THE IMAGE OF AFRICA: THE EVIDENCE OF THE COINAGE*

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ABSTRACT
The standard iconography for the personification of Africa in Roman art was the figure of a woman wearing as headdress the scalp of an elephant. The elephant-scapul had already been used, with portraits, on coins, gems and furniture attachments by the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Bactrian kings. Its first use for the personification of Africa has been dated variously to the early 4th century bc, Agathocles of Sicily, Pompey the Great, Hiatus in Numidia or later 'African' kings. This paper discusses these claims, and concludes that the type was not in use before the 1st century bc. It was not an indigenous 'African' type. Its use by indigenous 'African' kings in the 1st century bc was linked to Roman use, often by the Pompeian party, and a Roman concept of the territory. The interpretation of this image as Roman Africa is confirmed by the details of dress, facial features and attributes. From the time of Hadrian onwards, the presentation of 'Africa' as one of a series, in an attitude similar to, and in a subordinate position taken by, other provinces, is again an indication that the image of Africa is a Rome-centered one, and correlates with the iconography in other media and in literature.

The standard iconography for the personification of Africa in Roman art was the figure of a woman wearing as headdress the scalp of an elephant. The elephant-scapul had already been used on coins, gems, and furniture attachments by the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Bactrian kings. It is generally accepted that it first appeared on a tetradrachm of Ptolemy I in c. 320-315 bc,¹ not with a personification, but with a portrait head of Alexander the

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* This article was written before I had access to N. Methy, 'La représentation des provinces dans le monnayage romain', Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica 21 (1992) 267-95; R. Perla, 'I referimenti all'Africa nelle emissioni monetali della zecca di Roma', in R. Mastino (ed.), L'Africa Romana 8.1. Atti dell'VIII convegno di studi sull'Africa Romana, Cagliari, 14-16 December 1990 (Cagliari 1991) 503-21. My thanks to the referees who drew my attention to these articles.

Great. The meaning and function of the type in these cases have been extensively discussed: the analogy of the elephant-scalp and the lion-scalp of Hercules, its connotations of power and divinity, its significance in conferring legitimacy on later rulers by identifying them with Alexander. This is not the primary concern of this paper, which focusses on the use of the elephant-scalp as signifying Africa.

When did this first happen? Scullard mentions a little-known silver coin attributed to Panormus in Sicily and dated on stylistic grounds to the first half of the 4th century BC, that is, at least thirty years before the Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins. It has as its obverse type a head wearing an elephant-scalp, and a swan as the reverse type. The coin forms part of the collection of King Christian VIII, collected by Bronsted in 1827. The specimen in Copenhagen is unique.

There are, however, a number of considerations which cast doubt on the provenance and dating, among them the fact that there is no obvious motivation for introducing the type. Scullard’s tentative suggestion that it may provide evidence for an early Carthaginian interest in elephants, that is, before the first attested use of the animals in 262 BC, is not viable. Considering the impact the Greek encounter with elephants made in the time of Alexander, it is unlikely that elephants in Sicily before that date would not have been recorded. There is no evidence of elephants in Sicily in the

Bonacasa & A. di Vita (eds), Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano, Vol. 2 (Rome 1984) 405-17 (with bibliography for different series). Sometimes the double daic of Seleucus I is considered older. Obverse: head with an elephant-scalp headress faces right. Dotted border. Reverse: Nike holding stylis and wreath above a horned horse’s head. Legend: ALEXANDROU. See HN 756; Stewart 435 fig. 115 (in the text incorrectly called fig. 114) with bibliography. D. Svenson, Darstellungen hellenistischer König von Götterattributen (Frankfurt am Main 1995) 221, dates this to 312-305 BC. See also F. Salcedo, Africa. Iconografia de una provincia romana (Rome/Madrid 1996) 128.

2 See H. Kyrieleis, Bildnisse der Ptolemäer (Berlin 1975); R.R.R. Smith, Hellenistic Royal Portraits (Oxford 1988); Brown (note 1); Stewart (note 1); Svenson (note 1).

3 Nor does this paper deal with the iconography of the elephant per se. For this, see G. (Cuperus) Kuypert, De elephantis in nummis obviis (Hague Comitum 1719); also in Novus Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum, Vol. 3 (Venetiae 1735); H.H. Scullard, The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World (London 1974); F.C. Sillar & R.M. Meyler, Elephants Ancient and Modern (London 1968); Mensch und Elefant. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Munich 1994).

4 Scullard (note 3) 146-47, 274 n. 84. Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp. Reverse: swan on waves, facing left. See SNG Copenhagen, Sicily, pl. 4.172.

5 Scullard (note 3) 147.
4th century. An elephant-scalp could have had no significance for Panormus at the time. The elephant battle for which the city was famous was fought in 250 BC, when Metellus successfully defeated and captured the elephants of Hasdrubal, and sent them back to Rome.\textsuperscript{6} The reason for the dating is presumably the profile eye, that could be early 4th century. However, although the eye could not be earlier, it may well be much later than the 4th century.

Panormus was a Phoenician town in Sicily. The swan on the reverse is the type of Camarina, which did not issue coins after c. 339 BC – that is, it ceased production before the Ptolemaic coin with the elephant-scalp appeared. Panormus sometimes used the swan of Camarina.\textsuperscript{7} Scullard quotes G.K. Jenkins of the British Museum as saying that the coin might come from Pergamum;\textsuperscript{8} he does not give the motivation for this suggestion.\textsuperscript{9} According to Mazard,\textsuperscript{10} coins of Jugurtha and Hiempsal were previously attributed to Panormus and Catana; the implication is that this coin might, in fact, be Numidian, but then it would not date to the 4th century. No other coin with this type is known for either Jugurtha or Hiempsal, who did not mint in silver, and the style is completely different to that of the extant Numidian coins. Nobody seems to have suggested that it might have been issued by Clazomenae, which used the swan on the reverse (HN 567-68). It virtually ceased production of its own coinage after the battle of Ipsus, and throughout the 3rd century used Alexandrine, Lysimachian and Seleucid coinage, which did have the elephant-scalp type for ruler portraits. Another vague possibility might be one of the Metelli, who in the course of two centuries virtually adopted the elephant as a ‘family badge’ to commemorate the victory of 250 BC, and issued various coins with elephant, elephant heads, and indeed a head in an elephant-scalp (see below).

A Roman date would certainly be more likely for a personification

\textsuperscript{6} See Scullard (note 3) 151, 274 nn. 84-90 for details of these coins and a bibliography.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Head (note 1) 162.
\textsuperscript{8} Scullard (note 3) 274 n. 84.
\textsuperscript{9} I have not had access to G.K. Jenkins, \textit{Coins of Punic Sicily} (Zurich 1997). My thanks to the referee who brought it to my attention that Jenkins p. 31, pl. 24 no. 10 attributes this coin to Panormus and reads a possible capital Greek Pi on it.
\textsuperscript{10} J. Mazard, \textit{Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque} (Paris 1955) 44-46 (hereafter \textit{CNNNM}).
of a place.\textsuperscript{11} There is very slight iconographic evidence that this coin may, in fact, be dated much later than the mid-4th century, since there is no aegis, drapery or hair, which appear on the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Bactrian coins, but not on early Roman or Numidian/Mauretanian ones, and the trunk hangs down over the forehead, again like Roman and Mauretanian types, but unlike the Ptolemaic or ‘Eastern’ ones. This is suggestive, but not enough to attribute it to either Rome or Mauretania.

Nor, however, does there seem to be any reason for the original attribution to Panormus. The type is enough to render the date suspect, and there are no archaeological grounds (find spots, etc.) for accepting it. It was taken to Copenhagen by Bronsted, who had been sent on an expedition specifically to find special coins for the King’s collection. I cannot judge forgeries, but the circumstances of its acquisition suggest a far stronger reason for striking such a coin than any known occasion in the first half of the 4th century does. The coin is the only one known, and the combination of obverse and reverse types is unique. It warrants further investigation. It would be useful if metal analysis could be done to determine whether it has the same origin and composition as accepted 4th century coins of Panormus. Although there is no obvious alternative explanation for the Panormus’ coin, it is unlikely to be the oldest example of the elephant-scalp headdress, or an early 4th century personification of Africa.

In about 314 BC, Agathocles of Syracuse also issued a coin with a head wearing an elephant-scalp, which has been variously identified as Africa, Libya, Sicily, Alexander or Agathocles himself.\textsuperscript{12} The claim by

\textsuperscript{11} Pausanias (6.3.5; 10.15.6) mentions a group of Libya crowning Battus that would date to the 5th century; labelled figures of Hellas and Asia appear on the Darius vase; cf. A.D. Trendall & A. Cambitoglou, \textit{The Red-figured Vases of Apulia}, Vol. 2 (Oxford 1978-1982) 495 no. 18/38; J.M.C. Toynbee, \textit{The Hadrianic School of Greek Art} (Cambridge 1934) pl. XXI.4 and XXIV.2; but generally the Tyche of Antioch (c. 300 bc) is considered the landmark in the depiction of geographical concepts; see G.M.A. Richter, \textit{The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks} (New Haven 1965, 4th printing) 13-14. Although Agathocles is credited with the first use of the triskelion on Sicilian coins (HN 181), he probably did not represent geographical areas as personifications (see below). For early personifications on Roman coinage, see that of Albinus (81 bc) for Hispania in M.H. Crawford, \textit{Roman Republican Coinage} (Cambridge 1974) (hereafter \textit{RRC}) no. 372; of Mn. Aquilius (71 bc) for Sicily (\textit{RRC} no. 401); and of Pompey for Spanish cities (\textit{RRC} no. 470). See also P. Gardner, ‘Cities and countries in ancient art’, \textit{JRS} 9 (1888) 47-81.

\textsuperscript{12} AU stater, 314-304 BC, Syracuse. Agathocles. Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp, faces right. Reverse: striding, armed Athene with an owl at her feet. Legend: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ.
Toynbee that Agathocles’ coin is the first to use the personification of Africa, with reference to his expedition against Carthage, is untenable, for three main reasons. The type itself is very close to that on the Ptolemaic coin; political considerations suggest that Agathocles followed the Ptolemaic precedent, and the concept ‘Africa’ at this time is anachronistic (Agathocles would have used ‘Libya’). This is a portrait, not a personification. However, it is significant that both the coins that have claims to be the oldest representation of the image of Africa are attributed to Sicily, not to Africa. Neither has any symbols in the field.

The identification of a figure wearing an elephant-scalp as an image of Africa rather than as a portrait head seems to rest on three factors: the female gender, ‘Libyan’ locks and the fact that the type was used by ‘Africans’, specifically Hiarbas, Juba I, Bogud, Juba II, Ptolemy of Mauretania. The first argument is not conclusive if the elephant-scalp were also used earlier and elsewhere for female rulers, which seems to be the case. The second is more persuasive but badly defined. The long ringlets referred to in publications as ‘Libyan’ locks occur in Cyrenaica and Egypt, specifically on Ptolemaic queens, and seem to be connected with Isis. The layered curls worn by Juba I and therefore arguably ‘Numidian’ are not common and are not shown together with the elephant-scalp.

The third argument is the most important, since it leads to the assumption that the type was an indigenous creation. This, I believe, is

See HN 158; Scullard (note 3) 147, pl. XVI.i; Toynbee (note 11) pl. X.S. See Stewart (note 1) 268 n. 15 for bibliography.

13Toynbee (note 11) 35.

14For detailed arguments, see J.A. Maritz, ‘The face of Alexandria – the face of Africa?’ in A. Hirst (ed.), Alexandria, Real and Imagined (Aldershot, forthcoming 2001/2). For acceptance of this type as a portrait, see, among others, Salcedo (note 1) 129.

15Apart from the coin evidence, there are gems and seal impressions that have been identified as portraying female rulers. See Kyrieleis (note 2) 152, with illustration; D.B. Thompson, Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience (Oxford 1973) pl. LXXIVe; Svenson (note 1) 97, pl. 48.

16See A. Adriani, Documenti e ricerche d’arte alessandrina, Vol. 2: Testimonianze e momenti di scultura alessandrina (Rome 1948) for Alexandrian sculpture and hair worn in layered locks.


18See, for example, Salcedo (note 1) 123-41, whose whole argument rests on this premise. Salcedo believes that Hiarbas, inspired by the ‘Alexandrian’ type, issued the ‘Africa’ coin after his defeat of Hiempsal II in 108 BC to create an emblem for his newly united kingdom, thereby
incorrect, arising partly from inexactness of the concept ‘Africa’. The Romans knew one tribe of nomads in Mauretania as Afrī, but used the term Africa either for the continent, or in the narrower sense, Africa propria, as the area around Carthage and specifically the Roman province established after the defeat of Carthage in 146 BC, or Africa Nova established by Julius Caesar in 46 BC. The territory of the nomadic tribes, specifically that which was forged into a kingdom by Massinissa, was known to the Romans as Numidia, the land of the Numidae, that is, nomads (Festus 179.5; Sall. Jug. 8), although Polybius (2.5.1) referred to Massinissa as ‘king of the Libyans’. The land further west was Mauretania, the land of the Mauri. Juba I (60–46 BC) was king of the Numidians, Hiæbas (108–81 BC) king of the West-Massyles and Bogud (49–38 BC) king of the Mauri. Each kingdom was distinct. Only Juba II and his son Ptolemy (25 BC–40 AD) ruled over the same territory, as client kings in the area colonized and called Mauretania by Rome (not that ruled by their ancestor Juba I). There was no king of ‘Africa’. Only from an outsiders’ perspective did these kings have a ‘country’ in common, namely the continent. For them it was not all the same place, and there is no reason why they should have called it by one name or used the same type to depict it.

The personification, frequently claimed as an indigenous iconography establishing a new image in indigenous iconography. In Salcedo’s view this contained elements of local religion (the elephant), represented a protectress divinity (Tanit) through its references to fertility (attributes of a plough or ear of corn) and war (‘a lance), and with its reference to Alexander also served to legitimize power.

19 Cf. Svenson (note 1) 97, 403-08. For the origin of the word Africa, see J.A. Maritz, ‘The Classical image of Africa: the evidence from Claudian’, AClass 43 (2000) 87 n. 28. To this one might add Alexander Polyhistor, quoting Cleodemus, also known as Malchus, who claimed that Africa was named after Apha, son of Abraham by Chetura; cf. C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, Vol. 3 (Paris 1870) 214.7. Isidorus (9.2.115) gave the name of Abraham’s descendant as Afer; he is said to have led an army against Libya, settled there after his conquest and had the land Africa and its inhabitants, the Afri, named after him.

20 For Africa as a synonym for the Greek Libya, see Pliny, HN 5.1.1; this also occurs in a fragment of Agrippa (GLM 1-2), in the Divinos Orbis Terrarum 1 (GLM 15) and the Cosmographia of Julius Honorius (Cosmographia 46, GLM 51). Libya was used in Latin specifically for the (Greek) area of Cyrenaica.

21 Alexander Polyhistor (fl. c. 60 BC, and thus a contemporary of Juba I) calls ‘Libya’ a region that rejoices in many names, among them Terra Olympia, Oceania, Eschatia, Corphyre, Hesperia, Ortygia, Ammonis, Aethiopia, Cyrene, Ophiussa, Libya, Cephania, Aeria; cf. Müller (note 19) Vol. 3, 239.135. Pliny reckoned that there were 516 ‘peoples’ in ‘Africa’ in the narrow sense; they may well have had their own names for the area.
unrelated to the Ptolemaic type, never occurred on coins of Carthage, that is, ‘Africa proper’, nor on the coins of Massinissa when ‘Numidia’ might have been considered an entity. One needs to consider when it was used, and why this might have been done.

The first ‘African’ coin which shows an elephant-scalp is a bronze one attributed to the Numidian Hiarbas 108-81 BC (also called Hiartas/Hiarbar/Iarbas), and the type, called ‘Africa’ by Müller, is often accepted as the first appearance of the image of ‘Africa’. However, as stated above, Hiarbas’ people were the Massyles and he is unlikely to have thought of his territory as ‘Africa’, even presuming that it is his coinage, which is debatable. The ‘Hiarbas’ coin is, in fact, not securely attributed or dated. There is no legend. Müller classified it under ‘monnaies incertaines’ and suggested Hiarbas only because no other coinage could be attributed to him; later sources simply follow this suggestion as if it were fact. Neither the date nor the identification can therefore be accepted as absolute.

Furthermore, there are no previous personifications on Numidian coinage, and nothing to suggest a culture that personified abstractions at this time. Numidian coinage was very rare, and very little used; it is thought that the earlier coins of Syphax and Vermina were struck for prestige, as a

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22 AE 20 mm. 7.5 gr., 108-81 BC, Numidia (West Massyles). Obverse: head with long hair and a beard, faces right. Reverse: head without a beard, wearing an elephant-scalp, and with long locks in front of the ear, faces right. Border of dots. CNNM no. 94, 95, 97, and 98 are similar, with countermarks.

23 L. Müller, Numismatique de l’ancienne Afrique (1874, reprinted Chicago 1977) 73 no. 86. He also speaks of the head as representing Numidia or the ‘Personification of the People’.

24 Nor is there any reason why he should need to refer to Alexander to legitimate his power, as was the case with Ptolemy, Seleucus and other Hellenistic kings.

25 The origin of this type is often supposed to be the Dea Africa attested by Pliny, HN 28.21, that is, by a Roman more than a century later. No physical remains from the area in the pre-Roman period are cited as proof of her existence, and apart from the coins there is no other example of the iconography in the area before the coming of the Romans. There is little evidence that personifications were part of a nomadic culture at all; elephants on the coinage may be symbols, but are not personifications. There is also no other evidence for an indigenous use of animal scalps as symbols in Numidian art; an animal head, such as the lion-headed goddess, is a different concept.

I have found only one attempt to derive the elephant-scalp from other coinage. In an article on the elephant as symbol for Africa, V. Waille, ‘Note sur l’éléphant, symbole de l’Afrique’, Revue Archéologique (1891) 381-84, suggested that the first indication comes on Carthaginian coins minted in Sicily by Greek artists. These bear a Pegasus and Arethusa, but according to Waille, Pegasus refers to the Numidian cavalry, so rapid that it almost had wings, and the ear of corn Arethusa carries (an allusion to the fertility of the country) elongates into
token of their kingly status rather than for economic use.\textsuperscript{26} Massinissa introduced coinage based on Greek types. In this case it would make sense to follow a kingly tradition from elsewhere, and Salcedo may well be correct that the ‘Hiarbas’ coin is inspired by the ‘Alexandrian’ type, probably on later Ptolemaic coinage. The iconography supports this in as far as the trunk lies back over the head as in the Ptolemaic type. However, it is further away from the head and does not turn back on itself; the tusk is very small, rather like the lip of an open mouth than a tusk; the ear is large; there is no aegis,\textsuperscript{27} fillet or ram’s horn, all of which are important attributes for the interpretation of the Ptolemaic coins. The most conspicuous feature is the hair, which hangs in three locks as long as, and in front of, the elephant ear. Long locks were used on portraits of Ptolemaic queens. Hoard evidence proves that Numidian, Carthaginian and Ptolemaic coins were circulating concurrently in spite of Egypt’s closed currency;\textsuperscript{28} coins of Cleopatra II/III with the elephant-scalp and those on which she wears ‘Isis locks’ could have been in circulation in Numidia and may well have been copied, especially if Mazard’s claim, that until the time of Juba II coins were Greek inspired but of local manufacture, is correct.\textsuperscript{29} It would then have alluded to a portrait, not a personification.

It seems likely, then, that no elephant-scalp issued before the 1st century BC represented ‘Africa’, and consequently that there was no widespread indigenous image of ‘Africa’ to hand for the Romans to adopt.\textsuperscript{30}

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\textsuperscript{27} The check is in higher relief than the eye and nose, as if forming a cheek-piece of a helmet.

\textsuperscript{28} One hoard contained 1411 coins of which 238 were Numidian, 505 of Carthage, 449 \textit{aes rude}, 50 Romano-Campanian and 42 Egyptian of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes and Ptolemy X Soter which allows it to be dated to 80 BC, in the reign of Hiempsal II. See Mazard (note 10) 27.

\textsuperscript{29} Mazard (note 10) 74.

\textsuperscript{30} For a contrary view, see Salcedo (note 1) ch. 11, who argues that after the defeat of Hiarbas (who had joined Marius against Pompey) in 81 BC, Pompey adopted as a symbol of Roman power over African territories an indigenous type, used by Hiarbas thirty years previously.
The new features on the first Roman coin to show an elephant-scalp, an aureus of Pompey,\textsuperscript{31} also refer to a person, not a place. The attributes (a \textit{lituus} and a jug) indicate the augurate, and the legend MAGNVS, with its connotations of Alexander, refers specifically to Pompey who wanted to be associated with him,\textsuperscript{32} not to the geographic area. Although all authorities call the type the ‘head of Africa’ and explain it as a reference to Pompey’s triumph in Africa, this may be an anachronistic identification on the grounds of later personifications. It is not certain when the coin was issued\textsuperscript{33} or that it was minted in Africa. It is very unlikely that it was inspired by the Hiarbas’ coin, since the iconographic details are quite different. On the aureus, the ears are rounded and upright; the pelt of the animal hangs down the back of the human neck, like the lion-skin of Hercules or the goat-skin of Juno Sospites on the coinage of M. Volteius in c. 79-8 bc;\textsuperscript{34} and the trunk falls forward.

Shortly after the aureus, there are several other issues of Numidian and Roman coinage on which the type is identified as the personification of ‘Africa’. Consideration of these suggests that they were not separate traditions,\textsuperscript{35} although the precise type of the aureus was not copied, a head wearing an elephant-scalp seems to have become an emblem of Pompeian power in Africa, before as well as after his death.

\textsuperscript{31}AU 8.94 gr., variously dated to 81, 71 or 61 bc, mint of Rome. Gn Pompeius Magnus. Four coins only are known, one die for each of two versions. Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp faces right. In the field on the left, a jug with the handle (to the left on the Bologna coin, to the right on the London one); on the right a \textit{lituus}. Legend: MAGNVS. Laurel wreath as a border. Reverse: figure in a triumphal \textit{quadriga}, rider on one horse, Victory flying with a wreath. Legend: PROCOSS. See \textit{BMCRR} East 20; Bologna 376; \textit{RRC} no. 402; Toynbee (note 11) pl. X.6; \textit{LIMC} 1.251: Africa 2 (M. Le Glay).


\textsuperscript{33}It is variously dated to 81, 71 or 61 bc; see H.A. Grueber, \textit{Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum} (London 1910) (hereafter \textit{BMCRR}) 464-66.

\textsuperscript{34}See \textit{BMCRR} 387-89.

\textsuperscript{35}If one cannot separate the iconographic production of the Berber kingdoms from that of Rome, as claimed by Salcedo (note 1) 131, this should surely provide proof that they were not separate traditions.
Q. Metellus Scipio (Pompey’s father-in-law and imperator in Africa) and his legate Eppius minted for Pompey until the defeat of the Pompeian forces at Thapsus in May 46 BC. This was a large issue, minted in (the province) Africa to pay Pompey’s troops, not only the Roman legionaries, but possibly also his allies. The coins are considered the work of Roman artists. The type used was a head wearing an elephant-scalp at an angle similar to that on Pompey’s aureus, and with the trunk dipping forward, though the ears are quite different. In the field are a plough and an ear of corn, symbols referring to fertility, that indicate that the type may be intended as a personification, not a portrait.

Juba I (of Numidia) and Bogud (of Mauretania) were allies of Pompey; both coinages were completely integrated with the coinage of Rome, the denarii being interchangeable. Also, the types used were not purely Punic. Juba introduced new ‘Roman’ types, for example, an octostyle temple; both he and Bogud at times used Latin legends on their coinage. Burnett argues that ‘there is good evidence that Juba’s silver was struck in 47/6 to aid the Pompeian cause’. Both Juba and Bogud issued coins featuring the elephant-scalp. These are very rare, whereas over 30 obverse

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36 It is worth noting that the elephant head (not the elephant-scalp headdress) was used as a ‘family badge’, specifically by the Metelli, sometimes with a bell. Scullard (note 3) 274 n. 90 gives six examples between 150 BC and 47 BC. The most interesting is a tetradrachm from Gortyn in Crete (HN 467), which on the obverse has a helmet of Roma (named) adorned with an elephant head, and also an elephant head as symbol on the reverse. This is thought to have been struck by Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 69 BC, who in 67 BC resisted Pompey’s efforts to oust him, and organized Crete as a Roman province. One might have expected Q. Metellus Caecilius Scipio to have used the elephant head, which recalled the victory at Panormus of his ancestor in 250 BC (see above). Instead, he used a head in an elephant-scalp (that is, Pompey’s type) with his own (Metellus Scipio’s) name on it. This might have been intended to make it clear that he was loyal to Pompey, who was his son-in-law, whatever other members of the Metelli did.

37 AR, 47-46 BC, mint of Africa (Crawford). Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp faces right; it occurs in a smaller and a larger version. In the field, a corn-ea on the right, a plough below. Legend: Q METELL SCIPIO IMP. Reverse: Herakles resting on a club. Legend: EPPIVS LEG F C. See RRC 461; BMCRR Africa 10; LIMC 1.251: Africa 3; Toynbee (note 11) pl. X.7.

38 Juba was continuing the family alliance of his father Hiempsal by joining Pompey against Caesar in 49 BC.


40 Burnett (note 39) 183 n. 31.

41 AR 12 mm. 1.89 gr., 60-46 BC, Numidia. Juba I. Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp.
and 33 reverse dies are deduced for the ‘Africa’ head of Eppius (RRC no. 461). All indications are that Juba I and Bogud adopted Roman types, among them the elephant-scalp already used by Eppius. The only original feature seems to be the two javelins used for the first time in conjunction with the elephant-scalp, on one of Juba’s coins.

The generally accepted view that the Romans took over the type for the personification of Africa from the Numidians and Mauretanians does not take cognisance of the fact that these were separate areas and separate political entities (see above); to say that Juba’s use of the elephant-scalp type was intended as a revindication of the African nation\(^2\) begs the question of what the ‘African nation’ was. The ‘African’ kings constantly made alliances, fought, betrayed each other to the Romans, and re-aligned; they did not act as a unified country, and had no reason to personify a single concept ‘Africa’. If Juba I and Bogud had wanted to personify their ‘country’, they would have needed two different symbols to do so. The fact that they both issued coinage bearing a head in an elephant-scalp, on the same standard, rather suggests that both were minting for the same authority. One must conclude that the image of Africa is not indigenous. It was not derived from Carthage or war-elephants, nor from the Dea Africa. Its use in ‘Africa’, both province and continent, originates during the Roman period, when the Pompeians depicted it on the coins used to pay their Numidian auxiliaries, as Waillie in fact realized.\(^3\) The Romans did have a reason to use one type for the whole area. Salcedo’s observation\(^4\) that from the time of Sulla, the ideology of war and empire necessitated the demarcation of provinces or areas of control, and consequently specific symbols for them,

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Two javelins in the field, dotted border. Reverse: lion. See Müller (note 23) no. 54; CNNM no. 89; Paris, Cab. Méd. 694.


\(^2\) Salcedo (note 1) 133.

\(^3\) Waillie (note 25) 383.

\(^4\) Salcedo (note 1) 17-18.
is pertinent—for the Romans. At the beginning of the Civil War it would have been appropriate to introduce a new type that would be indicative both of the commander-in-chief (Pompey) and of the area loyal to him, and to include attributes that alluded to the corn and the arms it provided for Rome. A scalp, indicating a trophy from a slain beast, was appropriate for a defeated region. This explains why the ‘Africa’ type did not occur only in the Roman province of Africa.

The type must have been immediately acceptable, for the next Roman issue with an elephant-scalp is the aureus of Cestius and Norbanus, dated variously to 46-5 BC (Grueber) or 43 BC (Crawford). It is the only gold issue for the Senate, and it has been conjectured that it was used to pay soldiers fighting the Pompeians in Spain (if 46-45 BC is the correct date) or to pay senatorial troops after Caesar’s death (if minted in 43 BC). If minted in 46 BC, this coin was circulating at the same time as that of Eppius (above), which was probably the first to use the elephant-scalp for the personification of Africa. After the battle of Thapsus in 46 BC, Caesar established a second province, *Africa Nova*, and founded a number of new colonies there; gold coinage fits an occasion such as a ‘package’ paid on retirement to veterans starting a new colony. This was a large issue, with 25 known dies. There is more chance that Caesar’s legates would continue a type minted by Pompey’s legates if it were to circulate in the same area; there seems little reason to use it in Spain.

Shortly afterwards, Q. Cornuficius issued both aurei and denarii of the same type dated to 42 BC; he is said to have struck as commander on the Republican side (Crawford), in Utica (Grueber). Although he had been on Caesar’s staff, when based in Africa he sent support to Sextus Pompeius. The link between the elephant-scalp ‘Africa’ and the Pompeians continued.


46 For explanations for the use of the ‘Africa’ type, see *BMCRR* 1, 568.

47 AU, AR (with similar types), 42 BC, mint of Africa (Utica?). Cornuficius. The aureus in Zagreb is unique; there are denarii in over 30 obverse and 33 reverse dies. Obverse: bust wearing an elephant-scalp, draped and facing right. In the field behind the head, two spears. Border of dots. Reverse: Juno Sospita crowning Cornuficius. Legend: Q CORNFICI AVGVR IMP. See *RRC* 509; Toynbee (note 11) pl. X.8; *BMCRR*, Africa 28; *LIMC* 1.251: Africa 5.
It may be significant that these two Roman issues are gold; those of the Numidians and Mauretanians were silver and bronze, in other words, ‘small change’. The image of Africa was not an indigenous symbol, but a concept introduced to Africa by the Romans, and consequently adopted by the ‘African’ kings to show their allegiance to Rome.

This also holds good for the coinage of Bocchus (c. 33-25 BC), who minted bronze with his name in Neo-Punic on the reverse with the ‘Africa’ type, but REX BOCCHVS SOSI F in Latin on the obverse, with a Janus head. Mazar interprets this as an indication of the presence of a Roman authority juxtaposed with a local one. In Mauretania, during the interregnum, one coin showed the head of Augustus with the legend IMP CAESAR on the obverse and the ‘Africa’ head with the legend DIVI F on the reverse. Juba II (Juba I of Mauretania), brought up in Rome, married Cleopatra Selene and given Mauretania by Augustus in 25 BC, could be regarded as Roman rather than ‘African’. His ‘Africa’ type had on the reverse the Ptolemaic eagle-and-thunderbolt, the same type link that was used for generations by his wife’s ancestors in Alexandria. His other types included symbols of Roman triumph (Victory, a crown), symbols of Augustus (Capricorn, an eagle) and Egyptian symbols (sistrum, crocodile, ibis, and others), that had already appeared on Roman coinage. This was largely

49 Mazar (note 10) 67.
51 AE 37 mm. 27.5 gr., 25 BC-23 AD, Mauretania. Juba II. Obverse: bust wearing an elephant-scapul, draped, with two javelins behind the head, faces right. Also in the field behind the head what appears to be a section of laurel and then dots above it, that is, a partial border, though Mazar (note 10) 107 speaks of ‘le tout dans une couronne de palmes.’ Legend: REX IVBA. Reverse: eagle with thunderbolt, enclosed in a laurel wreath. See CNNM 296; Paris, Cab. Méd. 878.

There are also various silver coins featuring: Obverse: head of Juba. Legend: REX IVBA. Reverse: head wearing an elephant-scapul faces right, with a necklace (or strap?) on the neck. See CNNM 125-33.
52 See Salcedo (note 1) 137.
continued by his son Ptolemy, who also used the double cornucopia of the Ptolemies as coin type. The statue from Cherchei, dated to Juba’s reign, may also allude to the Ptolemies rather than to a divinity. Father and son were emphasizing their connection with Rome and with the line that could be traced back to Alexander’s general, not with any indigenous culture.

The iconography itself supports this interpretation. The trunk of the elephant dips forward on Roman, Numidian and Mauretanian coins. The clothing is similar. The facial features, while not identical, are typically Graeco-Roman. The long locks of hair which appear on the Hierbas coin and are often quoted as a distinguishing ‘African’ feature, do not appear together with the elephant-scalp on coins of Juba I, Bogud, Iol-Caesarea, and Metellus/Eppius, but are present on those of Cornificius, Cestius/Norbanus, and the Romanized Juba II. The two javelins on Juba’s coinage also appear on that of Cornificius, Juba II and Ptolemy; the corn on the Metellus/Eppius issue is used by Juba II and Ptolemy, sometimes with the javelins. In most cases the bust appears on the obverse. There is little to distinguish ‘Roman’ and ‘Numidian’ or ‘Mauretanian’ iconography.

There is no Augustan or Julio-Claudian coinage that uses a personification of Africa; the head in an elephant-scalp that appears on the huge issue of Nero in Alexandria is identified as a personification of Alexandria, not of Africa. However, the image of Africa appears in other media – gems, sculpture, frescoes, mosaics – and specifically in the Augustan period it appears as a captive or vanquished woman, for example on the Belletti relief (LIMC Africa 30) and the Boscoreale cup. A carnelian in Vienna shows a figure thought to be Augustus trampling a head in an

55 The hairstyle on the coin, which is thought to feature a portrait of Juba I, shows layers of curls, not long locks such as those on the ‘Africa’ heads. However, a similar style appears on a marble bust identified as Africa, in Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 278.
56 AE in three denominations (17 mm. 2.8 gr.; 16 mm. 2.5 gr.; 16.5 mm. 3.0 gr.), Caesarea (Cherchei). Undated. Obverse: head wearing an elephant-scalp faces right. Border of dots. In the field left, two javelins. Reverse: dolphin facing left. Legend: CAESAREA. See CNNM 565 (on 566 the dolphin faces right, on 567 there is a star in the field).
57 See LIMC: Alexandria 3.
58 Toynbee (note 11) 36, pl. XXII.4.
Elephant-scapel. This is identified as Africa, which was not the scene of any major victory for Augustus, although there were wars there during his principate; it might still have had overtones of the Pompeian party.

When Clodius Macer led a revolt against Nero from his province of Africa in 68 AD, he used a head in an elephant-scapel on his coinage, with two javelins as attributes and the legend L CLODI MACRI LIBERATRIX (or LIBERA) SC. It has been suggested that this not only referred to the province, but possibly still conjured up Republican sentiments.

Trajan introduced the idea of a large-scale organized iconographical programme when he re-issued, as a series, a large number of coins originally produced during the previous two centuries. Included among them was the denarius of Eupius. Arguably the most famous numismatic programme, however, is that of Hadrian, a large-scale, organized, iconographical system that portrayed the Empire in personifications. The reverse types of the ‘Province’ series, probably struck as a single issue between 134-138 AD, contain personifications of 25 provinces and cities. Toynbee sees the series as an expression in art of Hadrian’s political ideals of peace, prosperity and welfare for all the peoples of the Empire. The ‘Province’ types have attributes suggesting their characteristic resources; the Adventus types commemorate visits of Hadrian; the Restitutor type shows a province on

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60 See Sulcado (note 1) 154 for a synopsis of the principal wars fought by Rome on the continent of Africa between 20 BC and 298 AD.
62 This was suggested to me by my colleague Dr. T. Knight.
63 This coin was re-issued by Trajan as a denarius in his series of restored coins c. 104 AD, with the legend IMP CAES TRAIAN AVG GER DAC PP REST on the reverse. See H. Mattingly & E.A. Sydenham, Roman Imperial Coinage, Vols 1-10 (London 1968, reprint) (hereafter RIC) 302-04, 309 no. 802.
64 Toynbee (note 11) 1-6.
her knees being raised by the Emperor. The Exercitus coins commemorate Hadrian’s visits to legions in different parts of, and their common service to, the Empire.

Toynbee claims that the series reflects the idea of Empire as a brotherhood, an appreciation by Rome of the contribution of each member and the pride of individual provinces in belonging to the whole. This might be Rome’s view. The series was conceived as a whole, in Rome; there is in fact no indication that the personifications reflect the views of the provinces.

Africa appears in an elephant-scalp on the Adventus, Restitutor and Province series. Toynbee’s attempt to link details of iconography

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65 See Toynbee (note 11) 5.
66 Toynbee (note 11) 3. Not all the provinces were shown as female, and Toynbee’s use of ‘brotherhood’ is not incorrect.
67 It in fact sounds like a British apology for Empire in 1934.
68 AU, AE, 134-138 AD, mint of Rome. Hadrian ‘Adventus’ series. Obverse: head of Hadrian. Legend: HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Reverse: Hadrian, bare-headed, togate, facing right, raising his right hand and holding a roll in his left; facing him, Africa wears an elephant-scalp, a long chiton and himation. She sacrifices out of a patera in her right hand over an altar in the centre; in her left hand are two ears of corn. A calf (?) is next to the altar. Legend: ADVENTVI AVG AFRICAЕ (on some, SC). See RIC Vol. 2, 376 no. 315, pl. XIII.263; 451 no. 872-75. See also RIC Vol. 2, 376 no. 316; Toynbee (note 11) 34, pl. II.9.

AU, AR, AE, 134-138 AD, mint of Rome. Hadrian ‘Restitutor’ series. Obverse: similar to above. Reverse: Hadrian, bare-headed, togate, standing right, holding a roll in his left hand, stretches out the right to Africa who kneels in front of him. She wears an elephant-scalp, a long chiton and holds ears of corn in her left hand. Her right is extended to the emperor. Between them are two or three ears of corn. Legend: RESTITVTORI AFRICAЕ. A variant has the emperor on the right, Africa on the left. See RIC Vol. 2, 376 no. 322-23; 463 no. 940-42.

AU, 134-138 AD, mint of Rome. Hadrian ‘Province’ series. Obverse: similar to above. Reverse: Africa wearing an elephant-scalp, long chiton (sometimes slipped) and himation, reclines facing left. Her right hand rests on a lion, her left arm on a basket. Behind the basket are ears of corn. Legend: AFRICAЕ. See RIC Vol. 2, 374 no. 298. For variants featuring a scorpion, cornucopia, or fruit, see BMC Emp. Vol. 3, no. 812-22; no. 1707-14, pl. 94.5, 94.8; RIC Vol. 2, 374 no. 299; 446 no. 840-942; BMC Emp. Vol. 3, 343 no. 811, pl. 62.20; Toynbee (note 11) 34, pl. I.23-24 and II.1.3.

AE, 134-138 AD, mint of Rome. Hadrian ‘Adventus’ series. Obverse: similar to above. Reverse: Hadrian wearing a short tunic stands facing left. In the centre, an altar and victim; on the right, facing left, Mauretania wearing an elephant-scalp, short tunic and boots holds a patera in her right hand, a vexillum in her left. Legend: ADVENTVI AVG MAVRETANIAE. In the exergue, SC. See BMC Emp. Vol. 3, 495 no. 1667, plate 92.7; see Toynbee (note 11) 124 for variants.
69 Toynbee (note 11) 35.
with specific characteristics (for example, the ‘slipped’ chiton with heat) and details of policy or history (for example, two ears of corn with Hadrian’s two agrarian laws) pre-supposes such a Rome-centered view which depicted Africa as Rome expected she should react (in obeisance), not necessarily as she did react.

There are, however, important innovations on Hadriamic coinage, as regards the image of Africa.

1. It is identified by legend, leaving no doubt that it is a personification. The legend is necessary, since Africa, Alexandria and Mauretania are all depicted wearing an elephant-scalp; they also share several other attributes. In addition, the pose and some attributes of Nilus and Aegyptus in the Province series recall those of Africa. This would suggest an overlap in the geographical concepts: though ‘Africa’ referred to the Roman province, its connotation must have been larger, if the same attribute was used for Mauretania in the west and Alexandria in the east as well. It is strange that it was not used for Libya. The synonym Africa/Libya does not hold true in art. The elephant-scalp type is never identified by legend as Libya, Numidia, Egypt or Asia.

2. Since the Emperor regularly appeared on the obverse, the personification was relegated to the (less important) reverse, whereas previously it usually (but not invariably) appeared on the obverse.

3. The personification showed a full figure, not a bust, as previously. This means that its diagnostic attribute, the elephant-scalp, was much smaller and often abbreviated. The coin legend was more important than the iconography.

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70 The coins of Alexandria which feature an elephant-scalp are too numerous to be included here and deserve a separate study. For examples see LIMC: Alexandria, with bibliography.
71 C.M. Kraay in J.G. Milne (suppl. Kraay), Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins, Ashmolean Museum (Oxford 1971 xxii), when discussing personifications on Alexandrian coins, mentions a type of Semasia which wears an elephant-scalp and rides a horse. He calls it ‘the most definitely local personification’ and explains the horse as referring to Aurelian’s Parthian victories. I have seen no other reference to this. Kuyper (note 3) 123 illustrates a type of an elephant-scalp which bears the inscription, in Greek, ΦΑΑV ΚΥΡΗΝΗ. He ascribes it to Titus, and identifies it as a personification of Cyrene. I have found no modern reference to this coin.
4. The full figure was often not used alone, but as part of a scene, with the emperor or other characters, that is, in a non-pure allegory. Its significance depended on the attitudes of, and relationship between, the figures rather than on the attributes alone: kneeling before the emperor, offering him a crown, sacrificing in his presence. The personification became a subordinate figure in action as well as in size, and therefore also in importance. These scenes represented a specific historical event which was important from the point of view of the Roman emperor – Hadrian’s visit. This created a precedent for the commemoration of other events (also from a Roman perspective) later: Antoninus’ acceptance of a crown, Herculeius’ campaign. It is always the outsiders’ perspective, although supposedly presented by the province.

5. The attributes changed. The spears of the late Republic disappeared as fear of Carthage died down;\textsuperscript{72} snake, scorpion and lion replaced them as exotic dangers to be expected in Africa, the latter also representative of the African fauna that by then was shipped to Rome as a ‘commodity’ for the circus. Ears of corn remained, but more often expanded into cornucopia and baskets full of produce intended for export to Rome. In the late Empire the elephant tusk, the same shape as the cornucopia, replaced it. These attributes were depicted as much larger than the elephant-scalp, suggesting that they were also much more important to the meaning.

6. At all times the figure on the coins is a Graeco-Roman figure with Graeco-Roman clothing; attempts to differentiate between ‘ideal’ and ‘realistic’ types are not convincing, and there is no indication of national ‘African’ dress or ethnic features.

The Hadrianic types listed above were the inspiration for the Antonine Province series,\textsuperscript{73} reflecting the similarity of their policies and issued

\textsuperscript{72} Mauretania was shown with vexillum and military dress, indicative of fighting forces from the continent of Africa, but now fighting as part of the Roman army.

\textsuperscript{73} Or, AE, 139 AD, mint of Rome. Antoninus Pius. Obverse: laureate head of Trajan. Legend: \textit{ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP}. Reverse: Africa wearing an elephant-scalp, long \textit{chiton} and \textit{himation} faces left, holding a crown or wreath in her right hand, a cornucopia in her left. Legend: \textit{AFRICA} (in exergue) \textit{COS II SC} (in the field). See Toynbee (note 11) 147, pl. VII.3; \textit{RIC} Vol. 3, 104 no. 574; 107 no. 596.
in 139 AD to mark the offer of the *aurum coronarium* to Antoninus Pius in honour of his adoption by Hadrian.⁷⁴ Pius in 160 AD⁷⁵ and Commodus in 190 AD⁷⁶ issued medallions depicting Africa, perhaps connected with disturbances in Mauretania; these show Hadrianic inspiration.⁷⁷ Septimius

A coin similar to the above, except that Africa holds ears of corn instead of the cornucopia, COS II in the exergue and AFRICA around the flan. See Toynbee (note 11) 147, pl. VII.6; *RIC* Vol. 3, 104 no. 575; 107 no. 592.

A coin similar to the above, except that Africa has no corn in her left hand and has a scorpion at her feet. See Toynbee (note 11) 147, pl. VII.5.

A coin similar to the above, except that Africa has a fiscus or basket in her right hand, a cornucopia in the left hand and a lion’s head at her feet. See *RIC* Vol. 3, 104 no. 576; Toynbee (note 11) 147, pl. VII.4.

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⁷⁴ See Toynbee (note 11) 144-49.
⁷⁵ 160 AD, medallion of Antoninus Pius. Reverse: the emperor, in military dress, stands on the left, facing right, holding a short staff in his right hand and a long lance in the left. Next to him a Victory with long wings, also facing right, holds a trophy. Africa, reclining and facing left, wears a long chiton. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand and a scorpion in her right. Legend: COS III in the exergue. The whole is encircled with a border of dots. See Toynbee (note 11) 37, pl. X.10.

A different version shows Africa with her upper body revealed, although there is drapery between her legs. She has two ears of corn in her left hand, and has the right hand on a lion.⁷⁶ AU, 191-192 AD. Commodus. Obverse: laureate, draped, Cuirassed bust of Commodus. Legend: L AEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL. Reverse: Herakles facing right, his foot on a prow, his club resting on a tree trunk and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, clasps the hand of Africa. She wears an elephant-scalp, long chiton and himation, holds a sistrum and ears of corn. Behind her leg, a lion, only the head visible. Legend: PROVIDENTIAE AVG. See *RIC* Vol. 3, 396 no. 259, pl. XV.313.

*RIC* Vol. 3, 439 no. 641 is orichalcum and the description the same except that the figures are reversed; there is no illustration. However, Toynbee (note 11) pl. 12-13 illustrates two types that are the same.

AE 190-191 AD, medallion of Commodus. Obverse: laureate bust of the emperor facing right. Reverse: the emperor, in military dress, stands on the left, facing right, holding a short staff in his right hand and a long lance in the left. Next to him a Victory with long wings, also facing right, holds a trophy. Africa, reclining and facing left, wears a long but revealing chiton. She leans on her left hand; behind it are two giant-sized ears of corn. With her right hand she holds a lion. Legend: COS VI in the exergue. See Toynbee (note 11) pl. X.11; *LIMC* 1.253: Africa 42.⁷⁷ See Toynbee (note 11) 36-37.

123
Severus also issued coinage with the personification of Africa;78 these have been linked to his visit to his homeland in 206.79 Ninety years later, Herculius crossed into Africa to suppress the Quínquegentiani, set up a mint at Carthage and issued coins showing Africa wearing the elephant-scalp and holding a tusk; at her feet was a lion overcoming a bull.80 The legend confirms that the type celebrated his arrival. The second- and third-century use of the elephant-scalp for Africa can therefore be linked in each case to specific

78 OR, 194 AD. Septimius Severus. Obverse: head of Severus. Legend: L.SEPTEP.ERT.AVGG.IMP.III. Reverse: Africa stands facing right, wearing a long chiton and holding ears of corn in the fold of her garment. In the field a lion at her feet, right. Legend: AFRICA S.C. See RIC Vol. 4, 183 no. 668; 676 pl. 9.20; Toynbee (note 11) 37, pl. X.14.

AR, 202-210 AD. Septimius Severus. Obverse: head of Severus. Legend: SEVERVS PVVS AVG. Reverse: Africa stands facing right wearing a long chiton, holding it in her left hand; at her feet a lion. Legend: AFRICA. See RIC Vol. 4, 123 no. 253; Toynbee (note 11) 37, pl. X.15

AR, 202-210 AD. Septimius Severus. Obverse: head of Severus. Legend: SEVERVS PVVS AVG. Reverse: Africa reclines, facing left, wearing a long 'slipped' chiton. She holds a scorpion in her right hand, a cornucopia in her left. In the field a basket of corn ears. Legend: AFRICA. See RIC Vol. 4, 123 no. 254, pl. VII.7; Toynbee (note 11) 37, pl. X.16.


79 See Mattingly (note 61) Vol. 4, 71.
80 AU, AR, AE, c. 296-1 May 305 AD, Carthage. Maximianus Herculius. Obverse: variously Diocletian, Constantius or Galerius. Reverse: Africa wearing an elephant-scalp and long chiton stands looking left. In her right hand she holds a vexillum, in her left a tusk. At her feet to the left, a lion with a captured bull. Legend: FELIX A-D-VENT AVGG NN. See RIC Vol. 6, 411; 422 no. 1-2b; 426 no. 10-16b; 425 no. 17-26; Toynbee (note 11) 37-38, plate X.18-19.

AE, Nov. 306-mid 307 AD, Carthage. Maximianus Herculius. As above, except that the reverse legend reads: CONSERVATOR AFRICAE SVAE. See RIC Vol. 6, 432 no. 52-58; Toynbee (note 11) 37-38, plate X.

A coin similar to the above, but ascribed to Alexander. See Toynbee (note 11) plate X.22.
African policies or visits of the emperors, and shows the characteristics of Hadrianic coinage listed above.

What evidence can ancient coinage provide for the image of Africa in art?

1. It was not in use before the 1st century BC, although the elephant-scalp type had existed since the late 4th century with ruler portraits, attributes.

2. It was not an indigenous ‘African’ type. It was not used in Carthage. Its use by indigenous ‘African’ kings in the 1st century BC was linked to Roman use, often by the Pompeian party, and a Roman concept of the territory.

3. The interpretation of this image as Roman Africa is confirmed by the details of dress, facial features and attributes.

4. The presentation of ‘Africa’ as one of a series, in an attitude similar to, and in a subordinate position taken by, other provinces, is again an indication that the image of Africa is a Rome-centered one, and correlates with the iconography in other media.

Although most objects from the Graeco-Roman world had to await rediscovery after archaeological exploration, some coins were apparently never lost, but survived the Middle Ages in collections of old aristocratic families; for example the 1457 catalogue of the antiquities of Cardinal Pietro Bardo, later Pope Paul II (1464-1471), included the aureus of Cestius and Norbanus.  

Early printed books, like Erizzo’s Medaglie degli Antiche of 1578, contained illustrations of the Hadrianic Restitutor Africae coin. In due course the image of Africa projected by Roman coinage became the standard portrayal in various media in later European art, not only as regards attributes but also in the attitude she assumed. Conversely, European archaeologists, accustomed to the depiction of Africa in European art, were quick to identify any figure in an elephant-scalp as ‘Africa’ (or ‘Libya’, depending on their own language), without too much detailed analysis. This may well have led in some cases to anachronistic identifications that should now be reconsidered.

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82 See J.A. Maritz, ‘From Pompeii to Plymouth: the personification of Africa in the art of Europe’, *Scholia* (forthcoming).
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