysterious and elusive as the details of colonization.

1.5 The Pattern of Colonization: The *Oikistes*

The Greek word οἰκιστής is defined simply as "a coloniser" or a "founder of a city," but their role was very complex, challenging, and vital for the successful establishment of a city far from the mainland of Greece.[57] The *oikistes* was an essential part of the colonization process, and his legacy continued to impact his colony after his death; yet, little information is known about this important individual.

The *oikistes*' role began as soon as the oracle of Delphi decreed that a city must be founded. From this point the colonization party was entrusted to him. Apollo was the patron god for the colonizing expeditions of the Greeks, and, in this role, he was worshiped as Apollo Archegetes. Individuals would travel to the god's oracle at Delphi "to seek the official sanction of Delphic Apollo" before founding a city.[58] Often future *oikistai* came to ask the oracle a question that had nothing to do with founding a city, only to find themselves suddenly marked out for leading an overseas expedition. The term "the surprised oikist" has been created in reaction to this common theme which appears in

[57] "οἰκιστής" (1889) *Liddell and Scott's*... 546.
[58] Dougherty 1993, 18.

colonization narratives.[59] The *oikistes* was characterized as someone who had special abilities and knowledge, and therefore could be trusted by the rest of the expedition. Apollo would never provide an *oikistes* with specific directions; usually he was only told the country where the colony should be located. The oracle's message, as transmitted through the priestess of Apollo, would be in the form of riddles and "punning language" which the *oikistes* was responsible for decoding.[60]

Once at the location of the new site, the *oikistes* took on a new set of duties. The expedition had been brought safely to Sicily, and now a city needed to be built for the colonists. Literary sources which refer to the duties of the *oikistai* agree on several important responsibilities entrusted to a city founder, responsibilities that affected every aspect of the new city. The best surviving account of an *oikistes'* duties is found in Homer's *Odyssey*, which recounts the foundation myth of the city of the Phaeacians:

> These dwelt of old in spacious Hypereia near the Cyclopes, men overweening in pride who plundered them continually and were mightier than they. From there Nausithous, the godlike, had removed them, and led and settled them in Scheria far from bread-eating mankind. About the city he had drawn a wall, he had built houses and made temples for the gods, and divided the plowlands.[61]

This last duty was critical for several reasons. New colonists needed land to grow crops for their survival and their livelihood. A guaranteed plot of land was also an incentive for individuals from the mainland to start a new life in the colonies. The colonies were also often populated with inhabitants from different areas of Greece, who were forced to live

[59] Dougherty 1993, 18.
[60] Dougherty 1993, 20. For examples see Dougherty 1993, 45-60.
[61] Homer. *Odyssey*. 6.4-10. οἳ πρὶν μέν ποτ᾽ ἔναιον ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ὑπερείῃ,/ ἀγχοῦ Κυκλώπων ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων,/ οἵ σφεας σινέσκοντο, βίηφι δὲ φέρτεροι ἦσαν./ ἔνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγε Ναυσίθοος θεοειδής,/ εἷσεν δὲ Σχερίῃ, ἑκὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων,/ ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,᾽/ καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ᾽ ἀρούρας.

and work together. Ensuring that everyone was given a fair share of land would help avoid any internal strife arising in the new city. This description in the *Odyssey* also implies that the *oikistes* was involved in the laying of the stones for the walls and buildings of the city, including homes, public institutions, and temples.

In addition to constructing the temples where the gods would be worshiped, the *oikistes* played an important role in establishing the religious rites of the new colony. This is the aspect of the city's culture that had the most direct connection with the mother-colony on the mainland. Before setting out on the expedition, the *oikistes* was responsible for collecting and transferring fire from the hearth of the mother-colony to the hearth of the new colony. This created an important link with the goddess of the hearth, Hestia, who is a protector of "domestic happiness and blessings."[62] Since a city was considered to be "an extended family," the connection with Hestia, through the symbolism of the fire, ensured the peace and prosperity of the newly established city.[63] The *oikistes*' greatest responsibility when it came to the religious practices of the colony, however, occurred after his death. It was at this time that "the oikist[es] was heroized, and his tomb became the cent[re] of an official cult."[64] It appears the *oikistes*' cult had no particular form, but followed the pattern of Greek hero cults which were associated with the remains of Bronze Age heroes such as Agamemnon, or mythical rulers such as Theseus, the legendary King of Athens.[65] Such remains could not exist in Sicily because the Greeks did not have long-established cities there: "...in the new land of the colonies,

[62] Schmitz 1873, 444.
[63] Schmitz 1873, 445. See also Malkin 1987, 114-134.
[64] Holloway 1991, 47.
[65] See Antonaccio 1995, 145-197.

ancestral tombs were not to be found."[66] The *oikistes* was an important figure, bestowed with the divine approval of Apollo, who could fill this void. Hero cult was based on the concept that the bones of an important individual could have some "power ascribed to them after death," and that if they were appeased, they could be "granters of success in various undertakings... [They] were thought to exercise an influence, for better or worse, on present events."[67] The individual honoured by the cult usually received honours including, "sacrifice, shrines and votive dedications, prayer and invocation, and commemoration in poetry and athletic competition."[68] Ancient texts state that the bones of the city founder resided in the centre of the agora, establishing a focal point for the colony, as well as providing ancient remains that a populace could equate with the bones of legendary heroes.[69]

The two major events in the life of an *oikistes* were the initial foundation of the city, which he orchestrated, and his death, when he became the city's protector through his hero cult; yet it must be remembered that the *oikistes* never was allowed to shed his role between these two events, and he lived out the remainder of his life as the ruler of the new site. The *oikistes* could be seen as holding a type of absolute authority in the new colony.[70] This power has even been deemed to be "monarchical."[71] The influence the *oikistes* had "in religious, constitutional and practical matters was extensive."[72] The

[66] Antonaccio 1995, 268.
[67] Antonaccio 1995, 1.
[68] Antonaccio 1995, 1.
[69] See Homer. *Iliad*. 10.414-415; Catullus. 7.6; Pindar. *Pythian Ode 5*. 92-99; Scholion of Pindar. *Ol*, 1, 149-93. For more see Malkin 1987, 189-203.
[70] See Malkin 1987, 89
[71] de Polignac 1995, 132
[72] Métraux 1978, 19.

oikistes was involved in all aspects of the colony, and "[his] powers were broad enough to have included social legislation in the private sector as well as jurisdiction over the public."[73] He was a "lawgiver," entrusted with "[setting] up the foundations of the new social order."[74] The *oikistes* was not just the first ruler of the city, but was its architect, builder, and organizer. [75] An *oikistes* also acted as a military leader. Any conflict whether external or internal was his responsibility. This included subduing revolts by the native populations or any quarrels within the city, as well as battling against foreign invaders.[76]

The *oikistes* was responsible for establishing the boundaries of the city, designating public and private space, supervising construction projects, establishing religious rites and sanctuaries, and the distribution of land. He held supreme power, but because of the benefits he bestowed on the colony and its people, the inhabitants would have little reason to take up the task of running the city themselves. This created a significant legacy in the history of Sicily, one that had a long-lasting impact on the island. Total control was in the hands of the city founder, and this type of leadership mirrors the prevalence of tyranny seen in Sicily in later centuries.

1.6 Tyranny in the Greek World

Tyrants were found in many areas of the Greek world at many different time periods; yet, the definition of what it meant to be a 'tyrant' in the Greek world varied according to time and place. Several misconceptions have developed regarding tyranny in the Greek world, including the idea that all tyrants were harmful to the cities they

[73] Métraux 1978, 25.
[74] Malkin 1987, 5.
[75] Dougherty 1993, 22.
[76] Métraux 1978, 25.

ruled, that most tyrannies disappeared at the end of the Archaic age, and that tyranny was a transitional phase between monarchy and a developed form of government, such as a democracy. Lands that were ruled by tyrants have been seen as being caught between the old aristocratic world and the new age of the rising *demos*; however, this assumption does not do justice to the complexities found in the rule of many Greek cities.

Several ancient authors discuss the concept of tyranny. The earliest surviving example of the term is found in a fragment of the poetry of Archilochus, in which he mentions that he is not envious of Gyges, who took control of Lydia by killing its king, and that he has no desire to be a tyrant himself.[77] "Tyranny" may then mean usurper, but it may be an alternative for the word "king." There seems to be some interchangeability between the words *tyrannos* (tyrant), *basileus* (king), and even *strategos* (general), as tyrants were often military leaders and some were also kings.[78] This issue is related to the study of the Deinomenids because even though they were tyrants, they were often referred to as being kings or lords of Sicily in ancient texts, such as the odes of Pindar or the historical accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus.[79] They also commanded great armies and led their soldiers into battle. The confusion over the true definition of each of these words may be because they were synonyms of each other. It may also be a result of the

[77] Archilochus fr. 19.
[78] For the use of these terms in regards to Sicily, see Oost 1976, 224-236.
[79] In terms of the Deinomenids: Pindar refers to Hieron as a king in his *3st Pythian Ode*, line 70, Herodotus records Gelon being addressed as "Lord of Sicily" by ambassadors from the Greek mainland (7.157.2), and Diodorus Siculus refers to Gelon as being proclaimed king by the people of Syracuse (11.26.6) and as being "king" for seven years (11.38.7). Oost 1976, 228, notes that Pindar's use of the word "king" in relation to Hieron is most likely "mere courtesy or flattery" since the poet was highered by the family. This may have started a tradition that was incorrectly adopted by Diodorus and Herodotus.

term *tyrannos* carrying a negative connotation at certain points in Greek history, when other titles may have been used to help alleviate that stigma.

Archilochus suggests that being a tyrant was an undesirable position, despite offering great power and wealth. This echoes the sentiments of Solon, who was appointed in 594 BC as the *archon eponymous* (lawgiver of Athens) and stated in his writings that he had no desire to use this advantageous position as a means of gaining more power within the city.[80] Aristotle records that Solon believed that if anyone else had taken the position he was offered, that man would have abused it for his own advantage: "he [would have] churned and robbed the milk of cream."[81] A very negative image of tyranny is presented by these authors: a tyrant does not care about the plight of his city and its people, and he has an unquenchable thirst for power and greed.

Many tyrants in Greek history were cruel, violent, and power hungry (including the Deinomenids), but the generalization that all tyrants conform to this characterization and were never benevolent is false. The concept of a tyrant as a dictator is one that has been influenced by modern thought. Often a tyrant was more like "an autocrat (and generally a usurper) who provides a strong executive," someone similar to Henry VII, who had a "powerful centralized government."[82] There are many aspects to Greek tyrants which cannot be neatly summed up in one definition. Aristotle defined a tyrant as one who "exercise[d] irresponsible rule over subjects all of the same or of a higher class with

[80] Solon fr. 32.
[81] Aristotle. *Athenian Constitution*. 12.5. εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος, ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον οὐδ᾽ ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν **ἀνταράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα**. Trans. H. Rackham (2004).
[82] Andrews 1974, 7.

a view to [his] own private interest and not in the interest of the persons ruled."[83] Unlike a king, a tyrant had no claim to the land over which he exerted his power. Aristotle felt that tyrants ruled "unconstitutionally;" yet, during the Archaic age when many tyrannies were established, very few Greek cities, "had a constitution as such for a tyrant to rule outside."[84] A single individual could be elected and given complete authority in order to aid a city, such as Solon.[85] A king who held a hereditary position was not guaranteed to be a kind ruler who always acted in the best interest of his people, such as Pheidon of Argos, who was considered by his people to be a tyrant although he was a king.[86] There are examples of tyrants who cared about the people in their city and established laws for their benefit, such as Pittacus of Mytilene who developed a law code, and Periander of Corinth who "introduced a *boule* (council), and passed laws to limit expenditure and display among the rich."[87] Tyrannies also often became hereditary, quasi-monarchical positions, such as in the case of the Deinomenids.

These conflicting ideas regarding tyrants may be due to a change in the general opinion of tyranny that occurred in the early 5th century BC. The defeat of the Persians in 480 BC brought with it the birth of the Classical age and a new outlook on leadership: "The outcome of the Persian War was interpreted as the success of the free and democratic Greeks against the autocratic and tyrannous Persian King...and consequently

[83] Aristotle. *Politics*. 4.8.3. ἥτις ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. Trans. H. Rackham (1967). Aristotle refers to three types of tyranny. The idea of an evil ruler is the third type he discusses, which he claims is the most common form of tyranny.
[84] Lewis 2009, 21-22. It is believed that only Sparta at this time had a written constitution.
[85] See chapter 1, 25.
[86] Herodotus 6.127.3. See also Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.4. Parker 2007, 16: It was believed that Pheidon of Argos "sacrilegiously depos[ed] the lawful governors of the Olympic Games and organiz[ed] the Games himself."
[87] Lewis 2009, 23.

in Athenian writing after 480, tyranny became the hated opposite of democracy."[88] The tyrannies which had been previously established and which had seemed "positive and acceptable" were now "condemned as oppressive and self-serving."[89] This event was a double detriment to the Western Greeks since the colonies were already seen as 'other' because of their distance from the mainland, and now the form of rule that was so prevalent in those colonies was being equated with the Persians who sought to destroy Greece. The expulsion of the last tyrant of Athens, Hippias, in 510 BC ushered in the new democracy. After the Persian Wars, the end of tyranny in Athens was reflected on and celebrated with a sculpture known as the Tyrannicides.[90] This created a phenomenon which Raaflaub termed the "ideologization of tyrannicide."[91] This was the age when Athens extoled the concepts of *isonomia* ("equality before the law") and *isegoria* ("equality of speech.")[92] Tyranny was a form of rule that involved a single individual holding absolute power, and there was no system in place to check this power or "to restrain him from insolence."[93] At this point in Greece, tyranny was being associated with non-Greeks.

The best description of tyranny in the ancient Greek world is one that admits that there is no one definition for it: "'Tyranny' is an umbrella term used both in antiquity and by modern scholars for a variety of types of sole rule with different origins and

[88] Lewis 2009, 11-12.
[89] Lewis 2009, 12.
[90] This sculpture depicted Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These are not the individuals who overthrew Hippias and brought an end to tyranny in Athens; they assassinated Hippiarchus in 514 BC, the brother of Hippias and the previous tyrant of Athens. Hippias was expelled in 510 BC by Cleomenes I of Sparta.
[91] Raaflaub 2003, 63.
[92] *Isonomia*: See Stewart 2008, 318; *Isegoria*: See Raaflaub 2003, 62.
[93] Andrews 1974, 26.

characteristics."[94] A tyranny could take many different forms in the ancient Greek world. The Deinomenids, for example, were responsible for aggressive actions, such as the violent transfer of entire populations. They were also, however, known to beautify their cities with elaborate construction projects and were often patrons of the arts. The Deinomenids held and wielded absolute power, but they did not simply impose their will on people. They found several ways to appease, persuade, and even convince a population to willingly give up power to them.[95]

Tyranny was known on Sicily since soon after the initial period of colonization. The earliest known tyrant in Sicily was Panaetius, who is believed to have ruled Leontini in the 7th century BC.[96] Akragas was ruled by the tyrant Phalaris in the early part of the 6th century BC. At this same time, Cleandros gained power of Gela by "over[throwing] the existing oligarchy."[97] His brother Hippocrates inherited Cleandros' position and expanded his influence over several other cities, creating the power base that the Deinomenids would eventually take over and expand in 491 BC. Theron, a member of the Emmenidae aristocratic family and a tyrant of Akragas, was active in the 5th century BC and controlled the only empire that almost matched the Deinomenids'.[98]

Scholarship in the past has implied that tyranny was "a short and regrettable stage on the road to democratic government."[99] Many sources present an 'Athenocentric view' which incorrectly implies that democracy was widespread in the Classical Greek world,

[94] Raaflaub 2003, 60.
[95] See Diodorus 11.26.4-7.
[96] See Woodhead 75, Métraux 1978, 31. See also Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.4.
[97] Woodhead 1962, 75.
[98] Woodhead 1962, 77.
[99] Lewis 2009, 3.

as "relatively few states adopted democratic constitutions, and most Greek *poleis*, at most times, were governed as oligarchies by small groups of wealthy men."[100] The distance between Sicily and the mainland appears to have caused the presumption that the colonies "were somewhat provincial and isolated, lagging behind the cultural and political trends of mainland cities like Athens."[101] Tyranny was seen as a midway point between the monarchies that were dominant in early Greek history and the new, developing democracy: "The tyrants mark a turning-point in the political development of Greece, the moment when an old order was breaking down and a new order was not yet established."[102] This, however, is not the case. Tyrannies can "be found in all periods of Greek history, from the time when aristocratic government began to break down in the early seventh century, to the closing stages of Greek resistance to Rome in the second century."[103] The idea that tyranny was limited to a certain period, or was a stepping stone to a more effective way of government is false. Tyranny even found its way back into Athens in the end of the Classical age. An oligarchic revolution in 411 BC ended the democracy at Athens for a short time. After being reinstated, it was dissolved again in 403 BC and a board of thirty individuals, referred to as "the thirty tyrants" was put in place to govern Athens.[104]

The tyrants who ruled Sicily were not an indication that Sicily was not advancing along with the rest of Greece. Ironically, the tyrants in Sicily actually advanced the idea

[100] Lewis 2009, 3.
[101] McMullin 2004, 6.
[102] Andrews 1974, 8.
[103] Andrews 1974, 7.
[104] See Hansen 1991, 40-42.

of what it meant to be a tyrant, as they were more successful at it than their counterparts in other parts of the Greek world. Thucydides states that:

> And in the Hellenic states that were governed by tyrants, the tyrant's first thought was always for himself, for his own personal safety, and for the greatness of his own family. Consequently security was the chief political principle in these governments, and no great action ever came out of them – nothing, in fact, that went beyond their immediate local interests, except for the tyrants in Sicily, who rose to great power.[105]

The Greek tyrants in Sicily appear to have a better understanding of their right to rule, or more so their lack of a right to rule. A tyrant, whether he seized control for himself, was given power through a hereditary tyranny, or had power bestowed on him by a state, could lose this position as quickly as he obtained it:

> Their power [is] dependent not on a right to rule, but on their own ability to command and retain power. Perhaps because of the insecurity of their position, tyrannical rulers also tend to have grand ambitions: they are empire-builders, colonisers, conquerors and constructors.[106]

Tyrants tried to present themselves as benefactors of their city, using their own wealth to beautify a city, keep it safe from foreign invaders, and keep their population content as a result of these things.[107] A tyrant "held no official position and bore no formal title."[108] A tyrant's end was just a revolt away, so despite the fact that they are known as leaders who took power for themselves, they were greatly dependent on their population's approval. The large aristocratic class in Sicily meant that there were many influential,

[105] Thucydides 1.17.1. τύραννοί τε ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι,τὸ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὔξειν δι᾽ ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ᾤκουν, ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις: οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.

[106] Lewis 2009, 10-11.

[107] Aristotle in his *Politics* believes that the great building programs were part of an effort to prevent a revolution from occurring by keeping people occupied and poor (5.9.4-5). Lewis 2009, 11, however, states that: "...most tyrants presided over prosperous states." It is not the purpose of this thesis to debate this theory. For more see also Kallet 2003, 117-153.

[108] Andrewes 1974, 25.

wealthy individuals present on the island who had the potential to become tyrants, as they had not only the desire for power but also the financial means to commission major works of art and architecture. Tyrants had no rightful claim to the city and had to create it in some way; there was an important sense of "visual testimony," which linked tyrants to their city through major public works.[109] A large building, which would stand in a city for centuries, represented the rule of the tyrant becoming an integral and fixed part of the city's landscape, forever tying him to it. Grand building projects, such as those of the Lygdamis on Naxos and Polykrates on Samos were parallel to those of the Deinomenids in Sicily, but the Sicilian tyrants took a further step, which likely resulted in the country possessing more successful and productive tyrannies. The Deinomenids used myths and the appropriation of local indigenous rites and cults in order to show that they were destined by the gods to take control of several cities in Sicily. In Athens, Peisistratus had a tall woman dressed as Athena ride around in a chariot proclaiming to all to welcome and honour him as tyrant; the Deinomenids sought more subtle and clever ways to legitimize their rule.[110] Tyranny was different all over Greece, but in Sicily, tyrants such as the Deinomenids presented this type of rule in a sophisticated form, using various methods to gain control and to give authority to their leadership.

The wealth of the island and the advancements made in Sicily through the Archaic and Classical age (often due to tyrants) prove that it was not a place that was slow or

[109] Kallet 2003, 126.
[110] This subject is the focus of chapter 3. For Peisistratos and Athena see Herodotus 1.60.1-61.1. See also Lewis 2009, 35; Lavelle 2005, 99-107; Connor 1987, 40-50.

resistant to change. Another explanation is needed to explain the frequency of tyrannies in Sicily. Thucydides gives a reason for the great influx of tyrants in the West:

> The old form of government was hereditary monarchy with established rights and limitations; but as Hellas became more powerful and as the importance of acquiring money became more and more evident, tyrannies were established in nearly all the cities, revenues increased, shipbuilding flourished, and ambition turned towards sea-power.[111]

Thucydides' description refers to all Greek cities in the Archaic age, not specifically to Sicily. Sicily was a land that provided great riches through agricultural growth and trade. Colonists were given an equal share of land and had an equal chance at obtaining wealth; however, in time, the influx of opportunistic individuals may have given rise to tyranny. Wealthy aristocrats were attracted to the lifestyle offered by the colonies. These were men who felt a need to be in control of their success and to excel, and as such they "[did] not know how to submit to any government, and only know how to govern in the manner of a master."[112] It is not surprising that tyrants later were rampant on the island.

An expedition to Sicily was a massive undertaking and colonists had to depend on and trust that they were being lead by someone who had the knowledge and financial means to successfully establish a new world; this paved the way for aristocrats, and then tyrants, to fill the role left empty by the *oikistes* after he died.

[111] Thucydides. 1.13.1. δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι), ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

[112] Aristotle. *Politics*. 4.9.5. οἱ δ' ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀρχήν, ἄρχειν δὲ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν. See Kallet 2003, 123.

1.7 The Prevalence of Tyranny in Sicily and its Connection with Colonization

The Deinomenids created one of the longest and most powerful tyrannies in the Greek world, but they were hardly the first individuals to create a tyranny. The Deinomenids' rule began in Gela, a city which already had been controlled by a tyrant for several years; Gelon and his brothers continued a form of rule that already had been widespread in the Greek colonies for centuries.

There are several factors which suggest that the dominance of tyranny in the West may have been a result of events surrounding the foundation of Greek colonies in the Archaic age. Greek colonies in Sicily always had a strong tradition of rule by aristocrats. Tyrants were very powerful aristocrats who used their wealth and influence to establish themselves ahead of all others and gain total control of a city. It is believed that the great age of tyrants in Sicily began in the 6th century BC, and that before this the majority of the colonies were ruled by oligarchies, which would have been made up of aristocratic males.[113] In the 5th century BC, the pattern of leadership that was fostered from the early days of the colonies continued. The extended length of time that tyrannies lasted illustrates that there was something that caused inhabitants of the colonies to want to be ruled in this way and caused them to not seek revolution. Crucial to this was the legacy of the *oikistes*.

The *oikistai* played a very important role in the foundation, organization, and administration of the Greek colonies in Sicily. *Oikistai* were individuals who had wealth,

[113] Métraux 1978, 31. Woodhead 1962, 72: The beginning of the age of the tyrants was in the 6th century BC, the same period in which the "Greek settlements had taken root and prospered." It was during this time when certain individuals had the wealth and power to try to take control of cities.

experience, and, as is highlighted in foundation tales, possessed superior knowledge and divine guidance from the gods. In the anxious situation of Greeks coming to start a new life in a strange place, the leader had to be admired, respected, and trusted by the colony's inhabitants. In the beginning, it was suitable to have a single ruler making decisions on behalf of the whole populace, so that members of the population who came from the same region would not band together and create *stasis* in the new city. Tyrants shared the positive traits associated with the *oikistai*, as they were powerful, influential, and wealthy aristocrats who had the ability to provide leadership and protect the population from internal and external threats. Being a symbol of safety is a very important characteristic seen with both the *oikistai* and the tyrants of Sicily.

The Greeks did not colonize lands that were uninhabited. Establishing new cities involved encounters with the original inhabitants of Sicily. Thucydides mentions several instances of conflict between the original settlers and the Greek settlers, and suggests that they were of a violent nature. Archias, the founder of Syracuse, had to deal with the indigenous population in order to obtain his land, as did Thucles, the founder of Naxos, when he set out to establish Leontini.[114] Tyrants often obtained power because of their ability to provide security.[115] The Deinomenids provide a concrete example of this fact. Gelon helped quell conflicts within the cities of Gela and Syracuse, which led to his ability to gain control of them, and he also successfully led a campaign that defeated the Carthaginians who had invaded Sicily in 480 BC. Hieron demonstrated his ability to defend Sicily when he waged a battle against the Etruscans in 474 BC. For the people of

[114] Archias: Thucydides 6.3.2; Thucles: Thucydides 6.3.3.
[115] See Andrews 1974, 7-8.

Sicily, bestowing absolute authority on the Deinomenids was desirable if it meant that they could rely on them to solve the problems they encountered. Just as the *oikistes* protected the expedition party from the indigenous population, tyrants knew the importance of demonstrating to the inhabitants of their cities that they would protect them from any force that sought to take their freedom away.[116]

The arrival of the Greeks left Sicily with a crisis of identity. Not only were Greeks from several mainland cities brought together, but some members of the Sikel population also were incorporated into the new colonies. The fusion of these two groups, and their respective cultures, caused many people without a common bond to live together. Their colonies had no deep-rooted history, as they only came into existence in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, and before that the Sikels occupied the land. On the mainland, there were few cities that did not "boast of once having sent an army to the Trojan War."[117] The inhabitants of the colonies in Sicily could have ancestors from their mother-colony who went to Troy, but no force from the colony would have gone. Cities such as Athens and Thebes had myths relating how their ancestors were born from the earth, and thus the citizens from those cities had a right to be on that land from the beginning. This includes the legendary Athenian king Erichthonius, who was born from the Athenian soil, and the Sparti, who were the "ancestors of the principal aristocratic families of Thebes," who were born from dragons teeth sown in Theban soil.[118] These

[116] Ironically, the population of a city gave up part of their freedom to a tyrant, in order for that tyrant to offer protection to a city and preserve a population's freedom.
[117] Loraux 2000, 13.
[118] Powell 2007, 468. The tale of Erichthonios is told in Apollodorus 3.14.5-6. Tale of the Sparti told in Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. 3.95-130.

myths helped create a "…link between the people and their land."[119] For the Greeks in Sicily, there were no autochthonous myths that tied their people to the land. The *oikistes* became a symbol of authority that a whole colony could embrace collectively. Mythological mapping connected Sicily to the distant past, but the only mytho-history the colonies possessed which was directly linked to their current city foundation were the stories related to the *oikistai*. They were deeply entrenched in the legacy of the colony, as the early history of the colonies was centred on these individuals. The history of the *oikistai* and the stories of Archaic colonization, in turn, aided tyrants in legitimizing their tyrannies and gaining trust from the people they ruled: "Greek tyrants were the first to exploit the language of city foundation."[120] Fifth century tyrants followed the actions of Archaic colonists in several ways; the fact that tyrants wanted the title of *oikistes* demonstrates that they needed to "adopt the persona of founders" in order to strengthen their rule.[121]

The Greek cities of Sicily "were almost always entrenched in a personal rule: that of the *oikist[es]* or tyrant."[122] A survey of the Western colonies recorded by Thucydides reveals that the majority of them came under the rule of tyrants at some point in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.[123] Like their ancestral predecessors, tyrants were singular, powerful figures that had the ability to protect a city and effectively rule it.

[119] Loraux 2000, 14.
[120] McGlew 1993, 182.
[121] McGlew 1993, 178.
[122] Métraux 1978, 37.
[123] A large number of the colonies eventually came under the control of the Hippiarchus, and then under the Deinomenid tyranny.

1.8 Conclusions

The fact that the Deinomenids set up a powerful tyranny is, surprisingly, not the aspect of their history that is particularly noteworthy. In many respects their position in Sicily and their accomplishments are a product of the time and place in which they lived, both of which were influenced by the original conditions of colonization in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. It was the Greeks who came before the Deinomenids that established the new sites in the West, used mythology to legitimize their claims, had the colonies created and ruled by an *oikistes* (who created a lasting powerful legacy of effective leadership by a single individual), and provided opportunities that attracted aristocrats to Sicily (causing the island to be filled with ambitious and powerful people). The Deinomenids exploited these conditions to gain power. They established one of the most successful tyrannies in Greek history and made numerous advancements in the areas of art, literature, warfare, athletics, and architecture. It is ironic that Greek myths regarding Sicily (as discussed at the beginning of this chapter) sought to show how Sicily was a strange land, the opposite of Greece and filled with un-Hellenic barbarians which Greek heroes, like Odysseus, had to valiantly overcome. Sicily was the land that created some of the greatest works of Greek art and innovative pieces of literature, produced a large number of winners of athletic contests at Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, fought in many great battles in Greek history, and bore individuals like the Deinomeninds, whose craftiness and ingenuity were worthy of Odysseus himself.

Chapter 2: A Historical Account of the Deinomenids of Sicily

2.1 Introduction

φαμὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζαλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένεος, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι
ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρᾶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
Δαμαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν,
βάρβαρα νικάσαντας ἔθνη: πολλὰν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἕλλασιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίαν.

The sons of Deinomenes, I testify, Gelon, Hieron,
Polyzalos and Thrasyboulos placed these tripods
after they had defeated the barbarian races
and helped the Hellenes to gain their freedom.[124]

A scholion of Pindar is the only source that names all four Deinomenid brothers together in succession; yet, through a survey of ancient texts and the remains of dedications and inscriptions, the reign of the Deinomenid family and their interactions with the people of Sicily and the mainland of Greece is revealed.[125] Several categories of evidence demonstrate that the family was known for their great success in battles, athletic victories, strong patronage of the arts, and complex propaganda program.

This chapter presents a comprehensive account of the Deinomeind brothers during their reign from 491-466 BC. The surviving record of the Deinomenid family not only

[124] Simonides, Scholion of Pindar, *Pythian* Ode 1, 155. Translation provided by Griffo 1968, 103.
[125] The epigram above is believed to have existed on a monument at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, in which as many as three separate bases were set up each holding a figure of *Nike* and a golden tripod. The number of tripods suggests the possibility that each member of the Deinomenid family wished to set up their own offering which together formed a larger dedication. Dunbabin 1948, 430, reconstructs that there were four bases, which would imply that each brother wished to have his own tripod and inscription. Current debate centres on there being two or three tripods. Only two tripod bases remain *in situ* at Delphi. If there were three, it is possible that Polyzalos was left without a tripod, as he is believed to have never held the position of tyrant. Adornato 2008, 35-42, discusses these two remaing tripods, but includes a reconstruction diagram with three tripods (37, Fig. 7). Kowalzig 2008, 141, states that "there is a tradition of Gelon dedicating *several* tripods on behalf of his brothers, for which Simonides supposedly produced an epigram honouring the whole set of 'children of Deinomenes.'" Luraghi 1994, 314, asserts that Gelon had some tripods (alcuni tripodi) dedicated on behalf of his brothers.

provides important details concerning the history of the Greek colonies in Sicily and the nature of Greek tyranny in the Classical age, but is also a valuable resource in uncovering the tense relationship that existed between Sicily and the rest of Greece.

2.2 Gelon

The term "Deinomenid" derives from the name of Deinomenes, the father of Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos. The patriarch of the Deinomenid family, however, is not responsible for the foundation of the Deinomenid tyranny. In the 6th century BC, Cleander, a member of the aristocratic class of Gela caused the downfall of the city's oligarchy.[126] He established the tyranny that was later handed down to his brother Hippokrates, whose "vigorous and ruthless activities made him within seven years master of all eastern Sicily."[127] Hippokrates was responsible for bringing various cities under his rule, such as Callipolis, Leontini, Naxos, and Zancle.[128] Gelon took up this already successful tyranny for himself after the death of Hippokrates and developed it, expanding the territory under his control. Cleander introduced the tyranny that the Deinomenids would later claim, while Hippokrates expanded this tyranny's sphere of influence and was a model of bold ambition which Gelon and his brothers would later follow.

The death of Hippokrates presented an opportunity for Gelon to assert his power over Gela, as he had been entrusted with the guardianship of Hippokrates' two sons, Eukleides and Kleandros, who were too young to rule at the time of their father's

[126] McMullin 2004, 16, states that the "*Gamoroi*, landed aristocrats and perhaps descendents of the original settlers, appear to have controlled the city from its foundation to the early 480's."
[127] Woodhead 1962, 75. See Herodotus 7.154.1-3 for an account of Hippokrates rule.
[128] See Woodhead 1962, 75. Gelon served under Hippocrates during these campaigns. See Herodotus 1.154.2.

death.[129] Several factors paved the way for Gelon to take the tyranny of Gela for himself. Firstly, having been a lieutenant of Hippokrates, Gelon had proven himself to be a dedicated and valiant leader and fighter. He was, we are told, more popular than Hippokrates himself; this would suggest why the inhabitants of Gela would rather be ruled by him rather than by one of the sons of their previous ruler. Gelon presented himself as a figure of stability during a time of unrest in the city. Soon after the death of Hippokrates, civil war broke out and "Gelon fought a battle on behalf of his wards, defeated the rebels, and then threw over the boys and set himself up as tyrant."[130] The capture of Gela would not be the last time Gelon used internal strife to impose his command over a city.

Little is known about the first years of Gelon's tyranny.[131] The early history of Syracuse was dominated by an oligarchy comprised of its land-owning aristocratic class known as the *Gamoroi*. In 485 BC, it was this same group of men that appealed to Gelon for help. They had been overthrown and exiled by the poorer class (the *Kyllirioi*) who lead a democratic revolution within the colony. Gelon answered their plea and drove out the democracy that had been quickly set up. He did not, however, restore power to the *Gamoroi*. He instead established himself as tyrant of Syracuse. He brought in aristocratic men from the colony of Megara Hyblaea and the whole population of the city

[129] See Holloway 1991, 97; Woodhead 1962, 76; Dunbabin 1948, 410; Griffo 1968, 103.
[130] Dunbabin 1948, 410. See also Champion 2010, 33. Holloway 1991, 97, states that after their father's death "[t]he boys did not survive for long." It has been suggested that the death of the boys was orchestrated by Gelon. Griffo 1968, 103, proposes that "Gelon brazenly eliminated them and assumed full authority." Finley 1979, 51, remarks that "[Gelon] put the boys aside and took power for himself."
[131] Woodhead 1962, 76.

of Camarina.[132] By bringing in people from different areas of Sicily, Gelon reduced the chance of the population of Syracuse banding together and resisting his tyranny: "Gelon was thus in command of a metropolis where mixed origins made for few common loyalties except to himself."[133] Capturing Syracuse not only increased the territory that was under Gelon's power, but also increased his wealth, as "Syracuse was already the largest and wealthiest city in the island before Gelon's arrival."[134] Herodotus remarked that after the takeover by Gelon, Syracuse "[a]t once... shot up and budded like a young tree."[135] Gelon's wealth also increased at this time when he sold off the lower-class population of Megara Hyblaea into slavery.[136] Gelon's takeover of Syracuse is the first instance, but not the last, in the history of the Deinomenids in which a mass population migration was conducted for personal gain. In taking over the city, Gelon was able to accomplish the goal of a previous tyrant, as "[t]his coup was the fulfilment of Hippocrates' ambitions."[137] Gelon transferred the capital of his tyranny from Gela to Syracuse, setting up Hieron as the tyrant of Gela in his absence.

The other major event which occurred during Gelon's tyranny was his defeat of the Carthaginian invaders. The conflict began when Theron, the tyrant of Akragas, drove out Terillus, the ruler of Himera and an ally of Carthage, and then "unit[ed] Himera and Acragas under a single anti-Carthaginian control."[138] Hamilcar, leader of Carthaginian

[132] Both cities were Greek colonies in Sicily.
[133] Holloway 1991, 97.
[134] Andrewes 1974, 132.
[135] Herodotus 7.156.2. αἳ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ᾽ ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον.
[136] Holloway 1991, 97. See also Andrewes 1974, 131-132. Andrewes, 131, states that Camerina was "no longer needed as a Geloan outpost," and Megara Hyblaea "fought an unsuccessful war against Gelon."
[137] Woodhead 1962, 77.
[138] Woodhead 1962, 77.

forces, invaded Himera in retaliation. Gelon and Theron banded together to defeat the barbarian forces. Gelon's great leadership and bravery is highlighted by Diodorus' comment that the Carthaginian defeat was "contrary to all expectation."[139] Gelon was in possession of a massive army and led 50,000 infantry soldiers and over 5000 cavalry soldiers to Himera.[140] This victory and Gelon's desire to acquire new territory spurred on a plan to invade Carthage, but, despite his ambition, "Gelon's plans to make a descent on Africa did not get beyond paper."[141] Gelon, however, did accept a peace treaty offered by the defeated Carthaginians. In exchange, Gelon received reimbursement for the cost of his campaign, plus 2,000 talents of silver. He obtained great spoils from the battle and distributed them among his men:

> After his victory, Gelon honoured with rich gifts the horsemen who had slain Hamilcar, and bestowed decorations for valor on those others who had displayed outstanding bravery in action. The best of the booty he kept in reserve, desiring to adorn the temples of Syracuse with the spoils; of what remained, he nailed a good deal to the most notable of the Himeran shrines, and the rest, together with the prisoners, he shared out among the allies...[142]

The Carthaginians taken as slaves were also distributed. The number of men captured was so great that, as Diodorus records, Gelon "brought with him such a mass of captives

[139] Diodorus 11.24.3. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι **παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας** μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ περιπεσόντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο κατεπλάγησαν, ὥστε τὰς νύκτας ἅπαντας διαγρυπνεῖν φυλάττοντας τὴν πόλιν. Trans. Peter Green (2006).
[140] Diodorus 11.21.1. ὁ δὲ Γέλων καὶ αὐτὸς ἡτοιμακὼς ἦν τὴν δύναμιν, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱμεραίων ἀθυμίαν ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν κατὰ σπουδήν, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους.
[141] Dunbabin 1948, 412. See also Champion 2010, 33.
[142] Diodorus 11.25.1. ὁ δὲ Γέλων μετὰ τὴν νίκην τούς τε ἱππεῖς τοὺς ἀνελόντας τὸν Ἀμίλκαν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἠνδραγαθηκότας ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησε. τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ καλλιστεύοντα παρεφύλαξε, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νεὼς κοσμῆσαι τοῖς σκύλοις: τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Ἱμέρᾳ προσήλωσε τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διεμέρισε τοῖς συμμάχοις.

that it seemed as though all Libya had been taken prisoner."[143] Gelon constructed shrines to both Demeter and Kore and had the defeated Carthaginians "....build two temples, in which they had to deposit [copies of] the peace treaty."[144] Gelon made sure that Sicily's defeat of the Carthaginians was also made known to the Greeks on the mainland.

The base for a tripod, which survives at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, is identified as the remains of a dedication Gelon set up to celebrate his triumph over the Carthaginians (see Fig. 2.1). Diodorus says that with the spoils of the victory he "fashioned a golden tripod worth sixteen talents, which he set up in the sacred precinct at Delphi as a thank-offering to Apollo." [145] Next to this base is another stone that is badly damaged and has an inscription that cannot be reconstructed. It is believed that this is the base of a tripod dedication made by Hieron, which is described by Bacchylides' *3rd Ode*, and may have also been to honour his efforts in the battle against Carthage.[146] Neither base mentions the victory at Himera, but Harrell states that such a major event would not have been unknown to the wider Greek world. It is believed that a *Nike* figure was

[143] Diodorus 11.25.4. ἐπήγετο γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμάλωτον.
[144] Diodorus 11.26.2. δύο ναοὺς προσέταξεν οἰκοδομῆσαι, καθ᾽ οὓς ἔδει τὰς συνθήκας ἀνατεθῆναι.
[145] Diodorus 11.26.7. χρυσοῦν δὲ τρίποδα ποιήσας ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι χαριστήριον. Diodorus (11.26.3) also records that Gelon's wife received a great amount of gold from the defeated Carthaginians in the form of a crown of 100 gold talents, which was used to strike the Damareteion; there is no extant gold coinage of the Deinomenids that could correspond to this, however, a silver decadrachm is introduced in this time period.
[146] Bacchylides. *Ode 3*. 17-20: mentiones that there was more than one tripod in front of the temple of Apollo, which may reference Hieron's and Gelon's respective bases. Dunbabin 1948, 430, discusses that the two tripods were part of a larger monument that consisted of four tripod bases together, with each "supporting a golden *Nike* and tripod...Each base had a separate dedicatory inscription." This would suggest that each Deinomenid brother dedicated a tripod, and Dunbabin cites the epigram of Simonides (see start of this chapter) as proof of this monument. Harrell 2006, 126, agrees that the damaged base most likely belongs to Hieron, but states that this tripod was part of "the original plan of the monument, with Hieron's added later." Harrell proposes that the monument consisted of two bases with a golden *Nike* on each holding up a tripod; she also believes that Hieron's tripod was added after Gelon's was set up.

included on the monument, suggesting it dealt with a victory of some kind.[147] The size and placement of the base highlight how such a dedication would speak to the massive wealth of the Deinomenids and would "asser[t] the panhellenic importance of this Sicilian family."[148] Delphi was the site of the famous oracle of Apollo, and people from all parts of the Greek world would travel to this site and would view the tripods associated with the Deinomenids. The tripod bases are located on the Sacred Way, immediately in front of the temple of Apollo. This is a conspicuous position for the monument and would have made it highly visible to nearly all visitors.[149] At Olympia, Gelon further underlined the magnitude of his victory over the Carthaginians by constructing a treasury honouring the battle. Pausanias describes that the treasury included, "...votive offerings – a huge image of Zeus and three linen breast-plates, dedicated by Gelo and the Syracusans after overcoming the Phoenicians in either a naval or a land battle."[150]

Gelon's military prowess was known across the Greek world and was highlighted by the episode in Herodotus in which messengers from Athens and Sparta implore Gelon to help defend the Greek world against the impending Persian invasion.[151] This exchange is evidence of the great power Gelon possessed. Gelon states that he would be able to

[147] Harrell 2006, 127.
[148] Harrell 2002, 454.
[149] Harrell 2006, 127.
[150] Pausanias 6.19.7. Harrell 2006, 129, states that it is not specifically stated on the dedications that these were spoils from the battle of Himera, "but this can be the only explanation for [Pausanias'] use of the title." Gelon's treasury is placed on the Treasury Terrace, along with other treasuries many built by Western colonies. Holloway 1991, 69: The treasury of Gela is the largest of the treasuries but is believed to have been first built on the terrace at the end of the 6th century, before the reign of the Deinomenids. On the archaeology of the treasury, see Mertens 2006, 274.
[151] See Herodotus 7.157.1-162.2. See also chapter 2, 46-47.

send "200 ships of war, 20,000 heavy-armed infantry, 2000 cavalry, 2000 archers, 2000 slingers, and 2000 light horsemen."[152]

There is one story which survives regarding the childhood of Gelon. Diodorus describes how Gelon was saved from death at an early age by a wolf:

> Gelon was also once saved from death by a wolf. As a boy he was seated in a school and a wolf came and snatched away the tablet he was using. And while he was chasing after the wolf itself and his tablet too, the school was shaken by an earthquake and crashed down from its very foundations, killing every one of the boys together with the teacher.[153]

This story implies that Gelon was saved by the gods so that he could achieve his later greatness.[154] As for his personal life, Aristotle briefly mentions that Gelon had a son, but no other source mentions this son or any other child of Gelon.[155] Gelon's wife, Damarete, is mentioned in several sources.[156] Damarete played a significant role in Gelon's tyranny, as she was involved in the campaign against the Carthaginians. Pollux states that Damarete aided Gelon: "when he was in financial difficulties in the war against the Libyans, [he] had a coin struck from the jewellery she had requested from the women (of Syracuse) and melted down."[157] Diodorus records that the defeated Carthaginians gave a

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[152] Herodotus 7.158.4. εἰμὶ βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὁπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἱπποδρόμους ψιλούς.
[153] Diodorus 10.29.1. τοῦτον ἐξέσωσέ ποτε καὶ λύκος ἐκ θανάτου. σχολῇ προσκαθημένου γὰρ ἔτι παιδίου ὄντος λύκος ἐλθὼν ἀφήρπαξε τὴν δέλτον τὴν ἐκείνου. τοῦ δὲ δραμόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν λύκον καὶ τὴν δέλτον, κατασεισθεῖσα ἡ σχολὴ βαθρόθεν καταπίπτει, καὶ σύμπαντας ἀπέκτεινε παῖδας σὺν διδασκάλῳ. Trans. C.H. Oldfather.
[154] See Lewis 2000, 97-106. The story may have been created purposefully to depict Gelon as an individual who is able to miraculously escape disaster, a quality that is very important for a man who was known as a great military leader as well as ruler of many cities.
[155] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.19.
[156] For accounts of Damarate see Diodorus 11.26.3; Scholion of Pindar *2nd Olympian Ode*. 29d = FGH 566; Pollux. *Onomasticon*. 9, 84-5. See Rutter 1993, 171-172, for a complete summary of ancient texts related to Damarate and the coin associated with her.
[157] Pollux. *Onomasticon* 9,84-5. ἡ Δημαρέτη Γέλωνος οὖσα γυνὴ κατὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας πόλεμον ἀποροῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κόσμον αἰτησαμένη παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν συγχωνεύσασα νόμισμα ἐκόψατο. This provided gold to pay mercenary soldiers. Trans. Keith Rutter (1993).

gold crown to "Damarete who, at their behest, did most toward achieving the peace treaty."[158] Diodorus mentions a coin named the *Damareteion*, which is believed to be the "first Syracusan decadrachm" (the equivalent of ten Athenian drachmas); while the account is fanciful, the passage emphasizes Damarete's importance in Gelon's rule.[159] Damarete was also the daughter of Theron, the tyrant of Akragas, and this marriage helped fortify an important alliance between Gelon and another powerful tyrant of Sicily. Theron, a member of the Emmenid family, ruled "[t]he only city large enough to oppose [the] Syracusan empire."[160] Gelon is believed to have "sought [this] alliance soon after he became tyrant."[161] This was a significant relationship to forge, as not only would Gelon gain Theron's aid in military campaigns (such as he did for the Carthaginian battle), but also Theron, as an ally, would not present a threat to Gelon's rule.

The ancient sources give contradictory accounts of Gelon's personality and rule. Herodotus describes the anger and contempt with which he spoke to the envoys from Athens and Sparta when they asked for Gelon's help against the Persians. Gelon is angry that his previous request to the mainland for help against the Carthaginians was ignored.[162] Despite being Greek and possessing a powerful army, his great pride overcomes him and he refuses to protect the Greek world from the Persians. He tells the

[158] Diodorus 11.26.3. αὕτη γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀξιωθεῖσα συνήργησε πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήνης.
[159] Rutter 1997, 121. Diodorus' account mentions a gold coin, but no such coin survives. A silver coin has been identified as the Damareteion (see Fig. 3.3), but this would contradict Diodorus' version. Diodorus also states that the coin was equivalent to 10 Attic drachmas or 50 Sicilian litra, yet this is only true when dealing with silver coinage (See note 106 of Peter Green's translation of Diodorus). Diodorus' account also appears to have been influenced by Hellenistic Age of Greece (see Rutter 1993, 176-77).
[160] Woodhead 1962, 77.
[161] Woodhead 1962, 77. Lewis 2009, 49: This was also the first Deinomenid-Emmenid marriage that took place, as Gelon began what would become "an intricate system of intermarriages" between the two families and "other Italian dynasties."
[162] For more on this episode see Herodotus 7.157.1-162.2

envoys to go back home and to "...tell Greece that the spring of the year, the fairest of the four seasons, is lost to her."[163] Diodorus claims that during the Carthaginian battle, since Gelon "had given orders to take no one alive, a mass slaughter of the fugitives ensued: before it was over no less than 150,000 of them had been butchered."[164] Gelon is presented in these two accounts as a brutal and cruel tyrant. It is this same Gelon, nevertheless, who entered into a peace treaty with Carthage after they "...appeared before him, and implored him with tears to show humanity in his treatment of them."[165] Diodorus also claims that Gelon "excelled all others in courage and generalship...and in general behaved with humanity to all his near neighbours."[166] Gelon was also seen as a benevolent man who brought prosperity and security to the cities under his power: "Sicily enjoyed almost continuous peace, now that the Carthaginians had finally been humbled and Gelon's equitable rule over the Sicilian Greeks was bringing their cities a highly stable regime as well as an abundance of essential goods."[167] He was also known for winning over the support of many people: "after the battle [he] stood ever higher in

[163] Herodotus 7.162.1. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραίρηται.
[164] Diodorus 11.22.4. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος παραγγείλαντος μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος τῶν φευγόντων, καὶ πέρας κατεκόπησαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων.
[165] Diodorus 11.26.2. παραγενομένων γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πρέσβεων **καὶ μετὰ δακρύων δεομένων ἀνθρωπίνως αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι**, συνεχώρησε τὴν εἰρήνην. Finely 1979, 54: Gelon's merciful nature is further highlighted by the fact that "one of the provisions of the treaty with the Carthaginians after Himera was that they must give up the practice of human sacrifice."
[166] Diodorus 11.67.2. Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους ἀρετῇ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ πολὺ τοὺς ἄλλους διενέγκας... καθόλου τοῖς πλησιοχώροις πᾶσι προσενεχθεὶς φιλανθρώπως.
[167] Diodorus 11.38.1. ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησι Τιμοσθένους ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Καίσων Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πολλή τις εἰρήνη κατεῖχε τὴν νῆσον, τῶν μὲν Καρχηδονίων εἰς τέλος τεταπεινωμένων, τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος ἐπιεικῶς προεστηκότος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν τε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίαν παρεχομένου ταῖς πόλεσι.

the esteem of the Syracusans, grew old in his kingship, and died with his popularity still undiminished."[168]

After falling ill, Gelon died in 478 BC. Plutarch records that Gelon suffered from a condition known as dropsy, which causes the skin to swell abnormally and retain a large amount of fluid.[169] It is unknown if this affliction was the cause of his demise. His death was mourned and honoured by the people of Syracuse with a public funeral:

> His body was laid to rest on his wife's estate, in the building known by the name of Nine Towers, famous for the massive solidity of its construction. The entire population accompanied his cortege from the city, though the site was some twenty-five miles distant. Here Gelon was buried, and a fine tomb built for him at public expense, and civic honors granted him of the sort proper for heroes.[170]

In life, Gelon commanded a massive and strong empire, and his final resting place was fitting for such a ruler. The fact that the inhabitants of Syracuse held him in such high esteem, funded the construction of his tomb, marched along the procession of his body, and gave him the same type of honours accorded to heroes is a significant reflection of the positive nature of his rule.[171] Gelon was a proud ruler; however, he also realized the importance of appearing as a benevolent ruler and making it appear that the people of Syracuse were not simply subjects that he had complete control over. This is

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[168] Diodorus 11.23.3. Γέλωνα δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἐγγηρᾶσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τελευτῆσαι θαυμαζόμενον.

[169] Plutarch. *Morolia*. 403C. ἵστε τοίνυν ὅτι Γέλων μὲν ὑδρωπιῶν ἐτυράννησεν. Trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (1936). The modern term for dropsy is hydrops. It is also similar to a condition called edema. For further information see: Edema" (2006) *Mosby's Dictionary of Medicine*...613-14; "Hydrops" (2006) *Mosby's Dictionary of Medicine*... 913.

[170] Diodorus 11.38.4-5. ἐτάφη δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἐννέα τύρσεσιν, οὔσαις τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅπας συνηκολούθησεν, ἀπέχοντος τοῦ τόπου σταδίους διακοσίους. ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ταφέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήσας ἡρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα. Gelon's tomb was destroyed by a Carthaginian invasion in 396 BC (11.38.5).

[171] Champion 2010, 44: Gelon's rule in Syracuse was considered by its people to be the colony's "golden age."

demonstrated in Diodorus' account of a meeting between Gelon and his soldiers. Gelon had called an assembly and instructed his men to come armed, yet he came unarmed.[172] When he appeared before his men:

> [H]e gave an accounting of his entire life, and of all he had done for the Syracusans. At each act he mentioned, the crowd applauded; they appeared absolutely astonished that he had presented himself thus defenceless for anyone who might so wish to assassinate him. In fact, so far was he from suffering the retribution due to a tyrant, that with one voice they proclaimed him Benefactor, Savior, and King.[173]

Gelon's decision to appear before his own soldiers in a vulnerable position helped portray him as a moderate and fair ruler, even if his actions were not always moderate or fair.[174] This also suggested that the people of Syracuse held some power over him. This episode demonstrates that Gelon subtly manipulated the people of Syracuse into thinking that they chose Gelon to be their ruler, even though Gelon had taken control for himself.

Gelon's total time as tyrant (both at Gela and Syracuse) lasted about 13 years. In that short time, "Gelon had made himself the most powerful individual in the Greek world, perhaps in all Europe."[175] Gelon's successor, his brother Hieron, was also successful, waged an important military campaign against a foreign invader (the Etruscans), and also brought new territory under the control of the Deinomenids. Hieron would never, unlike his brother, be recorded in history as a popular ruler. He would,

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[172] Diodorus 11.26.5.
[173] Diodorus 11.26.5-6. ἀπελογίσατο μὲν περὶ παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους: ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπισημαινομένων τῶν ὄχλων, καὶ θαυμαζόντων μάλιστα ὅτι γυμνὸν ἑαυτὸν παρεδεδώκει τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος, ὥστε μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα.
[174] See McGlew 1993, 137-39. McGlew,137, states that this event made Gelon appear to be a "servant," while the people of Syracuse were "his master."
[175] Finely 1979, 52.

however, be the Deinomenid brother who was a great patron of the arts and was celebrated in poetry for his athletic victories.

2.3 Hieron

Gelon had bestowed the tyranny of Gela on his brother Hieron in 485 BC after Gelon decided to focus his attention on his new city, Syracuse. Diodorus states that after Gelon became ill, he passed the leadership of Syracuse to Hieron. Gelon soon died and Hieron was the new head of the Deinomenid tyranny. Hieron is believed to have "inherited his brother's good credit but he soon began to lose it."[176] Diodorus highlights the difference between the two brothers. Gelon is described as being "loved universally on account of his mild rule."[177] Hieron is portrayed as being, "avaricious, violent, and, in sum, of a character wholly opposed to honesty or nobility."[178] Hieron was a very suspicious individual, and he was wary that his own brother, Polyzalos, was attempting to usurp him. This caused Hieron to create, "an elaborate secret police [force]."[179] Aristotle describes how tyrants need to make sure that people are not meeting and planning to revolt against them and, as a result, they "try to not be uninformed about any chance

[176] Finely 1979, 55.
[177] Diodorus 11.67.3. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγαπώμενος διὰ τὴν πραότητα, διετέλεσε τὸν βίον εἰρηνικῶς μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.
[178] Diodorus 11.67.4. ἦν γὰρ καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας ἀλλοτριώτατος. The positive nature of Gelon's rule as tyrant appears to have aided Hieron in securing his own position, as Diodorus reports that many people "were eager to revolt, but restrained themselves on account of Gelon's reputation and his benevolence to all Sicilian Greeks" (11.67.4) διὸ καὶ πλείονές τινες ἀφίστασθαι βουλόμενοι παρακατέσχον τὰς ἰδίας ὁρμὰς διὰ τὴν Γέλωνος δόξαν καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἅπαντας Σικελιώτας εὔνοιαν.
[179] Finely 1979, 55. Aelian. *Historical Miscellany*. 9.1: He claimed that Hieron had a strong, positive relationahip with all his brothers. This does not appear to be true, however, and it is possible the story was altered in the subsequent decades after the family's rule and that this is the version Aelian heard.

utterances or actions of any of the subjects, but [try] to have spies."[180] The examples he gives of such spies come from Hieron's rule: "...the women called 'provocatrices' at Syracuse and the 'sharp-ears' that used to be sent out by Hiero[n] wherever there was any gathering or conference."[181] In a dialogue written by Xenophon, the poet Simonides and Hieron debate on whether a tyrant is happier than a private citizen. In the text, Hieron discusses how a tyrant is constantly worried that he will lose his position:

> For [tyrants] it is risky for them to go where they will be no stronger than the crowd, and their property at home is too insecure to be left in charge of others while they are abroad. For they fear to lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong.[182]

This text was written decades after the death of Hieron and does not reflect the actual words of the tyrant; however, the fear expressed in the dialogue does appear to accurately reflect the fear felt by Hieron during his reign. Hieron had a great unease about holding on to his power. Gelon seemed not to be as concerned with this because he had a better relationship with his populace. Gelon focused on not only gaining power and wealth for himself, but using that power and wealth to benefit his cities, thereby gaining the approval of the citizens. Heiron's rule appears to have been focused on his own personal ambitions, without any thought of how citizens would react.

Hieron, like Gelon, acquired new territory. Gelon took Syracuse by offering himself as a saviour during a time of crisis, and then establishing himself as a figure of

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[180] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.9.3. καὶ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι κατασκόπους.
[181] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.9.3. οἷον περὶ Συρακούσας αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ οὓς ὠτακουστὰς ἐξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων, ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία καὶ σύλλογος.
[182] Xenophon. *Hieron*. 1.12. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γὰρ μὴ ἅμα τε στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας. Trans. E.C. Marchant (1968).

stability. Hieron decided to re-colonize a city that was already established by casting out its current population and replacing it with his own. Hieron accomplished this by removing the people of two colonies and using this land for his new city, Aitna (see Fig. 4.1). Diodorus gives a detailed account of the 'foundation' of Aitna in 476 B.C:

> Hieron uprooted the inhabitants of Naxos and Katana from their cities and replaced them with settlers of his own, comprising two lots of 5,000 each, brought in from the Peloponnese and from Syracuse. He changed Katana's name to Aitna and commandeered not only this city's territory, but much land adjacent to it...His object in so doing was twofold. He wanted to have solid support available for any emergency, but he also hoped to receive heroic honours from this newly founded city of 10,000 inhabitants. The Naxians and Katanians whom he had uprooted from their native soil he dumped on the citizens of Leontini...[183]

Gelon had also displaced large populations, but the fact that Hieron established Aitna by removing the inhabitants of a city and reclaiming it as his own makes his actions bolder. Hieron displays the "megalomania" often associated with tyrants.[184]

Hieron not only established himself as an *oikistes* by the unconventional method of re-founding a city, but he also found new and innovative ways to celebrate Aitna. Hieron had a coin minted to honour the new city (see Fig. 3.4). This tetradrachm is considered to be, "the most acclaimed of ancient coins" and is also considered to be "among the most splendid achievements of Greek art."[185] Only one example of this coin survives; it bears an image of Zeus sitting on a throne with a tree and eagle on the reverse,

[183] Diodorus 11.49.1-2. Ἱέρων δὲ τούς τε Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀναστήσας, ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίους ἀθροίσας, ἐκ δὲ Συρακουσῶν ἄλλους τοσούτους προσθείς: καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Αἴτνην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου... τοῦτο δ᾽ ἔπραξε σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἑτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρείας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς. τοὺς δὲ Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἀνασταθέντας μετῴκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους. See also Strabo 6.2.3.
[184] Finely 1979, 55.
[185] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 9.

and a satyr and beetle on the obverse. The symbolic significance of the images on the coin communicate that the foundation of Aitna was sanctioned by the gods.[186] Hieron also used literature to celebrate his new city. Hieron invited the celebrated Athenian tragedian, Aeschylus, to come to Syracuse. While there, Aeschylus was instructed to put on a revival of his play *The Persians*, a tragedy depicting the fall of the defeated barbarian invaders. Hieron's desire to have this particular play performed is significant, as this was a play that helped reinforce Greek superiority at a time when Greeks "...distinguished themselves consistently and sharply from the non-Greeks across the seas."[187] Hieron appears to have wanted to emphasize that Sicily did not belong in the category of "non-Greeks across the sea." Hieron also commissioned Aeschylus to write a play celebrating the founding of the city of Aitna. This production was unusual, as "[i]t is extremely odd to hear of an Athenian playwright accepting a commission to write a single tragedy, especially one intended only for foreign production."[188] Only a few fragments of the play, *The Women of Aitna*, survive, but from them it can be concluded that the plot centred on Zeus and on the Palikoi, twin Sikel deities.[189]

Evidence for Hieron's patronage of the arts is abundant, particularly in the area of poetry and literature. This is one area in which Hieron differed from Gelon, and it appears that his poor health was the cause:

> Hieron the tyrant of Sicily, they say, was originally an ordinary citizen of no culture, and in his boorishness did not differ in the least from his brother Gelon. When he became ill he turned into the most cultivated of men, using the free time

[186] A detailed analysis of the coin is included in Chapter 3, 107-14.
[187] Stewart 2008, 54.
[188] Rhem 1989, 31.
[189] This play will be fully discussed in chapter 3, 114-24.

resulting from his illness for cultural pursuits...But Gelon was uncultured.[190] Aelian, the 2nd century AD Roman writer of this passage, goes on to describe how many great artistic men of the early Classical age spent time in Hieron's court.[191] Hieron's relationship with poets often was related to his athletic victories.

Gelon, Hieron, and Polyzalos were successful in the Panhellenic games and made dedications in reference to these triumphs.[192] The majority of the prizes the family won were for chariot races, a sport which "held a particular appeal for the tyrants... Fielding a team (or stable of teams) was a lavish display of wealth and the victorious owner acquired all the prestige of a victory, even though he did not personally drive in the race."[193] Hieron may have not been the most successful of the Deinomeind brothers when it came to athletic competitions, but it is in relation to his victories that the most evidence survives.[194] Four odes written by Pindar in honour of Hieron exist (*Olympian Ode 1, Pythian Odes 1, 2, 3*); one was in reference to victories at the Olympic Games, three are in reference to victories at the Pythian games. The *1st Olympian Ode* is for a single horse race victory that occurred in 476 BC. The *3rd Pythian Ode* refers to another single horse race and is believed to date to 474 BC. The *2nd Pythian Ode* is for a chariot race of an unknown date. The *1st Pythian Ode* is for a chariot race in 470 BC, but the victor is

[190] Aelian 4.15. Ἱέρωνά φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα ἰδιώτην εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμουσότατον, καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συνηνέχθη νοσῆσαι, μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐς ἀκούσματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος... ὁ δὲ Γέλων ἄνθρωπος ἄμουσος. Trans. N.G. Wilson (1997).
[191] Aelian writes that Hieron associated with the poets Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides (4.15). He also claims that the poets Pindar and Simonides lived with Hieron in his court (9.1).
[192] Holloway 1991, 101. He gives no mention of Thrasyboulos.
[193] Holloway 1991, 100.
[194] Pausanias makes two references in his guidebook of a chariot dedication which was at Olympia and which was attributed to Gelon (5.23.6. and 6.9.4) It is not known if this is in reference to a military victory or an athletic victory, but Pausanius believes that this dedication belongs to another individual who was also named Gelon. For more on Pausanius' theory see 6.9.4-5.

referred to as Hieron of Aitna and the ode celebrates not only the chariot victory but also Hieron's rule in his new city. Bacchylides wrote three odes in honour of Hieron's athletic victories. *Ode 3* celebrates a chariot race at the Olympic Games dated to 468 BC. Bacchylides' *Ode 4* honours Hieron for a chariot race at the Pythian Games in 470 BC.[195] *Ode 5* is in reference to a first place win in the single horse race at Olympia in 476 BC. Hieron celebrated these victories with dedications. Plutarch makes a passing reference to a statue of Hieron and a bronze pillar belonging to Hieron being present at Delphi.[196] Pausanias describes another monument at Olympia: "[There] is a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it, with race horses standing beside the chariot... and the boys sitting on the horses. These are the memorials of the Olympic victories of Heiron son of Deinomenes."[197] This illustrates that Hieron, like his brother Gelon, had an affinity for extragent monuments.

Hieron differentiated himself in many ways from the rule of Gelon; yet, there were several aspects of each of their reigns which were similar. Hieron forced mass population migrations and founded a new city (albeit handled differently than Gelon). Heiron also helped defeat barbarian invaders and protected the Western Greek world, as Gelon did when he fought the Carthaginians. In 474 BC, the people of Cuma, a Greek colony in Italy, asked Hieron to be their ally in their war against the Tyrrhenians.[198] In response, Hieron sent "a sizeable number of triremes to their aid."[199] The result was a

[195] This appears to be written for the same victory that the *1st Pythian Ode* honours.
[196] Plutarch. *Moralia*. 397 E. Plutarch explains that the pillar fell the day Hieron's rule ended (his death?).
[197] Pausanias 6.12.1. This dedication was made in honour of a win by Hieron, but was dedicated by his son, as Hieron died before he could commemorate his own victory.
[198] Diodorus 11.51.1-2. Etruscans is another term for Tyrrhenians.
[199] Diodorus 11.51.1. ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς συμμαχίαν τριήρεις ἱκανάς.

massive naval campaign that ended with the Tyrrhenians suffering a major loss. Just as Gelon went to great lengths to promote his victory at Himera, Hieron also made dedications to celebrate his triumph over the Etruscans and set up armour from the battle at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Three helmets have been discovered, all of which bear an inscription which names Hieron as the dedicator and states that the helmets are spoils from the battle of Cuma (see Fig. 2.2).[200] By setting up the helmet for all visitors to see, Hieron ensures that they will be reminded, yet again, of when the West helped defeat a barbarian force. Hieron was also involved in another battle, this time with another Sicilian city. He was forced to march on the city of Akragas, a long-time ally of the Deinomenids. After Theron's death, his son, Thrasydaios, ruled as tyrant and prepared to make war against Syracuse.[201] Hieron fought a battle against him, and, after Thrasydaios was expelled, he established a peace treaty with the people of Akragas.[202]

Unlike the story of Gelon and the wolf, nothing is known about the early life of Hieron. Hieron did strengthen ties between the Deinomenids and the Emmenid family by marrying the niece of Theron, tyrant of Akragas.[203] Pausanius' description of a dedication set up in honour of one of Hieron's athletic victories mentions that he had a son, Deinomenes, but no other information about this son survives.[204]

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[200] This dedication will be discussed subsequently in this chapter.
[201] Diodorus 11.53.3-4.
[202] Diodorus 11.53.4-5.
[203] Lewis 2009, 49. Finely 1979, 47: Finely provides a family tree of the Deinomenid family and proposes that Hieron was married 3 times. First to an un-named woman, with whom he had his son Deinomenes, secondly to the daughter of another tyrant, Anaxilas of Rhegium, and thirdly to the niece of Theron.
[204] Pausanius 6.12.1. It is believed that Hieron died before he could set up this dedication. His son appears to have set up this monument in his father's absence. Métraux 1978, 36-37, suggests that that the city of Aitna was "intended as a capital for Hieron's son, Deinomenes, and it was equipped with monuments of the dynasty." See also Finely 1979, 55; Andrewes 1974, 133. Considering the many ways in which Hieron proclaimed his kingship of Aitna and desired to always be known as its *oikistes*, it seems unlikely he

In 467 BC, Hieron died while in Aitna and "received heroic honours, having been the founder of the city."[205] Plutarch records that Hieron suffered from gall-stones, and his death may have been a result of this affliction.[206] A tomb was built for him in Aitna which was later destroyed when the Deinomenid tyranny ended.[207] Diodorus records Hieron's rule as lasting 11 years, shorter than Gelon's rule, but considerably longer than the rule of his successor, his brother Thrasyboulos.

2.4 Polyzalos and Thrasyboulos

Although not a large amount of evidence survives regarding the Deinomenids, there is more information regarding Gelon and Hieron than there is in reference to the youngest two brothers of the family. Thrasyboulos did not hold on to the position of tyrant for very long, and Polyzalos, although older than Thrasyboulos, was passed over and never inherited the position of tyrant at all.

Thrasyboulos is briefly referred to in a few sources. There is no record of him having any victories in athletic contests or having made any notable dedications. He was not involved in any great battles like Gelon at Himera or Hieron at Cuma, nor was he a great patron of the arts. He also is not described as having acquired any new territory, although this may have happened had he ruled for a longer period of time. Despite these absences, Thrasyboulos' rule was significant and eventful, as the tyranny of the

established the city for his son. Possibly, Hieron meant for his son to take over rule of Aitna when Hieron had died, but this is not made clear. Oost 1976, 227, states that a scholium to Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.118c) refers to Hieron establishing his son as the *strategos* of Aitna. This suggests that Deinomenes was in control of Aitna because Hieron kept his powerbase at Syracuse.

[205] Diodorus 11.66.4. Ἱέρων δ᾽ ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ, **καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως**.

[206] Plutarch. *Moralia*. 403C. Ἱέρων δὲ λιθιῶν ἐτυράννησεν.

[207] "But at the death of Hiero the Catanaeans came back, ejected the inhabitants, and demolished the tomb of the tyrant." Strabo 6.2.3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος κατελθόντες οἱ Καταναῖοι τούς τε ἐνοίκους ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνέσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου.

Deinomenids, one of the most powerful dynastic tyrannies in the ancient Greek world, collapsed when it was under his leadership. Thrasyboulos inherited control of Syracuse after the death of Hieron in 467 BC and he ruled for one year.[208] Diodorus also refers to Thrasyboulos as surpassing Hieron in severity:

> ...in the matter of wickedness he [Thrasyboulos] outdid his predecessor. A man not merely violent but murderous by temperament, he unjustly executed many citizens, and forced not a few into exile through false accusations, impounding their property for the benefit of the royal treasury.[209]

The unjust actions of Thrasyboulos were also directed to his own family members. Aristotle records that a son of Gelon was the actual heir to the tyranny of Syracuse after the death of Hieron. Thrasyboulos, wanting to secure the tyranny for himself, "...paid court to the son of Gelo[n] and urged him into indulgences in order that he himself might rule."[210] This behaviour made Gelon's son unfit for rule, presenting an opportunity for Thrasyboulos to step up and take power.

Thrasyboulos, like his brothers, made use of mercenary soldiers in order to protect himself from uprisings. This plan, however, was short lived, as the people of Syracuse rebelled and "clung with tenacity to the pursuit of freedom."[211] Thrasyboulos attempted to suppress the revolt, but soon realized that the will of the people was too strong:

> When Thrasyboulous saw that the whole city was on the warpath against him, he at first tried to check the revolt by diplomacy; but when he realized that the

[208] See Diodorus 11.66.4. Aristotle claims that Thrasyboulos was in power for 10 months (Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.9.23).
[209] Diodorus 11.67.5. ὑπερέβαλε τῇ κακίᾳ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα. βίαιος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φονικὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνῄρει παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ φυγαδεύων ἐπὶ ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς τὰς οὐσίας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀνελάμβανε. Diodorus also claims Thrasyboulos ordered the murder of several citizens (11.67.6).
[210] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.19. Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἀδελφοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Γέλωνος δημαγωγοῦντος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὁρμῶντος, ἵν᾽ αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ.
[211] Diodorus 11.67.6. ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

> momentum of the Syracusans' [uprising] was unstoppable, he mustered all his allies, including those colonists that Hieron had settled in Katana, as well as a vast number of mercenaries.[212]

Diodorus details the struggles which followed, but soon Thrasyboulos' allies abandoned him.[213] Thrasyboulos did not meet his end along with the end of his family's dynasty, he established a truce with the people of Syracuse and, in 466 BC, he "[f]inally...abandoned his claim on the tyranny."[214] Thrasyboulos handed over power to the Syracusans and, "after fleeing to Lokroi, lived out his days there as a private citizen."[215] Thrasyboulos appeared to be more concerned with protecting his own life than guarding the power his family held over Sicily. So it was too with his brother Polyzalos.

There is no evidence that Polyzalos ever held the position of tyrant of Syracuse or Gela at any point in his life. The usual pattern of the Deinomenid tyranny, once Gelon acquired Syracuse, saw the eldest living brother control the tyranny at Syracuse, while the next in line was tyrant of Gela; yet, when Hieron took over rule of Syracuse, Polyzalos was believed to have been at Hieron's court in Syracuse, "mainly to perform his functions as the head of the military."[216] Polyzalos may have not shared the same title as his

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[212] Diodorus 11.67.7. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατευομένην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει λόγῳ καταπαύειν τὴν στάσιν: ὡς δ᾽ ἑώρα τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀκατάπαυστον οὖσαν, συνήγαγεν ἔκ τε τῆς Κατάνης τοὺς κατοικισθέντας ὑφ᾽ Ἱέρωνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρων πλῆθος.

[213] See Diodorus 11.68.3.

[214] Diodorus 11.68.4. **τέλος δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν τυραννίδα** διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους.

[215] Diodorus 11.68.7. καὶ φυγὼν εἰς Λοκροὺς ἐνταῦθα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἰδιωτεύων κατεβίωσεν.

[216] Adornato 2008, 39. Plutarch states that the oracle of Apollo told Deinomenes that three of his sons would rule, meaning that one was missing (403B, C). Diodorus says that after the death of Gelon, "...the rule of his house continued under three further relatives" (11.23.3) καὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὥστε καὶ τρισὶν **ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαφυλαχθῆναι**. This would indicate that Hieron, Thrasyboulos, and one other individual held the position of tyrant over one or more of the cities that the Deinomenids ruled. This third individual could have been Polyzalos, but it could also have been Gelon's or Hieron's son, it is not made clear.

brothers, but he did share the same reputation, as he is recorded as being a proud, calculating individual, who was focused on advancing his own position.

Diodorus records how Polyzalos was caught up in a plot to overthrow Hieron's rule at Syracuse in 478 BC. Hieron was frightened of his younger brother and took measures to protect himself: "Hieron, king of the Syracusans...seeing the popularity of his brother Polyzalos among the Syracusans, and convinced he was simply waiting to usurp the kingship, very much wanted to get him out of the way.[217] Hieron ordered that his brother be the leader of a campaign to help the Sybarites who were being besieged by the Krotoniates.[218] Diodorus states that Polyzalos suspected Hieron's ulterior motive was to get him out of Syracuse, and, thus, he refused to follow this order. Polyzalos sought refuge with a Deinomeind ally, Theron of Akragas; Hieron, feeling betrayed by his long-time ally who was now protecting his scheming brother, "began preparations for a war against Theron."[219] Hieron is then described by Diodorus as having decided to enter into "peaceful relations with Theron," and Theron "resolved his differences with Hieron, and saw to it that Polyzelos regained [his brother's] goodwill as before." [220]

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[217] Diodorus 11.48.3. Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων...τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Πολύζηλον ὁρῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ νομίζων αὐτὸν ἔφεδρον ὑπάρχειν τῆς βασιλείας, ἔσπευδεν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι. Adornato 2008, 40, proposes that the quarrels between the brothers may have been a catalyst in refusing Polyzalos the title of tyrant of Gela.

[218] See Diodorus 11.48.4.

[219] Diodorus 11.48.5. τοῦ δὲ Πολυζήλου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος διὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν ὑποψίαν, δι᾽ ὀργῆς εἶχε τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ φυγόντος πρὸς Θήρωνα τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννον, **καταπολεμῆσαι τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο**.

[220] Diodorus 11.48.8. πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἱέρωνα διελύσατο καὶ τὸν Πολύζηλον εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὔνοιαν ἀποκατέστησε. During the conflict between the two tyrants, Diodorus records that the people of Himera (who were ruled by Theron's son and had grown tired of his stern rule) implored Hieron for aid and offered Himera as a gift to him (11.48.7). At this point Hieron is said to have already resolved his conflict with Theron by this time and informed him of the plot against his son. Diodorus gives no details as to how Hieron and Theron resolved their differences.

Polyzalos never obtained the important position of tyrant of Syracuse, but he did gain one prize from his oldest brother. After Gelon's death, Polyzalos married his brother's wife, Damarete, in 478 BC. By doing this he continued to strengthen the Deinomenids' alliance with Theron of Akragas, and he also created a link between himself and the celebrated rule of Gelon. There is no specific record of Polyzalos' children, but Theron is believed to have married a daughter of Polyzalos.[221]

The only major source of information regarding Polyzalos which survives, and which may refer to his rule over Gela, comes from an inscription present on a stone base found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

2.5 The Enigma of the Charioteer of Delphi

On April 16, 1896, archaeologists at Delphi discovered a block of limestone inscribed with a two-line dedication, and a few days later, on April 28, the bottom half of a large bronze statue was found buried underneath a water run-off conduit.[222] Other bronze fragments were later found, including the top half of the sculpture. The statue depicts a charioteer and is believed to have belonged to a larger bronze sculptural set including a bronze chariot, horses, and attendants. From the beginning, the two items were associated as belonging to the same dedication. The inscription on the block states:

[Π]ολύζαλος μ ἀνέθηκ[εν]...[τ]ὸν ἄεξ εὐόνυμ Ἄπολ[λον]
Polyzalos dedicated me...give him glory, noble Apollo[223]

The inscription and the statue suggest that Polyzalos was successful in the chariot competition at the Pythian Games and set up this dedication in honour of such a victory

[221] See Lewis 2009, 49; Finely 1979, 47: Polyzalos' daughter was his child with his first wife, not Damarete.
[222] Adornato 2008, 30.
[223] Trans. Adornato 2008, 31.

(see Fig. 2.3). If this is correct, then the base would be the only surviving evidence of Polyzalos winning an athletic contest. There are, however, two complications that arise regarding this dedicatory set. The first concerns the relationship between the statue and the limestone base. Both items have long been believed to date to 478/474 BC; however, recent evidence has shown that many of the inscription's letter forms match archaic letter forms from an earlier period, whereas the statue should be down dated, as its features are similar to sculptures from the 460-450 BC period.[224] As a result, the statue appears not to have been constructed at the same time as the base, meaning that it was not the original sculpture set up on the base.

The second concern is in regards to what information can actually be extrapolated from this inscription. Even if the statue cannot be connected to the Deinomenids, the base can be linked with the family because it does make a direct reference to one of the brothers. The first line of the inscription, however, contains a *rasura* (an erasure) on top of which the name Polyzalos has been added. The original first line is believed to have read:

Γέλας ἀνέθεκε ανάσσ[ον]
he, being ruler of Gela, dedicated[225]

The mention of a Γέλας ανάσσον suggests that a ruler of Gela dedicated this block originally, but this title was later erased. It was long believed that Polyzalos first dedicated the base with the inscription which promoted his position and was later forced

[224] See Adornato 2008, 35-37, 42-47: The older date for the original inscription is proven by the inclusion of archaic letter forms in the first line, such as a semilunated gamma, four-stroke epsilon, upsilon without the lower bottom stroke, nu with oblique bars, and narrow mu. The second line also contains an older form of an omnicron which has a dot in the middle of a circle. The features of the statue are contemporary with severe style elements seen on the architectural sculpture of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.
[225] Trans. Adornato 2008, 33.

to remove the title and replace it with his name, either because he was forced to by Hieron (due to their tense relationship), or because this change was requested by the people of Gela after the fall of the Deinomenids.[226] The problem with either of these scenarios is that Polyzalos is not recorded as having been the tyrant of Gela. The stone, based on the letter forms of the original inscription, dates to the time of Gelon's rule at Gela. It is more probable that the stone belongs to one of Gelon's dedications. The change, therefore, is most likely a result of Polyzalos appropriating the base for himself.

There is no evidence that can concretely determine the circumstances surrounding the dedication of this base. What the inscription does provide is a piece of evidence which suggests Polyzalos was involved in athletic competitions and may have tried to appropriate the rule of his older brother, thus demonstrating the competition and rivalry that existed between the brothers. This inscription raises another important issue. The original inscription proclaims the dedicator as "the lord of Gela." This is unlike any other inscription seen on a Deinomenid dedication. This first inscription promotes the absolute power held by a Deinomenid tyrant, whereas all other surviving inscriptions related to the family understate their power and portray the Deinomenids as being fellow citizens of the Greek world. Evidence of the rule of the Deinomenids in Sicily, however, demonstrates that the family did make bold claims about their power and their close connection to the gods. Is it possible that the strong sense of personal pride that the Deinomenids possessed did not extend into their relationship with the mainland?

[226] Adornato 2008, 34-35. Adornato also favours the idea that the tension between the brothers made Hieron force Polyzalos change the inscription (53). This, however, conflicts with the analysis of the letter forms which shows that the original inscription dates to Gelon's reign. Harrell 2002, 460 supports the idea that Polyzalos dedicated this for a chariot victory between 478 and 474 BC.

2.6 The Deinomenids and Changing Identities

The various dedications made by the family at both Delphi and Olympia illustrate that an important way in which the Deinomenids asserted their Greek identity to the mainland was to exhibit how they defeated Greek enemies; yet, they also found glory in highlighting their victories over fellow Greeks in athletic competitions. The athletic competitions held at the Panhellenic sanctuaries not only allowed all the Greeks to celebrate and share their common culture, regardless of where they lived, but it also promoted healthy competition between Greek cities.[227] Many Greeks in Sicily were attracted to the games, as Panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals were an opportunity for Western Greeks to remind the mainland that they too were a part of the Hellenic world. The West felt a need to be a part of the sanctuaries on the mainland, as "[t]he prestige of competing in the other games seem[ed] to have been an end in itself, a claim of equal standing with the *metropoleis* and peer communities back home."[228] Major dedications and treasuries were "traditionally...interpreted as monumental expressions of the colonies' efforts to maintain contacts with the old homeland and, importantly, to define themselves as Greeks."[229] The sanctuaries were filled with pieces from Sicily, and Olympia is considered to be a "virtual western Greek cult center" due to the high number of dedications located there from the Western colonies.[230] In the Sanctuary of Apollo at

[227] Miller 2004, 216.
[228] Antonaccio 2007, 219-220.
[229] Nielsen and Roy 2009, 267.
[230] Antonaccio 2007, 219.

Delphi, the Lydian kings were said to have made the most dedications, while, "Gelon and Hieron ranked next as benefactors."[231]

Despite the opportunity to create lavish displays of their wealth, tyrants, such as the Deinomenids, commonly left out references to their absolute power on dedications: "[I]n contrast with epinician poetry, the inscriptions on Deinomenid monuments [dedicated at sanctuaries] do not mention any political or military office held by the tyrant[s]."[232] The Deinomenids always promoted their titles, power, and wealth at home, but felt that this was an aspect of their life in Sicily that they did not want to emphasis on the mainland. The Deinomenids sought instead to act as private citizens on their dedications.[233] There is a notable absence of any reference to being a king, lord, or tyrant of Sicily on all inscriptions connected to the family. The original inscription on the 'Polyzalos' base appears to be the only example which breaks with the Deinomenid tradition, but if it was indeed commissioned early in Gelon's reign (to which the letter forms date) the use of Γέλας ανάσσον may have been more appropriate. After the 480 BC battle between the Greeks and the Persians, references to tyranny and monarchies were associated with barbarians. The concept of tyranny before 480 BC, however, although perceived as being an older form of rule, did not hold the same negative connotation that it did at the start of the Classical age. The Deinomenids appear to have expressed a need to portray themselves to the wider Greek community as simply being Greek, and not powerful rulers more akin to Persian invaders. By doing this, tyrants

[231] Andrewes 1974, 134.
[232] Harrell 2002, 450.
[233] Harrell 2002, 451.

"increased their own honour without denigrating the panhellenic reputation of their cities," and of themselves.[234] It was also a way to both demonstrate their wealth and suppress the way in which they achieved that wealth. The inscription discussed at the start of this chapter refers to the brothers as simply being the sons of Deinomenes. The tripod dedicated by Gelon at Delphi in honour of his defeat over the Carthaginians has the following inscription:

> Γέλον ὁ Δεινομέν[εος] | ἀνέθεκε τὸπόλλονι | Συρακόσιος. | τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὲν Νίκεν ἐργάσατο | Βίον Διοδόρο υἱὸς Μιλέσιος[235]
>
> *Gelon, the son of Deinomenes, the Syracusan, dedicated this to Apollo. Bion, the Milesian, the son of Diodoros, made the tripod and the Nike*[236]

Gelon refers to himself as a son of Deinomenes and as an inhabitant of Syracuse, not as a tyrant of Syracuse. Not only does he not praise his powerful position in Sicily, but he makes sure to give credit to the artist he commissioned to make the dedication. The chariot that Gelon set up at Olympia, most likely for an athletic victory, is reported by Pausanius as including an inscription which states it was dedicated by "Gelon of Gela, son of Deinomenes."[237] Again, no reference is made to Gelon's role as tyrant. Pausanius describes the spoils dedicated at Olympia by Gelon as being "dedicated by Gelo[n] and the Syracusans."[238] This would suggest that there was an inscription on the objects themselves or on the treasury that stated that Gelon was not the only victor, but that all the people of Syracuse took part in the battle and shared the victory with him. Gelon portrays himself "...in the guise of a traditional aristocratic victor, not a tyrant with sole

[234] Harrell 2002, 455.
[235] Meiggs and Lewis 1984, Inscription 28.
[236] Trans. Harrell 2002, 453.
[237] Pausanius 6.9.4. Γέλωνα Δεινομένους...Γελῷον. Trans. W.H.S. Jones (1960).
[238] Pausanius 6.19.7. Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων.

political control of his city."[239] Hieron also follows this pattern. The helmets dedicated by Hieron at Olympia in honour of his triumph at Cuma bear the following inscription:

ηιάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος | καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι | τõι Δὶ Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας[240]

Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans
[dedicated] to Zeus Etruscan spoils from Cumae[241]

Hieron, like Gelon, refers to himself by his father's name and the whole colony is given credit for the victory and dedication. There is no mention of his political role in Sicily. A dedication made to honour the athletic victories of Hieron at Olympia also does not mention his tyranny, even though Hieron was not alive at the time it was set up:

Σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς,
δῶρα Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο. παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου[242]

Having won earlier in your solemn contest, Olympian Zeus, once in the four-horse chariot race, twice in the single-horse race, Hieron offered you these gifts in gratitude. But his son Deinomenes dedicated them as a memorial for his Syracusan father.[243]

This inscription suggests that the bronze chariot is simply a dedication made by a son on behalf of his father; there is no mention of the Deinomenid empire. Even in death, Hieron did not want the mainland Greeks to view him as a tyrant. This dedication, and the thanks it bestows on Zeus, "...marks Hieron as a pious and noble representative of the city rather than its leader."[244] The Deinomenids followed a rule of restricted self-

[239] Harrell 2002, 451.
[240] Meiggs and Lewis 1984, Inscription 29.
[241] Trans. Harrell 2002, 453.
[242] Pausanius 8.42.9.
[243] Trans. Harrell 2002, 452.
[244] Harrell 2002, 452.

representation, a trend which was also adopted by other tyrants.[245] After a preliminary reading of the inscriptions, it would seem that the Deinomenids did seek to emphasize that they were as Greek as those on the mainland, especially after the cultural shift in 480 BC. It seems unlikely, however, that the Deinomenids would do this out of any loyalty or need for acceptance from the Greek world. Herodotus relates a story which illustrates that Gelon's allegiance to the Greeks was flexible:

> Gelon himself was afraid that Greece would be unable to survive the Persian invasion; at the same time, as lord of Sicily, he could not bring himself to go to the Peloponnese and submit to taking orders from Spartans. Accordingly he chose a different course. As soon as news came that Xerxes was over the Hellespont, he sent three galleys under the charge of Cadmus...with instructions to go to Delphi, where, equipped with a large sum of money and plenty of friendly words, he was to wait and see how the war would go; then, if the Persians won, he was to give the money to Xerxes together with earth and water of Gelon's dominions. If the Greeks won, he was to bring the money back again.[246]

Gelon would quickly renounce his loyalty to the Greek world, as long as he could still protect his hold over Sicily. Gelon could be a Greek living in Sicily subject to Persian suzerainty. For the Deinomenids, identity appears to have been fluid.

The complicated identity of Sicily was a result of Greeks and Sikels living together and adopting aspects of each other's culture and also the frequent transfer of populations from one city to another. This may have been a factor in causing the Western Greeks to easily accept that one's identity and loyalty could easily be adapted, as the

[245] Harrell 2002, 450ff, provides several examples.
[246] Herodotus 7.163.1-2. Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἴχετο. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῷον ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἢν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

inter-marriage and inter-mixture of Sikles and Greeks created a society where some "no longer regarded themselves as Greeks or barbarians of this or that strain."[247] Perhaps the Deinomenids, and powerful Western Greeks like them, were more inclined to put their own interests first because they did not have a single tie to a specific city or ethnicity. Gelon was a Geloan, but easily identified himself as Syracusan once he took control of that city. Similarly, Hieron went from being the tyrant of Gela, to the tyrant of Syracuse, and then referred to himself as king of Aitna once he founded his new city.

The information which survives regarding the Deinomenids proves that they were calculating individuals who put their self-interests first, and it is unlikely that they would refuse to promote their power in Sicily just because other Greeks looked down on it. Historical sources indicate that everything the Deinomenids did was done with the intention that it could benefit them in some way, including exerting their Greek identity on the mainland. The reason why the Deinomenids wanted to be known as powerful Greek individuals who lived in Sicily would, based on the evidence that survives, have to somehow tie into their quest to gain and maintain power. The absence of any reference to their tyranny in the inscriptions mentioned above demonstrates that the Deinomenids were aware of the negative opinion toward tyrants held on the mainland, and they knew how to adapt their identity given a particular situation. In Sicily, they needed to create an extensive propaganda program to demonstrate why they deserved to hold absolute power; on the mainland, it was necessary to do the opposite.

[247] Griffo 1968, 107.

2.7 Conclusions

An investigation into the history of the Deinomenids demonstrates that there is much to be discovered and studied regarding the family. The Deinomenids created a powerful and wealthy tyranny, and they were major players in wars, athletics, and the arts. The surviving accounts of their lives suggest that they were aware of the different ways in which they had to present themselves, in order to achieve control of Sicily and the rest of the Greek world. They understood the need to use propaganda to maintain their power, but did they also understand the need to tailor their image depending on their audience?

It is not enough to see the mainland sanctuaries as just another forum to express their vast wealth, as they could have made such dedications at home and had the added benefit of elevating their status among their own people, reinforcing their claim to the land. The decision to hide their great and successful tyranny on the mainland seems contradictory to how they represent themselves in the West. There is evidence that the Deinomenids presented themselves in different ways in different locations of the Greek world but the question of why they did this is not as easily answered. Was it necessary to suppress their power in Sicily in order to assert that they were Greek? A dedication which referred to a cruel despot would not help convince the people of the mainland that Sicily was the centre of Greek culture, especially in the post-Persian War period. Was it important to the Deinomenids to gain acceptance from the mainland?[248] Did the

[248] Rehm 1989, 31: This would explain the affinity of the Deinomenids to hire the best poets and artists from the mainland, as "[t]his 'synchronicity of greatness,'" served to connect the powerful cities of Athens and Syracuse" This quote in its original context refers to Hieron's decision to invite Aeschylus to Syracuse

Deinomenids desire to gain such approval in order to ensure that the mainland would provide them with aid if they ever required it? Much more evidence survives of the Deinomenids' methods and reasons for presenting themselves in Sicily as kings who were on par with the gods. The Deinomenids were a powerful force in the West, and to keep that position it was necessary for them to find ways to legitimize their tyranny. This involved making grand, bold, even bordering on hubristic, statements about their superior nature and their right to rule over the people of Sicily.

to revive the play *The Persians*, but I am using it to highlight the many ways in which the Deinomenids sought to establish themselves as equal to (even superior to) the great cities of the mainland.

Chapter 3: The Deinomenids' Appropriation, Manipulation, and Invention of History and Religion

3.1 Introduction

Pindar proclaims, "I will sing of the Deinomenidai, conquerors of the foe."[249] This line appears in his *2nd Pythian ode*, written in honour of one of Hieron's many athletic triumphs, but which also makes a reference to the defeat of the Etruscans by the Deinomenids in Sicily. The bold, direct statements made in these poems are in contrast to the reserved inscriptions found on Deinomenid dedications on the mainland. In the colonies that the Deinomenid family controlled, however, they were not bound by the negative attitude the mainland had toward tyranny. They were able to make statements that promoted their superiority, and they were even required to do so. A major feature of the 'propaganda program' used by the family was the creation of connections between themselves and heroic figures and gods, both of Greek and indigenous origin. This chapter will survey the different mediums employed by the Deinomenids in order to craft their identity in Sicily. It will also analyze the ways in which the family appropriated and manipulated religion in order to secure their rule, and will investigate the possibility that the Deinomenids even invented aspects of history, myth, and religion for their own benefit.

[249] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 79-80. παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένευς τελέσαις, τὸν ἐδέξαντ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετᾷ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων. Trans. Frank J. Nisetich (1980).

3.2 Coinage and the Deinomenids

The production of coins in Sicily was considered to be "impressive for the brilliance and originality of its scope and development."[250] Coinage at this time in the Greek world "was not primarily a commercial tool, but rather, like poetry, a medium for forging and commemorating a city's civic identity."[251] The designs on coinage indicated to other Greeks where the money came from and where it could be used, but coins were also symbols of the "values, interests and aspirations of the communities which issued them."[252] In Sicily, the coins of the colonies were commonly adorned with images related to the geography of the land, religious practices, and local animals or fauna. The coinage of Naxos feature images of Dionysius, a god connected to the city's mother-colony on the mainland.[253] The colony of Zancle, known for its harbour, features on its coins a dolphin and a series of squares that represent the installations around the harbour.[254] Akragas produced coins with an eagle on one side, to signify the local worship of Zeus, and an Agrigentine crab on the other side, an animal specific to the region.[255] The designs present on the coinage of the West were, like the mainland, intended to allow people to quickly identify the city. The coinage introduced under the reign of the Deinomenids, however, contained symbols which were not meant to invoke the identity of the colonies

[250] Jenkins 1972, 145.
[251] Dougherty 1993, 86.
[252] Rutter 2000, 73.
[253] "Nakos" (1996) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 1031. Dionysis is believed to have been born at Naxos.
[254] See Rutter 1997, 109.
[255] Rutter 1997, 113: The eagle was a symbol of Zeus who was honoured at Akragas "by a temple conceived on so huge a scale that it was never finished." Holloway 1991, 124, notes the type of crab present on the coin.

themselves, but instead represented the identity of those who had control over those colonies.

The Deinomenids were able to turn the small images found on coins into strong political statements. The coins of Gela, minted early in Gelon's reign, contained an image of Gelas, an important river god associated with the colony. The other side of the coin features a very innovative design not previously seen on Greek coinage: a naked rider on a horse (see Fig. 3.1). This is a reference not only to the city's strong soldier base, but specifically to Gelon and his role as a cavalry commander and his success in military campaigns.[256] This image signals a change in coinage, a shift from symbols that related to the local characteristics of a city to symbols that are connected to a specific person. Before this time a human figure on a coin was usually an anthropomorphized version of a god, but on the coinage of Gela the figure of a man refers to an actual human being and is "aggressively contemporary in reference."[257] An area usually reserved for depicting deities suddenly becomes a spot for a tyrant to promote his own power.

The coinage produced in Syracuse after Gelon's takeover of the city also became highly personalized. An example from 490 BC features an archaic-style two-horse chariot and driver with a winged victory flying overhead on one side and a female head surrounded by dolphins on the other side (see Fig. 3.2). The image of the goddess *Nike* holding a wreath above a chariot scene appears to be a direct reference to the athletic

[256] Holloway 1991, 125: This coin is dated approximately to the late 490's BC. It is possible that this coin was introduced towards the end of Hippocrates reign. Hippocrates' name is derived from the word meaning "horse" (ἵππος) and "power" (κράτος), so the image of a rider may have been selected by him. Even if this coin was produced during Hippocrates' tyranny, it is still a reference to the power of the Geloan army, which Gelon was a part of, and the bold actions of Hippocrates, which were likely what inspired Gelon to continue to mint coinage that conveyed such a personal message.
[257] Holloway 1991, 125.

victories won by members of the Deinomenid family in the Panhellenic games.[258] The image of a chariot can also be seen as a Homeric image related to aristocracy, power, and war and may be a reference to the Deinomenids' many victories in battle and their wealth.[259] It is significant to note that the coinage of Syracuse that predates Gelon's takeover of the city features a chariot scene with no victory goddess present.[260] The female head on the other side of the coin is believed to be the image of Arethusa, a nymph connected to the origin of Syracuse.[261] This coin, like the issue from Gela, is another example of the coinage of the Deinomenids featuring a symbol of religion on one side and a symbol referring to their own achievements on the other side, putting them on an equal level with the gods.

The combination of a charioteer and horses and Arethusa is also seen on an extant silver decadrachm coin, a coin which is often identified as being the Damareteion (see Fig. 3.3). [262] It is noteworthy for its advanced stylistic elements and for its elements related specifically to the Deinomenid tyranny. The charioteer image has a lion present below the ground line. As lions were not indigenous to the Greek world, it is possible that this is a reference to the defeated Carthaginians.[263] A Syracusan coin which dates to the reign of Hieron, approximately 470 BC, features a serpent underneath a chariot instead of a lion. This is believed to be a *ketos* (sea monster) and it could be a reference

[258] The surviving odes of Pindar illustrate that many of Hieron's wins came from the chariot contest, the most prestigious of the games. See Jones 1986, 156, for more on *Nike* and Greek coinage.
[259] For example, the chariots present on the François Vase in the second register which depicts the funeral games for Patrocles which were held during the last year of the Trojan War.
[260] See Jenkins 1972, illustration 142.
[261] For the myth of Arethusa see chapter 1, 10-11
[262] See Diodorus 11.26.3. See also chapter 2 pages 52-53.
[263] Jenkins 1972, 145.

to the Etruscans defeated by Hieron on the coast of Cuma.[264] This is another possible example of an image included beneath the ground line to symbolize a conquered enemy. On the other side of the so-called Damareteion (decadrachm?) coin, the portrait of Arethusa has become more refined and there is the addition of a wreath around her head. The dolphins that are placed around her are similar to those seen on the other issues of Syracusan coinage, but the addition of a wreath placed around her head suggests that this figure may represent another deity. A wreath on coinage can simply refer to the concept of victory (in this instance, the Deinomenid victory over the Carthaginians), but the goddess Demeter is often depicted on coins as being crowned with a wreath.[265] The Deinomenids were connected to Demeter as they were priests of her cult: the coin celebrates the Deinomenids' defeat of powerful enemies, but could also be a reference to their important role in Demeter's cult.[266]

The coins produced during the reign of the Deinomenids are small in size but contain powerful messages. The achievements, power, authority, and strength of the Deinomenids are publicized through the images on their coinage. Symbols which represent the family are closely aligned with symbols which represent the gods. This is one of many examples in which the Deinomenid family appropriate the religion and history of Sicily and use it for their own advantage. The colonies of Gela and Syracuse were, through coinage, visually tied to the Deinomenids, just as they were politically tied

[264] Jenkins 1972, 147.
[265] Jones 1986, 70.
[266] Jones 1986, 69, states that the name *Demareteion* or *Damareteion* (both names given to the coin) "is a corruption of *Damatreion*, an offering or coin honouring Demeter, but there is no evidence to support this [claim]."

to the family. The city founder was another important component of the identity of a colony, one which was also manipulated by the Deinomenid family.

3.3 The Legacy of the *Oikistai*: Power and Rule

The *oikistai* were revered figures in the West and, consequently, the Deinomenids exploited their significance to reinforce the family's control of Sicily. Herodotus records that Gelon's ancestor was connected to one of the *oikistai* of Gela: "[W]hen the settlement at Gela was made by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes, he took part in the expedition."[267] Being connected to the founder of a city was a powerful statement and allowed an individual to represent a link between the past and present of the colony's history. A link to an *oikistes* would help provide the authenticity that was needed for the Deinomenids' claim that they should rule Gela, as they were descended from the colonists who built the city. There is no specific evidence which states that Gelon used his association with Antiphemus to gain power in Gela, but considering how dedicated the Deinomenids were to developing their propaganda program and legitimizing their tyranny, it is unlikely that Gelon never manipulated this connection. A discrepancy in the record of Gela's foundation, however, suggests that the Deinomenids did use the colony's early history to their own advantage. Thucydides records that the colony of Gela was co-established by two individuals, Antiphemus of Rhodes and Entimus of Crete.[268] This fact is also stated by the Sicilian historian Diodorus, who records that the oracle of Delphi commanded both Entimus and Antiphemus to go to Sicily and build a city for Cretens and

[267] Herodotus 7.153.1. ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ ἐλείφθη.
[268] Thucydides 6.4.3.

Rhodians at the mouth of the Gela river.[269] The account of the foundation of Gela in Herodotus, however, differs from the above two descriptions: "...the settlement at Gela was made by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes."[270] The only surviving evidence that is attributed to an *oikistes* cult was found at Gela (see Fig. 5.1). [271] This is a *kylix* cup which dates to the 5th century and has the words Μνασιθάλες ἀνέθεκε Ἀντιφάμοι ("Mnasitheles dedicated me to Antiphemos") scratched on it. It is believed that this is a reference to Antiphemus of Rhodes, the founder of Gela in Sicily, and, therefore, this is likely a dedication made in honour of his *oikistes* cult.[272] At some point in Gela's history, the remembrance of the second *oikistes* appears to have fallen away. It is possible that between the two men, Antiphemus "was simply the more prominent figure."[273] Having only one *oikistes* might have aided in creating a collective cultural identity among the colonists of the new city, as "[p]lurality, by definition, blurs this attempt to focus on a single identity."[274] If both men were leaders of the colony, it would cause a division of the populace, as the Cretans would want to remain loyal to Entimus and the Rhodians loyal to Antiphemus. There is also a theory that the Deinomenids, who only were connected to Antiphemus and not to Entimos, suppressed the name of the second *oikistes* for their own benefit. The *kylix* from Gela dates to the 5th century BC, thus Entimos would seem to have been phased out around the time when the Deinomenids came to power. If the city only had one *oikistes* who was worshiped with his own cult, it would

[269] See Diodorus 8.23.1.
[270] Herodotus 7.153.1. κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου.
[271] Malkin 1987, 194-95.
[272] Malkin 1987, 194-95.
[273] Malkin 1987, 259.
[274] Malkin 1987, 260.

have increased the uniqueness of the Deinomenids' connection to the founder and foundation of the city: "the powerful Deinomenidai linked the arrival of their ancestor with Antiphemos and for this reason would have had a particular interest in his cult."[275] If the Deinomenids did suppress Entimos, they would be responsible for having completely re-written the history and religious rites associated with the colony of Gela.

After an *oikistes* died, he became the focus of a local cult and received honours and rites of the type bestowed on mythological heroes and ancient Greek kings.[276] As a result, the Deinomenids' promotion of their connection to an *oikistes* and their desire to become city founders can be seen as a way in which the family used religion for their own advantage. This form of manipulation is particularly seen in the actions of Hieron, who was the Deinomenid brother who sought so fiercely to establish a city and to receive heroic honours: "Tra le ragioni che spinsero Ierone a fondare la nuova città, quella su ciu le fonti antiche insistono di più è il desiderio di ricevere dopo la morte il culto ecistico."[277] Hieron did receive the rites normally granted to a city founder, but he obtained those honours by misrepresenting himself as an *oikistes*. Hieron did not colonize a new city, but instead took a city that was already established, brought in new inhabitants, renamed it, and proclaimed himself to be the city founder.[278] After the fall of

[275] Malkin 1987, 259.
[276] See Malkin 1987, 189-240.
[277] Luraghi 1994, 340.
[278] It can be argued that Archaic colonization itself was a misrepresentation of actually founding a city, since the *oikistai* were taking land away from the Sikels and bringing in their own people and culture. Hieron's actions can be seen as a further misrepresentation since he took land that already belonged to a Greek colony and displaced fellow Greeks in order to found his own city. As will be discussed in subsequent sections, there is the possibility that Katana had been destroyed by the eruption of Mt Aitna, a nearby volcano. This might suggest that Hieron was right in his action to found a new city; however, Hieron did not simply rebuild the city for the population of Katana, but displaced its people for his own gain.

the Deinomenid tyranny, the Katanians took back their land and the displaced Aitnaians founded a 'new Aitna' at the Sikel site known as Inessa. The Aitnaians still considered Hieron to be the *oikistes* of this new foundation, even though he had already died and his tomb was located at the former site of Aitna.[279] Just as Hieron manipulated the legacy of the *oikistai* for his own purposes, so did the inhabitants of his colony. Moreover, the Deinomenids not only misappropriated the rites associated with a mortal man made divine in death, but even manipulated the cult of an Olympian goddess.

3.4 Priesthood of Demeter

Herodotus records that an ancestor of the Deinomenids, Telines, secured for his family and desendents the priesthood of the cult of the Earth Goddesses:

> [A]s a result of party struggles in Gela, a number of men had been compelled to leave the town and to seek refuge in Mactorium on the neighbouring hills. These people were reinstated by Telines, who accomplished the feat, not by armed force, but simply by virtue of the sacred symbols of the Earth Goddesses. How or whence he came by these things I do not know; but it was upon them, and them only, that he relied; and he brought back the exiles on condition that he and his descendents after him should hold the office of Priest.[280]

The Earth Goddesses refer to Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and grain production, and her daughter Kore, also known as Persephone. The worship of both goddesses was introduced to Sicily during the first wave of colonization and was widely adopted since the cult of the goddesses was the Hellenized version of "preëxisting native chthonian

[279] See Strabo 6.2.3. For the foundation of Aitna-Inessa, see chapter 4, 131-32.
[280] Herodotus 7.153.2. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῴων στάσι ἐσσωθέντες: τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ ἱρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν: ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: τούτοισι δ᾽ ὧν πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ᾽ ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. The identification of Maktorion is not certain, Monte Bubbonia is a likely possibility (Fischer-Hansen 2002, 136).

rites."[281] Divinities that represented agriculture, growth, and renewal were considered important in the West, as Sicily was known for its abundance of various crops, specifically wheat.[282] Demeter, as a goddess of fertility and "an uncontroversial deity" was not often drawn into "non-religious activities as war, subversion, colonization and politics;" yet, in Sicily, "one finds a striking number of occasions in which she becomes so involved."[283] The worship of Demeter was so vital to Sicily that "wielding the power of agriculture was persuasive enough to restore the exiles."[284] Telines, however, did not settle the problem in Gela as a kind gesture toward the city, as he is believed to have been one of the men banished from Gela.[285] White questions whether Telines "threaten[ed] to invoke the goddesses's aid in blighting the wheat crop if the quarreling parties refused to put aside their differences."[286] It is possible that Telines manipulated the worship of an important goddess in Sicily in order to gain entrance back into the city and to gain her cult's priesthood. In doing this, he exploited the conflict at Gela and used religion to his advantage in order to benefit himself and his descendents. Gelon followed the model established by his ancestor and took power of Gela and Syracuse during times of conflict. His association with the priesthood and his role in the cavalry would have allowed Gelon to present himself as a respected individual and a problem-solver.

[281] White 1964, 263. White, 263, also claims that Hellenizing a pre-existing cult would allow it to be more quickly accepted by the Sikels and would aid in "Hellenizing the native inhabitants and...preserving their loyalties."
[282] Finely 1979, 27.
[283] White 1964, 261.
[284] Kowalzig 2008, 133. White 1964, 262, suggests that the "sacred symbols," which Herodotus records Telines as having used, must have "made some symbolic reference to grain."
[285] Kowalzig 2008, 133.
[286] White 1964, 262.

Invoking the cult of Demeter would have proved especially useful to Gelon in his takeover of Syracuse. Unlike at Gela, where he had been an important member of the cavalry, Gelon was conquering a city where he did not hold a respected position and where he, forcibily, brought in new inhabitants. By using the cult of Demeter, Gelon could provide for the new inhabitants of Syracuse "an external force to bind together this dangerous combination of peoples, made up of the angry, defeated Syracusans and the uprooted neighbouring cities."[287]

There is no specific proof that Gelon used this priesthood to his own advantage, but there is evidence that the Deinomenid family incorporated Demeter into their propaganda program. Diodorus records that Gelon used his spoils from the defeat of the Carthaginians to build shrines to Demeter and her daughter.[288] These were monuments honouring not only Gelon's victory in battle but also the goddess for whom he served as priest. The shrines would convey to the people of Syracuse the ways in which Gelon has been a benefit to the city, as he had the wealth to beautify the city with buildings, could defend them in war, and had a close relationship to the goddess that they relied on for bountiful crops.[289] Gelon used Sicily's dependence on Demeter to make Gela and Syracuse subservient to himself.

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[287] White 1964, 263-64. White states that the cult of Demeter would be "pleasing" to the people of Syracuse, as it was "uncontaminated by any direct connection with Syracuse's aristocracy, whose traditional deities were Zeus, Athena, Artemis and Apollo" (264-65).

[288] See Diodorus 11.26.7. Diodorus also states that Gelon was planning to build another temple to Demeter at Aitna, but died before he could start the project. Since Hieron founded the city of Aitna after Gelon's death it is possible that he is referring to Mt. Etna. For more see White 1964, n18. Kowalzig 2008, 136, has also suggested by that the victory temples that Gelon forced the Carthaginians to build as part of their peace treaty might have been temples in honour of Demeter. See also White 1964, n19.

[289] Kowalzig 2008, 135, proposes: "The Deinomenids' corn-producing power and their exports of Demeter's gift were legendary and important in the ancient imagination...The Deinomenids no doubt exploited the unpredictability of the Mediterranean food cycle." Herodotus 7.158.4: The historian records

Hieron made references to Demeter through poetry and literature. Hieron's decision to invite the playwright Aeschylus to Sicily in 470 BC is connected to the goddess, as Aeschylus was born in Eleusis, the city connected to Demeter's sacred cult.[290] Demeter is connected to Hieron's city of Aitna in another way as well; a fragment survives which describes a poem Simonides wrote regarding the land of Aitna being fought over by Hephaestus and Demeter (in the same way that both Athena and Poseidon sought to be the patron of Athens).[291] It is not known who won the battle, but perhaps Hieron, whose court Simonides visited, wished to promote Demeter as the victor. The land would then be seen as belonging to Demeter, and Hieron, as her priest, would have some claim over it.[292] Like their ancestor, Telines, Gelon and Hieron adopted this method of gaining power by means of exploiting religion and the gods. This is seen through their promotion of their connection to Demeter's cult, but it is made most apparent in the victory odes written for Hieron by Pindar and Bacchylides.

3.5.1 Poetry as Propoganda

Epinician poetry celebrated the winners of the Panhellenic games and ensured that they would be remembered in the years to come. Victory poems were a very specific type of poetry which was produced for a very specific purpose. Epinician poems were "not private, personal, or spontaneous.[293] Pindar, a renowned composer of victory odes, received money to write such poems, for which "he was required to mention various

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that Gelon told the messengers of Sparta and Athens that he could provide them with grain (σῖτόν) during the war. The Deinomenids appear to have abused their connection to Demeter in Sicily and even abroad.

[290] Rehm 1989, 31. It has also been suggested that Aeschylus had been initiated into Demeter's cult at Eleusis (Whiston 1873, 40)

[291] F. 552 *PMG*, A scholium of Theocritus. See also Dougherty 1993, 91-2.

[292] Aelian states that Simonides was at Hieron's court in his text *Historical Miscellany* 4.15, 9.1.

[293] Nisetich 1980, 1.

matters that he might not have mentioned if he were entirely free to follow his inspiration."[294] Most odes also followed a standard pattern that always included the name of the victor, the location of and details of the race, and, often, mythical tales or themes.[295] The public nature of the poems and the fact that each poem was custom-made to celebrate an individual made this form of art very appealing to tyrants, as it provided a forum to strengthen their position and create ties to cities that they had no justifiable claim over: "Pindar's Sicilian odes are thus to be seen as part of the self-advertisement of the Sicilian tyrants."[296] The popularity of victory odes among the Western Greeks is demonstrated by the fact that there are 15 surviving poems by Pindar for victors from Sicily and 12 in total for victors from the mainland (and only two of these are for athletes from Athens).[297]

The best poets in the Greek world were hired for the purpose of writing epinician poetry, such as Pindar and Bacchlydies, both of whom travelled to Sicily after having been invited by the Deinomenids to compose such odes. These poems, and their performances, allowed the Deinomenids to justify their rule in the colonies through artistic expression.[298] Unfortunately, only odes written in honour of Hieron survive, but a survey of them illustrates that the Deinomenids used poetry to shape their identity in Sicily and manipulated religion for their own benefit.

[294] Nisetich 1980, 1.
[295] Nisetich 1980, 40-41.
[296] Morrison 2007, 5.
[297] See Nisetich 1980, 329-30.
[298] Morrison 2007, 3, states that it is likely that these performances would be done locally and would often include "...important guests from elsewhere on Sicily." This would allow the Deinomenids to make their claims not only before the inhabitants of their own colonies but also among significant individuals, and, thus, reinforce their power to the rest of the island as well and forge powerful alliances.

3.5.2 Bacchylides

Bacchylides' *3rd Ode* (468 BC), written for Hieron's chariot victory, refers to the glory of Demeter and Hieron in the first few lines: "Sing, Klio...of Demeter, queen of Sicily where the best grain grows, of Kore violet-crowned, and of Hieron's swift Olympic-racing mares."[299] Bacchylides describes Demeter's important connection to agriculture in Sicily and then immediately makes a statement regarding Hieron's superiority in athletics. By refering to the goddess and Hieron together in the poem, Bacchylides suggests that Hieron is as renowned as the goddess. The reference to Demeter also alludes to the Deinomenids' priesthood of Demeter's cult. Bacchylides then refers to the king of the gods and implies that Zeus himself has decreed that Hieron hold a powerful position in Sicily: "Ah, thrice-blessed is the man who has won from Zeus the privilege, more than all others, of ruling over Greeks."[300] This is one of many examples in which Zeus is connected with Hieron and his right to rule over Sicily. Apollo is also referred to in the ode, as is the legendary king Croesus, both magnifying Hieron's status by being included in an ode written in his honour.[301]

[299] Bacchylides. *Ode 3*. 1-2, 4. ἀριστοκάρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν/ Δάματρα ϝιοστέφανόν τε κούραν/ ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλειοῖ, θοάς τ'/ Ὀλυμπιοδρόμους Ἱέρωνος ἵππους. Trans. Arthur McDevitt (2009).
[300] Bacchylides. *Odes 3*. 10-12. ἅ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνήρ,/ ὃ παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν/ πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας. This ode is also for a victory in the Olympian Games at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, which would be another reason why the Zeus connection would be emphasized.
[301] McMullin 2004, 106, notes that the commonly told story regarding Croesus, as presented by Herodotus (1.84-91), changes in this ode. In Bacchylides' *3rd Ode*, lines 27-40, he refers to Croesus being saved by Apollo because of the offerings he made to the god. McMullin 2004, 106: "In Bacchylides' hands, Croesus' great gifts to Delphi are equated with great piety." This is fitting, as Hieron and the Deinomenids made lavish dedications at mainland sanctuaries, including the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and thus would want to promote the idea that his great wealth and ability to honour the gods makes them more loved by the gods.

Bacchylides' *4th Ode* was composed in 470 BC. Apollo is mentioned at the beginning of the poem: "Still Apollo golden-haired loves the city of Syracuse, and honours Hieron, its upright ruler."[302] That Hieron is loved and honoured by Apollo implies that the god sanctions Hieron's actions and the power he holds over Sicily. The poet then makes Hieron stand apart from all others by referring to his victory at the Pythian Games: "[he] who, alone of men that walk the earth...achieved this feat."[303] Hieron is portrayed as a superior individual, one who deserves a position of great authority. Bacchylides ends the poem with another reference to Hieron's divine connections: "What better than to be loved by gods and win one's share of blessings of every kind."[304] This ode urges the people of Syracuse to celebrate Hieron's success in the games, but also implies that they should honour Hieron as their ruler because the gods approve of him.

Bacchylides' 5th Ode is the third and last poem written in honour of Hieron and is also the longest.[305] Considering when the poem was composed, it is not surprising that this is the longest ode or that it also contains many references to Zeus. This ode was written for a horse-race victory in 476 BC, the same year Hieron founded Aitna. Zeus played an important role in Hieron's attempt to legitimize his rule of Aitna, and this ode fits into that propaganda program.[306] The first line of the ode refers to Hieron as being

[302] Bacchylides. *Ode 4*. 1-3. ἔτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ/ πόλιν ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων,/ ἀστύθεμίν θ᾽ Ἱέρωνα γεραίρει.
[303] Bacchylides. *Ode 4*. 15-16. μοῦνον ἐπιχθονίων τάδε/ μησάμενον στεφάνοις ἐρέπτειν.
[304] Bacchylides. *Ode 4*. 19-20. τί φέρτερον ἢ θεοῖσιν/ φίλον ἐόντα παντο[δα]πῶν/ λαγχάνειν ἄπο μοῖρα[ν ἐσ]θλῶν.
[305] 200 lines.
[306] This ode refers to Hieron as the leader of Syracuse, not Aitna. This may be an attempt to gather further support for his position in Aitna from the other colonies.

the "[f]ate-favoured leader of Syracusans," suggesting that Hieron is destined by the gods for greatness.[307] In lines 17-30, there is a description of an eagle, the bird associated with Zeus. This passage describes the strength and power of the bird, which is also depicted on the coinage minted by Hieron to celebrate the foundation of Aitna. The Deinomenid family as a whole is next praised by the poet: "...high-minded children of Deinomenes, I too have on all sides numberless pathways of song to praise your excellence."[308] Instead of only Hieron being praised, the whole Deinomenid line is lauded. This may be related to the fact that Hieron was planning to hand over the leadership of Aitna to his son, Deinomenes. Establishing that the whole family was worthy of rule would make it easier for Deinomenes to step in and take over from his father. A long passage about Herakles begins at line 56: this reference to a powerful hero reflects positively on Hieron. Herakles is also the son of Zeus and this is yet another reference to the king of the gods. Zeus is mentioned in lines 178-79, as well as in the last lines of the poem: "May Zeus, the greatest father, protect them in peace, unshaken."[309] Again the poet urges the gods to protect the Deinomenids, and, indirectly, bids the inhabitants of Syracuse to do the same. This is also suggested by the line: "...'whom the immortals honour, fame among men attends him also.'"[310] This line, which Bacchylides states is from Hesiod, makes the bold claim that the gods are honouring Hieron, a mortal. This is a distortion of religion as it is mortals that are to worship gods. The statements made by Bacchylides in his odes "contai[n] praise of Hieron so extravagant that it could only be acceptable at a tyrant's

[307] Bacchylides. *Ode 5*. 1-2. εὔμοιρε Συρακοσίων/ ...στραταγέ.
[308] Bacchylidde s. *Ode 5*. 31-36. τὼς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντᾳ κέλευθος/ ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν/ ὑμνεῖν/...Δεινομένευς ἀγέρω-/ χοι παῖδες.
[309] Bacchylides. *Ode 5*. 199-200. τοὺς ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ/ Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήν[ᾳ φυλάσσοι.
[310] Bacchylides. *Ode 5*. 193-94. ὃν ἂν ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ/ καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι.

court."[311] Bacchylides makes references to various gods in order to subtly magnify the glory of Hieron and justify the power and wealth held by Hieron and the Deinomenids. Pindar, however, even more directly shows connections between Hieron the gods, and establishes the tyrant as Zeus' agent on earth.

3.5.3 Pindar

The victory odes written by Pindar for athletic victors in the West are considered to be "some of Pindar's most impressive and widely admired poems, such as the first two *Olympians* and first three *Pythians*."[312] It is significant to note that this list of five highly praised poems includes all four odes which were written in honour of Hieron. In Pindar's *1st Olympian Ode*, in honour of Hieron's horse race victory at Olympia in 476 BC, Hieron is introduced in the first few lines, and, as is often seen in Pindar's odes, he is not presented as a tyrant but as a generous king: "...the rich and happy hearth of Hieron; Hieron, who wieldeth the sceptre of law in fruitful Sicily."[313] The imagery of wielding a sceptre has direct connections to Homer's *Iliad*: "These local representations portray the tyrants as figures who recreate the traditions of epic kingship."[314] In book 2 of Homer's *Iliad*, during an episode in which Agamemnon has received a dream from Zeus, a connection between the rule of Zeus on Olympus and the leadership of men on earth is made: "let there be one lord, one king, to whom the son of crooked-counselling Cronos

[311] McMullin 2004, 105. McMullin specifically states that odes 3 and 5 contain these extravagant statements, but I use her quote to reference ode 4 as well which I believe also makes bold claims related to the tyrant.
[312] Morrison 2007, 2.
[313] Pindar. *Olympian Ode 1*. 10-13. ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους/ μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν,/ θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμάλῳ/ Σικελίᾳ. Trans. J.E. Sandys (1968).
[314] Harrell 2002, 440.

hath vouchsafed the sceptre and judgements, that he may take counsel for his people."[315] For Greek kings, the sceptre and the ability to rule are "gifts of Zeus to a leader."[316] Pindar builds on this passage from the *Iliad*; he takes the phrase "σκῆπτρόν τ᾽ ἠδὲ θέμιστας" (sceptre and right to rule) and makes a reference to it in Hieron's ode. Pindar's phrase θεμιστεῖον σκᾶπον (sceptre of law) is unique and not recorded elsewhere. The *1st Olympian ode* contains the only extent example of the adjective θεμιστεῖον, which is derived from the noun θέμις, meaning law.[317] By referring to Hieron as holding "the sceptre of law," Pindar states that Hieron, like the ancient kings, has been given by Zeus himself the right to rule. This suggests that Hieron's rule cannot be contested as that would involve going against the command the king of gods and men. Pindar's use of Homeric language is part of a plan to "imbu[e] the Deinomenids with the aura of traditional authority despite the fact that their rule has no traditional basis."[318] Not only does this legitimize the Deinomenids' reign in Sicily, but it also moves them away from the title of tyrant and toward the title of rightful king. Harrell refers to the above lines from the *Iliad* to prove this claim, but there is another reference in Book 2 that more vividly highlights the connection between Zeus and kings on earth. This is seen in a description of Agamemnon's sceptre:

> Then among them lord Agamemnon uprose, bearing in his hands the sceptre which Hephaestus had wrought with toil. Hephaestus gave it to king Zeus, son of Cronos, and Zeus gave it to the messenger Argeiphontes; and Hermes, the lord, gave it to Pelops, driver of horses, and Pelops in turn gave it to Atreus, shepherd

[315] Homer. *Iliad*. 2.204-06. εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,/ εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω/ σκῆπτρόν τ᾽ ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνά σφισι βουλεύῃσι. Trans. A.T. Murray (1965).
[316] Harrell 2002, 442.
[317] Harrell 2002, 441.
[318] Harrell 2002, 441.

> of the host; and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks, and Thyestes again left it to Agamemnon to bear, that so he might be lord of many isles and of all Argos.[319]

The sceptre that each king holds is a symbol of the authority he possesses, and this power originates from Zeus himself. All the Greek kings present in the Trojan War are described in the *Iliad* as being σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες (sceptred kings).[320] Pindar's description of Hieron holding a sceptre of power connects him to this Homeric imagery and causes Hieron to appear not as an aristocrat who unlawfully took power for himself, but as a man chosen by Zeus to rule over Sicily.[321]

Language is not the only tool that Pindar uses in the *1st Olympian Ode* to minimize the idea of Hieron being an unlawful despot. He also uses myth to compare Hieron with the hero Pelops. Pelops was killed and fed to the gods by his father Tantalus.[322] Pelops was then brought back to life by the gods.[323] He is also described by Pindar as having received great gifts from Poseidon: "a golden chariot and winged horses never weary."[324] Pindar appears to be distancing Hieron away from the label of 'tyrant' by describing the legendary exploits of Pelops and then declaring that: "Hieron, a god is

[319] Homer. *Iliad*. 2. 100-108. ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων/ ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων./ Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι,/ αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεϊφόντῃ:/ Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ,/ αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ᾽ Ἀτρέϊ ποιμένι λαῶν,/ Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ,/ αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖτε Θυέστ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνονι λεῖπε φορῆναι,/ πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

[320] Homer. *Iliad*. 2.86.

[321] By connecting Hieron with Homeric heroes, Pindar might have desired for others to associate himself with the poet Homer.

[322] See Apollodorus Epit.2.1-3.

[323] In Pindar's version, *Olympian Ode 1*. 25-26, it appears that Pelops had not been killed by his father but had been snatched away by Poseidon. In Apollodorus' version, after Pelops is brought back to life by the gods, he then became beloved by Poseidon (Epit. 2.3).

[324] Pindar. *Olympian Ode 1*. 87. ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσεον πτεροῖσίν τ᾽ ἀκάμαντας ἵππους. Trans. Frank J. Nisetich (1980).

overseer to your ambitions, keeping watch, cherishing them as his own."[325] Just as Pelops was aided and loved by the gods, Hieron appears to be protected by them as well. Hieron's connection with Pelops also distances Hieron from the hero's father, the barbaric Thyestes, by contrast. Pelops' descendents also include a number of heroes such as Herakles. The Deinomenids are of the Dorian race, descendents of the Heraclids who were themselves descendents of Herakles. A reference to Pelops in the poem invokes this divine lineage.[326] Pelops also defeated King Oinomaos in a chariot race, a myth which Pindar refers to in the ode. The poet, however, has left out any reference to Pelops using trickery to win.[327] Since Hieron is compared to the legendary hero, any negative aspects of Pelops' character would also reflect poorly on Hieron.

The remaining Pindaric odes regarding Hieron are for victories in the Pythian Games at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. For his *1st Pythian Ode*, Pindar adopts the same sceptre imagery as he did in the *1st Olympian Ode*. In this poem, however, this is done specifically in relation to Hieron's new city, Aitna. The ode begins with a statement about the god Apollo and how his lyre is able to "quench the lancing bolt of ever-flowing fire and lull Zeus' eagle perched on his scepter with folded wings."[328] The mention of the sceptre reflects back to the passage in Homer, but it would also prompt the audience to make another important connection. The description of Zeus holding a

[325] Pindar. *Olympian Ode 1*. 106-108. θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται/ ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἰέρων,/ μερίμναισιν.
[326] This may explain why Pindar states that the story of Tantalus killing his son and feeding him to the gods was fabricated; This would avoid having such a malicious character as part of Hieron's lineage.
[327] See Pindar. *Olympian Ode 1*. 70-98. For more on the myth of Pelops and Oenomaus, see Apollodorus. Epit. 2.6-10.
[328] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 5-6. καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις/ ἀενάου πυρός. εὕδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖαν πτέρυγ'/ ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις.

sceptre and thunderbolt envokes a coin minted by Hieron in the 470's BC in honour of his new city. The reverse of the coin features Zeus, seated on a throne, holding a vine branch in one hand, in the manner of a sceptre, and a thunderbolt in another. An eagle is also present on this side of the coin, just as an eagle is mentioned in the lines of Pindar's poem. The poem and coin connect the kingship of Zeus with Hieron's city, and demonstrate Pindar's intent to portray Zeus as the patron god of the land of Aitna. Pindar also creates an association between the god and the city by referring to the myth of Typhon, a monster Zeus battled during the war between the Olympian gods and the giants. Pindar recounts how Zeus trapped the monster in the island of Sicily:

> "...hating the gods – hundred-headed Typhon, whom the cave in Kilikia, known by many names, once reared: now the sea-beaten crags of Kuma's coast, and Sicily's mountains crush his shaggy breast. He's pinned beneath the pillar of the sky: white-capped Aitna, nursing all year long her brood of stinging snow."[329]

Mt. Etna is connected to Zeus through this battle, and his appearance on the island long before the Archaic Greek colonists suggests that the island, and specifically the area around Mt. Etna, is part of Zeus' domain. Pindar goes on to describe Zeus as, "haunt[ing] this mountain, brow of a fruitful land, and the city named for it."[330] This line claims that Zeus is the patron god of the city as well as the mountain. As a result of Zeus' connection to the land, Pindar proclaims, "[c]ome then, a loving song for Aitna's king, for whom Hieron founded this city."[331] Zeus is established as the true ruler of the city of Aitna and

[329] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 15-19. θεῶν πολέμιος,/ Τυφὼς ἑκατοντακάρανος: τόν ποτε/ Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον: νῦν γε μὰν/ ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἁλιερκέες ὄχθαι/ Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα.
[330] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 30-32. τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαίας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν/ ...πόλιν.
[331] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 60-62. ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον:/ τῷ πόλιν κείναν/... Ἱέρων...ἔκτισσ'. In lines 58-59, he mentions Hieron's son Deinomenes and asks the muses to sing of him as

Hieron has founded this city in honour of the god. Pindar's statement avoids any claim that Hieron founded the city for his own glory, even though Hieron's motive to found a city was specifically to receive heroic honours after his death. Hieron's rule of Aitna must be honoured since Zeus sanctions the establishment of the city and is the god that watches over its inhabitants. Pindar reinforces this by asking the god to bestow good fortune on the people and ruler of Aitna.[332] Pindar strengthens the link between Zeus and Hieron in his description of the victory led by Hieron against the Etruscans who attempted to invade Sicily: "Such was the anguish the Syracusan king inflicted on them, when he hurled their youth from the swift ships into the waves, saving Hellas from the iron yoke of slavery."[333] Pindar makes the bold claim that Hieron's action not only saved Sicily but also protected the entire Greek world from barbarians. The battle with the Etruscans took place on the coast of Cuma and Pindar mentions this in his description of the battle in lines 71-75. Cuma is also mentioned earlier in the poem in Pindar's description of Zeus' fight with Typhon. Hieron and Zeus are connected by both having battled an enemy at the same site and heroically protecting the Greek world.

A chariot race victory by Hieron of unknown date is the subject matter of Pindar's *2nd Pythian Ode*. In addition to the mystery of when it was composed, it has also been described as "one of the obscurest and most difficult of Pindar's odes."[334] Several gods

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well. It has been suggested that Hieron wanted his son Deinomenes to rule Aitna while Hieron would remain the tyrant of Syracuse. See Andrewes 1974, 133; Finely 1979, 55. Dougherty 1993, 94: Describing the glory of Hieron would also elevate Deinomenes' status, as the ode "celebrat[es] the excellence that the Deinomenid family bequeaths from one generation to another, from father to son."

[332] See Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 67-72.

[333] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 73-75. οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον,/ ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ᾽ ἁλικίαν,/Ελλάδ᾽ ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας.

[334] Nisetich 1980, 160.

are mentioned in connection with Hieron and Sicily at the start of the ode. Syracuse is described as being dear to Ares, as it is "the war god's sacred ground," and Hieron's chariot race victory is said to be shared with a goddess: "[h]e has crowned [with glory] Ortygia, where Artemis is enthroned, the goddess who joined him when he tamed those mares, she and the man together, gently lifting the intricate reins."[335] Hieron is described as having a close relationship with the goddess, as he and Artemis herself are described as working together to train the horses for Hieron's chariot. Pindar goes on to say that Artemis and Hermes make Hieron glisten and that Hieron calls upon the help of Poseidon.[336] Hieron is depicted by Pindar as having the aid of several gods as he drives his chariot to victory.[337] Just as Hieron is dear to the gods, the poem suggests that he should be dear to the people of Syracuse as well.

The major themes of this ode are focused on the West Lokrian maiden and the myth of Ixion. The inclusion of the maiden, Nisetich believes, is in reference to the fact that Hieron aided the Southern Italy city of Western Lokroi in 478 and 476 BC.[338] Pindar states early in the ode that "...the West Lokrian maiden sings of you before her house, O son of Deinomenes! Thanks to your power, she looks forth, free from the hopeless stress of war."[339] The tale of Ixion also appears to have been in reference to Hieron's actions in Lokroi. Ixion is a mythical figure who tricked and murdered his father-in-law. After he

[335] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 2*. 1, 6-8. βαθυπολέμου/ τέμενος Ἄρεος/...τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις,/ ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος, ἇς οὐκ ἄτερ/ κείνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ ποικιλανίους ἐδάμασσε πώλους." Ortygia is a small island near Syracuse separated by a small channel of water.
[336] See Pindar. *Pythian Ode 2*. 9-12.
[337] Pindar appears to have ignored the fact that the chariot and horse team was driven by a charioteer and not by the owner of the race team. Instead, he portrays Hieron as the actual driver, perhaps to magnify the tyrant's honour.
[338] Nisetich 1980, 160.
[339] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 2*. 18-20. σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων / Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει, πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων/ διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.

was absolved by Zeus for his crime, he attempted to seduce Zeus's wife, Hera. He is later punished by being tied to a wheel that is constantly turned by winds.[340] Ixion pays the price for his ingratitude. Pindar proclaims that the lesson which Ixion teaches is this: "[r]epay your benefactor honor's kind return!"[341] As Hieron's actions are proud and egotistical, the message could very well be applied to him, but as this ode has been commissioned and paid for by him, it is more likely that Pindar is sending a message to the people of Lokroi, urging them to remember the generosity Hieron showed them in the past and, perhaps, urging them to be willing to aid Hieron in the future. This imagery could also have been directed to the people of Syracuse, reminding them that Hieron has benefitted their city and protected them from invaders. The city, as a result, should be grateful and not oppose him. The myth of Ixion also implies that Zeus will harshly punish those who are ungrateful, as the poet adds near the end of the ode: "[b]ut one must not strive against a god."[342] As Hieron has often made links between his reign in Sicily and Zeus' kingship, it appears that this ode also attempts to reinforce the idea that the people of Syracuse will suffer consequences for disobeying Hieron's command, as his right to rule was, supposedly, bestowed on him by Zeus himself.

The *3rd Pythian Ode* (474 BC) was written when Hieron was believed to have been ill.[343] Hieron's poor health would account for the poem's many references to Asclepius, the god of medicine, who is, in some accounts, believed to be the son of

[340] See Apollodorus Epit. 1.20.
[341] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 2*. 24. τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι.
[342] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 2*. 88. χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν.
[343] See Plutarch. *Moralia*. 403 C. The historian states that Hieron suffered from gall-stones in his lifetime. This could have been the illness Hieron suffered at the time this ode was written.

Apollo.[344] Pindar proclaims that he wishes that another healer like Asclepius could be born, one who could grant good health to Hieron.[345] Pindar goes on to state that if this were possible, he would come to his "Aitnaian host who holds the throne of Syracuse... bringing this double grace to him, golden health and a revel-song to brighten his triumphs."[346] Not only does the poet invoke pity for Hieron's sickness and states his desire to help his patron, but Pindar also refers to the fact that Hieron has still been able to be victorious in the games during this difficult time. Referring to Hieron as an Aitnaian and also the king of Syracuse may be to reinforce that Hieron is lawfully the ruler of both cities. Pindar also describes Hieron as "a king gentle to his citizens and generous to his nobles, a father to arriving strangers."[347] This is a bold statement to make at a time when Hieron has recently displaced the entire population of Katana to establish his new city. Pindar appears to be suppressing the true story of Aitna's foundation through his poetry.

Pindar comforts Hieron regarding his illness, as the poet reminds him that even great mythical heroes had to deal with their share of troubles. This is meant to raise Hieron's spirits, but also subtly implies that he is equal to these great men. Pindar refers to Cadmus, the legendary founder of Thebes, and Peleus, the father of Achilles. Cadmus dealt with the atrocious actions of his daughters and Peleus lost his only son, the great warrior Achilles.[348] It is significant that Achilles is mentioned in this ode; as Nisetich notes: "Pindar consoles Hieron much in the manner Achilleus had consoled the aged king

[344] The myth of Asclepius, as told by Pindar, has Apollo as his father. See also Apollodorus 3.10.3.
[345] See Pindar. *Pythian Ode 3*. 61-70.
[346] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 3*. 69-70, 73. παρ᾽ Αἰτναῖον ξένον,/ ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει/... ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν κῶμόν τ᾽ ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις.
[347] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 3*. 70-71. βασιλεὺς/ πραΰς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.
[348] For more on the sufferings of Cadmus see Apollodorus 3.4.3-3.5.3.

Priam in Book 24 of the *Iliad*."[349] It is surprising that Pindar would make a link between Hieron and a king who was not Greek, but the piety and goodness attributed to Priam in the *Iliad* may be the traits he wished to project onto Hieron.[350]

Pindar also magnifies the power and glory of Hieron in odes which he wrote for other people. The poet's *1st* and *9th Nemean Odes* were written in honour of Chromios of Aitna, Hieron's brother-in-law. The *1st Nemean Ode* celebrates Chromios' chariot-victory which occurred in 476 BC, the same year that Hieron founded Aitna. Near the beginning of the ode, Pindar proclaims, "glory to Zeus of Aitna!"[351] It is significant that the cult of Zeus on Mt. Etna is referred to in this ode, since the cult was a major element of Hieron's propaganda program to legitimize his new city. Pindar's *9th Nemean Ode* also celebrates another of Chromios' chariot-race victories, dated approximately to 474 BC. In the first few lines of the poem, Pindar bids the muses to come with him "to the newly built town of Aitna, [to] the rich house of Chromios."[352] Pindar implores Zeus "to bestow on the children of Aitna a life of peace and order for long years to come."[353] The authority that Zeus has over Aitna is reinforced and the poem itself not only praises a chariot victory, but also becomes a victory song for the new city itself and a prayer for its prosperity and longevity. Given the relationship between Chromios and Hieron and the specific references to Zeus included in these poems, we must question whether this ode was meant to aid Hieron as much as it was to celebrate the

[349] Nisetich 1980, 167.
[350] See Homer. *Iliad*. 3.105-110.
[351] Pindar. *Nemean Ode 1*. 6. Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν.
[352] Pindar. *Nemean Ode 9*. 2-3. τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν.../ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμ'.
[353] Pindar. *Nemean Ode 9*. 29-30. μοῖραν δ' εὔνομον/ αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν.

achievements of Chromios. An ode written for another associate of Hieron provides further evidence of this practice.

Hagesias was a Syracusan and an ally of Hieron. In approximately 468 BC he won the mule car race at the Olympian Games. Despite the fact that this event was considered to be "the least prestigious event," of the games, Pindar was commissioned to compose an ode, the *6th Olympian Ode*, in honour of this victory.[354] The victory may not have been noteworthy for Hagesias, but the poem becomes a summary of the major deeds and accomplishments of Hieron and a proclamation of his right to rule over Sicily:

> Pour out a word for Syracuse and Ortygia, where Hieron is king,
> with radiant scepter and straight counsels, priest of red-sandaled Demeter, of her girl borne on white horses, and of Aitnaian Zeus. Harps and lyrics know him. May time to come never disturb his bliss. And may he welcome to the feast Hagesias' reveling friends as they come.[355]

These lines mention Hieron's kingship of Syracuse, use the same Homeric sceptre imagery used by Pindar in the odes he wrote for Hieron, include a reference to Demeter (whose cult the Deinomenids were priests of), and a reference to Aitnanian Zeus (whose cult on Mt. Etna was a major focus of Hieron's propaganda campaign for the city of Aitna). Even Hieron's many athletic and military successes are alluded to by the phrase, "harps and lyrics know him," as this is a subtle reminder of the many victory odes written in honour of him and his triumphs. It is significant that in this passage "Pindar touches on every aspect of Hieron's rule that is mentioned in other *epinikia* composed for Hieron

[354] Nisetich 1980, 103.
[355] Pindar. *Olympian 6*. 92-98. εἰπὸν δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας:/ τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,/ ἅρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν/ ἀμφέπει Δάματρα, λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν,/ καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος. ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν/ λύραι μολπαί τε γιγνώσκοντι. μὴ θράσσοι χρόνος ὅλβον ἐφέρπων./ σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις Ἁγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον.

himself."[356] In fact, no ode written for Hieron sums up all his achievements as precisely and effectively as these lines do.[357] It is possible that Hieron did not want to have such bold statements included in one of his own odes for fear of appearing hubristic. By having these statements included in an ode belonging to an associate of Hieron, it appears that these are the thoughts of Hagesias and/or Pindar and not of Hieron himself. It has been suggested that Hagesias and Chromios demanded that these positive references related to Hieron be included in their own odes in order to appease the tyrant. Hagesias is believed to have been a member of the wealthy land-owning class, the *Gameroi*, and that the praise given to Hieron in this ode was an attempt to demonstrate to the tyrant that Hagesias himself was not a threat to Hieron's power.[358] Even if the odes were composed with the intention of stating what the tyrant would like to hear, instead of being a list of what Hieron specifically demanded be included, the poems are still examples of myth and poetry being manipulated, this time by Hieron's supporters, in order to gain power. Hieron's actions and his attempts to legitimize his own rule over Sicily appear to have created the "cultural environment" which incited Hagesias and Chromios to use their own victory odes in order to win Hieron's favour and advance their own positions.[359]

The various odes written in honour of Hieron describe the tyrant as being blessed, protected by the gods, and equal to ancient kings and mythical heroes. These are carefully constructed messages concealed within the framework of celebratory poems for

[356] McMullin 2004, 125-26.
[357] See also McMullin 2004 126-127.
[358] McMullin's 2004, 130-31: McMullin states that if Hagesias was a member of the Gameroi, he would possess a "legitimate connection to Syracuse," which Hieron did not (131). Gelon, a close companion of Hippocrates, used his position to overthrow Hippocrates' sons after his death. Hieron may have feared that his other associates would attempt to do such a thing. See also McMullin 2004, 131 for more on this theory.
[359] McMullin 2004, 140.

athletic contests. This is made most clear in the odes which refer to the city of Aitna, which reinforce the connection between Zeus, the mountain, the city, and Hieron's rule there. Hieron used not only poetry, but also coinage and drama to help secure his power in his new city.

3.6.1 The Coin of Aitna

It is believed that Hieron had the coin known as the tetradrachm of Aitna minted soon after the 476 BC foundation of the city, although the coin's exact date is unknown (see Fig. 3.4).[360] Like the other coinage produced during the reign of the Deinomenids, it contains important references to their tyranny and their connection to the gods. The coin of Aitna, however, contains the most personal and political messages of all the Deinomenid coinage. The obverse of the coin features the head of a satyr. Below the satyr is a small beetle and the word AITNAION ("of the people of Aitna").[361] The reverse features a seated figure of Zeus and several secondary images which together create a complex and multifaceted message related to Hieron's establishment of and control of Aitna.

3.6.2 The Satyr

Satyrs are connected to Dionysis, the god of wine, and this god was important to the land of Sicily. Although there is no evidence of the worship of a cult of Dionysis on

[360] Some have dated this coin as late as 465-460 BC, corresponding with the refoundation of Aitna-Inessa in 461 BC (For Aitna-Inessa, see chapter 4, 131-32). For more on the ambiguity and controversy over the date see Rutter 1997, 127. Strabo, 6.2.3, indicates that Hieron was still considered the *oikistes* of the "new Aitna," which was founded in 461 BC after the Katanians took back their land. Despite the fact that Hieron had died several years earlier and the Deinomenid tyranny had collapsed, Hieron was still an integral part in the culture of Aitna. If the coin was from this later time-period, the Zeus on the coin may envoke the cult of Zeus Aitnaios which Hieron introduced to the original city of Aitna, thus linking the iconography of the coin with Hieron even if he was not the one to commission its design.

[361] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 16.

or near Mt. Etna, the area surrounding the volcano was known for its "lush vineyards," and as a result, "it is not entirely surprising to find an image of a figure associated with Dionysos on a coin of the region."[362] Satyrs in general were identified as half man/half goat-like beings who were associated with nature and drinking.[363] The image of satyrs in Greek art adhered to this tradition, as they were often portrayed as "ithyphallic and naked."[364] The satyr on this coin has often been identified as Silenus.[365] In myth, Silenus raised Dionysius from infancy.[366] Silenus was the oldest of the satyrs and was depicted as "a jovial old man, with a bald head, a puck nose, [and] fat and round."[367] He was also known in some traditions for his gift of prophecy and was a symbol of "...wisdom which conceals itself behind a rough and uncouth external appearance."[368] Compared to how satyrs were customarily portrayed, the description of Silenus, like the satyr head on the Aitna coin, is much calmer and restrained. The image of the satyr on the coin is, "unusual, almost dignified."[369] This is enhanced by the wreath that the satyr wears, which almost makes him appear to be the winner at an athletic contest (perhaps another link with Hieron and the Deinomenids).[370] Silenus' ability to foretell the future and the faint smile seen on the satyr on the coin may suggest that Aitna will be a prosperous and

[362] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 18-19. Strabo wrote about the fertility of the land around Mt. Etna. See Strabo 6.2.3. This raises the question as to why Hieron did not simply have an image of the god Dionysis included on the coin, but his reasoning may have been that having another significant god on the coin would detract from the powerful image of Zeus on its reverse.
[363] Schmitz 1873, 727.
[364] "Satyr." *Brill's New Pauly* (Vol.13) 31.
[365] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 15.
[366] Schmitz 1873, 822.
[367] Schmitz 1873, 822.
[368] Schmitz 1873, 822. For Silenus' prophetic abilities, see Aelian 3.18; Virgil. *Ecologues*. 6.31ff.
[369] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 15.
[370] Jenkins 1972, 147, identifies the wreath as being of ivy. Wreaths were also dionysiac accoutrements sometimes worn by satyrs.

fortunate city. It is also possible that the wildness commonly associated with satyrs was to symbolize the rustic land of Aitna, and the calm, noble, and regal behaviour of this particular satyr was to represent the land after Hieron had tamed it.[371] The idea of Greeks civilizing chaotic, non-Greek lands is a theme often seen in colonization narratives; this is an attempt to justify their acquisition of new territory.[372] The land and people of Aitna have been subdued just as this satyr has been subdued.

3.6.3 The Beetle

The dung beetle that is present alongside the satyr can simply be seen as an image of good luck, one that was "taken over by the Greeks from the Egyptians."[373] This specific beetle, however, has a strong link with the Mt. Etna region. The beetle on the coin has been identified by scholars as a *Thorectes marginatus*, a particularly large beetle "occurring in Sicily, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia."[374] The people of Sicily in ancient times believed that it was the largest beetle in the world.[375] The beetle is connected to the region of Sicily, but the symbolism of the insect appears to run deeper than simply being a creature found on the island.

The dung beetle plays a major role in an important myth related to Mt. Etna: the battle between the Olympian gods and the Giants. Only one of the giants, Aristaios, is

[371] Silenus could be connected to the people of Aitna, as he is believed to have lived near Mt. Etna while he was the servant of Polyphemus. This is represented in a later play by Euripides, *The Cyclopes* (408 BC). In the play, the character of Silenus relates how he became the slave of Polyphemus after a storm at sea wrecked his ship and he washed up on the shore of Aitna (Euripides. *The Cyclopes*. 20-30).
[372] See Dougherty 1993, 21-24. She uses passages from Homer' *Odyssey* (9.116-24) and Archilochus (Fr 17 T, 18 T) to describe how the Greeks felt that it was ideal to colonize land which was considered untouched, fruitful, and untamed. Greek presence introduced ordered plots of land, the construction of houses, and the establishment of laws.
[373] Holloway 1991, 129.
[374] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 19.
[375] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 20.

believed to have survived the battle, and he did so by changing into the form of a dung beetle. Little is recorded about this myth, but Suidas, the writer of a Byzantine Greek Lexicon in the 10th century AD, appears to be the only one who has recorded a connection between the giant and dung-beetles. Under his entry for "Aristaios," he notes that this is the only giant to have survived the gigantomachy.[376] Under the heading "Aitnaios kantharos," he observes that this is a type of beetle which is associated with Mt. Etna because it is big like the mountain. In his description of the beetle, he reiterates the myth of Aristaios, stating that he was the only giant that was harmed neither by the gods nor the volcano.[377] Modern interpretations of this myth and the text of Suidas describe how Gaia, the mother of Aristaios, protected him by turning him into a dung beetle and hide him on the slopes on Mt. Etna.[378] Despite the lack of information, there appears to be a link between Aristaios, Mt. Etna, and dung beetle imagery; thus the Aitna coin reinforces the battle between the gods and giants and the victory of the Greeks over barbarians.

It is interesting to note that the name of the giant that was turned into a dung beetle, Aristaios, is also the name of a god of agriculture that is believed to have been associated with the worship of Dionysius, just like satyrs.[379] In mythology, he is said to have once been a mortal man who was transformed into a divinity due to his generous

[376] See Suidas s.v. Aristaios.
[377] See Suidas s.v. Aitnaios Kantharos.
[378] For this explanation see the "Aristaeus" entry on the *Theoi Greek Mythology* and the *Greek Mythological Index* websites.
[379] Schmitz 1873, 289.

nature.[380] Diodorus records that Aristaios spent time in Sicily and even received divine honours there:

> [Aristaeus] spent some time in Sicily, where, because of the abundance of the fruits on the island and the multitude of flocks and herds which grazed there, he was eager to display to its inhabitants the benefactions which were his to bestow. Consequently among the inhabitants of Sicily, as men say, Aristaeus received especial honour as a god, in particular by those who harvested the fruit of the olive-tree.[381]

This myth appears to be associated with Hieron's desire to be seen as a ruler who will be rewarded with divine honours after his death. If the satyr image on the coin of Aitna refers to Aristaios, the god of agriculture, and the beetle refers to Aristaios, the giant, Hieron may be using a play on words to describe both the positive and negative associations of Mt. Etna.

3.6.4 Zeus

The enthroned Zeus on the coin of Aitna is believed to be Zeus Aitnaios, the epitaph given to Zeus when he is acting as the patron god of Mt. Etna. Zeus is believed to have been worshiped as part of a local mountain cult which was present on or near the volcano.[382] The secondary images around Zeus help confirm that this is indeed Zeus Aitnaios. Zeus sits on a throne that is covered with the skin of a panther. The panther is an animal that was connected to the god Dionysus, and, like the satyr on the obverse, this may be a reference to the rich vineyards that surround Mt. Etna.[383] The vine branch held

[380] Schmitz 1873, 289.
[381] Didorus 4.82.5. καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν διατρῖψαί τινα χρόνον, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καρπῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βοσκομένων κτηνῶν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐνδείξασθαι τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασὶ τιμηθῆναι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον ὡς θεόν, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπόν. Trans. C.H. Oldfather (1961).
[382] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 21.
[383] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 22.

by Zeus in his right hand is also representative of Mt. Etna's fertile landscape. Zeus is often depicted on coins holding his thunderbolt and a sceptre.[384] On this coin he is seen holding a thunderbolt and a vine branch, as if a vine branch, an agricultural product of Aitna, is as potent as his sceptre. Zeus' thunderbold is adorned with a pair of wings.[385] The image of wings can be a reference back to the *Nike* figure seen on the Deinomenid coinage from Gela and Syracuse, and, in this way, is a reference to the Deinomenids' many athletic and military victories.

On the left side of Zeus is a tree with a bird on top. The bird is an eagle, another attribute of Zeus.[386] The tree that the eagle rests on is another local symbol of the Mt. Etna region. This tree has been identified as an *Abies nebrodensis*, which is "the only type of fir tree that grows in Sicily."[387] It has been suggested that the triangular shape of the tree represents the peak of a mountain, and, thus, the tree becomes a symbol for Mt. Etna itself.[388] Since the eagle is associated with Zeus and the tree which it sits on appears to represent Mt. Etna, the image on the coin suggests that Zeus is present on the mountain.[389] This reinforces the claim that Zeus is the god of the mountain, and also the city. It is appropriate that Zeus would appear on the coin if there was indeed such a strong relationship between himself and Mt. Etna, but the details of the coin's design

[384] Jones 1986, 245.
[385] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 23.
[386] See *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 23; Jones 1986, 245.
[387] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 25.
[388] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 25.
[389] There has been some controversy over why the eagle does not have a curved beak or talons, characteristics which are seen with other depictions of eagles, such as the coinage of the colony of Akragas. *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 23-24: It is possible that this was a decision on the part of the artist who wished for "...the short horizontal beak and feet [to] echo the extended left arm and thighs of the god, the seat of his throne, and the upper right-hand branches of the tree." This would allow the eagle to appear to be an extension of Zeus himself.

indicate that Hieron is not simply demonstrating his piety towards the gods, but is manipulating religious ties in order to secure his personal hold over the city. All the images on the coin work together to "invoke Zeus as the city's patron deity and reinforce the details of Aitna's foundation and cultural heritage."[390] As with the associations made through the poetry of Pindar, Hieron is asserting the importance of Zeus in Sicily. If the Mt. Etna region truly belongs to Zeus (because he defeated Typhon there), Hieron, as a 'king' who has been given the right to rule by Zeus, is simply protecting the land that rightfully belongs to the god. This is also hinted by the fact that the Zeus on the coin is sitting on a "stool [that] has been given legs with cutout mouldings typical of the best Greek furniture work of the day," such as Hieron would have owned.[391] This furniture creates another link between Zeus, Hieron, and Sicily. The coin legitimizes Hieron's claim to the city of Aitna, and even boldly states that Hieron is the embodiment of Zeus Aitnaios on earth.

Another coin is attributed to the city of Aitna, another tetradrachm, usually dated between 475 and 470 BC (see Fig. 3.5). One side features an image of Athena riding a chariot, while the goddess of victory flies above her. The other side features Zeus sitting on a throne. The image of a chariot scene with a flying victory overhead mirrors the other Deinomenid coinage and is a reminder of the glory earned by the Deinomenids in battles and athletic contests. This symbolically encorporates Hieron's new city into the larger Deinomenid empire. Though it is difficult to discern because the edge of the coin has

[390] Dougherty 1993, 87.
[391] Holloway 1991, 129.

been worn away, there appears to be a bird perched on the top of the sceptre. This echoes the eagle which sits atop the fir tree placed next to the enthroned Zeus on the other coin.

3.7 Aeschylus and the *Women of Aitna*

In addition to commissioning unique coinage to honour his new city, Hieron also commissioned a unique tragedy that refers to the importance of Zeus in the Mt. Etna region. Hieron invited Aeschylus to come to the city of Syracuse and first requested that the playwright re-stage for a Syracusan audience *The Persians*, which had been originally performed in Athens in 472 BC. In addition to this, Hieron wanted a tragedy written specifically in honour of his new city, Aitna. Both plays are believed to have been performed during Aeschylus' visit to the island in approximately 470 BC.[392] It would be fitting for a play honouring Aitna to be performed in the city itself, but it has been suggested that Syracuse was the actual site of the production. The choice of Syracuse is more logical for several reasons. Firstly, the re-staging of *The Persians* took place in Syracuse.[393] Secondly, Aitna was a small colony compared to Syracuse.

The request by Hieron to have Aeschylus visit his court was extraordinary. Poets and writers did travel in the ancient Greek world, but tragedies were customarily written as trilogies that were to be performed in Athens as part of the City Dionysia. It was extremely uncommon to have a single play written for a foreign audience.[394] Plays were also not often staged a second time.[395] It is also surprising that Aeschylus, an individual

[392] Rehm 1989, 31. Herington 1967, 75-76, proposes that Aeschylus made at least two visits to the island. He debates whether or not the *Persians* and the *Women of Aitna* were performed during separate visits, but suggests that for economic reasons it is most likely that they were performed during that same visit.
[393] Rehm 1989, 31.
[394] Rehm 1989, 31.
[395] Harsh 1960, 9.

who "participated in two major battles in defence of [the Athenian] democracy against the Persians," would produce a play for a tyrant, especially one as ruthless as Hieron.[396] The timing of Aeschylus' visit in the 470's to Sicily is significant, as the end of the Persian War and the birth of the classical period enforced a "negative attitude toward tyranny."[397] Several scholars have discussed how "[i]nviting Aeschylus to his court may be yet another example of [Hieron's] clever manipulation of image in the panhellenic arena."[398] This play and its performance could have been Hieron's attempt to show the mainland that the West was just as powerful and just as 'Greek' as the city of Athens.[399] For this reason, his choice to have the play *The Persians* performed is very significant. The Greek world had recently defeated Xerxes and "[b]y bringing an Athenian poet to his court, Hieron could emphasize Syracusan unity with the mainland and its defeat of the Persians."[400] This performance of *The Persians* can be seen as an attempt to allow the population of Syracuse to celebrate the fact that they too, as members of the Greek world, could claim a part of this victory. Hieron could also use this play to influence the people he controlled in Sicily. By staging the play in Syracuse, a city his brother Gelon took control of during a time of crisis, and by having the play performed during the time when Hieron himself had recently taken a city for himself by force, Hieron may have been trying to de-emphasize the brutal actions of his family by contrasting them with the

[396] Rehm 1989, 32.
[397] McMullin 2004, 143.
[398] McMullin 2004, 145. See also Kowalzig 2008, 139-142 for the Deinomenids and Panhellenism.
[399] Rehm 1989, 31: Rehm mentions the claim made by Herodotus that the people of Sicily defeated the Carthaginians the same day that the Athenians won the battle at Salamis and states that "[t]his 'synchronicity of greatness' served to connect the powerful cities of Athens and Syracuse, while obscuring the very different, although contiguous, paths they took to power." The performance of both *The Persians* and the *Women of Aitna* can be seen as being a part of this "synchronicity of greatness" between the West and the mainland.
[400] McMullin 2004, 145.

atrocities of the Persians. His goal may have been to have the audience rally together and turn their anger and energy towards an enemy of the whole Greek world, instead of against Hieron himself. This new performance of *The Persians* would have aided Hieron in distancing himself from the label of 'a cruel ruler' by comparison with Xerxes. As with the victory odes, these plays allowed Hieron to provide entertainment for the inhabitants of his city, while still feeding them subtle messages regarding the power of the Deinomenids and their rightful claim to the colonies they controlled in Sicily.

The fact that Aeschylus produced his play for a second time is unique, but the fact that he wrote an additional play for a Western Greek tyrant is completely unprecedented: in the *Women of Aitna*, Aeschylus praises the foundation of Aitna despite the fact that Hieron established the city by using extremely violent measures. This Greek tragedy was completely removed from its familiar environment:

> "...the play has been removed from the context of the Great Dionysia to the context of a celebration of a specific event: the 'foundation' of Aetna....[I]t can not have been based in the tradition of questioning civic ideology that is central to many Athenian tragedies. The only ideology that could be presented in the play was ideology that Hieron wished to present to his subjects.[401]

The *Women of Aitna* did not criticize or comment on the state of affairs in the new city, but took figures from indigenous myth and subjugated them under the power of the king of the gods, thus allowing Hieron to further assert the claim that Zeus controlled the Mt. Etna region.[402] The unusual nature of Hieron's request for such a play, as well as Aeschylus' agreeing to write it, is matched by the odd construction of the play itself.

[401] McMullin 2008, 147-48.

[402] Aeschylus may have found a way to make a slight criticism about the actions of Hieron. The play *The Women of Aitna* is set in several areas of Sicily and there are also several scene-changes. Rehm 1989, 33, states that this may be a result of Aeschylus making a comment on how "[t]he play's shifting scenes would

Most tragedies are set in one or two locations, but the *Women of Aitna* takes place over several locations: "The first act takes place in Aetna; the second in Xouthia, a territory near the city of Leontini; then the action moves back to Aetna, then to Leontini, and finally the play concludes in Syracuse."[403] This summary of scenes comes not from the play itself but from a section of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Section XX 2257 fr.1) which includes a hypothesis of Aeschylus' play. Unfortunately, this innovative and unique tragedy does not survive except for a four line fragment of dialogue. Macrobius records these lines in his *Saturnalia*:

> Character A: "What name then shall mortals give to them?"
> Character B: "Zeus bids us call them 'The Holy Palici.' "
> Character A: "And shall the name Palici stand as for good reason given?"
> Character B: "Yes, for they have come back from darkness to this light."[404]

The subject matter of these extent lines reveals a major plot point in the play: the inclusion of the Palikoi. The Palikoi were important twin divinities worshiped in Sicily, as "[t]he cult of the Palici was thus a significant national center of worship for the indigenous Sicels."[405] With this version, the Greeks incorporated Zeus into the myth of the Palikoi and made him the father of these Sikel deities. The nymph Thalia, a daughter of Hephaestus, is the mother of the Palikoi. It is believed that after Thalia became pregnant by Zeus, she feared retribution by Hera and wished that the earth would swallow

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offer a formal equivalent to the dislocation experienced by the original inhabitants of Aetna (the Katanaians)."

[403] Dougherty 1993, 90. Rehm 1989, 33 states that to have "a single play with four or five such changes is unprecedented."

[404] Macronibus. *Saturnalia*. 5.19.24. Τί δῆτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί;/ Σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν./ Ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μενεῖ φάτις;/ Πάλιν γὰρ ἥκουσ᾽ ἐκ σκότους τόδ᾽ εἰς φάος. Trans. Percival Vaughan Davies.

[405] Dougherty 1993, 89.

her up.[406] Thalia hid underground and gave birth to her sons, but the boys eventually were sent back up to the world above. They took up their place as the protective deities of two natural springs in Sicily and they were also entrusted with the loyalty of oaths.[407]

McMullin proposes that Aeschylus might have used the myth of Thalia and Zeus, and the subsequent birth of the twins, as the "starting point" of the plot of the play.[408] Dougherty claims that the play involved "Aeschylus recount[ing] the founding of Aetna as the marriage of a local nymph and Zeus, and thus the birth of the Palici, that is, the origin of their cult, is predicated upon the Greek settlement of Aetna."[409] This is similar to the marriage theme seen in Greek colonial narratives, as "...the view of marriage as a harmonious union of opposites (male and female) becomes symbolic of another kind of union as well–that of Greeks and indigenous populations." [410] Whether or not an actual marriage took place in the play, the sexual encounter between the god and nymph depicts how Zeus took control of the region of Mt. Etna. Thalia represents the land itself and, by being physically overcome by the god, she is the "local repository for Zeus' Olympian seed," and, symbolically, for Zeus' power.[411] This claim is further reinforced by the fact that the nymph Thalia is also referred to by the name Aitna.[412] If in the play Thalia was refered to in this way, this name change would symbolize Zeus becoming master of Aitna the woman, just as he becomes master of Aitna the land.

[406] Macrobius 5.19.18.
[407] See Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 145-180.
[408] McMullin 2004, 151.
[409] Dougherty 1993, 90.
[410] Dougherty 1993, 68.
[411] Dougherty 1993, 90.
[412] Dougherty 1993, 89.

Poli-Palladini advances a reconstruction of the play's plot in which Zeus came to Thalia in the form of a bird on Mt. Etna.[413] An amphora from Paestum which dates to 330-310 BC depicts what appears to be the rape of Thalia by Zeus, who has transformed into an eagle. The actual vase does not survive, but a line drawing of the design exists (see Fig. 4.2).[414] This pot depicts a woman being carried off by a bird of prey, while a wreathed boy looks upon her. This example is unique because it includes the inscription ΘΑΛΙΑ above the head of the female figure (see Fig 4.2).[415] The eagle is often associated with Zeus, and the image of an eagle with a woman who is identified as Thalia, the mother of the Palikoi, makes it clear that this vase is depicting the version of the myth where Zeus appears to Thalia in the form of a bird. If Aeschylus' story did involve Zeus carrying away and overpowering Thalia while in the form of an eagle, then the play matches the imagery of the coin minted by Hieron in honour of Aitna. An eagle is placed right beside the Zeus on the coin of Aitna, and the tree nearby represents the mountain itself. The image on the vase of Paestum includes a young boy with a crown of ivy on his head. This has been suggested to depict a young satyr. If this is a depiction of a satyr, then it is another connection to the coinage of Aitna.[416] Both the coin and the play were produced in honour of the city, and the similarities between the play's plot and the images on the coin suggest that they were created to work with each other and proclaim Hieron's rightful kingship of the city. The fact that several of Pindar's odes also contain themes and imagery that are connected to both the coin of Aitna and the subject matter of

[413] Poli-Palladini 2001, 308.
[414] Dougherty 1993, 86, fig 5.1. Dougherty attributes this image to Sir William Hamilton's Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases, vol. 1, plate 26.
[415] Dougherty 1993, 85-86; Poli-Palladini 2001, 306-07.
[416] Dougherty 1993, 85-87.

Aeschylus' play demonstrates that the propaganda program instituted by Hieron for Aitna was extensive and wide-ranging.

The hypothesis of the play described by the Oxyrhynchus Papyri states that Aitna is one of several locations in which the play is set. It is not known whether 'Aitna' refers to the mountain or to the city of the same name. The play may be making the bold proclamation that the land of Aitna never originally belonged to the colony of Katana, as the land first belonged to Zeus. In McMullin's reconstruction of the plot of the *Women of Aitna*, she states that after the pregnancy of the nymph, "Zeus would then have foretold/promised to Thalia the foundation of Aetna and the cult of the Palici as a way to honor her."[417] If the establishment of Aitna is something that was to occur in the future, than it would appear that Hieron is fulfilling the promise made to Thalia by Zeus.

If the connection that Hieron sought to make between himself and Zeus were not enough to prove his claim over the city of Aitna, the play also highlights a family connection that would help legitimize Hieron's hold over the land. The play had one scene in the city of Xuthia, a Sikel city that became the future *chora* of Leontini and which was located near the land of Katana.[418] Little is known about the actual site of Xuthia, but Poli-Palladini suggests that in the play, Xuthus, the grandson of Hippotes, a descendent of Herakles, appears as the city's ruler.[419] This would make Xuthus a descendent of the Heraclids and a reference to the Heraclids would "...endorse Dorian

[417] McMullin 2004, 151. A common theme in colonial myths is that "an Olympian god rapes a local nymph who then gives her name to the new city that emerges as a result of their intercourse" (Dougherty 1993, 89).
[418] See Freeman 1891 (Vol 1), 484; "Xuthia." *Brill's New Pauly*. (Vol 15) 841.
[419] Xuthos is attributed to being the mythical ruler of Xuthia. See "Xuthos." *Brill's New Pauly*. (Vol 15) 841-42.

(i.e. Syracusan/Deinomenid) control of the region."[420] The colonization party that was sent to establish Gela in Sicily was made up of people from the islands of Rhodes and Crete. Both islands are Dorian.[421] The ancestor of the Deinomenids who came with that colonization party to Gela was from Telos, an island that was also considered to be Dorian.[422] Since their ancestor was from a Dorian island, and the majority of the colonists that came to Gela were Dorian, the lineage of the Deinomenid family in Sicily is tied to the Dorian race.[423] This would imply that by his connection to Zeus and by his Dorian blood, Hieron had a claim to the Etna region.[424]

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri state that the last scene of the play took place in the city of Syracuse. It is significant that the play would end in the chief city of the Deinomenids. Dougherty notes that this has similarities with another play by Aeschylus, *The Eumenides*, in which the action of the previous two plays of the *Oresteia* trilogy culminates in the city of Athens: "In both the final play of the *Oresteia* and in the *Aetnaeae*, the dramatic action returns to the city in which the play is being performed, and it returns as a means of political legitimation and explanation."[425] As the ending of the *Eumenides* praises the law courts of Athens for ending the conflict between the Furies and Orestes, it is possible that the ending of the *Women of Aitna* "celebrates the Syracusan

[420] McMullin 2004, 151.
[421] Craik 1980, 5.
[422] Craik 1980, 5.
[423] For more on the Deinomenids and their Dorian heritage see McMullin 2004, 84-90.
[424] The fact that the Dorians are descended from Herakles, also makes this family link a divine connection as well, further building and strengthening Hieron' claim to the land of Aitna. See McMullin 2004, 151; Poli-Palladini 2001, 321-3. This is only a theory, but the Deinomenids did make "attempts to emphasize their Dorian heritage" (McMullin 2004, 152).
[425] Dougherty 1993, 90.

foundation of Aetna," and also demonstrates how Hieron's actions and the Deinomenid tyranny have benefitted the land of Sicily.[426]

The term itself 'Palikoi' is often associated with the Greek word πάλιν which means "back" or "again," as the twins, although they were born underground, do return to the world above: "Aeschylus' particular etymology of Palici as 'those who have returned' emphasizes the alleged continuity of Greek presence on Sicilian soil."[427] As has been discussed, Pindar states that the true king of Aitna is Zeus and that Hieron founded this city in his honour. Just as the Palikoi return above ground and take up there place at the lake near Mt. Etna, it can be inferred that Hieron is ensuring that Zeus returns to the land that is rightfully his through the agency of Hieron.[428] If Hieron did intend for his son to be the ruler of Aitna, the theme of Zeus establishing his son' leadership of the sacred springs near Aitna would parallel and reinforce Hieron's determination to establish Deinomenes' powerbase in Aitna.[429] The validity of Hieron's claim over Aitna, which he has demonstrated through drama, poetry, and coinage, may be strengthened by the fact that he is associating the foundation of his city with the Palikoi, divinities that guard the sacredness and truthfulness of oaths. Diodorus records that anyone who makes a false

[426] Dougherty 1993, 90.
[427] Dougherty 1993, 90. McMullin 2004, 150-51, attributes the name 'Palikoi' to Aeschylus and says that he has taken the Greek phrase πάλιν ἵκεσθαι ('to return') and created a word which highlights the gods returning to the earth above. Alternatively, the 'pal' root may be related to the Latin term for 'muddy' or 'gray' (see Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 145). Hippys of Rhegion is attributed with first using the term 'Palikoi.' See Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 146n5, for details on Hippys' account.
[428] The fact that a Greek god, Zeus, is portrayed to be the father of twin deities that are associated with Sicily implies that the Greeks had a rightful claim to the land since mythical times. Hieron/Aeschylus could have interpreted Zeus' defeat of Typhon on the mountain as giving Zeus a claim to the mountain and the surrounding land.
[429] See chapter 2, 56-57n204.

oath or statement in the precinct of the Palikoi suffers "divine retribution instantly."[430] Hieron has not specifically made an oath in their sanctuary, but indirectly he may be making a statement to the people of Sicily that if he had unjustly taken the land of Katana to establish Aitna, he would have received punishment for it.

The Palikoi had been venerated in Sicily long before the arrival of the Greeks. By using their myth and establishing Zeus as their father, as well as by promoting Zeus' cult on Mt. Etna and making references to archaic kingship, Hieron is able to establish roots in the land that he wants to control, but to which he has no legal claim. This allows Hieron to create a complex system of interweaving propaganda that legitimizes not only his foundation of Aitna and his control of the city, but also his family's entire tyranny. In doing this, however, the Deinomenids change and warp many aspects of Greek and Sikel religion, myth, and culture and begin to dilute what is actually known about the colonies of Sicily.

3.8.1 Fact or Fiction: The Inventions of the Deinomenids

For the Deinomenids, there appears to have been no method that seemed too extreme or controversial when it came to legitimizing their hold over Sicily and solidifying their rule. This included promoting, manipulating, and exaggerating ties they had to religion and to the land of Sicily in order to make it appear as if the gods themselves sanctioned the power that the family held. This also made it appear that the Deinomenids' tyranny was rooted in the history of the island. The concept of individuals misappropriating religious ties for their own benefit is not unique to the Deinomenids, but

[430] Diodorus 11.89.5. καὶ τοῖς ἐπιορκήσασι συντόμως ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου κόλασις ἀκολουθεῖ.

their approach to it was unique.[431] The Deinomenids not only found clever and subtle ways to achieve their link with the divine, but they even went as far as to fabricate entire aspects of Greek and Sikel religion and history.

3.8.2 The Myth of the Palikoi

The Palikoi are Sikel deities who were given a Greek geneology in the Classical period. In Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, he states that Aeschylus, in his play *Women of Aitna*, was "the first to write about them [the Palikoi]" and also provided "an explanation of their name in his verses."[432] The account of Aeschylus in which Zeus is the father of the Palikoi, contrasts with that of Hesychius (s.v. Palikoi) that states Adranos, a god associated with Mt. Etna, is their father.[433] After Macrobius recounts the myth of the Palikoi he states that he must list the sources that have informed his account.[434] The first one that he mentions, and the only one which refers to the father of the Palikoi, is Aeschylus' play.[435] Just as Aeschylus explained the Greek names of the twin deities, it is likely he is also responsible for making Zeus their father.[436] Aeschylus' play was needed to both celebrate and legitimize Aitna's foundation. He would have needed to create a

[431] See chapter 1, 31, for the example regarding Peisistratus. He endeavoured to make it appear that Athena herself wanted the people of Athens to submit to his rule.
[432] Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. 5.19.17. primus omnium Aeschylus tragicus, vir utique Siculus, in litteras dedit, interpretationem quoque nominis eorum...expressit versibus suis."
[433] Other ancient tests refer to the Palikoi but they often refer to their guardianship of the two geysers connected to oaths. See Diodorus 11.88.6-89.8; Virgil. *Aeneid*. 9.585; Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. 5.403-404; and Strabo 6.2.9.
[434] See Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. 5.19.24.
[435] Macrobius, 5.19.24-31, lists Aeschylus' *Women of Aitna*, Callias' *History of Sicily* Book 7), Polemon's *The Remarkable Rivers of Sicily*, Xenagoras and the third book of his history, and Book 9.581 of Vergil's *Aeneid*.
[436] Dougherty 1993, 90, suggests that Aeschylus has created this version of the myth, as she states that it is in the play the *Women of Aetna* that the Palikoi "have been repatriated as the sons of Zeus and grandchildren of Hephaestus." Macrobius states that he believes that the tale comes from "...the very depths of Greek literature" (5.19.16) "de Graecorum penitissimis litteras."

new myth, as "[n]o ready-to-use myth was available on the remote and divine antecedents of Hiero[n]'s policy concerning the city of Aetna. It had to be invented more or less ex novo."[437] The manipulation of Adranus and his worship in Sicily appears to have been involved in another attempt by the Deinomenids to use religion for their advantage.

3.8.3 The Cult of Zeus Aitnaios

There were many cults of Zeus in the ancient Greek world, each one centred on the worship of a particular aspect of Zeus, a form of the god that was usually celebrated in a specific area or context. The term 'Aetnaeus' or 'Aitnaios' is an epithet given to Zeus when he is connected to Mt. Etna.[438] The only surviving evidence that refers to the worship of Zeus on Mt. Etna is the tetradrachm of Aitna, a coin that was minted in honour of Hieron's city, and a scholion of Pindar, a poet who lived in Hieron's court for a period of time and wrote many odes for the tyrant. Luraghi states that since all the evidence regarding the worship of such a cult is tied to Hieron's city of Aitna, its origin must be linked to the tyrant in some way: "...è pressoché certo che la sua istituzione vada in qualche modo connessa a Ierone."[439] The Archaic style of the Zeus on the coin of Aitna suggests that the image is modelled on an earlier statue.[440] There is, however, no source which describes or mentions such a statue. The image of Zeus on the coin may be deliberately archaizing in order to give legitimacy to the cult of Zeus Aitnaios. The father

[437] Poli-Palladini 2001, 296.
[438] Schmitz 1873, 54. The scholion of Pindar records that a cult to Zeus Aitnaios existed on the mountain for a long time, a cult which included a cult statue of Zeus and a celebration called the Aetnaea (Scholion of Pindar. *Ol*. vi. 162). See also Schmitz 1873, 54. There is a remote possibility that this is true and that Hieron carried on the tradition of this cult, but the evidence which survives suggests that it is more likely that Hieron was instrumental in establishing the cult. This scholion is for an ode that was written in honour of Hagesias, an associate of Hieron, and which praises Hieron's rule. See also chapter 3, 98-99.
[439] Luraghi 1994, 339.
[440] *The Coin of Coins* 2004, 22n7; MacDonald 1969, 94-95, 97. The Zeus on the coin has bulbous eyes and bead-like hair similar to Archaic kouroi.

of the Palikoi in Sikel tradition, Adranus, had a cult near the area of Mt. Etna. It is possible that just as Zeus replaced Adranus in the myth of the twin deities, he may also have taken over Adranus' cult. This possibility is unlikely, however, since Diodorus reports that Dionysius, a tyrant of Syracuse who was active in the late 5th century and early 4th century BC, founded a city in honour of the god Adranus: "While these events were taking place, Dionysius founded in Sicily a city just below the crest of Mount Aetn[a] and named it Adranum, after a certain famous temple."[441] If the temple and worship of Adranus was still known during the time of Dionysius, it is unlikely that the cult had simply been Hellenized. Plutarch also describes this city in his work *Timoleon*, stating that it was: "...small, but sacred to Adranus, a god highly honoured throughout all Sicily."[442] Despite Greek gods and goddesses having been assimilated into the culture of Sicily, the worship of Adranus persisted. A.B. Cook, in his comprehensive work concerning the king of the gods, states that there is no evidence for a long-standing cult of Zeus on the mountain.[443] Zeus and his association with Mt. Etna was a major component of Hieron's plan to legitimize the city of Aitna, so much so that he even named his city after the mountain itself. To further the connection between the mountain, god, and city, Hieron may have established this cult. This would cause the people of Aitna to worship the very god who also was sanctioning Hieron's actions as an *oikistes*. It is believed that Hieron instituted the cult of Aitnaios as the first cult that would be worshipped in the city

[441] Diodorus 14.37.5. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Αἴτνης λόφον, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐπιφανοῦς ἱεροῦ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὴν Ἄδρανον." Trans. C.H. Oldfather (1963).
[442] Plutarch. *Timoleon*. 12.2. οἳ πόλιν μικρὰν μέν, ἱερὰν δ᾽ οὖσαν Ἀδρανοῦ. Trans. Bernadotte Perrin (1918).
[443] Cook 1914, 909.

of Aitna.[444] The people of Aitna may have easily accepted the worship of Zeus as a patron of Mt. Etna due to his connection to the mountain in myth and due to the recent activity of the volcano. Hieron most likely founded Aitna soon after Mt. Etna erupted, as the volcano was said to be have been "busy in Hieron's day sending forth its rivers of fire to lay waste the fields of fruitful Sicily."[445] The Deinomenids frequently took control of cities during moments of crisis; this allowed them to establish themselves as a force of safety and stability for a colony. The recent destruction of the city of Katana would have provided a state of emergency which Hieron could exploit: "la grande eruzione dell'Etna che proprio verso il 476/5 aveva recato gravi danni al territorio cataneo, e che, tra parentesi, non fu certo senza rapporto con la decisione di Ierone di fondare proprio lì una nuova città."[446] By creating a cult of Zeus that protects Mt. Etna, Hieron would also be establishing a cult that the inhabitants of Aitna could turn to and seek protection from future eruptions.[447] The inhabitants of Aitna, if they wanted the protection of Zeus Aitnaios, would have to accept that Zeus had dominion over the land, and this in turn would strengthen Hieron's claim over the city of Aitna. It is possible that the cult of Zeus on Mt. Etna was originally of indigenous origins and was enhanced or exaggerated by Hieron for his own advantage. If he did, however, he was the first Greek to do so, as there is no evidence of any one else in any other colony seeking to Hellenize it. Based on the scant evidence that does survive, it seems most likely that Hieron used both the myth

[444] Poli-Palladini 2001, 294.
[445] Freeman 1891 (Vol. 2), 242.
[446] Luraghi 1994, 340.
[447] Luraghi 1994, 340: Luraghi proposes that the cult could be seen as providing an apotropaic effect.

of Zeus' battle with Typhon and the crisis of a recent volcano eruption to create a cult which would aid the foundation of his new city and enforce his authority over the land.

3.8.4 The Site of Xuthia

The site of Xuthia is mentioned in Aeschylus' *The Women of Aitna*, according to the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, but the actual existence and location of such a city is unknown. Diodorus states that the site is called Xuthia after King Xuthia who ruled over the area.[448] Diodorus' mention of Xuthia is found in his account of how the sons of Aeolus gained control of the island of Sicily.[449] Edward Freeman states that stories such as this, which are recorded by Diodorus, "...must be sheer inventions."[450] The site of Xuthia, he claims, was "a settlement of primitive date of which we have nothing more to say."[451] Poli-Palladini states that if Xuthia was "a local pre-Greek name...[T]he Greeks could not but perceive the connection [with Xuthus the mythological king] as most natural."[452] It is possible that the connection between Xuthia the native site and Xuthus the son of a Greek god had already been established in Sicily and was later adopted by Aeschylus in his play regarding Aitna.[453] The only surviving mention of the site of Xuthia, however, comes from the play *Women of Aetna*, and from Diodorus. This suggests that Aeschylus, for Hieron's benefit, may have incorporated the Sikel language or a Sikel place name into his propaganda play. This would allow Hieron to strengthen his claim on the land by using

[448] See Diodorus 5.8.2. Diodorus, in 5.7.7, records that the father of Xuthus is also the keeper of the winds, proving that this is the same Aeolus with whom Odysseus visited on his journey home.
[449] See Diodorus 5.8.1ff.
[450] Freeman 1891 (Vol 1), 484.
[451] Freeman 1891 (Vol 1), 152. Dougherty 1993, 90, also suggests that Xuthia is a Sikel site.
[452] Poli-Palladini 2001, 292.
[453] Poli-Palladini 2001, 292, states that "[g]iven the toponym Xuthia it is very hard to resist connecting it with a hero Xuthus: for, even if it were a local pre-Greek name (which is far from proved), the Greeks could not but perceive the connection as most natural."

the authority of Greek religion (Zeus), Sikel religion (the Palikoi), and both Greek and indigenous cities. The Deinomenids' manipulation and fabrication of historical and religious elements appear to have influenced not only their own tyranny, but also the future political landscape of Sicily.

3.9 Ducetius: A Sikel Inspired by the Deinomenids?

The tactics used by the Deinomenids in order to fortify their power base in Sicily are also revealed through the actions of an individual who was active after the Deinomenid tyranny ended. Ducetius began a campaign to create a united Sikel state in the late 5th century BC. Ducetius employed the manipulation of indigenous and Greek religion in order to strengthen his position in Sicily. He founded the city Menaenum which is believed to have been the city of his birth which he then re-colonized.[454] Ducetius later founded a city called Palike near the shrines of the twin deities, but it is believed that he actually transferred the site of Menaenum and renamed it so that "[the new name] would have stressed the city's connection with the shrine of the Palici, much as Hieron's new name, *Aetna* for Catana had stressed that city's connection with the Aetnaean Zeus."[455] Ducetius' city near the springs of the Palikoi became "the focal point from which...he extended his power over all the other Si[k]el cities."[456] Ducetius, like Hieron, put "....his movement under the patronage of the ancient native divinities."[457] After his takeover of Aitna, Ducetius was defeated by a combined force comprised of the

[454] See Diodorus 11.78.5. See also Demand 1990, 55; Fischer-Hansen 2004, 178.
[455] Demand 1990, 56. See also Diodorus 11.88.6.
[456] Demand 1990, 56.
[457] Finely 1979, 63.

people of Syracuse and Akragas and was then exiled to the city of Corinth.[458] Later Ducetius returned from the mainland to Sicily, "his excuse being that he had been instructed, by a divine oracle, to settle the Sicilian site of Kale Akte."[459] The cycle of Greek colonization appears to have completely reversed. The original Archaic *oikistai* used Greek religion, specifically the oracle of Apollo, to sanction their presence on the land of Sicily. The Deinomenids, who were Greeks and were inspired by the original *oikistai*, manipulated religion to take control of Greek colonies in Sicily. Now a Sikel, in like manner, was using the tactics of the Greeks (i.e. the proclamation of an oracle) to take control of indigenous land in Sicily for himself. The Sikels were now adopting the tactics of their oppressors: "[The indigenous population] during their prolonged contact with the Greeks, had assimilated more refined institutions and customs."[460] With his campaigns across Sicily, Ducetius appears to have been "aiming at a Greek-style tyranny."[461] Ducetius' desire to emulate the tyrants before him can aid our understanding of how the Deinomenids operated in Sicily. This Sikel leader's actions could help demonstrate that the Deinomenids did falsify facts, as Ducitius appears to have copied their model.

3.10 Conclusions

The changes made to the legacy of the *oikistes* cult of Gela and the myth of the Palikoi appear to be tied to the Deinomenids. The evidence regarding the cult of Zeus at Mt. Etna and the site of Xuthia also only survive in texts connected to the Deinomenids.

[458] See Diodorus 11.90-92.5.
[459] Diodorus 12.8.2. καὶ προσποιησάμενος χρησμὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι κτίσαι τὴν Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. Trans. Peter Green (2006).
[460] Carratelli 1996, 164.
[461] Finely 1979, 14.

It has been suggested that the Deinomenids did not hold a prominent position in Sicily prior to Telines' efforts in Gela.[462] Poli-Palladini proposes that the Deinomenids "were not an illustrious family before Gelon came to power."[463] They also, unlike other dynastic tyrannies, did not have direct, long-standing connections to heroes and gods.[464] Their connection to the *oikistes* of Gela is through a relative who was part of the expedition; they are not descended from the actual *oikistes*. Their link to Demeter was achieved through their role in the goddess' cult, not from being able to trace their ancestry back to the goddess. Their Dorian heritage does connect them to Herakles, but it is a link that anyone from any of the Dorian states can assert. As McMullin notes, if the Deinomeinds did have any sort of illustrious family tree, "surely Aeschylus, Bacchylides, or Pindar would have incorporated it into their poetry."[465] Considering this lack of illustrious ancestry and the need for tyrants to legitimize their power, it is not surprising that the Deinomenids felt a need to invent noteworthy connections.[466]

The Deinomenids formed their empire in Sicily not only through the expenditure of wealth and by the physical force of their armies, but also by exploiting aspects of Greek and Sikel culture. They not only took pre-existing elements of history and religion

[462] Poli-Palladini 2001, 302-303.
[463] McMullin 2004, 130.
[464] See Poli-Palladini 2001, 302; McMullin 2004, 131. Poli-Palladini 2001, 302: Another significant tyranny in Sicily in the 5th century, the Emmenids of Akragas, claimed that their family was descended from the illustrious family line which included one of the founders of the colony, Telemachus; as well as Oedipus, the king of Thebes, Akragas' mother-colony; and Oedipus' ancestor, Kadmos, the founder of Thebes. One of the daughters of Kadmos, Semele is the mother of Dionysis, so Theron can claim that an Olympian god was part of his lineage. See Pindar. *2nd Olympian Ode*. 43-7.
[465] McMullin 2004, 131.
[466] Poli-Palladini 2001, 303, states that if Gelon could have claimed descent from an individual who ruled in Sicily in the mythical past, he could have given authority to his tyranny by reinforcing a "...Sicilian genealogy for his family," and claim that his leadership showed the "...return of the ruling stock to that territory." The Deinomenids, however, did not have such a rich lineage to promote.

and used them to give authority to their tyranny, but it also appears that they actually created new elements as well. This helps us understand how the Deinomenids were able to gain and maintain their power, but it complicates our understanding of how Greek and Sikel societies interacted with each other's myths and traditions. We cannot know for sure in what way the indigenous population worshiped a certain Greek god, or the significance indigenous myths played in the Greek colonies, if these traditions were invented. Just as they displaced people, the Deinomenids can be accused of displacing the myths and traditions of Sicily too. By employing many methods to legitimize their rule, the Deinomenids were able to successfully hold on to their high position in the West for almost three decades, but their tyranny eventually ended in the face of the rising demand for democracy and freedom. Despite their overthrow, the Deinomenids continued to influence not only Sicily but the rest of the Greek world for decades to come.

Chapter 4: The Aftermath and Legacy of the Deinomenid Tyranny

4.1 Introduction

The evidence that survives of the Deinomenids' dedications, building projects, and the accounts of historians and poets regarding the family allows us to form a cohesive picture of the reign of the family up until the fall of their tyranny in 466 BC. It is the aftermath of their powerful rule, however, which begins to truly demonstrate how great and far-reaching was their power. Decades after their deaths, the memory of the family survived and their actions still permeated and influenced the Greek world, not only in Sicily, but on the mainland as well.

4.2 Democracy in Sicily

The Deinomenids were an indirect catalyst for the spread of democracy in Sicily in the latter half of the 5th century BC. Tyrants held power *de facto*, not *de iure*; Thrasyboulos did not have the sophistication of his brothers, Gelon and Hieron, when it came to finding innovative ways to convince the inhabitants of Syracuse that he deserved to hold power. For a long time, the benevolence of Gelon appeared to quell any ill will toward the family: "[M]any were eager to revolt, but restrained themselves on account of Gelon's reputation and his benevolence to all Sicilian Greeks."[467] Hieron was cruel in many of his actions (e.g the foundation of Aitna), yet he "...understood the importance of reputation, especially how a negative image as tyrant could endanger his rule."[468] The unpopularity of Thrasyboulos with his people brought about the end of the Deinomenids'

[467] Diodorus 11.67.4.
[468] McMullin 2004, 182. Hieron found ways to make it appear as if the gods sanctioned his actions, especially in Aitna. See chapter 3, 83-116.

tyranny. Finely suggests that the 'democratic interlude' witnessed in Sicily in the 460's BC was less about the desire of the people for a participatory government and more a result of the rule of inexperienced tyrants: "[I]t was the weakness of the next generation as much as their brutality which brought them down."[469] The animosity between Polyzalos and Hieron appears to have been the beginning of the family conflict that ultimately destroyed the Deinomenid tyranny. Aristotle claims that Thrasyboulos had a feud with his nephew Deinomenes over which of them possessed the rightful claim to the tyranny of Syracuse. This appears to have been the final 'battle' which brought down the Deinomenids.[470] Not only were both men fighting for power over Syracuse, but the people of the colony were also divided: "A quarrel between the supporters of Thrasyboulos and the supporters of Gelon's young son gave an opening for revolution, and the tyranny was overthrown."[471] The dynastic tyranny that withheld the violence of the Carthaginians, the Etruscans, and even other Sicilian forces was destroyed not by any external enemy, but as a result of family friction.

Diodorus records how Thrasyboulos' actions led the people of Syracuse to ultimately revolt. Thrasyboulos' first response was to establish an army composed of hired foreign mercenary soldiers, "thus setting up an opposition force with which to counter the citizen-militia."[472] He did not seek to pacify the population of Syracuse in any way, but continued to "...exacerbat[e] the hatred of the citizens by the numerous

[469] Finely 1979, 58.
[470] Aristotle. *Politics*. 5.8.19. See also chapter 2, 65.
[471] Andrewes 1974, 134.
[472] Diodorus 11.67.5. καθόλου δὲ μισῶν καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, μισθοφόρων πλῆθος ἐξενολόγησεν, **ἀντίταγμα κατασκευάζων ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν.**

outrages he perpetrated on them."[473] After several battles, Thrasyboulos attempted to use diplomacy to calm the situation, but he eventually made a truce with the Syracusans and stepped down as tyrant.[474] At this time a democratic government was set up in Syracuse. The Syracusans "then freed those other cities which either were ruled by tyrants or had garrisons, and restored democratic governments in them."[475] The end of one form of rule paved the way for the rise of another, and democracy entered Sicily, although its appearance was short lived.[476]

The middle of the 5th century was a time in which "wars and revolutions... brought to a close the first age of tyrants [on the island]."[477] After the events at Syracuse in 466 BC, "tyranny seems to have been replaced by democracy everywhere but in [Ai]tna and Messina, where the change was to come within the next few years."[478] Diodorus ends his account of the fall of the Deinomenids by stating that after the establishment of a democratic government, "...Syracuse had peace and greatly increased prosperity,

[473] Diodorus 11.67.6. ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς πολίταις ἀπεχθόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑβρίζων.
[474] Diodorus 11.68.4.
[475] Diodorus 11.68.5. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς τυραννουμένας ἢ φρουρὰς ἐχούσας ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀποκατέστησαν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς δημοκρατίας.
[476] Finely 1979, 58, notes that before 460 BC the experience Sicily had with democracy was "very limited and unpromising."
[477] Finely 1979, 58. Akragas, a colony ruled by the Emmenids, had a similar experience. They drove out the tyrant Thrasydaios, the son of Theron, in 471/10 B.C. Thrasydaios' brutal behaviour and treatment of his people first began when he was the governor of Himera (Diodorus 11.48.6) His barbaric rule continued in Akragas after the death of his father, Theron. The people of Akragas had a more favourable opinion of Theron than his son (Diodorus 11.53.2). When he was defeated by a force raised by Hieron, he was driven out of Akragas. An oligarchy was instituted for a few years, but a democracy was later established in Akragas, just as in Syracuse (Diodorus 11.53.5). Thrasydaios was expelled in 471/0 B.C. Champion 2010, 48, states that the oligarchy is believed to have lasted 3 years. The democracy of Akragas was most likely instituted around 468/7 BC, a few years before Syracuse. It was the events at Syracuse, however, that were a major turning point for the introduction of democracy into the West.
[478] Finely 1979, 59.

preserving its democracy for almost 60 years."[479] Although the change was widely accepted throughout the island as being an improvement on tyrannical rule, the new form of government did not fit easily into the culture of Sicily, which had rarely experienced any form of 'rule by the people.'[480] Public debate was difficult for colonies which had suffered from mass population migrations. This made it difficult for the people of a single city to share a common vision of how the affairs of the city should be conducted: "Years of mass exile and transplantation had left a bitter heritage on this issue, which produced open conflict once the tyrant's hand was removed."[481] Democratic leaders within the colony were "so suspicious of opposition that it was sometimes difficult to carry on government at all."[482] Distrust was detrimental to the newly established democracy, as this form of government in the Greek world was rooted in the concept that each citizen would speak on behalf of what was best for his city. This type of mixed population that shared no common identity was beneficial to a tyrant, as it prevented alliances from forming and causing a rebellion, but it was a detriment to a democracy, which needed all the people of a society to work together. The citizenship that was granted by the Deinomenids to their mercenary soldiers also hindered the effective administration of the democracy. The people of Syracuse, for example, did not trust these individuals and wanted "[t]o drive them out and purify the city of all traces of the

[479] Diodorus 11.68.6. εἰρήνην ἔχουσα πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτη σχεδὸν ἑξήκοντα.
[480] Diodorus 11.72.1-3 discusses the prosperous state of affairs in Syracuse after the introduction of democracy.
[481] Finely 1979, 59.
[482] Andrewes 1974, 136.

tyranny."[483] The Syracusans decided that public office should only be held by those whose citizenship "predated Deinomenid rule."[484] This decree resulted in battles being fought between the soldiers and the other citizens of Syracuse, causing a division between the people of the colony and further impeding the democracy. Tyrants, such as the Deinomenids, inadvertently helped usher in democracy due to their harsh treatment of the colonies for many years, but the displacement of people from various cities, which the tyrants also orchestrated, presented a barrier which prevented this form of government from thriving on the island. Thus, even when the tyrants had been overthrown, their influence was still felt in the politics of Sicily.

It is not the purpose to of this thesis to analyze the form of democracy which existed in Syracuse or any of the other colonies in the West in the 5th century, nor to compare it with the form of democracy that was established at Athens.[485] The fact that the people of Sicily turned to this form of government, however, does impact the study of the Deinomenid tyranny, as well as the study of Greek tyranny in Sicily in general. The failure of Thrasyboulos as a leader highlights the great lengths that were taken by Gelon and Hieron to ensure that they were viewed in a positive light by the people of their cities. This was a necessity for maintaining an effective tyranny. The Deinomenids' success came not by simply having the power to take over a city by force, but by having the insight to use words, art, and religion to convince the people of Sicily that they had a legitimate claim to the colonies. With that type of leader gone, a void was left which

[483] McGlew 1993, 132.
[484] McGlew 1993, 132.
[485] For this see Robinson (2000) 189-205. Also Aristotle, *Politics* 5.3.6, 1304a 27-29, states that Syracuse's government was a *politeia* instead of a *demokratia*. The difference between these two terms is, as stated by Finely 1979, 62, "not translatable in modern language."

allowed the people of Syracuse to break free from the only form of government they had known for decades and to attempt to undo the wrongs committed by the tyrants.

4.3 Aitna/Inessa

The destruction of the powerful hold the Deinomenids had on Sicily was not only beneficial for the communities that were controlled by the family, but also for those people who had been forced by the Deinomenids to leave their home colonies. Hieron's decision to remove the population of Katana, so that he could use their land for his new city, was a brutal and violent act. In 461 BC, the people who inhabited Aitna were driven out by the Sikel leader Ducetius.[486] On what is believed to have been a Sikel site known as Inessa, the Aitnaians established a second city named Aitna. The exact location of Aitna-Inessa is unknown. Strabo records that the city was near Centoripa and that it was 80 stades from Katane. Archaeological research has suggested two present-day sites that could be the true location of the city: Paternò-Cività and Poggio Cocola.[487] All the proposed locations for the city are in the vicinity of a significant landmark – Mt Etna. The Katanians later took back the land that had been originally taken from them:

> But at the death of Hiero[n] the Catanaeans came back, ejected the inhabitants, and demolished the tomb of the tyrant. And the Aetnaeans, on withdrawing, took up their abode in a hilly district of Aetna called Innesa, and called the place, which is eighty stadia from Catana, Aetna, and declared Hiero[n] its founder.[488]

The actions of the Katanians illustrate that after 466 BC there was a great desire on the part of the colonies to not only establish a new form of government but to also erase

[486] Diodorus 11.76.1-3.
[487] Pope 2006, 15.
[488] Strabo 6.2.3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος κατελθόντες οἱ Καταναῖοι τούς τε ἐνοίκους ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνέσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου. οἱ δὲ Αἰτναῖοι παραχωρήσαντες τὴν Ἴννησαν καλουμένην τῆς Αἴτνης ὀρεινὴν ὤκησαν καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τὸ χωρίον Αἴτνην διέχον τῆς Κατάνης σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα οἰκιστὴν ἀπέφηναν. See also Diodorus 11.76.3.

evidence of the tyrants. The destruction of Hieron's tomb is evidence of this desire and the coinage produced by the cities after the collapse of the Deinomenids also illustrates how each city was eager to establish a civic identity of their own, one that was separate from their former rulers.

4.4.1 Developments in Coinage after 466 BC

Coinage was a major aspect of the Deinomenids' propaganda program in Sicily. Coinage minted under the reign of Gelon and Hieron no longer made generic references to a particular colony, but was instead a symbol of the tyrants themselves and was imbued with messages which explained why the tyrants deserved to hold power in Sicily. The coinage produced by colonies that were once controlled by the Deinomenids were influenced by the family, either because the designs instituted by the tyrants had become deeply rooted in the culture of a colony or because a colony was making a deliberate attempt to comment on the collapse of the tyranny and even boldly oppose the tyrants.

4.4.2 Syracuse and Gela

Even after the end of the Deinomenids' reign, the design and production of coinage in Gela and Syracuse was still connected to the tyrants. The image of a winged *Nike* crowning a charioteer and his horses still persisted on Syracusan coinage for many decades (see Fig. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9). There are also examples from Gela, dating to approximately 440 BC, which still include a chariot with a winged victory (see Fig. 3.10). Chariot scenes appear on the coinage of Syracuse even before Gelon became tyrant, but the inclusion of a winged victory goddess is first seen after the Deinomenids took control of the city. This symbol appears to have represented the many victories of the

Deinomenids in both athletic competitions (primarily in the chariot events) and in war. The introduction of this imagery allowed the tyrants to have the identity of the colony bound to their own identity. The continuation of this design illustrates that Syracuse's identity was still connected to the Deinomenids even when the family was no longer in control.

The coinage of Gela in the early 5th century BC often included a horse and nude rider. It is not known whether this design was first introduced by Hippocrates and later adopted by the Deinomenids, or was created by the Deinomenids themselves. Either way, the image is a symbol related to tyrants. This design continued to appear on Gela's coinage and is even present on examples dated towards the end of the 500's BC. A Geloan coin from 425 BC features a rider wearing armour and stabbing another soldier with a spear (see Fig. 3.11). In this example, the scene has evolved, but it is still based on a design which is connected to the earlier age of tyranny. Syracuse and Gela fought to free themselves from the rule of the tyrants, but the longevity of their rule and the extent of their power meant that the influence the tyrants had in certain aspects of the culture of the colonies could not be reversed.

A coin from Gela, dating to 440 BC, appears to comment on the Deinomenids' downfall. This coin features an image of the river god Gelas being crowned by a winged *Nike* (see Fig. 3.10). Gelas is a divinity celebrated in the colony of Gela. This could be interpreted as the people of Gela making a statement that they have won their freedom from the Deinomenids, thus taking the 'victory' symbol associated with the family and using it to show the victory of the Geloans over the tyrants. Other colonies recently freed

from the Deinomenids also appear to have used coinage to comment on their turbulent past.

4.4.3 Katana

The city of Aitna was restored to its previous inhabitants, the Katanians, shortly after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny. The reverse of the city's tetradrachm which is dated to approximately 460 BC features a *Nike* figure holding a wreath (see Fig. 3.12).[489] As has been already discussed, the symbol of a flying victory with a wreath was a common feature of the coinage minted under the reign of the Deinomenids and was presented alongside a horse and chariot scene. The Katanians' decision to keep this victory symbol and remove the chariot could be interpreted as the inhabitants erasing a symbol that was synonymous with the Deinomenids. Instead, the victory goddess alone fills the side of the coin and the word KATANAION ('of the Katanians') encircles her on one side. This could be interpreted as the Katanians celebrating their victory of reclaiming their land. Again, Strabo's description of how the returning Katanians made sure to destroy Hieron's burial place suggests a need to obliterate all reminders of the tyrant. The reverse of another tetradrachm of Katana contains the image of Apollo (see Fig. 3.13). The facial details match the precision of the decadrachm coin minted under Gelon's reign. The stylistic achievements made by the Deinomenids during their tyranny impacted the design and production of coinage throughout Sicily and continued to do so long after their power had vanished. Even if the people of Katana used the images on

[489] Jenkins 1972, 148. He believes this coin was produced soon after the Katanians reclaimed the city. Some have dated the tetradrachma of Aitna, featuring Zeus and a satyr, to this time period. See chapter 3, 100n360.

coins to denounce the Deinomenids, the practice of using intricately designed coinage to make powerful statements was introduced by the very tyrants the Katanians wished to criticize. By incorporating personal messages into coinage, they are following the model established by the Deinomenids. For the cities once under the Deinomenid tyranny, it appears to be impossible to truly escape their former rulers.

Another coin minted in 460 BC has a satyr riding a local river-god, Amenanos (see Fig. 3.14). Amenanos is similar to the image of the river-god Gelas which appear on the coins of Gela.[490] It is possible that by representing a river god in a subservient way, instead of in the prominent role it is given on the earlier coinage of Gela, the Katanians were making a statement about the collapse of the Deinomenid tyranny. On this same coin, a sea-monster (also known as a *ketos*) is present under the ground line, a creature which is also found on a coin from Syracuse which dates to 470 BC. This image in the Syracusan context is believed to have referred to the sea battle Hieron fought and won against the Etruscans.[491] In a Katanian context, it may simply refer to the "watery surroundings" of the river god. Under the reign of the Deinomenids a *ketos* was used to refer to an enemy; it is also possible that it is used here to refer to Hieron, the enemy who forced the people of Katana from their land.[492] The coinage of Katana celebrates, although subtly, that city's inhabitants taking back the land that they were harshly driven out of, but the influence of the tyrants is still present in the iconography. The coinage of Katana near the end of the 5th century BC even includes examples featuring a chariot

[490] Jenkins 1972, 148.
[491] Jenkins 1972, 147.
[492] Jenkins 1972, 148.

scene with a winged victory (see Fig. 3.15), demonstrating that even though the tyrants are physically gone from the city, they loom in the background of the colony's history and culture.

4.4.4 Naxos

The colony of Naxos was ruled by the Deinomenids following its destruction in 476 BC and subsequent reconstruction.[493] Diodorus records that the people of Naxos were also displaced by Hieron when he founded Aitna, and it is possible that part of Naxos' *chora* was used for the new city's territory. A coin produced in Naxos after the fall of the tyrants demonstrates, like the examples at Katana, that the exquisite detail that was a feature of Deinomenid coinage was later adopted by other colonies (see Fig. 3.16). The head of Dionysius on this 460 BC issue is more life-like than the archaic style seen in earlier decades. An image of a nude satyr appears on the opposite side of the coin. It is also extremely detailed, but may also have a deeper message attached to it: "The whole composition has an intense vitality and expressiveness which is interesting to compare with the Aitna coin."[494] It is believed that "...after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny they [the Naxians] reclaimed their old city and for the occasion they apparently ordered dies for a tetradrachm from the Aetna Master."[495] The Aitna Master is the name given to the artist who designed the die for the Silenus/Zeus coin Hieron had minted to celebrate the foundation of Aitna.

[493] Mertens 2006, 343-351. See also Diodorus 11.49.1-2.
[494] Jenkins 1972, 147.
[495] Holloway 1991, 129.

The satyr depicted on the Aitnaian coin and the satyr depicted on the coin of Naxos are very different from one another. The satyr on the Aitna coin is subdued, calm, and bears none of the wild and rustic traits commonly associated with satyrs in Greek myth and art. The Naxian satyr is nude, has untamed hair, and includes the familiar characteristics given to satyrs, such as a wine cup and an erect penis. The discussion of coinage in chapter 3 presented a theory that the restrained demeanour of the satyr on the coin of Aitna was possibly to reflect Hieron's desire to demonstrate that he has tamed the land of Aitna and wishes for the people of Aitna to willingly submit to his rule.[496] The new coin by the Naxians breaks free from the imagery of Hieron's coin, just as the Naxians have freed themselves from the Deinomenids' rule.

4.4.5 Leontini

The colony of Leontini was also greatly affected by the foundation of Aitna, as the people of Katana and Naxos who were removed from their colonies were placed by Hieron in Leontini and told to make their home there.[497] The family's expulsion from power impacted the minting of new coins for the people of Leontini. Once the people of Katana and Naxos took back their land, the city of Leontini was free from the harsh treatment of the Deinomenids and free from the population which was forced upon their land. A coin from 460 BC features the head of Apollo on one side and a large image of a lion's head on the other side (see Fig. 3.18). With this new coin, the people of Leontini celebrated their freedom from tyranny visually by "replac[ing] the quadriga of Syracuse

[496] See chapter 3, 101-02.
[497] Diodorus 11.49.2.

with the head of Apollo, their own patron god."[498] The head of Apollo on the Leontini coin and the female head on the decadrachm coin from Syracuse share many of the same features, such as the shape of the head, hair tendrils, nose, and eyes. This illustrates a continuation of the high artistic quality seen with Deinomenid coinage. This detailed portrait of Apollo as a young man and the open mouth of the lion's head helps "sho[w] the wiry vitality of this vision of youthful god and beast."[499] The vigor suggested by the head of Apollo and the lion on the coin may represent a new beginning for the colony, which was now free to rule itself again. The side with the lion's head could also be making a statement on the city's new found liberty in another way. An issue from the colony minted in 480 BC (during the reign of the Deinomenid's) features a small lion under the head of Apollo (see Fig. 3.17). Since the Greek word for lion, λέων, is connected to the name of the city, the image of a lion would cause other Greeks to quickly associate the coin with the colony of Leontini.[500] The small lion causes Leontini to appear to be diminished and subjugated by the tyrants. Having such a large version of this symbol on the 460 BC coin could be the city promoting that their coinage now reflects their own identity, not the tyrants.

The coinage minted during the tyranny of the Deinomenids continued to influence the artistic design and symbolic meaning of coinage long after the family lost their hold over Sicily. The Deinomenids used elaborate coins to show off their great power, wealth, and achievements. Minting coinage as exquisite and personal as the Deinomenids' was a

[498] Demand 1990, 54.
[499] Holloway 1991, 128-29.
[500] Holloway 1991, 128: Holloway refers to the lion head being "an appropriate punning type."

way for the newly democratic colonies to show that they were now ruling themselves and were the new power players in Sicily; yet they were showing their power by using the method that was preferred and perfected by the tyrants themselves. The colonies were physically free from tyrants, but their former rulers were still present in their culture. This is further illustrated by the careers of tyrants who rose to power in Sicily in the late 5th century and in the 4th century BC, and who continued to follow the model of the Deinomenids.

4.5.1 Subsequent Greek Tyrants in Sicily

The democracy established in Sicily after the fall of the tyrants, although met with several complications, lasted for several decades. This ended in 406 BC, when the next great wave of tyranny began. The new tyrannies were directly influenced by the Deinomenids: "[T]hrough their new model for tyranny, focused on military power and empire, which was taken up by their successors Dionysius I, Agathocles, and Hieron II, the Deinomenids helped to shape the history of Sicily for the next three centuries."[501] These three tyrants established their powerbase in Syracuse in part through the Deinomenid family, either by emulating their actions or invoking their powerful status.

4.5.2 Dionysius I

Dionysius gained power in Syracuse during a time of great conflict, just as Gelon did near the start of the 5th century BC. In 414 BC, Syracuse had the military strength and strategy to repel an invasion by the Athenians, but the attack still created turmoil within the city. Sicily also dealt with another Carthaginian invasion in 409 BC. During

[501] McMullin 2004, 186.

this tumultuous time, a general, Hermocrates, was banished because he was "suspected of oligarchic leanings."[502] Hermocrates' attempt to return to Syracuse resulted in his death and presented an opportunity for Dionysius I. It was at this point that Dionysius I "had distinguished himself in battle, and he now came forward as a patriotic democrat."[503] Dionysius I offered himself to the people of Syracuse as a defender of democracy, but manipulated this role in order to gain sole power for himself. Part of this manipulation strategy included comparing himself to a strong military leader who also successfully defeated the Carthaginians earlier that century: "It was conveniently remembered [at this time] that Gelon had been in sole command at Himera, and now Dionysius was made sole general with full executive powers."[504] It is possible that Dionysius, directly or through the agency of others, made sure this fact was "conveniently remembered." Just as Gelon had established power in Gela by presenting himself as a protector of the sons of Hippocrates, and just as he established himself as an ally to the *Gameroi* of Syracuse, Dionysius presented himself as a champion of the people and used that position to become the absolute ruler of those same people. Dionysius followed other aspects of the Deinomenids' rule. Gelon's reign as tyrant was innovative in several ways, including his division of plots of land:

> [Gelon's] actions at Syracuse were unprecedented. He created a new form of s[y]noikism, integrating the populations of several *poleis* into Syracuse, making them citizens and giving them a share in the government. He did the same with thousands of mercenary soldiers, and quite possibly provided them with land.[505]

[502] Andrewes 1974, 137.
[503] Andrewes 1974, 137-138.
[504] Andrewes 1974, 138.
[505] McMullin 2004, 182.

Dionysius is believed to have distributed plots of land among the inhabitants of his city, including "his partisans" and "some liberated slaves," and he also spent a great deal of time and resources to strengthen Syracuse's position.[506] As he was building up the colony he was also "...improving his own position."[507] Dionysius appears to have been inspired by the actions of Gelon, as during his tyranny he continued to invest in the colony and benefit his people, while subtly securing and increasing his own power.

4.5.3 Agathocles

Agathocles, like the Deinomenids, appears to not have come from a particularly wealthy or influential family. Like Gelon, he used military prowess and success to establish his power base among the people of Syracuse: "[H]e raised himself from the station of a potter to that of tyrant of Syracuse and king of Sicily."[508] The reign of Agathocles started in a manner that was parallel to the Gelon's, "as general in a campaign against Carthage."[509] Gelon took power in Syracuse a few years before his battle with the Carthaginians, but it was his victory over these foreign invaders that elevated his status and caused the city's population to praise him and proclaim him to be their king.[510] Exploiting a moment of crisis was a tactic often used by the Deinomenids, and later tyrants, like Agathocles, adopted this as well.

Agathocles also used the medium of coinage to his own advantage. He, like the Deinomenids, produced coinage that reflected his identity and not the identity of Syracuse, "pushing out any civic form of coinage, [and] making concrete the growth of

[506] Andrewes 1974, 139.
[507] Andrewes 1974, 139.
[508] Cotton 1873, 63.
[509] Lewis 2009, 105.
[510] Diodorus 11.26.6.

royal power."[511] Agathocles' role as king was proclaimed on coins that featured the legend AGATHOKLES BASILEUS and designs that were modelled after the coinage of the Ptolemy's of Egypt.[512]

The significance of the worship of Demeter in Sicily, as promoted by the Deinomenid family, was also used by Agathocles during his reign. He is said to have been "aware of the value of associating his own private enterprises with what had become by his day the principal symbol of pan-Sicilian unity and success."[513] During Agathocles involvement with the Carthaginian campaign in 310 BC, he is recorded by Diodorus as having performed a sacrifice to Demeter on the shore of Africa. It is during this offering to Demeter and her daughter that he reminds his army of a promise he made to the goddesses before they set sail: "[T]o Demeter and Corê, the goddesses who protected Sicily, he had at the very moment when they were pursued by the Carthaginians vowed to offer all the ships as a burnt offering."[514] Since they had reached the shore safely, Agathocles set fire to his ships with torches in order to fulfill his vow and instructed his men to do the same to their ships. It has been suggested that Agathocles' reason in doing this was less about honouring Demeter, and more about implementing a clever plot he devised: "[S]ince he had a small army, he reasoned that if he guarded the ships he would be compelled to divide his forces and so be by no means strong enough to meet the enemy in battle, and if he left the ships without defenders, he would put them into the

[511] Lewis 2009, 108.
[512] See Lewis 2009, 107-108.
[513] White 1964, 267-68.
[514] Diodorus 20.7.2-3. ἔφησε ταῖς κατεχούσαις Σικελίαν θεαῖς Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ πεποιῆσθαι, καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν ἐδιώχθησαν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων, εὐχὰς λαμπαδεύσειν ἁπάσας τὰς ναῦς. καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν τετευχότας τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποδιδόναι τὰς εὐχάς. Trans. Russel M. Geer (1954).

hands of the Carthaginians."[515] This is an example of Agathocles using religious ties to his own advantage so that he could persuade his troops to follow his command: "[W]e see Agathocles manipulating his troops' religious commitments to Demeter in order to win their confidence and presumably to cast himself in the role of a second Timoleon."[516] The actions of Agathocles parallel the actions of the Deinomenids, as they regulary misused religious ties, including their connection to Demeter, in order to legitimize their tyranny.[517] Agathocles' use of Demeter was to aid his military strategy against the Carthaginians, but it is still an example of the continued manipulation of Demeter by a tyrant of Syracuse.

4.5.4 Hieron II

The legacy of the Deinomenids and the fact that they were still regarded as important individuals in the minds of the people of Sicily is best displayed by the actions of Hieron II, "the last Greek tyrant."[518] Hieron II, like Agathocles and the Deinomenids before him, "made roughly the same sort of use of Demeter."[519] The coins minted by Hieron II feature a portrait of his wife in the manner typical of Demeter.[520] By having Hieron II's wife appear as a priestess of Demeter, another important connection that Hieron attempted to promote to the people of Syracuse was strengthed. Hieron II created a multifaceted propaganda program that not only was modelled after the Deinomenids,

[515] Diodorus 20.7.5. ἔπειτα καὶ δύναμιν ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐθεώρει διότι φυλάσσων μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἀναγκασθήσεται μερίζειν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι, καταλιπὼν δ᾽ ἐρήμους ὑποχειρίους ποιήσει γενέσθαι Καρχηδονίοις.
[516] White 1964, 268.
[517] For Demeter, see chapter 3, 80-83.
[518] Lewis 2009, 117.
[519] White 1964, 268.
[520] White 1964, 268.

but also included the forging of direct links with the family: "Hieron [II] himself was of a not particularly distinguished family on his father's side, and he was illegitimate, his mother being a slave. To bolster his position he claimed descent from Gelon I."[521] For the Deinomenids, a major aspect of sanctioning their rule was emphasizing their connection to an ancestor who was a part of the original expedition party to Gela, and an ancestor who established the family's hereditary priesthood of the cult of Demeter. Just as the Deinomenids linked themselves to the past in order to strengthen their position in Syracuse, Hieron II used the Deinomenid tyranny to give authority to his claim over the colony: "Hieron...sought legitimacy for his rule through connections with past Syracusan tyrants."[522] The coinage that depicted Hieron's wife as Demeter illustrates that, "...Hieron was asserting for himself and his wife the inherited right to the old ancestral possession of the genuine Deinomenids, the priesthood of Demeter."[523] Being connected to the Deinomenids gave Hieron II's authority credibility, as it made him a descendent of capable and powerful leaders, and it also allowed him to adopt the significant position of being a priest of Demeter.

Besides sharing the name of one of the Deinomenids, Hieron II also named his children after members of the family. His son was named after Gelon, and his daughter was named after Gelon's wife, Damarete.[524] The choice of names helped to reinforce the family link that Hieron II was trying to promote. The names were also a continual reminder of individuals from the past who were well respected, and Hieron II may have

[521] Rutter 1993, 186. See also Polybius 7.8.1 and Justin 23.4.1. White 1964, 269, claims that Hieron II specifically claimed descent from Hieron I.
[522] Lewis 2009, 118.
[523] White 1964, 269.
[524] Lewis 2009, 118; Pausanius 6.12.3.

anticipated that the positive association the people of Syracuse had with those individuals would be transferred to himself and his own family.

The method by which Hieron II obtained power in Syracuse is even similar to how Gelon accomplished this same task, as Hieron II aided the city when it was in a time of crisis with a group known as the Mamertines.[525] Hieron II was elected by the Syracusans to be their general, and it is through his actions in this role that he began to increase his power: "[He] inflicted a severe defeat on them [the Mamertines], capturing their leaders. This put an end to the audacity of the Mamertines, and on his return to Syracuse he was with one voice proclaimed king by all the allies."[526] Hieron II learned from the actions of the Deinomenids that power could be more successfully taken when one ruled with the "consent of the popular assembly."[527] The Deinomenids achieved this by manipulating various religious, cultural, and historic ties. Hieron II, like Dionysius I and Agathocles, manipulated the legacy of the Deinomenids to achieve this same feat.

Tyrants in the 4th century BC had as little legal claim to their position as the tyrants from the 5th century BC did, but they learned from earlier tyrants several ways in which they could legitimize their authority over Sicily. The actions of the later tyrants on the island directly and indirectly illustrate that the legacy of the Deinomenids was well-remembered by the people of the island. Years after their tyranny had collapsed, and despite committing atrocious actions, the history of the Deinomenids was not forgotten and was instead spread throughout the Greek world through several texts.

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[525] See Polybius 1.8.4ff.
[526] Polybius 1.9.8. Trans. τροπὴν δὲ ποιήσας αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ζωγρίᾳ τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατέπαυσε τόλμαν, αὐτὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων προσηγορεύθη τῶν συμμάχων. Trans. W. R. Paton (1967).
[527] Lewis 2009, 120.

4.6 The Historical and Literary Account of the Deinomenids' Legacy

Despite the fact that Sicily was separate from the mainland, that tyranny was distrusted after the Persian Wars, and that the family was known for its occasional cruel treatment of the colonies, the Deinomenids continued to be reflected on by many Greek writers who document the family's history. Many of these texts have been discussed in this thesis, but three sources in particular, written after the fall of the tyranny, help uncover whether aspects of the Deinomenids' propaganda program were successful while they were in power. In the *Moralia*, Plutarch records a story in which Dionysius, a 4th century tyrant of Syracuse, laughs and belittles the deeds of Gelon, calling him the "jest of Sicily."[528] Plutarch includes this story in a section entitled "On praising oneself inoffensively," in which he is concerned to explain why it is not beneficial for a man to praise himself, but that he should instead praise others: thus a man will avoid appearing hubristic, but will at the same time be associated with the positive traits of the person being praised. Dionysius, then, should have applauded Gelon for his own personal benefit. Plutarch gives examples of other great men who honoured themselves by honouring others: "Alexander by honouring Heracles, and again Androcottus by honouring Alexander, won esteem for themselves for similar merit."[529] Not only does this passage highlight the method used by many tyrants of Sicily – legitimizing power by making connections with figures from the past, but it also appears to validate the claims of a close association with the gods that are present in the victory odes written for Hieron.

[528] Plutarch. *Moralia*. 542 D. γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας. Trans. Phillip H. De Lacy and Benedict Einarson (1959).
[529] Plutarch. *Moralia*. 542 D. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλέα τιμῶν καὶ πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀνδρόκοττος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων.

If Dionysius must honour Gelon the way Alexander honoured Herakles, is this proof that Gelon, and perhaps the rest of the Deinomenids, did in fact successfully manipulate religious ties in order to raise themselves to a divine-like status?[530] In this passage Gelon appears to be remembered as such a century after he controlled most of Sicily. Even if Plutarch is not suggesting this, Gelon's name is still being included in a list of great and powerful individuals, highlighting the important standing still held by the tyrant after his death and the fall of his tyranny.

The legacy of the Deinomenids is also seen in Aristophanes' *Birds.* In the play, Aristophanes makes a direct reference to Hieron, commenting on his role as the *oikistes* of the city of Aitna:

> Come, father, founder of Aitna, whose name is linked with hallowed rites, donate to me whatever you are willing to grant with beneficent nod of your head.[531]

These lines are spoken by a poet who visits Peisetairos, a man who wishes to establish a city in the air and become an *oikistes* himself. This passage comments on several aspects of Hieron's rule and on the Deinomenid tyranny. Firstly, the fact that the "founder of Aitna" is being mentioned demonstrates that even in 414 BC, the date the play was produced, the story of Hieron's re-colonization of Aitna was still widely known. The audience would be able to understand the reference, and it appears that it would be so clear to them who the "founder of Aitna" was that Aristophanes did not even have to

[530] Alexander may have been worshiped as a god in his lifetime. If this is true, then it would strengthen the claim that Gelon was considered to be a semi-divine figure due to his association with other semi-divine figures in Plutarch's account. For Alexander's status as a god see Balsdon (1950) 363-88.
[531] Aristophanes. *Birds*. 926-30. σὺ δὲ πάτερ κτίστορ Αἴτνας,/ ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμώνυμε,/ δὸς ἐμὶν ὅ τι περ/ τεᾷ κεφαλᾷ θέλῃς/ πρόφρων δόμεν ἐμὶν τείν. Trans. Stephen Halliwell (1998).

mention Hieron by name.[532] If the story of Aitna was common knowledge for the audience, then the history of the West had fully permeated the mainland, despite the geographical separation. Aristophanes subtly refers to the poetry and tragic play that Hieron commissioned to celebrate his new city. This passage in *Birds* starts with the line "Come father, founder of Aitna," which is similar to a line from Pindar's *1st Pythian Ode*: "Come then, a loving song for Aitna's king."[533] The poet in the play then asks his Muse to "now ponder in thy mind Pindaric utterance."[534] The poet in *Birds* also states that he will write for Peisetairos "several lovely dithyrambs;...some maiden songs; some works *à la* Simonides."[535] Simonides had been at the court of Hieron, and it is believed that he wrote a tale regarding the history of Aitna.[536] These lines also refer to the *oikistes* cult that Hieron greatly desired and received after his death.[537] When Aristophanes writes that the founder of Aitna's name is "linked with hallow rites," this is a direct reference to the cult established for Hieron after his death. Despite the fact that Hieron founded the city in the unconventional way of expelling the population of a pre-existing city, and despite the fact that the city of Aitna at this point in time had already been reclaimed by the people of Katana, the *oikistes* cult of Hieron appears to have still survived in Aitna's new location and in the minds of all Greeks. Not only was Hieron successful in his bid to receive divine honours, but these honours were also remembered long after the

[532] Or perhaps he did not wish to name the tyrant directly.
[533] Pindar. *Pythian Ode 1*. 60. See chapter 3, 92. In Stephen Halliwell's translation of *Birds* (1998), he states in his commentary of the play that Aristophanes has taken cues from Pindar in these lines (page 261, note for line 926).
[534] Aristophanes. *Birds*. 939. τὺ δὲ τεᾷ φρενὶ μάθε Πινδάρειον ἔπος.
[535] Aristophanes. *Birds*. 917-19. μέλη πεποίηκ᾽ ἐς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας/ τὰς ὑμετέρας κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ/ καὶ παρθένεια καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου.
[536] Aelian records the presence of Simonides in Hieron's court (12.25). A scholium of Theocritus, F. 552 PMG, refers to a poem about Aitna by Simonides. See also Dougherty 1993, 91-92.
[537] See Diodorus 11.66.4.

destruction of his tomb. The power that was ascribed to an *oikistes* after his death, which gave him the ability to help the colony he founded, is also referred to in the play when the poet asks the founder of Aitna to inspire him "with beneficent nod of [his] head."[538] Given the comic nature of the play and the fact that it is "a satire also of colonization practices," it is possible that Aristophanes included the reference to Hieron and his city in an ironic way, due to the unprecedented events surrounding its foundation.[539] Even if this is the case, Aristophanes appears to be well acquainted with the details of Hieron's tyranny. The inclusion of Hieron and Aitna in the play *Birds* is strong evidence that the history of the Deinomenids had reached the Greeks living beyond the island of Sicily.

The final text relating to the legacy of the Deinomenids which must be analyzed is Xenophon's Socratic dialogue, *Hiero*. The date of this dialogue has been debated, but it is generally believed to be about 360 BC.[540] The work contains a fictional conversation between Hieron and the poet Simonides in which the two men discuss whether a tyrant is happier than a private citizen. It is "the only known work of an ancient writer devoted entirely to tyranny."[541] In the 4th century BC, Hieron is still used as the quintessential example of a tyrant, although he held this position more than a century before Xenophon's text was composed. Simonides remarks in the dialogue that he is aware that Hieron and his family were born private citizens and established their tyranny later on through the actions of Gelon.[542] This makes Hieron the perfect choice for a discussion on

[538] Aristophanes. *Birds*. 930.
[539] Malkin 1987, 97.
[540] Aalders 1953, 208: He states that "[t]he chronology of the works of Xenophon is quite uncertain and can only be established from scanty and often doubtful evidence."
[541] Champion 2010, 48.
[542] Xenophon. *Hiero*. 1.2-3. See also chapter 3, 131-32.

whether a tyrant has a better life than a citizen; as Simonides states: "...you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards to the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."[543] Not only is the rule of Hieron still remembered and discussed in the 4th century BC, but his life is being used as a teaching tool to analyze weighty issues such as the nature of true happiness. Through the work of Xenophon it appears as if Hieron still holds the position of tyrant in the minds of the Greeks long after his death.

There are more extent texts concerning the Deinomenids which were written after the fall of their tyranny than texts written during their lives. Beside the works commissioned by poets, details regarding the lives of the Deinomenids mainly come from sources composed by later writers who felt the family's role in Greek history was significant enough to be recorded for subsequent generations. The Deinomenids, however, were not simply remembered in words after the collapse of their tyranny; rather, their actions still actively impacted the Greek world.

4.7 The Deinomenids and Athens

A major defeat suffered by the Athenians in the late 4th century BC is connected to the Deinomenids although their tyranny had ended more than a century before the event. The Athenians decided to invade the island of Sicily in 415 BC. Athens came to the West under the pretext that they were coming to the aid of two of Sicily's colonies. Thucydides recounts that the people of Segesta and Selinus were arguing over "...marriage rights and a piece of disputed territory. The Selinuntines had called in the

[543] Xenophon. *Hiero*. 1.2. εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ πῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις. Trans. E.C. Marchant (1968).

Syracusans as allies, and were now pressing Egesta hard both by land and sea."[544] At this same time, a quarrel between the democrats and oligarchs was dividing the population at Leontini. The Democrats in Leontini had "enrolled many new citizens and were contemplating the redistribution of the land to accommodate them;" the Oligarchs of Leontini were against this and also called in the people of Syracuse to be their allies. [545] The Syrcusans responded by driving out the Democrats from Leontini. Thucydides records that messengers sent to Athens from Segesta mentioned in their plea for aid that they felt it was a crime that the people of Syracuse, "after driving out the people of Leontini, were allowed to escape scot-free."[546] The intervention of the Athenians, however, was not simply a peace-keeping mission. They saw it as an opportunity to invade and benefit from the island which had become so prosperous in the recent decades, specifically the city of Syracuse.[547] Not only did the Athenians desire Sicily's resources, but possession of the island could be used as a springboard to "capture Carthage, Libya and Spain, or...[to] conquer the Pelopponnesus."[548] The arguments made by those Athenians who were in favour of the war were based on the fact that the people of Sicily would not be able to band together and resist, since there was no unity among the colonies. In Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, he reports that Alcibiades, a supporter of the war, explained to the Athenian assembly that the Sicilians would not present a difficult force to battle with once they arrived on the island:

[544] Thucydides 6.6.2. περί τε γαμικῶν τινῶν καὶ περὶ γῆς ἀμφισβητήτου, καὶ οἱ Σελινούντιοι Συρακοσίους ἐπαγόμενοι ξυμμάχους κατεῖργον αὐτοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.
[545] Kagan 1981, 160.
[546] Thucydides 6.6.2. εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους τε ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται.
[547] Andrewes 1974, 136.
[548] Champion 2010, 76.

> The Sicilian cities have swollen populations made out of all sorts of mixtures, and there are constant changes and rearrangements in the citizen bodies. The result is that they lack the feeling that they are fighting for their own fatherland; no one has adequate armour for his own person, or a proper establishment on the land.[549]

In the end, Alcibiades was wrong, and the Athenians were ultimately defeated in 413 BC and suffered tremendous fallout from their actions in Sicily.[550] The Deinomenids played a great role in these events despite not being present during the battles. The wealth of Syracuse, which the Athenians sought, was, in part, the result of the building projects and military victories of the Deinomenid family. The tyrants were also responsible for the intermixture of populations which caused Alcibiades and the Athenians to assume that they could easily take control of Sicily. Even the conflicts that existed between quarrelling cities, which stemmed from issues of property distribution, and which gave the Athenians an excuse to interfere with the affairs of Sicily, were the result of the policies of the 5th century tyrants, especially the Deinomenids:

> The preface to the Sicilian Expedition was the displacement and resettling of populations by the Emmenid and Deinomenid tyrants and continuing conflict with communities who still considered themselves, and were considered, non-Greek (particularly the Sicels).[551]

Not only had the forced population migrations impacted, and diluted, the cultural identity of the colonies, but they also created conflict when people later attempted to go back to their original colony and take back what was theirs before the decrees of the tyrants. These same issues impacted an important movement seen in the next century in Athens.

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[549] Thucydides 6.17.2. καὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν πλοῦν μὴ μεταγιγνώσκετε ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν ἐσόμενον. ὄχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμείκτοις πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ ῥᾳδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς.
[550] See Thucydides Books 7 and 8.
[551] Antonaccio 2007, 221-22.

The oratory that dominated Athens' assembly and courts in the 4th century BC had its foundations in Sicily and was influenced by the population changes made by the Deinomenids. After the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny, as well as the Emmenids in Akragas, "the uprooted populations sorted themselves out as best they could."[552] It was not a matter of the displaced people simply taking back their land, as that land had been given to the citizens brought into a colony once the existing population was driven out: "The shifting of large numbers of people created grave confusion in property relations, since landholdings were confiscated and then distributed or redistributed each time a move took place.[553] This raised the question of who had a rightful claim to certain properties. The Deinomenids played a great role in these movements.[554] They were responsible for mass population shifts which affected several colonies, such as Gela, Syracuse, Katana, Leontini, and Naxos. The actions of the last Deinomenid tyrant alone caused great conflict with regard to property:

> ...during the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, when the tyrant Thrasybulus, who had confiscated all property, was overthrown in a popular uprising. When the exiles returned, they were forced to argue in court on their own behalf in order to reclaim their property, and since they had little or no experience in rhetoric, they sought the training of others who did. Thus was rhetoric born.[555]

The fallout resulted in many individuals fighting over a parcel of land. The ability to successfully argue one's case was important during these conflicts and, as a result, these "[l]egal disputes over the restoration of property stimulated, according to Aristotle, the

[552] Andrewes 1974, 136.
[553] Finely 1986, 16.
[554] Champion 2010, 35: "The Syracusan tyrants would become notorious for such enforced demographic movements."
[555] Kinney 2006, 253.

nascent art of rhetoric."[556] Syracuse, therefore, is described as being the site of where Greek rhetoric first developed, once the tyrants had been expelled.[557]

The Deinomenids cannot personally be held responsible for the creation of the study of rhetoric, but events that occurred during their tyranny and the consequences of their actions did indeed, indirectly, bring about the birth of rhetorical theory.[558] The Sicilian invasion and the development of rhetoric in Sicily are just two examples of how broad the influence of the Deinomenids was in the affairs of the entire Greek world. The impact of their rule was far-reaching both in terms of time (influencing the subsequent centuries) and in terms of geography (impacting cities beyond those in Sicily).

4.8 Conclusions

The grandeur of the Deinomenids was evident not only during their tyranny, but even long after their empire collapsed. The major building projects commissioned by the family in Sicily, the dedications they made at the Panhellenic sanctuaries on the mainland, and the poetry written for them ensured that they would be remembered by future generations of Greeks, but the legacy of the Deinomenids was not simply based on monuments and texts. The Deinomenids influenced the religion, culture, and history of the Hellenic world. They increased the importance of Demeter and introduced other cults

[556] Andrewes 1974, 136. See Aristotle. *Rhetoric*. 2.24.11. Finely 1986, 16, states that this fact was still attested in Roman times.
[557] Cicero. *Brutus*. 12.46. Cicero claims that Aristotle records this and that a man named Corax was the first person to write a book on the art of rhetoric. See Robinson 2000, 204.
[558] It has been claimed that even before the arrival of Gorgias, a philosopher from Leontini, at Athens in 427 BC, "many features of formal rhetoric, both logical and stylistic, were known [in the city]" (Kennedy 1959, 169). Finely 1986, 16, states that Gorgias is considered the "most famous exponent in the Greek world" of the art of rhetoric. Regardless of whether Athens had already begun its Sophist movement, it is significant that such an important aspect of Athenian politics and culture developed, in part, in the Western colonies, despite the marginalization directed toward the island of Sicily.

and religious rites in Sicily.[559] They made major changes to the way coinage was used to create identity and they established a model of leadership adopted by later Greeks and Sikels in order to gain power on the island. The harsh rule of the last Deinomenid tyrant, Thrasyboulos, prompted the turning point which saw the people of Sicily demand a change in leadership and establish democratic governments. The population migrations enforced by Gelon and Hieron affected the interactions between the Greeks of Sicily for centuries to come. In the case of the Sicilian expedition, the Deinomenids can be seen as indirectly being the catalyst of a war that presented a devastating loss for Athens and of a practice that was praised in Athens. A survey of the Deinomenid tyranny illustrates the great power they held in the late Archaic/early Classical period in Sicily, but that influence penetrated all areas of Greece for generations, often in subtle ways. This chapter has presented a brief survey of some of the ways in which the Deinomenids impacted the Greek world after the collapse of their tyranny and has sought to demonstrate that the sophisticated and innovative ways in which the family gained and maintained power in their lifetime ensured that their authority would continually be present even when they were not there to wield power.

[559] Through religious rites granted to them and through cults such as the cult of Zeus at Aitna.

Epilogue

After completing a full investigation of the Deinomenid family and their tyranny, I feel it is important to look back on where this work began and comment on the development of this topic and how it is, and will continue to be, of great significance to classical scholarship. The first chapter featured a discussion on how Greeks came to Sicily in the Archaic age and imposed their culture, myths, religion, and politics on the island. The last chapter focused on how the actions of the Deinomenids influenced Sicily and the mainland of Greece, especially Athens, in several ways. Through this research, it has been clearly illustrated that the Deinomenids reversed the common hierarchy of the Greek world, giving the West the upper hand in many respects.

When studying the history of the Greeks in Sicily, the Deinomenids act as a bridge, connecting the past with the present and future. The family looked back to the *oikistai* of the 8th and 7th centuries BC and emulated them when they set up their powerbase. The tyranny of the Deinomenids, in turn, established a model of leadership, which was continued and adopted by others after 466 BC.

The actions of the Deinomenids, although once disapproved of by the mainland, are parallel to events that occurred in Athens as the city began to increase its power. In the early Classical age, the democracy at Athens was rooted in participation among all its male citizens. The barbarism associated with Xerxes' kingship and the Greek tyrannies seen in the West were seen as the antithesis of Athenian practices. A despotic leader who took whatever land he wanted and shifted populations whenever he wanted was not a figure the Athenians would honour. In the 4th century BC, however, Athens went from

being the liberator of the Greek world to imposing their dominance over the other cities of Greece.

The Delian League, an alliance of Greek cities placed under the command of Athens, was formed in the 470's BC for the purpose of defending Greece against any future attacks from the Persians. The formation of this association was meant to protect Greece from cruel, barbarian invaders; yet, it caused the opposite to happen. Athens used her position as the head of the league to begin to control and influence the affairs of the member cities. When Athens transferred the treasury of the League to their acropolis in 454 BC, the city claimed this was done for the purpose of protecting the funds. It is speculated, however, that this was a tactic to gain control of the dues paid by the other member cities, and thus put Athens in the position of collecting tribute from all the people of Greece.[560] The Deinomenids also misused the important positions they held, such as their role in Demeter's cult, to go from being neutral to taking control of colonies. Athens' actions created chaos among the other Greek cities. In 427 BC, the people of Mytilene, a city on the island Lesbos, revolted against the Athenians, wishing to no longer be under their control. The Athenian population decided to punish the people of Mytilene by killing the entire male population and enslaving all the women and children.[561] The assembly later regretted their decision and were able to stop the men they had sent to the island from enforcing this decree, but the rashness and quick anger they expressed at first illustrates the characteristics often associated with tyrants. Their

[560] Plutarch's biography of Aristides, an Athenian statesman, states how the move was unjust but beneficial for Athens. See Plutarch. *Aristides*. 25.2.
[561] See Thucydides 3.36.2.

easy acceptance of destroying an entire population to secure their power mirrors the actions of Gelon and Hieron, who forced people out of their homes so that they could acquire more land and replace the population with one more loyal to themselves. The Sicilian expedition in 414 BC was another such attempt by the Athenians to gain control over Greek cities under the disguise of helping subjugated people. Gelon himself tried to use the plight of the Greeks against the Persians in an attempt to secure for himself the position of leader of the Greek forces, and he succeeded in his attempt to exploit the strife at Gela and Syracuse in order to take control of those cities. Athens began to focus on building an empire, gaining wealth, and taking control of other cities by any means necessary; this desire is no different from that seen by the Deinomenids in the first half of the 5th century BC.

Athens, at this point in history, balanced different identities for different audiences. Within their own city, they were the promoters of Greek history, literature, culture, and democracy. To the rest of the Greek world, they were a powerful presence to be feared and obeyed. This manipulation of identity allowed the Athenians to portray themselves in their own city in a different way than they portrayed themselves beyond their walls. This is similar to how the Deinomenids conducted their affairs decades earlier, as they portrayed themselves as kings of Sicily, while at the same time they presented themselves as private Greek citizens to the mainland. The Deinomenids appear to have been ahead of their time and foreshadowed the poltical changes seen in Athens.

The Deinomenids fought against and defeated great enemies; they strategically conquered major cities of the West, used their wealth to attract the greatest artists and

poets to their courts, and were the victorious owners of chariot teams in athletic competitions at Pan-hellenic sanctuaries. These achievements alone would make the Deinomenids stand out as important individuals, but there is another aspect to them which makes them worthy of study. The Deinomenids were experts when it came to creating and advertising their identity. They understood the power of one's image, and that it was a better guarantee for maintaining control than force or violence. They not only misused aspects of history and culture for their own benefit, but they were also great innovators when it came to this task, even possibly going as far as to fabricate religious rites (the cult of Zeus at Aitna and the *oikistes* cult at Gela), myths (the parentage of the Palikoi), and locations from Sicily's past (Aitna and Xuthia) in order to achieve their goals. The result was the establishment of one of the longest, most powerful, and most influential tyrannies of the late archaic and early classical Greek world. The Deinomenids were not just proud rulers attempting to amass as much wealth and power as possible. This analysis of the family has proved that they were much more than this, as they were clever manipulators of truth and fiction and found new ways to use art, poetry, and religion to their advantage. An examination of the Deinomenids also helps illustrate that the Greek cities of the West were not lagging behind the mainland. The island, in part through the actions of the Deinomenids, was far from falling behind the rest of the Greek world. It was establishing, in actuality, a path that would be followed by many Greeks in the future.

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Appendix A

Thucydides' Account of Greek colonization in Sicily in the Archaic Age (6.3-5)

Table 1.1

Colony	Oikistes	Date of Foundation	Mother-Colony	Details of Foundation
Naxos	Thucles	734 BC	Chalcidians from Euboea	Built notable altar to Apollo Archegetes
Syracuse	Archias	733 BC	Corinth	Drove out Sicels
Leontini	Thucles	730/29 BC	Naxos (Sicily)	Drove out Sicels
Katana	Euarchus	730/29 BC	Naxos (Sicily)	Euarchus chosen over Thucles as oikist; later in 5th century re-founded by tyrant Hieron as Aetna
Megara Hyblaia	Lamis	728 BC	Megara	3 failed attempts, King Hyblon gave them final territory
Selinus	Pamillus	627 BC	Megara (city on mainland) and Megara (colony in Sicily)	Oikist sent for from mother colony for joint foundation
Gela	Antiphemus and Entimus	689/8 BC	Rhodes and Crete	Name from River Gelas
Akragas	Aristonous and Pystilus	581/580 BC	Gela (Sicily)	Name from River Acragas
Zancle	Perieres and Crataemenes	730 BC	Cumae and Chalcis	Originally founded by pirates from Cumae; later Anaxilas of Rhegium re-founded it as Messina
Himera	Euclides, Simus, Sacon	648 BC	Zancle (Sicily)	Population comprised of Chalcidians, exiles from Syracuse (the Myletidae)
Acrae	N/A	663 BC	Syracuse (Sicily)	N/A
Casmenae	N/A	643 BC	Syracuse (Sicily)	N/A
Camarina	Daxon and Menecolus	598 BC	Syracuse (Sicily)	Later driven out by Syracuse when they tried to revolt

Appendix B

Dedications at Sanctuaries

Bases at Delphi	*Heiron's Helmet at Olympia*
	
Figure 2.1: Remains of marble bases at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (the first is attributed to Gelon, the second to Hieron) Source: Author's photo, 2009.	*Figure 2.2*: Helmet from the battle at Cuma, 474 BC. Source: The British Museum. <http://www.britishmuseum.org /explore/highlights/highlight_objects /gr/b/bronze_helmet_with_ inscription.aspx>
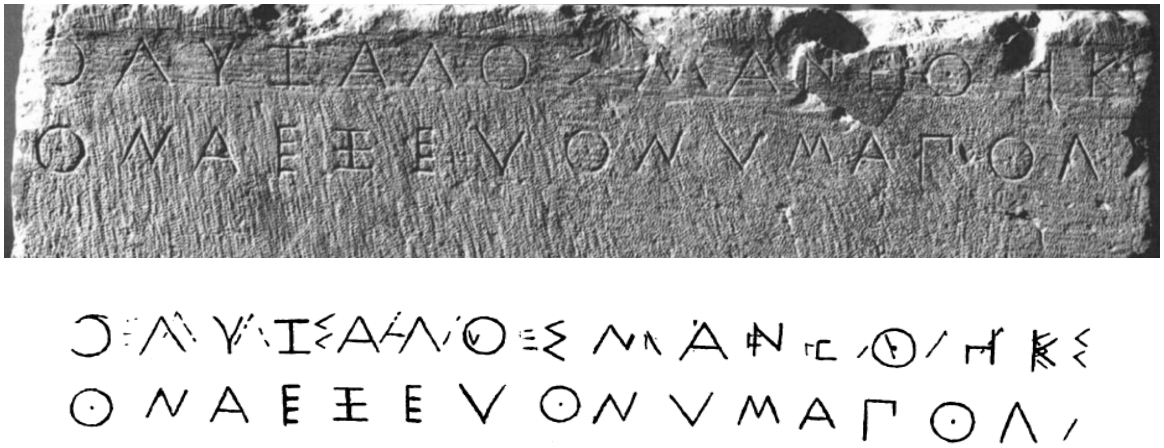	
Figure 2.3: Inscription which includes the name Polyzalos. Source: Adornato (2008) Figures 2 and 3 (pages 32-33)	

Appendix C

Coinage of the Deinomenids

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Gela and Syracuse</td></tr>
<tr><td>  </td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Figure 3.1: Early Coinage of Gela, 495-485 BC – Nude Warrior/River god Gelas
Source: Jenkins (1972), illustrations 144 and 145.</td><td>Figure 3.2: Syracuse, 490-485 BC – Chariot and Nike/Arethusa
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustrations 355 and 356</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"> 
Figure 3.3: Syracusan Decadrachma, 480 BC (?) – Chariot and Nike/Arethusa
Possible Example of the Damareteion Coin
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 357 and 358</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Aitna</td></tr>
<tr><td>  </td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Figure 3.4: Aitna, 470’s – Satyr/Zeus BC
Source: The Coin of Coins (2004) 16-17.</td><td>Figure 3.5: Aitna, 475-470 BC – Athena and chariot/Zeus and throne
Source: Rutter (1997) image 125</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix D

The influence of the Deinomenids on Coinage Post 466 BC

Syracuse and Gela	
	
Figure 3.6: Syracuse, 425 BC – Chariot and *Nike* Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 389	*Figure 3.7*: Syracuse, 415 BC – Chariot and *Nike* Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 393
	
Figure 3.8: Syracuse, 412 BC – Chariot and *Nike* Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 397	*Figure 3.9*: Syracuse, 410 BC – Chariot and *Nike* Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 399
	
Figure 3.10: Gela, 440 BC – Chariot/River god Gelas Source: Jenkins (1972) illustrations 372 and 373	*Figure 3.11*: Gela, 425 BC – Warrior/Head of Apollo Source: Jenkins (1972) illustrations 383 and 384

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Katana</td></tr>
<tr><td>  </td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Figure 3.12: Katana, 460 BC – Nike and wreath
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 369</td><td>Figure 3.13: Katana, 460-450 BC – Apollo
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 370</td></tr>
<tr><td>  </td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Figure 3.14: Katana, 460 BC – Saytr with River god Amenanos and ketos
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 368</td><td>Figure 3.15: Katana, 420 BC – Chariot/Nike
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 382</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Naxos</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">  </td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Figure 3.16: Naxos, 460 BC – Apollo/Satyr
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustrations 366 and 367</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Leontini</td></tr>
<tr><td>  </td><td>  </td></tr>
<tr><td>Figure 3.17: Leontini, 480 BC – Apollo
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustration 359</td><td>Figure 3.18: Leontini, 460 BC – Apollo/Lion
Source: Jenkins (1972) illustrations 360 and 361</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix E

Aitna

Location of Aitna

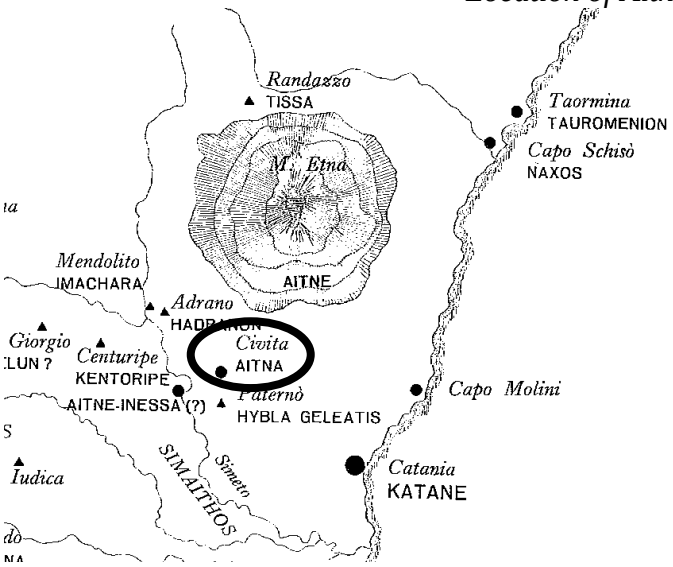

Figure 4.1: Map depicting possible location of Aitna

Source: Griffo (1968) 6-7

The Myth of Thalia and the Palikoi

Figure 4.2: Amphora from Paestum (330-310 BC) believed to depict the abduction of Thalia by Zeus (transformed into the form of a winged creature)

Source: Dougherty (1993) figure 5.1

Appendix F

Oikistes Cult at Gela

Figure 5.1

Μνασιθάλες ἀνέθεκε Ἀντιφάμοι
"*Mnasithales dedicated (me) to Antiphamos*"
5th Century Kylix
Believed to be dedicated to the *oikistes* cult of Antiphamos of Rhodes – founder of Gela
Source: Malkin (1987)